

SPAIN

It is well known that Russian secret services employ various tactics to exert influence, one of which involves supporting political parties across different ideologies, including both “left” and “right” factions. This strategy is evident in real-world politics; for instance, in Germany, Russia is reported by The Washington Post¹ to be collaborating with both the far-right *Alternative für Deutschland* and the left-wing *Die Linke*. In France, the Russian Federation’s funding of the right-wing National Front (*Rassemblement National*) has been exposed², along with confirmed connections³ with Jean-Luc Mélenchon’s far-left *La France insoumise*. Similar activities are observed in several other nations. This strategy not only allows Russia to occupy various electoral niches and exacerbate societal polarisation but also to establish footholds of influence for a range of active measures.

In contemporary Spain, characterised by the traditionally tumultuous leftist regions of Catalonia and the Basque Country, ideological polarisation stands out as one of the most prominent in Europe. This was evident in protests⁴ of several hundred thousand people in November 2023 against the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party’s (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*) intention to form a government alongside the right-wing “Together for Catalonia” (*Junts per Catalunya*) party, which advocates for regional independence. It’s worth noting for the purposes of this analysis that such polarisation is also evident among retired Spanish military personnel. This stems from the historical backdrop of the civil conflict of 1936–1939 between the “left-wing” Republicans, backed by the USSR⁵, and the nationalists led by Francisco Franco. A manifestation of this divide was the discord over the letter⁶, signed by 50 retired Francoist officers

Ideological diversity among the Spanish military is historically influenced by the confrontation of the years 1936-1939 between the “left-wing” Republicans, backed by the USSR, and the nationalists led by Franco



The founder of the Podemos party, a former member of the youth organization of the Communist Party of Spain, Pablo Iglesias

and published⁷ in November 2023 by the Spanish Military Association (*Asociación de Militares Españoles*), demanding the removal of the current Prime Minister **Pedro Sánchez Pérez-Castejón**. It was sharply criticised by retired military officers on the “left” flank, who opposed the “Francoist legacy” in the army.

SPANISH OFFICERS IN THE RANKS OF THE LEFT-WING PODEMOS PARTY, TIES TO RUSSIA, AND ACTIVITIES ALIGNED WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

This ideological fracturing provides fertile ground for Russian secret services to directly influence select members of the Spanish military, influencing them directly and engaging in various specialised activities.

In Spain, retired officers are involved in activities aligned with the interests of the Russian government through political parties with ties to Russia, namely the left-wing⁸ Podemos (“We Can!”) and the far-right⁹ Vox (“Voice”). This study will also examine non-partisan retired Spanish officers with connections to Russia, their affiliated organisations, and their activities serving the interests of the Russian government.

One of the left-wing political forces involving retired Spanish officers is the **Podemos** party. Created in co-operation¹⁰ with representatives of the Trotskyist force “Left Anti-Capitalists” (*Izquierda Anticapitalista*), in 2016, as part of the broad coalition of leftist forces **Unidas Podemos**, it became¹¹ a partner of the “**United Left**” (*Izquierda Unida*), whose founder and key political force – the Communist Party of Spain (*Partido Comunista de España*) – is historically¹² associated with the USSR and modern Russia. Some of its members participated¹³ in armed aggression against Ukraine within the “DPR” and “LPR” terrorist groups.

Despite its electoral setbacks in the 2023 legislative elections, *Podemos* has achieved significant milestones since its inception. It has secured¹⁴ parliamentary seats multiple times, held positions¹⁵ within the Spanish government, and currently maintains representation¹⁶ in

The appeal to the EU to cease supplying military aid to Ukraine was signed by approximately 30 retired officers and former military personnel from various branches of the Spanish army, and the campaign was supported by Russia Today

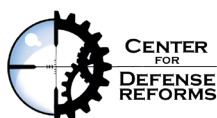
from its ranks have systematically exerted influence in line with the interests of the Russian government. Their actions aim, among other things, to alleviate sanctions pressure on Russia and undermine the supply of military and technical assistance to Ukraine. For instance, in March 2022, during a meeting of the European Parliament, *Podemos* voted²² against expanding sanctions against Russia in response to a full-scale invasion. The party's official stance is to blame²³ NATO for starting the war. It has consistently opposed²⁴ granting Ukraine the EU candidate status and is against providing financial and military²⁵ assistance to Ukraine.

the European Parliament. *Podemos* has received¹⁷ media support from Spanish-language Russian state media outlets such as **Russia Today** and **Sputnik**. The party's founder, **Pablo Iglesias**, a former member¹⁸ of the youth organisation of the Communist Party of Spain (*Unión de Juventudes Comunistas de España*), was¹⁹ a regular guest on Russian media platforms. The party has faced repeated accusations of being financed by the Russian Federation, particularly from Spanish government officials. In 2015, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain, José Manuel García-Margallo, made a corresponding statement²⁰. During hearings of the National Security Committee of the Spanish Congress, a report was presented²¹ suggesting that *Podemos* may receive funding from the Russian government.

MANIFESTO TO THE EU DEMANDING A CESSATION OF ARMS SUPPLY TO UKRAINE

Regarding the personal involvement of retired Spanish officers who are members of *Podemos* and exerting influence that aligns with the interests of the Russian government, the manifesto²⁶ released by former members of the Spanish Armed Forces in June 2023 is noteworthy. The manifesto calls for the European Union to cease supplying military aid to Ukraine and to initiate what they term as "peace talks" with Russia.

The appeal was endorsed by approximately 30 retired officers and former military personnel from various branches of the Spanish army. Additionally, the campaign received support from the Spanish-language Russian state media outlet Russia Today²⁷.



Since the onset of Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2014, both the party itself and retired officers



Former Chief
of the Defense
Staff of the
Spanish Armed
Forces general
José Julio
Rodríguez
Fernández

One of the prominent signatories of the manifesto was the former²⁸ Chief of the General Staff of the Spanish Defense Ministry (*Jefe del Estado Mayor de la Defensa*) and a member²⁹ of the Coordination Council and the National Public Council of Podemos, Air General **José Julio Rodríguez Fernández**. General Julio Rodríguez, who also served³⁰ as the head of the NATO Airborne Early Warning and Control program and the Director General³¹ of Armaments and Material of the Ministry of Defense of Spain, has consistently advocated for policies aimed at countering the supply of arms to Ukraine. For instance, in 2023, he expressed³² opposition to the transfer of Leopard heavy tanks to Ukraine via a post on his Twitter page, stating that such a decision would “lead to military escalation” and “prolong the war”. The retired Spanish army officer also maintains the belief³³ that the occupied Crimea cannot be returned “no matter what kind of military assistance is provided to Ukraine”.

Furthermore, General Rodríguez’s stance on the issue of Catalan independence is significant. Alongside advocating for the region to remain part of Spain, he supported³⁴ the holding of an unconstitutional referendum on Catalan separation. According to Spanish intelligence³⁵, Russian secret services were also interested in promoting the referendum within Spanish society.

General José Julio Rodríguez Fernández has been linked³⁶ by Spanish media to several left-wing associations of retired Spanish officers, including the “**Militaries Anti-Francoists**” (*Militares Anti-Franquistas*), the group “**Military Democrats for the ANEMOI Republic**” (*Colectivo de Militares Demócratas por la República “ANEMOI”*, hereafter referred to as ANEMOI), and the **Military and Democracy Forum** (*el Foro Milicia y Democracia*, hereafter – FMD), all of which will be further discussed in this report.



Spanish Navy retired officer Manuel Pardo de Donlebún Montesino co-organized the anti-NATO protest in Madrid in 2022, which received information support from the Russian channel Sputnik

In January 2022, on the eve of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the Military Anti-Francoists published³⁷ an official statement through its partner organisation, the **Association for the Memory of the Military Democrats** (*Asociación por la Memoria Militar Democrática*, hereafter – AMMD), accusing NATO, not Russia, of preparing for such an invasion. They demanded that Spain remain “neutral” in the conflict. It is noteworthy that after the onset of Russian aggression in 2014, the president of AMMD and a member of ANEMOI, Captain of the Spanish Navy in reserve Manuel Pardo de Donlebún Montesino, became an expert on the platform of the Span-

ish-language Russian media Sputnik³⁸, where among other things, he exerted influence aimed at discrediting NATO. In particular, he referred³⁹ to the alliance as “an instrument of US domination”. Retired Spanish Navy officer, Montesino is also the founder⁴⁰ of the organisation “**Veterans for Peace in Spain**” (*Veteranos por la Paz España*) and a member⁴¹ of the so-called International **Anti-imperialistic Front** (*Frente Antiimperialista Internacionalista*). During the NATO summit in Madrid in 2022, Montesino co-organized⁴² an anti-NATO protest in the capital, which received information support from Russia's Sputnik⁴³.

On the eve of Russia's invasion, on the Militares Antifranquistas' site a statement of the Asociación por la Memoria Militar Democrática was published, accusing NATO, not Russia, in preparing for an invasion, and demanding the “neutrality” from Spain

“Veterans for Peace in Spain” is part⁴⁴ of the international organisation *Veterans for Peace*, which is registered in the United States. Both Veterans for Peace in Spain and its American parent organisation have been influencing⁴⁵ opposition to the supply of Western weapons to Ukraine since Russia’s full-scale invasion.

Other Spanish officers and retired military personnel, who supported the demand⁵¹ to the EU to halt arms supply, are not affiliated with political parties, but have established ties to Russia and are involved in campaigns that align with the interests of the Russian government. Therefore, they also deserve special attention.



In April 2023, Ecologists in Action participated in pacifist demonstrations in Spain, demanding to stop military and technical assistance to Ukraine and advocating for “peace talks” with Russia

The aforementioned ANEMOI group also officially opposes⁴⁶ the provision of Western military aid to Ukraine. Several representatives of ANEMOI and the Military and Democracy Forum have signed the aforementioned appeal to the EU, which will receive further focus later in this paper.

Another retired officer, a member of Podemos and signatory of the manifesto, is the former Chief⁴⁷ of the Spanish Air Combat Command (*General Jefe del Mando Aéreo de Combate*), retired Lieutenant General **César Miguel Simón López**. Lieutenant General López is the party’s representative⁴⁸ in the municipality of Guadalajara and a member⁴⁹ of the Military and Democracy Forum. He also serves as a military consultant⁵⁰ to the president of the **Airbus** aerospace company’s Spanish branch.

For example, retired⁵² Spanish army lieutenant **Luis Gonzalo Segura** is a regular contributor⁵³ to the Spanish-language version of *Russia Today*. Through his work on the platform, Lieutenant Segura, among other things, exerts influence aimed⁵⁴ at discrediting Ukraine as an “undemocratic state” and discrediting⁵⁵ the North Atlantic Alliance.

In August 2023, Segura published a book⁵⁶ titled “The Ukrainian Trap” (*La trampa Ucraniana*), which criticises the “demonisation of Russia by the West” and accuses Western media of “disinformation and distortion of facts about the war”.

Another signatory of the demand⁵⁷ to the EU to stop supplying arms to Ukraine was retired Lieutenant Colonel⁵⁸ of the Spanish Air Force, **José Ignacio Domínguez**. Domínguez has also engaged with Spanish-language Russian state media, this time – with *Sputnik*⁵⁹. He serves as the regional coordinator⁶⁰ and lawyer for **Ecologists in Action** (*Ecologistas en Acción*), which has been systematically involved in influencing the interests of the Russian government. In April 2023, Ecologists in Action participated⁶¹ in pacifist demonstrations in Spain, demanding an end to military and technical assistance to Ukraine and



Retired Spanish Army Lieutenant Luis Gonzalo Segura backed the Manifesto to the EU, urging to halt arms shipments to Ukraine

advocating for “peace talks” with Russia, echoing⁶² similar arguments as those put forth by the Kremlin regarding the “threat of direct conflict between NATO and Russia”, along with employing classic leftist rhetoric about “reducing military spending” and the “urgency to bolster” social spending.

Participation of *Ecologists in Action* in campaigns⁶³ to shut down nuclear power plants in Spain and oppose the construction of the **MidCat** (*Midi-Catalonia*) gas pipeline also deserves attention. Analysts estimated⁶⁴, if completed, the MidCat project could reduce European reliance on Russian natural gas by 10 to 40%. Opposition to the pipeline’s construction in 2017 was cited⁶⁵ by subversion experts as one of the economic reasons why Russian intelligence services support Catalan separatists.

Among the signatories of the appeal to the EU is **Manuel Ruiz Robles**, a retired captain of the Spanish Navy and former member⁶⁶ of the left-wing anti-Franco **Democratic Military Union** (*Unión Militar Democrática*, hereafter – UMD). Robles is an official partner⁶⁷ of the aforementioned Military and Democracy Forum, a member⁶⁸ of the board of directors of the **Militia and Republic Civil Association** (*la Asociación Civil Milicia y República*, hereafter – AC MYR), and a member⁶⁹ of the organisation “**Friends of Combatants in Republican Spain**” (*Amigos de los Combatientes en la España Republicana*, hereafter – ACER). **ACER**, among its various activities, examines⁷⁰ the archives of the International Brigades in Moscow and collaborates with several other memorial organisations. Notably, it has a partner organisation in Russia that has received recognition for its



The ‘Military for the Future’ union held a rally, demanding changes to Spain’s legislation to permit active-duty military personnel to join political parties

efforts from the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation.

One more signatory of the manifesto is a retired officer⁷¹ of the Spanish Air Force **Floren Dimas**, who is a member of all three of the aforementioned officers’ associations, including ACER and ANEMOI. Dimas is also one of the contributors⁷² to the Military and Democracy Forum and the head⁷³ of the Militia and Republic Civil Association (AC MYR). In his public activities, Lieutenant⁷⁴ Dimas calls⁷⁵ “NATO expansion” as a reason for the war and opposes⁷⁶ Spain’s purchase of Patriot systems for further transfer to Ukraine.

Interestingly, all aforementioned retired Spanish officers who signed the manifesto to the EU, along with the Ecologists in Action, are contributors to the Spanish-language left-wing publisher **Rebellion**. The platform boasts approximately 4.5 million visits monthly and is considered one of the most influential left-wing re-

sources in Europe. While the owner of the publishing company remains unknown, one of *Rebellion’s* authors⁷⁷ is **Leonid Savin** (Леонид Савин), the editor-in-chief⁷⁸ of the think tank **Katehon**, which is funded⁷⁹ by Russian oligarch **Konstantin Malofeev**. The *Rebellion* site regularly reprints materials from *Katehon*⁸⁰ and another think tank associated with Malofeev⁸¹, **Geopolitica.ru**⁸². Additionally, **Maksym Goldrab** (Максим Гольдраб), leader of the **Union of Left Forces** party, banned in Ukraine and accused by the Security Service of Ukraine of collaborating with the Russian Federation, contributes to *Rebellion*. The Union of Left Forces party participated⁸³ in the so-called “elections” in the territories occupied by the Russian militia groups “DPR” and “LPR”. On the *Rebellion* portal, Goldrab addresses topics such as “Nazism in Ukraine”⁸⁴, “military corruption”⁸⁵, and “the destruction of freedom of speech”⁸⁶. Pablo Iglesias, the founder of the Podemos party, has also collaborated⁸⁷ as a contributor with the *Rebellion* platform.

It's important to note that the manifesto directly impacts the Spanish military, as it calls⁸⁸ for officers and representatives of the Spanish army to join the campaign.

PODEMOS' CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER ASSOCIATIONS OF RETIRED MILITARY PERSONNEL

In regards to *Podemos's* potential influence on both active and retired Spanish military personnel, the party's ties⁸⁹ with the organisation "**Militaries for the Future**" (*Militares con Futuro*) deserve attention. One of the primary objectives of this organisation is to lobby for "amendments to Spanish legislation" to permit⁹⁰ military personnel to join political parties. Notably, *Podemos* actively sought to draw military personnel to this association, employing⁹¹ its own official media platform for this purpose.

"Militaries for the Future" has faced accusations⁹² from Spanish intelligence of engaging in "subversive activities" within the Spanish Armed Forces. During the migrant crisis in the Ceuta region (a Spanish exclave on the northern coast of Africa) in 2021, the organisation reportedly utilised the "**Citizens in Uniform**" (*Ciudadanos de Uniforme*) Telegram channel for anonymous military complaints, encouraging active military personnel to disregard⁹³ orders from their command and refrain from impeding attempts to

breach the border fence with Morocco.

"Citizens in Uniform" has been subject to coverage by Russian state media outlet *Sputnik* as part of efforts to discredit the Spanish Armed Forces and the NATO alliance. For instance, *Sputnik* published an article⁹⁴ about the alleged presence of "neo-Nazis" within NATO armies, citing a report by "Citizens in Uniform" submitted to the Spanish Ministry of Defense on the alleged "presence of such neo-Nazis in the Spanish Armed Forces".

It is noteworthy that representatives of the political alliance *Unidos Podemos*, comprising the *Podemos* party, have participated in events alongside "Militaries for the Future". For instance, on September 4, 2021, a rally⁹⁵ organised by the "**Union of Private Soldiers**" (*La Unión de Militares de Tropa*) was held in front of the Spanish Congress in Plaza de la Cortes, Madrid. Various associations of the Spanish military attended the event – the Professional **Military Association "Old Spanish Tercios"** (*La asociación "Tercios Viejos españoles" (TERVIES)*) that unites⁹⁶ military personnel from various branches of the army, the association "**Request for Justice and Honor**" (*Cuestión de Justicia y Honor*) that exposes internal violations within the Armed Forces, and representatives of the "Militaries for the Future". Members of the *Unidas Podemos* alliance also⁹⁷ were present at the rally, including **Enrique San-**

Militares con Futuro has faced accusations from Spanish intelligence of engaging in "subversive activities" within the Spanish Armed Forces

tiago, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, who is considered⁹⁸ by Spanish media to be very close to the leader of Podemos, Pablo Iglesias.



A former Chief of Staff of the Spanish Army Ground Force, Army General Fulgencio Coll Bucher (on the left)

VOX RIGHTS, TIES TO RUSSIA AND INFLUENCE ON THE SPANISH MILITARY

From the perspective of ties with Russia exposed in this study, the Vox (Voice) political party deserves special attention among the “right-wing” political forces for its direct impact on the groups of active and former Spanish military personnel and the threats associated with such influence.

In 2019, Vox emerged⁹⁹ as a significant platform for engaging high-ranking retired officers of the Spanish Armed Forces in the country’s political landscape. Notably, several retired military figures accepted prominent roles within the party’s ranks. For instance, in various regional parliamentary elections, Vox fielded¹⁰⁰ candidates such as former Chief of Staff of the Ground

Forces (*Jefe de Estado Mayor del Ejército de Tierra*) Army General **Fulgencio Coll Bucher**¹⁰¹, awarded the highest royal award – the Cross of Isabella the Catholic; **Agustín Rosety Fernández de Castro**, a retired Brigadier General of the Spanish Navy with experience in special operations, who also held¹⁰² positions in the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Spain; **Antonio Budiño Carballo**, a retired Brigadier General, who previously¹⁰³ taught at the General Staff School of the Spanish Armed Forces; and **Alberto Asarta Cuevas**, a retired Major General of the Spanish Armed Forces and former commander¹⁰⁴ of the UN Interim Mission in Lebanon.

In 2023, the Vox candidate for the municipality of Orihuela was a retired lieutenant general of the Spanish Air Force, one¹⁰⁵ of the co-authors of the Spanish Air Force doctrine, **Manuel Mestre Barea**¹⁰⁶. In the Navarra region, the party was represented¹⁰⁷ by retired military officer **Emilio Jiménez**. Additionally, the list of candidates in the last elections included¹⁰⁸ retired non-commissioned officer **Manuel Ángel González**, as well as the former head¹⁰⁹ of the security service of the Cerro Muriano military base, retired officer **José Tuñón**.

According¹¹⁰ to Rafa Martinez, a professor of political science at the University of Barcelona, the majority of military personnel in the Spanish Armed Forces hold conservative views, with some sympathising with the former regime of dictator Francisco Franco. As a result, the conservative and far-right rhetoric of Vox resonates and garners support among both retired and active Spanish military personnel and officers.

During its formation, Vox faced scrutiny for its connections to Russia. Its leader, **Santiago Abascal**, publicly expressed¹¹¹ sympathy for the actions of Russian President Vladimir Putin. Additionally, the party has consistently worked to undermine the European Union, aligning with Russian interests in terms of influence.

It should also be noted that the activities of Vox's leader and the party itself were occasionally covered¹¹⁹ by the *Katehon* think tank's platform, funded by Konstantin Malofeev. For example, *Katehon* reprinted¹²⁰ Santiago Abascal's critiques of so-called "international globalism", which he claimed seeks to disintegrate nation-states.



CitizenGO has also supported¹²¹ other right-wing Eurosceptic parties with ties¹²² to Russia, such as Germany's **AfD** (*Alternative für Deutschland*) and Italy's **League of the North** (*Lega Nord*). Vox interacts¹²³ with these parties as well.

Open criticism of NATO and the EU in Spain poses a significant risk of marginalisation and electoral setbacks for any political party since such sentiments are not widely popular in Spanish society. Nevertheless, given Vox's history of ties to Russia and its connections with Russian-linked political parties, one can observe the party's consistent policy of discrediting the European Union. In fact, Vox has made criticising¹²⁴ the EU a fundamental aspect of its platform. Although the party does not openly advocate for Spain's withdrawal from the European Union like the French "National Front" and the Italian "League of the North", it emphasises the "need to restore the sovereignty of European countries". It calls for a "revision of the EU Treaty"¹²⁵.

According to Xabier Deop, a professor of international public law and European Union law at the Catholic University of Avila, the program presented by Vox in the 2023 parliamentary elections is incompatible¹²⁶ with Spain's membership in the European Union.

Close to Russian oligarch Konstantin Malofeev, the president of the World Congress of Families, Alexei Komov, is a member of the executive board of CitizenGO

An investigation by Open Democracy¹¹² revealed that Vox was indirectly funded by the non-profit international association **HazteOir** (*Hazte Oir Víctimas de la ideología de género*), associated with Russian oligarch **Konstantin Malofeev**. In 2013, *HazteOir* founded an online platform to "protect traditional values" in Europe, called *CitizenGO*, with Alexey Komov, a Russian businessman close¹¹³ to Malofeev, on the board of directors¹¹⁴. According¹¹⁵ to Tagesspiegel, a German court confirmed the facts that Malofeev financed *CitizenGO*. Both *HazteOir* and *CitizenGO* played roles in promoting¹¹⁶ Vox in Spain. **Ignacio Arsuaga**, founder and president of *HazteOir* and *CitizenGO*, is a close associate¹¹⁷ of Vox party leader Santiago Abascal, although the organisations publicly severed¹¹⁸ ties in 2019.

Moreover, given the significant public trust in the institutions of the Armed Forces, as seen from the study¹²⁷ conducted by the University of Murcia, the involvement of retired Spanish officers serves as an effective tool in legitimising the Eurosceptic agenda for a broader audience in the country.



July 1994, Alexander Dugin signs the “National Bolshevik Act” in Spain with the leader of the fascist MSR party Juan Antonio Llopart (left). Today, the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics is associated with Dugin

SPANISH INSTITUTE OF GEOPOLITICS, DUGIN, MALOFEEV AND RETIRED SPANISH OFFICERS

Within the scope of this study, particular attention is drawn to the **Spanish Institute of Geopolitics** (*Instituto Español de Geopolítica*, hereafter – IEG). The organisation operates its own online platform, **Geoestrategia.es**¹²⁸, catering to the

Spanish-speaking audience and specialising in the analysis of contemporary issues in security and defense, to which retired Spanish officers are active contributors. The Spanish Institute of Geopolitics maintains several connections with the Russian Federation and consistently wields influence that aligns with the interests of the Russian government. Moreover, its organisational structure exhibits signs of being a front cover for Russian secret services.

The director of the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics, **Juan A. Aguilar**, is a political scientist and a reserve member of the Spanish army. He has authored¹²⁹ pieces on the portal *Geopolitica.ru*, which was co-founded by Alexander Dugin, a key ideologist and proponent of the “Russian world” concept, notorious for his appeals to the President of Russia on the invasion of Ukraine and the leader¹³⁰ of the International Eurasian Movement (IEM). *El Pais*¹³¹ reports that one of the sponsors of the portal is oligarch Konstantin Malofeev, who maintains close ties with Vladimir Putin. Notably, the editor-in-chief¹³² of the IEG platform is a Spanish political scientist affiliated¹³³ with the analytical center *Katehon* (which is also a part of Malofeev’s holding) **Enrique J. Refoyo**. Refoyo served as an observer¹³⁴ during the so-called Russian “referendum” in the occupied territory of the Kherson region in 2023. Moreover, one of the princi-

Particular attention should be paid to the Instituto Spanish Institute of Geopolitics, which exhibits signs of being a cover organization for Russian secret services, and to which retired Spanish officers are actively engaged

pal authors¹³⁵ of the IEG platform is Alexander Dugin, and the platform is actively promoting his vision of the “Russian world” and so-called “Eurasianism” concepts. Both Juan Aguilar and Enrique Refoyo are involved in translating Dugin’s books into Spanish, two of which – “Fundamentos de Geopolítica” and “Platonismo Político” – were presented¹³⁶ in Madrid in 2023.

Alexander Dugin is one of the key contributors to the IEG site; his vision of the “Russian world” and the concepts of so-called “Eurasianism” are being actively promoted on the platform

In April 2023, Juan Aguilar and other members of the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics participated¹³⁷ in the “**World Conference on Multi-polarity**”, spearheaded by Dugin’s International Eurasian Movement and the **International Movement of Russophiles (IMR)**. The head of the IMR, **Nikolay Malinov**, faced accusations from the Bulgarian government of spying for the Russian Federation. A separate section of the study delves into the activities of retired Bulgarian officers associated with the *Russophiles* movement, which align with the interests of the Russian government. The conference drew notable attendees¹³⁸, including Russian Foreign Minister **Sergei Lavrov**, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesperson **Maria Zakharova**, the aforementioned oligarch Konstantin Malofeev, and numerous participants from over 60 countries. Throughout the conference, efforts were made to discredit the United States of America, with a key

focus on criticising “American colonial policy” and justifying Russian aggression against Ukraine under the guise of a “Russian struggle in Ukraine for a multipolar world”.

As previously mentioned, retired officers of the Spanish Armed Forces are actively engaged in activities of the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics. Among the contributors¹³⁹ to the platform is a former Commander¹⁴⁰ of the Spanish Ground Forces and ex-Commander¹⁴¹ of the European Corps (*Eurocorp*), retired Lieutenant General **Pedro Pitarch**. Pitarch has published¹⁴² on Konstantin Malofeev’s *Geopolitica.ru*, where he addressed the complexities of elections in Catalonia, and participated regularly in Spanish-language broadcasts on Russian media outlet Russia Today¹⁴³, where he sought to discredit NATO. The IEG website promotes¹⁴⁴ the personal blog of Lieutenant General Pedro Pitarch.

At the onset of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine, in an interview with the Spanish edition of *El Confidencial*¹⁴⁵, Pedro Pitarch echoed the official position of the Russian government regarding the alleged “civil war in Ukraine”, asserting that the conflict purportedly “bears signs of a civil war”. In 2023, in his aforementioned personal blog, Lieutenant General Pitarch expressed support for the efforts of Russian secret services to undermine military and technical assistance to Ukraine¹⁴⁶, highlighting “the fatigue of the US and EU from the exorbitant costs of military assistance to Ukraine”. It’s noteworthy that the utilisation of socially sensitive rhetoric resonates within the Spanish military itself: in June¹⁴⁷ 2022, three military

associations – **ASFAS PRO** (*Professional Association of Sergeants of the Armed Forces*), **ATME** (*Association of Spanish Soldiers and Sailors*), and **UMT** (*Union of Military Personnel*) – organised a rally, demanding that the government in-

playing nuclear weapons in a conflict with Ukraine, particularly “if it faces the risk of defeat”. In February 2023, in his interview with Spanish RTVE¹⁵⁰, Pedro Pitarch suggested that Ukraine was embroiled in “essentially a war between NATO and Russia”, warning that a Russian defeat could result in the emergence of “Islamic republics” armed with nuclear capabilities.



Lieutenant General Pitarch also serves as a regular analyst¹⁵¹ for the **Association of Spanish Military** (AME), an organisation that brings together the Spanish military and members of the Civil Guard. Through this platform, he seeks to undermine the supply of weapons to Ukraine and cultivate the fatigue from providing military assistance to the country. Thus, in October 2023, AME published¹⁵² Pitarch’s work titled “Growing Reluctance to Aid Ukraine with Weapons”.

The Spanish Institute of Geopolitics also employs¹⁵³ a retired colonel of the Spanish Armed Forces with experience¹⁵⁴ participating in six UN and NATO multinational operations, **Enrique Vega Fernández**. Having studied¹⁵⁵ alongside Lt. Gen. Pitarch at the Academia General Militar, Zaragoza, Colonel Vega has worked in the General Directorate of Foreign Affairs of the Spanish Ministry of Defense and currently holds teaching positions¹⁵⁶ at the Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Melado and several other military training centers in Spain.

One of the authors of the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics, a former Commander of the Spanish Ground Forces and ex-Commander of the European Corps (Eurocorp), Lieutenant General Pedro Pitarch

crease military salaries (which was indeed planned by the Spanish government in 2023). Additionally, in 2023, in his own analytical article for ABC¹⁴⁸, General Pitarch warned of the alleged “threat of global war” due to the supply of tanks to Ukraine.

Lieutenant General Pitarch’s blog posts, among other content, are directed towards nuclear intimidation of the West, a tactic that aligns with one of the strategic influence operations of the Russian secret services. For instance, in one piece, the retired lieutenant general discusses the potential threat¹⁴⁹ of Russia em-

A former Commander of the Spanish Ground Forces, Pedro Pitarch, has been published on Konstantin Malofeev’s Geopolitica.ru and has regularly participated in broadcasts on Russia Today

Colonel Vega consistently advances the interests of the Russian government through his activities, which involve undermining Western military assistance to Ukraine and justifying Russia's aggression against the country.

In January 2023, as Western countries deliberated supplying Ukraine with Leopard tanks, on the **Military and Democracy Forum's (FMD)** website¹⁵⁷, which attracts former Spanish military personnel, Colonel Vega published an article named "Reflections on Leopard", where he alleged that Ukraine was engaged in "conflict between NATO and Russia", and criticised Spain for seemingly "bowing to the United States" in its decision to aid Ukraine militarily.

In February 2023, in his own post on FMD – a platform where he regularly contributes – Colonel Vega engaged in nuclear intimidation tactics against the West. In an article titled "Everything You Were Not Told About Sending Leopard Tanks to Ukraine", he suggested¹⁵⁸ that the Russian Federation could "offset the repercussions of supplying arms to Ukraine by resorting to tactical nuclear weapons".

Earlier, in October 2022, following the explosion on the Nord Stream gas pipeline, in his personal column¹⁵⁹, Colonel Vega dismissed Russia's possible involvement in the incident.

Apart from the FMD, Enrique Vega is also a member¹⁶⁰ of the **Association for the Memory of Democratic Military (AMMD)**, which brings together Spanish citizens "with past or present affiliations with the

Armed Forces and the Civil Guard". Following the onset of Russian aggression in 2014, the president of the association, **Manuel Pardo de Donlebun Montesino**, as mentioned previously, became a commentator for the Russian state media *Sputnik*¹⁶¹. Notably, the AMMD association itself blames¹⁶² NATO for Russia's war against Ukraine and advocates for Spain's "neutrality in the conflict".

Among other authors¹⁶³ associated with the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics, from the ranks of retired officers of the Armed Forces of Spain, particular attention should be given to retired Colonel of the Ground Forces¹⁶⁴ **José Antonio Crespo-Francés**. He holds a Doctorate in Arts and Humanities from the University of Navarra and has authored numerous works, often in collaboration with the Spanish Ministry of Defense, the **Spanish Commission of Military History** (*Comisión española de historia militar*), and some other reputable institutions.

Following the commencement of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, on February 26, 2022, Colonel Crespo-Francés used the *La Paseata*¹⁶⁵ platform to advocate for the legalisation of Russian aggression and undermine Spain's aid to Ukraine. He argued that the conflict was occurring on "historical Russian territories" and asserted that Spain "has no relation to the war".

Colonel Crespo is also a contributor to the **Association of Spanish Military** (*Asociación de Militares Españoles* – AME), an organisation that consists of retired Spanish officers¹⁶⁶, among other members.

On the eighth of April 2022, on the association's website, José Antonio Crespo-Francés published an article¹⁶⁷ that criticised the speech of the President of Ukraine to the Spanish Congress, alleging that "the Azov battalion committed crimes at Donbas and in Mariupol".



An IEG author, the president of the Spanish Association of Military Writers, a retired Spanish Brigadier General, Salvador Fontenla Ballesta. He was published on the Malofeev-funded platform Geopolitica.ru

Colonel Crespo-Francés is the author of a series of books, among which the attention should be given to the work "White Slaves: Islam and the Conquest of Europe". Notably, one of the book presentations¹⁶⁸ that took place in May 2022 was hosted by the currently acting fascist party "Falange Española".

The list of IGE authors¹⁶⁹ also contains a Spanish brigadier reserve general and former Chief of Staff of the Rapid Action Forces (*Estado Mayor de la Fuerza de Acción Rápida*) **Salvador Fontenla Ballesta**. Salvador Ballesta serves as the president¹⁷⁰ of the **Spanish Association of Military Writers** (*La Asociación Española de Militares Escritores*) and is a co-author¹⁷¹ of a guide to defense culture for students. Like some of his counterparts mentioned in this report, Brigadier General Ballesta has published¹⁷² on the *Katehon* platform, fund-

ed¹⁷³ by Russian oligarch Konstantin Malofeev, where he denied the Russian threat to the Baltic States in 2017. Also, he has contributed to the aforementioned Geopolitica.ru platform¹⁷⁴.

Following the onset of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in March 2022, Brigadier General Ballesta engaged in activities seemingly aimed at nuclear intimidation of the West. In an interview with the Spanish edition of *El Debate*¹⁷⁵, the retired brigadier general asserted that "Russia will not resort to nuclear weapons unless it faces direct threats". Additionally, during the same interview, he advocated for a more neutral stance from Spain regarding the conflict and questioned¹⁷⁶ the potential repercussions of aligning with Russia.

In his public engagements, Salvador Ballesta also endeavours to discredit the North Atlantic Alliance. For instance, in 2021, he authored an article critiquing the Spanish and NATO mission in Afghanistan that was blocked¹⁷⁷ from publication by the Spanish Ministry of Defense. In another piece for *Periodista Digital*¹⁷⁸, Ballesta criticised NATO for its perceived lack of readiness to defend Ceuta and Melilla (Spanish territories in Africa bordering Morocco, which serve as the primary route for illegal migration to Spain). Additionally, in 2007, in his article¹⁷⁹ "The Military Potential of the European Union", the general criticised NATO's "multinational composition", contending that it negatively impacts the military capabilities of member countries and advocated for the enhancement of Spain's national armed forces.

RETIRED COLONEL PEDRO BAÑOS, TIES TO RUSSIA AND INFLUENCE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

In Spain, particular attention should be paid to the former head¹⁸⁰ of the Counterintelligence and Security Directorate of the European Corps (a tactical association of the armed forces of the EU member states – Eurocorp), former head¹⁸¹ of the Geopolitical Analysis Department of the General Secretariat of Defense Policy of the Spanish Ministry of Defense, and a former professor¹⁸² at the Higher School of the Spanish Armed Forces, retired Colonel **Pedro Baños**. Pedro Baños cherishes a personal story of his connections with Russia itself, as well as individuals and organisations linked to Russia. Both before and after the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, he has exerted influence in line with the interests of the Russian government.

Pedro Baños contributes to Spanish-language Russian state-run platforms such as Russia Today and Sputnik, where he has consistently advocated for the interests of the Russian Federation. For instance, in 2015, following Russia's aggression against Ukraine, Baños participated in a radio program¹⁸³ on *Sputnik*,

where he advocated forming an alliance between the EU and Russia. In an interview with *Russia Today*¹⁸⁴, Colonel Baños suggested the involvement of a Ukrainian fighter jet in the downing of Malaysian Boeing MH17 over Donbas, a narrative aligned with the official stance¹⁸⁵ of the Russian government.

In 2018, Pedro Baños was considered¹⁸⁶ for the position of head of the Department of National Security (*Departamento de Seguridad Nacional*) in the government of Pedro Sánchez. However, Baños did not receive this position because of the public outcry over his ties to Russia. *Russia Today*¹⁸⁷ and *Sputnik*¹⁸⁸ reported then on an alleged “planned attack” by Western intelligence against the Spanish officer.

Both before and after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Baños has worked to undermine the European Union's sanctions against Russia. In this context, he referred¹⁸⁹ to the EU sanctions in response to the occupation of Crimea as “an unnecessary mistake”. Furthermore, in 2023, during an interview with the Spanish channel Canal 26, he emphasised¹⁹⁰ that “Western sanctions against Russia have backfired”.

This study reveals the cooperation of Pedro Baños with individuals and organisations linked to the ideologist

Pedro Baños was considered for the position of head of the Department of National Security, but he did not get the appointment because of the public outcry over his ties to the Russian Federation. Russia Today and Sputnik then reported on an alleged “planned attack” against the officer



Former Chief of Eurocorp Counterintelligence Pedro Baños (on the right) and Russian Ambassador to Spain Yuri Korchagin, 2020

of “Russian World”, Alexander Dugin, repeatedly mentioned in this report. Thus, in 2019, Baños participated in a conference on metapolitics organised by the cultural association **OHKA** and the neo-fascist¹⁹¹ publishing house Fides. OHKA is a regular contributor¹⁹² to the *Geopolitica.ru* platform, which, according to the findings¹⁹³ of the National Agency for the Prevention of Corruption, is controlled by Alexander Dugin. During this conference, Baños presented his book **“Soros: Destroying Spain”**. Another participant¹⁹⁴ of the conference was the aforementioned observer of “local elections” in the so-called “DPR” and the editor-in-chief of the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics (IGE), **Enrique Refoyo**.

In turn, in 2019, the *Geopolitica.ru* platform republished Pedro Baños’ program “Vision Geopolitic”, featuring **Juan Aguilar**, the currently acting director of the Spanish Institute of Geopolitics, as a guest.

Since Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Reserve Colonel Pedro Baños has consistently exerted influence aimed at undermining the supply of military and technical assistance to Ukraine while justifying Russian aggression. Thus, at a literary conference in Pamplona, Spain, Pedro Baños criticised¹⁹⁵ the provision of arms to Ukraine as a “false path”. Later, in the interview with *Tiempo* during his visit to Buenos Aires in July 2023, where he was presenting his new book “The World’s Crossroads”, he blamed¹⁹⁶ NATO and the EU for Russia’s aggression against Ukraine.

CONCLUSIONS

As mentioned before, according to the study¹⁹⁷ by the University of Murcia and the Valencia Anti-Fraud Agency published in December 2022, the Spanish Armed Forces enjoy the greatest support among the state institutions in Spanish society. Therefore, the involvement of re-

Spanish citizens are the most likely to support the idea of “peace talks” with the Russian Federation among other eight countries of Central and Western Europe, “even if such negotiations assume that Ukraine loses its own territories”, which indirectly indicates the effectiveness of the systemic influence being exerted

tired officers in exercising influence over unpopular social topics serves as an effective tool in the hands of Russian-affiliated actors.

The key areas in which the engagement of retired officers in Spain was identified are undermining the supply of military and technical assistance to Ukraine, weakening Western anti-Russian sanctions, and forcing Ukraine into so-called “peace talks” with Russia.

The latest *Euroskopia poll*¹⁹⁸ dated May 2023 shows that Spanish citizens are the most likely to support the idea of such “peace talks” with Russia among eight other countries of Central and Western Europe (Spain, Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Greece, Belgium), “even if such negotiations involve Ukraine losing its own territories”, which indirectly indicates the effectiveness of the systemic implementation of the relevant impact.

NATO MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS IN RUSSIAN ACTIVE MEASURES



SOURCES

- 1 "Kremlin tries to build antiwar coalition in Germany, documents show". The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2023/04/21/germany-russia-interference-afd-wagenknecht/>
- 2 Paul Sonne, "A Russian bank gave Marine Le Pen's party a loan. Then weird things began happening". The Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/a-russian-bank-gave-marine-le-pens-party-a-loan-then-weird-things-began-happening/2018/12/27/960c7906-d320-11e8-a275-81c671a50422_story.html
- 3 "Press release on Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Grushko's meeting with leader of the La France Insoumise party Jean-Luc Melenchon". The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/1570822/
- 4 "В Іспанії відновилися масові протести проти амністії каталонських сепаратистів". Європейська правда. <https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2023/12/4/7174819/>
- 5 Manuïl Valls "La Guerra Civil y la guerra de Ucrania: lecciones del pasado para el presente". Revista de Prensa. <https://www.almendron.com/tribuna/la-guerra-civil-y-la-guerra-de-ucrania-lecciones-del-pasado-para-el-presente/>
- 6 "Medio centenar de militares franquistas retirados piden al Ejército que destituya al presidente del Gobierno". El País. <https://elpais.com/espana/2023-11-17/medio-centenar-de-militares-franquistas-retirados-piden-al-ejercito-que-destituya-al-presidente-del-gobierno.html>
- 7 "Medio centenar de militares franquistas retirados piden al Ejército que destituya al presidente del Gobierno". El País. <https://elpais.com/espana/2023-11-17/medio-centenar-de-militares-franquistas-retirados-piden-al-ejercito-que-destituya-al-presidente-del-gobierno.html>
- 8 "De derechas o izquierdas? Así califican los españoles a PP, PSOE, Podemos, Ciudadanos y VOX". Epdata.es. <https://www.epdata.es/datos/derechas-izquierdas-asi-califican-espanoles-pp-psoe-podemos-ciudadanos-vox/253>
- 9 Jack Guy, "El partido ultraderechista español Vox arremete contra los derechos de la mujer y puede ser decisivo en las elecciones del domingo". CNN España. <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/2023/07/21/partido-ultraderechista-espanol-vox-derechos-mujer-elecciones-generales-trax/>
- 10 "Pablo Iglesias prepara su candidatura a las europeas: 'Me han pedido que dé el paso'". ElDiario. <https://www.eldiario.es/politica/pablo-iglesias-juan-carlos-monedero-candidato-europeas-podemos.1.5085192.html>
- 11 Andrés P. Mohorte, "El Partido Comunista de España: de jugar un papel clave en la Transición a confluir con Podemos". Xataka. <https://www.xataka.com/magnet/el-partido-comunista-de-espana-de-jugar-un-papel-clave-en-la-transicion-a-confluir-con-podemos>
- 12 Ismael López Muñoz, "El Partido Comunista soviético, dispuesto a financiar parte de la campaña del PCE". El País. https://elpais.com/diario/1979/02/14/espana/287794818_850215.html
- 13 Офіційний сайт Комуністическа партія Російської федерації. <https://kprf.ru/rusk/134846.html>
- 14 Atlas España, "Podemos celebra con euforia sus 69 diputados". ABC. España. https://www.abc.es/espana/abci-podemos-celebra-euforia-diputados-4669698984001-20151221085000_video.html#
- 15 Paula Chouza, "Sumar sigue con cinco ministerios en el Gobierno: vicepresidencia de Trabajo, Cultura, Sanidad, Derechos Sociales y Juventud e Infancia". El País. <https://elpais.com/espana/2023-11-20/sumar-mantiene-los-cinco-ministerios-en-el-gobierno-vicepresidencia-de-trabajo-cultura-sanidad-derechos-sociales-y-juventud-e-infancia.html>
- 16 EU Parliament official website. <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/search/advanced?countryCode=ES&euPoliticalGroupBodyRefNum=427>
- 17 David Alandete, "La red de propaganda rusa se apoya en Podemos en España". ABC España. https://www.abc.es/espana/abci-propaganda-rusa-apoya-podemos-espana-201906022119_noticia.html
- 18 Пабло Іглесіас Тіппіон. Біографія. Busca. Biografías. <https://www.buscabiografias.com/biografia/verDetalle/9974/Pablo%20Iglesias%20Turron>
- 19 Daniel Iriarte, "RT en Español: How Russian Disinformation Targets 500 Million Spanish Speakers". Center for Democratic Integrity. <https://democratic-integrity.eu/>
- 20 José María Triper, "Margallo, sobre Podemos: también reciben dinero de Rusia y de Irán". elEconomista.es. <https://www.eleconomista.es/politica/noticias/6520751/03/15/2/Margallo-Podemos-recibe-tambien-dinero-de-Rusia-y-de-Iran.html>
- 21 Andrea Comas, "Podemos protesta por el uso en el Congreso de informes que lo relacionan con Moscú". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20171123/espana-rusia-partido-financiacion-1074214224.html>
- 22 "IU, Bildu y Podemos se oponen a ampliar las sanciones a Rusia en el Parlamento Europeo". Onda Cero. https://www.ondacero.es/noticias/espana/bildu-podemos-oponen-ampliar-sanciones-rusia-parlamento-europeo_20220302621f-2c2a447ec100015e0e0e.html
- 23 Gonzalo Araluce, "Podemos culpa a la OTAN de la guerra de Ucrania en vísperas de la cumbre de Madrid". Vozpopuli. <https://www.vozpopuli.com/espana/podemos-otan-ucrania-rusia.html>
- 24 "IU, Bildu y Podemos se oponen a ampliar las sanciones a Rusia en el Parlamento Europeo". Onda Cero. https://www.ondacero.es/noticias/espana/bildu-podemos-oponen-ampliar-sanciones-rusia-parlamento-europeo_20220302621f-2c2a447ec100015e0e0e.html
- 25 Carlos Cuesta, "Podemos defiende ya la rendición de Ucrania y ofrece su experiencia diplomática para alcanzar un acuerdo". LibertadDigital. <https://www.libertaddigital.com/espana/2022-09-12/podemos-defiende-ya-la-rendicion-de-ucrania-y-ofrece-su-experiencia-diplomatica-para-alcanzar-un-acuerdo-6930201/>
- 26 "Militares españoles piden a la UE que detenga el envío de armas a Ucrania y se center en un acuerdo de paz". Público. <https://www.publico.es/internacional/militares-espanoles-piden-ue-detenga-envio-armas-ucrania-y-center-acuerdo-paz.html>
- 27 "Militares españoles critican la beligerancia de la UE y piden detener el envío de armas a Kiev". RT. <https://actualidad.rt.com/actualidad/469778-militares-espanoles-critican-ue-envio-armas-ucrania>
- 28 "El consejo de Ministros nombra a los nuevos jefes del estado Mayor de la defensa, Tierra, Armada

- y aire". Ministerio de Defensa. https://www.defensa.gob.es/gabinete/notasPrensa/2008/07/notaPrensa_11712.html
- 29 "El ex JEMAD de Podemos vuelve a 'incendiar' los foros militares". El Confidencial Digital. https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/el_chivato/ex-jemad-podemos-vuelve-incendiar-foros-militares/20231010171627650280.html
- 30 "El consejo de ministros nombra a los nuevos jefes del estado mayor de la defensa, tierra, armada y aire". Ministerio de Defensa. https://www.defensa.gob.es/gabinete/notasPrensa/2008/07/notaPrensa_11712.html
- 31 "El Gobierno nombra a José Julio Rodríguez nuevo Jefe del JEMAD". El Confidencial. https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2008-07-18/el-gobierno-nombra-a-jose-julio-rodriguez-nuevo-jefe-del-jemad_202022/
- 32 "El exJEMAD de Podemos, contrario al envío de 'Leopard': 'Alargar la guerra y aumentar los riesgos de una escalada'". Europa Press. <https://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-exjemad-podemos-contrario-envio-leopard-alargar-guerra-aumentar-riesgos-escalada-20230127144520.html>
- 33 José Ignacio Domínguez. Twitter. https://twitter.com/JIDominguezFMD/status/1667808980272312324?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etfweembed%7Ctwterm%5E1667808980272312324%7Ctwgr%5E3b0ebb15b4b2ed02192458d0b8e16f3b1d720579%7Ctwcon%5E1_8ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Ftheobjective.com%2Fespana%2F2023-06-11%2Fjemad-podemos-armas-ucranias%2F
- 34 "José Julio Rodríguez: El problema catalán se soluciona políticamente". Dario de Leon. <https://www.dariodeleon.es/articulo/espana/jose-julio-rodriguez-problema-catalan-soluciona-politica-mente/201511042116391551776.html>
- 35 "Бунт в Каталонии: испанская разведка вышла на русский след". Crime. <https://crime-ua.com/node/26257>
- 36 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 37 "En el conflicto de Ucrania, España nada tiene que ganar y sí mucho que perder". Asociación por la Memoria Militar democrática. <https://www.militaresantifascistas.org/2022/01/29/en-el-conflicto-de-ucrania-espana-nada-tiene-que-ganar-y-si-mucho-que-perder/>
- 38 Pilar Casanova, "España, el nuevo portaviones de la OTAN". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20151019/espana-OTAN-manio-bras-1052632832.html>
- 39 Pilar Casanova, "España, el nuevo portaviones de la OTAN". Sputnik.
- 40 Manuel Pardo de Donlebún Montesino, "¿De verdad este gobierno lucha contra el fascismo? Manuel Pardo". Frente Antimperialista Internacionalista. <https://frenteantimperialista.org/de-verdad-este-gobierno-lucha-contra-el-fascismo-manuel-pardo/>
- 41 Manuel Pardo de Donlebún Montesino, "¿De verdad este gobierno lucha contra el fascismo? Manuel Pardo". Frente Antimperialista Internacionalista.
- 42 Víctor Ternovsky, "Es una guerra de la OTAN contra Rusia". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20220624/es-una-guerra-de-la-otan-contra-rusia-1127286211.html>
- 43 Víctor Ternovsky, "Es una guerra de la OTAN contra Rusia". Sputnik.
- 44 "Se funda la organización 'Veteranos por la paz España'. Frente Antimperialista Internacionalista. <https://frenteantimperialista.org/se-funda-la-organizacion-veteranos-por-la-paz-espana/>
- 45 "Statement on Ukraine". Courage to resist. <https://couragetoresist.org/statement-on-ukraine/>
- 46 Manuel Ruiz Robles, "Los militares republicanos del siglo XXI". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/los-militares-republicanos-del-siglo-xxi/>
- 47 Miguel López. Ministerio de Defensa de España. https://emad.defensa.gob.es/Galerias/emad/files/CV-TG_SIMON_LOPEZ.pdf
- 48 "Un militar retirado del Ejército del Aire, candidato de Podemos a la Alcaldía de Azuqueca de Henares". elDiario. https://www.eldiario.es/castilla-la-mancha/politica/militar-retirado-ejercito-aire-candidato-alcaldia-azuqueca-henares-guadajara_1_10022312.html
- 49 Miguel LópezInfoLibre. <https://www.infolibre.es/autores/miguel-lopez/>
- 50 "Las infames 'puertas giratorias' de nuestros 'patriotas' mandos superiores militares". El Español Digital. <https://www.xn--elespaoldigital-3qb.com/las-infames-puertas-giratorias-de-nuestros-patriotas-mandos-superiores-militares/>
- 51 "Militares españoles piden a la UE que detenga el envío de armas a Ucrania y se center en un acuerdo de paz". Público. <https://www.publico.es/internacional/militares-espanoles-piden-ue-detenga-envio-armas-ucrania-y-center-en-acuerdo-de-paz>
- [vicio-armas-ucrania-y-center-acuerdo-paz.html](https://www.publico.es/internacional/militares-espanoles-piden-ue-detenga-envio-armas-ucrania-y-center-en-acuerdo-de-paz)
- 52 "Un teniente coronel continuará en el Ejército español tras ser condenado por acoso sexual y laboral a una militar, a la que envió un vídeo masturbándose". LuiSegura. <https://www.luisgonzalosegura.es/un-teniente-coronel-continua-en-el-ejercito-espanol-tras-ser-condenado-por-acoso-sexual-y-laboral-a-una-militar-a-la-que-envio-un-video-masturbandose/>
- 53 Luis Gonzalo Segura, "La falacia de Ucrania: El relato occidental para defender una democracia que no existe". RT. <https://actualidad.rt.com/opinion/luis-gonzalo-segura/471338-falacia-ucrania-occidental-defender-democracia-inexistente>
- 54 Luis Gonzalo Segura, "La falacia de Ucrania: El relato occidental para defender una democracia que no existe". RT.
- 55 Luis Gonzalo Segura, "El nuevo ridículo del Ejército español en el envío de armas a Ucrania". RT. <https://actualidad.rt.com/opinion/luis-gonzalo-segura/439459-ridiculo-ejercito-espanol-envio-armas-ucrania>
- 56 Luis Gonzalo Segura, "La trampa ucraniana". Frente Antimperialista Internacionalista. <https://frenteantimperialista.org/la-trampa-ucrania-luis-gonzalo-segura/>
- 57 "Militares españoles piden a la UE que detenga el envío de armas a Ucrania y se center en un acuerdo de paz". Público.
- 58 José Ignacio Domínguez. InfoLibre. <https://www.infolibre.es/autores/jose-ignacio-dominguez/>
- 59 Gonzalo Wancha, "Nos tratan como a cobayas: claman contra el secretismo del accidente nuclear de Palomares". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20220117/nos-tratan-como-a-cobayas-claman-contra-el-secretismo-del-accidente-nuclear-de-palomares-1120400803.html>
- 60 José Ignacio Domínguez, "José Ignacio Domínguez nuevo coordinador provincial de Ecologistas en Acción por unanimidad". Almería Hoy. <https://www.almeriahoy.com/2020/09/ecologistas-en-accion-de-almeria-elige.html>
- 61 "Paremos todas la guerras, empezando por la de Ucrania". Ecologista. <https://www.ecologistasenaccion.org/285653/paremos-todas-la-guerras-empezando-por-la-de-ucrania/>
- 62 "Paremos todas la guerras, empezando por la de Ucrania". Ecologista.
- 63 "Oposición ciudadana al gasoducto MidCat por no tener en cuenta la crisis energética ni la emergencia climática". Ecologista. <https://www.ecologistasenaccion.org/208543/oposicion-ciudadana-al-gasoducto-midcat-por-no-tener-en-cuenta-la-crisis-energetica-hoy-la-emergencia-climatica/>

- 64 "Російський гібридний вплив на країни Заходу". Центр оборонних реформ. <https://ghall.com.ua/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/%D0%97%D0%B1%D1%96%D1%80%D0%BA%D0%B0-%D1%84%D1%96%D0%B-D%D0%B0%D0%BB-%D0%B4%D0%BB%D1%8F-%D0%B-F%D1%83%D0%B1%D0%BB%D1%96%D0%BA%D0%B0%D1%86%D1%96%D1%97.pdf>
- 65 Татьяна Шевчук, "Газовые причины каталанского кризиса". Guildhall. <https://ghall.com.ua/2017/10/11/gazovyie-prichiny-katalonsko-go-krizisa/>
- 66 Manuel Ruiz Robles, "NO a la guerra!". FMD. <https://www.miliciaydemocracia.org/autor/manuel-ruiz-robles/>
- 67 Quiénes Somos. FMD. <https://www.miliciaydemocracia.org/quienes-somos/>
- 68 "Autor: Manuel Ruiz Robles". Foro Milicia y Democracia. <https://www.miliciaydemocracia.org/autor/manuel-ruiz-robles/>
- 69 Manuel Ruiz Robles, "NO a la guerra!". FMD.
- 70 Qui Sommes Nous? Acer Aver. <http://acer-aver.com/qui-sommes-nous>
- 71 Floren Dimas. elDiario.es. <https://www.eldiario.es/autores/floren-dimas/>
- 72 Floren Dimas. FMD. <https://www.miliciaydemocracia.org/autor/floren-dimas/>
- 73 "Los militares demócratas frente al franquismo". La Voz de la República. <https://www.lavozdelarepublica.es/2023/02/los-militares-democratas-frente-al.html>
- 74 "La oscura realidad de los archivos militares en España: falta personal para gestionar tanta memoria". Público. <https://www.publico.es/politica/oscura-realidad-archivos-militares-espana-falta-personal-gestionar-memoria.html>
- 75 Floren Dimas, "Vuelve la pregunta: ¿cañones o mantequilla?". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/vuelve-la-pregunta-ta-canones-o-mantequilla/>
- 76 Floren Dimas, "Vuelve la pregunta: ¿cañones o mantequilla?". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/vuelve-la-pregunta-ta-canones-o-mantequilla/>
- 77 Leonid Savin. Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/autor/leonid-savin/>
- 78 Leonid Savin. Ketehon. <https://katehon.com/ru/person/leonid-savin>
- 79 "The weaponization of religion: How the Kremlin is using Christian fundamentalism to advance Moscow's agenda". День. <https://day.kyiv.ua/en/article/day-after-day-weaponization-religion-how-kremlin-using-christian-fundamentalism-advance>
- 80 Maxim Medovarov, "El pueblo contra el parlamentarismo". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/el-pueblo-contra-el-parlamentarismo/>
- 81 "Сети российского вмешательства в Испании". InfoPressa. https://www.inopressa.ru/article/02jan2018/elpais/elpais_rus.html#
- 82 Karina Makarenko, "La geopolítica de los Estados pequeños del Caribe". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/la-geopolitica-de-los-estados-pequenos-del-caribe/>
- 83 "Экс-зек Волга идет на выборы в "ЛДНР", чтобы "объединить страну". Dsnews.ua. <https://www.dsnews.ua/politics/eks-zek-volga-idet-na-vybory-l-dnr-chtoby-obedit-stranu--06042016134300>
- 84 Maxim Goldarb, "Monumentos a los nazis con dinero de Estados Unidos y de Europa?". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/monumentos-a-los-nazis-con-dinero-de-estados-unidos-y-de-europa/>
- 85 Maxim Goldarb, "Sobre la corrupción militar en Ucrania". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/sobre-la-corrupcion-militar-en-ucrania/>
- 86 Maxim Goldarb, "Cómo se está destruyendo la libertad de expresión en Ucrania". Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/como-se-esta-destruyendo-la-libertad-de-expresion-en-ucrania/>
- 87 Pablo Iglesias Turrión. Catri. Rebelión. <https://rebelion.org/autor/pablo-iglesias-turrión/>
- 88 "Militares españoles piden a la UE que detenga el envío de armas a Ucrania y se center en un acuerdo de paz". Público.
- 89 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 90 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 91 "Podemos hizo campaña y buscó socios para 'Militares con Futuro'". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/el-chau-chau/podemos-hizo-campa-na-asociarse-militares-futuro/20211221175352324247.html>
- 92 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 93 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 94 Pascual Serrano, "Soldados neonazis en la Otan". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20210330/soldados-neonazis-en-la-otan-1110596130.html>
- 95 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 96 "Asociación 'Tercios Viejos españoles'". Tercios Viejos españoles. <https://asociacionterciosviejos.com/>
- 97 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 98 Aurelio Ruiz Enebral, "Podemos exhibe su vinculación con la asociación 'Militares con Futuro', señalada por intento de subversión". ECD. <https://www.elconfidencialdigital.com/articulo/defensa/podemos-exhibe-vinculacion-asociacion-militares-futuro-senalada-intento-subversion/20210906192603273155.html>
- 99 Marisa Cruz, "Pedro Pitarch: 'Los militares vemos que ni PP ni PSOE han combatido al independentismo'". EM. <https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2019/03/20/5c9157d42efa0c90d8b45e4.html>
- 100 Marisa Cruz, "Pedro Pitarch: 'Los militares vemos que ni PP ni PSOE han combatido al independentismo'". EM.
- 101 Fulgencio Coll Bucher. Elecciones. <https://elecciones.cope.es/detalle-candidato/Fulgencio-Coll-Bucher/158>
- 102 "Un general retirado encabeza lista de Vox por Cádiz al Congreso". Público. <https://www.publico.es/politica/agustin-rosety-fernandez-castro-general-retirado-encabeza-lista-vox-cadiz-congreso.html>

- 103 Luis Carlos Llera. "Antonio Budiño Carballo: "No veo series, tengo canales de pago para ver fútbol"". La voz de Galicia. <https://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/elecciones-2020/2019/11/06/antonio-budino-carballo-veo-series-canales-pago-ver-futbol/00031573076054704943294.html>
- 104 "General Asarta, ex jefe de FINUL: 'Ser jefe de la misión y comandante de la Fuerza te llena completamente'". Ejército de tierra. <https://ejercito.defensa.gob.es/va/actualidad/2012/01/1391.html>
- 105 "Vox tira de generales retirados para sus listas, algunos abiertamente franquistas". Público. <https://www.publico.es/espaa/elecciones-vox-tira-generales-retirados-listas-abiertamente-franquistas.html>
- 106 "Vox escenifica que su líder en la provincia de Alicante es el teniente general Manuel Mestre". El Español. https://www.elespanol.com/alicante/20230123/vox-escenifica-provincia-alicante-teniente-manuel-mestre/735176665_0.html
- 107 "Vox se estrenará en el Parlamento navarro presidiendo la mesa de edad con un militar retirado". Naiz. <https://www.naiz.eus/es/info/noticia/20230530/el-parlamentario-de-vox-emilio-jimenez-presidira-la-constitucion-del-parlamento-navarro>
- 108 Irina Marzo, "Vox presenta su candidatura al 28M para 'devolver la ilusión a Córdoba' y darle 'el impulso que merece'". Córdoba. <https://www.diariocordoba.com/cordoba-ciudad/2023/04/23/vox-presenta-candidatura-28m-devolver-86381923.html>
- 109 "Quién es quién en la lista de Vox a las elecciones municipales en Córdoba capital". Diare Córdoba. <https://www.diariocordoba.com/elecciones/municipales/2023/04/24/lista-vox-elecciones-municipales-cordoba-86414719.html>
- 110 Rafa Martínez, "¿Son las Fuerzas Armadas de extrema derecha?". El Periódico. <https://www.elperiodico.com/es/opinion/20190331/articulo-opinion-son-fuerzas-armadas-extrema-derecha-rafa-martinez-7383657>
- 111 "Abascal relaciona a Putin con la izquierda y muchos le recuerdan este tuit de 2015". Huffington Post. https://www.huffingtonpost.es/entry/abascal-relaciona-a-putin-con-la-izquierda-y-muchos-le-recuerdan-este-tuit-de-2015-es_621a7a89e4b03d0c8039aedc.html
- 112 Cristina Pita, "Una red de ultraderecha une a Vox con los oligarcas rusos de Putin a través de HazteOir y CitizenGo". El Español. https://www.elespanol.com/reportajes/20220319/ultraderecha-vox-oligarcas-putin-traves-hazteoir-citizen-go/658184665_0.html
- 113 Cristina Pita, "Una red de ultraderecha une a Vox con los oligarcas rusos de Putin a través de HazteOir y CitizenGo". El Español.
- 114 "Религия – еще одно оружие России". Аргумент. <https://argumentua.com/stati/religiya-es-hche-odno-oruzhie-rossii>
- 115 "Немецкого депутата раскрыли на связях с финансистом протестов из Кремля". Guildhall. <https://ghall.com.ua/2022/12/04/hemetsko-go-deputata-raskryli-na-svyazyah-s-finansistom-protostov-iz-kremlya/>
- 116 Cristina Pita, "Una red de ultraderecha une a Vox con los oligarcas rusos de Putin a través de HazteOir y CitizenGo". El Español.
- 117 Carlos Enrique Bayo, "Grandes fortunas y altos ejecutivos españoles financiaron el nacimiento de Vox a partir del grupo ultracatólico HazteOir". Público. <https://www.publico.es/politica/exclusiva-wikileaks-grandes-fortunas-altos-ejecutivos-espanoles-financiaron-nacimiento-vox-partir-grupo-ultracatolico-hazte-oir.html>
- 118 Jesús Basteante, "HazteOir 'rompe' con Vox por no exigir la derogación de las leyes LGBTI en Murcia y Madrid". Religión Digital. https://www.religiondigital.org/espaa/HazteOir-Vox-LGBTI-Murcia-Madrid-losantos-ciudadanos-pp-gays-ultraderecha-yunque_0_2145385463.html
- 119 "Spanish populist party leader attacked with rocks during Madrid speech". Katehon. <https://katehon.com/en/news/spanish-populist-party-leader-attacked-rocks-during-madrid-speech>
- 120 Adam Ramsay, Claire Provost, "Revealed: the Trump-linked 'Super PAC' working behind the scenes to drive Europe's voters to the far Right". Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/revealed-the-trump-linked-super-pac-working-behind-the-scenes-to-drive-europes-voters-to-the-far-right/>
- 121 Adam Ramsay, Claire Provost, "Revealed: the Trump-linked 'Super PAC' working behind the scenes to drive Europe's voters to the far Right". Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/revealed-the-trump-linked-super-pac-working-behind-the-scenes-to-drive-europes-voters-to-the-far-right/>
- 122 "Розкриті імена росіянь, причетних до фінансування італійської партії 'Ліра Півночі'". РБК-Україна. <https://www.rbc.ua/ukr/news/raskryty-imena-rossiyan-pri-chastyni-italiyskoy-partii-lira-pivnochi/>
- 123 Marine Matsumura, "Madrid: the Far-Right Imbroglia". Latest. <https://mjps.ssmu.ca/2022/02/18/madrid-the-far-right-imbroglio/>
- 124 Ramón González Ferriz, "¿Se ha vuelto Vox europeísta a su pesar?". El Confidencial. https://blogs.elconfidencial.com/espaa/tribuna/2023-11-26/vox-europeista-a-su-pesar_3781793/
- 125 Bernardo de Miguel, "Una coalición con Vox daría a los gobiernos euroescépticos el peso necesario para paralizar la UE". Agenta Publica. <https://agendapublica.elpais.com/noticia/18742/coalicion-con-vox-daria-gobiernos-euroescpticos-peso-necesario-paralizar-ue>
- 126 Xabier Deop, "El programa de Vox es incompatible con la UE". El Diario.es. https://www.eldiario.es/opinion/tribuna-abierta/programa-vox-incompatible-ue_129_10361947.html
- 127 Cristina Vázquez, "Los españoles perciben a los políticos como el grupo de población más corrupto, según una encuesta". El País. <https://elpais.com/espaa/comunidad-valenciana/2022-12-12/los-espanoles-perciben-a-los-politicos-como-el-grupo-de-poblacion-mas-corrupto-segun-una-encuesta.html#>
- 128 "La telenovela sobre el liderazgo de Ucrania continúa en ebullición". Geostrategia.es. <https://geoestrategia.es/>
- 129 Juan Antonio Aguilar. Геополитика.ru. <https://www.geopolitika.ru/es/person/juan-antonio-aguilar>
- 130 "Alexander Dugin and the 'Eurasian' System: Philosophy and Strategy". Strategics. <https://strategics.com/en/analyses/alexander-dugin-and-the-eurasian-system-philosophy-and-strategy>
- 131 Javier Galán Caballerojosé, Manuel Abad Liñán, "La propaganda rusa crea webs para la ultraderecha española". El País. https://elpais.com/politica/2017/12/29/actualidad/1514571739_505859.html
- 132 Quienes Somos. Geostrategia. <https://geoestrategia.es/quienes-somos>
- 133 Данило Хмільник, "Незаконні візити іноземних громадян на території окупованого Криму в лютому-травні 2018. Підсумки моніторингу". Майдан закордонних справ. <https://www.mfaua.org/uk/projects/hezakonni-vizyty-inozemnykh-hromadian-na-terytorii-okupovano-ho-krymu-v-liutomu-travni-2018-pidsumky-monitoryngu>

- 134 "Іноземні "спостерігачі" за незаконними виборами на Херсонщині. Хто вони?". ІРС-Південь. <https://ipc.org.ua/uk/2023/09/inozemni-sposterigachi-za-nezakonnymy-vyboramy-na-heronshhy-ni-hto-vony/>
- 135 Victoria, "Entrevista con Alexander Dugin: 'Nueva Rusia es mucho más que Rusia, es el mundo multipolar, es la resistencia contra el Nuevo Orden Mundial'". Geoestrategia. <https://geoestrategia.es/11799-entrevista-con-alexander-dugin-nueva-rusia-es-mucho-mas-que-rusia-es-el-mundo-multipolar-es-la-resistencia-contra-el-nuevo-orden-mundial>
- 136 Armando Robles, "Presentados en Madrid dos libros de Aleksander Dugin: 'Fundamentos de Geopolítica' y 'Platonismo político', ya disponibles para leer en español". Alerta Digital. <https://www.alertadigital.com/2023/03/13/presentados-en-madrid-dos-libros-de-aleksander-dugin-fundamentos-de-geopolitica-y-platonismo-politico-ya-disponibles-para-leer-en-espanol/>
- 137 "La Conferencia Mundial sobre la Multipolaridad reunió a representantes de 63 países. La bandera está alzada... Algunos discursos". Geoestrategia. <https://geoestrategia.es/noticia/40596/ultimas-noticias/la-conferencia-mundial-sobre-la-multipolaridad-reunion-a-representantes-de-63-paises-la-bandera-esta-alzada-algunos-discursos.html>
- 138 "La Conferencia Mundial sobre la Multipolaridad reunió a representantes de 63 países. La bandera está alzada... Algunos discursos". Geoestrategia.
- 139 "Crisis marroquí en clave algo más geopolítica". Geoestrategia. <https://geoestrategia.es/noticia/34339/geoestrategia/crisis-marroqui-en-clave-algo-mas-geopolitica.html>
- 140 "El teniente general Pedro Pitarch nombrado jefe de la fuerza terrestre". Ministerio de Defensa. https://www.defensa.gob.es/gabinete/notasPrensa/2006/01/notaPrensa_10858.html
- 141 "EUROCORPS: Symbol of European Will in the European Security and Defense Policy". EU parliament website. <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/175566/20080507AT-T28367EN.pdf>
- 142 Pedro Pitarch, "Al Fido Del 20d". Geopolitika.ru. <https://www.geopolitika.ru/es/article/al-fido-del-20d>
- 143 "La OTAN afronta obstáculos logísticos en su despliegue en Europa Oriental". RT. <https://actualidad.rt.com/video/229404-otan-despliegue-europa-oriental>
- 144 "Estados Unidos e Israel están haciendo estallar Oriente Próximo para ocultar su desastrosa derrota en Gaza. Análisis". Geoestrategia. <https://geoestrategia.es/>
- 145 Enrique Andrés Pretel, Ángel Villarino, "Los pronósticos de dos generales españoles sobre lo que viene en Ucrania". El Confidencial. https://www.elconfidencial.com/mundo/2022-03-03/pronosticos-generales-espanoles-futuro-ucrania_3385366/
- 146 Pedro Pitarch, "Putin, ese tipo con suerte". El Blog de Pedro Pitarch. <https://elblogdepitarch.blogspot.com/>
- 147 "Decenas de militares exigen mejoras en salarios para dignificar la profesión". El Mundo. <https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2022/06/25/62b6fdacfc-6c83e4648b45eb.html>
- 148 Pedro Pitarch, "Enrarecimiento de la atmósfera bélica". ABC. Internacional. <https://www.abc.es/internacional/enrarecimiento-atmosfera-belica-20230201174328-nt.html>
- 149 Pedro Pitarch, "Del discurso atómico". El Blog de Pedro Pitarch. <https://elblogdepitarch.blogspot.com/2022/04/del-discurso-atómico.html>
- 150 Víctor García Guerrero, "Entrevista en TVE | Guerra en Ucrania Pedro Pitarch, teniente general: 'Rusia tiene prisa por romper el frente del Donbás'". RTVE. <https://www.rtve.es/noticias/20230224/entrevista-teniente-general-pitarch-rusia-frente-donbas/2427406.shtml>
- 151 "Resultados de búsqueda para Pedro Pitarch". Asociación De Militares Españoles. <https://ame1.org.es/?s=Pedro+Pitarch>
- 152 Pedro Pitarch, "Crece el rechazo al apoyo militar a Ucrania". Asociación De Militares Españoles. <https://ame1.org.es/crece-el-rechazo-al-apoyo-militar-a-ucrania-pedro-pitarch/>
- 153 "Dos Estados y dos portaaviones". Geoestrategia. <https://geoestrategia.es/noticia/41770/opinion/dos-estados-y-dos-por-taaviones.html>
- 154 Enrique Vega Fernández. Biografía. ICEX. <https://www.newspanishbooks.com/author/enrique-vega-fernandez>
- 155 "Carta abierta al general Pitarch". AME. <https://ame1.org.es/carta-abierta-al-general-pitarch/>
- 156 Enrique Vega Fernández. Gobierno de España. <https://www.newspanishbooks.com/author/enrique-vega-fernandez>
- 157 Enrique Vega Fernández, "Consideraciones sobre los Leopard". FMD. <https://www.miliciaydemocracia.org/consideraciones-sobre-los-leopard/>
- 158 Enrique Vega Fernández, "Todo lo que no te han contado sobre el envío de los Leopard a Ucrania". FMD. <https://www.miliciaydemocracia.org/todo-lo-que-no-te-han-contado-sobre-el-envio-de-los-leopard-a-ucrania/>
- 159 Enrique Vega Fernández, "Sabotajes en los Nord Stream". InfoLibre. https://www.infolibre.es/opinion/blogs/foro-milicia-democracia/sabotajes-nord-stream-rusia-ucrania_132_1340861.html
- 160 "Valentia Forum, con vínculos franquistas, dará una conferencia en instalaciones militares ante la permisividad de Defensa". Asociación por la Memoria Militar Democrática. <https://www.militaresantifascistas.org/2021/09/24/valentia-forum-con-vinculos-franquistas-dara-una-conferencia-en-instalaciones-militares-ante-la-permisividad-de-defensa/>
- 161 Pilar Casanova, "España, el nuevo portaviones de la OTAN". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20151019/espana-OTAN-manio-bras-1052632832.html>
- 162 "En el conflicto de Ucrania, España nada tiene que ganar y sí mucho que perder". Nueva Tribuna. <https://www.nueva-tribuna.es/articulo/actualidad/conflicto-ucrania-espana-na-da-tiene-que-ganar-mucho-que-perder/20220126101916194851.html>
- 163 Quienes somos. Geoestrategia. <https://geoestrategia.es/quienes-somos>
- 164 José Antonio Crespo-Francés. Biografía. Actas. <https://www.actashistoria.com/autor.php?go=2&idautor=1280>
- 165 José Antonio Crespo-Francés. "Insisto en que la guerra en Ucrania ni nos va ni nos viene. Por José Crespo". La Paseata. <https://lapaseata.net/2022/02/24/la-guerra-en-ucrania-ni-nos-va-no-nos-viene/>
- 166 Carlos de Castillo. "Militares franquistas integran un órgano rector de Defensa". Público. <https://www.publico.es/sociedad/militares-franquistas-integran-organo-rector-defensa.html>
- 167 José Antonio Crespo-Francés, "Víctimas y Verdugos". La Paseata. <https://ame1.org.es/victimas-y-verdugos/>
- 168 Presentación del libro. Telegram "La Falange". <https://t.me/LaFalangeOficial/858>
- 169 Quienes somos. Geoestrategia.
- 170 Salvador Fontenla Ballesta. Acoziación. Asociación Española de Militares Escritores. <https://militaresescritores.es/quienes-somos-como-asociarse/>
- 171 Manual escolar de cultura de defensa para estudiantes de la E.S.O. Dialnet. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=721412>

- 172 Javier Galán Caballero José, Manuel Abad Liñán, "Redes de ingerência russa alimentam extrema-direita na Europa". El País. https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2017/12/29/internacional/1514571739_505859.html
- 173 Paolo Mastrolilli, Gianluca Paolucci. "A sanctioned Russian oligarch among Salvini's contacts". La Stampa. <https://www.lastampa.it/esteri/la-stampa-in-english/2019/07/12/news/a-sanctioned-russian-oligarch-among-salvini-s-contacts-1.36981458/>
- 174 "Anders rasmussen dice que la otan rearmará a Ucrania con "armas letales"". Geopolitika.ru. <https://www.geopolitika.ru/es/news/anders-rasmusen-dice-que-la-otan-rearmara-ucrania-con-armas-letales?page=50>
- 175 Miguel Pérez Pichel, "Una postura más neutral en Ucrania sería más beneficiosa para España". El Debate. <https://www.eldebate.com/internacional/20220603/no-se-que-le-perdido-espana-guerra-ucrania-afirma-general-fontenla.html>
- 176 Miguel Pérez Pichel, "Una postura más neutral en Ucrania sería más beneficiosa para España". El Debate.
- 177 "Defensa censura el artículo de un General por sus críticas a la misión de España y la OTAN en Afganistán". Asociación Española de Militares Escritores. <https://amel.org.es/defensa-censura-el-articulo-de-un-general-por-sus-criticas-a-la-mision-de-espana-y-la-otan-en-afghanistan/>
- 178 Salvador Fontenla Ballesta, "La defensa de Ceuta, Melilla y de las Islas y Peñones del Estrecho". Periodista Digital. <https://www.periodistadigital.com/politica/opinion/20211215/salvador-fontenla-ballesta-defensa-ceuta-melilla-is-las-penones-estrecho-noticia-689404547712/>
- 179 María Cristina Henríquez Jiménez, "Búsqueda... Las Capacidades Militares De La Unión Europea por Salvador Fontenla Ballesta". DocPlayer.es. https://docplayer.es/73519368-Las-capacidades-militares-de-la-un-ion-europea-por-salvador-fontenla-ballesta.html#google_vignette
- 180 Anabel Díez, Javier Casqueiro, "El candidato a director de la Seguridad Nacional es un defensor de Rusia". El País. https://elpais.com/politica/2018/06/07/actualidad/1528372493_075633.html
- 181 Instituto de Censores jurados de Cuentas de España. Pedro Baños Bajo. <https://www.icjce.es/adjuntos/p-banos.pdf>
- 182 Alberto López Gironde, "Cuando Estados Unidos toca el silbato, todos vamos detrás, como pasó en Afganistán". Tiempo. <https://www.tiempoar.com.ar/mundo/pedro-banos-cuando-estados-unidos-toca-el-silbato-todos-vamos-detras-como-paso-en-afghanistan/>
- 183 "Militar español llama a normalizar las relaciones con Rusia". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20151124/Militar-espanol-llama-a-normalizar-relaciones-con-Rusia-1054060582.html>
- 184 Pedro Baños. Статті. Vatnik Soup. <https://vatniksoup.com/en/soups/116/>
- 185 Анастасія Одинцова, "Годовщина катастрофы МН17. Как Россия цинично лжет и создает фейки, пытаясь избежать ответственности". New Voice. <https://nv.ua/world/geopolitics/kak-rossiya-cinichno-sozdaet-feyki-o-katastrofe-boinga-mh17-2014-go-da-poslednie-novosti-50099744.html>
- 186 "El candidato a director de la Seguridad Nacional es un defensor de Rusia". El País. https://elpais.com/politica/2018/06/07/actualidad/1528372493_075633.html
- 187 "Integrity Initiative is the biggest story of 2018 – but not because of anything it did". RT. <https://www.rt.com/news/447256-integrity-initiative-psyops-establishment-media/>
- 188 Víctor Ternovsky, "Brutal injerencia en seguridad nacional: España cae víctima de manipulación británica". Sputnik. <https://sputniknews.lat/20181226/madrid-londres-relaciones-moscu-1084393925.html>
- 189 Pedro Baños. Статті. Vatnik Soup.
- 190 "La guerra de Ucrania | Pedro Baños: "Las sanciones a Rusia han sido como un búmeran". YouTube channel "Canal26". <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aKsQlOWDYgg>
- 191 Pedro Baños, "Conspiraciones y ultraderecha: de Pedro Baños a Hazte Oír". Lamarea. <https://www.lamarea.com/2021/08/10/conspiraciones-y-ultraderecha-de-pedro-banos-a-hazte-oir/>
- 192 Ассоциация ОНКА. Геополитика.ru. <https://www.geopolitika.ru/es/person/ohka>
- 193 "Информационно-аналитический портал "ГЕОПОЛИТИКА"". НАЗК. <https://sanctions.nazk.gov.ua/ru/sanction-company/252/>
- 194 Victor Lenore. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/lenore1789/status/1201851971831025664>
- 195 Eduardo Buxens. "Coronel Pedro Baños: "Aportar armamento a Ucrania no es el camino adecuado"". Diario de Navarra. <https://www.diariodenavarra.es/noticias/navarra/2022/04/23/coronel-pedro-banos-apor-tar-armamento-ucrania-no-el-camino-adecuado-524975-300.html>
- 196 Pedro Baños. "Cuando Estados Unidos toca el silbato, todos vamos detrás, como pasó en Afganistán". Tiempo. <https://www.tiempoar.com.ar/mundo/pedro-banos-cuando-estados-unidos-toca-el-silbato-todos-vamos-detras-como-paso-en-afghanistan/>
- 197 Cristina Vázquez, "Los españoles perciben a los políticos como el grupo de población más corrupto, según una encuesta". El País. <https://elpais.com/espana/comunidad-valenciana/2022-12-12/los-espanoles-perciben-a-los-politicos-como-el-grupo-de-poblacion-mas-corrupto-segun-una-encuesta.html>
- 198 "Un estudio europeo sitúa a los españoles como los más proclives a negociar con Rusia la paz". ServiMedia. <https://www.servimedia.es/noticias/estudio-europeo-situa-espanoles-como-mas-proclives-negociar-rusia-paz-ucrania/3696896>