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FINANCING THE MILITARISATION AND THE BORDER WAR IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

2022 Armed Banks Ranking

Authors: Gemma Amorós, Edu Aragón

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Centre Delàs d'Estudis per la Pau
Bisbe Laguarda, 4
08001 Barcelona
T. 93 441 19 47
www.centredelas.org
info@centredelas.org

Authors: Gemma Amorós, Edu Aragón

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The European Union has continued to increase the control over the people who enter and leave its borders, making its frontiers more impenetrable by intensifying their physical and mental militarization. Concurrently, these last few years there has been an emphasis on what we have badly named “the refugee crisis”: where a lot of people migrate from their country of origin due to social and armed conflicts to European borders where they find a fortress that violates their rights and revictimizes them again. Some of these people lose their lives during the journey through different countries to reach our borders, some lose theirs trying to cross them and some die on the Mediterranean Sea due to the passivity and negligence of the European Union..

In this context, this report provides relevant information on the financing behind the militarisation of and border war in the Mediterranean region. It includes the following highlights:

- During 2011-2021 a total of 37 countries around the world contributed to the militarisation of the Mediterranean by exporting military equipment. The European Union, the United States and Russia represent 91% of the total transaction volume, mainly destined for Southern Mediterranean countries. Despite the widespread trend of reducing military arsenals, countries continue to renew their military equipment and increase their intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities, allowing for greater interoperability between units and armies.

- During the 2019-2021 period, a total of 24 countries exported military equipment to the Mediterranean in 346 arms transactions. Egypt has considerably increased its import volumes in recent years, with Israel lagging behind in second place. The main arms export categories by volume are: Aircraft (47%), Vessels (22%), Armoured Vehicles (13%) and Missiles (11%).

- A total of 125 companies around the world produced the equipment exported to Mediterranean countries. We have information about the financing of 14 of these companies: Airbus, BAE Systems, Boeing, Elbit Systems, Fincantieri, General Dynamics, Honeywell, L3Harris, Leonardo, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon Technologies, Textron and Thales Group. These and their subsidiaries and consortia account for 164 transactions, representing 47% of all exports during the 2019-2021 period.

- Since 2019, ATOS, Eulen, Indra and Thales received a total of 56 contracts to militarise Spain's Southern Border, through the management of Temporary Immigrant Accommodation Centres (Centros de Estancia Temporal para Inmigrantes - CETI), the development and maintenance of the Integral System of External Surveillance (Sistema Integral de Vigilancia Exterior - SIVE), the construction and maintenance of Ceuta and Melilla border perimeters and the maintenance of the Beni-Enzar customs facility in Melilla.

- Through 4,679 financial operations, a total of 44 financial institutions based in Spain have allocated over $14.308 billion to financing 12 arms companies involved in the militarisation of Mediterranean borders and states between 2020 and 2022.

- Banco Santander and BBVA allocated most funds over the period studied, at $4.985 and $4.752 billion respectively. This represents over 68% of the total amount of transactions carried out by Spain's Armed Banks. The other commercial banks in Spain's Top 5 are CaixaBank and Banco Sabadell, but they represent significantly lower levels of financing, at $182 million and $95 million respectively.

- The maintenance contractors employed by the Spanish government to militarise spaces such as the Southern Border (where human rights organisations have reported countless violations of immigrant's human rights) deserve particular attention. Accenture, Atos, Grupo Eulen and Indra received over $500 million in total: Eulen $209 million, Accenture $176 million, Atos $140 million and Indra over $5 million.

- The global Armed Banks ranking includes major institutional investors, financial entities and insurance companies, and is led by US based companies. They are followed by European institutions including Deutsche Bank, BNP Paribas, Crédit Agricole and Barclays. Banco Santander and BBVA come in positions 38 and 39 respectively, and are the only two Spanish financial entities in this global ranking.

This report shows how Spanish banks finance the border war in the Mediterranean. Everything suggests that military, security and control activities could not be carried out on Spain's Southern Border without their support. These actions have been widely documented as causing the death of thousands of people every year. The main Spanish banks, especially BBVA and Banco Santander, are therefore jointly responsible for one of the most flagrant tragedies of our times. And, if we are their clients, it's highly likely that they do so with our money.

INTRODUCTION

This report is part of the long term analysis of the relationship between banks and arms companies carried out by Centre Delàs for Peace Studies. We use the term *Armed Banks* to refer to banks that finance and, therefore, strengthen the arms industry. This controversial relationship may take different forms, for example: shareholding, export finance, issuing bonds and promissory notes, establishing investment funds and authorising loans and credit lines.

Every year we expand and update the International Armed Banking Database with new information on how the world's leading arms companies are financed. Having access to this data allows us to provide a wide variety of analyses with different focuses.[1] Here, our objective is to extend our knowledge on how companies contributing to the militarisation of Mediterranean countries are financed, paying particular attention to companies that may not manufacture conventional weapons but play a key role in the militarisation of EU borders, specifically Spain's Southern Border.

This commitment to militarise border crossing control, based on the use of information and communication technologies, data collection and analysis, and artificial intelligence, and the treatment of migrants as a

1. The reports on Spain's Armed Banks published to date that can be read online in Spanish, Catalan and English are: Dirty businesses: Spanish Banks that Finance Arms Producers (2011), La banca armada. Inversiones explosivas de bancos y cajas (The Armed Bank. Explosive Investments by Commercial and Savings Banks - 2012), which gave rise to the publication of the book Banca Armada vs Banca Ética (Armed Banking vs. Ethical Banking - 2013), Inversiones que son la bomba. Negocios de la banca con empresas españolas de armamento (Investments that Bomb - Banking with Spanish Arms Companies - 2012) Evolución de la Banca Armada en España (Changes in Armed Banks in Spain - 2013) Los bancos que invierten en armas. Actualización de la financiación de armamento nuclear, de bombas de racimo y de las principales industrias militares españolas (2011-2016). (Banks that Invest in Arms: Recent Developments in Financing Nuclear Weapons, Clusmer Bombs and the Main Spanish Military Industries (2011-2016) published in 2016) De la Banca Armada a la Banca Ética. Hacia una coherencia de políticas y una cultura de paz. (From Armed Banks to Ethical Banks: Towards Coherent Policies and a Culture of Peace. The Case of Barcelona City Council - 2018) De la Banca Armada a la Banca Ética. El caso de la Generalitat Valenciana (2018), (From Armed Banks to Ethical Banks: Towards Coherent Policies and a Culture of Peace. The Case of Barcelona City Council - 2018) From Armed Banks to Ethical Banks: The Case of the Government of Valencia (2018), Banca Armada en España 2019 (Armed Banks in Spain 2019) and Aseguradoras y fondos de pensiones que financian empresas de armas. Actualización de la Banca Armada en España 2020 (Insurance Companies and Pension Funds that Finance Arms Companies: Updates on Spain's Armed Banks 2020), Financiación de las armas de la guerra de Yemen (Financing the Weapons of the Yemen War (2021).

threat to national security, is what we call the *border war*[2]. While it is not an academic or widely used term, it serves to describe a situation that is increasingly perceived as an established element of the border policy promoted by Fortress Europe.

In order to carry out this research, the first chapter includes an update of the Mediterranean militarisation indicators analysed in previous reports. The categories of equipment exported from all around the world to the 21 countries in the Mediterranean region during the 2011-2021 period, have been analysed comparing the volume of military arsenals.[3] Data about exports was acquired from the SIPRI Arms Transfers database while arsenal information was obtained from the Military Balance published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).[4]

SIPRI data was also used in the second chapter, which provides exhaustive analysis of all the international transfers authorised and/or carried out in the Mediterranean from 2019-2021, with the aim of focusing the analysis on the present and providing concrete data. Identifying the companies manufacturing the exported equipment was key to create a list of all the companies involved in the production of equipment intended to feed Mediterranean arsenals. With the aim to be more detailed, we then identified which of these companies we could get financial information from, since this is the aim of this report: identifying which banks are facilitating the region's militarization that leads to people risking their lives to cross the borders.

Once all this work was completed, the second chapter was able to focus on providing contextual information about the companies whose financing information was available, accurately exposing all the equipment they transferred during the period studied. This analysis includes the name of the weapons, their description, the year in which the order was placed, the year in which the transfer was carried out or planned, and the estimated number of exports authorised and carried out.

The third chapter establishes the links between the arms companies mentioned and the banks that finance them, both internationally and in Spain. It does so by using detailed analysis of the type of financial relationship each bank has established with each arms and/or border militarisation companies, as well as the amount of money transferred in each transaction.

The final section considers all the research carried out in this study and sets out a Recommendations and Conclusions section to highlight the most significant findings in all three chapters of this report.

We hope this study can provide information and make readers reflect on the security model supported by the Border War and the increasing militarisation of our states.

2. The definition and initial use of this term can be found in the report by the Centre Delàs, TNI and Stop Wapenhandel: Informe: Guerras de frontera. Los fabricantes y vendedores de armas que se benefician de la tragedia de los refugiados en Europa. Border Wars: The Arms Dealers Profiting from Europe's Refugee Tragedy
3. Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, occupied Palestinian territory, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey (Southern Mediterranean); Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Croatia, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Montenegro, Slovenia and Spain, (Northern Mediterranean).
4. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers

1. THE EVOLUTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN

This first chapter will analyse different factors that can help us understand where the Mediterranean countries' efforts are focused in terms of military and security issues. We started by analysing data from the last decade (from 2011 to 2021) to demonstrate the evolution of militarisation and arms in the region.[5] We will then focus on the 2019-2021 period in order to examine the present situation, analysing the latest export data available from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Its database on international arms transfers is our starting point here, allowing us to consider all global exports to the 21 countries that share the Mediterranean Sea.[6]

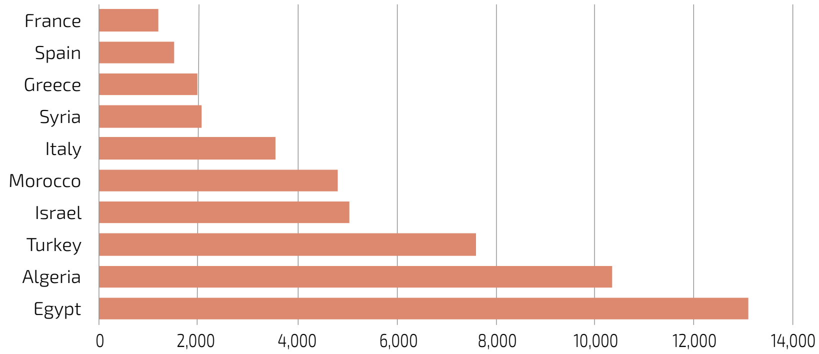
5. This chapter is an update to the Working Paper published by the Centre Delàs in 2020: The Mediterranean, A Decade of Military Policies, https://centredelas.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/wp2003_eng_1903.pdf
6. https://www.sipri.org/databases/armstransfers

1.1 THE EVOLUTION OF ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN

A total of 37 countries around the world have exported military equipment to Mediterranean countries over the last decade. Using the TIV volume proposed by SIPRI and the information from the international arms transfer database as a reference, we can see that 29 countries from around the world are responsible for exports to Southern Mediterranean countries, which represents 85% of the exports[7]. Additionally, 24 countries exported the remaining 15% to the Northern Mediterranean region.

7. TIV is the acronym for *Trend Indicator Value*, an indicator created by the SIPRI to make it easier to compare exported arms. It is based on a unique system that measures the volume of international transfers of military equipment. More information about the method used is available here: https://sipri.org/databases/armstransfers/sources-and-methods#TIV-tables

Figure 1. Main import nations (2011-2021)



Source: Own production based on the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database

The volume is expressed in TIV

The two main countries selling these weapons are the United States of America and Russia, who respectively represent 31% and 26% of the total exports to the Mediterranean. However, if we total all the transactions by EU member states, it becomes the primary exporter of arms to its Mediterranean neighbours, with 33% of sales. These three powers (the USA, Russia and the EU), are therefore responsible for 91% of the volume of arms exports to this region over the past decade.

Egypt is their main buyer, receiving 25% of the total imports over the entire period. It is closely followed by Algeria (20%), Turkey (15%), Israel (10%) and Morocco (9%). These five countries, therefore, share almost all of the imports to the Southern Mediterranean.

In terms of the Northern Mediterranean countries, Italy receives 7% of the total exports, followed by Greece and Spain, who both receive 3%, and France, which receives 2%. It is worth mentioning that these four countries receive 95% of all the sales made to the Northern Mediterranean, although as we noted earlier, sales to this region only represent 15% of the whole Mediterranean volume.

1.2 THE EVOLUTION OF THE MILITARY ARSENALS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

This section uses data from The Military Balance, allowing us to compare the volume of arsenals in 2011 and 2021. The Northern and Southern Mediterranean countries are home to distinct trends. However, if we add the data from all the countries studied, we can see a downward trend in the equipment received, despite the fact that some countries, especially in the Southern Mediterranean, have significantly increased their military equipment.

This trend, also observed in the increasingly reduced size of the armies, can be explained by the changing military model seen in recent years which aims to achieve greater interoperability and use new technologies that show more effective and efficient results with smaller numbers of military personnel and equipment.

The following table shows the total number of units accounted for in both years, except in the Air Launched Missiles and Bombs categories, where the numbers correspond to the number of countries that report this weapon.

This comparison is based on the little data available for Syria, the occupied Palestinian territories, Lebanon and Libya. However, we are well aware that the situation in these countries is complex due to their recent armed conflicts which makes the data on these countries' arsenals very unreliable, as they are surely biased. We will, therefore, not go into detail in these four cases.

Turkey stands out among the other Southern Mediterranean countries, as it has been supplied with various equipment, including transport and patrol cars, of which it now has 1,800 units more than in 2011, as well as diverse armoured maintenance and engineering vehicles, patrol boats and combat helicopters. Algeria has also increased its military arsenal in all categories of armoured vehicles, vessels, aircraft and helicopters, those that carry out surveillance and those with combat capabilities. Egypt recently invested in renewing its fleet of armoured vehicles too (surely partly thanks to national production); and mainly imported patrol and combat vessels, following the trend of increased naval capabilities that has been a constant since 2014. It also acquired new submarines and all kinds of aircraft, although its acquisition of combat helicopters is most notable. Morocco has also notably increased its military arsenal with new armoured vehicles of all types, frigates, artillery and

Table 1. Evolution of military arsenals in the Mediterranean (2011-2021)

CATEGORIES		2011 TOTAL	2021 TOTAL
	Satellites	19	37
LAND	Armoured Fighting Vehicles	29,118	21,884
LAND	Armoured Vehicles: Transport, Patrol	26,174	24,171
LAND	Engineering & Maintenance Vehicles	1,393	1,715
LAND	Anti-Tank/Anti-Infrastructure missiles	26,958	3,345
LAND	Artillery	30,946	24,669
LAND	Surface-To-Surface Missiles	143	54
LAND	Radars	156	0
SEA	Submarines	59	60
SEA	Principal Surface Combatants	101	98
SEA	Patrol And Coastal Combatants	1,322	1,199
SEA	Mine Warfare / Countermeasures	98	75
SEA	Amphibious Ships	184	183
SEA	Logistics And Support Ships	442	244
AIR	Combat Aircrafts	2,977	2,235
AIR	Patrol & ISR Aircrafts	171	139
AIR	Logistics & Support Aircrafts	2,391	2,211
AIR	Combat Helicopters	540	685
AIR	Patrol & ISR Helicopters	993	845
AIR	Logistics & Support Helicopters	1,704	1,616
AIR	Unmanned Aerial Vehicles	345	168
AIR	Air Defence Systems	29,456	6,682
AIR	Air Launched Missiles (# countries)	14	15
AIR	Bombs (# countries)	6	8

Source: author's own, from the Military Balance (2012 and 2022)
Key: numbers refer to units. In the categories of "Air Launched Missiles" and "Bombs", numbers refer to the amount of countries that own such weapons

combat and support aircrafts. Tunisia has increased its fleet of patrol vehicles on land, sea and air, and it is worth noting that patrol boats have recently been partly produced at home.

Many of the equipment that has been increased are transport, patrol and combat vehicles. There is also an increase in the number of countries that report having missiles and bombs, although it is usually difficult to obtain specific data on the number of units available for this type of weapon.

Some arms reductions in the Southern Mediterranean are worthy to note, including: frigates and artillery in Israel, armoured combat vehicles in Israel and Turkey, combat aircraft in Israel and Egypt, air defence systems in Israel, Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Lebanon and anti-tank missiles in Turkey, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.

Many of the conflicts in these countries are with bordering countries. This may explain the desire to increase border surveillance and control equipment, especially armoured vehicles, ships and patrol helicopters.

Very little data is available for the Northern Mediterranean countries of Malta and Slovenia. Nevertheless, we can see an important change in Malta over the past decade: it has purchased artillery parts and air defence systems. The categories of arms where imports increased most in the other countries are: armoured vehicles – Albania, Croatia, Cyprus, and Greece; submarines – Italy and Greece; and patrol and transport helicopters – Montenegro, Croatia, Cyprus, France, Greece and Italy. However the overall trend is to maintain or even reduce equipment, either because it is used or in some cases because it has become obsolete. The reductions in armoured transport and patrol vehicles by Spain, Italy and France are notable, as well as reductions in air defence and artillery systems in Spain, France, Cyprus, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. Albania, Greece and Italy have also reduced some of this equipment. Anti-tank missiles have also widely been reduced in Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, France, and Greece. Finally, some countries reduced their patrol vessels fleet – France, Greece, Albania, Italy, and Montenegro.

1.3 ARMS TRANSFERS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN (2019-2021)

During the 2019-2021 period a total of 24 countries from around the world exported arms to Mediterranean countries, 16 to the Southern Mediterranean and 15 to the Northern Mediterranean. However, there is a significant difference in the total volume of exports: 83% of the transactions were destined for the Southern Mediterranean and only 17% to the North.

The Northern Mediterranean armies' main supplier is the United States of America, which represents 62% of the export volume followed by EU member states (20%), and the UK (7%). However, the European Union is the Southern Mediterranean's number one arms supplier, representing 41% of all exports, followed by Russia (29%) and the United States (26%). The following figure shows all exports to the Mediterranean region.

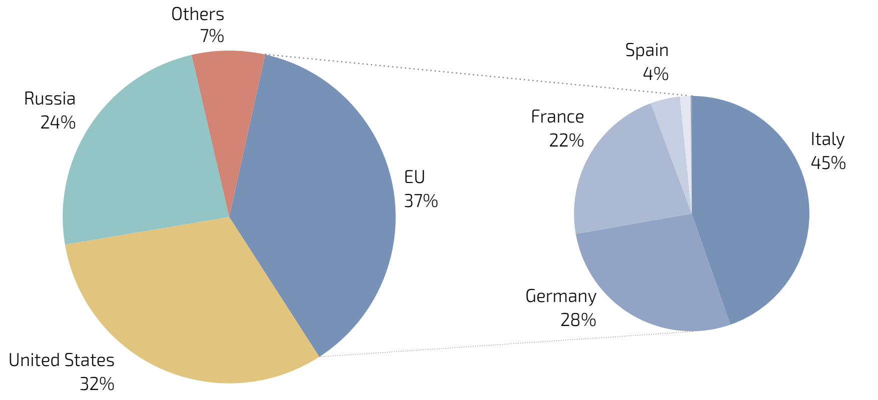
Here, combined data analysis reveals that the European Union is the main supplier of military equipment to the Mediterranean, with 37% of the total exports, followed closely by the United States (31%) and Russia (24%). All three accounted for 93% of the total exports during this period. If we focus on the European Union, we observe that almost half of the arms transfers came from Italy (45%). France and Germany accounted for another 40%. And Spain has a discreet 4% share of the total sales volume.

Egypt purchased most of the region's arms exports during the 2019-2021 period, representing 43% of the total exports to the Mediterranean region, with Israel, Turkey and Algeria lagging behind. These four Southern Mediterranean countries accounted for 76% of the total import volume. They were followed by EU member states: Italy at 6% of the total exports, followed by France and Greece, who received about 4% of the total exports.

The predominance of exports to the Southern Mediterranean is surely due to the fact that these countries have more limited arms industries than some of their Northern Mediterranean counterparts, who probably meet some of their own arms requirements through their national industries. However, some countries, such as Israel and Turkey, have a national industry that supplies much of their own arms needs.

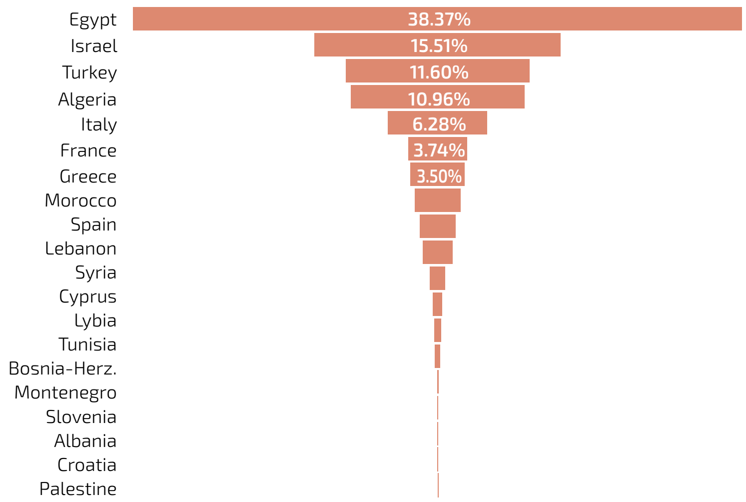
A total of 346 commercial transactions were initiated or completed between 2019-2021 by 37 countries that exported military equipment to countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. The following graph shows the main categories of arms exported to the Mediterranean countries. SIPRI analyses a total of 10 categories, but we highlight the four with the highest export volume in TIV: Aircraft (47%), Vessels (22%),

Figure 2. Countries that export to the Mediterranean (2019-2021)



Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database

Figure 3. Global TIV exports to Mediterranean countries (2019-2021)

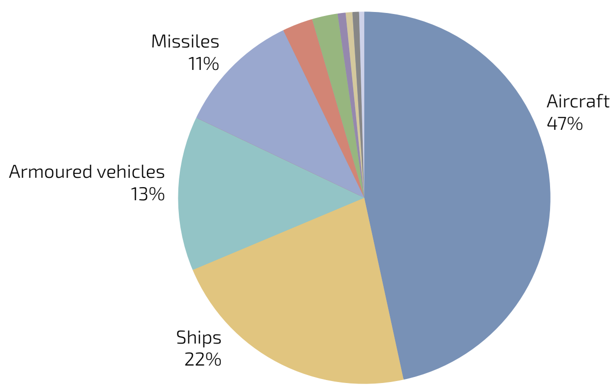


Source: Own production based on the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database

Armoured Vehicles (13%) and Missiles (11%). These accounted for 93% of the total arms export value during the period analysed.

We can see that the two main categories with the most direct relationship to military border control (military aircraft and vessels) represent two thirds of the total. Almost half of the total transaction volume is Aircraft, mainly covering aeroplanes, helicopters and drones. Of the 94 aircraft transactions during the period, 34 were for helicopters, 43 for aircraft and 17 for drones. In total, 1,231 aircraft units were ordered, of which 761 had combat capacity. The second highest category in terms of export volume includes submarines and surface vessels, covering combat, patrol and logistics vessels of all types. Through 23 transactions, 9 countries purchased a total of 82 vessels.

Figure 4. Global exports to Mediterranean countries by category (2019-2021)



Source: Own production based on the SIPRI Arms Transfers Database

2. COMPANIES THAT MANUFACTURE EQUIPMENT THAT CONTRIBUTES TO THE MILITARISATION OF COUNTRIES AND BORDERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (2019-2021)

A total of 125 companies from around the world are responsible for manufacturing the military equipment exported under the 346 transactions analysed in this study. To narrow the scope of this research, we will only focus on the companies included in the International Armed Banking Database[8] and those included in the latest Don't Bank on the Bomb report[9], because we are primarily interested in analysing the kind of equipment that is produced by companies financed by the world's main banks, especially the spanish ones. This chapter will also focus, when possible, on the companies responsible for border militarisation, paying particular attention to Spain's southern Ceuta and Melilla border. This information was extracted from the porCausa Foundation database.[10]

We will, therefore, analyse the financing of 14 of these companies, namely: Airbus, BAE Systems, Boeing, Elbit Systems, Fincantieri, General Dynamics, Honeywell, L3Harris, Leonardo, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon Technologies, Textron and Thales Group. We have also considered their subsidiary companies, trademarks and branches as there are (sometimes extremely strong) financial ties between them, meaning that the financing of one affects the others.

The 10 financially related companies we considered are: Airbus Helicopters (an Airbus subsidiary), Beechcraft (a Textron trade mark), Bell Helicopters (owned by Textron) Cessna (a Textron subsidiary), General Dynamics European Land Systems (a General Dynamics subsidiary), Gulfstream Aerospace, Insitu, Pratt & Whitney Canada (a Pratt & Whitney subsidiary owned by Raytheon Technologies), Safran Electronics & Defense (a Safran subsidiary) and Sikorsky (a Lockheed Martin subsidiary). We also included the Airbus and Leonardo consortium – NH Industries, the Airbus, BAE Systems and Leonardo trade alliance – MBDA Missile Systems, and the EuroTorp consortium – Thales, Naval Group and NASS.

We also have information on four of the companies involved in border militarisation: Accenture, ATOS, Eulen and Indra, which are included in this report to

8. International Armed Banking Database: http://database.centredelas.org/banca-armada-es
9. The Risky Returns Report can be read or downloaded from the following link: https://www.dontbankonthebomb.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/DBotB_Risky-Returns_FINAL_web_spread.pdf
10. porCausa reports are available (in Spanish) here: https://porcausa.org/industriacontrolmigratorio/

complete our analysis of security companies involved in the military industry.

Missiles are the number one category of exported equipment from the 24 military manufacturers, representing an approximate total of over 18,500 units sold, however, missile data is one of the most complex to analyse due to the opacity of the numbers countries provide, when they actually provide them. The second biggest category is armoured vehicles, of which approximately 2,300 units have been sold. These are followed by aircraft, as a total of 724 aeroplanes and helicopters were sold; then sensors (approximately 332 units); engines (327 units); artillery parts (estimated at 78 units); 18 air defence systems; 8 turrets (under the Others category); and finally 4 vessels.

2.1. COMPANIES THAT MANUFACTURE THE MILITARY ARMS EXPORTED TO MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

This section will analyse each of the 14 companies mentioned in relation to the militarisation of Mediterranean countries' armies based on the SIPRI data concerning their and their subsidiaries' and consortia's arms transfers during the 2019-2021 period. This information is linked to the specific uses made of each company's equipment in recent years, using data extracted from various porCausa reports.[11] These represented a total of 164 arms transfers, representing 47% of the total exports analysed during the period.

Trans-European company Airbus, specialises in making aircraft and missiles. It manufactured two A330 transport aircraft which were resold by Brazil to France for conversion into A-330 MRTT tankers. Nine A400M Atlas transport aircraft were also built on Spanish soil and sent to Turkey between 2014-2019. Airbus manufactured missiles through MBDA Missile Systems together with BAE Systems and Leonardo (two other companies analysed later), which were exported to Cyprus, Greece, Egypt and Morocco. The latter two countries also received VL-MICA Air Defence Systems. Lebanon received an estimated 600 HOT-2 anti-tank missiles, then produced by French company Euromissile, a forerunner of MBDA.

Airbus and Leonardo also produce helicopters through NH Industries, and have exported 65 NH-90 units to Greece and Spain in recent years. Airbus also manufactured helicopters that were sold to Spain through its Airbus Helicopters subsidiary. These sales included 24 EC-665 Tiger combat helicopters and 18 H135 light helicopters due to be delivered before 2026.

Airbus is one of the main aircraft suppliers used to patrol Europe's land and sea borders. Its aircraft and helicopters are used in Frontex operations, such as Operation Poseidon in Greece, and Operation Sophia – EU NAVFOR MED, which is an EU military operation to patrol and monitor migratory movements in the Mediterranean.[12] The operation website includes a complete description of the aircraft and vessels deployed throughout the mission.[13] Currently, these include aircraft manufactured by Airbus in Spain, such as the CN-235, VIGMA-D4 patrol version. Previously, AS-565 Panther and Alouette III SA316Bs were used, both manufactured by Eurocopter, the forerunner of Airbus Helicopters, as well as the NH 90 NFH helicopter manufactured by Airbus together with Leonardo through NH Industries.

Airbus and its subsidiaries also participated in at least 13 EU-funded border security research projects, such as OCEAN2020. This project was financed by the European Defence Fund and aims to integrate patrol vessels with land centres from which remote command and control operations are carried out, using both combat vessels and unmanned naval platforms (drones), for maritime surveillance and interception missions.

11. https://www.elconfidential.com/espana/2022-07-15/borders-industry-control-migration_3460287/ https://www.porcausa.org/industriacontrolmigratorio/media/porcausa_LaIndustriaDelControlMigratorio.pdf

12. Frontex is the EU agency responsible for monitoring migration flows to Europe, through border control. See the Guarding the Fortress, report published by the Centre Delàs: https://www.centredelas.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/informe40_GuardingTheFortress_ENG_web_DEF.pdf

13. Operation Sophia website: https://www.operationsophia.eu/media_category/assets/

Table 2. Transactions made by Airbus, consortia and subsidiaries (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
AIRBUS							
Aircraft	[2]	[2]	A330	Transport Aircraft	2020	2020	France
	10	[9]	A400M Atlas	Transport Aircraft	2003	2014-2019	Turkey
AIRBUS + BAE SYSTEMS + LEONARDO (THROUGH MBDA)							
Missiles	-	-	Mistral	Portable Surface-to-Air Missile	2019	-	Cyprus
	[20]	[20]	MM-40-3 Exocet	Anti-ship Missile/ Surface-to-Surface Missile	2019	2020-2021	
	[50]	[20]	MM-40-3 Exocet	Anti-ship Missile/ Surface-to-Surface Missile	[2014]	2017-2021	Egypt
	[100]	[50]	MICA	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2015	2017-2021	
	[50]	[25]	Storm Shadow/ SCALP version	Air-to-Surface Missile	[2015]	2021	
	-	-	MICA	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2020	-	
	[50]	[50]	ASTER-15 SAAM	Surface-to-Air Missile	2020	2020-2021	
	[60]	[60]	MM-40-3 Exocet	Anti-ship Missile/ Surface-to-Surface Missile	[2008]	2010-2020	Greece
	-	-	Meteor	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2021	-	
	-	-	MICA	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2020	-	Morocco
Air defense system	4	-	VL-MICA-NG	Naval Surface-to-Air Missile System	2021	-	Egypt
	[3]	-	VL-MICA	Surface-to-Air Missile System	2020	-	Morocco
EUROMISSILE (now: MBDA Missile Systems)							
Missiles	[600]	[600]	HOT-2	Anti-tank Missile	2016	2017-2019	Lebanon
AIRBUS + LEONARDO (THROUGH NH INDUSTRIES)							
Aircraft	20	[14]	NH-90 TTH	Transport Helicopter	2003	2011-2017	Greece
	7	-	NH-90 NFH	Anti-submarine Warfare Helicopter	[2019]	-	Spain
	16	-	NH-90 TTH	Transport Helicopter	2019	-	
	22	[21]	NH-90 TTH	Transport Helicopter	2005	2014-2021	
AIRBUS HELICOPTERS (subsidiary of Airbus)							
Aircraft	24	[24]	EC-665 Tiger / HAP and HAD versions	Combat Helicopter	2003	2007-2020	Spain
	18		EC135 / H135 version	Light Helicopter	2021	[2023-2026]	

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 3. Transactions made by BAE Systems (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Armoured vehicles	[76]	-	M-2 Bradley	Infantry Fighting Vehicle	2021	-	Croatia
	28	28	M-992 FAASV	Armoured Logistic Vehicle	2017	2019	Lebanon
	400	[400]	Caiman	Armoured Personnel Carrier	2015	2016-2019	Egypt
	46	46	Caiman	Armoured Personnel Carrier	2019	2019	
Missiles	[2000]	[1500]	WGU-59 APKWS	Anti-tank Missile/ Air-to-Surface Missile	2016	2019-2021	Lebanon
	[82]	-	WGU-59 APKWS	Anti-tank Missile/ Air-to-Surface Missile	[2019]	-	Tunisia

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 4. Transactions made by Boeing and Insitu (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
BOEING							
Missiles	[20]	[20]	Harpoon Block-2 / UGM-84L version	Anti-ship Missile/ Surface-to-Surface Missile	[2016]	2017-2020	Egypt
	[50]	[50]	JDAM	Guided Bomb	[2016]	2020	Greece
	[1588]	[1588]	JDAM	Guided Bomb	[2016]	2019	Israel
	[4100]	[3186]	GBU-39 SDB	Guided Bomb	[2017]	2018-2021	
	-	-	GBU-39 SDB	Guided Bomb	[2021]	-	
	-	-	JDAM	Guided Bomb	[2021]	-	
	[50]	[50]	JDAM	Guided Bomb	[2016]	2020-2021	Italy
	658	[658]	JDAM	Guided Bomb	2018	2019-2021	Turkey
Aircraft	[43]	-	AH-64E Apache	Combat Helicopter	2020	-	Egypt
	10	[10]	CH-47SD Chinook	Transport Helicopter	2015	2016-2019	Greece
	2	-	KC-46A Pegasus	Tanker/Transport Aircraft	2021	-	Israel
	2	-	KC-767 GTTA	Tanker/Transport Aircraft	[2021]	-	Italy
	24	-	AH-64E Apache	Combat Helicopter	2020	[2024-2025]	Morocco
	17	1	CH-47F Chinook	Transport Helicopter	2018	2021	Spain
	4	[4]	CH-47F Chinook	Transport Helicopter	2015	2018-2019	Turkey
INSITU (subsidiary of Boeing)							
Aircraft	6	6	ScanEagle	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle	2017	2019	Lebanon

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

BAE Systems is a multinational that produces armoured vehicles, vessels, missiles, sensors and also nuclear weapons. Approximately 450 Caiman armoured personnel transport vehicles were exported by the United States to Egypt, and an order of M-2 Bradley combat vehicles is pending delivery to Croatia. In 2019, 28 M-992 logistics vehicles were also exported by the United States to Lebanon, built on the self-propelled M-109 Howitzer chassis. Over 2,000 WGU-59 missiles with the advanced APKWS precision system were sold to Lebanon, and an unspecified number to Tunisia.

BAE Systems Surface Fleet Solutions is also mentioned as one of the organisations whose equipment was used in Operation Sophia, specifically the Diamond D-34 frigate. This destroyer with air defence capabilities has been operating in the Mediterranean since 2014, and has also been used in NATO naval exercises.

US multinational Boeing is mainly known for producing aircraft, missiles, military electronics and nuclear weapons. During the period studied, it sold over 30 CH-47 Chinook transport helicopters to Spain, Turkey and Greece, and over 60 AH-64E Apache combat helicopters to Egypt and Morocco. It has also produced aircraft that can be used as transport and supply vehicles for Israel and Italy. Over 5,000 precision guided bombs have been delivered to Israel since 2018, and the same country also purchased an unspecified additional number in 2021, although delivery is still pending. Greece has also purchased guided bombs from Boeing, albeit in much smaller quantities (50 units), while Egypt received an estimated 20 UGM-84L surface-to-surface missiles. Finally, its subsidiary Insitu delivered a total of 6 ScanEagle reconnaissance drones to Lebanon in 2019.

Israeli company Elbit Systems, which specialises in manufacturing military and intelligence electronics systems and various types of vehicles including submarines, aircraft and combat vessels, made eight turrets for some of Croatia's armoured vehicles, which were delivered in 2019. These turrets can be used to update existing combat vehicles or to convert personnel transport vehicles to combat vehicles.

Elbit is also known for developing technologies that can convert ground patrol vehicles to unmanned vehicles, turning them into the equivalent of land drones. In this regard, it has developed a series of fully autonomous military patrol vehicles, which are used by Israel along its border with the Gaza Strip.[14] Elbit also produces Hermes drones, which Switzerland ordered for its Border Guards – a controversial deal, given that they were purchased by a country that declares it's neutral from another which is immersed in armed conflict. Some of these drones had already been delivered in early 2023. In 2018, Elbit won a tender to supply European Maritime Safety (EMSA) with this drone type, so any member state or EU partner country can request this resource to monitor its borders.

Fincantieri, an Italian manufacturer of all types of naval vessels including submarines, is the only company that sold boats during the period studied. Specifically, it sold four Vulcano logistics supply vessels, which are under construction and will be delivered to France by 2029.

Fincantieri is also the only Italian company whose vessels have taken part in Operation Sophia. It contributed eight vessels that provided different services throughout the mission. Some also took part in joint NATO Mediterranean exercises.

US aerospace and defence company General Dynamics manufactures all kinds of land vehicles, aircraft, vessels, military intelligence and electronic systems, light weapons, explosives and nuclear weapons. It exported various combat vehicles to Morocco and Israel from the United States. Morocco was sold an estimated 50 M-1A1SA Abrams tanks, and General Dynamics also manufactured over 300 Namer armoured personnel carriers jointly with the Israeli Ordnance Corps, which provides combat support to the IDF. General Dynamics is also one of Spain's military suppliers. Its European ground systems subsidiary manufactures the Piranha-5 personnel carrier, which is expected to arrive by 2027. Its subsidiary

14. See the Centre Delàs report: Combat Proven Business https://centredelas.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/informe54_CombatProvenBusiness_ENG.pdf

Table 5. Transactions made by Elbit Systems (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Other	8	[8]	UT-30MK2	Infantry Fighting Vehicle Turret	2017	2019	Croatia

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 6. Transactions made by Fincantieri (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Ships	4	-	Vulcano	Replenishment Ship	2019	[2023-2029]	France

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 7. Transactions made by General Dynamics and subsidiaries (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
GENERAL DYNAMICS							
Armoured vehicles	162	[50]	M-1A1SA Abrams	Tank	[2018]	2021	Morocco
	[386]	[337]	Namer	Armoured Personnel Carrier/Infantry Fighting Vehicle	2011	2014-2021	Israel
GENERAL DYNAMICS EUROPEAN LAND SYSTEMS (subsidiary of General Dynamics)							
Amoured Vehicles	-	-	Piranha-5	Armoured Personnel Carrier	2020	[2022-2027]	Spain
	-	-	Piranha-5	Infantry Fighting Vehicle	2020	[2022-2027]	
GULFSTREAM AEROSPACE (subsidiary General Dynamics)							
Aircraft	3	-	G-550 ISR	Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance Aircraft	2015	-	Algeria
	1	-	Gulfstream-5 / G-550 version	Light Transport Aircraft	2017		Israel

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Gulfstream Aerospace has been commissioned to manufacture three patrol aircraft for Algeria and a light transport aircraft for Israel, all G-550s.

Honeywell International is a US company involved in the manufacture of nuclear weapons. During the 2019-2021 period it sold over 230 engines to Greece, Italy and Turkey. Engine purchases are key to keeping both land and air vehicles up-to-date. All of these engines will be used to update aircrafts built by Leonardo. Greece and Italy will modernise their M-346 training and combat aircraft. The T-800 engines sold to Turkey were built together with US company Rolls-Royce, and will be used to modernise and convert A-129 attack helicopters to the new Turkish T-129B version.

Italy purchased a total of 46 HELRAS anti-submarine warfare sonars from US company L3Harris. These were delivered between 2011-2019. L3Harris recently signed a joint contract with Hensoldt to develop intelligence capabilities for NATO's Alliance Future Surveillance and Control (AFSC) programme, to increase the effectiveness, efficiency and ultimately, the impact of NATO's future military operations through data collection and analysis.

Like Airbus, Leonardo (formerly Finmeccanica) is a leading provider of border surveillance helicopters. Most of these helicopters were produced by AgustaWestland, which in 2016 merged with its parent company Finmeccanica, leading to the company name being changed to Leonardo. During this period, it sold 61 aircraft to Egypt, Greece, Israel, Slovenia and Turkey, most of which were light multipurpose helicopters.

Leonardo is one of the main suppliers for Operation Sophia, which currently uses its P-72A and AW101 Merlin Mk2 helicopters to patrol the Mediterranean. The console and sensor system that adds surveillance, data gathering and intelligence capabilities (location, target identification and capture) to the P-72A is from Atos, which we will analyse later. Leonardo previously used the AW159 Wildcat and EH 101 and AW Lynx MK8 models to patrol this mission. Its

Table 8. Transactions made by Honeywell International (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Engines	[20]	-	F-124	Turbofan	2021	-	Greece
	[52]	[44]	F-124	Turbofan	2009	2011-2021	Italy
	[100]	[94]	T-800 / CTS-800-4A version	Turboshaft	2008	2016-2021	Turkey
	[66]	[26]	T-800 / CTS-800-4A version	Turboshaft	2017	2018-2021	

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 9. Transactions made by L3Harris (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Sensors	46	[46]	HELRAS	Anti-Submarine Warfare Sonar	2003	2011-2019	Italy

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 10. Transactions mande by Leonardo (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Aircraft	32	[21]	AW149 / AW189	Helicopter	2019	2020-2021	Egypt
	10	-	M-346 Master	Trainer/Combat Aircraft	2021	-	Greece
	12	[12]	AW119M Koala	Light Helicopter	2019	2020-2021	Israel
	1	-	C-27J Spartan	Transport Aircraft	2021	[2023]	Slovenia
	6	4	ATR-72-600 TMPA	Anti-submarine Warfare Aircraft	2005	2020-2021	Turkey
Artillery	4	2	Super Rapid 76mm	Naval Gun	2014	2017-2021	Egypt
	8	7	Super Rapid 76mm	Naval Gun	2006	2012-2021	France
	5	-	Super Rapid 76mm	Naval Gun	[2017]	-	
	2	1	Super Rapid 76mm	Naval Gun	[2008]	2020	Greece
	4	-	Super Rapid 76mm	Naval Gun	[2015]	-	Israel
	5	-	127/64LW 127mm	Naval Gun	2019	-	Spain
	2	2	Super Rapid 76mm	Naval Gun	[2014]	2018-2019	Turkey
	[4]	-	Super Rapid 76mm	Naval Gun	[2019]	-	

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

helicopters and aircraft have also been used in Italy's Mare Nostrum and Frontex' Triton operations. In 2018, it signed contracts with the European Maritime Safety Agency (EMSA) and Frontex to provide sea border surveillance services using its Falco drone. Falco has a controversial past, as it was sold and used in countries including Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Turkmenistan, all of which are caught up in serious social and/or armed conflicts. It formed the Telespazio joint enterprise with Thales, which participated in border control projects using European Union satellite observation. It is also involved in developing Eurosur, the militarised surveillance and control system for the EU's external borders. Leonardo also leads the OCEAN2020 project consortium, involving other companies studied in this chapter, such as Indra, Airbus and Safran.

Besides aircraft, Leonardo also manufactures missiles, artillery and military electronics. One of its best-selling naval guns is the 76mm Super Rapid, which was sold to Egypt, France, Greece, Israel, Spain and Turkey during the 2019-2021 period.

LLockheed Martin, the world's largest arms company, which is also American, manufactures aircraft, missiles and military electronics, and is especially known for its commitment to nuclear missile production. It is one of the companies that sold most arms to Mediterranean countries during the period studied. It exported four types of equipment: armoured vehicles, missiles, aircraft and sensors. Aircraft was the most important category as it sold 280 units. Manufactured by Sikorsky, its UH-60 Black Hawk multipurpose helicopters, which include attack capabilities, were purchased by Albania, Croatia, Spain, Tunisia and Turkey. These will be used as the basis for building Turkey's T-70i in Turkey. It is also worth noting the CH-53K cargo helicopters and SH-60F anti-submarine warfare helicopters sold to Israel. The most successful aircraft in terms of sales is the famous F-35 Lightning-2 fighter. Italy purchased 90 units, and Israel 50. The sale of 24 F-16 Block-72 fighters to Morocco, which must be delivered soon, is notable too.

Lockheed Martin is also a major missile manufacturer. It exported over 1,500 AGM-114 Hellfire anti-tank missiles to countries including France, Italy and Morocco – the vast majority (approximately 1,000 units), were sold to Lebanon in 2017, despite the controversy of the country being involved in an armed conflict which lasted until August that year. Lebanon also purchased two M-88A2 Hercules armoured vehicles from Lockheed Martin, which were delivered in 2019.

Finally in the sensors category, 62 electro-optical systems for aircraft were sold to Egypt, 20 fighter plane radars to Greece and 5 Spy-7 air defence radars for the 5 F-110 frigates Navantia is building for Spain.

Lockheed Martin is also one of the main aircraft suppliers for EU maritime surveillance Operation Sophia. Currently, there are no helicopters in active service on this operation, but previously it provided the P-3 Orion and SH-60B LAMPS III (Sikorsky) models through Spain and the P-3C Cup+ and P-3C Orion Cup+ models through Portugal.

US aerospace conglomerate Northrop Grumman is known for building aircraft, armoured vehicles, vessels, satellites and military electronics. It is also currently designing and building state-of-the-art nuclear weapons for the US army. Between 2019-2021, it sold 84 APG-83 radars to Greece, for the modernisation of its Lockheed Martin F-16 fighter aircraft, and 12 APG-78 Longbow radars to Morocco to update Boeing's AH-64E combat helicopters.

US multinational Raytheon Technologies, produces a wide range of military equipment together with its Raytheon Missiles and Defense and Raytheon Intelligence and Space divisions: missiles, artillery parts, air defence systems and military electronics. It sold at least 7,000 missiles in the three years studied alone. These ranged from anti-tank missiles to beyond-visual-range missiles, via surface-to-air missiles, anti-radiation missiles, anti-submarine warfare missiles and of course its famous Paveway guided bombs. These were all sent to nine countries, including controversial buyers, for example Lebanon, which ordered approximately 1,500 anti-tank missiles in 2017, and Israel – to whom it delivered approximately 700 guided bombs between 2019-2019.

Raytheon also exported air defence systems including the MK-41 VLS and MK-15 Phalanx naval guns, to Turkey. Egypt was sold eight MPQ-64 Sentinel air surveillance radars and the company is due to deliver 25 APG-82 radars to modernise Israel's F-151 fighter jets.

Pratt & Whitney exports (mainly PT6) engines to modernise the Pilatus Aircraft fleet in various countries through its subsidiary Pratt & Whitney Canada. For example, Spain purchased 24 for its PC-21 training aircraft; and another eight engines will be used to modernise eight Beechcraft T-6C aircraft, an adaptation of Pilatus Aircraft's PC-9, which the United States sold second-hand to Tunisia; and France purchased 26 to modernise its PC-21. It has also sold engines to Turkey: 16 to modernise its ATR-72 carrier planes (produced by ATR, an Airbus and Finmeccanica joint enterprise) and a further 16 to update the Hurkus-B training aircraft manufactured by Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI).

Table 11. Transactions made by Lockheed Martin and Sikorsky (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
LOCKHEED MARTIN							
Armoured vehicles	2	2	M-88A2 HERCULES	Armoured Recovery Vehicle	2017	2019	Lebanon
Missiles	-	-	AGM-114K HELLFIRE	Anti-tank Missile	[2019]	-	France
	[50]	[50]	AGM-114L HELLFIRE	Anti-tank Missile	[2016]	2020-2021	Italy
	[1000]	[1000]	AGM-114K HELLFIRE	Anti-tank Missile	[2017]	2019-2021	Lebanon
	[441]	-	AGM-114L HELLFIRE	Anti-tank Missile	2020	-	Morocco
Aircraft	4	-	C-130J-30 Hercules / LM-100J version	Transport Aircraft	2018	[2022]	Algeria
	2	2	KC-130J Hercules	Tanker/Transport Aircraft	2016	2019-2020	France
	19	19	F-35A Lightning-2 / F-35I version	Fighter/Ground Attack Aircraft	2010	2016-2019	Israel
	14	[14]	F-35A Lightning-2 / F-35I version	Fighter/Ground Attack Aircraft	2015	2019-2021	
	17	-	F-35A Lightning-2 / F-35I version	Fighter/Ground Attack Aircraft	2017	[2024]	
	[60]	[15]	F-35A Lightning-2	Fighter/Ground Attack Aircraft	[2006]	2015-2021	Italy
	[30]	4	F-35A Lightning-2	Fighter/Ground Attack Aircraft	[2006]	2018-2021	
	[24]	-	F-16V Viper / F-16 Block-72 version	Fighter/Ground Attack Aircraft	2020	-	Morocco
Sensors	62	[62]	AAQ-14 LANTIRN	Aircraft Electro-Optical System	2016	2018-2019	Egypt
	20	[20]	AAQ-13 LANTIRN	Combat Aircraft Radar	2016	2019	Greece
	5	-	AN/SPY-7	Air Search Radar	2019	-	Spain
SIKORSKY (subsidiary of Lockheed Martin)							
Aircraft	2	-	S-70/UH-60L	Helicopter	2017	-	Spain
	[2]	-	S-70/UH-60L	Helicopter	[2018]	[2022]	
	2	-	S-70/UH-60L	Helicopter	[2019]	[2022-2023]	
	4	[4]	S-70/UH-60L	Helicopter	2016	2019-2020	Tunisia
	3	-	S-70/UH-60L	Helicopter	2019	[2023]	Albania
	2	-	S-70/UH-60L	Helicopter	2018	[2022]	Croatia
	2	-	UH-60M	Helicopter	[2021]	[2022]	
	4	-	MH-60R Seahawk	Anti-submarine Warfare Helicopter	2020	[2025]	Greece
	8	-	SH-60F Seahawk	Anti-submarine Warfare Helicopter	[2017]	[2022]	Israel
	12	-	CH-53K King Stallion	Transport Helicopter	2021	-	
	69	-	S-70/UH-60L / T-70i version	Helicopter	2014	-	Turkey

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 12. Transactions made by Northrop Grumman (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Aircraft	3	-	E-2D Hawkeye	Airborne Early-Warning & Control Aircraft	2020	[2028-2030]	France
Sensors	[84]	[3]	APG-83 SABR	Combat Aircraft Radar	2018	2021	Greece
	[12]	-	APG-78 Longbow	Combat Helicopter Radar	2020	-	Morocco

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

This Safran subsidiary manufactures Hammer air-to-ground missiles, and sold an estimated 500 units to Egypt between 2016 and 2019. Safran is known for manufacturing military electronics systems, as well as missiles and nuclear weapons. Safran also participates in the EU OCEAN2020 consortium.

Safran Electronics & Defense, formerly known as Sagem Défense Sécurité, won a framework to develop the Biometric Match System (BMS) with Accenture, (which we will discuss later) and Bull.

France's Thales Group specialises in developing military electronics, missiles, artillery parts, drones and takes part in projects to build various types of aircraft, vehicles, vessels and even nuclear weapons. It mainly sold radars during this period, namely its: ground alerter, ground observer and anti-submarine warfare. It also sold approximately 14 2R1M mortars to Italy and exported 50 MU90 Impact anti-submarine torpedoes to Egypt.

Thales radar and sensor systems are used in many border surveillance vehicles, for example, in Frontex operations. They also participated in the development of Eurosur technology infrastructure: search and control intelligence carried out before migrants seeking refuge arrive at the border, using smart mobile apps and high-altitude pseudosatellites (HAPS) for border security.

Thales provides security systems for the highly militarised port of Calais, in France, and has participated in numerous EU border security research projects.

Textron is the parent company behind a major US conglomerate linked to the manufacture of nuclear and other military weapons. It established a business relationship with Greece through the sale of 1,200 second-hand armoured carriers. Its other transactions were for aircrafts, which are built by subsidiary companies. Bell helicopters were exported to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lebanon, Greece and Montenegro. The Greek sale is important because it involves 60 combat helicopters, some of which were purchased for training purposes. Beechcraft King Air carriers with added surveillance capacities were exported to France and Morocco to be used as patrol vehicles. Finally, Tunisia ordered 5 light Cessna-208 aircraft, which are pending delivery.

Two Agusta-Bell 212 helicopters manufactured by Bell Helicopters for Textron, were deployed in Operation Sophia. Its aircraft were also used in Operation Mare Nostrum.

Table 13. Transactions made by Raytheon Technologies and subsidiaries (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
RAYTHEON TECHNOLOGIES							
Missiles	[1703]	-	TOW-2A-RF / TOW-2B-RF / TOW-BB-RF	Anti-tank Missile	[2021]	-	Croatia
	[330]	[330]	AIM-9L/I Sidewinder	Short Range Air-to-Air Missile	[2017]	2018-2020	Egypt
	[168]	-	RIM-116C RAM	Surface-to-Air Missile	2021	-	
	[70]	[35]	RIM-116A RAM	Surface-to-Air Missile	[2008]	2020	Greece
	-	-	RIM-162 ESSM Block-2	Surface-to-Air Missile	[2018]	-	
	[28]	[28]	AIM-9X Sidewinder / Block-2 and Block-3 versions	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2014	2016-2020	Israel
	[700]	[700]	Paveway	Guided Bomb	2015	2018-2019	
	[160]	[134]	AGM-88E AARGM	Anti-radiation Missile	2009	2017-2021	Italy
	[50]	[50]	Paveway	Guided Bomb	[2016]	2020-2021	
	-	-	AIM-9X Sidewinder / Block-2 version	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2021	-	
	23	-	AIM-9X Sidewinder / Block-2 version	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	[2021]	-	
	[1500]	[1500]	BGM-71E / BGM-71H / TOW-2B	Anti-tank Missile	2017	2018-2020	Lebanon
	[1200]	[1200]	BGM-71 / TOW-2A-RF	Anti-tank Missile	2017	2018-2020	Morocco
	36	[36]	AIM-9X Sidewinder	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2018	2020-2021	
	[325]	[325]	RIM-162 ESSM	Surface-to-Air Missile	[2008]	2009-2019	Spain
	[4]	[4]	AIM-120C AMRAAM	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	2017	2019	
	-	-	RIM-162 ESSM Block-2	Surface-to-Air Missile	[2018]	-	
	-	-	Mk-54 MAKO 324mm	Anti-Submarine Warfare Torpedo	[2020]	-	
	[100]	-	M-982 Excalibur	Guided Shell	2021	[2023]	
	[125]	[125]	RIM-116A RAM	Surface-to-Air Missile	[2007]	2011-2019	Turkey
	[145]	[145]	AIM-120C-7 AMRAAM	Beyond Visual Range Air-to-Air Missile	[2014]	2016-2019	
	[150]	-	RIM-116A RAM	Surface-to-Air Missile	[2016]	-	
	-	-	RIM-162 ESSM Block-2	Surface-to-Air Missile	[2020]	-	
Artillery	2	-	Mk-15 Phalanx	Naval Gun	[2015]	-	Turkey
	4	-	Mk-15 Phalanx	Naval Gun	[2016]	-	
Air defense system	4	-	Mk-41 VLS	Naval Surface-to-Air Missile System	[2016]	-	Turkey
Sensors	[25]	-	APG-82	Combat Aircraft Radar	[2016]	-	Israel
	8	[8]	MPQ-64 Sentinel	Air Search Radar	2017	2019-2021	Egypt
PRATT & WHITNEY CANADA (subsidiary of Pratt & Whitney, property of Raytheon Technologies)							
Engines	[9]	-	PT6	Turboprop/ Turboshaft	2021	-	France
	[17]	[17]	PT6	Turboprop/ Turboshaft	2016	2018-2019	
	[24]	[10]	PT6	Turboprop/ Turboshaft	2020	2021	Spain
	[8]	-	PT6	Turboprop/ Turboshaft	2021	-	Tunisia
	[16]	[12]	PW127M	Turboprop/ Turboshaft	2005	2013-2021	Turkey
	[15]	[15]	PT6-68T	Turboprop/ Turboshaft	[2013]	2018-2019	

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 14. Transactions made by Safran Electronics & Defense (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
Missiles	[500]	[500]	AASM Hammer	Air-to-Surface Missile	2015	2016-2019	Egypt

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 15. Transactions made by Thales and EuroTorp (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
THALES GROUP							
Artillery	[38]	[14]	2R2M 120mm	Mortar	[2018]	2019-2021	Italy
Sensors	2	2	UMS-4110 BlueMaster	Anti-Submarine Warfare Sonar	2020	2020-2021	Egypt
	4	[2]	SMART	Air Search Radar	[2014]	2017-2021	
	[4]	-	NS-100	Air/Sea Search Radar	2019	-	
	4	[2]	STING	Fire Control Radar	[2014]	2017-2021	
	5	-	STIR / STIR-1.2 EO Mk-2	Fire Control Radar	[2017]	-	France
	2	1	STIR / STIR-EO Mk-2 version	Fire Control Radar	[2018]	2021	
	[4]	-	FLASH / ASQ-22 ALFS version	Anti-Submarine Warfare Sonar	2021	-	Greece
	2	1	MIRADOR	Electro-Optical Search/Fire Control	[2008]	2020	
	2	1	MW-08	Air Search Radar	[2008]	2020	
	2	1	STING	Fire Control Radar	[2008]	2020	
	[10]	10	UMS-4110CL BlueMaster	Anti-Submarine Warfare Sonar	[2000]	2007-2019	Italy
	[2]	1	Ground Master-400	Air Search Radar	2019	2021	Morocco
	5	-	CAPTAS	Anti-Submarine Warfare Sonar	[2019]	-	Spain
	5	-	UMS-4110 BlueMaster	Anti-Submarine Warfare Sonar	2019	-	
	2	2	SMART-S Mk-2	Air Search Radar	[2014]	2018-2019	Turkey
	1	-	SMART-S Mk-2	Air Search Radar	[2015]	-	
	4	-	SMART-S Mk-2	Air Search Radar	[2016]	-	
	2	2	Sting-EO Mk-2	Fire Control Radar	[2014]	2018-2019	
	8	-	Sting-EO Mk-2	Fire Control Radar	[2016]	-	
EUROTORP (Thales, Naval Group & WASS consortium)							
Missiles	[50]	[50]	MU90 IMPACT	Anti-Submarine Warfare Torpedo	2020	2021	Egypt

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

Table 16. Transactions made by Textron and subsidiaries (2019-2021)

CATEGORY	ORDERED	DELIVERED	DESIGNATION	WEAPON DESCRIPTION	YEAR OF ORDER	YEAR OF DELIVERY	RECIPIENT
TEXTRON							
Armoured vehicles	1200	[44]	ASV-150/M-1117	Armoured Personnel Carrier	2021	2021	Greece
BELL HELICOPTER (property of Textron)							
Aircraft	4	4	UH-1H Huey-2	Helicopter	2019	2021	Bosnia-Herzegovina
	60	60	Bell-206 / OH-58D version	Combat Helicopter	2017	2019	Greece
	3	3	UH-1H Huey-2	Helicopter	[2020]	2021	Lebanon
	2	2	Bell-505 Jet Ranger X	Light Helicopter	2020	2020-2021	Montenegro
BEECHCRAFT (Textron comercial brand)							
Aircraft	[8]	2	King Air	Light Transport Aircraft	2016	2020	France
	2	[2]	King Air-350 ISR	Airborne Ground Surveillance Aircraft	[2018]	2019	Morocco
CESSNA (subsidiary of Textron)							
Aircraft	5	-	Cessna-208 Grand Caravan-EX	Light Transport Aircraft	2021	[2022]	Tunisia

Source: Author's own, using the SIPRI arms transfers database
Key: - unavailable data / [ ] unconfirmed or SIPRI estimates.

2.2. COMPANIES THAT MILITARISE SPAIN'S SOUTHERN BORDER

The porCausa Migration Control Industry 2022 database lists all the official Spanish government contracts with organisations and companies related to the maintenance and militarisation of the border posts in Ceuta and Melilla and the institutions responsible for controlling migration in Spain over the 2014-2022 period.[15] We will focus on the companies for whom we have financing information: ATOS, EULEN, Indra and Thales.

We have also taken into account Accenture. Although it does not have contracts on the Southern Border of Spain, it appears in the report "The business of building walls" published by the Transnational Institute.[16] Due to its importance and involvement in the militarization of borders in Europe and the United States, we decided to include this company in this report and lookfor data about its financing.

British multinational Accenture provides consultancy, IT and technology systems, including AI and the metaverse. It is also a strategic partner for security and defence. In 2006, Accenture won a €157 million contract to develop the Biometric Match System (BMS), together with Sagem Défense Sécurité, now Safran. BMS is a basic component of the Visa Information System (VIS), which is the identity system the EU uses to control its borders, and allows Schengen states and all their border crossings to exchange visa information. This data can also be shared with non-EU countries.

Accenture used the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe to implement its biometric system to identify people fleeing the social and armed conflicts in Africa and the Middle East, thus deepening the idea that refugees can pose a threat to Europe's security. Accenture also benefited from another refugee crisis, when Latin American migrants tried to cross the Mexican border into the United States in 2017. It won a U.S. Customs and Border Protection contract to help hire thousands of new border security agents who were responsible for putting people who managed to cross the border behind bars.

EU-LISA, the EU agency responsible for the operational management of large-scale technology systems to maintain Fortress Europe, has given a range of contracts to IT and technology consortia (including

15. See the porCausa database (in Spanish) here: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1jgVm3pLYylt8Om43EDmHuBiI75j9CmZkzULAtjGWC8Y/edit#gid=1064477319
16. See the full report here: https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/business_of_building_walls_-_full_report.pdf

Table 17. Atos contracts on the southern border of Spain (2019-2022)

COMPANY NAME	YEAR	DEFINITION OF CONTRACTED SERVICE	AMOUNT	PROCUREMENT ENTITY
CATEGORY: BORDER PERIMETERS				
SUB-CATEGORY: INTEGRATED EXTERNAL SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM -SIVE-				
Atos IT solutions and services iberia S.L.	2020	Maintenance service for the fixed deployment of the Integrated External Surveillance System (SIVE) of Almería	699,622.00 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil

Source: Author's own, using the Por Causa database
Key: - unavailable data / The year corresponds to the year of contract allocation

Accenture), to maintain and improve the VIS and BMS systems. ATOS and Leonardo also took part in these contracts.

ATOS

French company ATOS specialises in digital control, security, cybersecurity and supercomputing systems. In 2020, it received a contract to maintain the Integrated External Surveillance System (Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior - SIVE) in Almeria worth nearly €700,000.

Since 2014, ATOS and its subsidiaries have received 35 contracts related to the management of Spain's Southern Border surveillance and control systems. Of these, 26 were for the installation and maintenance of Spain's Civil Guard (Guardia Civil) Integral System of External Surveillance (Sistema Integral de Vigilancia Exterior – SIVE) system. SIVE includes various data gathering stations. Most of these have a fixed location on Spain's Mediterranean coast, as well as in the Canary Islands, although they can be mobile on land and in patrol vessels. The system currently has 17 fixed and 2 mobile posts.

SIVE stations have radars, sensors, daylight cameras, infrared cameras and communications antennas that allow real-time communication. Their mission is to detect and identify vessels approaching the coast, to coordinate their monitoring on land, at sea and in the air, and if necessary to intercept them. SIVE also has various command and control facilities at Civil Guard command posts, where all the information gathered is centralised. Since 2014, ATOS has received over €14 million to maintain this border control system.

ATOS is also one of the most important providers of reconnaissance, control and surveillance computer systems, which also include combat capabilities, and are installed on aircraft, vessels and armoured vehicles. In 2019, ATOS won an €8.5 million contract to develop and maintain the Spanish Ministry of Defence's IT systems.

EULEN

Since 2019, the Eulen Group has received a total of 26 contracts to maintain Spain's border control network. Most are to manage the Temporary Immigrant Accommodation Centres (CETI) in Ceuta and Melilla, two of the support centres housing migrants who manage to enter Spanish territory before a decision is made as to whether they will be transferred to the mainland or returned to their country of origin. Eulen won contracts to provide security and surveillance services, medical care, cleaning and gardening, technical-legal maintenance, preventive maintenance and repair and warehouse management, worth over €7 million. People are subject to "systematic" crowding at CETIs, especially in Melilla. And flagrant human rights violations are committed against people who were already victimised in their home countries and on their journey to the Spanish borders.[17]

Eulen also participates in the maintenance of Spain's border facilities with Morocco in Ceuta and Melilla, and the comprehensive maintenance of the Beni-Enzar customs facility in Melilla.

17. For more information, please read the Centre Delàs report: A Walled World: Towards A Global Apartheid https://centredelas.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/informe46_WalledWolrd_CentreDelas_TNI_StopWapenhandel_StopTheWall_ENG_DEF.pdf

Table 18. Grupo Eulen contracts on the southern border of Spain (2019-2022)

COMPANY NAME	YEAR	DEFINITION OF CONTRACTED SERVICE	AMOUNT	PROCUREMENT ENTITY
CATEGORY: DETENTION/RETENTION/EXPULSION				
SUBCATEGORY: TEMPORARY STAY CENTERS FOR IMMIGRANTS				
Eulen seguridad S.A.	2019	Security and surveillance service for the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Ceuta.	3,383,357.13 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
Eulen servicios sociosanitarios S.A.	2020	Medical care service for residents of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Ceuta	444,662.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social.
		Service of integration, attention and social mediation to the residents of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) of Ceuta	270,660.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social
		Medical care service for the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center in Melilla.	168,401.63 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social
		Medical care service for residents of the Ceuta Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI).	92,700.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social
		Service of integration, attention and social mediation for the residents of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) of Ceuta	69,757.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social
Eulen S.A.	2019	Cleaning service at the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Melilla.	1,724,073.69 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Warehouse management service for the Melilla Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI)	287,784.38 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Soc
		Preventive and repair maintenance service for the Melilla Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI)	194,559.60 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Preventive and repair maintenance service for the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) of Melilla	187,076.54 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Warehouse management service for the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Melilla.	29,397.10 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Gardening service on the premises of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Melilla.	29,248.21 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Preventive and repair maintenance service in the facilities of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) of Melilla.	29,021.98 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social

COMPANY NAME	YEAR	DEFINITION OF CONTRACTED SERVICE	AMOUNT	PROCUREMENT ENTITY
Eulen S.A. [cont.]	2019 [cont.]	Technical-legal maintenance service in the facilities of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) of Melilla.	28,329.73 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Preventive and repair maintenance service in the facilities of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Melilla.	27,456.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Technical-legal maintenance service in the facilities of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Melilla.	27,040.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Warehouse management service for the Center for the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Melilla.	25,064.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
		Gardening service on the premises of the Temporary Immigrant Stay Center (CETI) in Melilla.	22,880.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Trabajo, Migraciones y Seguridad Social
CATEGORY: BORDER PERIMETERS				
SUBCATEGORY: BORDER				
Eulen seguridad S.A.	2022	Procurement of integral maintenance services of the facilities of the border perimeters of Spain with Morocco in the Autonomous Cities of Melilla and Ceuta, listed and described in Annexes 1 and 2, of the Technical Specifications Sheet. (LOT 1: Integral maintenance of the facilities of the border perimeter of Spain with Morocco in the Autonomous City of Melilla)	717,984.84 €	Subsecretaría del Interior
		Procurement of integral maintenance services of the facilities of the border perimeters of Spain with Morocco in the Autonomous Cities of Melilla and Ceuta, listed and described in Annexes 1 and 2, of the Technical Specifications Sheet. (LOT 2: Integral maintenance of the facilities of the border perimeter of Spain with Morocco in the Autonomous City of Ceuta)	438,633.97 €	Subsecretaría del Interior
Eulen S.A.	2019	Service of Conservation, conduction and integral maintenance of the dependencies and facilities of the customs area of Beni-Enzar (Melilla)	87,360.00 €	Delegación Especial de la Agencia Tributaria en Andalucía, Ceuta y Melilla
SUBCATEGORY: SURVEILLANCE				
Eulen S.A.	2019	D.G. Melilla. Surveillance and Security Service in the Immigration Office, The Registration and Information Office and Functional Areas of the Government Delegation.	42,182.40 €	Delegación del Gobierno en Melilla
SUBCATEGORY: MARITIME SURVEILLANCE				
Eulen seguridad S.A.	2020	2018AR008S - Maintenance of BAM ships AR.SP03/SOMA/C11 Maritime Action Vessels.- Corrective maintenance of CCTV including exterior domes, entertainment systems and peripherals.OS	14,950.00 €	Intendente de las Palmas

COMPANY NAME	YEAR	DEFINITION OF CONTRACTED SERVICE	AMOUNT	PROCUREMENT ENTITY
SUBCATEGORY: CONTROL				
Eulen seguridad S.A.	2021	Surveillance and security service at the headquarters of the functional area of work and immigration and immigration office of the government delegation	44,472.00 €	Delegación del Gobierno en la Ciudad de Ceuta
CATEGORY: RECEPTION AND INTEGRATION				
SUBCATEGORY: INTEGRATION				
Eulen servicios sociosanitarios S.A.	2019	Socio-health care service at the Center for Temporary Stay of Immigrants in Ceuta. 12 month period. Co-financed with European Union Funds	590,350.00 €	Junta de Contratación del Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social
	2020	Translation, interpreting and accompanying interpreting service for the beneficiaries of the CETI in Ceuta.	14,757.60 €	Subdirección General de Administración Financiera

Elaboración propia a partir de la base de datos de porCausa
Leyenda: - datos no disponibles / El año corresponde al año de adjudicación del contrato.

INDRA

Spanish multinational Indra is an ITC pioneer.[18] It is one of the main border perimeter installation contractors along Spain's Southern Border. Since 2014, it has won a total of 75 contracts to strengthen Europe's Southern Border worth over €43 million.

In 2022 alone, Spain gave Indra nine emergency contracts valued at over €1 million to reinforce SIVE stations with new radars, because of the increase of migrants who arrived on land during the first quarter of the year.

18. To learn more about Indra, see the Indra file published by the Centre Delàs: https://centredelas.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/FichaIndra_CAST_DEF.pdf

In 2006, Indra also received a €11 million contract to reinforce the Melilla fences and build a third fence. Indra also has considerable influence in Europe, where it is one of the biggest recipients of R+i project funding related to border security. For example, it coordinates the €47 million Perseus project (which also includes Airbus and Boeing,) to reinforce the Eurosur surveillance system, and developed the Sea Horse Network, an EU human surveillance network in Mauritania, Morocco, Cape Verde and Senegal, to gather and exchange information in order to control and halt migration. Indra is also a member of the consortium working on the EU Ocean2020 maritime surveillance project.

Table 19. Indra contracts on the southern border of Spain (2019-2022)

COMPANY NAME	YEAR	DEFINITION OF CONTRACTED SERVICE	AMOUNT	PROCUREMENT ENTITY
CATEGORY: BORDER PERIMETERS				
SUBCATEGORY: INTEGRATED EXTERNAL SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM -SIVE-				
Indra sistemas S.A.	2021	Maintenance service for the fixed deployment of the Integrated External Surveillance System (SIVE) of Huelva	586,608.00 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
	2022	Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 13)	263,017.09 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 11)	213,609.02 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 12)	141,518.70 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 2)	128,416.13 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 1)	84,559.24 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 14)	61,624.70 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 3)	60,337.42 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 5)	47,111.48 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
		Emergency to Finance the provision of the maintenance service of the fixed deployments and mobile units of the Integrated External Surveillance System of the Civil Guard (SIVE). (Lot 4)	38,957.87 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil

COMPANY NAME	YEAR	DEFINITION OF CONTRACTED SERVICE	AMOUNT	PROCUREMENT ENTITY
SUBCATEGORY: MARITIME SURVEILLANCE				
Indra sistemas S.A.	2019	SP03/EUNF/C11 Lightning Patrol Boat.- Tour and repair of the TACAN MM-700 antenna	14,263.36 €	Intendente de Las Palmas
		SP03/NRFN/C11 Maritime Action Vessels.- Maintenance of Landing Assistance Systems on the flight platform.	9,950.00 €	Intendente de Las Palmas
		Buques de Acción Marítima.- Supply of two "UAM" measurement equipment necessary for the maintenance of the RIGEL system	8,767.59 €	Intendente de Las Palmas
	2020	2018AR008S - BAM AR vessels support. SP03/SOMA/C11 Maritime Action Vessels.- Maintenance of Landing Assistance Systems on the flight platform.	10,000.00 €	Intendente de Las Palmas
		SP03/SEAG/C11 Maritime Action Vessels.- Maintenance service for landing aid systems on the flight platform.	10,000.00 €	Intendente de Las Palmas
UTE: Indra sistemas S.A. / Hisdesat servicios estratégicos S.A.	-	Migration to IP of two (2) SECOMSAT satellite terminals installed in two (2) high-altitude patrol boats (LOT 2).	300,200.00 €	
SUBCATEGORY: BORDER				
Indra sistemas S.A.	2019	Preventive and corrective maintenance of the intelligent border automated systems (Manusa Technology)	1,771,330.00 €	Dirección General de la Policía
		Implementation of mobile supervision posts for the automated border crossing systems (ABC SYSTEM) currently deployed	21,623.10 €	Subdirección General de Gestión Económica y Patrimonial
		SP03/SOMA/C11 Maritime Action Vessels.- Maintenance of Rigel System Electronic Warfare equipment	17,900.00 €	Intendente de Las Palmas
	2020	Preventive maintenance service of optronic systems, endowment in various units of the Civil Guard (lot 2)	42,834.00 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
UTE: Indra sistemas S.A. / Informatica El Corte Inglés S.A.	2019	Supply and installation of the physical and logistical elements that make up the integrated control of border crossing for its deployment at Malaga airport (AGP), covering 2 automated border control facilities (ABC System), and the integration of assistance devices for manual border control of the 3 entry border crossing rooms, as well as the work necessary to integrate the border crossings into the CNP's central border supervision system. The contract is organized in 2 Lots.	629,200.00 €	Subdirección General de Gestión Económica y Patrimonial
SUBCATEGORY: RESCUE				
Indra sistemas S.A.	2019	Uninstallation and transfer to the Seville BEC of the equipment of the Ciudad del Mar Remote Station attached to the Cádiz Maritime Rescue Coordination Center	120,000.00 €	Dirección de la Sociedad de Salvamento y Seguridad Marítima

Source: Author's own, using the Por Causa database
Key: - unavailable data / The year corresponds to the year of contract allocation.

THALES

One of the main defence contractors in the field of military electronics, the Thales Group not only manufactures military equipment, providing armies with technological and intelligence solutions, it is also involved in the militarisation of Europe's borders. Since 2014, it has secured almost €20 million through 20 contracts to militarise Spain's Southern Border.

In recent years, these notably included contracts to purchase and repair thermal cameras for land and maritime surveillance border posts, and a €14 million contract to purchase and implement new manual control equipment at EU border posts: the Entry Exit System (EES).

This new border control system will be fully integrated with the VIS visa control system and the BMS bio-

Table 20. Thales contracts on the southern border of Spain (2019-2022)

COMPANY NAME	YEAR	DEFINITION OF CONTRACTED SERVICE	AMOUNT	PROCUREMENT ENTITY
CATEGORY: BORDER PERIMETERS				
SUBCATEGORY: SURVEILLANCE				
Thales programas de electrónica y comunicaciones S.A.U.	2020	Supply of spare parts for THALES brand portable thermal cameras, models V1cmos, LR and ZS, provided by the Guardia Civil.	499,554.27 €	Jefatura de Asuntos Económicos de la Guardia Civil
	2020	Repair of the Thales CTM camera (mobile thermal camera) model SUZIE on a Toyota Hilux provided by the Guardia Civil.	28,919.00 €	Jefatura de Asuntos Económicos de la Guardia Civil
SUBCATEGORY: MARITIME SURVEILLANCE				
Thales programas de electrónica y comunicaciones S.A.U.	2019	Acquisition of spare parts for THALES brand portable thermal cameras, model SOPHIE ZS and LR, provided by the Guardia Civil.	153,198.10 €	Jefatura de Asuntos Económicos de la Guardia Civil
SUBCATEGORY: BORDER				
Thales Espanya, GRP, S.A.U.	-	Thales Sophie MF EZAPAC thermal camera repair service	95,606.94 €	
Thales programas de electrónica y comunicaciones S.A.U.	2021	Repair of the THALES thermal camera model SUZIE BRAVO 4 provided by the Guardia Civil.	38,115.00 €	Dirección General de la Guardia Civil
SUBCATEGORY: CONTROL				
Thales programas de electrónica y comunicaciones S.A.U.	2019	Repair and/or replacement of modules and equipment cards for navigation of the Thales group of the Air Navigation System	609,840.00 €	Dirección Económico-Financiera de ENAIRE
Thales DIS Espanya, S.A.	2021	Acquisition and commissioning of equipment for manual control at border posts within the framework of the entry and exit system (ENTRY EXIT SYSTEM/EES)	14,039,254.02 €	Subsecretaría del Interior

Source: Author's own, using the Por Causa database
Key: - unavailable data / The year corresponds to the year of contract allocation.

metric control system. The EES system will record the exact time and place of entry and exit of people coming from outside the EU, and will calculate how long they can remain in the territory, to avoid the use of passport stamps. The implementation of this new system amounts to €480 million. As we discussed earlier, Thales provides security systems for Calais's highly militarised port and has participated in numerous EU border security research projects.

Thales radars and sensors are also present on vessels and aircraft (planes, helicopters and drones) responsible for border surveillance, for example, in Frontex operations. Thales received EU funding for military R+i and has also participated in numerous border security research projects, often in collaboration with Leonardo. In 2008, it led the Operamar consortium, to investigate new security and intelligence capabilities in the framework of maritime security.

AIRBUS

There was no data available on Airbus during the period studied, although contracts were given to this company in previous years to provide satellite surveillance services and to purchase spare parts and repair two CN-235 maritime patrol aircrafts (the total of these 2015 and 2018 contracts amounted to over €14 million).

3. FINANCING THE MILITARY BORDER INDUSTRY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

This final chapter reveals the information gathered on the financing and investment of the "Military-Industrial Border Complex"[19] by Spain's Armed Banks and some of the world's most important financial institutions from 2020 to 2022.

The data shown has been obtained from two sources. We worked with Profundo[20] to analyse raw data on the financing of companies such as Accenture, Grupo Eulen, Atos, Fincantieri, Indra and other relevant secondary sources, such as the annual report published by the Don't Bank on the Bomb[21] campaign. This resulted in information on the financing and investments of 19 of the 126 arms companies analysed: Accenture, Airbus, Atos, BAE Systems, Textron, Boeing, Elbit Systems, Fincantieri, General Dynamics, Grupo Eulen, Honeywell International, Indra, L3Harris, Leonardo, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman Raytheon Technologies, Safran Electronics & Defense and Thales Group.

All of the information used to write this report can be found in the Centre Delàs Armed Banking Database. It amounts to 4,679 financial operations. These operations are divided into four categories: credits and loans, bond and promissory note issues through underwriting[22] operations, bond and share purchases.

19. Concept used in Report 46: Walled World, Towards A Global Apartheid by Ainhoa Ruiz Benedict, Mark Akkerman and Pere Brunet, 2020. Which can be downloaded from: https://centredelas.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/informe46_WalledWolrd_CentreDelas_TNI_StopWapenhandel_StopTheWall_ENG_DEF.pdf
20. Profundo specialises in analysing international basic commodity supply chains, the financial sector, policy developments and corporate impact. https://www.profundo.nl/en/about_us/
21. You can download the report from the following link: https://www.dontbankonthebomb.com/risky-returns/
22. *Underwriting* is a financial term meaning a contract between a financial entity and a commercial company through which the former undertakes to pre-finance (and potentially guarantee) securities issued by the company for their subsequent placement. They are signed when a company needs financing. This type of contract usually also includes an opinion prior to the decision to issue the bonds.

3.1 THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SPAIN'S ARMED BANKS AND THE COMPANIES RESPONSIBLE FOR BORDER MILITARISATION

According to the data obtained, 44 financial institutions based in Spain provided financial support to 12 of the 19 companies whose data is available: Accenture, Airbus, Atos, Boeing, Elbit Systems, General Dynamics, Grupo Eulen, Honeywell International, Indra, Leonardo, Safran, and Thales.

The total volume of these operations reached over $14 billion in less than 3 years, as shown in the following table. This breaks down into over $6 billion in loans and credits, $4 billion in shares, nearly $4 billion in underwriting operations and $6 million in the direct purchase of arms company bonds.

Table 21. Financial operations of the Spanish Armed Bank with the companies of the military border complex (2020-2022)

Type of financial operation	Amount in dollars
Credits and loans	$5,982,280,000.00
Stocks	$4,337,809,150.84
Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$3,981,924,705.88
Bonds	$6,555,000.00
Total	**$14,308,568,856.72**

Source: Author's own

On this occasion, the ranking includes financial institutions frequently featured in the various reports we have produced over more than a decade. They include banks like Banco Santander, BBVA, Caixabank, Sabadell and Bankinter, as well as other new or less frequently mentioned names in the data. The reason for this change is the inclusion of new companies who build land, sea and virtual walls, increasing the militarisation of borders in Europe and around the world.[23] The new companies whose data was available include: ATOS, Accenture and Grupo Eulen, who are some of the industries focused on in this report.

The following table of Spain's Armed Banks has been compiled from the data available.

Table 22: Spanish Armed Bank Ranking and the military border complex (2020-2022)

	Financial institution	Total financing and investment (2020-2022)
1	Banco Santander	$4,985,225,308.23
2	Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	$4,752,628,753.67
3	"Sociedad Estatal de Participaciones Industriales"	$4,129,600,000.00
4	La Caixa Group	$182,361,632.28
5	Banco de Sabadell	$95,638,135.16
6	Ibercaja Group	$56,318,965.18
7	EDM Group	$21,750,827.28
8	Caja de Ingenieros	$15,553,086.90
9	Kutxabank	$12,196,624.49
10	Bankinter	$8,089,179.70
11	Buy & Hold	$5,767,243.38
12	Unicaja Banco	$3,981,726.22
13	Cartesio Inversiones, SGIIC	$3,836,668.73
14	Dunas Capital	$3,648,869.10
15	Abanca	$3,593,400.00
16	Banca March	$3,593,400.00
17	Renta 4 Banco	$3,223,194.38
18	GVC Gaesco Group	$2,968,526.29
19	Zriser Group	$2,371,956.50
20	Metagestión	$1,879,984.25
21	Varianza Gestión	$1,811,013.04
22	Mutua Madrileña	$1,349,360.25
23	TREA Capital Partners	$1,167,255.69
24	Gesconsult-Finconsult Group	$974,192.50
25	Grupo CIMD	$967,394.88
26	Gesiuris Asset Management	$938,511.81
27	Loreto Inversiones	$903,246.17
28	Mapfre	$874,000.00
29	Gala Capital	$805,885.20
30	INOC	$787,645.00
31	Welzia Management	$781,426.75
32	Banco Caminos	$601,446.58
33	Attitude Group	$552,565.76
34	Arquia Caja de Arquitectos	$413,576.03
35	Esfera Capital	$412,350.29
36	Miurex Inversiones Hispania	$328,000.00
37	ATL Capital	$144,710.79
38	Abante Asesores	$138,212.70
39	Caja Rural	$111,928.50
40	BrightGate Capital	$105,013.26
41	Wealthprivat Bank	$69,480.47
42	Euroagentes Gestión	$41,455.00
43	Valentum Asset Management	$31,992.00
44	Universe	$30,712.32
	Total Spanish Armed Bank	**$14,308,568,856.72**

Source: Author's own

23. You will find more information on virtual walls in this Centre Delàs report: https://arxiu.centredelas.org/images/INFORMES_i_altres_PDF/BusinessOfBuildingWalls_TNI_StopWapenhandel_CentreDelas_web_ENG.pdf

As usual, Spain's major financial players hold the top positions in this ranking. They are accompanied by the Sociedad Estatal de Participaciones Industriales (a holding company belonging to the Spanish state), because of its shares in pan-European conglomerate Airbus.

BBVA and Banco Santander are two of the largest Spanish banks (listed on the IBEX 35) and deserve a special mention. Historically, their importance placed them on the top positions in the national Armed Banks ranking. Together, both entities account for over 68% of the total amount of financing and investments from entities headquartered in Spain documented for this period.

As we will see below, they not only lead this Spanish ranking, they are also included in the top 100 financial institutions with most connections to companies responsible for the militarisation of the Mediterranean and its borders. Specifically, they hold the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth positions in our international ranking. The following table shows the details of these two major banks' border and militarisation financing operations between 2020 and 2022.

Table 23. Financing from Banco Santander to the arms' and border militarization industry (2020-2022)

Arms companies	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Airbus	Credits and loans	$404,600,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$314,300,000.00
Boeing	Credits and loans	$973,700,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$889,400,000.00
Honeywell International	Credits and loans	$938,100,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$285,000,000.00
Leonardo	Credits and loans	$198,700,000.00
Safran	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$373,600,000.00
Thales	Credits and loans	$219,200,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$246,100,000.00
Grupo Eulen	Credits and loans	$75,136,024.94
Atos	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$54,362,352.94
Accenture	Stocks	$13,026,930.35
	TOTAL	**$4,985,225,308.23**

Source: Author's own

Table 24. Financing from BBVA to the arms' and border militarization industry (2020-222)

Arms companies	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Airbus	Credits and loans	$404,600,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$290,700,000.00
Boeing	Credits and loans	$900,200,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$879,100,000.00
General Dynamics	Credits and loans	$710,900,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$535,000,000.00
Honeywell International	Credits and loans	$418,900,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$60,000,000.00
Leonardo	Credits and loans	$198,700,000.00
Thales	Credits and loans	$219,200,000.00
Grupo Eulen	Credits and loans	$43,789,982.50
Atos	Stocks	$145,909.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$54,362,352.94
Accenture	Stocks	$37,030,509.22
	TOTAL	**$4,752,628,753.67**

Source: Author's own

As we can see in the above tables, Banco Santander mainly provided financial support through credits, bond issuance and underwriting contracts to three companies: Airbus ($718 million), Boeing ($1.863 billion) and Honeywell International ($1.223 billion). Banco Santander issued financial liabilities worth over $3.8 billion to three companies in less than three years. BBVA figures for these three companies are very similar, except Honeywell International ($478 million), whose share of the total financing provided by BBVA decreased.

European giant Airbus is a key supplier of helicopters used to patrol land borders, deployed by Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Lithuania and in maritime Operations Sophia, Poseidon and Triton. Airbus and its subsidiaries participated in at least 13 EU-funded border security research projects, including OCEAN2020, PERSEUS and LOBOS.[24] Sabadell also authorised loans to this multinational company worth over $75 million.

Boeing is another major US aerospace company that provides Mediterranean countries with combat and transport helicopters. It sold over 30 CH-47 Chinook transport helicopters to Spain, Turkey and Greece, and over 60 AH-64E Apache combat helicopters to Egypt and Morocco. It wasn't just BBVA and Banco Santander who funded Boeing, Caixabank also gave the company a loan worth over $110 million.

Honeywell International is a US company involved in the manufacture of all kinds of militarised solutions for air and maritime transport vehicles. It also works on the production and modernisation of nuclear weapons. During the 2019-2021 period, it sold over 230 M-346 aircraft engines to Greece and Italy to update their army attack helicopters to the T-129B model.

BBVA granted one of the world's largest military contractors, US company General Dynamics, over $1200 million in loans and underwriting contracts. They were commissioned to manufacture 162 M-1A1SA Abrams tanks for Morocco and over 300 Namer vehicles for Israel.

24. Report published by the Transnational Institute, Stop Wapenhandel and the Centre Delàs: The Business of Building Walls by Mark Akkerman 2019. Retrieved 08/02/2022 https://centredelas.org/publicacions/informe-del-transnational-institute-stop-wapenhandel-i-el-centre-delas-el-negoci-de-construir-murs/?lang=en

Table 25. The Spanish Armed Bank and Airbus (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Credits and loans	$404,600,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$290,700,000.00
Banco de Sabadell	Credits and loans	$75,600,000.00
Banco Santander	Credits and loans	$404,600,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$314,300,000.00
Sociedad Estatal de Participaciones Industriales	Stocks	$4,129,600,000.00
	TOTAL	**$5,619,400,000.00**

Source: Author's own

Table 26. The Spanish Armed Bank and Boeing (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Credits and loans	$900,200,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$879,100,000.00
La Caixa Group	Credits and loans	$110,700,000.00
Banco Santander	Credits and loans	$973,700,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$889,400,000.00
	TOTAL	**$3,753,100,000.00**

Source: Author's own

Table 27. The Spanish Armed Bank and Honeywell International (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Credits and loans	$418,900,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$60,000,000.00
Banco Santander	Credits and loans	$938,100,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$285,000,000.00
	TOTAL	**$1,702,000,000.00**

Source: Author's own

Table 28. The Spanish Armed Bank and General Dynamics (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Credits and loans	$710,900,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$535,000,000.00
	TOTAL	**$1,245,900,000.00**

Source: Author's own

It also provided loan and bond financing to major European corporations involved in the industrial military complex, such as Leonardo and France's Safran and Thales.

Italian arms company Leonardo is a leading supplier of helicopters for maritime surveillance at borders. Italy widely used Leonardo helicopters and aircraft in Operations Mare Nostrum, Hera147 and Sophia. Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom deployed additional Leonardo helicopters during Operation Sophia. Frontex also selected the Leonardo UAV Falco for maritime border surveillance tests in the Mediterranean in 2018.

Morpho was a biometric identification subsidiary of French military giant Safran. It provided biometric identification documents and applications to many countries both in and outside Europe. It helped shape a biometric data system stored in a database available to border control authorities in Schengen countries that was partly financed by the EU External Border Fund. In 2017, Safran sold Morpho, which merged with Oberthur Technologies to become OT Morpho, and was later renamed Idemia.

Thales is the other major French company financed by BBVA and Banco Santander. As explained in previous chapters, Thales systems were used by Dutch and Portuguese ships deployed in Frontex operations. Thales also produces maritime surveillance systems for drones and works on developing border surveillance infrastructure for Eurosur.

One of the companies that received financing from a large number of Spanish financial institutions is Eulen S.A. the Spanish branch of the Grupo Eulen, focused on outsourcing general services, which has over 75,000 employees and a 2020 turnover of over €1.4 billion.[25]

25. Information from Grupo Eulen, retrieved on 09/02/2023 at https://eulen.com/es/corporacion/

Table 29. The Spanish Armed Bank and Leonardo (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Credits and loans	$198,700,000.00
Banco Santander	Credits and loans	$198,700,000.00
	TOTAL	**$397,400,000.00**

Source: Author's own

Table 30. The Spanish Armed Bank and Safran (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Banco Santander	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$373,600,000.00
	TOTAL	**$373,600,000.00**

Source: Author's own

Table 31. The Spanish Armed Bank and Thales (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Credits and loans	$219,200,000.00
Banco Santander	Credits and loans	$219,200,000.00
	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$246,100,000.00
		$684,500,000.00

Source: Author's own

Grupo Eulen received a number of contracts for the Melilla Temporary Immigrant Accommodation Centre (CETI),[26] as shown in Table 32, and has also worked on contracts to provide maintenance, operation and comprehensive maintenance of the premises and services at the Beni-Enzar customs facility (Melilla), and the D.G. Melilla Security and security service at the office for foreign nationals, the registry and information office and operational departments of the Spanish Government Delegation.

Eulen S.A received corporate loans and revolving credits from BBVA ($43 million) and Banco Santander ($75 million) as well as seven other financial entities: Abanca ($3.5 million), Banca March ($3.5 million), Sabadell ($14.3 million), Ibercaja ($3.5 million), Kutxabank ($11.5 million), Caixabank ($49 million) and Unicaja ($3.5 million).

26. Multiple human rights violations have been reported in the Southern Border CETI as explained in this news report by El Salto: https://www.elsaltodiario.com/ceti/flagrante-violacion-derechos-ceti-melilla-coronavirus-denunciada-ante-fiscalia

Table 32. The Spanish Armed Bank and Grupo Eulen (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Abanca	Credits and loans	3,593,400.00 €
Banca March	Credits and loans	3,593,400.00 €
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Credits and loans	43,789,982.50 €
Banco de Sabadell	Credits and loans	14,372,065.76 €
Ibercaja Group	Credits and loans	3,593,400.00 €
Kutxabank	Credits and loans	11,576,220.65 €
La Caixa Group	Credits and loans	49,932,106.15 €
Banco Santander	Credits and loans	75,136,024.94 €
Unicaja Banco	Credits and loans	3,593,400.00 €
TOTAL		**$209,180,000.00**

Source: Author's own

Some of the 21 financial institutions included in the ranking have established financial relations with ATOS. It deployed the SIVE system, and according to the porCausa database, received over 30 contracts to supply, improve and maintain various monitoring and surveillance facilities on the land border and for maritime surveillance between 2014 and 2020. These are million euro contracts, to supply technology and equipment, and for work related to the modernisation and expansion of SIVE in Las Palmas province (valued at over €5 million), or the supply, installation and integration of various types of equipment to expand the capabilities of the Rio Segura vessel (valued at over €2 million). This company also maintains several points in the border control radar network. Banco Santander and BBVA signed ATOS bonds worth over €54 million each, and the Basque bank also took a small stake in its capital through a minor share purchase in 2021. The list of related financial entities also includes other known names such as: Arquia Caja de Arquitectos (52,000), Banco Caminos (601,000), Bankinter ($7 million), Ibercaja ($7 million), Kutxabank (620,000), Mapfre (874,000) and Unicaja (378,000).

Accenture is another major multinational with a place in this Spanish ranking. The company provides strategy consultancy, technology and outsourcing services and has participated in most of the major contracts for virtual walls, not including Sopra Steria, and were promoted by eu-LISA (European Union Agency for the Operational Management of Large-Scale IT Systems in the Space of Freedom, Security and Justice). Notably, over several years, it took part in the development of the Schengen area border control system: Visa Information System (VIS). Both Banco Santander and BBVA held shares in the company during the period studied. Banco Santander had over $13 million in shares in its portfolio while BBVA invested over $37 million.

Table 33. The Spanish Armed Bank and Atos (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Abante Asesores	Stocks	$138,212.70
Arquia Caja de Arquitectos	Stocks	$52,706.27
ATL Capital	Stocks	$102,012.14
Attitude Group	Stocks	$552,565.76
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Issuance of bonds and promissory notes	$54,362,352.94
	Stocks	$145,909.00
Banco Caminos	Stocks	$601,446.58
Bankinter	Stocks	$7,011,764.25
Cartesio Inversiones, SGIIC	Stocks	$3,836,668.73
Gesiuris Asset Management	Stocks	$552,565.76
GVC Gaesco Group	Stocks	$1,725,705.39
Ibercaja Group	Stocks	$7,946,703.28
Kutxabank	Stocks	$620,403.84
Loreto Inversiones	Stocks	$903,246.17
Mapfre	Bonds	$874,000.00
Renta 4 Banco	Stocks	$1,177,390.13
Banco Santander	Underwriting	$54,362,352.94
TREA Capital Partners	Stocks	$1,167,255.69
Unicaja Banco	Stocks	$388,326.22
Varianza Gestión	Stocks	$1,811,013.04
Wealthprivat Bank	Stocks	$69,480.47
Zriser Group	Stocks	$2,371,956.50
	TOTAL	**$140,774,037.80**

Source: Author's own

Other major Spanish banks such as Caixabank ($16 million), Banco de Sabadell ($5 million) and Bankinter ($1 million) also invested in shares in this company. It is worth highlighting the presence of two cooperative groups: Caja de Ingenieros ($15 million) and Caja Rural ($11 million) as these are generally perceived as being more ethical because of their membership structure, and are often wrongly understood to hold a position similar to ethical banks.

Table 34. The Spanish Armed Bank and Accenture (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Arquia Caja de Arquitectos	Stocks	$360,869.76
ATL Capital	Stocks	$42,698.65
Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	Stocks	$37,030,509.22
Banco de Sabadell	Stocks	$5,666,069.40
Bankinter	Stocks	$1,077,415.45
BrightGate Capital	Stocks	$105,013.26
Buy & Hold	Stocks	$5,767,243.38
Caja de Ingenieros	Stocks	$15,553,086.90
Caja Rural	Stocks	$111,928.50
Dunas Capital	Stocks	$3,648,869.10
EDM Group	Stocks	$21,750,827.28
Esfera Capital	Stocks	$135,235.10
Euroagentes Gestión	Stocks	$41,455.00
Gala Capital	Stocks	$805,885.20
Gesconsult-Finconsult Group	Stocks	$974,192.50
Gesiuris Asset Management	Stocks	$385,946.05
Grupo CIMD	Stocks	$967,394.88
GVC Gaesco Group	Stocks	$1,242,820.90
Ibercaja Group	Stocks	$44,778,861.90
INOC	Stocks	$787,645.00
La Caixa Group	Stocks	$16,594,526.13
Metagestión	Stocks	$1,879,984.25
Mutua Madrileña	Stocks	$1,349,360.25
Renta 4 Banco	Stocks	$2,045,804.25
Banco Santander	Stocks	$13,026,930.35
Universe	Stocks	$30,712.32
Valentum Asset Management	Stocks	$31,992.00
Welzia Management	Stocks	$781,426.75
	TOTAL	**$176,974,703.73**

Source: Author's own

Indra is one of the major beneficiaries of contracts to establish Spanish perimeters, especially on the Southern Border. According to the porCausa Database on the Migration Control Industry, it signed 75 of such contracts, worth €44 million over the past seven years. These are to maintain the SIVE system, to carry out maritime surveillance, to repair patrol boats and maintain active maritime vessels and to provide R&D services for maritime border surveillance under the CLOSEYE project. Caixabank is the most recognised financial entity to have acquired bonds issued by this company about which we were able to gather information.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Israeli company Elbit Systems specialises in the manufacture of military and intelligence systems and various types of vehicles, including submarines, aircraft and combat vessels.

Elbit is also known for technologies that can convert ground patrol vehicles to unmanned vehicles, turning them into the equivalent of land drones. It has developed a series of fully autonomous military patrol vehicles used by Israel along its Gaza Strip border. Elbit also produces Hermes drones, which Switzerland ordered for its Border Guards – a controversial deal, given that they were purchased by a self-declared 'neutral' country from a country immersed in an armed conflict. Some of these drones were delivered in early 2023. In 2018, Elbit won a tender to supply European Maritime Safety (EMSA) with this type of drone, meaning that any member state or EU partner country can request this resource for border monitoring.

Table 35. The Spanish Armed Bank and Indra (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Esfera Capital	Bonds	$218,000.00
La Caixa Group	Bonds	$5,135,000.00
Miurex Inversiones Hispania	Bonds	$328,000.00
	TOTAL	**$5,681,000.00**

Source: Author's own

Table 36. The Spanish Armed Bank and Elbit Systems (2020-2022)

Financial institution	Type of financing	Amount in dollars
Esfera Capital	Stocks	$59,115.19
	TOTAL	**$59,115.19**

Source: Author's own

Table 37 summarises Spanish Armed Banks financing of various companies that have profited from border migration policies in the past three years.

Table 37. Ranking of companies financed by the Spanish Armed Bank (2020-2022)

Arms company	Total financing and investment (2020-2022)
Airbus	$5,619,400,000.00
Boeing	$3,753,100,000.00
Honeywell International	$1,702,000,000.00
General Dynamics	$1,245,900,000.00
Thales	$684,500,000.00
Leonardo	$397,400,000.00
Safran	$373,600,000.00
Grupo Eulen	$209,180,000.00
Accenture	$176,974,703.73
Atos	$140,774,037.80
Indra	$5,681,000.00
Elbit Systems	$59,115.19
Total	**14,308,568,856.72 €**

Source: Author's own

3.2. THE FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT ASSIGN MOST FUNDS TO FINANCING AND INVESTING IN COMPANIES THAT PROFIT FROM BORDER SECURITY AND MILITARISATION

The following table shows the data available from the 100 financial institutions that channelled most financing and investment into the 19 companies which we have obtained information from. The top 15 include some of America's most important financial firms. Vanguard, the world's largest investment fund manager comes in top place. It is followed by State Street (the bank holding company), BlackRock, another major investment fund manager, and other big firms like Capital Group, Bank of America and JPMorgan. The first European bank, Deutsche Bank, is as low as 16th place. Banco Santander and BBVA are the only two Spanish-based financial entities in this ranking. They appear in 38th and 39th place.

Table 38. Top 100 of International Armed Banks (2020-2022)

	Financial institution	Amount in dollars
1	Vanguard	$86,586,359,161.81
2	State Street	$65,455,737,812.21
3	BlackRock	$62,798,311,034.40
4	Capital Group	$53,810,093,344.62
5	Bank of America	$39,031,558,993.39
6	JPMorgan Chase	$29,802,510,979.33
7	Wellington Management	$25,887,776,542.26
8	Citigroup	$24,976,077,242.24
9	Morgan Stanley	$23,175,277,210.87
10	Wells Fargo	$22,580,040,260.93
11	Fidelity Investments	$17,191,217,627.48
12	Geode Capital Holdings	$16,058,675,849.93
13	Sun Life Financial	$15,777,940,468.50
14	Newport Group	$15,683,200,000.00
15	Goldman Sachs	$14,928,503,832.43
16	Deutsche Bank	$12,757,867,802.94
17	Mizuho Financial	$12,156,858,605.42
18	T. Rowe Price	$11,780,210,883.57
19	Northern Trust	$10,837,891,622.72
20	BNP Paribas	$10,827,337,390.82
21	Franklin Resources	$10,539,816,787.65
22	Crédit Agricole	$9,942,548,798.64
23	SMBC Group	$9,391,139,537.63
24	Royal Bank of Canada	$9,148,361,823.98
25	Mitsubishi UFJ Financial	$8,164,363,990.43
26	Raven's Wing Asset Management	$7,245,700,000.00
27	Ameriprise Financial	$6,876,571,113.57
28	Société Générale	$6,859,228,539.89
29	Invesco	$6,794,531,484.58
30	TIAA	$6,569,612,465.05
31	UBS	$6,533,233,710.88
32	Barclays	$6,298,560,648.94
33	Groupe BPCE	$6,260,077,273.59
34	Charles Schwab	$6,227,097,070.58
35	Bank of New York Mellon	$5,299,013,195.42
36	Japan Mutual Aid Association of Public School Teachers	$5,197,000,000.00
37	Legal & General	$5,153,035,545.01
38	Banco Santander	$4,985,225,308.23
39	Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA)	$4,752,628,753.67
40	UniCredit	$4,408,961,401.68
41	Government Pension Fund Global	$4,196,883,189.81
42	"Sociedad Estatal de Participaciones Industriales"	$4,129,600,000.00
43	Commerzbank	$4,035,967,343.80

	Financial institution	Amount in dollars
44	HSBC	$3,947,074,624.56
45	US Bancorp	$3,840,815,560.01
46	Dodge & Cox	$3,786,500,000.00
47	Government Pension Investment Fund (GPIF)	$3,575,400,000.00
48	Janus Henderson	$3,472,135,958.90
49	Lazard	$3,061,986,378.14
50	Scotiabank	$2,975,159,959.92
51	Toronto-Dominion Bank	$2,885,296,469.23
52	Polen Capital Management, LLC	$2,792,567,572.65
53	Power Financial Corporation	$2,748,903,696.38
54	WCM Investment Management	$2,505,852,183.06
55	Aristotle Capital Management	$2,380,571,303.95
56	Credit Suisse	$2,339,500,779.94
57	Lloyds Banking Group	$2,276,400,000.00
58	European Investment Bank	$2,255,600,000.00
59	BMO Financial Group	$2,190,238,996.50
60	Affiliated Managers Group	$2,164,930,206.55
61	PNC Financial Services	$2,071,338,525.35
62	NatWest	$1,973,500,000.00
63	Eaton Vance	$1,960,665,108.28
64	Intesa Sanpaolo	$1,898,588,132.81
65	Macquarie Group	$1,779,513,186.50
66	Children's Investment Fund Manage- ment	$1,757,600,000.00
67	Dimensional Fund Advisors	$1,717,520,993.67
68	Standard Chartered	$1,709,348,399.69
69	Crédit Mutuel CIC Group	$1,682,115,918.68
70	ANZ	$1,679,900,000.00
71	Artisan Partners	$1,638,963,882.85
72	DZ Bank	$1,630,067,674.33
73	California Public Employees' Retirement System (CalPERS)	$1,607,909,369.18
74	Bank of China	$1,517,902,743.56
75	Sanders Capital	$1,487,200,000.00
76	First Abu Dhabi Bank	$1,479,000,000.00
77	Orix Corporation	$1,474,902,734.96
78	Schweizerische Nationalbank	$1,462,305,617.90
79	DBS	$1,438,700,000.00
80	Equitable Holdings	$1,435,165,362.69
81	GQG Partners	$1,403,947,736.20
82	Primecap Management	$1,362,500,000.00
83	Westpac	$1,334,032,376.25
84	Neuberger Berman	$1,293,630,438.25
85	First Trust Advisors	$1,285,458,635.64
86	Riyad Bank	$1,155,500,000.00
87	AKO Capital	$1,025,800,658.60
88	Stifel Financial	$986,801,882.03
89	Truist Financial	$949,917,770.95
90	Allianz	$937,093,771.73
91	Silchester International Investors	$919,600,000.00
92	Deka Group	$873,213,088.21
93	Fisher Investments	$800,292,660.35
94	CIBC	$800,010,344.39
95	Prudential Financial (US)	$798,954,645.44
96	Grantham Mayo Van Otterloo & Co	$776,688,059.15
97	Industrial and Commercial Bank of China	$762,800,000.00
98	Brown Advisory	$726,852,357.50
99	Northill Capital	$725,300,000.00
100	Arrowstreet Capital	$713,625,480.08
	Total	**$823,345,765,893.95**

Source: Author's own

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

EVOLUTIONS IN THE MILITARISATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

During the 2011-2021 period a total of **37 countries from all over the world contributed to the militarisation of the Mediterranean** by exporting military equipment. **The European Union, United States and Russia represent 91%** of the total transaction volume, which is mainly destined for Southern Mediterranean countries. The main import nations include **Algeria, Egypt and Turkey**. Only 15% of global arms export transactions are for countries in the Northern Mediterranean, led by **Greece, Italy and Spain**.

Despite the widespread trend to reduce military arsenals, **countries continue to renew** their military equipment, acquire air defence systems, missiles and bombs, and renew their fleets with new aircraft, vessels and armoured vehicles. There is also a clear tendency to purchase new engines, radars and sensors to keep **intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance** capabilities up-to-date and allow greater interoperability between units and armies closely involved in border control.

During the 2019-2021 period, a total of 24 countries exported military equipment to the Mediterranean, through 346 arms transactions. We observe a continuation of the recent trends, in terms of the main exporting powers and the percentages exported to Northern and Southern Mediterranean countries. However, **Egypt** significantly increased its import volume, pushing **Israel** into a distant second place. The main categories exported by volume are **Aircraft (47%), Vessels (22%), Armoured Vehicles (13%) and Missiles (11%).**

COMPANIES WHOSE EXPORTS MILITARISE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES AND BORDERS

A total of **125 companies** around the world produced the equipment exported to Mediterranean countries. We have information on the **financing of 14 of these companies** (Airbus, BAE Systems, Boeing, Elbit Systems, Fincantieri, General Dynamics, Honeywell, L3Harris, Leonardo, Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman, Raytheon Technologies, Textron and Thales Group) and multiple companies that maintain economic relations with them. Together these represent a total of **164 transactions, representing 47% of all exports during the 2019-2021 period**.

We also have **information on four companies involved in border militarisation: Accenture, ATOS, Eulen and Indra**. The last three with **Thales**, they received a total of **56 contracts to militarise Spain's Southern Border since 2019**, through the management of Temporary Immigrant Accommodation Centres (Centros de Estancia Temporal para Inmigrantes - CETI), the development and maintenance of the Integrated External Surveillance System (Sistema Integral de Vigilancia Exterior - SIVE), the construction and maintenance of border fences in Ceuta and Melilla, and maintenance of the Beni-Enzar customs facility in Melilla.

ARMED BANKS AND THE MILITARISATION OF MEDITERRANEAN BORDERS

According to the data collected and used to produce this report, **44 financial institutions headquartered in Spain** allocated over $**14.308 billion** to finance **12 arms companies** involved in the militarisation of Mediterranean countries and borders through **4,679 financial operations** that took place between 2020 and 2022. This paradox reminds us that we live in an economic system in which the freedom of movement of capital, goods and people is promoted, so long as these do not migrate out of countries in the Global South, but instead come from countries that history has kept at the centre of a privileged, globalised world through ancient colonial and commercial dynamics.

Credit and loans are the most common financing methods financial institutions provide to arms companies (using their clients' money), followed by share purchases, underwriting and the direct purchase of bonds and promissory notes.

The Spanish financial institutions that allocated most funds to this sector over the study period are **Banco Santander and BBVA**, **at respectively $4.985 and $4.752 billion**. This represents over 68% of the total amount of such transactions by Spain's Armed Banks. Spain's other commercial banks in this ranking's **Top 5** are **CaixaBank and Banco Sabadell**, but with significantly lower amounts: $182 million and $95 million respectively.

The bulk of the operations analysed are concentrated between these banks, but the ranking includes other names, some of which are particularly worrying given their customer's faith that they would not work with arms related companies. This is true of the **Caja de Ingenieros** and **Caja Rural** savings banks, and reinforces one of our longstanding hypotheses. Although far from negligible, the information to which we have access is very limited. Occasionally, by obtaining information from companies clearly related in some way to the militarisation of our societies and our environment, which we were previously unable to analyse due to a lack of information (**Grupo Eulen, Accenture, ATOS**), we discover previously unknown connections between these companies and other financial institutions. There seems to be a logical correlation between the number of companies about which information is available and the number of entities included in Spain's Armed Banks ranking. As, to date, no ethical bank has ever shown up in our research, **ethical banks are the only alternative to Armed Banking**. A bank's legal form, lower asset volume or more local business strategy does not guarantee that it has not decided or will never decide to invest in or finance arms.

Some of the manufactures studied are among the SIPRI Top **100 Arms-Producing and Military Service Companies**,[27] and these **received most finance from Spain's Armed Banks**. **AIRBUS** received over $5 billion, largely explained by the over $4.1 billion stake held by SEPI, **Boeing** received over $3.7 billion, **Honeywell International** over $1.7 billion and **General Dynamics** over $1.2 billion – together representing over 86% of the total financing provided.

Companies with **Spanish government contracts to maintain the militarisation of spaces like the Southern Border**, where human rights organisations have reported countless migrant human rights violations, deserve particular attention: **Accenture, Atos, Grupo Eulen and Indra** received over $500 million in total. According to the data obtained, Eulen received $209 million, Accenture $176 million, Atos $140 million and Indra over $5 million, although this latter figure is likely to actually be much higher, given the lack of data available for this company.

In addition to the ranking of Spanish financial institutions, we also created an **international ranking**, which includes major institutional investors, financial institutions, and insurance companies. The top places are held by United States companies, with the first European institutions such as Deutsche Bank, BNP Paribas Crédit Agricole and Barclays a little further down. **Banco Santander and BBVA** are located in positions 38 and 39, respectively, and **are the only two Spanish financial entities included in this global ranking.**

Finally, we would like to emphasise the key idea behind this report. The arms companies involved in the Mediterranean border war could not continue their business activities without the support of their financial backers. As a result, and as we have reported for some time, the financial system is a primary player

27. SIPRI arms industry database https://sipri.org/databases/armsindustry

in the military economic cycle, and therefore, as we have seen, supports the militarisation of the Mediterranean and its borders. Without a financial umbrella, military, security and control actions could not be carried out. Year after year, as widely documented, such actions cause the death of thousands of people on the Southern Border and at many other Mediterranean border areas. Some financial institutions are therefore jointly responsible for one of the most flagrant tragedies of our times. We believe that it is therefore vital to withdraw our custom from banks, insurance companies and any financial institution that may be supporting companies involved in the machinery that feeds the militarisation and militarism of our societies.

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