

# MANY GRAINS OF SAND

A sourcebook of ideas  
for changing the world,  
tried and tested  
in Catalonia

@LizCastro

All over Catalonia • 2010+

# CANDLE LIGHTING

Candle mosaics have been one of the most popular actions taken by independence activists, taking place in hundreds of towns in dozens of configurations. The very first candle flag was made in the small town of Verges, rather spontaneously. The organizers explain:

*It was a couple of years ago that a group of us were sitting around, having a beer, getting ready for the traditional singing of "habaneres" on the night before Catalonia's National Day, and we got this idea: what if we got a bunch of candles and after the singing, we had a procession and created a huge Catalan independence flag on the ground, and everybody in town would light them all at the same time? And just like that, one person went off running to the town of Quart and spent 59€ on 1000 candles while another went to the square to figure out where the flag would go.*

*We thought that by making a flag out of candles we'd show a cool, powerful, positive image, which would help express a very clear message:*

*that we long for independence. An image that reflects the political moment the country is going through. It was improvised, spontaneous, the candles almost didn't stay lit, many people who weren't in Verges that day missed it, and the shape of the flag left a bit to be desired. But we had a great time. We just wanted to do it.*

*A year later, a bunch of friends from the Verges Independence Association improved the process. First, they used plastic cups so the candles wouldn't go out, and since they were more organized, they drew a flag that might have been smaller, but was straighter and more perfect. Much nicer looking! In fact, they were the ones who figured out the system that later would be used to create candle-flags all over the country. The image of that second version, taken from the tower above the plaza, says it all.*

*In 2012, we did it again, and we hoped that Verges' candle flag would become a local tradition for the eve of September 11 in this Empordanès town.*

...



Cardona. ©Montserrat Muñoz i Codina



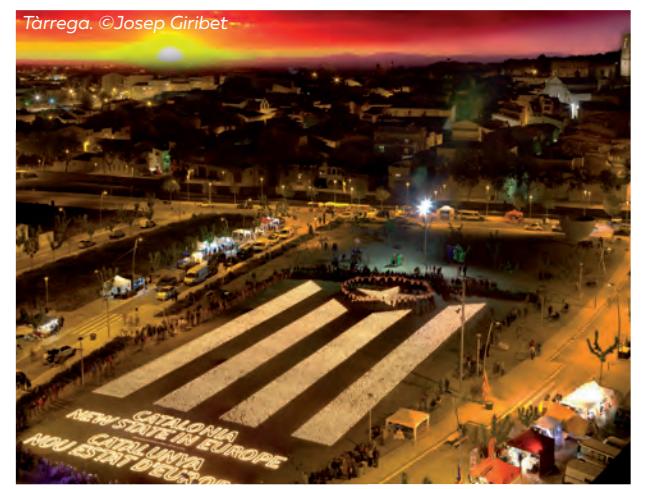
Tona. ©Ester Clot Tortadès



Vic. ©Emili Vilamala



Verges. ©Albert Casabó



Tàrrega. ©Josep Giribet



Alcover. ©Toni Rosich



Tona. ©Ester Clot Tortadès



Berga. ©Manel Escobet i Giro

Barcelona • March 18, 2012

# FLASHMOB IN-INDE-INDEPENDÈNCIA!

The organizers of the Lip Dub in Vic had almost two million views for their video and decided that they wanted to do something new: a Flash mob in Barcelona's most central square: Plaça Catalunya.

The plan was to meet on March 18th, 2012 at 12 noon. One woman stood in the very center of the square, all alone, and began to chant "in-inde-independència!" (independence). Some passerby looked at her askance, but others quickly joined in. In just a few minutes, the entire plaza filled with people—8500 people according to the organizers—all chanting for independence.

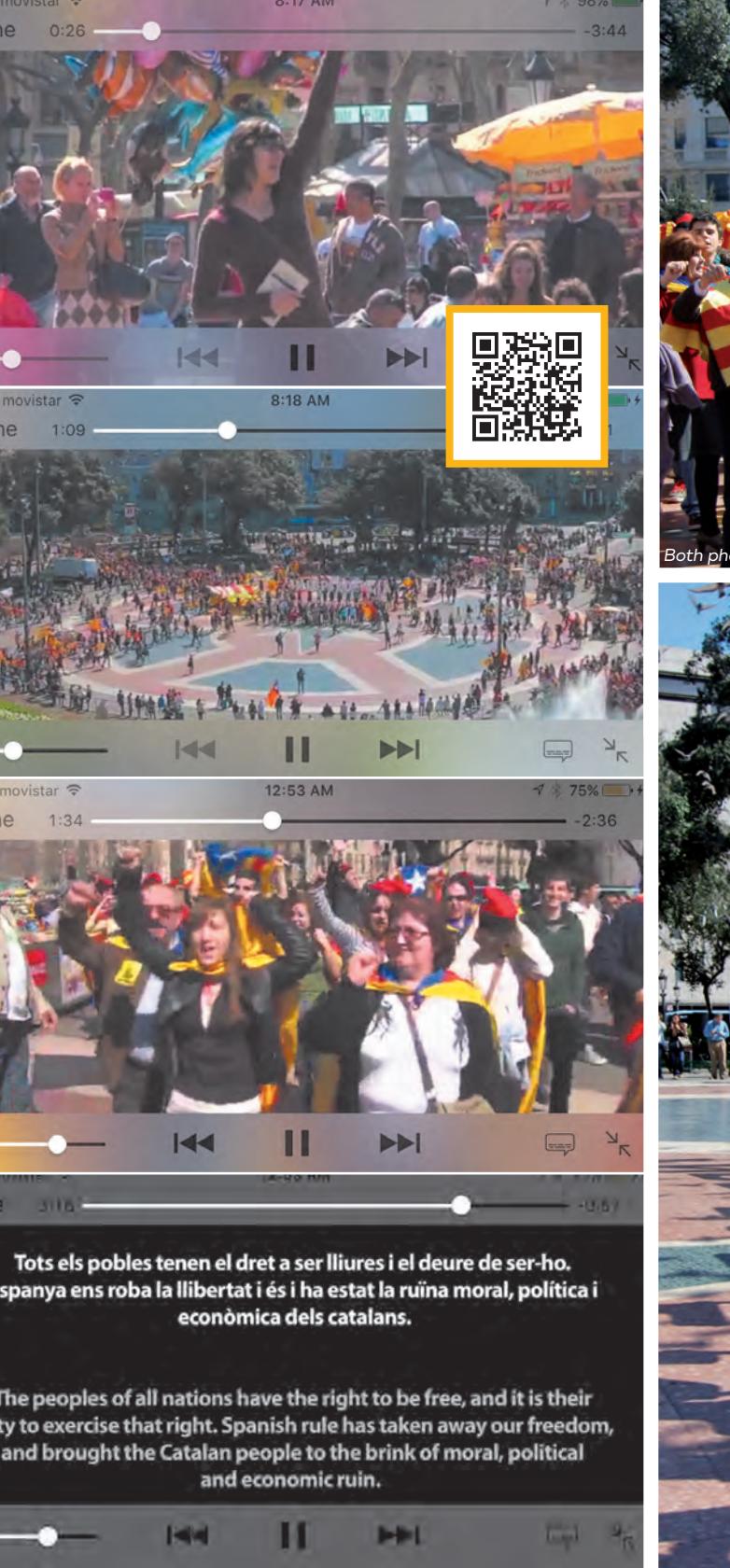
The organizers then used crowdfunding to raise 2000€ in order to create a professional video of the flashmob to be able to share it with the world. We see images of the lone chanter,

joined by thousands, and then the cello music of Catalonia's Pau Casals—known throughout the world by his Spanish name of Pablo, because in Franco's Spain he couldn't use his Catalan name—begins to sound. The piece is "El cant dels ocells" (The song of the birds), a traditional Catalan Christmas carol and lullaby that after Casals' exile became the first song in every one of his concerts.

The crowd dissipates almost as quickly as it has appeared, and on the screen we read "The peoples of all nations have the right to be free, and it is their duty to exercise that right. Spanish rule has taken away our freedom, and brought the Catalan people to the brink of moral, political and economic ruin."

At this writing, the video has been seen more than 270,000 times. •

*At 12 noon sharp, a woman (top left) begins to shout "in-inde-independència!" Some look at her and others join in. Soon thousands are joining her (middle two frames) and the entire plaza fills with people shouting for Catalan independence. Click the QR code to see the whole video.*



Catalonia • June 30 – September 11, 2012

# NEXT STATE IN EUROPE

## THE FIRST BIG DEMONSTRATION FOR INDEPENDENCE

After the last straw poll for independence in Barcelona on April 10, 2011, with turnout good given the lack of institutional support but low by official standards, the independence movement took a step backward to regroup. The members of the various "Decideix" teams, who had organized straw polls in their cities and towns, now shifted over to join the brand new Catalan National Assembly (ANC), which was officially constituted in the Spring of 2012. The huge cadre of seasoned, committed activists gave it a notable boost.

After quickly setting up their statutes, the ANC set to work writing their first Road Map to independence. One of the first actions they challenged themselves to was a massive demonstration on Catalonia's National Day, which marks the day Barcelona fell to Bourbon Castilian troops in the War of Spanish Succession, September 11, 1714.

The tradition of commemorating the defeat began at the end of the 19th century and was soon under attack by Spanish authorities, which only served to make the marches more meaningful. The first September 11 march after Franco's death took place in 1977 and attracted around 1.5 million people (out of a population of less than 6 million). It was a fresh awakening after a long 40 year dictatorship.

But in the intervening years between 1977 and 2012, attendance had waned to just a couple of tens of thousands of people. The ANC had its work cut out for it.

Instead of focusing only on September 11, the volunteers organized 'practice' marches around Catalonia throughout the summer. The first, in Lleida, Catalonia's westernmost capital city, took place on July 1, followed by a whopping 482 additional pre-marches throughout Catalonia.

...

*By holding warm-up marches—like this inaugural one in Lleida in June, 2012—organizers publicized and drummed up excitement for the big September march in Barcelona.*



All over Catalonia • 2012+

# THE BIG FLAG

Back in 2012, Josep Camarasa, a plumber and gas installation worker from the western-most part of Catalonia was frustrated that a city councilperson was being fined for having a Catalonia sticker on their license plate. It was the last straw for Camarasa. Fed up with people speaking badly about Catalonia and attacking the language, he decided he had to do something. He decided to sew a massive flag and bring it to the trial to show his support. That first flag measured 4 feet by 8 feet.

Since that very first trip, Camarasa has attended hundreds and hundreds of events, from as far north as Andorra to the Delta de l'Ebre in the south, from the mountains to the sea. He sews all his flags by hand, sometimes until late

into the night before taking off the next day for the next event. Some include messages in Hebrew and English and Japanese. As he has added to his flags, they've gotten bigger and bigger, measuring almost 6.4 meters (18 feet) across, on a pole 11 meters (36 feet) high. He says it takes balance and experience to keep them aloft, especially after several hours.

Camarasa tries to attend events mostly on the weekends so he doesn't have to take time off of work, and conversely tries to save up sick days to compensate for the weekday events. He doesn't keep track of how many places he's been, or how many kilometers he's driven, or how much gas or how many tolls he's had to pay. He just wants to do his part to keep people's spirits high. •

*Josep Camarasa has brought his huge, hand-sewn flags to events all over Catalonia. Clockwise from top-left: Montserrat Monastery; Sagrada Família Church; Arc de Triomf; Bassera Peak, Andorra.*





# WE WANT TO VOTE



The overwhelming success of the September 11, 2012 demonstration put a vote for Catalan independence on the table.

The only doubt was how to make it happen—and when.

New York to San Francisco, USA • Spring, 2013

# CAPITOL TO CAPITOL

## EXPLAINING CATALUNYA IN THE US

In early 2013, Jordi Cases, a pharmacist from a small town outside Barcelona, decided he wanted to help get Catalonia's story out to the world. Instead of joining an organization and attending a lot of meetings, he connected up with journalist Neus Marmol and videographer Julio Gómez, and they planned the trip between them.

The idea was to bring information about Catalonia directly to the governors of each of the United States' 50 states. Cases printed copies of the Catalan Parliament Declaration of Sovereignty, passed overwhelmingly in January of that year, brought 50 copies of *What's up with Catalonia?* and banked on the diplomatic power of Catalonia's premier soccer team, FC Barcelona by bringing t-shirts to share.

In addition to sharing information directly with American political leaders, the three planned a documentary and interviews that they could share with Catalans back home about just how the independence process was viewed from the other side of the ocean.

The trip began in New York in late May, and the trio progressed southward, adding a Catalan flag to the Benjamin Franklin Parkway in Philadelphia, watching a Barça game with fans in Washington DC, interviewing a Catalan professor in Athens, GA, and bringing books, proclamations, and t-shirts to State Capitols all along the way.

In Monument Valley, they stopped at a Navajo trading post and gave the owner a Catalan flag. Some bikers in Arizona gave Marmol a lift with the Catalan flag flying behind her. They continued to Los Angeles and San Francisco in California, before zipping back across country, along the 80, through Iowa, a visit to Massachusetts and back to New York—some 14,000 kilometers in all (almost 9000 miles).

After their return home, they held a crowdfunding campaign to finance compiling the interviews and photos into a feature length documentary which premiered on November 16, 2013. Next stop: Europe! •



Grand Canyon. ©Julio Gómez Rueda



Austin, Texas. ©Julio Gómez Rueda



Athens, Georgia. ©Julio Gómez Rueda



Navajo Reservation. ©Julio Gómez Rueda



Route 66, Southwest US. ©Julio Gómez Rueda





All four photos: Montroig del Camp, Tram 161, Catalan Way. ©Josep Giribet



In order to include all 250 miles of the Catalan Way, at the same size as shown at left, this book would have to have approximately 10,000 pages.

- to get an aerial view. As 1.6 million yellow t-shirted participants took hands, Catalonia not only showed the world its incredible capacity for massive, peaceful, and organized community action, it proved it to itself.

The day after the march, Catalonia's Government spokesperson promised that

There would be a question and date for the referendum by the end of 2013.

Indeed, on December 13, 2013, the question and date were announced: "Do you want Catalonia to be a state? And if so, do you want it to be an independent state?" The date: November 9, 2014. •

The image shows the front page of El País Spain newspaper. The main title 'EL PAÍS' is at the top in large letters, with 'Spain' in a smaller orange box above it. Below the title is the subtitle 'EL PERIODICO GENERAL DE REFERENCIA'. There are several news headlines and images. One prominent image shows a long red and yellow striped banner being held by a crowd of people. Another image shows a man in a suit, identified as Pedro Sánchez, in a dark setting. The overall layout is clean with a mix of black and white and color photographs.

The image shows the front cover of the magazine 'L'Indépendant, France'. The title 'L'INDEPENDANT' is prominently displayed at the top in large blue letters. Below it, 'CATALAN' is written in smaller letters. The subtitle 'Un peuple en marche' is written in large, bold, white letters across the middle of the cover. At the bottom, there is a photograph of a crowd of people, some holding yellow flags, and a person standing on a human pyramid or 'castell' made of several people's shoulders. The background shows a coastal town and mountains under a clear sky. The overall theme suggests a protest or a public demonstration.

A large crowd of people holding numerous Catalan independence flags (Estelada Blava) during a protest in Madrid.

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Avgående sändningar  
1925-2015

Nyheter Program P1 P2 P3 P4 Stockholm (BYT) Alla kanaler Sport Vetenskap

# Manifestation för katalansk självständighet

Första mars i Barcelona 2012 kl. 18.17

Kataloniens president har öppnat för strid med Spanien  
(1x1 min)



Den katalanska flaggan med guldas flöde syns fram i Katalonien i dag. Foto: Svennja Almång  
Svenska Hunden

**Catalonia and the World • Summer to September 11, 2014**

# V FOR VOTE, V FOR VICTORY

## CATALONIA'S NATIONAL DAY, 2014

In December of 2013, Catalan President Mas announced the two-part question for independence that would be held on November 9, 2014: Do you want Catalonia to be a state? And, if so, do you want that state to be independent? The response from Spanish authorities was "Such a poll will not be held."

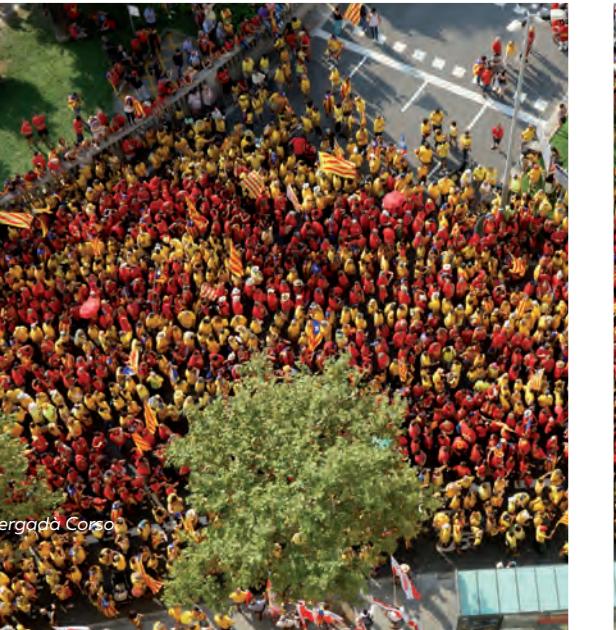
The "right to decide" became the centerpiece of the September 11, 2014 demonstration. To surpass the massive 2013 human chain, and at the same time to demand this right

to decide, the ANC decided to create a huge letter "V" across 7 miles (11km) of Barcelona's two main thoroughfares. The V stood for Via (Way), Voluntat (Will), Victòria (Victory), and above all Votar (Vote). Not only that, the participants organized themselves into bands of yellow and red in order to make a massive Catalan flag that could be seen from above.

Instead of Barcelona traveling to the hinterlands, this time the hinterlands came to Barcelona on more than 2000 buses and some 100,000

...





**96% of Catalan municipalities • September – November, 2014**

## SUPPORT FROM THE CITIES

In the midst of the debate about whether Catalonia would vote on November 9th, whether the Constitutional Court's suspension would be followed, whether the vote would be a participatory process, or whether Spain would somehow keep people from going to the polls, the Association of Pro-Independence Municipalities organized a show of support from the country's municipal governments.

Throughout September, 96% of Catalonia's city halls representing 88% of the population passed motions in support of the November 9 vote

in special plenary sessions in their respective cities and towns. On October 4, the mayors of more than 800 of those towns and cities gathered in the main courtyard of the 12th century Palace of the Generalitat in Barcelona to officially present the Catalan President with their municipalities' resolutions of support.

On November 5, mayors and city councilors signed petitions to the Council of Europe, denouncing the pressure against the November 9th vote. The petitions were hand delivered to the COE in Strasbourg a year later. •

**96%**

CITIES

*Large photo to right: Mayors bring resolutions to Catalan Government Palace in support of November 9th vote; Below: Mayors and councilors in more than 800 towns, including Vilafranca del Penedès, Vilanova i la Geltrú, Torroella de Montgrí, Santpedor, Sant Julià de Vilatorta, Canet de Mar, Sant Martí Sarroca, and Sant Sadurní d'Anoia shown here, sign petitions to the Council of Europe demanding the right to vote.*



Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona. ©Lluís Brunet

Catalonia • November 9, 2014

# "DO YOU WANT CATALUNYA TO BE AN INDEPENDENT STATE?"

The morning of the 9th of November, 40,000 volunteers got up early, made sure they had printed out their instructions, duly downloaded from the Catalan Government website, and made their way to their respective polling stations by 7:30am. It was drizzling but not cold. Each volunteer had a particular task: Head of the polling station, Manager of an electoral table, Vote registrar, etc. Volunteers were prompt,



efficient, and eager to help. Each person had a label to wear that indicated their task.

The voting stations were in schools and Catalan Government buildings around the territory, all of which agreed to open, except one. Some school administrators opened the buildings themselves and some passed the keys to volunteers the night before. It all ran remarkably smoothly. The voters at the one school whose principal refused to open were quickly shifted to a nearby facility.

As volunteers prepared inside, voters collected outside, in many places forming long lines before

...



... the doors opened. Each voter had to have a valid DNI, or state-issued ID card, and their polling station depended on the address on the card (which might or might not be their current address and/or their usual place of voting). This caused considerable confusion and some

frustration. However, requiring voters to vote according to their ID card address ensured that each voter could only vote once, an important feature in a referendum for which the Spanish government had refused to release the electoral rolls. 2 million people consulted the Catalan

...



Vilanova de Bellpuig. ©Glòria Segarra



Vilanova de Bellpuig. ©Glòria Segarra



©Roger Vendrell i Soler



Sabadell. ©Lluís Brunet



Sabadell. ©Lluís Brunet



©Laia Baylina



Sant Pere Pescador. ©Núria Quintana



Alcover. ©Toni Rosich



Sant Pere Pescador. ©Núria Quintana



Sant Pere Pescador. ©Núria Quintana

**8,130**

POLLING STATIONS

**10,800**

BALLOT BOXES

**6.7M**

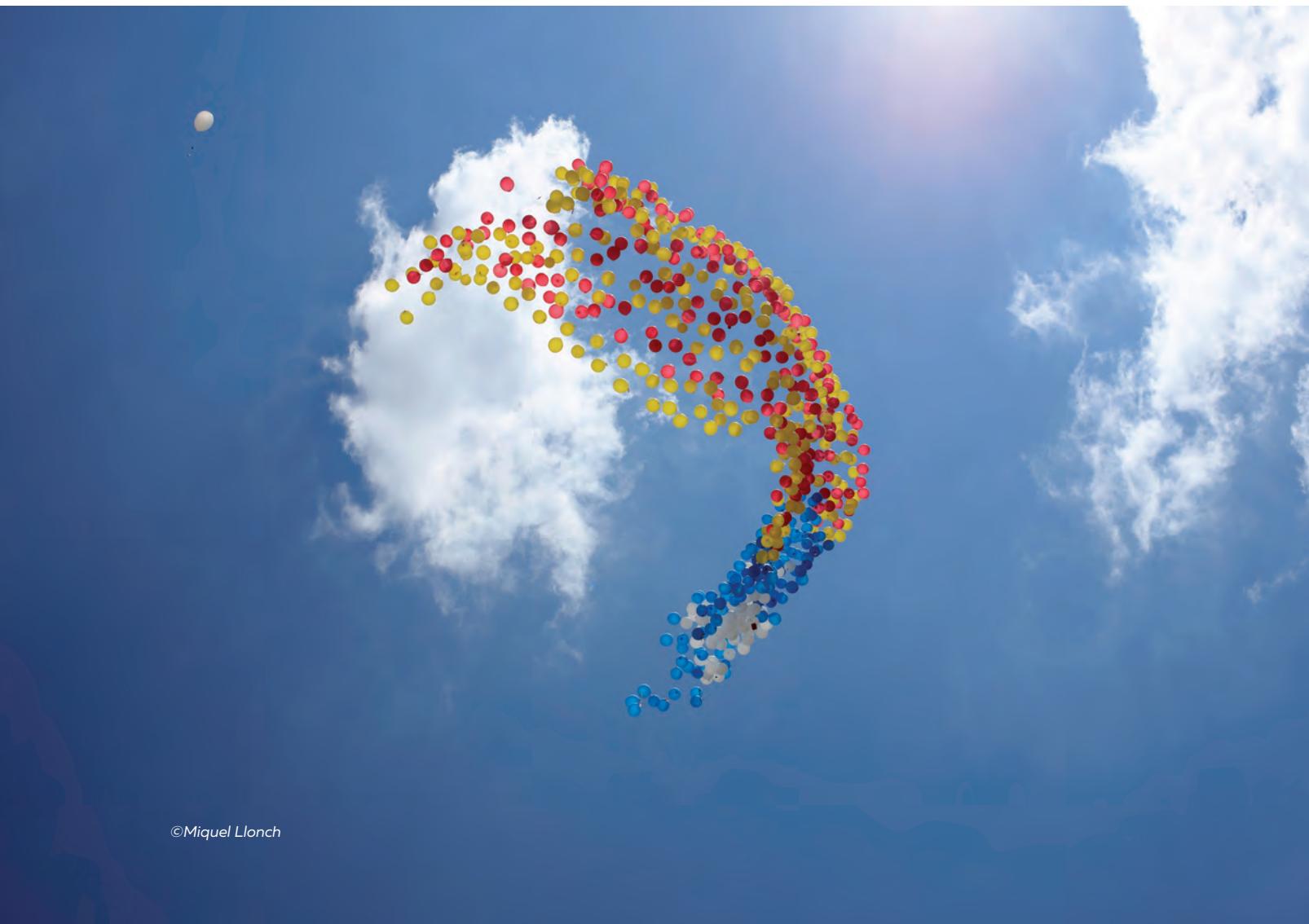
BALLOTS

**2.3M**

VOTES

Terrassa and Cardona • July 13, 2014

# JUMP FOR FREEDOM!



Catalan high school seniors must complete a research project in order to graduate. Pol Rosset, from Terrassa, wanted to study the necessities and effects of stratospheric travel and so for his project, he launched two capsules into the stratosphere to gauge the balloons' behavior during their ascent and descent.

The following year, inspired by Felix Baumgartner's supersonic stratospheric jump, Rosset decided to add his grain of sand to the independence process by strapping an estelada-carrying Playmobil astronaut, named Otger Cataló, to a helium balloon equipped with cameras and GPS devices, have the astronaut jump, and then both film the toy's progress and try to locate him.

Rosset also organized creating a huge mosaic estelada made out of 1600 helium balloons that would be launched at the same time as the Playmobil Catalan astronaut from a field

*Left: A Catalan independence flag made out of balloons. At right: The mini astronaut, Otger Cataló, in space, ready to jump. Far-right: Pol Rosset and his cousin preparing the launch. Click on QR code for video of stratospheric voyage.*



in Cardona, chosen partly for its resistance in the War of Spanish Succession, whose 300th anniversary was being commemorated that year, and partly for its distance from the sea!

Rosset raised 2600€ through crowdfunding thanks to more than 90 sponsors. He says he learned a huge amount from the mathematical calculations required to launch the astronaut, film from 30,000 meters in the sky, and then find the Playmobil after its return to Earth. He also mentions how much he learned from working with all of the different collaborators needed.

Otger Cataló's flight was covered widely in the press. The helium balloons that heralded his flight carried messages and wishes: "Peace and happiness" from a young girl named Bruna, "that no one in the world should go hungry" added her friend Aïna, "that we make it to Ithaca and independence", hoped Núria. •

Catalonia • September 27, 2015

# PLEBISCITE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Perhaps one of the most frustrating parts about the November 9th referendum in Catalonia is that the victory was short-lived. Almost immediately the talk shifted from the momentous vote that had just taken place to the new plebiscite referendum that the President insisted must next take place. A plebiscite, he explained, would be parliamentary elections that would serve as a legal referendum, bypassing the Spanish government's prohibition and creating a democratic mandate for independence.

In December, the two leading pro-independence parties argued over whether to run together or separately in the plebiscite. The President, whose party was falling in the polls, insisted on unity. The opposition, surging, opted to go separately. Both hoped to encourage the other pro-independence and pro-right-to-decide parties to take part.

Again, the civil society groups came to pressure the two main parties to come to an agreement. On March 30, a road map to Catalan independence was signed by the

two largest independence parties, and the Catalan National Assembly, the Association of Pro-independence Municipalities and Òmnium Cultural. They agreed that the plebiscite would be held September 27, 2015.

But there was still no agreement on how the parties would run. After what seemed like a rather extended period of haggling, the two larger pro-independence parties decided to join together in a cross-party platform called "Together for Yes" along with a group of non-affiliated community leaders and academics as well as a few members of other parties. The smaller, and more radical CUP candidacy decided not to join the coalition in the hopes of attracting voters farther to the left.

Now the civil society partners had a tricky balancing act to follow: explain the meaning of the plebiscite to prospective voters, give support to both pro-independence coalitions, and encourage participation all without running afoul of complicated, restrictive Spanish elections laws.

...



©Andreu Jene



©Lluís Capell Gasol

**48%**

YES TO  
INDEPENDENCE

**39%**

NO TO  
INDEPENDENCE

**11%**

NO POSITION ON  
INDEPENDENCE

**72/135**

PRO-INDY SEATS  
IN PARLIAMENT

**the guardian**

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Catalan separatists win election and claim it as yes vote for breakaway

Spain set for political crisis as regional government election result spurs coalition on with plans for independence



Spain's Catalan separatists declare election victory

*Top-left: The two pro-independence coalitions had a hard time deciding who should lead the new government. The people demanded an agreement. Top-right: When the parties finally reached an accord, people gathered outside the Parliament expectantly. Overleaf: "We need to walk toward the light of what we already approved on November 9th: beginning the process of constituting the independent state of Catalonia," said the new president.*

Balaguer and other towns • August, 2016

## CANDLELIGHT AGAINST ENERGY POVERTY

Despite the systematic stream of rulings from the Constitutional Court against any non-centralizing rule coming out of the Parliament of Catalonia, the case of the Law against Energy Poverty was one of the most striking. It proved that the Spanish State would use the Constitutional Court not just against the Parliament, but directly against Catalonia's most vulnerable citizens. Law 20/2015 aimed to minimize evictions and forbid turning off the electricity, water and gas of poor families during the winter months, a bill that had arrived at the chamber via a Popular Legislative Initiative with 143,380 signatures. It was suspended by the Court which considered that it discriminated against citizens in other parts of Spain.

In August of 2016, Balaguer lit up the night with a peculiar street performance that later would be repeated in other municipalities: 1000 bottles holding 1000 yellow candles. The organizers of

the ANC explained that the event attempted to show the energy poverty that between 100,000 and 300,000 people suffer each year. The Court decision affected people's basic well-being, the ability to have electricity at home, or instead to have to resort to candlelight, in a wealthy country like Catalonia. The information panels placed next to the exhibit explained the need for Catalonia to be able to enforce its own laws, approved by its own Parliament, and to manage its resources to the benefit of its own citizens, no matter their political preferences, whether they are in favor of independence or not.

In a Spanish State where "revolving doors" are the order of the day, and where political leaders shift to leading the big energy companies (with ex-presidents and ex-ministers turned consultants with million euro salaries), the protection of the most disadvantaged is a demand that the Catalan people continue to voice. •

*1000 candles lit in Balaguer to call attention to the Spanish Constitutional Court's suspension of Catalonia's Energy Poverty Law, among many others.*



Both photos on this page: Balaguer. ©Jordi Calvis



Catalonia • 2016+

# A REFERENDUM ON INDEPENDENCE

One of the constant questions over the last ten years has been exactly how Catalans would make the final separation from the Spanish State. Indeed, how would Spain react? Would the world recognize the legitimacy of the new State? Already in 2006, marchers and petition-signers were asking for an independence referendum. President Mas offered a 'consultation' (aka a non-binding poll) in 2012 and finally a participatory process in 2014 when the non-binding referenda law was annulled by the Constitutional Court scant hours after it was approved.

The November 9 vote, while unofficial, was an essential act of disobedience by the 2.3 million Catalans who voted, despite dire warnings from the Spanish Government. The President then called a plebiscite: the only way of legitimizing the non-binding poll in accordance with the Spanish legal system. However, only two parties—Junts pel Sí [Together for Yes] and the CUP treated it as such. And its ambiguous results (48% Yes,

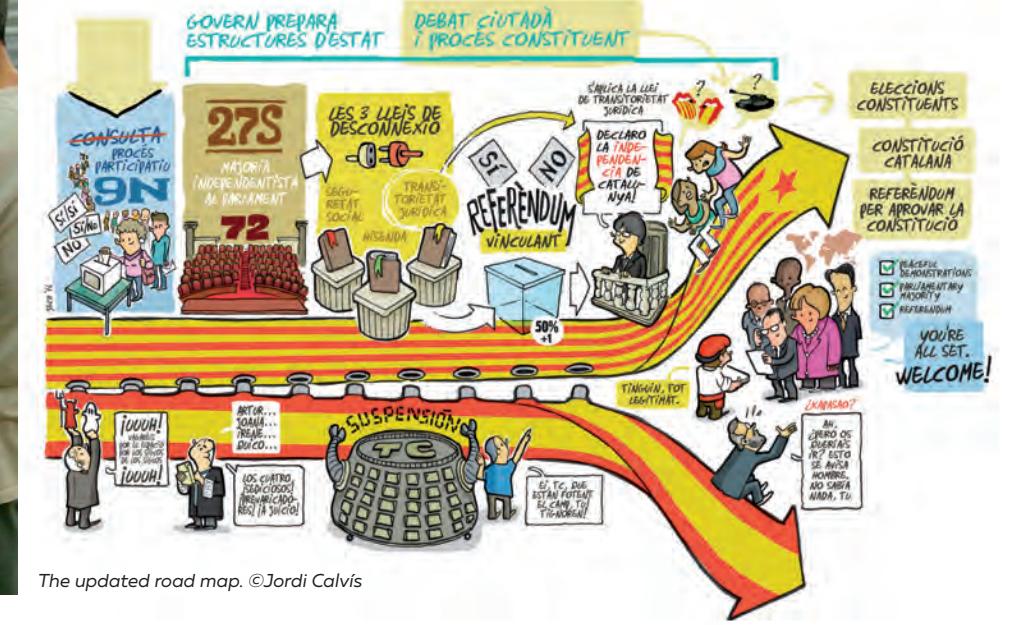
39% No, 11% no answer) kept a unilateral declaration of independence off the table.

After months of arguing by the parties over the road map and the budget, a presentation by Antoni Abad Ninet at the Parliament re-opened the question about holding a referendum. It quickly garnered support from the Demòcrates party, and later from the CUP, as well as from a group of influential intellectuals. Thanks to a proposal by Board member Joan Gonzalez, the Catalan National Assembly voted in July in favor of demanding that the Government hold a referendum, with or without permission from Spain. A yes result will trigger an immediate Declaration of Independence, ensure a clear separation from Spain before any constituent elections are held, encourage the participation of unionists, and finally, help to win the recognition of Catalan independence from the international community.

*Members of the ANC traveled all around Catalonia explaining the advantages of adding a referendum to the road map. A drawing by Jordi Calvís helped make the changes clear. In the end 75% of the membership voted in favor.*



Taradell. ©Jèss Carol



The updated road map. ©Jordi Calvís

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