



**Quaker
Council for
European
Affairs**

Around Europe

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PEACE AFTER BREXIT



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QCEA News

Transatlantic Quaker coalition says 'Trade for wellbeing, not just profit'

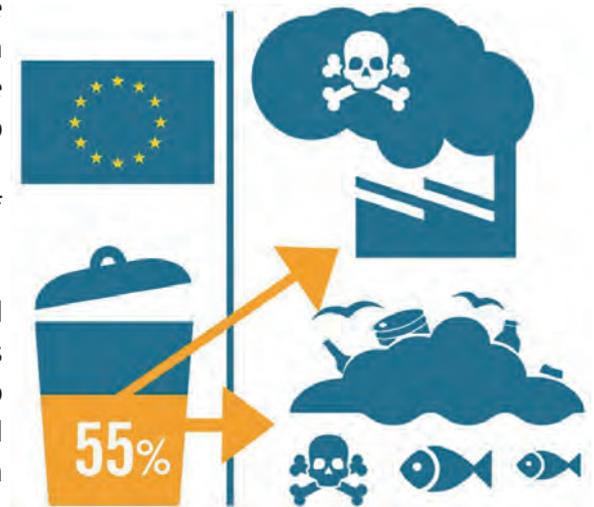
In recent weeks, five Quaker organisations from Europe and the United States, including QCEA, asked governments to reject the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) as a basis for future trade rules. Many of our supporters fear that TTIP prioritises short-term economic gains over longer-term factors necessary to protect human wellbeing and the planet.

Alongside the statement, QCEA and Quaker Peace and Social Witness jointly published a detailed briefing document, *The Transatlantic Trade and investment Partnership. A briefing for Friends*. Both documents are available at QCEA.org/trade.

Quakers help to fine tune EU plan for zero-waste economy

In recent months QCEA has been playing an active role with leading environmental NGOs to improve the European Commission's 'Circular Economy' package. QCEA's George Thurley has met with both EU Member States and MEPs to discuss specific proposals that will boost waste prevention, reuse and recycling, while also limiting the amount of waste lost to incineration and landfill.

Europe sends more than half of its waste to landfill and incinerators. This generates climate damaging emissions that pollute the world's fresh and marine waters. Moving to a circular economy could create more than 800 thousand jobs and cut more than 400 megatonnes of carbon emissions by 2030.



A summary of our current proposals, published jointly with Friends of Earth and other NGOs, can be read at: www.qcea.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/10-KEY-STEPS_06.pdf

QCEA drone success

During 2015-16 QCEA founded and coordinated a new international NGO network, the European Forum on Armed Drones (EFAD). QCEA's Tim Harman facilitated meetings and strategy workshops that culminated in May 2016 in the first EU-level NGO agreement on armed drones.

As a result of QCEA's contribution, NGOs are either newly able to participate in drone advocacy or are now coordinating their activities more effectively with others. In total, sixteen NGOs have ratified the EFAD Call to Action.

On EFAD's first birthday, its members unanimously agreed the network should continue to exist. QCEA has decided that it is now time to pass this work on to others, and in a sign of EFAD's relevance, well-regarded Dutch peace organisation PAX has agreed to take on coordination of the network. EFAD held an event in the European Parliament in June and is now providing much needed scrutiny of remotely piloted weapons and extra-judicial killing.



Brexit isn't just about Britain

A UK withdrawal from the EU is a fundamental challenge to the project of European cooperation that has spanned more than six decades. It will be the first country to leave. As the second largest country in the Union, leaving will change the balance of power on many of the compromises worked out between EU Member States. The budget will need to be redrawn putting many EU projects at risk.

The promotion of peace, sustainability and equality in Europe are more important now than for many years. Engagement by citizens and civil society organisations will be needed to protect social and environmental legislation and to resist the rise of the far-right, preventing conflict spilling into violence.

EU policy will continue to have a defining impact on the UK and the world

If the UK opts to remain a member of the single market, it will continue to be regulated by EU policy and contribute to the EU budget in a similar way. However, it will not be represented within the UK's decision making structures. This will significantly increase the democratic deficit for UK citizens, not reduce it as was promised during the referendum campaign.

The EU will continue to be a highly important international organisation, and an important centre for Quaker concerns. For example, there are only two organisations in the world that are able to run a comprehensive peace support operation, the UN and the EU.

During this period QCEA will engage with people in the European institutions to help them magnify the good in what the institutions do.

“Grieving is a proper and common response to any significant loss. It may be particularly difficult when the loss being mourned is not immediately obvious. It might, for example, be the death of love or the end of commitment in a relationship whose outward form continues; ... When ending a relationship entails breaking up a shared home, and especially when children are involved, it is important to consider the feelings of all those affected. Thoughtfulness cannot dissolve irreconcilable differences but loving attention may help to generate creative solutions even in unpromising circumstances.”

From Britain Yearly Meeting's Quaker faith and practice 22.73

Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland is likely to have to leave the EU, despite a majority of its citizens voting for the UK to remain. If the UK leaves the single market, some form of border control will be reintroduced between Ireland and Northern Ireland. This is not in the interest of the deep cross border relationships needed to support the peace process.

Northern Ireland benefits from significant EU funding for peacebuilding projects, known as 'peace money'. Will the UK government provide equivalent funds, and even if they do, will they be accepted as neutral?

Protecting dialogue

The UK is leaving an important mechanism for dialogue and security in Europe. It should now re-double its commitment to other forms of European cooperation.

The Council of Europe and the OSCE

Firstly, the UK must remain a signatory to the European Convention on Human Rights. This Convention underpins the UK's membership of the Council of Europe and its participation in the European Court of Human Rights. The Council of Europe includes every country in Europe except Belarus. That is 47 countries in total, including Iceland, Switzerland, Russia and Turkey. The Court oversees the implementation of the Convention, allowing citizens to bring a case against their government if their fundamental human rights are not being protected, and their own judicial system has failed to correct this.



The 47 Council of Europe Member States stretch from Iceland to Russia

The Council of Europe is not just a talking shop. It has used its 'soft law' approach (non-binding recommendations) effectively to encourage change. Judgements of the European Court of Human Rights have led to a wide range of improvements, such as improving prison conditions in Russia, ending TV censorship in Moldova and ensuring the French government undertook more effective policies against human trafficking.

Secondly, the UK should commit to playing a stronger role in the human security focused Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE has 55 Member States, even more than the Council of Europe.

It is most well known for providing unarmed monitors to prevent the escalation of violence in Ukraine in 2014. However, it has a much longer history of working to improve environmental security, reduce people trafficking, reform policing, control arms flows, increase gender equality and find nonviolent responses to terrorism.

Both the Council of Europe and the OSCE support the EU's work in important areas. The Council of Europe has a parliamentary assembly which agrees recommendations on human rights and democracy concerns, such as electronic tagging and armed drones. These recommendations are considered by ministers from each national government. They act as a form of soft influence, and are often the basis for future EU legislation.

The OSCE leads European efforts to reduce hate crime, and is the body to which European governments must supply their national data on hate crime. The EU uses this data to assess how well its Member States are living up to their commitments to address racial discrimination.

Real security comes from dialogue and understanding. Brexit shows why, as citizens, we must be informed and actively support mechanisms for international dialogue.

Andrew Lane

EU foreign policy without Britain

The EU has a high impact foreign policy. How will it change if the UK leaves?

The perceived neutrality of the EU has been an important asset, helping it to successfully mediate international conflicts, such as in Kosovo and Iran. It does not follow the tune of any one member state, and therefore no one former colonial power. Brexit will change this balance of power. Germany is expected to continue to prioritise other policy areas, leaving France to dominate EU military policy, especially in Africa.

The culture of EU foreign policy institutions is increasingly one of 'crisis management' rather than prevention. Whilst the UK encouraged many of the militaristic approaches within EU policy, France is an even bigger champion, and is likely to have a stronger leadership role on the way the EU responds to challenges - in particular, Russia, fossil fuel supply, violent extremism, cyber attacks and forced migration.

EU crisis operations: The EU now regularly undertakes Common Security and Defence Policy operations on neighbouring continents, using both military and civilian staff provided by its Member States. As other non-members have in the past, the UK is likely to continue to contribute to these operations with people, equipment and funding in a similar way. However, Brexit means that they will not be at the EU table when these operations are designed or agreed.

EU diplomacy: The EU has diplomatic power through EU delegations across the world. However, EU delegations rarely prioritise conflict prevention, or have related expertise within their staff. Effective conflict prevention strategies require better information sharing between EU and national delegations operating in the same territories. Unfortunately, Brexit makes this less likely.

Andrew Lane



Federica Mogherini, EU Commission foreign policy chief. Photo: DFID

New EU Global Strategy

In the week after the Brexit vote, European Commission Vice President Federica Mogherini presented her new EU Global Strategy to the leaders of the EU's 28 Member States. The document replaces the previous European Security Strategy written in 2003.

The new Global Strategy dedicates significant space to diplomacy and includes some positive references to conflict prevention. However, the Strategy also reflects an increasing tendency in Brussels to use 'hard power' military policies. Arms trade lobbyists have also succeeded in ensuring the new Global Strategy prioritises EU action to strengthen European 'defence industries'.

The Strategy argues that the EU should increase cooperation with the NATO military alliance, describing both Russia and migration as security challenges. This will worry many Europeans who believe that NATO's role in international affairs is often confrontational and divisive. Some EU members (Ireland, Finland, Sweden and Austria) have not joined NATO, opting for a traditionally neutral foreign policy. Deeper EU-NATO cooperation risks dragging these countries into militaristic approaches to security that are at odds with the wishes of their electorates.

The 28 EU leaders asked EU institutions to take the strategy forward, but did not formally adopt it or set a timeline for its implementation. As one of the two big diplomatic and military powers in Europe, much will depend how the Theresa May's new government chooses to align itself with the contents of the Strategy in the coming years.

Fleeing violence

Want to reduce forced migration? Try peacebuilding

Long before Brexit, EU countries had failed to find a common policy to accommodate migrants forced to leave their homes because of conflict and oppression. The failure to integrate conflict prevention into EU policies on trade and overseas development has been a missed opportunity. To address this gap, we particularly encourage the EU's Trade department (DG-TRADE) to routinely consult EU conflict experts to reduce the risk that conflict grievances are exacerbated by EU trade deals.

It is not enough to only think about how we support refugees in Europe. We must consider how European policy contributes to or addresses the root causes of forced migration.

Andrew Lane



A Women's Training Committee set up by peacebuilding organisation Nonviolent Peaceforce, South Sudan. Photo: NP

EU migration operation enters new phase and is joined by NATO ships

As regular Around Europe readers will know, QCEA has been concerned about Operation Sophia – the EU joint naval operation in which warships from several Member States seek to seize the boats that refugees use to travel from Libya to Europe.

We are concerned, in particular, that this operation will lead to refugees being trapped in Libya, a politically unstable country where refugees are regularly made victims of violence by criminal gangs. According to a report published by Amnesty International in May 2015, refugees in Libya are regularly threatened with weapons, assaulted, robbed, and – in some cases – kidnapped for ransom, tortured, and raped.

In May 2016 the EU Foreign Affairs Council (a meeting of the foreign ministers of all the EU Member States) reviewed the progress of Operation Sophia, and agreed for this operation to continue for at least another year. Moreover, in addition to trying to seize boats, the warships will now also be involved in training the Libyan navy and coastguard in how best to prevent refugees from leaving Libya.

It is seriously disappointing that, instead of taking positive steps to help the refugees in Libya, EU foreign ministers are seeking more effective ways to keep them out of Europe, no matter what the human cost.

Not to be overshadowed by the EU, the NATO military alliance has also shown increasing interest in military responses to migration. In March, NATO changed the remit of their operation in the Aegean Sea between Greece and Turkey, focusing it on migration.

In July 2016 leaders of NATO countries met in Warsaw and agreed to also deploy ships to the central Mediterranean, to join the EU ships deployed as part of Operation Sophia. NATO's operation will be called Sea Guardian.

The UK currently has two ships deployed as part of the EU operation, but in the future they could be deployed just as easily as part of the NATO operation. This is one reason why the UK will be continuing to argue for an even closer EU-NATO relationship.

Tim Harman and Andrew Lane

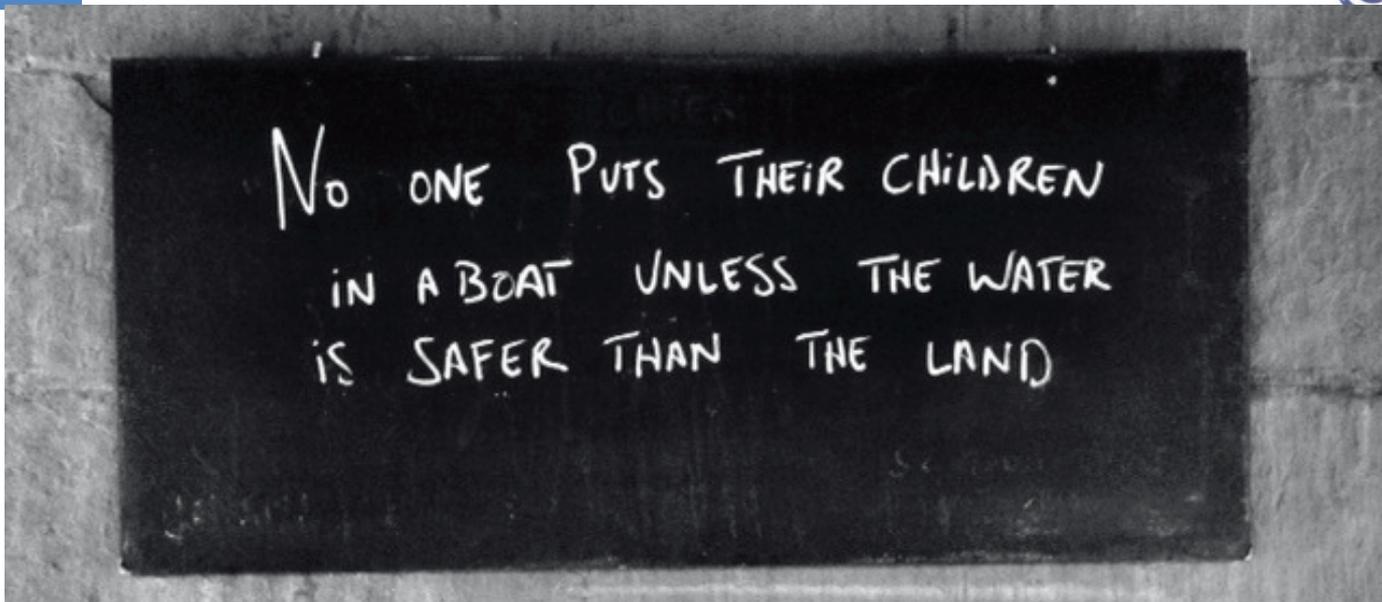


Photo by Roel Hendrickx. Used with permission

Migrants, asylum seekers and refugees: Why is it all so complicated?

The terms migrant, asylum seeker and refugee are often used as if they were interchangeable. However, each term has its own precise definitions as specified in the 1951 Refugee Convention:

A refugee is someone who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution. Once refugee status is granted, the refugee is under the protection of the government of the host country.

An asylum seeker is someone who has applied for refugee status. They are not protected by their own government and seek protection from another. They remain asylum seekers as long as their application is under consideration (including appeals).

A migrant is someone who moves to another country to join family, improve economic situation, find work, or study. Importantly, under this definition, a migrant enters another country with authorisation and is under the protection of his/her own government. However, the term

migrant is used today to also include people who are fleeing persecution but have not yet applied for asylum, making this term a confusing one. The UN General Assembly suggests using the term 'undocumented' or 'irregular' migrant for those who have entered another state without the proper documentation or whose documentation has expired. Others suggest using the term 'displaced persons'.

In numbers:

- The UNHCR estimates that there are roughly 60 million displaced persons, asylum seekers and refugees worldwide. Roughly half are children.
- Developing countries host 86% of the world's refugees. The developed world hosts only 14%.
- Asylum seekers and refugees represent less than 2% of the population of Europe; in Lebanon, roughly 25% of the population are Syrian refugees (MSF).
- The top 10 refugee producing countries in 2015 were: Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Myanmar, Central African Republic, Iraq, Eritrea (UNHCR).
- The top 10 refugee hosting countries were: Turkey, Lebanon, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Iran, Chad, Jordan, Uganda, China (UNHCR).



The vocabulary and rules for treating these three categories of individuals are governed by several international conventions:

The 1951 Refugee Convention, along with its 1967 Protocol, is the principal document governing the status of refugees. The application of the Convention is supervised by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR). It defines the rights and obligations of refugees, as well as the conditions for granting refugee status.

The Dublin Regulations (1990, revised in 2003 and 2013) determine the EU country responsible for processing an application for asylum, in order to prevent applicants from applying in multiple states at the same time. In general, in the absence of a visa, residence permit or family in a given country, the country where the person first makes application is the one responsible for processing that application.

It is this regulation that is behind the development of camps such as we see in Calais, where displaced persons wanting to go to the UK would rather live in the camp without legal status than register in another country.

Article 26 of the Schengen Convention says that carriers which transport people into Schengen (a common travel area shared by 26 countries) shall, if they transport people who are refused entry into the Schengen Area, pay for the return of the refused people, and pay penalties. This has had the effect that passengers without a visa are not allowed on aircraft, boats or trains going into the Schengen Area, so those without a visa have resorted to smugglers to reach a safe country.

Displaced persons seeking a safe place to live, then, face challenges at every level:

In their home country: Survival. They are threatened by conflict, disease, natural disaster or political oppression. Their lives in their homes are no longer possible, and their only choice is to find safe harbour.

En route to a safe place: This is becoming more and more difficult. The journey along established routes (e. g., through the Balkans) is arduous and dangerous. Displaced persons are subject to violence, disease and psychological trauma as well as the lack of food, water and basic

sanitation facilities. Established overland routes are closed or closing, often making the dangerous journey across the water the only option available.

Waiting to be processed: Displaced persons have no official status under the refugee convention until make application, which many are reluctant to do until they get to the country in which they wish to remain. We have seen them forcibly evicted from

these camps and are left with no place to go. Again, they can be subjected to violence, disease, psychological trauma. Often they are held in detention facilities (or fortified camps) while awaiting a decision on their asylum application.

Integration into host country: Once asylum is granted, refugees face the challenges of integration into their host country, often far from others from their culture. They must learn a new language and fit into a foreign culture. Finding work is a challenge.

Quakers throughout Europe are working to help displaced persons, asylum seekers and refugees. The Quaker Asylum and Refugee Network (QARN) and QCEA are currently gathering information on this activity. Look out for the results of our online survey in the September-October issue of *Around Europe*.

Kate McNally



London MEP Claude Moraes chairs the European Parliament committee responsible for migration policy. Photo: Jon Worth



Quaker refugee survey launched

The Quaker Asylum and Refugee Network (QARN) and QCEA have launched a survey to explore how we can best support the European Quaker community in its work with refugees and asylum seekers. In December 2015, at 'Castle or Community? Quakers' role in building a new Europe', a conference in Brussels, we heard from many Friends about how they were working with refugees locally, and we asked whether they felt it would be helpful to look at ways in which we could support one another and share ideas. This survey is in response to their suggestions.

The issue of forced migration is one that brings together strands of Quaker testimony on peace, equality, community and sustainability, and our concerns for economic justice and human rights. It is clear that this issue has precipitated a moral crisis in Europe. Kenneth Roth, Executive Director of Human Rights Watch, says: 'The real question confronting Europe's political leadership is what

Europe stands for. What are the values that will guide Europe in a world whose people are not standing still?'

Forced migration, at its highest since the Second World War, is not going to go away. In fact the causes are becoming more complex. Naomi Klein, writing after Hurricane Katrina, comments 'what scared me about climate change is not just that the sea level will rise and we'll have more storms, it is how this intersects with that cocktail of inequality and racism.' Climate change, environmental degradation and global inequality are all drivers of migration. The way we respond today will affect the refugees of tomorrow.

Europe has a choice between two paths. We could become, in the words of the British journalist Giles Fraser, 'Fortress Europe, surrounded by a new iron curtain of razor wire to keep poor, dark-skinned people out', or we can recognise that this leads away from peace and undermines security. Justin Welby, Archbishop of Canterbury, puts it like this, 'In today's world, hospitality and love are our most formidable weapons against hatred and extremism.'

Quakers and others working with refugees and asylum seekers are taking the path of 'hospitality and love', but in many cases our governments, fearful of losing votes to right-wing xenophobic parties, are choosing to erect fences, to turn people away, hoping this will 'solve the problem'. If we can work together with others to create a culture of welcome for refugees and asylum seekers, we can, over time, help to turn the tide of public opinion. This, in turn, can lead governments to take a more humane and enlightened approach to migration.

To take part in the survey visit www.surveymonkey.com/r/QARN-QCEA and if you have any questions please email survey@qcea.org. We look forward to hearing from you.

Catherine Henderson
Quaker Asylum and Refugee Network
www.QARN.org.uk

In brief: EU-Turkey deal

The European Commission's proposals for sharing refugee resettlement were not agreed by EU Member States. In March 2016 the EU agreed with Turkey that people arriving from Turkey would be returned. For every Syrian returned, another Syrian would be resettled from a camp in Turkey into the EU. The policy seeks to discourage forced migrants from coming to Europe, whilst accepting a very small 'token' proportion of people fleeing the Syrian conflict.

Human needs seem to be far from these discussions, with leaders unwilling to risk unpopularity in their home countries. Churches and NGOs have said the EU-Turkey agreement risks breaching international law, and Médecins Sans Frontières have decided to no-longer accept EU funding due to MSF's opposition to the deal.

This follows the Commission's failure to persuade Member States to reform the rule that requires asylum to be claimed in the first EU country that a forced migrant arrives in - known as the Dublin Regulation. This leaves some of the EU's least affluent members carrying the heaviest burden.

Root causes: Arms Trade

'Stop Fuelling War'
co-ordinate action at
European arms fair



Christian groups raise public awareness at the Place de la Bourse, Paris.

Did you know... ?

- The manufacture and sale of arms is a multi-billion-euro industry.
- The EU has an official policy, agreed at a summit meeting in December 2013, that treats the arms industry as an important source of both military strength and economic prosperity.
- In order to continue to contribute to the economy, the EU arms industry needs to export arms to outside the EU. (The EU market is not big enough to sustain the industry.)
- Over 99 per cent of arms export licence applications made in the EU are approved.
- The arms industry maintains its influence over the highest levels of government through lobbyists and well-placed contacts.

Tim Harman

France was not only home to the UEFA football tournament in June, but also to the Eurosatory arms fair. For many years Quakers have held a peace vigil at the entrance to Eurosatory. It is one of the largest arms fairs in Europe, but gets comparatively little attention from arms trade campaigners.

After a year of planning by a group of French, German, Belgian and Dutch Quakers, a week of events were held in Paris under the new name, Stop Fuelling War. To support their initiative, Ecumenical organisation Church and Peace held their annual gathering in Paris at the same time, allowing many other Christian groups to participate. Quakers from Australia, Ireland and Britain also travelled to take part.

This is a particularly important time to raise public awareness of the European arms trade. Arms trade lobbyists in Brussels are working hard to change the rules that prevent EU research funding being spent on weapon technology. Military spending in EU countries is 255 Billion per year. Less than 1% of this amount is spent on peacebuilding.

Have you read QCEA's briefing on the EU arms trade?
Find it in French, Dutch, German & English at QCEA.org

Find out more at
StopFuellingWar.org

Poem: The arms dealer and the activist

You and I are more alike than different,
 you in your Armarni suit,
 me in my charity-shop clothes,
 both of us here selling deaths of sorts,
 peddling our own peculiar brands of insanity.
 And yet, we are not the same.
 The deaths you sell are not your own
 and they do not come cheap
 for they pay for your yacht, Porches and holiday homes,
 while the death that I sell
 is free,
 costing not less than everything,
 for it is the death of self
 for the sake of others.
 Your insanity lies in doing the same thing
 over and over, expecting different results,
 hoping that violence will not breed
 yet more violence,
 that war will eradicate
 the need for war,
 while my form of madness is different,
 it is the impossible hope
 that within every human heart
 lie seeds of such courage and love
 that can face the worst
 that the world can muster
 and still endure,
 one day bearing the fruit
 of peace.
 You and I are more alike than different,
 but we are not the same.

Sam Donaldson
 Paris, 2016

**Which EU countries
 spend more than
 2% of their GDP on
 the military?**

**Greece, Poland,
 UK and Estonia.**



Quakers from Britain meet arms dealers at the Eurosatory entrance. Photo: Karina Knight-Spencer



Middle: French Quakers at Paris' Place de la République
 Bottom: Dutch Quaker cartoonist draws a crowd





Supporting QCEA

Now is the time to get involved

Europe is in need of Quaker work and values, perhaps more now than at any time in recent years. Old ideas about security are preventing European governments from responding effectively to current challenges.

Collective European action is the only mechanism to protect those citizens that are most vulnerable to economic globalisation. However, nationalist political forces are seeking to take advantage of this vulnerability, by spreading fear and prejudice that is dividing communities. The UK is the first country to decide to leave the European project. Brexit has shaken the confidence of EU countries and their neighbours in the institutional mechanisms for dialogue that underpin peace.

QCEA is small, but we are well connected, both in Brussels and to Friends across Europe. Together we will adapt our presence to meet the challenges witness and reconciliation of the years ahead.

Donate to our Quaker work

From the UK:

Cheques can be made to 'QCEA British Committee' and sent to: QCEA British Committee, 1 Lynton Green, Maidenhead, SL6 6AN. For electronic payments, please use the 'Donate' button on www.QCEA.org/home/involved/donate

For donations in Euro:

Please transfer donations to BNP Paribas Fortis Bank - a/c name Quaker Council for European Affairs, IBAN BE58 2100 5598 1479. You can also send a gift using the 'Donate' button as above.

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