



Quaker
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Renewing our Vision



PAGE 4
Discerning
a way
forward

PAGE 6-7
QCEA's Study
Tour "Europe
at a Crossroads"

PAGE 8-9
Statement on
Peace Testimony
and Ukraine



Europe in brief

COP27 summit ends with a landmark deal to fund climate damages

Held in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, on 6-18 November the 2022 United Nations Climate Change Conference or Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC (COP27) was deemed the implementation and Africa COP, as it provided an opportunity to turn the words of COP26 into actions and raise the issues significant to Africa continent. Against the backdrop of multiple crises spanning energy, cost of living, indebtedness, nature loss, and geopolitical tensions among major powers, the Conference was a key milestone aimed to further solidarity between countries.

The most talked about achievement of COP27 was that a historic agreement was finally reached to establish “loss and damage funding” for vulnerable countries hit by climate-related disasters. More than 130 developing countries pushed for a new fund to help them cope with the irreversible damage of floods, drought and other climate impacts. Finally, a proposal set out by the EU broke the deadlock on financial help. Operationalisation of the new funding arrangement will be worked out over the coming year.

A final Sharm el-Sheikh Implementation Plan also held the line on the aspirational goal of limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius from pre-industrial levels. Language on renewable energy was included for the first time while reaffirming previous calls to eliminate inefficient fossil fuel subsidies and cut down on unabated coal power.

However, while celebrating the landmark decision on the “loss and damage fund”, civil society groups were left disappointed that the Implementation Plan failed to go much further than a similar decision from last year’s meeting in Glasgow.

EU hit by the cost-of-living crisis, yet some reap profits

This winter is looking bleak for millions of Europeans. Amid a worsening cost-of-living crisis, nearly three-quarters of European consumers are cutting back spending on everyday items. While inflation in November eased slightly for the first time since June 2021, it still hovers at double digits (10%).

However, for some, the situation is looking very fortunate: as fossil-fuel prices sharply increased, energy giants’ profits have spiked as well. Shell, TotalEnergies, Eni and Repsol have recorded almost €78 billion in profit up until September 2022. At a time, when energy prices have risen a couple of times, wealth redistribution from EU residents to major corporations doesn’t go unnoticed.

To fix the dire situation, the EU bloc implemented a number of measures, such as reducing energy dependencies and cutting energy costs for households. However, the overwhelming influence of the fossil fuel lobby on their decisions cannot be avoided. An investigation by Corporate Europe Observatory shows that gas and oil lobbies have unmatched access to European leaders. Hence, they have been able to minimise or postpone actions on energy markets allowing the fossil fuel industry to reap profits. Since February, more than 100 meetings between the EU Commission and lobbyists took place - that is one every other day.

Moreover, the EU’s new Energy Platform Industry Advisory Group, aimed to help the continent get off Russian gas, is exclusively made up of major oil and gas corporations in Europe. The group does not include a single public interest, consumer or environmental organisation.

It’s time for Europe to shift from fossil-fuel politics to energy justice.

New European Commission's 'Defence Package' focuses on cyber-defence and military mobility

On 10 November, the European Commission (EC) presented a new European Security and Defence Package, i.e. a set of texts on defence issues. The package includes two topics.

A European Policy on Cyber Defence

The first text of this package has ambitions to build a European Policy on Cyber Defence: it proposes measures and instruments to enhance cooperation between member States' military, between civil and military, and between public and private sectors, in order to step-up protection of both military and civilian assets from cyberattacks. An important focus is put also on skills, *"to increase the number of people ready to participate in this kind of war"* declared the EU High Representative Josep Borrell.

The Action Plan on Military Mobility 2.0

This is an update of the 2018 Military Mobility Action Plan. This Plan aims at facilitating the movement of troops, weaponry and other military goods across the EU, by adapting physical infrastructures (roads, bridges, tunnels, etc.) and simplifying administrative procedures. Again in the words of Josep Borrell, it is about *"the ability to move troops and equipment quickly [...] from the West to the East – mainly - to our external borders: but also, beyond our external borders when we deploy our military missions around the world"*.

The 2.0 Plan proposes next steps to be taken, but the Commissioner in charge also mentioned the need to dedicate more resources to it than the planned €1.7 billion for 2021-2027 in the civilian transport programme 'Connecting Europe', noting that the 2018 initial proposal was €6 billion.

Diverting civil resources for European defence

Common features of those two initiatives are that they are justified by the Russian invasion of Ukraine, that they contribute to further blurring the line between civil and military and divert civilian resources and investments to benefit European defence and that they include provisions to step-up cooperation with NATO and partner countries, i.e. *"like-minded and in our neighbourhood"*.

UK to join the PESCO military mobility project, paving the way to more cooperation in Defence?



After Canada, the US and Norway in 2021, the United Kingdom will join the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) military mobility project following a unanimous decision by EU ministers on 14 November. PESCO is an EU intergovernmental framework for defence cooperation among the 25 participating EU member states, in order to jointly develop defence capabilities, coordinate investments and enhance operational readiness, interoperability and resilience. Although the name and objectives are similar, the PESCO project is not linked to the EC Action Plan on military mobility, however they are meant to be complementary.

For many observers, this decision could be the first step towards closer security & defence cooperation between London and Brussels. The idea of a general defence agreement between the EU and the UK had been envisaged after Brexit but had not lasted long. Ad hoc agreements like this are a more pragmatic solution that suits each party better. Another ad-hoc cooperation could be envisaged in the framework of the future EU military mission to assist and train the Ukrainian armed forces, in liaison with the existing British mission, as well as other ad hoc contributions to EU military missions in the future.

The Council of the European Union publishes Conclusions on Women, Peace and Security

The Council of the EU on 14 November called for the full implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda with its *Conclusions on Women, Peace and Security (WPS)*. The Council expressed its concern about sexual and gender-based violence as well as the impacts of armed conflicts on girls and women. Human rights violations against women and girls were also featured in the Conclusions together with a condemnation of Afghanistan and Iran's violations of fundamental freedoms. Finally, the Council called for furthering the full, equal and meaningful participation and leadership of women and girls in conflict prevention and resolution.

Questions remain about how the Conclusions will be implemented. The EU must make a genuine effort to strengthen the protection of women and girls from gender-based violence as well as their rights to justice and participation in all those situations in which they are engaged.





Discerning a way forward



↑ Quaker House

It is time for QCEA to develop a new strategy. How does a Quaker organisation 'do' strategy? The practicalities are still there – the collecting of information, the understanding of the context and of our own capacity to contribute, the analysis and so on. QCEA works on behalf of Quakers in Europe. Our starting point is concerns collectively discerned by Quaker meetings and groups. Our General Assembly members have been sharing these with us and have been asked to seek input from their Quaker communities

Crucially, we need to listen. We need to understand how we are seen by organisations and people who work on peace, justice and equality with European institutions. We need to hear what people who are most affected by violence, militarism, inequality and the climate crisis have to say. We need to listen with humility and openness.

Then there is the deciding – how do we choose between a 'quick win' and a long haul, or between two important causes? As we move towards a decision, we must find time to be together in the stillness, searching for what our faith is asking of us. We must be prepared to be called to do something that will be difficult or unpopular.

We ask you to hold us in the Light as we do this work. We hope to be able to share our new strategy with you in the next issue of Around Europe.

Tracey Martin, (new) QCEA director

Again QCEA is challenged to adapt its strategy to the changing realities. What is the supportive European angle for concerns? How best to integrate working areas to meet the current complexities? How can our spiritual experience help us and others to find our way back to being part of the integrity of the world in all dimensions? What do the testimonies on peace, equality and simplicity mean in the current context? And what about the testimony of truth, are we prepared to dig deep enough to expose underlying structural and cultural violences and to face our part in them (Johan Galtung gave a talk on this at QCEA in the mid-90s)? How can we best help to re-connect, to nurture a widespread spiritual feeling of being connected with all humanity and nature? Luckily, we operate in a network of meetings, groups, other Quaker agencies and NGOs. You all help us to find fitting answers. Thank you for your contribution in the coming period.

Martin Touwen, (new) QCEA Executive Committee clerk

Join QCEA's online conversation



Want to keep in touch with QCEA's work in a more informal, interactive way? If you use Facebook, why not join our **Friends of QCEA** group, where you can discuss our work and our concerns with Friends and QCEA Supporters across Europe?

QCEA General Assembly

On **18-19 November** QCEA hosted General Assembly made up of representatives from Quaker communities across Europe. We warmly welcomed new members Andreas Schulze, Gerald Turner and Roger Cassidy as well as said a grateful goodbye to Michal Kolakowski- Mickiewicz and Linda Craig.

General Assembly agreed the following Epistle:

To all Friends everywhere,

The QCEA General Assembly (GA) met again in hybrid format, with many Friends gathering in person at Quaker House in Brussels and some others joining virtually.

The QCEA General Assembly welcomed in its new clerks Martin Ford (in service to the General Assembly) and Martin Touwen (in service to the Executive committee), as well as Tracey Martin who had officially begun her appointment as QCEA's Director this week.

Discernment was made about the governance structures and processes, as well as how these can best be articulated.

Friends were pleased to receive and accept a proposal from European and Middle Eastern Young Friends that increases and secures their engagement with the QCEA GA.

We were led in Epilogue on Friday evening, with a quote from Britain Yearly Meeting Quaker Faith & Practice 24:56

Peace begins within ourselves. It is to be implemented within the family, in our meetings, in our work and leisure, in our own localities, and internationally. The task will never be done. 'Peace is a process to engage in, not a goal to be reached.' Sydney Bailey, 1993

General Assembly members who had been able to attend the Study Tour organised by the QCEA staff team between the 14th and 17th of November, reflected on the experience. They expressed their appreciation to QCEA staff for their excellent organisation of the tour, which explored themes of Militarization, Climate Justice and Migration in the context of the European Union. There were twenty-four participants from ten nationalities, including from Europe, Kenya, Lebanon, Pakistan, and a Palestinian from Israel.

Turning to the development of a strategy for 2023-25, QCEA GA members had been tasked with gathering concerns of their Yearly Meetings in advance, reviewing documents such as yearly meeting epistles,

articles and reports. In small groups we organised and discussed these ideas around the themes of Peace, Justice and the Environment, and the intersections among these. We then participated in an exercise exploring in what way concerns might be furthered- how radical or technical a project might be, where it might sit between secular and spiritual, the kind of partnerships desired, how specialist the QCEA team might need to be on certain issues and what concerns were intersectional and what were single issues. There were more than one-hundred ideas collected by members participating online and in-person. These ideas will be summarised and synthesised in the next few weeks, and GA members and yearly meetings will then have the opportunity to further reflect and input, with the aim of having a more developed draft by the next General Assembly in the spring of 2023.

We received reports from the QCEA staff team, which included information about publications, workshops, forums and roundtables they have all contributed to over the past six months in collaboration with a great many partners, which aimed to break silos between Peace, Climate and Human Rights issues. Staff have welcomed the resumption of in-person events and highlighted the fact that QCEA remains a trusted partner in Brussels and provides a space that is especially valued for the facilitation of difficult conversations.

We have further defined our fundraising strategy and received an account of our finances. We heard again of the importance of raising funds to enable the continuation and expansion of the work of QCEA.

Tracey Martin informed GA members about a global statement on our Peace Testimony, which was prepared in relation to the invasion of Ukraine and published on the 26th of October 2022. QCEA collaborated with several other Quaker agencies including Friends World Committee for Consultation in the development of this statement. We can expect follow up activities. We heard about the work that small groups of Quakers are doing in many countries to support Ukrainian migrants fleeing the invasion, and the need for QCEA action in relation to support for conscientious objectors and other aspects to be considered as part of the developing new strategy.

We ended by considering how to strengthen channels of communication between Yearly Meetings and QCEA, and reaffirming our determination to continue contributing to and mobilizing support for QCEA.





QCEA's Study Tour

“Europe at a Crossroads”

On 14-17 November, over twenty people joined QCEA's Study Tour “Europe at a Crossroads”. Four days of workshops focused on EU militarisation, climate change and migration policies. The Tour allowed us to come together, discuss and reflect on the EU issues in a safe space. During the interactive sessions with QCEA partners, we discussed the future of asylum in the EU, whether the EU is still a climate pioneer and what it should do differently to honour its founding principles of peace. In between those sessions, we visited the European Parliament and Commission, watched a movie on the Colombian peace process, had a tour around the Quaker House and learnt more about chocolate from Kate McNally.

Despite everything that has been going on in Europe and the world, we looked together for hope and found it in each other's company. The last Study Tour session on hope led by Tracey Martin explored lessons learned. What actions can we, as Quakers and supporters, take to make our community a better place?

Dear readers, we would like to share with you key takeaways from some of our participants:

In November 2022, I joined the Quaker Council for European Affairs in Brussels as part of this year's study tour group. Although I was the youngest participant present, I was welcomed as an equal among Friends as we explored the themes of the week together at Quaker House. Overall, the week was incredibly insightful and as someone who had limited knowledge of the inner workings of the European Union, I found that the information offered was delivered in an engaging and accessible way. The chosen themes were what originally drew me to the tour and I was far from disappointed with the quality of the speakers the event were able to source. The space created among the participants throughout the week encouraged a non-judgmental opportunity to learn about these issues. Complete with an in-depth history tour of Quaker House and even a chocolate tasting workshop, the week was thoroughly enjoyable. The staff were incredibly welcoming and the accommodation provided ticked all the boxes. Despite the pessimistic future many of the discussions seem to predict, I left the week feeling inspired to study them further. I hope that I may get to experience the QCEA Study Tour again someday.

Becky Kennard



↑ Study Tour participants



“Europe at a Crossroads”. What is this crossroads; why now; how can we at least find the appropriate questions to a group of complex problems and implement our answers? How can European Friends support QCEA in bringing their concerns about these problems to senior EU administrators and politicians in this complex structure?

To look for answers, the study considered a number of critical EU policies: migration; climate policies; EU militarisation. We literally observed the closeness of lobbying- to EU-offices. Many of the sessions with specialists required participants to be actively engaged; speakers were focused and challenging.

The Tour demonstrated that even the questions which I had been asking about the EU’s policies and European Quakerism’s responses had been inaccurate or irrelevant. It made clear that I need to work much more closely with QCEA and European Friends.

Finally, thanks to the QCEA’s organisers of this study tour. It was an important event, particularly because it continuously asked participants about how they would move forward and work with others. Significantly, participants included Friends and representatives of other NGOs.

The next Study Tour will be well worth joining.

Seán McCrum

The Study Tour organised by QCEA was a great experience but above all a great meeting. Indeed, meeting Quakers and supporters from Europe, or even from the rest of the world, was extremely pleasant.

Various interventions enriched us and allowed us to outline the action points of QCEA. Different visits, in particular the European Parliament, made this experience even more lively.

English, which could have been a major obstacle to my integration into the group, was actually a point of entry to discover the benevolence and patience of the Quakers who surrounded me these few days. However, these four days allowed me to measure to what extent silence is the most universal language that we share.

This Study Tour was a beautiful lesson in life which has allowed me to meet beautiful people and to learn more about European actions for peace, environment and human rights.

Valentin Guille-Devers (translated from French)

I was impressed by the informative presentations and published literature that I had access to throughout the course.

The experts working for and with the EU institutions were friendly, knowledgeable and open to dialogue.

The Tour created a safe atmosphere to learn and have your voice heard, feel listened to and share like-minded views.

It was an opportunity to meet a wide age and background range of fellow participants, who were extremely interesting and friendly as well.

Sarah Higgs



Statement on Peace Testimony and Ukraine

On October 26, QCEA with seven Quaker organisation heads issued a joint statement on the peace testimony and Ukraine.

The statement came after a trip Tim Gee (general secretary of Friends World Committee for Consultation) and Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge (director of Quaker United Nations Office, Geneva) made to Friends in the countries neighbouring Ukraine. These countries have welcomed hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing the war in Ukraine. Gee and Madlala-Routledge wanted to find out how Quaker agencies can assist and how peace testimony can be implemented in this context.

Please find the Statement below:

Quakers are a people who follow after peace, love and unity. Our peace testimony is our witness to the Truth as we experience it.

Our testimony manifests as a cumulative set of actions, continually tested and added to over centuries. These actions are diverse in form, but have been broadly united by:

1. Refusal to kill
2. Relief of suffering
3. Building the institutions of peace, and
4. Supporting peacebuilding and removing the causes of war.

At the onset of the full scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia, the Friends World Committee for Consultation issued a Christian Call for Peace, affirming that invasion and occupation are the opposite of Christ's universal call to reconciliation and unity, and echoing church statements in many countries, including Ukraine, calling for an

immediate ceasefire replaced by a peacemaking dialogue. This call would echo the Golden Rule which is a foundational value of all major world religions, has the potential to eliminate violence and helps us to recognize one another.

Almost by definition peacemaking often involves engaging with people making war, and understanding the reasons they do so. Nevertheless our vocation as a peace church is to seek and make real the peaceful alternatives to armed conflict which with God's help are possible, and to ensure that the long lasting human costs of war are not forgotten or neglected.

We continue to uphold the right to refuse to kill. We stand with conscientious objectors on all sides of this conflict, with the people in Russia who stand up against their leaders' belligerent actions, and the people in Ukraine employing creative forms of nonviolent civil resistance. We continue to help relieve suffering, and hold that all nations must radically improve their approach to welcoming refugees, to fully honor the United Nations' Refugee Convention and ensure that all displaced people – no matter their origin – have access to civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. We will continue to press for this.

We continue to seek to build the institutions of peace. Justice with peace requires binding frameworks of international law and restorative justice, as well as global investment in violence prevention at the community level. We know that

all of these have been insufficient to prevent the injustice in Ukraine, and must be strengthened to win peace.

And we continue to support peacebuilding measures. We call on the governments of Ukraine, Russia, neighbouring countries, the United States, NATO and the European Union, to explore all avenues – whether public or private – for a renewed conversation to address the human security needs of all the peoples and countries in the region, to help provide the basis for long term peace.

Whichever way this war ends, we are realistic that healing and sustainable peacemaking will in all likelihood take more than a generation, and will only be possible through inclusive and sustainable processes from the international to the local. That process must begin now.

We are ready to play our part.

Signed by,

Timothy Gee

General Secretary, Friends World Committee for Consultation

Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge

Director, Quaker United Nations Office, Geneva

Sarah Clarke

Director, Quaker United Nations Office, New York

Bridget Moix

General Secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation

Joyce Ajlouny

General Secretary, American Friends Service Committee

Jennifer Preston

General Secretary, Canadian Friends Service Committee

Tracey Martin

Director, Quaker Council on European Affairs

Oliver Robertson

General Secretary, Quaker Peace and Social Witness

QCEA participates in a Coordination Workshop on Nonviolent Responses in Ukraine



On 7 October QCEA attended a Coordination Workshop on Nonviolent Responses in Ukraine, organised by PATRIR, Un Ponte Per and their Ukrainian partners and hosted at Quaker House. Organisations from across Europe and around the world came together to listen to partners from Ukraine and to reflect on what can be done to support peacebuilding, and practitioners and organisations working on the ground in Ukraine. The event also included organisations focusing on supporting resistance and opposition to the war in Russia and Belarus.

Those who do not have programmes on the ground, including QCEA, had a chance to listen to practitioners about their work and ground assessments on nonviolent resistance, and non-cooperation in temporarily occupied territories in Ukraine.

The event served as a practical space for concrete planning and working together to improve the response to the invasion and war in Ukraine and identify key policy and advocacy issues to bring forward at the EU and international levels.

← Coordination workshop on Nonviolent Responses in Ukraine

The first ever website on climate and militarisation has launched



Arms, Militarism and Climate Justice working group, an informal network of researchers and activists committed to ending militarisation of the climate crisis, has recently launched a website on climate militarism. This is the first such site to date to explore the link between climate change and militarism. It provides links to organisations and resources and relevant events at COP27. As a member of the network, Quaker Council for European Affairs and our report on Climate, Peace and Human Rights are also featured on the website.

We invite you to visit the website here: <https://climatemilitarism.org/>



Open Security Data Europe

All you need to know about who benefits from EU military and security funding

On 8 November, QCEA attended the ENAAT online relaunch event of opensecuritydata.eu. This public platform was created in 2021 by independent investigative journalists and lists the beneficiaries of EU security funding since 2007. It was recently expanded to EU research and development (R&D) grants in the military field with the European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAT) support.

The EU has spent billions on security-related projects since 2007, including policing, border control, counter-terrorism and cyber security. Then in 2017 the EU budget started to subsidise the armament sector for the research and development (R&D) of the next generation of weaponry, moving in a few years from a 'modest' half-a-billion budget to a Defence Fund worth €8 billion in 2021-2027.

Spending on civilian and military security is not trivial, yet knowing who benefits from these projects and how much money they receive is a challenge, the founders of this platform explained. Although publicly available, this information is currently spread across different EU agencies and departments and different online tools, some of which are particularly complex to access. Other data has to be requested directly from national entities.

This is a serious impediment to transparency about EU subsidies to the security industry. This database is thus a valuable tool for civil society to monitor the EU's increasing security and defence expenditure, on projects that often have dangerous implications for civil liberties and human rights. It

plays a key role in letting people find out what their governments are doing with public funding.

For military R&D, the database reveals that 15 companies and research centres alone account for 52% of the budget allocated in 2017-2020, six of which were members of a 'Group of Personalities' charged in 2016 with advising the European Commission on the setting-up of such a programme. And the four major European military powers, France, Italy, Spain and Germany, get back almost two-third of the budget.

Furthermore, by combining other sources of information such as the ExitArms.org database and the Corruption Tracker, it becomes clear that most of these major recipients are involved in controversial arms deliveries and/or face serious allegations of corruption.

Providing funds to these corporations does not breach EU regulation as long as there is no conviction; however, one should still question the moral, ethical, and legal implications of subsidising corporations when there is evidence of corruption.

ENAAT has been warning since 2016 about the risk that the European Defence Fund exacerbates the global arms race. Unfortunately, the data available confirms that the military industry subsidised by the EU exports military equipment to authoritarian regimes and to belligerents or countries in the grip of internal conflicts, with a very high risk that these weapons will be used to repress civilians or in conflict zones.

QCEA participates in the 6th European Forum in Athens



QCEA participated in the **6th edition of the European Forum of Left, Green and Progressive forces**, which took place on 21-23 of October 2022 in the city of Athens. The forum's theme was *'For peace, social and climate justice, a global human security'* and consisted of a number of plenary sessions, round tables and workshops with trade unionists, thinkers, youth activists, civil society representatives and political figures from all over Europe such as MEP Ernest Urtasun, Natalie Benett and Sinn Féin. Participants were invited to reflect on innovative approaches such as a new social and ecological compass for Europe, or a new collective safety architecture based on nuclear disarmament, military de-escalation and respect for territorial integrity and human rights.

QCEA's Project Manager Saskia Basa spoke at a civil society roundtable hosted by **Transform!Europe**, which brought together a diverse group of actors to reflect on security concepts beyond militarisation and discuss strategies to strengthen collaborative efforts for a just future of shared security between nations. Saskia reflected on the importance of bottom-up approaches and the need to expand

use and visibility of nonviolent alternatives to military escalation, such as citizens' diplomacy and unarmed civilian protection. Highlighting Quaker contributions to peacebuilding and nonviolence, she spoke of the importance of creating a culture of peace that seeps into all areas of policy and collective life: from the way we build our cities to the ways in which children are taught to deal with disagreements in the classroom.



↑ Saskia Basa at the European Forum in Athens
PHOTO: EUROPEANFORUM.EU

Our peace programme in action

QCEA joined a **call for NATO to make public its methodology for counting military emissions**, after it announced in June that it would reduce its greenhouse gas emissions and work towards net zero by 2050. Transparency about how NATO will count its carbon emissions is crucial to enable external oversight and tracking of progress. As of 30 November, the call has been endorsed by 126 organisations.

'Together we must care for Creation': QCEA endorsed a faith leaders' call urging the European Parliament and the Council of the EU to strengthen the provisions in the proposed Corporate Sustainability Due Diligence Directive, particularly those on justice and human rights, by among other measures, ensuring stakeholder

consultations are part of the due diligence process, and that the impact corporate activities have on women, environmental defenders and indigenous communities are recognised.

On **7-9 October**, QCEA's Director Tracey Martin and QCEA Project Manager Saskia Basa participated in the FWCC- European and Middle East Section (EMES) Peace and Service Consultation's (thereafter **Peace and Service Network**) Annual Meeting at Quäkerhaus in Bad Pyrmont, Germany. Saskia presented some of QCEA's ongoing work to the network, while Tracey offered a reflection session on how to work 'humbly' in partnership with others, while trying to avoid neocolonial dynamics.

↳ Saskia Basa at the Peace and Service Network



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↑ Quaker House in November
PHOTO: SASKIA BASA



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Quaker Council for European Affairs AISBL
Square Ambiorix 50
Brussels 1000
Belgium
office@qcea.org
www.qcea.org

Éditeur responsable
TRACEY MARTIN

Mise en page
et illustration
DOVILE BOGUSYTE

Numéro d'entreprise
0420.346.728 RPM Bruxelles