

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

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DELEGATION FOR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

Report of the
**4th EP/Laos Interparliamentary Meeting
and working group to Thailand**
(Bangkok - Vientiane - Luang Prabang)
18-23 March 2007

INTRODUCTION

A working group from the Delegation for relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and the ASEAN visited Laos for the 4th EP/Laos Interparliamentary Meeting from 19 to 23 March 2007. On its way to Laos, the working group had a 24-hour stop in Bangkok to assess the political situation in Thailand since the military *coup d'état* on 19 September 2006; this visit was meant to be a fact-finding mission, without endorsing the status of an official visit.

The working group was led by Mr Hartmut NASSAUER (EPP-ED), Chair of the Delegation. It included also Mr Mr Jas GAWRONSKI, Mr Bert DOORN, Ms Margie SUDRE (EPP-ED), Mr Robert GOEBBELS (PES), Mr Frithjof SCHMIDT (Greens/EFA) and Mr Gintaras DIDŽIOKAS (UEN), Members of the ASEAN Delegation, as well as Mr Glyn FORD (PES) in his quality of rapporteur on "EU's Economic and Trade Relations with ASEAN" for the Committee on International Trade.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS

Thailand

The politicians, diplomats and civil society activists we met, reflecting feelings observed by EU diplomats, did not perceive toppling of the government of Prime Minister Thaksin and the abrogation of the 1997 Constitution as a major catastrophe for democracy in Thailand as one could expect after a military *coup d'état*.

Indeed, the widespread feelings were that under Prime Minister Thaksin the Constitution had been unable to guarantee the neutrality and smooth functioning of the State (personal privileges and cronyism, but also constant demonstrations and finally the failed general election) even before the coup formally suspended it. There was confidence that the schedule for a new constitution to be approved in September by referendum, and a general election to take place by the end of 2007 would be kept, and little fear that the military, or the current

military-controlled civilian government would try and stay in power or make the new Constitution a facade.

There was also confidence that, although the constitutional guarantees are nominally suspended along with the Constitution, Human Rights would be respected - Thailand is still bound to protect fundamental liberties by its being part to international conventions, we were told - and indeed, press appears to be free and breaches to the military-imposed prohibition of demonstrating have not met repressive action.

However, the way the political spectrum will reconfigure itself, with the parties still unable to conduct any kind of public activity, and a number of judicial procedures having been initiated against the main parties for mismanagement and alleged corruption cases.

Another preoccupying aspect is the extension of violence in the South, which appears to be beyond control of the Government, who has not been able to regain confidence of the local population. (impunity of wrongdoing police forces, conflicting laws, poorly trained forces and informal detention places); despite allegations of Islamic fundamentalism, religion only a tool in their fight - but there is a recent worrying trend towards communal violence, fuelled by the independentists' strategy to drive the situation out of control.

Diplomats in Bangkok did not expect an extension of martial law, but they felt that the situation prone to be unstable for several years. They insisted on the importance of maintaining contact with Thailand, a regional hub for investment, (but also for counterfeiting, illegal work, drugs) and a regional leader.

Laos

While it retains all the characteristics of an authoritarian single-party regime, Laos appears to be on track for a gradual opening to the outside world and economic development. The development level is still extremely low, the country being among the Least Developed Countries, but the growth rate is 7% and prospects of hydropower royalties are encouraging.

Political evolution is not on the agenda. Our feeling was that the system is extremely stable; Vietnam is the reference model for the Lao leadership. Although people, at least in the main centres, have an easy access to language-akin Thai audiovisual media, Laos lacks educated human resources - a consequence of the emigration of middle-class after the victory of the Communists in 1975 - and this shortage makes it easier for the Party to keep control over the population.

Total self-censorship is the only reason for the lack of internal dissident voices, and the number of reported human rights violations appears low - except for the cases involving a few thousand most isolated Hmong populations (for details on the Hmongs' situation in Laos, see background note prepared by the policy department). Some of the abuses reported by international NGOs appear to be a combination of criminal acts and local police mismanagement rather than an official policy of discrimination on ethnic or religious grounds.

ACCOUNT OF THE MEETINGS

I. THAILAND

The duration of the visit was limited, and we did not seek an extensive range of official contacts. In particular, we did not include contacts with the so-called "People's Assembly" (non-elected substitute for the Parliament). However, in this reduced time we met the leaders of the main government and opposition parties under the democratic regime, as well as the acting Foreign Minister and the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Commission, as well as several observers, academics and NGO representatives.

Mr Chaturon Chaisang, Acting Leader, Thai Rak Thai Party

TRT acknowledges the coup, and recognises the current government; it does not call for overthrowing it. There were no protests after the coup, because it came at a time of strong anti-government protests. But now that the current government has failed to deliver, and after the draft constitution is made public, there may be more protests. TRT will not join them however; Mr Thaksin will not be a candidate in the next election - and he was not mentioned as having an extra-ordinary role in the party's future.

Party activity severely limited; not involved in drafting committee, nor allowed to gather opinions or publicise comments. TRT has not decided their position for the referendum on the new Constitution yet. They will not trigger a crisis by calling for 'no' unless the new constitution is really undemocratic. But they fear that the objective of the coup leaders may be to have weak coalition governments - the very chronic problem of Thai politics that had been solved by the 1997 Constitution. Weak parties lead to vote-buying, strong parties announce their policies, people vote on programmes.

Mr Abbisit Vejjajiva, Leader, Democrat Party

"Although democracy was suppressed formally on 19.9, it had already disappeared in substance due to the abuses of the previous government."

For the leader of the main opposition party (whom the delegation had already met in September 2005), financial corruption was not the main problem, but the abuse of the constitutional system, the destruction of the impartiality of the state.

The coup was a "lesser evil", and he would support the process of restoration of democracy. Thailand today is not the same as 16 years ago (last non-democratic episode); society is more educated, understands better the limitations of a non-democratic government and the military have been anxious not to assume power directly but to find respectable persons to prepare transition back. But as an indirect consequence of the coup, feelings of distrust reach all politicians and this distrust may reflect in the new Constitution

In any case, the drafting process cannot create a good Constitution. The best thing one can expect is that it allows for a democratic election. In the referendum, there is no vision on what the 'no' would mean, it would not mean reverting to the 1997 Constitution.

Finally, the current apparent calm may prove illusory. Despite his declarations, Thaksin shows every intention to come back, and it may mean a clash between his supporters and the current government.

Mr Prasong Soonsiri, Chairman, Constitution Draft Committee

The new framework, to be made public in April¹ will not be much different from the previous but it will increase the power of people and reduce the power of the state, both in terms of rights of the people and of the institutions.

The text will keep two houses (debate still ongoing on the mode of appointing the Senate) and propose a term of 4 years, the Prime Minister would have to be an elected MP (a hot debate in the press at the time of our visit, linked to potential ambitions of some in the acting Government, or in the military), with a maximum duration of mandate. It will care for independent institutions (Supreme Court, Electoral Commission, Constitutional Court, etc.). The formal process may not be satisfactory to European countries but there was no better choice since in the last years democracy was only formal, with abuse, interference, and corruption.

Although not democratically elected, the current government respects the rule of law and the liberties, and it works better than the previous one, with no intention of clinging to power.

The fact that we draft a new constitution instead of just amending the old one does not mean that we change everything; the old one remains the base.

HE Mr Nitva Pibulsonggram, Foreign Minister

The Thai - society and government - are determined to achieve a full democracy. Unless there are technical difficulties arising, the schedule is to hold the elections by the end of 2007, so that the current government can leave the power in favour of the elected government in the first months of 2008. Election observation would not be necessary. The Thai civil society and the press are mature and free enough.

There had been four reasons for the coup: rampant corruption, divisiveness (Parliament was suspended since February, the election had been declared null and void by the Supreme Court), destruction of the independence of state commissions, and violation of provisions of article 1 (i.e. respect for the person and the function of the King). Had the coup on 19.9 not occurred, widespread violence was likely in the 24 hours.

The people are impatient, but the respect for the rule of law means slow process.

¹ The first draft is to be circulated around 19 April for feedback, the second draft is to be completed mid-July; referendum one month later. If the referendum fails, the CNS will organise the elections basing on the procedures of the old Constitution.

II. LAOS

Call on H.E. Mr Thongsing Thammavong, President of the NA and Member of the Politburo

The President presented the institutional structure of the country and the role of the National Assembly. The last election has taken place in April 2006. Of the current 115 members, 25% are women. Compared to previous terms, there is a high percentage of intellectual people, which results in richer debates.

The political priorities are social stability, fast economic development, with particular attention on developing basic education (expansion of school network in remote rural areas, in particular minority areas) and public health. Despite the fast development in some areas, there is still strong prevalence of poverty, with lack of funding to carry up social and economic development, especially as infrastructure is still very poor.

The situation of minorities is not exceptional; it is shared by the population in all mountainous remote rural areas. However, the situation of some segments (but not all) of the Hmong population highlights some geographical and cultural particularities: Hmong practice slash-and-burn cultivation, which imposes a semi-nomadic life - it is difficult to improve living standards under these circumstances. Given their local customs-based rules, they are not aware or don't care of the law, especially as they have only infrequent contact with authorities; it is difficult to convince them and address the problems.

Mr Nassauer said that he was happy to hear that there had been progress on Human Rights cases since EP's last visit in 2002 (referring in particular to the case of 21 girls deported from refugee camps in Thailand, to be soon reunited with their families), and he mentioned the reference by President Thongsing to the role of the National Assembly of monitoring the action of the Government as a way to enhance the legislators' status by strengthening the rule of law. He mentioned the individual cases of five students arrested after attempting to organise a demonstration in 2003 and heavily sentenced (one of them being dead in prison). President Thongsing said that they had been freed at the end of 2006, although no public announcement had been made. Mr Gawronski asked whether it could be possible for the delegation (or for diplomatic personnel) to meet these recently released prisoners. President Thongsing promised to contact the concerned State agency.

Mr Gawronski also inquired about the situation of Hmong in refugee camps. President Thongsing stated that although these persons were not all from Laos, if they want to come back or join their families in Laos, they would be welcome, but in fact most of them were rather hoping to emigrate to a third country.

Mr Schmidt asked how Laos would consider the new ASEAN Charter stating an ASEAN community of values instead of placing the principle of non-interference in the first line. President Thongsing answered that the Government of Laos would take an active part in the negotiation of the ASEAN Charter. The drafting of the Charter should be done gradually with respect of independence, sovereignty and non-interference; further institutional advances required first narrowing the development gap.

Mr Goebbels mentioned that for economic development; the most important tool for all developing countries has been FDI. Laos is more and more open to FDI but foreign investors complain that the Laotian legal system is insufficient and that the banking system is not efficient: are there any plans to reform it?

President Thongsing answered that the Government was improving the capacity in the banking system and in the Finance Ministry, but one should not underestimate the lack of

qualified personnel. Opening too quickly without having proper control mechanisms would create even more problems.

Interparliamentary meeting – National Assembly (*see separate agenda*)

Dr. Kukeo Akhamontri, chairing the National Assembly's Lao-European Parliamentarians' Friendship Group (see attached list of members) introduced the National Assembly's activities and the role of the NA as supervision of the government.

The majority of members in the NA are new members. Priorities are in health, education and rural development (improving rural productivity, assuring self-reliance and food security). He expressed thanks for EU's assistance in these areas and welcomed the initiative of granting 60% of the aid in the form of budgetary support.

The first half of the meeting was dedicated to EU questions, with questions mostly regarding enlargement and the developments in the CSFP.

Mr Doorn inquired about the role of the law committee, the rule of law and the appointment of judges

The Lao side exposed that the main originator for legal proposals is the Secretariat of the Standing Committee. The appointment of Supreme Court president is done in the first session of parliament, while district judges are appointed by the Standing Committee upon proposal of the Supreme Court.

On Mr Schmidt's question how independence of justice, freedom of press and expression; could be compatible with the leading role of the party, referring to comments in the NA of Vietnam that "the leading role of the party stops at the doors of the court", the Lao side replied that the one-party system put the power in the hands of the people, the role of NA was to ensure this, not just to enact law.

The media should serve the benefit of the people so they must have a political relationship. However a new law on media is to come soon²

On a question by Mr Goebbels on the relations with Myanmar, Dr. Kukeo mentioned Myanmar as a good neighbour. A State visit to Myanmar is planned in coming months. He welcomed the process of adopting a new constitution and elect parliament by end to 2008, giving a very positive assessment of Myanmar Government's roadmap to democracy. Laos views Myanmar and ASEAN states as members of the same family. Addressing their problems is delicate and requires time, not to create divisions in the family.

HE Soulivong Daravong, President of Planning and Investment Committee (*with ministerial ranking*)

Mr Soulivong exposed the needs of the country in terms of investment and legal restructuring with the view of future Laos' accession to WTO, as well as the country's perspectives in terms of energy production and export, of sustainable tourism and as a crossroads between China, Vietnam and Thailand. Asked whether he had the political support for this reform, he was extremely positive.

² This had already been said at the time of the previous EP delegation visit in 2002.

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs HE Phongsavath Boupha

The Minister commented on the process of drafting the ASEAN Charter. Inside the Eminent Persons Group, some members wanted to take model on the EU, others were more concerned with the local conditions. The charter will not go for supranationality, or for common foreign or military policy. On Human Rights, Laos cannot agree to implement this in the Charter, it has to go slowly and in accordance with the national law, explain the people first. He affirmed that the Lao people wanted to keep the one-party system, and that joining the WTO is not a priority, given the low level of exports from Laos.

However he stated that Laos was in the process to join the International Criminal Court.

Laos being a landlocked country, it has to have good relations with all its neighbours. The minister advocated triangular development co-operation in border regions.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

DELEGATION FOR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

4th EP/Laos Interparliamentary Meeting Vientiane

Proposed subjects for the Working Session 21 March 2007

Political situation in Laos

Laos' progress in promoting governance and rule of law - Role of the National Assembly in Laos' political and legal system - Promotion and monitoring of Human rights (Civil society organisations - Freedom of expression - Religious organisations - Minorities)

Laos's economic situation

Structural economic reforms - evolution of Party / State / Society relations in a fast developing economy - Promotion of natural resources - Infrastructure development - Development co-operation with EU and other international donors

European Union issues

Functioning of EU - European integration - International role of the EU - Human rights in the EU (Monitoring institutions and judicial redress - Migrants and asylum seekers)

Regional issues in South-East Asia

Evolution of ASEAN (in particular ASEAN Charter) - Laos' relations with its neighbours - Burma

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

DELEGATION FOR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

**4th EP/Laos Interparliamentary Meeting
and working group to Thailand**
(*Bangkok - Vientiane - Luang Prabang*)
18-23 March 2007

DRAFT PROGRAMME

*All times local
GMT+7
12:00 in Brussels = 18:00 in Thailand and Laos*

Sunday 18 March

- Mid-day Individual arrivals in Bangkok and transfer to
*Four Seasons Hotel
155 Rajadamri Road
Bangkok, Thailand 10330
Tel. +66-2-2501000
Fax. +66-2-2539195*
- 17:00 – 18:00 Meeting with Mr Nopadol Hengjareon, Advisor to the Minister of
Labour
Mobile: (081) 812-3942
Venue: Ratanakosin Conference Room, 2/F Four Seasons Hotel
- 18:45 Leave the hotel to the Residence by a mini bus
- 19:00 Briefing followed by dinner, hosted by HE Mr Friedrich Hamburger,
Head of EC Delegation
Venue: Residence of HoD, 7/F Tonson Residence, 58 Soi Ton Son,
Ploenchit Road, Tel: 02-251-1899, Mobile: 081-832-5696
Attire: Casual
Guests: Mr Patrick Deboyser, SANCO Representative
Mr Pierre Faucherand, TAXUD Representative
Mr Jean-Jacque Bouflet, Head of Trade Section
Mr Jean-François Cautain, Head of Political Section
Mr Andrew Jacobs, Head of Operation Section

Mr Erik Habers, Deputy Head of Operation Section

Monday 19 March

- 07:15 -07:50 Check out from hotel with check-in luggage
- 08:00 Depart from the hotel *(20 minutes needed in case of traffic)*
- 08:30 – 09:30 Briefing with EU Ambassadors *(List attached)*
Venue: 17/F Conference Room, EC Delegation
- 09:30 – 10:30 Meeting on South Thailand
- Mr Sunai Phasuk, Consultant, Human Rights Watch, Tel: 081-632-3052
- Ms Angkhana Neelaphaijit, Working Group on Justice for Peace,
Tel: 02-693-4939, 084-728-0350, 086-709-3000 (Ms Pornpen)
- Mr Paul Green, Legal Officer, Asia-Pacific Programme, International
Commission of Jurists, Tel: 02-245-3941, 085-133-8444
- Venue: 17/F Conference Room, EC Delegation
- 10:45 – 11:30 Mr Chaturon Chaisang, Acting Leader, Thai Rak Thai Party
Venue: 17/F Conference Room, EC Delegation
- 11:40 Leave EC Delegation to German Embassy
- 12:00 – 13:20 Lunch with Senior Editors – Academics *(List attached)*
Venue: German Embassy, 9 South Sathorn Road, Tel: 02-287-9012
- 13:30 – 14:15 Mr Abbisit Vejjajiva, Leader, Democrat Party
Venue: German Embassy, 9 South Sathorn Road, Tel: 02-287-9012
- 14:30 Leave German Embassy
- 15:00 – 16:00 Mr Prasong Soonsiri, Chairman, Constitution Draft Committee
Venue: Reception Room, Parliament Bldg. III, U-Thong Nai Road,
Tel: 02-244-1248-9
- 16:00 Leave Parliament (15-30 minutes needed depending on traffic)
- 16:30 – 17:30 HE Mr Nitya Pibulsonggram, Foreign Minister
Venue: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sri Ayudhya Road
Tel: 02-643-5000 ext. 3274 (Ms Patcharamol)
- 17:30 Depart to Suvarnabhumi International Airport
- 19:20 Depart Bangkok with flight TG 692 to Vientiane

20:30 Arrive Vientiane: Delegation will be met by representatives of the National Assembly and transferred to
Lao Plaza Hotel
63 Samsenethai Road
Vientiane, Lao PDR
Tel.: +856-21-218800 - 1
Fax.: +856-21-218808 - 9

Tuesday 20 March

10.30-12:00 Briefing by EU Head of Missions and CdA of the EC Delegation
Green Park Hotel

12.00-13.30 Lunch hosted by H.E. Mr. Peter Wienand, Ambassador of Germany
Green Park Hotel

13.45 Depart from the restaurant for NA

14:00 – 14:45 Courtesy call on H.E. Mr Thongsing Thammavong, President of the NA and Member of the Politburo

14:50 – 16:50 Interparliamentary meeting – National Assembly (see separate agenda)

17:05 – 18:00 Meeting with HE Soulivong Daravong – President of Planning and Investment Committee (to be confirmed)

18:30 – 20.30 Dinner hosted by the National Assembly of Laos
Lane Xang Hotel

Wednesday 21 March

09:00-10:00 Meeting with Mr. Olivier Cogels – CEO – Mekong River Committee (confirmed)

11.00 Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs HE Phongsavath Boupcha

12:30-14:00 Buffet-lunch with representatives of international agencies/bilateral donors/NGO's – Hosted by European Commission
Hongkong Restaurant

Afternoon Free for Members' individual contacts

19.15 Depart from the hotel to the restaurant

19:30-20:30 Dinner with Lao and EU business representatives - hosted by the EC Delegation

Hongkong Restaurant

Thursday 22 March

- 08:30 Depart to airport
- 09:00 – 09.40 Flight QV 109 to Luang Prabang
- 09:40 Welcome reception at Airport by Dr. Khamphaeng Saysomphaeng, Vice Governor of Luang Prabang, President of Local Heritage Committee
- Transfer to Grand Hotel Luang Prabang
- 11:00-12:00 Courtesy call on the Governor (to be confirmed)
- 12:00 – 13:00 Lunch at Santi Resort with European and Lao Project Staff – Bi and Multilateral donors, NGOs etc. hosted by EC
- 14:00 -16:00 Visit to EC-sponsored natural and cultural heritage conservation projects organized by the Director of “La Maison du Patrimoine” Mrs. Manivone Thoummabouth
- Visit of activities of the EC funded Urban and Peri Urban Agriculture, Asia Urbs Project at:
1. LuangPrabang district: Ban Khoy, Ban Ma and Ban MeuangNga.
 2. Chomphet district: Ban XiengMen with Baci ceremony at the village.
 3. XiengNgeun district: Ban Suanluang with Baci ceremony at the village.
- 16:00 – 17:00 Visit the Primary School, funded by GPAR at Ban Xienglom
- 18:00 Courtesy call on the Governor at “Hosanam meeting Hall”
- 18:30 Baci ceremony at Provincial Governor Office
- 19:30 Dinner hosted by Luang Prabang Governor at the, followed by a show of traditional dancing
- Grand Hotel Luang Prabang*

Friday, 23 March

07.00	Bring luggage to be put on vehicles and check out of hotel
07.30	Depart from the Hotel to Phonxay District
09:30 – 10:00	Meeting with district Governor. The Governor joins the Delegation and then the Delegation proceeds to visit the first village
10:00 -10:15	Pak Nga – Phon Ngam - Welcome by 3 ethnic minorities and Baci at the village
10:15 – 11:00	Visit Terraces, 2 fish ponds and soil preparation for 2 ha orchards
11:00-11:20	Phon Ngam – Houay Pian
11.20-12.10	visit (A water supply system, water tabs and 54 latrines constructed by the former ECHO-CESVI project)
12.10-12.30	Houay Pian - Pak Nga
12:30 13:30	Lunch jointly organized by District Governor and EC
13:30 -15:50	Visit to Ban Bo and irrigation at Ban Kokwan
16:00	Return to Luang Prabang
17.40-18.00	Transfer to the airport to take
19:10-19:50	QV 104 flight to Vientiane
21:25-22:30	TG 693 flight Vientiane to Bangkok (or other destinations) and back to Europe

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

DELEGATION FOR RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS (ASEAN)

4th EP/Laos Interparliamentary Meeting and working group to Thailand

(Bangkok - Vientiane - Luang Prabang)

18-23 March 2007

List of Participants

<u>MEMBERS</u>	<u>Political Groups</u>	<u>Committees</u>
	<u>Nationality</u>	
Mr Hartmut NASSAUER <i>Chairperson</i>	PPE-DE Germany	Committee on Legal Affairs
Mr Jas GAWRONSKI	PPE-DE Italy	Committee on Foreign Affairs
Mr Bert DOORN	PPE-DE Netherlands	Committee on Legal Affairs Committee on the Internal Market and Consumer Protection
Ms Margie SUDRE	PPE-DE France	Committee on Regional Development Committee on Fisheries
Mr Robert GOEBBELS	PSE Luxembourg	Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs
Mr Glyn FORD	PSE UK	Committee on International Trade <i>(Rapporteur on "EU's Economic and Trade Relations with ASEAN")</i>
Mr Frithjof SCHMIDT	Greens/EFA Germany	Committee on Development
Mr Gintaras DIDŽIOKAS	UEN Lithuania	Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development

PPE-DE Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats

PSE Socialist Group in the European Parliament

Greens/ALE Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance

UEN Union for Europe of the Nations Group

STAFF

SECRETARIAT

Mr Jean-Louis BERTON	France	Head of Unit
Mr Thierry JACOB	France	Principal Administrator
Ms Claudia SCHWENDENWEIN	Austria	Administrative Assistant

POLITICAL GROUPS

Mr Markus ARENS	PPE-DE Germany
Ms Bogna SUDA	PSE Poland
Ms Egle KROPAITE	UEN Lithuania

INTERPRETERS

Ms Françoise JOOSTENS	FR	Team Leader
Mr Gerard HENDRICKX	FR	
Mr Alasdair THOMSON	EN	
Mr Francis COLE	EN	