PEOPLE'S NEWS

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Five biggest EU countries call for new military "structure"

The foreign and defence ministers of France, Germany, Italy, Poland and Spain, known as the "Weimar Group," have said that the Union needs a new military "structure" to manage overseas operations. "We are convinced that the EU must set up, within a framework yet to be defined, true civilian-military structures to plan and conduct missions and operations. We should show preparedness to hold available, train, deploy and sustain in theatre the necessary civilian and military means."

The powerful group of countries—Europe's largest—also welcomed the plan to hold a special summit meeting in Brussels next year to "confirm our ambitions for security and defence policy."

In September a "futures" group of eleven countries, including the Weimar five, called for an end to Britain's veto over defence policy to stop it blocking the project, which is envisaged as a structure that "could eventually involve a European army."

The proposals will be debated, with the support of Catherine Ashton, the EU's high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, at a special summit meeting in December 2013 before a push towards a new EU constitution in the summer of 2014.

On 5 July 2011, Poland, France and Germany signed an agreement to put together a unit of 1,700 soldiers, called the Weimar Combat Group, which will be ready to move to crisis zones, beginning in 2013. Poland will command the group, providing the core combat troops and a mechanised battalion; Germany will provide logistical support; and France will contribute medical support. The operational command centre will be in the Mont-Valérien Fortress in Suresnes, a suburb of Paris.

But Ashton has emerged as an ally in a French plot to create a military headquarters at Brussels that would build on existing EU military missions. She has indicated to France that she will go against British opposition if the French government can win other allies.

France views the launch of new EU military missions as a trojan horse for a European military headquarters, and it will mount an offensive in mid-2014 that could see it supporting a change in the treaties to scrap national vetoes over defence.

As usual, we don't know where the Irish government stands on this question.

A new euro

From next year the Phoenician princess Europa will replace pictures of windows, bridges and doors on euro banknotes, as a security feature.

"Portraits have long been used in banknotes around the world," said Mario Draghi, president of the European Central Bank, "and research has shown that people tend to remember faces. Is there any better figure than Europa to serve as the new face of the euro?"

In Greek mythology Europa was abducted and raped by the king of the gods, Zeus. She will first appear on the €5 note in May, with other notes introduced in ascending order over the next few years. Europa's face will be shown as a watermark and as a hologram.

The first series of notes will circulate alongside the old ones; but the old notes, introduced ten years ago, will eventually cease to be legal tender. They will retain their face value and will be exchangeable at central banks, even when they are no longer valid as tender in shops.

Unions must lead campaign to repudiate bank debt

The biennial delegate conference of the Technical, Electrical and Engineering Union has decided that the union should immediately begin discussions with like-minded unions with a view to canvassing international legal opinion regarding the possibility of mounting a legal challenge in order to have the Anglo-Irish debt declared odious and illegitimate.

The intention is to prevent its repayment and in particular the repayment of €3.1 billion (€3,100 million) promissory notes on 31 March next.

At the EU summit on Thursday last, when asked if a deal with the European Central Bank to recast the Anglo-Irish Bank promissory notes was still possible this year, Enda Kenny said the payment date was next March; so it is reasonable to infer that the government intends stumping up on our behalf.

Ireland's repayments of the now-dead Anglo-Irish Bank's debts could reach more than €47 billion (€47,000 million) by 2030—that's 30 per cent of the country's GDP!—if the repayments are not stopped. This level of debt over a bank that no longer exists would not be tolerated in any other European country. It is sheer madness, and will impoverish the country.

And next March we are due to pay a further €3.1 billion to support the gambling debts of international bondholders. (For comparison, the DART underground project, for integrating suburban rail services in a real network through the use of a 7.6-km tunnel between Inchicore and Spencer Dock, with intermediate stations connecting with other services, is estimated to cost €1.2 billion.)

This Anglo-Irish debt was never and should not be considered the debt of the Irish people. It is now clear that it was forced on a lame-duck government and a terminally ill minister for finance by the EU and its bank—the ECB—in order to save the euro. "No bank could fail" was the mantra in Frankfurt!

Well, the euro is still not saved, but we—all of us—are paying the price. The amount we are paying for Anglo-Irish is too large to comprehend. This money is coming from ordinary citizens. We are drowning in a sea of debt, and it is time to end the madness and repudiate it.

We have already witnessed €24 billion in "fiscal adjustment" since 2008—the largest budgetary adjustment seen anywhere in the advanced economic world in modern times. The 2013 budget will see spending cuts and tax increases of €3.8 billion, with a similar figure probably, between €3 and €4 billion, for 2014 and 2015.

€24 billion has been taken out of the economy since 2008; but the debt mountain has only been reduced by €3 billion. We are facing permanent austerity.

The deal much touted by Enda Kenny would seem at best to extend the repayment period to forty years and slightly reduce the interest rates charged by our "partners" in Europe. Debt as a proportion of national income will probably be 143 per cent in 2013 and probably still represent 140 per cent of national income by 2015, by the government's own estimates—despite several years of savage austerity.

When "contingent liabilities" are factored in, the national debt on 31 March 2011 stood at €371.1 billion, according to a debt audit carried out by Dr Sheila Killian, Dr John Garvey and Frances Shaw of the University of Limerick. This is equivalent to almost 300 per cent of Ireland's national income.

The Irish debt crisis is a crisis of private—subsequently socialised—debt, not public debt. Neither the allegedly "bloated" nature of the public service, now shown to be fictitious, nor "generous" social welfare entitlements, caused this crisis.

Alarmingly, the debt audit notes that the figure of €371.1 billion may be an underestimate. For example, the audit does not count unguaranteed bonds issued by the banks (and therefore not legally the responsibility of the Irish state) as part of the debt, but up till now the government has been repaying these bonds also.

The social price being paid is catastrophic, not least because the austerity policies are sending the economy into a tailspin. National income is already down by more than 15 per cent from its peak. The debts run up by the former Anglo-Irish Bank are not the responsibility of people living in Ireland: they are the responsibility of those who supported Anglo's reckless lending.

The next payment on promissory notes, amounting to €3.1 billion, falls due on 31 March. This money could and should be used to maintain and expand public services and provide a desperately needed stimulus to the depressed economy.

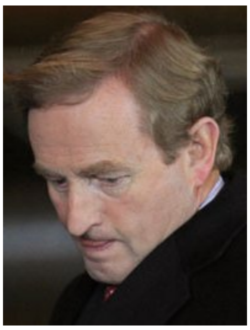
We must begin somewhere, and stopping the government's payment of the €3.1 billion in March would be a very good start.

Failure to agree EU budget

A summit meeting for agreeing a long-term budget for the European Union ended on Friday without a deal after failure to bridge deep divisions over spending priorities for the next seven years.

New member-states and France would lose most from an EU budget proposal tabled on Thursday at the beginning of the summit. It was aimed at slashing €75 billion from proposed spending for the period 2014–2020; but Britain and its allies still want more cuts.

Drafted by the president of the EU Council, Herman van Rompuy, the new "negotiating box" sought cuts in almost all areas, with farm subsidies—which France benefits from the most—slashed by €21½ billion, compared with the EU Commission's proposal of €1 trillion in total for the seven-year period.



The talks also present a threat to Ireland's annual receipts of €1.7 billion from the common agricultural policy, something Enda Kenny has vowed to defend. "Obviously 85 per cent of our funding comes from the CAP," he said. "It is just so important, in the sense that Europe has oftentimes underestimated the potential for the development of economies and jobs and opportunities from the agri-sector."

Funds for infrastructure and enterprises to help new member-states (the "Friends of Cohesion" group) to catch up were also to receive €17 billion less than planned.

Neither French nor Polish diplomats were happy about the draft. France had already condemned a previous compromise tabled by the Cypriot EU presidency, which had sought smaller cuts in farm subsidies. Sweden has also said it is unhappy with the proposal, which sought to reduce the Swedish rebate by some €25 million while leaving Britain's multi-billion rebate untouched.

In the course of negotiations van Rompuy proposed putting €7.7 billion back into the CAP budget, so the reduction would be €17.3 billion, but this was unacceptable. He also proposed returning €11 billion to the cohesion budget, erasing almost half the €25 billion cut. Such changes were to be funded in part by cuts to the "Connecting Europe" transport and energy plan.

Angela Merkel warned before the summit that having no deal on the seven-year budget would damage the credibility of the EU, while the "European of the Year," in view of the subsequent failure to agree a budget, put the kibosh on the forthcoming Irish austerity presidency when he proclaimed: "It's important that a country which has to bear considerable burdens at the moment would face a very difficult position in running an effective presidency if there is not a decision and agreement on a budget for 2014–2020. The presidency . . . does not have very much authority in the absence of a decision about an overall budget."

David Cameron, who is pressing for a freeze on expenditure and deep cuts to the EU's administration budget, showed no sign of compromise. "We are going to be negotiating very hard for a good deal for Britain's taxpayers and for Europe's taxpayers and to keep the British rebate," he said.

Any deal must also win the support of the European Parliament. For the package to go ahead it requires approval from an absolute majority of members. The president of the parliament, Martin Schulz, sounded a warning note when he met the leaders last week. "Advocating cuts in the EU budget may be popular, but it is hugely irresponsible," he said.

"We, the representatives of the peoples of Europe, are categorically opposed to the freezing of the EU budget, let alone to cuts in that budget."

Which just reminds me that the Eurocrats are expecting an 8 per cent wage increase in 2013, and they have the right union representing them: the European Union.

Greek bail-out talks fail again

Euro-zone finance ministers have again failed to reach agreement on whether to release the next tranche of Greece's multi-billion bail-out loan. They will reconvene next week after the conclusion of the EU budget summit. The Euro Group ministers had been expected to announce the release of €31½ billion in emergency funds, as well as changes to the country's ambitious debt reduction timetable, but the details could not be agreed.

The president of the Euro Group, Jean-Claude Juncker, admitted that he did not know precisely when Greece would receive the funds. "We are close to an agreement, but technical verifications have to be undertaken, financial calculations have to be made, and it's really for technical reasons that at this hour of the day it was not possible to do it in a proper way. Greece has delivered, now it's up to us to do the same."

Greece will enter a sixth consecutive year of recession, with economic output approximately 25 per cent below its pre-crisis level of 2007.

The main reason for the delay is continued disagreement with the International Monetary Fund over the length of Greece's debt timetable. At the press conference following the Euro Group's meeting last week the managing director of the IMF, Christine Lagarde, publicly disagreed with assertions by Juncker that Greece would be given an extra two years, taking it up to 2022, to reduce its ratio of debt to GDP below 120 per cent. Lagarde is still insisting on keeping the 2020 timetable, in return for euro-zone governments accepting losses on their Greek bond holdings. But this solution remains taboo for Germany, which points to legal limitations.

Meanwhile the Greek parliament passed yet another austerity budget last week as more than 100,000 people demonstrated in the square in front of the parliament, again the scene of violent clashes with the riot police. At one point the minister for finance had to promise not to cut the wages of the parliament's staff as they threatened to leave the building and boycott the session.

A total of €13½ billion worth of spending cuts and labour market reforms over the next two years led the prime minister, Antónis Samarás, to acknowledge that some of the pension and wage cuts were "unfair," and there was "no point in dressing this up as something else."

But in the German parliament, which has to approve every bail-out tranche to Greece, there is scepticism that the disbursement could be made quickly.

Governments should have no veto on taxation

"The veto right in the EU Council has to be scrapped," according to the EU commissioner for justice, fundamental rights and citizenship, Viviane Reding, and there should be no veto right capable of blocking attempts to harmonise rules throughout the EU.

"Qualified majority voting should be extended to more policy areas, for instance taxation. But the veto right is a matter of principle. I believe a big family can make it only if it pulls together and seeks common decisions. If twenty-six want something and the twenty-seventh blocks, it is not right."

The idea, which would require a change to the EU treaties, would be highly controversial for member-states such as Britain, Ireland, and Luxembourg.

Reding's is one of the names floated for the presidency of the EU Commission when it comes up for grabs in 2014.

My boomerang . . . !

A delegation headed by the secretary-general of the European Trade Union Confederation, Bernadette Ségol, delivered a "Nobel Prize for Austerity" to the EU: a boomerang with *Austerity will come back in your face* written on it! Not surprisingly, Barroso and van Rompuy weren't exactly elbowing their way forward to pick up the award, which was ultimately handed to the EU commissioner for employment and social affairs, László Andor.

EU plans may hit IFSC

The EU Commission is pushing for a significant strengthening of its rules against aggressive corporate tax avoidance schemes, which have cost member-states as much as €50 billion per year. Pressure is mounting on companies that artificially shift profits to tax havens or low-tax jurisdictions, such as Ireland, following revelations about the very low tax rates enjoyed by some companies at a time when governments are struggling to boost revenue.

The Commission is recommending that member-states adopt a common tougher definition of what constitutes a tax haven, and then scrap or suspend existing double-taxation agreements with such countries, meaning that companies would no longer be able to use them to avoid taxes.

The definition would include not just a lack of transparency and a refusal to exchange information but also such practices as offering certain tax benefits only to non-resident companies. Member-states would include a "general anti-abuse" clause in their national legislation, which would allow the tax authorities to disregard any corporate arrangements deemed to serve tax purposes rather than commercial purposes. They would also insert a clause in their double-tax agreements specifying that one country is precluded from taxing income only if that income is taxed in the other contracting state, in order to prevent "double non-taxation."

Such moves are likely to affect countries, such as Ireland, that have both generous treaty provisions and relatively weak anti-abuse provisions.

Ireland is the base for the European operations of a number of American transnationals, such as Google. The French authorities have sent a €750 million tax bill to Google for a four-year period of financial transfers to its Irish holding. Google has stated that no bill had been received but has since lost an appeal in a Paris court to invalidate the search and seizure of documents by the French tax authorities, and was forced to pay costs.

The recommendations will be proposed by the EU's tax commissioner, Algirdas Šemeta, on 5 December and must then be approved by a meeting of the EU's finance ministers.

Draw your own conclusions!

Local government workers in Thessaloníki disrupted a meeting involving the German consul after he said that "the work carried out by three thousand Greeks can be done by a thousand Germans." Meanwhile the number of Greeks emigrating to Germany increased by 78 per cent in the first half of 2012, compared with the same period in 2011!

EU budget cuts jeopardise aid projects

EU projects in development and humanitarian aid risk having their budget cut over the next seven years. According to an Oxfam report, the proposed cuts would be the largest drop in funds "ever seen in development and humanitarian aid."

The European Commission has budgeted €60 billion for development and humanitarian aid over the period 2014–2020 but has met resistance from the budget-hawk states, which want it reduced.

The money would ensure some €8½ billion annually for projects in 150 countries. But Oxfam says the president of the EU Council, Herman van Rompuy, called for a reduction of 9.65 per cent to external spending, with some 11 per cent taken out of the European Development Fund, "despite its focus to the world's poorest countries."

But an earlier seven-year budget plan put forward by the Cypriot EU presidency called for a total reduction of €50 billion in the EU budget, which would disproportionately affect overseas aid, according to Oxfam. Cyprus wants to remove €7.3 billion from the aid budget—a cut of more than 10 per cent. France's minister of finance, Pierre Moscovici, said in October that the EU should "conserve" the level of development aid "throughout the budget negotiations ahead."

Will Ireland stand on the right side? An indication might be gleaned from its recent performance. In the programme for government it promised to spend 0.7 per cent of national income on aid by 2015. However, the overseas aid budget has been cut by more than 30 per cent since 2008 and has fallen annually, as a share of national income, from 0.52 per cent in 2010 to 0.51 per cent in 2011 and 0.5 per cent this year.

Of course it is difficult in the present climate to increase overseas aid when so many of our own people suffer deprivation; but the government could at least have frozen the percentage contribution. It's yet another symptom of the outrageous EU-ECB-IMF demands.

The glass ceiling persists

EU leaders have confirmed the appointment of the governor of Luxembourg's Central Bank, Yves Mersch, to the ECB's Executive Board. The decision was taken by qualified majority, meaning that Spain's opposition could be circumvented.

The decision also ignored the negative opinion of the EU Parliament, which rejected the candidacy of Mersch as a protest against the lack of women at the top in the ECB. However, the parliament's opinion is not binding.

In his letter of invitation to EU leaders the president of the EU Council, Herman van Rompuy, announced that the first item on the agenda of the summit will be "completing the procedure of appointment of an executive committee member of the ECB, as recommended by the Council."

On 5 November, Spain halted the written procedure for designating Mersch, claiming it wanted the issue to be discussed by European leaders. Mersch was named in preference to a Spanish male candidate to replace José Manuel González-Paramo of Spain. A European source said the Spanish government was unhappy at what it saw as a "non-transparent" appointment. So Spain simply wanted to retain influence at the top of the ECB rather than to protest against the lack of women among the ECB's top executives.

So much for the EU and its member-states, including Ireland, championing gender equality!

It would be interesting to hear what the "European of the Year" would have to say about this, having consistently pointed out, especially around referendum times, that the EU is good for women.

Third Crotty Lecture a big success

The Third Crotty Lecture was given by Thomas Pringle TD to a capacity audience in the Pearse Centre, Dublin, last week. The body of the lecture, which was chaired by Séamas Ó Tuathail SC, was taken up with an explanation of the reasons for the challenge to the ESM and included a very thorough consideration of why it is unlawful. Judgement will be delivered by the European Court of Justice later this week.

Having considered the reasons why we should have had a referendum on the ESM in Ireland, Thomas concluded by asking, "How often have we heard the government say that they are restricted by what they can do because the Constitution prohibits it?

"Just look at the debate in recent weeks about the exorbitant pensions of the bankers. How often have we heard government representatives say that the pensions are property rights and it would be unconstitutional to try and cut them? They never say that the Constitution is a barrier to cutting them; but we will examine how on this issue the Constitution can be amended to ensure that the will of the people will be met.

"If the government attempted what the European Council are attempting with the ESM the courts could vindicate the rights of people and make sure that the Constitution is respected. That is exactly what I am trying to achieve on a European level, and the ECJ is the equivalent of the Supreme Court here. In many ways we are in the position of trying to save the Union and protect the very treaties that I would have campaigned against at every opportunity.

"It is an interesting aside when we have a constitutional convention about to start deliberations here that it is exactly the Constitution and the actions of Raymond Crotty in 1986 that have meant that I, a citizen, can challenge the EU. This is the only country in the EU in which that could happen. Could we lose that essential value out of our Constitution in this convention?

"It is really only someone that is Eurocritical that could have taken this case, someone whose first inclination is to say that what they are doing here is not for the good of the people. Europhiles have been saying, 'Get this done: saving the euro is the priority, nothing else matters.' This is the attitude that leads to disaster and will ultimately lead to the break-up of the Union.

"Already there is discussion of a 'parliament within a parliament.' There are calls for the euro-zone MEPs to sit separately within the parliament, and talk about issues that apply to the euro zone. As the ESM beds in, if the ECJ rules in its favour there is envisaged a deeper and deeper co-ordination of economic and monetary policy within the euro zone, and the founding reasons of the EU that we have all been force-fed will be undermined—although the question is whether these have been the founding reasons, or was a federal superstate the real agenda all along. Was Jean Monnet's comment on the creation of the Coal and Steel Community in 1956, that 'the first steps to a federal Europe' have been taken, going to come true?

"It seems to me that this is the outcome that is desired by those in charge and calling the shots in Europe. Despite Enda Kenny expressly ruling out a federal Europe in the Dáil during leaders' questions a few months ago, it is still very much the agenda. But surely we can all believe Enda when he says it won't happen on his watch—can't we?"

■ The full text of the talk can be found at www.people.ie, under the "Events" tab.

Revisiting the McKenna judgement and the Referendum Commission

The two functions that the Referendum Commission has been charged with are (1) to inform citizens what the referendum is about—which is quite different from setting out the relevant Yes-side and No-side arguments relating to the referendum proposition—and (2) to seek to maximise turn-out.

The Referendum Commission was set up in 1998 for the referendums on the Amsterdam Treaty and the Belfast Agreement, which were held on the same day. It followed the Supreme

Court's McKenna judgement of three years before (1995), although the McKenna judgement did not specifically require that such an institution as the Referendum Commission be established.

The Referendum Commission was set up by the Fianna Fáil government of the time, but the politicians soon had second thoughts about it when its operations resulted in something they did not like. As a result, the chance of Ireland being an international pioneer in establishing a valuable instrument of public education and democracy, which night well have been emulated elsewhere, was thrown away.

When the Referendum Commission had the function, as it originally had, of setting out the main arguments for a Yes and for a No vote in an equal and objective manner, this had the transcendent merit of ensuring that no irrelevant or extraneous arguments on either the Yes side or the No side were advanced by means of public funds.

It also ensured that the legitimate hopes and fears that different people might have with regard to any particular referendum proposition were properly put before citizens when they voted. The Yes-side and No-side arguments publicised by the Commission had to be legitimately grounded in the actual constitutional amendment being proposed. They could not be based on extraneous facts—such as "Vote Yes or No because X is voting for the other side"—and they could not contain falsehoods, exaggerations, or irrelevancies.

The fact that between 1998 and 2001 the Referendum Commission had the function of setting out the main Yes-side and No-side arguments with the aid of public money also ensured that private interests that might seek to sway voters by spending lots of their own money did not bother to intervene, as they already knew that public money would set out the main arguments on each side fairly and objectively.

So, in the Nice 1 referendum in 2001 not much private money was spent on either side. In contrast, when it came to Nice 2 in 2002 and indeed Lisbon 2 in 2009, spending by private interests on the Yes side outweighed expenditure on the No side by a factor of at least ten to one.

All sorts of extraneous arguments, claims and counter-claims can be and have been publicised by private advertising that have little or nothing to do with the actual text of the referendum proposition being put.

Many readers may remember the sneaky way in which the Fianna Fáil government that was in power in 2001 took the Referendum Commission's Yes-No function away from it after the Nice 1 referendum in 2001 was won by the No side. This was done against the opposition of Fine Gael, the Labour Party, Sinn Féin and the Green Party, which subsequently voted against the amendment to the Referendum Act (1998) that removed the Commission's Yes-No function.

This amendment to the 1998 act was put through on the last day before the Oireachtas rose for the Christmas holiday in December 2001, with one day's notice to the opposition, so that the opposition parties had no time to draw attention to what was happening. All stages of the amendment removing the Yes-No function from the Referendum Commission were put through Dáil and Seanad in that one day—yet another Fianna Fáil legacy to the Irish people!

Few people noticed this at the time, and there was no time to organise public opposition to it when TDs and senators were on the point of breaking up for the holiday. The Oireachtas proceedings of that day got some three inches in the *Irish Times*—the "paper of record." That paper in fact had run a campaign against the Commission's Yes-No function ever since this had had the effect of helping the No side in the

Nice 1 referendum in 2001. This had greatly disturbed the editorial office of the *Irish Times.*

Taking away from the Referendum Commission the function of setting out the Yes-side and No-side arguments meant that a creative and pioneering form of public education and democracy was abandoned after only three years (1998–2001), because the Fianna Fáil government of the day was upset at one particular referendum result, and they had in mind overthrowing that result by re-running the referendum on exactly the same Nice Treaty, without a jot or tittle of that treaty being changed, which in due time was done.

The price of equality

We have already written about the increased cost of motor insurance for women from January next; but it now transpires that women will also pay more for life insurance. At present women pay a quarter less than men for life insurance. This is because women live longer, and so insurers are unlikely to have to pay out before the term of the policy runs out.

From January, an EU ruling will not allow insurers to charge different rates to men and women, and insurers have already begun to push up motor premiums for women in anticipation of new rules banning discrimination that are to take effect in December. Increases of between 10 and 45 per cent are being imposed on women drivers between the ages of seventeen and thirty, with lower increases for older women.

Women typically pay 25 per cent less for life insurance; but any woman taking out a new policy after 21 December faces having to pay the same premium as a man. A woman typically pays €37 a month at the moment for €200,000 cover for a 25-year term; a man pays €10 a month more.

The change in pricing is a result of a ruling by the EU Court, which held that having different pricing for insurance policies based on gender was discriminatory. That’s the price of equality, EU style.

Danes prefer to cut EU and military

A new survey for the National Federation of Social Educators shows that the EU is the area that Danish people prefer the government to cut. 1,124 Danes were given the opportunity to choose three out of the fourteen areas to cut; and the EU came in first place for the cutting knife, chosen by 63 per cent.

Denmark pays several billion crowns a year as a net contributor to the EU, money that could be better spent in those areas that people wish to give priority, says a spokesperson for the Danish People’s Movement against the EU, Sven Sandman.

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“I think it is encouraging to see that the Danes—in spite of the tight economy and the crisis—continue to stand in solidarity, with their heart in the right place,” said the president of the National Federation of Social Educators, Benny Andersen. “When we ask the Danes about how they would prioritise if there is to be cuts in the public sector, the social and other care areas are at the bottom of the list. Located at the top are the EU and the military.”

The Danish news portal Altinget.dk published a survey last week which showed that 53 per cent support the government‘s veto of the EU’s 2014–2020 budget if Denmark doesn’t get $1 billion in rebates. “It shows that the Danes want less Europe,” said the People’s Movement MEP Søren Søndergaard.