South-East Asia

South-East Asia – particularly Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, countries in the “priority solidarity zone” of French public development aid – has a high concentration of urban problems. This region also presents an exceptional challenge for the renewal of our cooperation approaches and for the sustainable development of cities that may be so rich in terms of heritage but with populations that are often so poor. Although Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam are home to societies that are still nearly 80% rural, their cities already have a considerable weight: 400,000 inhabitants in Vientiane, 1,400,000 in Phnom Penh, 4 million in Hanoi, 8 million in Ho Chi Minh City. One after another, towns and cities are daily experiencing urban sprawl and poverty at their fringes, density and destruction of the heritage in the centres, and deterioration of the living environment nearly everywhere. The ever greater challenges and choices require partnerships and solidarities to be strengthened. Firstly, with national leaders, to determine public strategies capable of guiding urban dynamics that are all too often governed by immediate vested interests. Then with donors, to pool financial and intellectual resources, as the AfD has already done, or will soon do, with the Asian Bank in Vientiane, the European Union in Luang Prabang, UNESCO in Angkor or the World Bank and Belgian Development Aid in Ho Chi Minh City. And with the other French tools of governmental cooperation or decentralised cooperation, to strengthen the efficiency of French aid – in Cambodia, for instance with the Paris Municipality or in Laos with the Région Centre Authority. Lastly, with all urban operators, and particularly French operators whose knowhow is recognized and who must be commended for their diversity and resourcefulness – whether academics, administrators, consultants or technical assistants – such as the authors of this “Villes en Développement” bulletin. With all of them, AfD aims to explore approaches that will match the new challenges – to create positive synergies in every city between public action and private initiative and in every country between urban development and regional planning. Synergies working for the economic and social development of the greatest possible number of people, which also include preservation and enhancement of the environment and the heritage – the social and cultural diversity that is making, and will continue to make, each city, town, district or neighbourhood, in Asia as elsewhere, into an essential asset able to link past, present and future generations.

Jean-Michel Severino
Chief Executive Officer
Agence Française de Développement
Laos: Luang Prabang, World Heritage
Hugues Leroux, Groupe Huit

In 1989, the management plan of the capital, Vientiane. Today, support for the Maison du Patrimoine (Heritage House) in Luang Prabang. Two very different assignments, thirteen years apart, have been entrusted to Groupe Huit.

The small city of Luang Prabang, situated in the heartland of an indigent country, today has a distinctive place. This former capital where the Laotian kings once lived, an important religious centre with its thirty-two Buddhist monasteries (it has had more than sixty), benefits from an exceptional site along the Mekong River. Its charm lies in the coming-together of three components: historical and religious monuments, traditional or colonial dwellings and a remarkable landscape environment. This explains its renown beyond the borders of Laos, and in December 1995, resulted in its inscription on the Unesco World Heritage List. But before coming to the Luang Prabang project, here are a few words about this captivating country.

Laos
Covering 235,000 sq. metres (barely half the size of France), with mountainous areas more than 2,000 metres high, particularly in the north with still inaccessible areas, Laos has 5.7 million inhabitants, an annual growth rate of 2.6% and a low density (22 inhabitants/sq. km).

With an annual per capita income of 280 US $ in 1999, Laos is one of the poorest and least-developed countries in the region. Its economy is mainly agricultural and rural. Donors are providing aid in crucial sectors likely to have leverage effects, such as agriculture, infrastructure and cities. The urbanization rate is low (23%) and is linked to the weak development level. The cities are small and slow-growing. The capital, Vientiane, on the banks of the Mekong river, does not appear to have reached 200,000 inhabitants. The four main secondary cities are quite widely spread throughout the country: Savannakhet (66,000 inh.) and Thakhek (35,000 inh.) in the centre, Luang Prabang (29,000 inh.) in the north and Paksé (53,000 inh.) in the south.

At the institutional level, a centralized system has been the dominant feature for more than thirty years. But the country is becoming increasingly outward-looking (with the creation of the National Tourism Authority in 1992, for instance). In this context, the city of Luang Prabang forms a definite growth centre that has received further impetus from its inscription on the World Heritage List. The present Constitution only provides for three territorial divisions: Province, District and Village. However, the most recent projects funded by the Asian Development Bank have initiated a decentralization-oriented process, with the creation of administrative entities for urban management: the Urban Development Administrative Authority (UDAA).

The Constitution is being changed to create these territorial and administrative divisions. Vientiane’s UDAA is already working towards financial operating self-sufficiency.

Luang Prabang, World Heritage
Groupe Huit has long been involved in heritage projects for ancient districts of developing countries (Morocco, Tunisia, Mali). In Laos, it aims to provide assistance in organizing a major project funded by France (AfD) for the city of Luang Prabang.

The site is magnificent – a peninsula overlooking the wide Mekong river at the confluence with the Nam Khan river. This small city is an architectural and environmental marvel set among luxurious tropical vegetation, dotted with monasteries with their “vats” (temples) with tiered roofs. Another originality of this historic site is the existence of a vast, less urbanized area, covered with streams, pools and fishponds.

The strong, continuous support of the city of Chionon, from the preparation of the Unesco file to the present day, must be stressed. It has been decisive for launching projects and setting up an entity in charge of managing these projects: the Heritage House. With frugal financial resources at the outset (some F6 million over 5 years), with the further initial contribution from the AfD (1.8 million euros), a dozen pilot projects were implemented. They cover the construction of drains, drainage, sanitary facilities in three schools, cleanup and illumination of four remarkable sites, and four building restoration projects (schools). At the same time a Plan de Sauvegarde et de Mise en Valeur (PSMV - conservation and development plan) was drawn up for the preservation area of Luang Prabang. To have effect against third parties, this plan must be approved at national level (Prime Minister and then the National Assembly).

Further AfD financing (5.5 million euros) covers the large-scale development project of the preserved districts of Luang Prabang (PASS-LP). It concerns further physical projects and the institutional strengthening of the Heritage House. It includes three key dimensions of urban dynamics: economic, by reconciling rehabilitation and development of “living memory” projects; social, by placing districts and neighbourhood groups at the centre of the project called “the village is at the centre of the city” technical by ensuring consistency of the infrastructure networks “the city is a web”.

Another project “Asia-Urbs”, with the European Union, Chionon and Hoffheim (Germany) has just been started (579,000 euros): “Management of public space in Luang Prabang for socio-economic development of the local population”. A third project is under preparation “Aid for maintenance and preservation of biodiversity in a tropical urban environment”. This project will probably be funded by the European Union with aid from the French Fund for the World Environment, and with AfD as the implementing agency.

The critical role of providing help for new buildings has been entrusted to the Heritage House. Technical and financial assistance is planned for individual projects complying with the PSMV. But the Heritage House also has to give an opinion on building permit applications. Building projects not consistent with the PSMV must be refused. Two difficulties at present are the lack of final approval of the PSMV and the legal situation of the Heritage House, which is not yet fully decided. This impedes legal acts of public authority (judicial proceedings, demo-
Is the “Asian economic miracle” an urban mirage?

Charles Goldblum

Today’s large cities and capitals of South-East Asia, which have long been characterized by their status of urban primacy in mainly rural regions – except for the City-State of Singapore – have been undergoing a real constitutive change in major metropolitan regions, particularly since the second half of the 1980s.

This regional change, which can be observed both in Bangkok and Jakarta, and has already started in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi, is affecting demographic structures and socio-economic stratification, spatial layouts and residential morphology. Stimulated by the economic growth of the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, this recomposition of regional and social systems cannot be dissociated from a radical change in representations of today’s large cities. Up to now, these have often been considered as an uncontrolled, predatory epiphenomena on the negative side of “pseudo-urbanization”, dependent upon global power relationships – or even as a foreign body to be eliminated, physically annihilated, according to the murderous ideology of the Khmers Rouges.

The implementation of major development programmes more closely associated with economic dynamism (such as projects linking “new cities”, industrial zones and service-sector amenities), the emergence of new national and international urban actors (and the re-engineering of already-existing bodies according to

1 Permanent lack of accessibility to 49% of the population.
2 To the east, Vietnam with 80 million inhabitants, has a density of 230 inh./sq. km!
3 Poverty has an impact on 39% of the population, 90% of whom live in rural areas.
4 To be accompanied by some transfers of skills from the regional public works departments.
5 Agreement on the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage.
6 The development of tourist services (guest houses, shops, restaurants) will result in land speculation.
new internationalization and privatization logics of urban production and management), and the change in scale of projects as a result of these processes, are opening up to a new vision of the large city as a “growth enabler” in conjunction with the economic build-up of the Asia-Pacific pole (despite unsolved urban problems).

But the 1997 financial and stockmarket crisis, which directly affected the conditions in which economic growth interacts with metropolization, marked a turning-point in the processes that had been initiated.

Firstly, it highlighted the economic interdependence of large cities (over and above the planned policy of “growth polygons”) and the dependence of their growth patterns on global economic swings.

Secondly, it acted as a selective process with a marked impact on the city: direct source effects of the funding mechanisms of major projects in the countries most closely involved in the globalization-metropolization process, which found themselves at the very heart of the crisis (Thailand, Indonesia); and indirectly in the countries

most recently liberalized towards the market economy and, such as Vietnam, driven by foreign, especially Asian, investment in the funding of their projects.

Lastly, this crisis drew attention to the risks inherent in the speculative links between the real estate market and the financial market. By demonstrating the random or even fictitious nature of urban production severed from the “real economy”, it appears to be imparting fresh interest to the “pseudo-urbanization” concept, like the spectre of the third world breaking into the emerging countries. It thus casts a doubt on the sustainability of an urban growth pattern developing out of “mega-projects”, and the economic growth model on which it is based.

The “Asian crisis” has had an obvious impact on the urbanization rate, both physically (slowdown or freeze on some large-scale real estate and infrastructure projects) and socio-economically (urban unemployment due to the economic recession has led to the mass return of “floating” populations of Jakarta and Bangkok to rural and peri-urban villages and the departure of some of the immigrant, mainly Asian, workers towards their countries of origin). But does this necessarily mean that the crisis is liable to call into question the logics of, and the forms taken by, the current metropolization processes in South-East Asia?

These questions lead us to reconsider the characteristics of South-East Asian urban dynamics retrospectively and prospectively.

To comprehend post-crisis urban patterns, two further dimensions deserve special attention.

- **One concerns** the ways and means of moving from a mass logic (equating South-East Asian cities with the common characteristics of third-world cities of the years 1960 to 1970) to a large-scale logic (expansion of large metropolitan areas of the years 1980 to 1990), in accordance with the specific characteristics of each of the main cities of South-East Asia.

- **The other concerns the components of “mega-urbanization”**, mainly the following three aspects:
  - Engineering and carrying out major urban post-crisis projects such as the multimedia super-corridor in Kuala Lumpur or the new city of Daewoo in Hanoi;
  - managing urban services in a context of urban growth (water and urban transport, which are sectors that have crystallized a long-term crisis in Phnom Penh and in Jakarta);
  - decentralization procedures and the metropolitan challenges of urban planning skills devolution (corresponding to ongoing institutional reforms), particularly in Bangkok, Manila and Vientiane.

This two-fold approach to “citymaking” and urban governance seems necessary to give long-term insight into the impact of the “Asian crisis” on the general urbanization trends in the area, and thus to specify the contexts and conditions of international urban cooperation – including the sectoral project aspect.

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* This study is based on research on the dynamics of urbanization in South-East Asia being conducted by the author for ISTED.

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Cities and regional planning in Cambodia

Eric Huybrechts, Director of the project ownership assistance programme for urban management and development in Cambodia (FSP1)

A regional planning policy remains to be formulated in a Cambodia in the midst of an urban explosion.

The Kingdom of Cambodia

has not formulated any regional planning policies. But over the past decade, national and urban projects have been implemented with international help using country-wide and city-wide sectoral approaches. But urban planning cooperation, understood as a comprehensive approach, only concerns two cities, Phnom Penh et Siem Reap, which are the only local authorities that have a Cambodian study and survey team. French aid has been playing a central role there for a number of years.

It is hardly surprising that interest in urban matters is so limited in a country where only 20% of the population are city-dwellers in 2002. Some people would say that it is the expression of the anti-urban cultural trait that became radicalized during the “Khmer Rouge” period (1975-1979) when the cities were completely emptied of their inhabitants, including Phnom Penh which had a population of than 2 million at the time. Others may see a close link with international aid policies that are mainly directed towards the rural world. In fact, the royal government fixed a maximum ratio for urban development of one-third of public investments.
But prospective analyses are worrisome because current trends reflect both the rural world's inability to absorb the population growth and the obvious attraction of cities. The near future promises to be still more difficult with the arrival on the market of the "baby boomers" of the post Khmer Rouge" period. Some of these poor people, faced with a lack of available land or driven away by disease, natural disasters or debt, have become migrants, nearly half of whom head for the cities, seeking more job opportunities and amenities that are often non-existent in rural areas.

Of the 36% of the population below the poverty line, 90.5% live in rural areas, 7% in the secondary cities and 2.3% in Phnom Penh. The poor infiltrate the city through the interstices, Phnom Penh. The poor infiltrate secondary cities and 2.3% live in rural areas, 7% in the areas below the poverty line, 90.5% in areas.

Almost half of whom head for the cities, seeking more job opportunities and amenities that are often non-existent in rural areas.

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Between 1993 and 1998, one third of the 900,000 inter-regional migrations ended up in Phnom Penh, whereas one sixth of them settled in the secondary cities. With the arrival of this young population, the natural demographic growth in the cities increased faster than in the rural areas, but it is the net migration that contributes most to the growth of cities. At this rate, the urban population is set to exceed the rural population within thirty years. Cambodia is experiencing an urban explosion three years later than its neighbours. In 2002, Phnom Penh is a medium-sized metropolis with 1,400,000 inhabitants. The secondary cities are much smaller (in 1998: Sihanouk City 156,000 inh., Bat Dambang 140,000 inh., Siem Reap 120,000 inh.). Here again, changes are occurring fast. Although Phnom Penh absorbs slightly more than half the urban population, the population of secondary cities will probably exceed that of Phnom Penh within fifteen years and reach 3 million inhabitants. Regional rebalancing is already occurring. The powerful development of the tourist trade in Siem Reap, based on the site of Angkor which is the greatest monument complex in the world, the strengthening of port and industrial activity in Sihanouk City which is accompanying national economic development (2 to 7% growth of the GDP per year), and the improvement of the national road network, with the construction of the first bridge over the Mekong River at Kompong Cham, all contribute to this rebalancing. The royal government has taken sectoral measures for water, drainage, energy, telecommunications and transport systems. Major investments have been made in most cities, but it is in Phnom Penh that the improvements are the greatest.

However, an enormous amount of work remains to be done to equip today's cities and prepare for their expansion: 50% of urban households are connected to the public electricity network. Only Phnom Penh, Sihanouk City, Bat Dambang and Siem Reap have a treated drinking water supply system. The Phnom Penh Water Board supplies 25% of the municipal population, and in the other cities it is less than 15%. Elsewhere, water is supplied without any quality control, at a cost eight to ten times higher. For drainage, the situation is more alarming and is complicated each year by floods and a lack of maintenance.

One of the first constraints of balanced regional development is still the extreme weakness of the institutions. The ongoing decentralization is being implemented on a very small scale. The 1620 communal and district councils, democratically elected for the first time in February 2002, are lacking in human, financial and technical resources to implement development. Central government control in fact prevents any direct investment expenditure by the State-run local levels (Municipalities and Provinces). International aid and local actors therefore tend to get round the budgetary constraint by excluding expenditure (and revenue) from local public budgets. The Ministry of Land Planning, Urban Planning and Construction has defined a five-year plan (2001-2005) to introduce a land use planning system committed to sustainable development. Plans are to be drawn up at national, regional, provincial and local levels. Priority is given to the preparation of master plans in the four Municipalities and twenty Province capitals, to cope with the fast growth of the main cities. But so far, all these intentions have not achieved much practical progress. However, a National Land Policy Council was set up in 2001. Interministerial commissions are working on a Land Act, irregular settlements, geographic information systems, land planning and land conflicts. The French Ministry of Public Works is contributing its expertise for the drafting of an Urban Planning and Building Code.

Phnom Penh is also given special attention by France with the implementation of a project ownership assistance programme for urban management and development in Cambodia (FSP). This is intended to define the metropolitan master plan, prepare new urban development projects and aid in the administrative and financial structuring of the Municipality. International aid for regional planning is focused on the Land Management project funded by the World Bank and by German and Finnish Development Aid for the Ministry of Land Planning, Urban Planning and Construction. The main aim is to draw up a systematic land register to protect private property rights, and urban planning studies are to be made for the secondary cities. The approach is based on citizenship training and participation. But this vast project ($35 million for the first five-year phase) does not include overall analysis and reflection on regional planning in Cambodia.

Consequently, the formulation of a regional planning policy still remains to be finalized.

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1 Fonds de solidarité prioritaire (priority solidarity fund)
Vietnam faced with the urban challenge
Serge Snrchi

In the next twenty years, the urban population of Vietnam is set to double in size. What is the historical background to this change and what is the recent dynamic force behind it? What will the country’s urban structure be in the longer term? Will the process be passively endured or actively managed?

An ancient urban tradition, a recent urbanization process

Vietnam has an ancient urban tradition but one that has always concerned a small proportion of the population. In 1960, the country’s urban population only amounted to an average of 18%. It progressed slowly, more quickly in the south than in the north, reaching 23% on average at the time of reunification. Between 1975 and 1986, the reunified Vietnam government implemented a programme that gave absolute priority to agriculture. People’s mobility was strictly controlled by residence permits and they were encouraged to settle in agricultural pioneer belts. The numbers living in the cities declined, particularly in the south of the country, dropping to 20% on average. Since the end of the 1980s, Vietnam has engaged in a sustained urban growth process that cannot be dissociated from economic liberalization. In 2000, it exceeded the 1975 historic urbanization peak. Therefore, although Vietnam has a strong, ancient urban tradition, the urban growth process is fairly recent. During the past four decades, the population in the country’s cities stagnated (18 to 23% of city-dwellers) whereas over the same period, the urban populations in the ASEAN countries increased collectively from 18 to 37% and in China from 16 to 32%. Vietnam is now trailing behind the countries in the region. Although this growth lag has a cost, it also enables the authorities to observe what is happening in the neighbouring countries and try to avoid some of their mistakes in urban and regional planning.

The urban population will probably double in size but the practical conditions remain vague

Urban discourse is gradually becoming more liberalized. The medium-term aims approved by the last Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party anticipate 40% of city-dwellers by 2020, which is in line with demographic scenarios. A realistic time-frame is thus determined. However, the road to urban growth remains uncertain. When the subject is broached with Vietnamese policy-makers, they do not appear to be really engineering this enormous change in demographic and territorial structures. Only the development of wage-earning employment is seen as an acceptable engine of urban growth. But this employment is only growing slowly, out of all proportion with the anticipated numbers of new city-dwellers. Yet it is a matter of great urgency because the difference in wealth between urban and rural areas is increasing rapidly, as is the difference in productivity between agricultural and non-agricultural activities.

At a time when migrations between cities and rural areas
are developing to the great satisfaction of both parties, as shown by the recent work of CEPED\(^1\) (French Centre on Population and Development), the residence permit is still a legal regulation. The result of this widening gap seems to be an increasing number of unregistered city-dwellers, which is causing a new form of precarity and the consequential development of informal jobs and the peri-urbanization phenomenon highlighted by the work of the “Regards” team in Hanoi.

The lack of a clear vision of future mechanisms of the workings of an urban economy and the employment of these new city-dwellers is liable to lead to a wait-and-see attitude of the public authorities, which would probably be the worst way to manage the issue. It is therefore important to build up debate on city operation and growth quickly.

**The development of medium-sized cities is a major challenge**

Vietnam has some 25 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants, divided into three networks: ten cities organized around Hanoi in the north, a succession of urban centres in the centre of the country, the main one being Danang, and ten cities in the south, organized around Ho Chi Minh City (chief city in the country with 8 million inhabitants). Only 4 cities (Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Danang and Haiphong) rank as city provinces and thus have a certain scope for decision specific to the provincial level. In this case, as the provincial administration is merged with the urban departments, it also has a real competence over the design and accomplishment of projects instrumental in its development.

The other cities only rank as districts or urban communes within the provinces. They therefore have limited powers and very small technical departments. This is a problem for a number of medium-sized cities, as in practice they are dependent on both the provincial authorities and the technical departments of the Ministry of Construction, which is a real existential difficulty for them. For the same proportion of city-dwellers, the population of the large cities (more than 200,000 inhabitants) has increased from 43% to 55% of the total urban population whereas in the small urban centres (less than 100,000 inhabitants) this proportion has regressed from 40% to 30%. These figures seem to reflect a basic discontinuity in the development of new urban centres and/or a tendency to move directly from rural areas towards the big cities. The revitalization of small rural towns is therefore an important aim in order to maintain a living community link between cities and rural areas. The challenges for public policy-makers consist in achieving a clearer delegation of authority and a capacity to set up real municipal services, and in identifying development engines for these towns that will probably be different from those of the metropolises.

### Helping to implement an urban development strategy

French Development Aid is very active in Vietnam in the urban sector. It is present in various institutional forms: university and research institutions, cooperation between French local authorities and NGOs, support from the Embassy departments. They cover most fields of urban activity from sociology to land use planning. This diversity of actors and fields of activity has enabled many excellent partnerships to be built up. This network is not yet extensively formalized but if it endows itself with the means, it can contribute to the emergence of debate in Vietnam on urbanization prospects and the resources available for public, local and national, action to accompany this process.

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<tr>
<td>- World Urban Forum</td>
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<td>Ten years after the Rio Summit, when world attention was first drawn to &quot;sustainable development&quot; and the international community adopted Agenda 21, an unprecedented action plan, the Johannesburg Summit will take place from 2 to 11 September 2002. This summit provides an excellent opportunity for today's policy-makers to make a progress report, adopt concrete measures and identify quantifiable goals for better implementation of Agenda 21.</td>
<td>CIEDEL (Centre International d'Études pour le Développement Local) proposes university and professional training for development actors who wish to build their capacity to conceive and conduct local development programmes. This course, organized in 12 modules, centres on three themes: development policies and strategies; project design, management and evaluation; local development tools and methods.</td>
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1. The information in this paper is taken from the work of Jean-Marie Cour in “Migrations, Urbanisation et Transformation du Monde Rural” (April 2001) a working document prepared for the Franco-Vietnamese Economic and Financial Forum.
2. The city of Hanoi, which will soon celebrate 1,000 years of existence, reflects an interesting juxtaposition of historic heritages, as recently shown by the magnificent exhibition “Hanoi, le Cycle des Métamorphoses”.
News on cooperation

“The City faced with major investments”

The one-day workshop of the Association des Professionnels Développement Urbain et Coopération (AdP) will be hosted by ENPC, 28 rue des Saints Péres, 75007, Amphithéâtre Caquot, on Friday 6 September at 9 a.m.

Large-scale investments have long played an essential part in the implementation of urban development strategies, but cities are now confronted with both private and public projects developed with no concern for the environment and for urban integration. How is the dynamism of developers to be reconciled with long-term visions of equilibria at the basis of any urban culture?

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Poverty and urban exclusion

The proceedings of the 2001 one-day workshop of the Association des Professionnels Développement Urbain et Coopération (AdP) have been published. Besides some of the workshop contributions, the documents use the main bibliographic sources to make a review of the knowledge acquired and the questions discussed on the subject of poverty and urban exclusion. This includes the emergence of discussions on urban matters in international forums, the “Heavily Indebted Poor Countries” initiative, and the French approach to the fight against poverty and urban exclusion.

Contact: françoise.reynaud@i-carre.net

Prevention and Emergence from Crisis

Implementation of two programmes: settlement management and management of emergence from crisis, in close co-ordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DGCD) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), under the auspices of the Conseil Général des Ponts et Chaussées (General Council for Highways and Civil Engineering).

Contact: lamblin.france@wanadoo.fr

Lung Prabang

Since 1995, the City of Chonon has been carrying out active decentralized cooperation with the former royal capital of Laos, particularly for the project to protect and develop the Luang Prabang architectural and urban heritage (see p. 2). This project was awarded the HCCI 2001 international cooperation Grand Prix.

Urbanet portal

Town planners and land developers, for your work, consult the Urbanet portal page “Vie Pratique”

Contact: www.urbanet.com