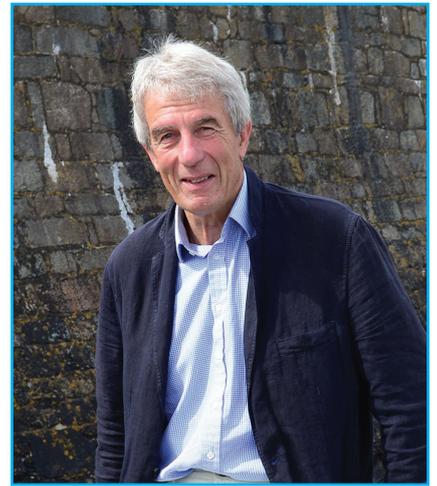


# GENERAL ELECTION 2016

# RICHARD GRAHAM



Hello,  
I'm a candidate for the Castel.  
I stand for...

- 1** Smaller government which meddles less in our lives on relatively trivial issues and concentrates on getting the vital issues right.
- 2** The States living within their means, and saving to spend rather than borrowing to spend.
- 3** A greater respect for 'the Guernsey way'.
- 4** Reducing the UK government's influence over our affairs, reinforcing Guernsey's historical allegiance to the Crown, and protecting our reputation and interests internationally.
- 5** Increasing the educational options made available to all students of secondary school age.
- 6** A fresh and optimistic response to the implications of an ageing population, in contrast to the States' current pessimistic approach which relies too much on large-scale immigration as a solution.
- 7** Creation of a Guernsey Savings and Loan Bank.

You will receive many manifestos, so I have designed mine to give you a quick, one-page snapshot of me and what I stand for. Thank you for reading this far. If you have the time and interest to read further, the pages overleaf offer you more details about me and the issues to which I believe I can make a particular contribution if elected to the States.

Sometime during the election campaign I will personally call on all addresses on the Castel electoral roll so that you may discuss issues with me face to face if you wish.

I would also welcome your questions and suggestions by a phone call to

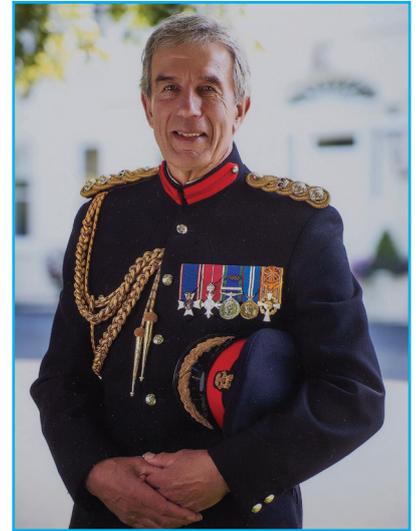
**254784** (home) or **07781 101277** (mobile), and by email to [rgraham@cwgsy.net](mailto:rgraham@cwgsy.net).

## PERSONAL DETAILS

**Family:** I am a Man of Kent who was lucky enough to marry Ruby, a Guernsey girl whose Dorey family history in the Castel goes back several generations. Our children were born and went to school in Guernsey, and we continue to live at the place Ruby was born, alongside the Guet close to the magnificent new community centre.

**Career 1:** I served for 28 years as an infantry soldier in the British Army. On retirement from active service and my return to Guernsey, I was privileged to serve as one of the Honorary Colonels of The Princess of Wales's Royal Regiment which is Guernsey's affiliated regiment. Once a soldier, always a soldier, I am now Patron of the Combined Services Charity in Guernsey and am active in encouraging the States to adopt a Guernsey version of the military covenant which already exists in Jersey, the Isle of Man and the UK.

**Career 2:** I was further privileged to serve for 14 years as Secretary and ADC to four Lieutenant-Governors of Guernsey. This service gave me a hugely valuable insight into what makes Guernsey tick, and into how the outside world looks upon us.



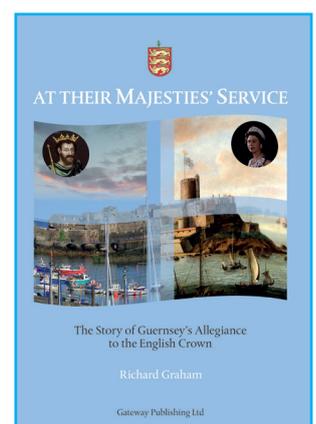
## Other public service in Guernsey:

**Castel Douzenier.** I recently began my service as a Castel Douzenier. I have long been an advocate of the valuable contribution to island life which has traditionally been made by parish Douzaines and I am proud to have been elected to serve the parish in this role. If elected as a Deputy, I would wish to continue to serve as a Douzenier.



**Non-States member.** During a period of five years in the 1990s I served as a non-States member on the following States bodies: Island Development Committee; Population & Migration Committee; and briefly the Parole Review Committee. Since 2014 I have been a member of the Constitutional Investigation Committee which in January 2016 presented the States with proposals to provide Guernsey with increased control over the process by which its legislation receives Royal Assent. My varied experience as a non-States member, combined with my time at Government House, has given me a clear view of the strengths and weaknesses of our democracy at work and the role of a Deputy within it.

**Author:** Since retiring from Government House, I spent two years researching and writing a history of Guernsey's historical allegiance to the Crown since 1204. My book was published in October 2015. In my view, our island's special relationship with the Crown still defines who we are and our place in the world today, and the better we understand how it came about the better prepared we are to defend our traditional rights, privileges and customs as a Crown Dependency with a Norman ancestry. If elected as a Deputy, I would provide a strong voice in the States against any weakening of our hard-earned constitutional position.



# WHY I AM STANDING FOR ELECTION

I think the Castel Deputies in the previous States have represented our parish well in their different ways, and the States as a whole has had its successes. Talk of 'the worst States ever' is unfair, but I believe I can be a strong voice in the next States on certain issues which in my view have not been well handled and on others which are due to arise. Rather than criticise from the outside, I want to be in there arguing for what I believe are the best interests of the parish and of the island. On the front page of this manifesto I have listed seven issues which in my view need to be tackled urgently and sensibly if Guernsey is to do the best it can.

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**Big or small government.** Guernsey is ideally made for small government. Its people are traditionally self-reliant and prefer to sort things out for themselves rather than looking for government to do everything for them. The parishes have a long tradition of minding local matters through their Douzaines and other talented volunteers and charities. The restored Castel Fair Field, the new community centre in the Guet and the huge crowds who turn out each year for the Cobo Boxing Day charity swim remind us that we do not need government in every corner of our lives. Despite that, the trend in recent years has been for the States to grab for itself much of what we used to do better as individuals, as families, as a parish and as voluntary and charitable bodies. There are many examples of the States interfering unnecessarily in our lives, too many to mention here but worth discussing on the doorstep or at the hustings. The results of being over-governed are threefold:

- 1** we suffer undue, busy-body intrusion into our lives (did the States really need to ban health supplements which we had been using harmlessly for years?);
- 2** the cost of government goes up and up (Guernsey is no longer a low tax place to live for the average family);
- 3** too much of States Deputies' time, energy and expertise is spent on relatively unimportant issues whilst vital matters such as managing the Island's essential infrastructure are badly handled (the unsatisfactory service from Condor, the fiasco over the rebuild of La Mare de Carteret schools and the States' expensive indecision over handling of our waste are but three of many examples).

It is time to reverse the trend towards ever bigger government and thereby enable the States to concentrate on those crucial matters which can only be dealt with at government level.

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**Living within our means.** The previous States might have done their best to match expenditure with income through the Financial Transformation Programme, but frankly their best was not good enough. The culture of 'big government' consistently led the States to spend without proper respect for the consequences. The result, a persistent annual budget deficit. The States should save to spend and not borrow to spend. I would strongly oppose any borrowing unless it satisfies three criteria:

- 1** the proposed project is unquestionably essential, not just desirable;
- 2** the completed project would produce an income stream to pay for the debt;
- 3** and the cost of the project is set to rise faster than our ability to save for it.

I remain open-minded about the wisdom of the £330 million States of Guernsey Bond issued in 2015. For better or for worse, we have to live with it now, but if elected I would strongly oppose any suggestion that it signals a general authority to borrow or to spend indiscriminately. I would also oppose any attempt to introduce a general sales tax or to abandon our flat rate of income tax at 20%.

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**The Guernsey way.** Like the elephant, the 'Guernsey way' is difficult to describe but we all recognise it when we see it or meet it. It is the special way things get done in our very special island. It has worked for us for several generations and we shouldn't be worried if it is different

to what they do in other places. The facts are that Guernsey has changed more widely and deeply since the German occupation than many other places in Western Europe, yet too often in the last States the 'Guernsey way' was sneered at as if we are some backward place in an otherwise civilised and sophisticated world. This tended to happen whenever controversial issues at the heart of our way of life were being debated. I will always respect the democratic decisions made on such sensitive issues but the arguments in favour of them should be made on their merits, and not on the basis that Guernsey somehow needs to catch up with other places which many of us do not envy in the slightest. In the next States, if some Deputies continue to show disrespect for our traditional way of life, I would stand up against them and their attitudes whenever they show their unattractive face.

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**Our relationship with the UK.** For the most part, our interests and those of the UK are similar, enabling our government and the UK's to share a friendly, co-operative relationship. However, from time to time our interests clash, and whenever they do history shows that the UK government will not hesitate to interfere in our affairs. Clear examples were provided when the UK, without prior discussion, ended the reciprocal health agreement, withdrew the tax relief granted to low value consignment of goods from Guernsey to the UK, and suspended the fisheries management agreement. On such occasions, our best defence lies not in hotheaded, diplomatic grandstanding but in wise, statesmanlike defence of our rare status and hard-won privileges as a Crown Dependency. Our special relationship with the Crown still defines our place in the world some 800 years after it all began. It is the priceless bedrock of our constitution but is not well understood abroad. If elected, I believe my experience would enable me to be a strong voice in the States to help defend our interests and our reputation whenever they are threatened.

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**Wider choice of options for secondary education.** The States left it late to consult the public about secondary education. Of those who responded, a large majority wanted to retain selection in some form, not necessarily the 11 Plus, and to keep all four secondary schools. So the States voted to stop all selection and to scrap one of the four schools. It seems to me that an unworkable mess will be left for the new States to sort out. If elected, I will do my best to help rescue a clear, workable policy out of the confusion. I favour giving future students a more diverse choice of education to meet their different talents and preferences as they are helped towards taking their places as young, working adults in our community. Some of the most advanced and successful countries do it, so why cannot Guernsey? Please give me your views; I will listen. I will also campaign for Guernsey's history to be taught to our children. As it stands, students in our States schools can study just about any country's history except their own; a truly sad state of affairs.

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**How to deal with an ageing population.** We all know that medical science and other factors are keeping more of us alive longer. Whilst I recognise that this factor presents problems about the cost and future value of our pensions and about the population balance between those in work and those no longer working, I also believe that it presents opportunities. Too often we hear only the negative side of this issue and a readiness to believe that only large-scale immigration can solve the problems ahead. Scarcely nothing is heard from our government on the potential benefits from encouraging those beyond the traditional working age to 'recycle' themselves as working members of the island community. Indeed, our government actively discourages such 'recycling' by clinging on to arbitrary age limits for certain employments, limits which no longer make any sense at all, and by restricting its recruitment and initial training opportunities almost exclusively to school leavers and new graduates. Equally in the business and commercial world, there is a culture which either prevents or discourages those who have retired from one area of employment from adapting to further employment in a new field. Of course, not all in their late 60s and beyond wish to continue paid employment or may not be fit enough to do so. However, there are many in that age group who still enjoy good health and would welcome the opportunity to continue their contribution to the island's economy whilst adding to their pension income. In my view, the States, as the major employer, and the business community at large, are too ready to write our senior citizens off as no longer capable of productive, paid employment, considering them as a part of the demographic problem rather than as a solution to it. I would hope to convince them otherwise by fresh ideas and suggestions of my own.

**A Guernsey Savings and Loans Bank.** When the Co-operative Bank closed in Guernsey some three years ago, it left a gap in the provision of mortgage facilities which has not since been filled. Securing a suitable mortgage is one of the stiffest hurdles faced by the first-time buyer in Guernsey. Despite an abundance of would-be buyers, numerous houses remain unsold after several years on the market for want of sufficient mortgages tailored to Guernsey rather than UK customers. This is a case where government intervention, properly targeted, would be appropriate as a means of improving our housing situation. Gibraltar has shown the way with its successful government underwriting of a basic retail savings and loan bank designed to serve local needs. It has echoes of the Guernsey Savings Bank which that distinguished Castel resident, Admiral Lord James de Saumarez, founded in 1822 with States support. That bank was so successful that it was soon able to operate without States aid and went on to serve as a safe place for the savings of several generations of Islanders with modest means. Nearly 200 years later, the crucial local need is now for mortgages that are affordable to hard-working Guernsey families, and I would support a States initiative to secure the presence of a bank designed to meet that need.

## OTHER ISSUES

**Waste disposal.** The indecision of previous States over the disposal of our waste has already wasted much of our tax-payers' money. Whatever we think about the current policy of maximum recycling accompanied by the export of non-recycled waste, it is probably too late for yet another change of direction, even though such a change would be popular with many voters. That being the case, I recommend that the most sensible thing to do is to get on with making the policy work as economically as possible and in a manner which is most convenient and practical for us the customers. The role of Deputies in the next States should be to keep the pressure on the new Environment & Infrastructure Committee so that households are not burdened by undue costs and complexity.

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**Reciprocal health agreement.** We are told that the UK government will not agree to revive the reciprocal health agreement which we used to enjoy before the UK abruptly ended it in 2009. I wish Guernsey had joined Jersey and the Isle of Man in coming to a new agreement at that time, but we did not and the opportunity has apparently now gone for good. In the circumstances, I would support a government initiative to introduce, in partnership with the local insurance industry, a scheme which would enable Guernsey residents to have affordable medical insurance cover whilst visiting the UK. There would of course be a cost to such an arrangement, but the benefit of a States-supported scheme should be that fees would be at a lower level than those available to the individual.

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**Our electoral system.** One of the last acts of the outgoing States was to commit the next States to holding a referendum to confirm the introduction of island-wide voting for the 2020 general election. My policy will be to ensure that if a referendum is held it will be at minimum cost, and will enable the electorate to decide on what form of island-wide voting will be available. So far, I have not heard a convincing method whereby we would all choose a government of 38 Deputies from a field of around 80 candidates without the opportunity to engage personally with them either on the doorstep or at the hustings. I am open to suggestions about how island-wide voting might work in practice, but in the meantime I am confident that this election will offer Castel voters a wide choice of competent men and women who will have put themselves forward as candidates to serve their parish and island. If the referendum rejects island-wide voting, a major defect in the present electoral district system will need to be corrected. Voter registration and turn-out are always far lower in St Peter Port than in Castel, leaving the town heavily over-represented at the expense of more democratically engaged electoral districts such as ours. Such an undemocratic allocation of Deputies only encourages voter apathy in St Peter Port and discourages voter engagement in Castel. It needs to change and I will propose it if you elect me as one of the parish's reduced number of 5 Deputies.

**States strategies.** In my view, signing up to a strategy is the equivalent of making a covenant or promise. No promise should be made unless it is doable and affordable. The last States signed up to several strategies, some of which have fallen behind the promises implicit in them. If elected, I will actively scrutinise progress on implementing these strategies, especially those relating to the disabled and the environment.

**The role of a Deputy.** I think it is healthy to have a mixture of career Deputies and others, like me, who simply want to contribute their wide experience of life to our government without any wish to make a career of it. Some seem to assume that Deputies have a duty to us to express an opinion on everything and do something about everything, almost as if we are incapable of thinking and doing anything for ourselves. I see the role of Deputies differently; they should concentrate their time, energy and ability on taking care of the important issues which only governments can deal with. I am standing for election with three aims in mind: to be readily approachable and responsive to you on matters important to you; to provide a strong voice in the States for my beliefs and values which I believe are shared by many parishioners; and to keep watch, from the inside, on how the next States deals with the key issues facing Guernsey.

There are countless other issues worth discussing for which there is not room here.

Please feel free to raise them with me, either on the doorstep when I call in person or by email or phone; my contact details are on the first page of this manifesto.

I do hope you exercise your right to cast five votes and I would be most grateful if one of them could be for me.

**PLEASE VOTE**

**RICHARD  
GRAHAM**



**Proposed by Mrs Gillian Girard; Seconded by Mr John Brehaut.**