



OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

STATES OF DELIBERATION

OF THE

ISLAND OF GUERNSEY

HANSARD

Royal Court House, Guernsey, Wednesday, 30th March 2022

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Present:

Ms J. E. Roland, Deputy Bailiff and Presiding Officer

Law Officers

R. Titterington, Esq. Q.C. (H.M. Comptroller)

People's Deputies

S. E. Aldwell	D. J. Mahoney
C. P. A. Blin	A. D. S. Matthews
Y. Burford	L. J. McKenna
T. L. Bury	C. P. Meerveld
A. Cameron	N. G. Moakes
D. de G. de Lisle	R. C. Murray
H. L. de Sausmarez	V. S. Oliver
J. F. Dyke	C. N. K. Parkinson
S. P. Fairclough	R. G. Prow
S. J. Falla	L. C. Queripel
P. T. R. Ferbrache	P. J. Roffey
A. Gabriel	H. J. R. Soulsby
J. A. B. Gollop	G. A. St Pier
S. P. Haskins	A. W. Taylor
M. A. J. Helyar	L. S. Trott
N. R. Inder	S. P. J. Vermeulen
J. P. Le Tocq	

Representatives of the Island of Alderney

Alderney Representatives S. Roberts and E. A. J. Snowdon

The Clerk to the States of Deliberation

C. Foster (Deputy Greffier) (AM)

S. M. D. Ross, Esq. (States' Greffier) (PM)

Absent at the Evocation

Deputy A. H. Brouard (*relevé à 9h 43*); Deputy M. P. Leadbeater (*relevé à 9h 43*);
Deputy A. C. Dudley-Owen (*indisposée*); Deputy A. Kazantseva-Miller (*indisposée*).

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States of Deliberation

*The States met at 9.30 a.m. in the presence of
His Excellency Lt Gen Richard Cripwell, C.B., C.B.E.
Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bailiwick of Guernsey*

[THE DEPUTY BAILIFF in the Chair]

PRAYERS

The Deputy Greffier

EVOCATION

CONVOCATION

5 **The Deputy Greffier:** Billets d'État VI and VII of 2022. To the Members of the States of the Island of Guernsey I hereby give notice that a Meeting of the States of Deliberation will be held at the Royal Courthouse, on Wednesday, 30th March 2022, at 9.30 a.m. to consider the Items listed in these Billets d'État, which have been submitted for debate.

**Procedural –
Motion to consider Billet d'État VII after Item 4 –
Proposition carried**

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

10 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Madam, I would be grateful if both you and the Assembly would allow me to move a motion, or a motion is moved, so that the Ukraine Billet is heard immediately after the legislation is dealt with and before the substantive Propositions brought by Deputy Meerveld on behalf of his particular topic and me on behalf of the Development Agency. That is the motion.

15 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Thank you.

Well, Members, you have heard Deputy Ferbrache's wish that there be a motion in order to move the Item of Business, which is Billet d'État VII and that would go underneath – if you are looking at the Order Paper – Other Business, before the SACC Committee's Proposition in relation to electronic voting. Those who support the motion; those against?

Members voted Pour.

20 **The Deputy Bailiff:** I confirm that that motion is carried and that will be what is now Item 5 and the remainder of business will shuffle down. Thank you.

Statements

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

General update – Statement by the Policy & Resources Committee

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache, your updating Statement, please.

Deputy Ferbrache: Madam, I am very grateful to be given the opportunity to provide the
25 update.

We have much, and important, business, and it will always ever be thus, but on this occasion of
the sitting of the States' Assembly we have something more important. We have the opportunity,
as a parliamentary body, to issue a clear view on behalf of our community in respect of the Russian
invasion of Ukraine. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) I fully expect that our support today, and in the future,
30 to the brave people of Ukraine will be unreserved and unequivocal.

Those horrible events, wholly caused by a man and his troops, an evil would-be emperor seeking
to create an evil empire, reminds us of our values and the importance of us standing side by side
with our friends, the good people of Ukraine, and providing, as has been provided to these Islands
in the past, help and assistance.

35 I hope that Members are assured by the work that is being done in relation to Ukraine. We value
very much the invaluable input from Members and that will be encouraged to be received at all
times. This should not in any way become a political issue in this Assembly. I also fulsomely
acknowledge the contribution already so splendidly made by our community.

At the beginning of this term I said, with the full support of my colleagues on P&R, that we would
40 seek to work with the wider States' Assembly. We have sought to maintain that approach, albeit we
can only work with those States' Members that want to work collaboratively. Led, and ably so by
Deputy Helyar, the Committee has worked collaboratively on the tax regime. We are grateful for all
the contributions already made by States' Members. States' Members have been involved in the
working groups. Let me say this loudly and clearly: There is no silver bullet. There is no white charger
45 that will make our decisions painless. Those decisions that will have to be made will be difficult but
must not be shirked from.

As I have already said, all contributions have been welcome. I would also say this: if some
Members believe that solutions exist in just cutting costs, then please provide a detailed analysis. If
some Members believe in smaller Government, please provide practical and costed details as to
50 how this could work. Whether on those viewpoints or otherwise, mere generalities will not suffice.

What we will not do is just look at one or two tax levers in isolation. The whole tax system needs
to be considered and that is what we are doing. We are grateful for the thoughtful paper prepared
by Deputy Parkinson on corporate tax. The Committee has commissioned external expertise to look
independently at corporate Income Tax. Amongst other things, the paper from Deputy Parkinson
55 will be considered. When we receive that report, which is anticipated by the end of April, it will be
carefully considered.

Our finances were severely affected by the pandemic. Our reserves had to be utilised to keep
people in work and the economy functioning as best as possible. It cost the people of the Bailiwick
a lot of money. That said, our economy has bounced back well. Members will have seen the
60 provisional financial results for last year – which are still subject to audit – which have just been
released. It is very pleasing and speaks well of our economy that it bounced back and instead of
having a £33 million deficit, we are now projecting a surplus of £13 million. This was further
improved by the income earned on our reserves in what was a good year for investments. But that

does not fully translate into an ongoing improvement in our baseline position, and most certainly does not address the structural deficit.

So what conclusion can be reached? That 2021 was a better year than we anticipated, but we still have a significant funding gap to close. At no stage has the P&R Committee said that there is one solution. So let us remember that, while we should and will look at all options, we have to be realistic and we have to be responsible.

So when we make statements about such matters, including corporate tax, let us bear in mind that we need to remain competitive, we need sustainability in the tax system, and we need to be cognisant of international developments. Our main industry is an international industry competing with many other jurisdictions. Let us, as requested by the industry, be judicious in how we approach this important debate because our economy and our competitors are listening.

We have also worked collaboratively on the Government Work Plan, under the energetic and able leadership of Deputy Soulsby. As we quickly approach the update of that Work Plan, all Committees have had opportunity to provide input. What is clear is the Plan is still asking the States to do far too much. We do not have the money and we do not have the people to do everything. Resources are being stretched too thinly. We need to focus on what can be done. We need to de-prioritise certain items. We need to prioritise other items.

Those views and the views of the Committee will be shared and of course the debate will take place in June but I caution my colleagues in the States to be realistic. There is no point beating our chests and saying how well we have done in having a Plan that we cannot deliver and cannot afford.

As well as working collaboratively across the States, the Committee remains committed to working with partners and parties who can bring required expertise to projects. That is part of the Government Work Plan. During this Meeting, this Assembly will have the opportunity to demonstrate whether it remains of that view. I will not rehearse the arguments about the Development Agency, which is to take place later in our agenda. But what I will say is that now, almost 18 months in, the community is looking at us very closely – and rightly so.

I make a personal comment now for which I make no apology. So far, like our predecessor States, we have woefully failed to meet the concerns of the bedrock of our community – those of the people who work, who do not have a bank of mum and dad, and who want to advance themselves and improve their families.

To achieve our goals I say this: do we really work in collaboration with partners outside of the States as is the norm in many other similar jurisdictions? Or do we continue with the view that in Guernsey only the States can deliver? I would suggest with confidence that our recent track record shows that the latter is not true, and the former is a commitment we must now come good on.

Significant progress has been made on various issues. The previous States prevaricated over broadband. This P&R Committee, working with the support of Economic Development, chose to move quickly. We now have spades in the ground – literally – improving the digital infrastructure and connectivity. The President of ED advises me that, by the end of February, Sure and its partners had already passed over 1,600 properties on their way to a target of 7,000 this year.

We are continuing to work to facilitate the dialogue that will enable Condor to invest in an additional vessel. Work with ED on an operating agreement is progressing, albeit much more slowly than we would wish, and with the impending general election in Jersey, being realistic that not likely to speed up. Notwithstanding, the States set out its objectives for sea links in December 2018, and they remain relevant and ambitious. Our intention is to deliver an operating agreement that meets those objectives. There are commercial considerations at the moment so therefore I cannot say much more.

We also were given the opportunity and the Committee formally communicated to the UK Government recently that we want to be a part and a party to the Trade Policy Forum that has been established and to a committee or a Trans-Pacific Partnership, which is a free trade agreement between countries such as Australia and Vietnam. That demonstrates how far and fast we have come in this States in relation to such matters.

115 In respect of the work on international agreements, the Committee has agreed to the extension
of the Trademark Law Treaty; participation in the UK-Australia Free Trade Agreement; various
Universal Postal decisions; and technical amendments to the US-Free Trade Agreement and the UK-
Turkey Free Trade Agreement. All of that since the last statement. An agreement in principle was
also reached at COP26 to extend the Paris Agreement.

120 Finally, I want just to make reference to two areas. Deputy Soulsby is leading on the Review of
Government, supported by Deputy Le Tocq, as well as Deputies Meerveld and McKenna and HM
Procureur. Work has been undertaken with States Members, the community and the Civil Service to
understand the issues and opportunities, and I know Deputy Soulsby is very keen to ensure that
progress is made swiftly.

125 Deputy Mahoney continues to lead the work on property rationalisation, commercialisation of
the approach of the States' Property Service. A number of positive developments are under way but
I strongly encourage any Committee that is considering proposals relating to the building in which
their service areas operate to engage as soon as possible with Deputy Mahoney.

130 So, in conclusion, much has been done or is being done, but much, much more needs to be
done.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, Deputy Ferbrache.

Prior to questions, can I just ask Deputy Leadbeater, do you wish to be relevé?

135 **Deputy Leadbeater:** Yes please, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: And you, Deputy Brouard, do you wish to be relevé?

Deputy Brouard: Yes please, madam,

140 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Thank you.

Yes, Deputy Falla.

Deputy Falla: Thank you, madam.

145 The President has referenced thinly stretched resources, which is something we all recognise.
What can be done in his view to resolve the situation whereby Committees do not have an adequate
number of policy officers to properly fulfil their mandate?

150 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Well the answer is to look for more. But again, the truism is there is not
going to be enough. There are not enough policy officers available anywhere and there are not
enough resources and there is not enough money to provide Committees – some Committees are
well-resourced, some are less well-resourced – with all the material they need to carry out their
mandate. We are going to have to compromise. We are going to have to be realistic. We have not
been in the past.

155 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Gabriel.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, madam.

160 Could the President update the Chamber on the recent IT failings across the gov.gg site and also
previously, he did not mention it in his update, but the revenue service's website and also the key
man risk surrounding that; and we were also informed, recently, by email, of legacy hardware? What
is the situation with this legacy hardware, which is now defunct and not working and still no access
to certain sites?

Thank you.

165 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Thank you.

I think you asked three questions but they are all connected and I am grateful for them because it has highlighted a topic that, clearly, we are all familiar with. Expressing my personal view, I do not think it is satisfactory that the States' website was down for days and days. I do not think it is satisfactory that the Revenue Service as yet do not have all the facilities that they do have. I am looking to those that we are working with in partnership to improve their partnership. To up their game, to use a colloquialism. The points that Deputy Gabriel makes by way of question are all very well made indeed.

The Deputy Bailiff: Alderney Representative Roberts – sorry, Snowdon.

Alderney Representative Snowdon: Thank you.

Could I just ask the President how the Alderney-Guernsey Joint Working Group is getting on?
Thank you.

Deputy Ferbrache: I think, like any partnership, like any discussion, things can always be better. But I think that the relationship with Alderney, over the last 18 months, and very little to do with me, I think it has improved dramatically. We value the contributions made by our Alderney colleagues, whether it is the citizens of Alderney or their representatives. But equally, I think again that touch of realism that I mentioned in my address and in answer to Deputy Falla's question has to pertain. We all have to be realistic. We cannot do everything Alderney wants. They must realise that.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, madam.

I wonder if Deputy Ferbrache could give an update on the ferry purchase that was mentioned in a recent Scrutiny hearing?

Deputy Ferbrache: I am restrained, or constrained, I should say to Deputy Taylor, by commercial realities. What I can say is that Deputy Helyar and I have had recent conversations with our political colleagues in Jersey. We are due to meet them again next week and the meetings ... there are discussions with Condor, which are ongoing. I am not being coy. I simply cannot say any more at the moment because of commercial constraints.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Could the President advise as to whether his Committee has received any updates from Deputy Mahoney on his proposal to build 90 four- and five-bedroom homes on green fields surrounding the Castel hospital site; and what the budget for that scoping work is, if any?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: We are very well served by Deputy Mahoney. I think he has done more in relation to property matters than any of his predecessors. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) And he continues. But Deputy Mahoney gives us regular updates on all kinds of matters, almost weekly. In fact, I would miss them if he did not give them.

In relation to that, Deputy Mahoney's position – I know what Deputy Burford is referring to, it is the meeting of the Scrutiny Committee where the comments were made, and Deputy Mahoney had circulated his comments to Members of P&R before his comments went public.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Madam, thank you.

220 People are struggling with price inflation in Guernsey rising 4.6% in December over a year ago and seen to go even higher this quarter. All price groups have been hit over the past 12 months. We need to prioritise our people and the need is for tax cuts to help ease the cost-of-living crisis on Islanders, along the lines being introduced elsewhere. What measures are being considered by P&R to ease the burden on Islanders of the rising cost of living?

225 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Thank you. Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Thank you, madam.

230 It is a good question because, of course, inflation is at a higher level than was anticipated even a few months ago and sadly may – but I emphasise the permissive word – may be still underestimated going forward. I think that P&R have got it under regular concern, under regular scrutiny but I cannot say to Deputy de Lisle that we are going to reduce fuel by 6p, we are going to do this, we are going to do that. That will be a consideration that we will have under our perspective and in relation to our requirements. But we have also got to be realistic in that this is a difficult time for everybody.

235 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: I might have two questions but I will wait in line for the second. My first is supplementary to Deputy Falla's and I am kind of aware that maybe some Principal Committees or
240 Departments of the States, where there is an extreme shortage of policy and legislation officers. And the downside of that is not just non-delivery but perhaps a loss of potential revenue streams to the Assembly, looking at taxation charges, re-basing costs.

So would Policy & Resources look favourably on policy officers where there is an opportunity cost and a potential outcome of increased income?

245 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I am interpreting Deputy Gollop's question is would we give preference to that? And the answer is no. Money is important, money is vital, money keeps the world moving
250 around and the wheels on the ground as it were, but in connection with all of that there are other policies too. We want to consider the environment, there are health matters. So I would not say that we would be giving, if we could, preference to the topics that Deputy Gollop has helpfully raised.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Fairclough.

255 **Deputy Fairclough:** Thank you, madam, and I thank the President for his update.

Following on from Deputy Taylor's question, given that determining air and sea links policy was due to be completed by the end of 2021, can the President tell the Assembly when this work will be published or brought back to the States?

260 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Yes, Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: As I said in my update, there is already a sea policy in December 2018. That has not been changed and that will continue until it is changed. I cannot give you a date. I cannot
265 say May, June or July. I would just hope that is done very soon. It will be in liaison with our colleagues in Economic Development, because of course their input is vital in relation to such matters, and it will be brought as soon as it reasonably can. But I cannot give a specific date.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gollop. (*Interjection*) Sorry. You can carry on Deputy Gollop.

270 **Deputy Gollop:** I will carry on.

Some people might suspect – and I am not always very good at my own financial projections, to say the least. But my question is – and I hope it is not too mean a one – Deputy Ferbrache is continuing the tradition Deputy Trott and Deputy St Pier occasionally did, but on a bigger scale, in that we now have a positive budgetary story, compared to a negative one. But it is a gap of

275 £43 million or £44 million.

Isn't there a way of ensuring that our projections are perhaps even more reliable, because it does not necessarily give confidence to people when we are suggesting tax rises etc., that there is such a variance between a bad news story and a good news story?

So my question is: can we improve the projections and the data economics behind those

280 projections?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I think we can. I think this was a one-off, though, because we had had the

285 COVID. It was a bounce-back from COVID. Nobody could appreciate reasonably that it would be so effective, £46 million plus the investments, because Deputy Trott would quite rightly tell me we should consider those as well – plus that. Nobody could have anticipated that. They generally are a lot more accurate and I am sure they will be in the future.

290 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Murray.

Deputy Murray: Thank you, madam.

I would like to thank the President for a very appropriate update and he will find no dispute with me on anything he said. But what I would like to highlight is something I completely agree with,

295 that the GWP is almost undeliverable at this point in time. It potentially was undeliverable when we actually created it but we inherited an awful lot.

My concern now is that Guernsey's economic model is under considerable pressure. What we have had, for the last 20 or 30 years, what we have enjoyed, can no longer be relied upon, in my opinion. COVID, Brexit, many things. Tax. Whatever. What we now need is some forecasting of

300 opportunities for this Island; what our future economy could look like. Would the President agree with me that it is time now to create some sort of forum for us to explore some horizon scanning so that we do not find ourselves in a serious downturn, sooner rather than later?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

305 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I agree. The trouble is, I touched upon it, and we are going to touch upon it later in this Assembly with the Development Agency, where there are some that want State control because everybody in this Assembly has got all the wisdom of Solomon and others realise that they do not.

310 In relation to that, the forum that Deputy Murray talks about, I am just a small town lawyer, that is all I have ever been and I do not pretend to be anything else. Other people in this Assembly have greater wisdom than me but I think they should – if their wisdom is as extensive as they say it is – appreciate that other people, also, outside, could contribute in the kind of forum that Deputy Murray is suggesting.

315 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you, madam. I thank the President for his answer to my last question although, in fairness, I do not think he answered it so perhaps I could try again in a different way?

320 In relation to Deputy Mahoney's plans published in the pages of the Guernsey Press, regarding the Castel Hospital, could the President tell me if any further work is being done on these proposals or if it is a dead duck?

Thank you.

325 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I do not think anything is a dead duck. But I do not think anything in particular is being promulgated in relation to that at the moment, because we have got a housing crisis. We had a presentation yesterday, from Deputy Roffey and his Committee, and the projection is that we need 300 units, approximately, but all we can build is 180.

330 Now bear in mind we have already got a massive shortage of housing, how on earth are we going to bridge that gap? I have heard previous Assemblies have failed to address that question and we are failing to address that question. We cannot just do it by sniffing around the edges. We are going to have to be bold and brave and I will be bold and brave by saying to builders, 'Build more property.' If we have got to bring in more builders to build them, let's do so.

335 Let's give people, the bedrock of our community that are being ignored by us and by our predecessors ... We have got all the fringe groups that we put our hands up and give happy-clappy to, but we do not do anything for the ordinary people. We should do.

340 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Thank you for your update, Deputy Ferbrache.

Just following on from Deputy Murray's question, would the President agree with me that our single most important industry at the moment is the financial services sector? It is in very, very good shape at the moment. Would he also further agree with me that one of the biggest problems that they have got, despite the fact that they have got multiple vacancies, is the fact that they can appoint people but they have got nowhere to live?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

350 **Deputy Ferbrache:** Again that was two questions. I agree with both of them. Yes, it is the most important industry. Every industry is important but it produces, when you add in all the benefits, probably over 50% of our GDP. It is so important. We do not have enough places for people to live; we do not have enough places for nurses to live; we do not have enough places for teachers to live. We do not have enough places for ordinary Guernsey folk to live.

355 We have not addressed that issue. We are not going to do it just by building 300 units over the next five years, that we are not going to build anyway – over the next 10 or 15 years – because we have not got enough builders to do it. We are going to need radical action. Let's see if this States has got the courage to do something about it.

360 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, madam; and thank you to Deputy Ferbrache for answering the first question. I accept certain discretion is needed on the sensitivities there. But I wonder if Deputy Ferbrache could give an indication of any resources that have been committed to looking at ferry purchase that are of a non-political nature?

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

370 **Deputy Ferbrache:** If the purchase goes ahead, it will come from the Guernsey Investment Fund. It would be an investment. The States would not be producing it from reserves. That is the current thought. As to resources, well, there is always officers' time, politicians' time, etc. that goes into it but that is not costed. We do not tend to cost that anyway.

375 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you, again, madam, Deputy Bailiff.

Deputy Murray has inspired me to another question, rightly or wrongly, which is he is very much suggesting we need focus, a vision, a plan for how we can stabilise and strengthen our economy, medium- to long-term. Well, I hear a voice saying 'housing'. I went to the IOD conference the other day. The huge message was we risk a brain drain of our young and youngish people who cannot afford the quality of life and housing and the career opportunities they want.

Is Policy & Resources really trying to ensure that our population is more balanced and more dynamic by ensuring we attract and retain young adults, rather than lose them? Perhaps I should ask Deputy Inder this after his statement.

385 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Yes, I also attended the same conference. The main speaker, I thought, was truly excellent – and Chris Brock also gave certain statistics – they emphasised that the 'youth drain', if I can call it that, the 20- to 29-year-olds and beyond, they said it does not just apply to us – and that does not give us great comfort, because it still happens. We need to address all of those questions. Housing is a prime thing. If people cannot have reasonable housing aspirations, they would not do so. What he also said is that there is no alternative to a consumption tax.

395 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Moakes.

Deputy Moakes: Thank you.

Further to a number of questions that have been raised by a number of Deputies, would the President agree with me that we need to be addressing the housing crisis today, that we need a mix of social and private housing and that we need a mix of housing, including starter homes, family homes, sheltered housing and key worker housing? We can either continue to pick holes in ideas being put forward by ourselves or we can deliver solutions. I think we need to be doing the latter and not the former.

405 **Several Members:** Hear, hear.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache, it could be said that is beyond the P&R mandate, but I am sure you have got an answer!

410 **Deputy Ferbrache:** The answer from Deputy Soulsby is that it is beyond our mandate. She is right. The point is, in relation to it, it is an Island-wide, it is a States'-wide issue. It is not just one Committee, it is all of us that have got to make our contribution. It is a point well made by Deputy Moakes.

415 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Madam, does Deputy Ferbrache agree with me in relation to the point made, the question raised by Deputy Murray, that actually the Committee for Economic Development has the role, responsibility and indeed the mandate to be focusing on our future economic direction and diversification, if required?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

425 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I agree with that and I believe they are doing their job. It is not an easy situation. What we should try to do is work across Committees and not just say, 'Those are your boundaries.' Because P&R should be involved, not to step on the toes of Economic Development at all, but to give such assistance as it can.

430 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Falla.

Deputy Falla: Supplementary, please, madam, to Deputy Moakes' question.
Given the inability for one Committee to own the housing crisis, is it time to reinstate a housing committee?

435 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: A good point. I do not know, is the truthful answer. I do not know, because that would just create another Committee of the States. What it actually needs is some ideas from this Assembly.

440 Deputy Falla, I know, favours a lot of debate. I would like to hear some ideas from him on how we can solve it, rather than just have a debate. We can always have a debate. Come up with some ideas, if I could say so personally to Deputy Falla, rather than grandstand and say: 'Let's have a debate about it.' So we need ideas.

445 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Dyke.

Deputy Dyke: Madam, thank you.

I thank Deputy Ferbrache for his interesting presentation. On the financial side there is an elephant in this room that we tend to avoid – and that is the Civil Service pensions. The Guernsey Private Enterprise Group have put out a commentary document on that, which is actually quite alarming. Does P&R have some ideas in mind for dealing with that issue?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

455 **Deputy Ferbrache:** It is not an issue, in this sense. Of course it is properly funded; it is well-funded. The GPEG document is out of date. If they had actually spoken to us, rather than put forward pejorative and inaccurate documents, it might have been helpful. Because it is a two-way street, not just come up, 'Oh, this is awful and you should sell States' houses ...' and all that kind of stuff. None of that helps.

460 It is a well-funded scheme but of course it is under review and consideration at all times.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: Thank you, madam; and I thank the President for his update.

465 I was responding really to part of an answer where he said it had been said at a speech there was no alternative to a consumption tax and the President will know my view that I think there is an alternative to a consumption tax and I have spoken here and elsewhere about using property tax as an alternative.

470 What the President may not be aware of is that, in the UK, there is some active consideration of replacing Council Tax with something called 'proportional property tax'. Would the President agree with me that the Tax Review should be open to all ideas about possible ways out of the fiscal issues that we have, given the difficulties that a consumption tax at the moment would pose, alongside increasing inflation and the prospect of very much increasing legislation in the Island?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I said what the gentleman said, not what I said.

Deputy Matthews is exactly right. No stone should be left unturned. He has made his views very clear and consistent over a period of time. I mentioned in my update the Corporate Tax Review. We are going to get further information in about a month's time or so. Every issue will be looked at. It is not a done deal, as to any one particular tax. There may be a whole mix of taxes or this Assembly may decide that it is not going to support any kind of review. But Deputy Matthews makes a point, which I fully accept.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, madam.

When Deputy Ferbrache was a boy, house prices were two times average earnings here. When I was a boy, it was four times average earnings. Today, it is 15 times average earnings. He is quite right, in my view, to highlight housing as a real issue. However, partly as a consequence of that, wage inflation in a tight labour market, with consumer prices rising at the rate they are, represents a clear and present danger to our economy. Does he agree?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Yes, I do agree.

Also, going back over the historical analysis, it is not that much of a gap in age between Deputy Trott and I, in fact looking at us one would not think there was any difference in age! (Laughter) But in respect of that, also wages. People used to earn pitiful wages in Guernsey when I was a boy and perhaps even when Deputy Trott was a boy. Wage inflation has gone through and it is largely because of the finance sector because that has pushed up earnings.

When I came back to Guernsey, I was called to the Guernsey Bar in March 1981, I was at 20th or 21st, I cannot remember, I thought I was 20th, but Garth Bainbridge said I was the 21st – so the 20th or 21st advocate at the Guernsey Bar. There are well over 200 now. I wonder what they are all doing but hopefully they are working productively.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Thank you.

At the risk of sounding like a Jonah, can I ask the President if he agrees with me that our upbeat headlines about a £13 million surplus are, to a large extent, misleading? Because when you factor in the absolute minimum appropriation for the capital spending that the Island needs to maintain its infrastructure, we are still largely around something between a £40 million to £50 million deficit?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I do not think there is any inconsistency between the two. It is good news, because we thought we would have a £33 million deficit, with all the problems that Deputy Roffey said, and now we have got a £13 million surplus. Even in 2025 we are predicting a surplus on revenue but the structural deficit is we have not invested and we would not have enough money unless we do something dramatic to invest in our infrastructure.

So, I agree with his sentiment but I do not agree with his despondency.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: On the matter of wage inflation, given the financial outperformance in 2021, and given the expectations in relation to inflation, what are Deputy Ferbrache's expectations in relation to, say, public pay negotiations and settlements for 2022?

Deputy Ferbrache: Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I think that is a very good point. We discussed it P&R just yesterday. Deputy Mahoney and others will be discussing this with you very shortly. I hope Deputy St Pier does not think I am being difficult in relation to this questions because obviously those are commercial things, but he has raised a valid point that has been our concern.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Dyke.

Deputy Dyke: Thank you, madam.

Could I ask a question regarding the funding of capital expenditure? We have borrowing facilities in place already, we are capable of borrowing more. Given that most capital expenditure will have a lifetime use of, say, 40 years – we are looking at schools, hospital extension – in terms of accounting for this, if we borrow and pay the interest, we could amortise the capital costs over a period of, say, 40 years, which then is a reasonable thing to do. It is in accordance with normal accounting principles and it would make the books more appropriate.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: We have already covered that with the Government Work Plan etc. and the Capital Investment Plan. We have already got those proposals. Of course, they can be altered or varied if that is the decision of the States. There will be financial repercussions if there are. One of the things when we deal with the Tax Review during the course of this year, hopefully, that we – the Assembly, not P&R – will be saying, 'This is what we are going to do. This is the money that we are going to have. We should be thinking about things for the future.' Because whether we need this, that or the other, we are going to need lots of this, that and the other, going forward.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Queripel.

Deputy Queripel: Madam, we have £40 million ring-fenced for housing. We do have land and properties available to us.

So does the President agree with me that it is time to spend that money and build more housing?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: When I say yes – but it is not as simple as that ... Yes. If we could get diggers in the ground tomorrow with houses that could be built in appropriate places – not inappropriate places – then that would be wonderful. But it is much more difficult and I found, being a member of HAG for the last seven or months or however long, just how difficult everything is.

Again, I was not dismayed because it was a good presentation yesterday, by Deputy Roffey and his colleagues. But, I was dismayed at the fact we have got 300 units per annum, which is the forecasted need going forward over the next X number of years, but we have only got 180. In my view, even if we built all that 300, it is not going to make a dent in the housing market to the degree that we need to.

So I share the sentiments of Deputy Queripel but I am not sure as to how we are going to achieve it as yet.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gabriel.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, madam.

580 Could the President update us on the status of the public service reform, and in particular, the MyGov application and how the public may access Government services in the future?
Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

585 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I can remember when I was President of STSB, attending a meeting up at the community hall in St Martin's, where we were promised all and sundry. We were promised if we invested £16 million to £17 million, we would be able to save £7.4 million a year etc. That has proved to be woefully inaccurate. Those proposals were never properly detailed. In fact I supported them, but I think I was not intentionally misled, but I was misled. Not in a culpable sense.

590 That programme, Deputy Gabriel is absolutely right to highlight it, is progressing. We will have some details that we can discuss shortly; that we can disclose shortly. But my own view is that it is going to give a different scenario to the one that I was told, two or three years ago.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

595 **Deputy St Pier:** Madam, I am sure Deputy Ferbrache will remember that the last independent pay review for States' Members recommended that States' Members' pay would increase annually at the rate of median earnings. Is it Policy & Resources' intention to bring a Resolution to this Assembly to reverse that recommendation?

600 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: No, is the answer. The point is that, in relation to that, I think States' pay, which has been frozen for a period in time now, the intention is that it will be increased from
605 1st May.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, madam.

610 Sticking on the ferry theme, and apologies, accepting that officer time has been put towards the purchase of a ferry, what are those officers being taken away from and what would they have otherwise been doing?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

615 **Deputy Ferbrache:** They have not been taken away from anything. It is part of their general duties. They are policy officers and a senior office also from Deputy Inder's Committee. It is part of their general duties. It is a bit like saying, 'If you didn't teach history, what else could you teach?' Everybody should teach history because it is the most important subject, it is the only subject I think
620 I was really any good at.

In relation to that, the answer is that they are spending some time on it, but they are also spending a lot of time on other things.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

625 **Deputy St Pier:** I hate not to use the time that is permissible. I know Deputy Ferbrache enjoys the questions and answers and the challenge.

Madam, the Policy & Resources Committee has previously undertaken to bring to this Assembly a policy letter in relation to addressing the question of convictions for offences during the War, during the Occupation. Understanding, of course, the constraint on resources, particularly the External Relations team that have naturally been addressing such matters as the policy letter on Ukraine, is Deputy Ferbrache able to give us any indication of when the expectation is, when that policy letter will be ready for this Assembly's consideration?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: I did give that indication, Deputy St Pier is absolutely right. I cannot tell him when. Deputy Soulsby and I attended a meeting, by Teams, with the Law Officers' drafting team, for example on – when were we – one day this week. I just wonder how they get through all the work. They have got such a vast amount of work, we could do with another 50 of them. Another 50 do not exist, because they are in such short supply. So I cannot say that.

To me, it is something that should be done but equally to me there are more pressing matters at the moment.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Thank you.

The President has referred a couple of times to a presentation made yesterday morning, actually mainly by the Environment & Infrastructure Committee to P&R about future housing requirements. Will he confirm that piece of work shows very clearly that if net migration figures go up considerably above the existing projections, then the requirement for housing absolutely goes through the roof?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Absolutely. That is what the figures show and it is almost exponential.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

I am going to suggest this is the last question as we are just about to approach the 20 minutes.

Deputy Gollop: Right, yes,

Another theme that came up at the Institute of Directors' breakfast, by Mr Brock, a well-known former policy analyst and Deputy, was the possibility of us working more closely with Jersey, not as a talking shop but as a way of, perhaps, merging some of our health, education and infrastructural costs. Will Policy & Resources actively seek to meet or Teams meet their Jersey counterparts after the forthcoming general election and the new team in Jersey are in place by the summer, so that we can explore useful economic and cost-saving initiatives together?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Of course. We have tried to work with Jersey forever. It has not been very successful. It was not very successful years ago. I think various Chief Ministers have tried valiantly and it has not worked. That is not to say we should not continue to try.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

That brings the end to the questions in relation to the P&R general update Statement.

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

**General update –
Statement by the Committee for Economic Development**

The Deputy Bailiff: Can I invite Deputy Inder, as President of the Committee for Economic Development, to provide his general update Statement?

Deputy Inder: Thank you, madam, for the introduction.

680 Members of the States, in the Committee's last update I informed Members of the work that the Committee had conducted in the previous year. However, we are in very different times. Russia has invaded Ukraine, the impact on the economies of the West is real and it would be remiss of me not to reflect on what is likely to be coming down the tracks for our joint economies.

685 Guernsey does not live in glorious isolation. We are affected by geopolitics. The price of oil and gas and other commodity prices are at a record high and that will impact on every aspect of our lives from transport, heating and the production of goods. There are some analysts that are predicting double digit inflation rates by the end of the year and it is a fact that many businesses will be dealing with increased costs and residents of the Bailiwick will be faced with rises in the cost of living.

690 How different the world looked only six months ago when we were at the end of a pandemic, we were looking forward to a life beyond COVID. No one expected that life beyond COVID and straight into a war.

695 But in some better news, Guernsey follows the United Kingdom's sanctions regime and I can report that every effort has been made by the financial services sector to apply those sanctions correctly and diligently; and I would like to compliment the financial services businesses that have gone beyond the current sanctions and have taken a pragmatic view and de-risked their Russian book. Those business leaders that have taken an immediate environmental, social and governance standpoint are to be commended.

700 More broadly, the Committee has been working with Policy & Resources in respect of the new Lending, Credit and Finance Law. I am pleased to report that we have consulted on the draft Law and the intention is for that Law to be presented before the States in June of this year – and I have already cursed myself with another policy delivery date.

705 In respect of the Committee's work on personal insolvency, an industry-led working group has assisted the Committee in the development of proposals in respect of the creation of low-value debt relief orders. The Committee intends to present a policy letter to the States in June of this year, also. The Committee also intends to develop policy proposals in respect of individual voluntary arrangements and/or a personal bankruptcy regime in due course.

710 Although not under our mandate, probably one of Guernsey's worst kept secrets is that there is an imminent planning application for the development of Leale's Yard. The Committee is encouraged to see this privately funded initiative being advanced and would encourage the applicants and the Development & Planning Authority to work together at pace to enable the development to be delivered.

715 The Island needs housing. The private sector could deliver hundreds of new units of accommodation, new retail units and an entirely reinvigorated Bridge and surrounding areas. This is an important project for every part of the economy.

720 In a recent Financial Sector Forum meeting – and I made reference to a question to Deputy Ferbrache in his statement – it was clear that Guernsey's ability to even maintain, let alone grow, the finance sector is at risk without developers and Government ensuring that there is housing and homes for those highly skilled jobs that the Island desperately needs, so that we can all maintain our lifestyles.

On population and skills, the Committee is on record as saying that we need a modest increase in our working age population to support our economy and deliver economic growth. Many

businesses have struggled to recruit staff during the last 12 month, if not 24 months, if not 36 months. This is an ongoing problem and not an issue just of this Assembly. It just this Assembly that may need to deal with it. A lack of staff constrains businesses' ability to operate and will restrict their ability to sustain themselves and grow. A lack of housing for those staff entirely limits the Island's potential. It is all about housing.

The Committee is involved in the Population and Immigration Policy Review, in conjunction with the Committee for Home Affairs, and is keen to ensure that businesses are able to access the staff and the skills that they need. And I am happy to report the Working Group on Skills – made up of Education, Deputy Sam Haskins leading from Education, Deputy Kazantseva-Miller from our end – should be reporting back to their respective Committees shortly.

Trade agreements. In terms of these, officers continue to work closely with the Department of International Trade to ensure the Bailiwick's inclusion in any upcoming Free Trade Agreements that the UK is negotiating. The President of P&R referenced the update on the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) – and I hope you are all writing that down – which is welcome news. The beginning of 2022 has also seen Guernsey's inclusion in the UK-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement as well as securing provisions to take our interests forward within the UK-Singapore Digital Economic Agreement.

The rest of the year will include developing Guernsey's negotiation positions for other agreements including the UK-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement, UK-India, UK-Canada and the agreements with the Gulf Cooperation Council. We are doing our best and our utmost to achieve extension of the services chapters of certain Free Trade Agreements to Guernsey. Such agreements have been identified as a priority through close consultation with the industry.

The Guernsey Registry has a significant role as one of Guernsey's competent authorities in relation to the jurisdiction's strategy for countering financial terrorism and anti-money laundering. The Registry continues to work closely with the other authorities to ensure compliance with the international standards and preparations for the upcoming Moneyval assessment. We are currently working on a new IT system, which hopefully will be progressed between ourselves and Policy & Resources.

Turning now to civil aviation. In my last update, I informed the Assembly that a review of the Aircraft Registry, known as 2-REG, has been completed. Fundamental to the review was the re-negotiation of the existing contract with strategic technical partner, SGI Guernsey. I am pleased to inform the Assembly that an interim agreement has now been entered in with SGI Guernsey. This includes a legal commitment by CGI – sorry, I beg your pardon – by SGI Guernsey, to underwrite the recruitment of additional staff for the office of the Aircraft Registry and the Office of the Director of Civil Aviation, as was identified within the recent review. Recruitment of these posts is currently under way. You have recently had a number of Rule 14 questions from Deputy Queripel, which I have answered some of those questions and given a little bit more detail on some of those questions.

I am also pleased to confirm the recruitment for a pan-Island Director of Civil Aviation has also been advanced and a candidate has been offered the position. Details are still being negotiated so I cannot and will not comment further on this at this time. But 2-REG continues to see success with over 300 registered aircraft. I can also confirm that none of the aircraft currently registered on 2-REG are owned by any of the named Russian citizens on the UK's sanctions list.

In terms of sea links, the Committee is currently working with P&R to deliver an operating agreement with Condor Ferries. I will not add to the update from the President of P&R other than to say the Committee is progressing the work on ramp licensing to support the future arrangement.

Matters of future policy letters. The Committee will be bringing a number of policy letters to the Assembly during this year as set out in the Government Work Plan and referenced earlier in my speech. We are working closely with the Committee for Education, Sport and Culture on a Human Capital Development Plan and the intention is to bring a joint policy letter to the States later this year.

775 The Committee is under a States' Resolution to bring a business case for the extension of Guernsey Airport's runway to at least 1,700 metres. The Committee has received the updated cost benefit analysis from Frontier Economics and further work is currently being undertaken on the technical and regulatory feasibility of various options that would utilise an EMAS. Once that work has been completed and further work on the Airport Masterplan has been progressed, the Committee will bring that policy letter to the Assembly.

780 The Committee is keen to improve the tourism product, which is long overdue, and will bring another policy letter to the States on this matter later this year.

Sir, this concludes the Committee's update and I am happy to answer any questions that Members may have.

Thank you.

785 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, madam.

790 In Deputy Inder's previous update speech, six months ago, he talked about the cannabis industry. I wonder if he could give any updates on there, and the size of the industry or anything relevant?

795 **Deputy Inder:** I can. As I remember, there were something like eight applications for various versions of either CBD or medicinal cannabis. From memory, there was one successful medicinal cannabis application. There has been a CBD application success and that is effectively a closed loop that works within the Guernsey and Jersey CBD environment, and we are aware that other applications are in the offing.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Blin.

800 **Deputy Blin:** Thank you, madam.

I thank the President for his statement. I would just like to clarify something regarding 2-REG. It was good to hear that the review has been completed but it leads to two parts. One is, you mentioned that there are currently, I believe it was mentioned, 300 users registered on 2-REG, so part of the question is: has that been diminishing, or is that increasing, or is that static? Which leads to my second part, which is if we have SGI doing the recruitment for additional people, is this for growth or is this due to increasing pressures, maybe, from FAA, CAA, etc?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

810 **Deputy Inder:** I can answer the last question first. In the main you can imagine that this Committee does not go looking for creating positions. Most of the positions that are mentioned, and in response to Deputy Queripel's Rule 14 questions, are purely statutory. They are things that we have to do.

815 On the matter of the current 300 aircraft, I did mention, I think it was in my last update on the aviation update, that there are challenges to some of those 300 aircraft in terms of the cost of management. There is a general aviation meeting that we have been invited to and I think it is happening at the end of next month. Myself and Deputy Moakes are going to start that engagement to see how long we maintain those 300 under 1,700kg aircraft, I believe is the figure. But I cannot give you an update. So there is no guarantee that those 300 may be maintained. We may be changing the approach to something that is a little bit more business- and profit-focused.

820 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Trott.

Deputy Trott: Thank you, madam.

825 Deputy Inder quite rightly referenced the forthcoming Moneyval visit, so this question I believe
is of fundamental importance to our major industry. Are the President and his Committee satisfied
that sufficient resources are in place to facilitate and therefore help ensure that positive outcomes
from that inspection can be anticipated? And, if he is not, what does he need from this Assembly to
ensure that they are?

830 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Thank you for the question, Deputy Trott.

835 Under our mandate, it is fairly clear that the registry itself was potentially a fail point. It contains
a lot of data there and fairly quickly we had to move on what would normally be a BAU IT project
and we are trying to fast track that in some way, and working with Policy & Resources, of course,
we do not have the money.

840 In terms of the other question, with reference to resources, I am getting every indication from
an officer level that we are properly resourced with the right people in place. But, and I do not mean
this in a tricky way, if, as Deputy Trott is the chair of Guernsey Finance, and he thinks via other means
that we might need more resourcing – as the chair of Guernsey Finance, I would really like to hear
from him separately. If there are things that we are not sighted on, please come and tell us. We are
here to get through this properly for the betterment of this Island. And my door is always open.

Thank you.

845 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Thank you.

850 With regard to the Aircraft Registry, Deputy Inder has referred to the review having been
completed and this has come up on a number of occasions following statements in this Assembly,
that some information would be provided to Members about the risk reward/cost benefit of the
Aircraft Registry. One concludes therefore that the Committee has concluded that it is of net benefit
to the economy, to the community, that the Aircraft Registry continues.

855 My question therefore is, based on the responses previously given by Deputy Inder, is it intended
to provide some information to Members about the output from that review that enables us to have
the reassurance that there is a net benefit to us from that work?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

860 **Deputy Inder:** Yes, I can small 'c' commit to that. I do not know what kind of commitment that
is, Deputy St Pier, but I think, as I said in the response previously, the big challenge is we know we
have got 300 aircraft, the on and off market is the easiest bit – and actually it was not designed by
Guernsey, it almost came by accident. So actually the real reason the registry was set up would have
actually failed. That is the truth of it. But we do have 300 aircraft of varying sizes of which, as I
865 mentioned, we are having that discussion with.

So I will give a commitment to a general update but I am not going to give a commitment to
the specifics because there may be confidentiality I am just not aware of.

Thank you.

870 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: I have got more than one question but I will start with Deputy Inder mentioned
Leale's Yard, which brought back bittersweet memories for me because when I was on the DPA with
Deputy Oliver, we actually said yes to a package and then another package by an outstanding
875 architect was delivered to us.

But my question is: is Economic Development working with other Committees on this to ensure we get a mixture of community centres, environmental space, housing – aspirational and social – and possibly office and retail development? It needs to be holistic, rather than just all one.

880 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Inder..

Deputy Inder: All I can say is, I was taken along with Deputy Lindsay de Sausmarez and shown a presentation of an outline idea of what is going on in Leale's Yard. Now, I think, and this is part of my problem with this, I just wish sometimes ... I am not entirely sure why we have got politicians
885 anywhere near planning any more, to be perfectly frank with you.

If we have planners and a policy to match applications against, within reason, I just do not like the idea of politicians just getting their colouring crayons out and deciding that they want a community centre in that corner, four trees in that corner and the height of buildings. I think we are getting on to that exact discussion on the Development Agency.

890 So, in short, what I was given was in confidence and what worries me is we have still got politicians who think they should be there painting the dado rails and choosing the kitchen colours.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Oliver. (*Interjections*)

895 **Deputy Oliver:** Would the President agree with me that Leale's Yard has been done in accordance with the Development Framework, that has been out for consultation and agreed by the public and the Committee?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

900

Deputy Inder: Well, I hope so, because the meeting I was drawn in, I assumed, from what we saw so far – I am not a planning expert by any stretch of the imagination ... I hope so, madam. And to you, Deputy Oliver, ultimately it is your decision, as I explained to the private investors that were there. That decision to get that through will be down to the five names on the DPA.

905 I just hope, as I said in my statement, you make some very quick decisions for the betterment of this Island because our single issue in this Island is housing, housing, housing. If we do not deliver with that, I can tell you now we are looking at managed decline. It is as serious as that. GST will be a sideshow.

910 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Than you, madam.

Retail in Town is on its knees, with very few shoppers plying the streets. Given the fact that Economic Development invested £300,000 over a three-year period in retail, many are very
915 disappointed with the results so far. So, what new efforts are being brought forward in terms of public activities and other measures to exert change to a desperate situation?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

920 **Deputy Inder:** From Economic Development's point of view, and I cannot remember if Deputy de Lisle voted for that £280,000 spend over the three-year period when he was a Member of the Committee.

Deputy de Lisle: No, I did not.

925

Deputy Inder: He did not. Okay. I did not think he would, but I thought I would seek greater clarification!

Again, this is almost similar to the question we had before. I just do not think we are in a position of playing SimCity, or SIM strategy for that matter. Ultimately we have committed an amount of money to the retail sector, of which I assume Deputy de Lisle's other business is a member of, and it is entirely up to the to deliver their retail strategy.

How many times do politicians – and I cannot think of one Member of our Committee who has got any experience in retail whatsoever, with the exception of golf balls with Deputy Vermeulen ... (Laughter) Why wouldn't we hand it to the retail sector to deliver their future? The only advice I can give to Deputy de Lisle is, if he has concerns with it, he must take it up with the Guernsey Retail Group.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Thank you, madam.

Just seeking clarity on Deputy Inder's previous answer to Deputy Oliver and wondering if he could specify which Members of the DPA, past or present, specified the colour of a dado rail or kitchen and on which application?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder, you do not have answer that one if you do not want to. I think it is beyond your mandate. It is up to you. I will take that as a no.
Deputy Matthews.

Deputy Matthews: Thank you, madam.

The President mentioned in his update the industry-led working group that has been working on low-value debt relief and is moving onto personal bankruptcy. I have been involved with that working group, standing in to a large extent for Deputy Helyar, and have been incredibly impressed with the professionalism and expertise in that working group. I think it is making very good progress. It may be an unglamorous sort of area of policy development but I was absolutely shocked when Citizens' Advice told me that Guernsey is one of the few places in the world that did not have personal bankruptcy.

Would the President agree with me that this is a positive example of getting on with things and making progress that we maybe need to publicise sometimes?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: I do not disagree at all. I think I said too, in the exchange with Deputy St Pier, what I did not want to do in this statement was talk about all effectively the fluff of making us look good as politicians, because that ultimately is not our job to tell everyone we are brilliant. We are not always brilliant.

But often when we are brilliant, we are not always aware of the background work. So it is the Trade Policy Forum work. We have got quiet officers with quiet politicians, getting on doing the work. We have got Deputy Moakes on the Financial Services Forum. He is actually leading the credit, the low value – I never get the words right – that area. I think it was inspired, actually, initially by Citizens' Advice. They had some kind of manifesto for it in the election. Whether that was taken on board by this Committee or was just started on the previous Committee, I cannot remember, so I am not going to lay claim with it.

But I think Deputy Matthews is entirely right. We talk a lot about this stuff that makes us feel good but we do not always see is a lot of the good work that is going on in the background and those two examples made by Deputy Matthews are classic examples where good work has been done by good people to benefit everyone.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

980 **Deputy Burford:** Thank you, madam.

With respect to the runway extension – and I am sure Deputy Inder would have been disappointed had I not asked a question on this – it would appear that the evidence from similar jurisdictions would show that, with the introduction of a low-cost carrier, there is a tendency for more money, spending, to actually leave the jurisdiction than to arrive in terms of new money. Can the President just tell me if that aspect will be investigated as part of their business case?

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

990 **Deputy Inder:** This has been tried before, inasmuch as, if I remember, in the previous debate there was a sort of fairly sketchy letter that came from one of the low-cost carriers, which I think was torn apart by Deputy Trott, I seem to remember, in that debate. No carrier, and I am not in this game inasmuch as I am not going to write or ask our Committee to write to anyone and give them a guarantee that, if the extension of the runway, it will do this. Anyone who stands up in this States and says that is basically entirely disingenuous.

995 So to answer your question, I will not stand here and say, 'If we do this, airlines one, two, three and four will do this and a frequency of that.' I am just not going to do it and I will not get caught in that trap, either.

1000 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Gabriel.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, madam.

Could the President update the Assembly on the status of Visit Guernsey or any tourism strategy that the Economic Development Committee might be involved in?

1005 Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

1010 **Deputy Inder:** There are two sorts. I have got a bit of an apology. I kept using the word tourism strategy when I said I was bringing a policy letter to the States. Actually, the truth is that we are bringing a product development strategy. So this is about the product development. We have got millions and millions of pounds being poured into our hostelry work at the moment, including peripheral events and activities. Millions of pounds. It is the most I have seen since, probably, I am going to say Novotel, or something like that, and previously before that I think was the Grand Mare.

1015 So if I can talk generally, I believe we are under obligation to reflect on the fact that our Guernsey product is fairly tardy. It is not reflecting the investment going into the Island and I think, between the work that we have done so far working with Environment & Infrastructure, bits of STSB – who else have we spoken to? Deputy Victoria Oliver on the DPA – the idea of that bit is to at least tie future Committees into a tourism product development policy letter. So that is that bit.

1020 On the other side, which is the marketing part, which is just effectively business as usual, what we have done is we have included the actual sector itself in this working group and it is called the Tourism Recovery Task Force at the moment. The work for the marketing of Guernsey over 2022 has been submitted to that group for discussion and, by all intents and purposes, the entire change at the top of Visit Guernsey that we implemented in the first two or three months was entirely the right thing to do. Because nothing is being imposed on the industry. The industry is being taken

1025 with them for future promotional activity.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Haskins.

1030

Deputy Haskins: Thank you, madam.

Deputy Inder mentioned there are no aircraft registered by those who are on the Russian sanctions list. May I ask the President if there are aircraft registered by Russians who are not on the list? Bearing in mind, does he appreciate that the list of those on the sanctions list may well be expanded?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: I have got to be careful what I say. It is a fact, of the 300 aircraft on the list, none of them are owned by the current sanctioned. If that is then expanded and it is the case that someone with a Russian-sounding name might be on that list then of course the sanctions will be imposed. But we are not in the business of looking beyond the named people and applying the sanctions in a formal way. But it is a fact, and this has been affected by other areas in the finance industry, that sanctions are a fairly blunt tool. They do sometimes affect people they are not meant to. But I do not have an awful lot of sympathy for that at the moment.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy St Pier.

Deputy St Pier: Thank you, madam.

Deputy Inder will be aware that a number of the players in the cannabis industry felt that the rules of the game were moved with the execution of the Memorandum of Understanding. Rightly or wrongly they believe that is the case. Is Deputy Inder able to give the Assembly any further information from his Committee and his Committee's mandate as to whether any of the perceived road blocks that some of those players felt they had encountered, whether those have been or are being removed and enabling them to do what they thought they were able to do?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: The easy answer to that is for me to say that is not under my mandate and sit down. But I am not going to. We have worked very hard, because Economic Development, those who beat a path to our door, saw the word 'economic' and saw 'development' and assumed that it was. As I have explained on numerous occasions, in reality, it is HSC, a bit of Home and, probably to a degree, a bit of Planning.

But to answer his question, he has been involved, through you, madam, Deputy St Pier has been involved in a number of conversations but what I can say – and the conversation has been moved on somewhat and one of the sticking points is I understand a paper is going to the HSC Committee to make a determination on that and that is entirely in their gift, not in ours at all.

But I will say that I am not entirely sure that some members who are involved in the cannabis industry actually knew what the MOU was, when they asked us and all the hundreds of hours of work to get this in place, through the cultivation licences, on to the MOU ... I am not entirely sure some members of that group actually knew what they were asking for.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Blin.

Deputy Blin: Thank you, madam.

Please could I ask the President to answer, I understand that you have been conducting a review for Visit Guernsey, you have had consultants working on it. The question I have is how far is this review and when will it be coming to us, bearing in mind the season is coming round?

Deputy Inder: The States are not going anywhere near it. I can tell you that for free. What we do not do is bring brochures to the States, asking them to choose whether it is pink, blue or green. We used to do that back in the old Guernsey Tourist Board. But what we are doing and this is entirely under our mandate, entirely in our gift and not for the Assembly – to answer your question

Deputy Blin, through you, madam – I think what you are asking is you are talking about the DMO, but it was not a very clear question. That is the Destination Management Organisation.

The review has been completed. It is a fact that one of our officers has been ill and the other one is on leave at the moment, but we are expecting – the leads on it certainly, myself and Deputy Vermeulen – to see it first. It will then go to the Committee and the Committee will make a determination whether we believe that that work is good enough.

But what I will say again, Deputy Blin, is that even though there has been a review, we cannot move and what I assume ... we must move from a bad place to a good place. I am not moving what is a hugely important part of our industry from one bad place into another bad place. So whatever the out-turn is, it had better be good, it had better be right for Guernsey or it will not move anywhere.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

This is now, I would suggest, the last of the questions because that is 20 minutes.

Deputy Gollop: It will have to be a good question then!

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, so please make it a good question!

Deputy Gollop: Deputy Inder talked passionately about the possibility of managed decline, without more housing, for example. Will his Committee work with Policy & Resources, and to a degree Planning, on looking at delivering aspirational houses for the younger population and improved small business enterprise and career choices, to ensure that we do not have a UK seaside town-type demographic population?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: I do not want to be too unkind, again, to Deputy Gollop, but I have always maintained – and we have spoken privately and I can say it publicly – there is always a danger that Guernsey could end up looking like a Peacehaven retirement home or even, possibly, like Alderney. There is nothing more serious for us, as all of us, to deal with. We need to deal with key-worker housing; and key-worker housing is not just nurses – it is police and other staff. We need somewhere for the high-paying data analysts to live – those with a low footprint. We need places for accountants and professional services.

Now, there was an offer there by Deputy Ferbrache, and I am going to give that challenge to him because he has sat on HAG for a year-and-a-half or so and I think Deputy Roffey has as well, as has Deputy de Sausmarez, as has the DPA. Bring something to the States and if we have got to find ways of moving those current 700 private applications, I believe that is, that are hanging around, have not been built, then we have to start moving it on quickly.

I do not want to overplay it, because I am just about to, what really concerns me is in the Tax Review it made this slightly wild claim that there was an 11% decline in the working population over a period of time. I never believed that in the slightest because, of course, the Population Management Law is entirely agnostic to population law.

But we have a PIPR policy letter coming to the States, and if this States decides it wants to keep Guernsey to a certain static population and will not deal with those who are working, this Island is in trouble. It is that serious. Population first, tell me what they are, tell me what they are going to be and then find somewhere to live. It is that serious, Deputy Gollop. There is no fun and games any more and it is not funny.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, Deputy Inder.

Deputy St Pier: Madam, may I raise a point of order?

I know that it is not possible to raise points of order under questions.

The Deputy Bailiff: I do not believe it is, Deputy St Pier, I am afraid. So I am afraid you will not be able to raise that.

Questions for Oral Answer

SCRUTINY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Transport links – Full public review and project; re-evaluation of 2016 air links review; Government reorganisation

1140 **The Deputy Bailiff:** We now turn to the Rule 11 questions put by Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Thank you very much, Madam Deputy Bailiff.

I will have at least one supplementary to this. My first question to Deputy Burford is: will the Scrutiny Management Committee be considering a full public review and project considering the Bailiwick's external transport needs and aspirations for local passengers and the visitor economy?

1145

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you, madam.

In the SMC statement on 16th February, I outlined our work programme for the remainder of 2022. This will comprise reviews of the GCRA and of the Agilisys contract, continued scrutiny of the implementation of the GWP and a full programme of hearings with States' Committees. This is in addition to any work the SMC may be obliged to undertake as a result of the options being presented to the Assembly in April, regarding the COVID-19 review.

1150

Therefore, I can confirm that we do not currently intend to review air or sea transport links for Guernsey or Alderney this year. However, the Committee understands the importance of this issue, in particular sea links, and depending on progress on these matters from the responsible Committees, it may form part of a future programme of work.

1155

1160 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Supplementary question, Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: Yes, I am of course President of the Transport Licensing Authority. But my supplementary question is: even today we have heard that there is progress being made on the States' involvement, maybe, in a new passenger Ro-Ro vessel, and there was announcement last week, I understand, that the pattern sometimes of paying Merchant Navy crew on car ferries below minimum wage standards is being significantly looked at by Jersey and the United Kingdom.

1165

In view of that, should we not accelerate a review of the environment of our sea transport links?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

1170

Deputy Burford: Thank you, madam.

I just refer to my original answer that the Scrutiny Committee does not feel that it is a review that they wish to undertake at the present time; but of course that does not prevent other parts of the States looking into this particular issue if they feel it is immediate and pressing. Thank you.

1175 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Vermeulen.

Deputy Vermeulen: Could I ask Deputy Burford why Scrutiny were going to look into freight movements into the Island and then parked it?

1180 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you.

Yes, it was not actually freight movements in particular, it was sea links. I gave the reason in my update last month as to why we parked it, which was that it was one of the initial ideas at the start of the Committee but then we had discussions with Policy & Resources who advised that they were in a crucial phase of negotiations regarding sea links. It was decided that it would not be appropriate at that time, mainly because most of the information would not be able to be put into the public domain in any case. So we agreed to put it further down our priority list.

1185 I think it is quite likely it is something that we will get to in this political term, however, given its importance overall.

1190 **The Deputy Bailiff:** If there are no further supplemental questions, Deputy Gollop your second question.

1195 **Deputy Gollop:** Back in 2016 the then States' Scrutiny Committee reviewed air transport links for both Guernsey and Alderney. Will this work stream be re-evaluated and updated?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

1200 **Deputy Burford:** Thank you, madam.

As advised in my previous answer, the Scrutiny Management Committee does not currently intend to review air transport policy this year. When an air and sea links policy letter comes to the Assembly, this will be considered by the SMC in the normal manner. Should the Committee at some stage conduct a review into air links, the previous review would form part of the relevant information considered as part of such a review.

1205 **Deputy Gollop:** A supplementary?

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, Deputy Gollop.

1210 **Deputy Gollop:** Bearing in mind I too have had a long connection with Alderney, and Alderney has perhaps unwittingly been in the news again recently, with the scenario suggested of becoming a centre – without consultation – on asylum seekers, is it not important that we look very much at the air links and the sea links to Alderney, in particular, and examine those issues?

1215 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you.

Yes, of course it is important that we consider the transport arrangements for all of the Bailiwick and I am quite sure that in any review we undertook we would be very mindful of that fact.

1220 **The Deputy Bailiff:** If there are no further supplementary questions, Deputy Gollop would you pose your third question?

1225 **Deputy Gollop:** Thank you.

Will the Scrutiny Management Committee be inputting ideas into any reorganisation of our system of government especially with regard to co-ordination of Departments responsible for aspects of external transport policy, infrastructure and regulatory oversight?

1230 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you.

1235 The Scrutiny Management Committee will be making a submission to the Machinery of Government Review. Our primary focus, as you might expect, will be on the issue of scrutiny within our parliament. However, the Committee have not yet discussed this issue in detail, so I am unable to advise Deputy Gollop as to the full extent of the Committee's submission.

The Deputy Bailiff: Supplementary question, Deputy Gollop.

1240 **Deputy Gollop:** Whilst I agree that your primary focus should be on the issue of scrutiny and legislative scrutiny too, I would expect that a Scrutiny Management Committee – bearing in mind your interest and expertise of the Government Work Plan and committee dialogues – would have a valid opinion as to how you best think Government should be reorganised.

1245 So I ask: will you be putting a think tank-type review into the group that is being chaired, I think, by Deputy Soulsby, as to your conclusions about the pros and cons of our current structure?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you.

1250 I agree with Deputy Gollop that it is a much more wide-ranging issue than just how Scrutiny might be organised and this is something that the Committee will be discussing as a committee. I am quite sure that we will want to look at it in the round, as well as concentrating on our particular area of expertise.

Thank you.

1255

The Deputy Bailiff: It appears there are no further supplementary questions. States' Greffier, we move on to the next matter.

Billet d'État VI

ELECTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Appointment of two Ordinary Members of the Office of the Financial Services Ombudsman – Mr Antony Townsend and Mr Robert Girard appointed

1260 **The Deputy Greffier:** Appointments laid before the States. Appointment of an Ordinary Member of the Office of the Financial Services Ombudsman and a second appointment laid of the same.

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

**1. Election of an Ordinary Member
of the Guernsey Financial Services Commission –
Mr Stuart King elected**

Article 1.

The States are asked to decide:

Whether, after consideration of the Policy Letter entitled "Election of Mr Stuart King as an Ordinary Member of the Guernsey Financial Services Commission", dated 18th January 2022, they are of the opinion:-

To elect Mr Stuart King as an ordinary member of the Guernsey Financial Services Commission for a three year term with effect from 1 April 2022.

The Deputy Greffier: Elections, Article 1, Policy & Resources Committee – election of Mr Stuart King as an Ordinary Member of the Guernsey Financial Services Commission.

1265 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Ferbrache: Madam, there is nothing to add.

Mr King obviously has a very impressive CV and I would ask that the election is completed

1270 **The Deputy Bailiff:** It does not appear that anybody wishes to debate this matter, so therefore I will put the Proposition to the Chamber. Those who support the election of Mr Stuart King say Pour; those against?

Members voted Pour.

The Deputy Bailiff: That Proposition is passed.

**Procedural –
Motion to Debate Appendix Report –
Proposition carried**

The States are asked:

To resolve, pursuant to Rule 20 of the Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation, to debate the Appendix to Billet d'État No. VI of 2022

1275 **The Deputy Greffier:** Motion to debate an Appendix Report, the Development & Planning Authority, Island Development Plan – Annual Monitoring Report 2020.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle.

1280 **Deputy de Lisle:** I wish to place this motion to debate the IDP Appendix Report. I am not sure how far I can go at this point in terms of making the points but my interest in placing the motion to debate the IDP Appendix Report on monitoring for 2019 and 2020 was in relation to the loss of agricultural land in the Island to domestic gardens and other uses. Since the adoption of the IDP in 2016, over 350 vergées of land have been given approval to change use from agricultural land to domestic gardens and other uses.

1285 The other issue that sparked my attention was that, whilst the Agricultural Priority Area
designation prioritises agricultural use, outside the APAs there is no such policy protection. The
intention being to allow other legitimate uses and the protection of agriculture is not there. Now,
these are fundamentally important parcels of land that are used in most cases by the agricultural
1290 industry but with no protection against the change of use to other uses in terms of their agricultural
potential.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy de Lisle have you identified the reasons why you wish to put this
motion to debate or, if there are still more reasons, why you wish to bring this forward?

1295 **Deputy de Lisle:** Well, I must say that there are other subjects discussed within the IDP Appendix
Report, such as housing and visitor accommodation, that would also be of interest to Members to
debate this particular Report. I think a lot of time has been invested, madam, with respect to all the
details that are provided in it and it seems to me that it is fundamentally important that the States
have the opportunity to discuss and debate what has been found with regard to the deliberations
1300 of the Department through the years since 2016, with particular focus on what has transpired in the
years 2019 and 2020.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, Deputy de Lisle.
And you formally second that, Deputy Gollop?

1305 **Deputy Gollop:** Yes.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

1310 **Deputy Gollop:** Could I speak now?

The Deputy Bailiff: No, you may not, I am afraid, Deputy Gollop. Nor may anybody else. It is
only limited now to the President of the DPA. Unfortunately she seems to have absented herself in
relation to the speaker on this motion. Is the Vice-President of the DPA able to ...? Any other
1315 Members of the DPA who are able to speak in relation to this motion? *(Laughter and interjections)*
Yes, Deputy Murray.

Deputy Murray: I just want to say I have not seen her.

1320 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Right, thank you. Any Members of the DPA who are able to speak in relation
to the motion? **(A Member:** Deputy Dyke.) Deputy Dyke? Oh, Deputy Blin.

Deputy Blin: I cannot speak but shall I just quickly grab –?

1325 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Well, we do not normally have a recall service for Deputies who are not in.
I am hoping that she might hear the sound of my voice and understand that she should be sitting
in the Chamber.

A Member: She is back.

1330 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Thank you. *(Interjection by Deputy Oliver)*

Yes, you are, Deputy Oliver. I am presuming that you wish to respond in relation to the motion
to debate put forward by Deputy de Lisle, seconded by Deputy Gollop; and as the President of the
DPA, in relation to the Appendix to which the motion is sought, you have the right of reply before
1335 we go to vote.

Deputy Oliver: Thank you, madam.

Originally the Committee wanted to put this forward as an Appendix and because it is a backwards-looking document and it cannot be changed, I will abstain and I will let the Assembly decide whether they will be wanting to speak on this or not.

The Deputy Bailiff: Right. There we are. The motion put forward by Deputy de Lisle and seconded by Deputy Gollop is a motion to debate the Appendix in relation to the Island Development Plan Annual Monitoring Report of 2020. Deputy Queripel?

Deputy Queripel: Madam, could we have a recorded vote, please?

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, we may. Greffier, if you would ...?

There was a recorded vote.

Carried – Pour 15, Contre 11, Ne vote pas 4, Absent 9

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy St Pier	Deputy Soulsby	Deputy Dyke	Deputy Taylor
Deputy Blin	Deputy Vermeulen	Deputy Murray	Deputy Trott
Deputy Burford	Deputy Aldwell	Deputy Oliver	Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy Cameron	Deputy Brouard	Alderney Rep. Snowdon	Deputy Helyar
Deputy de Lisle	Deputy Bury		Deputy Inder
Deputy de Sausmarez	Deputy Fairclough		Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Falla	Deputy Haskins		Deputy Matthews
Deputy Ferbrache	Deputy Le Tocq		Deputy Parkinson
Deputy Gabriel	Deputy Mahoney		Alderney Rep. Roberts
Deputy Gollop	Deputy McKenna		
Deputy Leadbeater	Deputy Moakes		
Deputy Meerveld			
Deputy Prow			
Deputy Queripel			
Deputy Roffey			

The Deputy Bailiff: There voted Pour 15, Contre 11, abstained 4, and there were 9 absences. So the motion is carried and this matter will now be debated at point 11 on the Order Paper.

LEGISLATION LAID BEFORE THE STATES

**The Health Service (Payment of Authorised Appliance Suppliers)
(Amendment) Regulations, 2021;**

The Health Service (Payment of Authorised Suppliers) (Amendment) Regulations, 2021;

The Health Service Fund (Closure and Miscellaneous Amendments) Regulations, 2021;

**The Health Service (Pharmaceutical Benefit and Medical Appliances)
(Amendment) Regulations, 2021;**

The Health Service Benefit (Miscellaneous Provisions) Regulations, 2021;

The Parochial Elections (St Peter Port) Regulations, 2022

The Deputy Greffier: Legislation laid before the States: 167/2021 – The Health Service (Payment of Authorised Appliance Suppliers) (Amendment) Regulations, 2021; 168/2021 – The Health Service (Payment of Authorised Suppliers) (Amendment) Regulations, 2021; 170/2021 – The Health Service Fund (Closure and Miscellaneous Amendments) Regulations, 2021; 171/2021 – The Health Service (Pharmaceutical Benefit and Medical Appliances) (Amendment) Regulations, 2021; 175/2021 – The

Health Service Benefit (Miscellaneous Provisions) Regulations, 2021; 2/2022 – The Parochial Elections (St Peter Port) Regulations, 2022

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

LEGISLATION FOR APPROVAL

COMMITTEE FOR HOME AFFAIRS

2. The Police Force (Bailiwick of Guernsey) (Amendment) Law, 2021 (Commencement) Ordinance, 2022 – Proposition carried

Article 2.

The States are asked to decide:

Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Police Force (Bailiwick of Guernsey) (Amendment) Law, 2021 (Commencement) Ordinance, 2022", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.

1360 **The Deputy Greffier:** Article 2, Committee for Home Affairs – The Police Force (Bailiwick of Guernsey) (Amendment) Law, 2021 (Commencement) Ordinance, 2022.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

1365 **Deputy Prow:** Thank you, Madam Deputy Bailiff.

This Commencement Ordinance will provide amendments to the Police Force (Guernsey) Law, to allow visiting police officers from the UK and Jersey to operate in Alderney and Sark on the same basis as the Law provides for officers to operate in Guernsey. This is, of course, subject to the same requirement of the authorisation by the Bailiff. The Committee asks for the Assembly to support the commencement of this Amendment Ordinance.

1370

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Vermeulen.

1375 **Deputy Vermeulen:** I will second that.

The Deputy Bailiff: Okay, thank you. You do not really need to do that, but thank you.

It does not appear that anybody wishes to debate this matter, so we will put the matter to a vote. Those who support the Proposition indicate Pour; those against?

Members voted Pour.

1380 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Thank you.
That Proposition is passed.

COMMITTEE FOR HEALTH & SOCIAL CARE

**3. The Capacity (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Law, 2020
(Commencement) (Guernsey and Alderney) Ordinance, 2022 –
Proposition carried**

Article 3.

The States are asked to decide:-

Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Capacity (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Law, 2020 (Commencement) (Guernsey and Alderney) Ordinance, 2022", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.

The Deputy Greffier: Article 3, Committee for Health & Social Care – The Capacity (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Law, 2020 (Commencement) (Guernsey and Alderney) Ordinance 2022.

1385

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, madam.

1390

On behalf of the Committee for Health & Social Care and the team behind us and also the Law Officers and many other people from the Third Sector who have helped us get this piece of legislation to where it is today, we are very pleased to be presenting the Lasting Powers of Attorney Ordinance and the associated Commencement Ordinance, which will, if approved today, enable us to produce lasting powers of attorney to the Bailiwick from 1st April 2022.

1395

I have got a fair bit more to say but I think I will leave it there. I think the introduction of lasting powers of attorney is an important and much-appreciated development for the community and the Committee has received many inquiries about the progress of the Ordinance. I am delighted to be able to present this legislation to the States today and would encourage Members to approve the Ordinance.

Thank you.

1400

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.
Deputy Queripel.

Deputy Queripel: Madam, could I seek clarification, please?

1405

Deputy Brouard sounded like he was just laying both of them at the same time. Is that the case, because I want to speak on the lasting powers?

The Deputy Bailiff: You may clarify your position, Deputy Brouard, if it assists Deputy Queripel.

1410

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, madam.

Article 3 is for the Commencement Ordinance and this is the Commencement Ordinance, this is the order that we feel ... *[Inaudible]* more substantial powers will come in number 4.

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes.

1415

Deputy Queripel, do you wish to save your comments in relation to the next Proposition, in relation to the substantive Ordinance itself or do you wish to talk in relation to the commencement?

Deputy Queripel: The next one, madam. I thank Deputy Brouard for the clarification.

1420

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

It does not appear that anybody else wishes to debate this, so therefore I will put the motion to the Chamber, the Proposition in relation to the Capacity (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Law, 2020

(Commencement) (Guernsey and Alderney) Ordinance, 2022. Those who support the Proposition say Pour; those against?

Members voted Pour.

1425 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Thank you. That Proposition is passed.

COMMITTEE FOR HEALTH & SOCIAL CARE

4. The Capacity (Lasting Powers of Attorney) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Ordinance, 2022 – Proposition carried as amended

Article 4.

The States are asked to decide:

Whether they are of the opinion to approve the draft Ordinance entitled "The Capacity (Lasting Powers of Attorney) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Ordinance, 2022", and to direct that the same shall have effect as an Ordinance of the States.

The Deputy Greffier: Article 4, the Committee for Health & Social Care – The Capacity (Lasting Powers of Attorney) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Ordinance, 2022.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Brouard.

1430

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, madam.

1435

Much of what I said was in the last statement. We are very pleased, as a Committee, and on behalf of all those who have been supporting us, to get this particular piece through. It has been quite a challenge. It is quite a complex piece of legislation and we have worked very much hand in glove with the Greffe. In that work there has been acknowledgement that there are a few tweaks that we could put in, which would make the Law even better on commencement, and H.M. Comptroller is very kindly going to hopefully place an amendment shortly.

Thank you.

[Amendment.](#)

In the Capacity (Lasting Powers of Attorney) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Ordinance, 2022 –

(a) for section 1(8), substitute the following subsection – "(8) For the avoidance of doubt, a person may make both types of lasting power of attorney set out in section 22(1)(a) and (b) of the Law using the same relevant instrument.";

(b) after section 2(2), insert the following subsection – "(3) For the avoidance of doubt - (a) where a person ("B") is required to give consent for the purposes of the relevant instrument or to sign any other prescribed document for the purposes of this Ordinance – (i) B must sign the relevant instrument in the presence of a witness who is not an attorney for the purposes of that lasting power of attorney, and (ii) the witness must sign the relevant document in B's presence, (b) for the purposes of paragraph (a) "sign" in relation to B includes where a third person ("C") signs the relevant instrument in B's presence and at B's direction, (c) where C signs the relevant instrument in accordance with paragraph (b), B must – (i) acknowledge the signature in the presence of a witness who is not an attorney for the purposes of that lasting power of attorney, and (ii) that witness must sign the relevant instrument in B's presence, and (d) article 1(d) of the Electronic Transaction (Exemptions) Order, 2001 shall apply in relation to a relevant instrument or other prescribed document as it would apply to a power of attorney.";

(c) in section 4(9)(a) immediately after "notify", insert "P and";
(d) in section 4(11), after "this section", insert "and section 6";
(e) in section 17(1), after "this Ordinance)" insert "on a point of law";
(f) in section 20, after the definition of "long lease", insert the following definition – "'notify" means, subject to subsection (3)(b), giving notification of the required information in writing,";
(g) in section 21(1) – (i) after paragraph (a)(ii), insert the following subparagraph – "(iii) in the definition of "bankrupt", after paragraph (e), add the following paragraph – "(f) that an event, measure or procedure has occurred outside the Bailiwick in relation to the individual which corresponds as nearly as may be to any event, measure or procedure described in paragraphs (a) to (e),", and (ii) after paragraph (a), insert the following paragraph – "(b) for section 24(2), substitute the following subsection "(2) An individual who is bankrupt may not be appointed as A under a lasting power of attorney in relation to P's property and financial affairs– (a) where one or more of paragraphs (a) to (e) of the definition of "bankrupt" apply - (i) the declaration, appointment or order was made, or (ii) the composition, compromise or arrangement was entered into, (as may be applicable having regard to the definition of "bankrupt") less than 10 years before the appointment as A is made, and (b) where paragraph (f) of the definition of "bankrupt" applies, that individual has not been discharged from bankruptcy for the purposes of the law of the other jurisdiction outside the Bailiwick under which that individual was made bankrupt.", and re-letter paragraphs (b) and (c) of section 21(1) of the Ordinance as (c) and (d); and (h) after section 22, insert the following section –
"Extent. 23. This Ordinance shall have effect throughout the Bailiwick of Guernsey."

1440 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Can I invite H.M. Comptroller to place that amendment now, please?

The Comptroller: Madam, thank you very much indeed.

This is effectively a Law Officers' amendment, that is to say it is a technical amendment, which is consistent with the policy approved by the States, I think originally about 2016, or something, and
1445 it is intended by the amendment to give greater clarity and certainty to the legislation. As a Law Officers' amendment, usually both Law Officers would propose and second the amendment, but unfortunately, H.M. Procureur is indisposé at the moment and Deputy Brouard, as President of the sponsoring Committee, has kindly agreed to second the amendment, which I believe is supported by him and his Committee.

1450 As mentioned, it is a technical amendment. There are a number of them. They range from some avoidance of doubt provisions, which were inserted into the draft Ordinance; and another one, which amends the definition of bankrupt, for the purposes of the actual Capacity Law itself, which is an important matter because it ensures that those persons who have been declared bankrupt outside the Bailiwick are also covered within the definition of bankrupt for the purpose of the Law.

1455 There is an explanatory note which sets out an explanation in relation to each of the changes that are proposed to the draft Ordinance and also a bit of background. In those circumstances I would ask Members to vote in favour of the amendment.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, H.M. Comptroller.

1460 Deputy Brouard, do you formally second that?

Deputy Brouard: I do indeed, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Queripel.

1465

Deputy Queripel: Thank you, madam.

I rise briefly to speak on this amendment and in general debate at the same time. I will start by putting on record my appreciation and gratitude for all the efforts made by former Deputy and

advocate the late Roger Perrot, because it was he who alerted me to the complexities of this lasting powers of attorney issue, way back in 2012, when we were colleagues in the Assembly at that time.

I met up with him on three separate occasions to discuss the issue because I had several concerns about it and I needed to have those concerns allayed. Over the course of those three meetings, Mr Perrot managed to allay all of my concerns, and I thanked him sincerely for doing so. Because, up until then, I saw this whole issue as something of a minefield.

Now, unfortunately, Deputy Perrot and I lost touch when he retired from politics and then of course he sadly passed away not long after. So when I attended the Teams meeting held on this not so long ago, I had a question for one of our Law Officers present at the meeting and my question was: is this set out exactly as former Deputy and advocate the late Roger Perrot wanted? I was told in response to that question that the essence of all he had focused on had been put in place; and not only that, but I was always told we have more safeguards in place than they have in the UK.

So hearing that clinched it for me, madam, and all I am looking for now, from H.M. Comptroller when he responds, is an absolute assurance that that is still the case. In closing, madam, I ask for a recorded vote on the amendment, please.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

Deputy Gollop: I praise the good work of this Health & Social Care Committee and indeed its predecessor, Deputy Soulsby's, in bringing this to the Chamber and agree it is long overdue. I know agencies like the Citizens' Advice Bureau have been looking for its introduction. So have many people who care about others and the old laws, dating back really more to the parochial era were perhaps cumbersome.

Nevertheless, although we had the benefit of an excellent presentation that Health & Social Care facilitated on Teams and in person, there are still some grey areas. There are differences with the England and Wales legislation and there are subtleties. I am not entirely clear myself as to the distinction between where, I do not know, psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, general practitioners and approved professional social workers come into this.

I also think that, in some areas of capacity, to some it might be quite open and shut, but for others, less so. It might even be relative. I was bemusing myself with the scenario that if somebody who was generally homeless went around giving out, I do not know, alcohol and money to their friends at the end of a pier, that would be considered normative behaviour, albeit not everyone would approve. But if somebody who, I do not know, was a tycoon, or a senior lawyer or a chief minister did the same, people would say that was out of character.

So I think that there are curiosities with this and a lot of it is quite subjective, rather than objective; and there are curiosities in that people who wish to give lasting powers of attorney have to be deemed capable of giving that power before they are able to and if it is left too late then different rules come into play. I think this is the kind of thing that requires a lot more study and consideration, ideally.

So I am almost surprised that the commencement date is actually on 1st April, perhaps not the most sensible of dates in every respect, given its horrible nickname. But that is only actually less than 48 hours away. So that is cutting it fine, really, our approval. But we have approved it now. So I would like to see, really, much more information about this new Law available in workshops for the caring community, for the legal community and everyone else. I think it has been flagged up as happening but not everybody will be aware of how it is happening and the nuances of difference between it and other jurisdictions. But I do support the powers of attorney.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gollop, am I to take from what you have put in debate, that that is your general debate as well as your debate on the amendment?

Thank you.

Deputy Gollop: Yes, thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

1525 Anybody else wish to debate the amendment first? Deputy Matthews, are you going to speak on the amendment and general debate at the same time?

1530 **Deputy Matthews:** I was just going to speak to the amendment, actually, and it was really a very small part of a response to Deputy Queripel, and just to assure him that the Health & Social Care Committee was at pains to ensure that as many safeguards were put in place as possible. Part of this amendment is to add in a counter-fraud feature, which is based on the UK, where there have been some cases of property fraud – people have taken out an LPA fraudulently and activated it, and people have not known.

1535 This amendment actually covers that by saying that when it is activated there is an obligation for the Greffe to get in touch and let the grantor know it has been activated. Part of the reason for the amendment, and there are a number of other features like that in the legislation that I think will make it less prone to misuse than equivalent UK legislation.

Thank you.

1540 **The Deputy Bailiff:** It does not appear that anybody else wishes to speak on the amendment. H.M. Comptroller, I invite you therefore to reply in relation to the amendment itself, to the extent you wish to.

The Comptroller: Madam, I do not think I have anything I wish to say.

1545 I do apologise to Deputy Queripel because I think he asked me a question and I was concentrating on something else, a matter that somebody else had drawn to my attention, but I got to catch the gist of it –

1550 **The Deputy Bailiff:** I think he wanted reassurance that it was the same as the late Deputy Perrot had suggested should be in this sort of Law, and he wanted a reassurance if you were able to give that.

The Comptroller: Madam, it is not something that I have any knowledge about. I never discussed this matter with the late Deputy Perrot, so I cannot give that assurance.

1555 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Thank you.

We therefore vote on the amendment and Deputy Queripel has asked for a recorded vote, Greffier.

There was a recorded vote.

Carried – Pour 34, Contre 0, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 5

POUR

Deputy Soulsby
Deputy St Pier
Deputy Taylor
Deputy Trott
Deputy Vermeulen
Deputy Aldwell
Deputy Blin
Deputy Brouard
Deputy Burford
Deputy Bury
Deputy Cameron
Deputy de Lisle

CONTRE

None

NE VOTE PAS

None

ABSENT

Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy Helyar
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Mahoney
Deputy Parkinson

Deputy de Sausmarez
Deputy Dyke
Deputy Fairclough
Deputy Falla
Deputy Ferbrache
Deputy Gabriel
Deputy Gollop
Deputy Haskins
Deputy Inder
Deputy Le Tocq
Deputy Leadbeater
Deputy Matthews
Deputy McKenna
Deputy Meerveld
Deputy Moakes
Deputy Murray
Deputy Oliver
Deputy Prow
Deputy Queripel
Alderney Rep. Roberts
Deputy Roffey
Alderney Rep. Snowden

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

1560 There voted Pour 34, there were no Contre, there were no abstentions but there were 5 absentees. Therefore the amendment was carried.

We now go on to general debate in relation to the Proposition.

Deputy St Pier.

1565 **Deputy St Pier:** I should perhaps apologise, it was me who was distracting H.M. Comptroller with a question, having spotted what I think is a typo in section 17, a surplus 'and' which he assures me will be removed before the Law is published.

There is just one other minor technical question. Half-way down the explanatory note at the front of the papers that we have been given, it says:

... A is required to apply to Her Majesty's Greffier in person so that an initial capacity assessment is made on registration ...

1570 Section 3(2) on page 7 provides that:

An application ... must be made by P in person.

Not A. I just wanted to clarify whether I have understood that correctly, so whether the explanatory note is correct or not. So that is a question perhaps for H.M. Comptroller just to consider, whether the explanatory note is consistent with section 3(2).

1575 My main question for the Committee to respond to in the debate is really just a reassurance, I am sure they have considered it, that there are sufficient resources, capacity and skills within the Committee to investigate if required. So, section 9 of the legislation, on page 30, provides a power for the Committee to investigate if requested to do so by the Greffier, and it is really just in order for this Law to be effective – and clearly there needs to be appropriate skills, resources and capacity to discharge that section of the Law. I think for the record it would be useful to have the Committee's
1580 reassurance that that matter has been considered and they are able to discharge that section of the Law.

Thank you, sir.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

1585 Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: Thank you, madam.

I am delighted to see this Ordinance and the one previously that was passed in front of the States. It has been a long time in the making. I know, as I was involved from the beginning, with the legislation, firstly, as Deputy Minister at HSSD and then as HSC President. Absolutely critical piece of work to protect the most vulnerable in our society and something I know meant a lot to the previous Committee, who continually pushed for things to move when resources were taken away to deal with Brexit.

Just listening to Deputy St Pier there, I think where is the former Deputy Tindall when we needed her? She was absolutely forensic in her review of legislation and I am pretty sure that would not have got past her. But well done to Deputy St Pier for just picking that up.

Our work began in earnest in 2014. The original policy letter came to the States over a year later, indeed just as we were debating 'four schools or three'. And then we were considering policy matters four years later, when we were debating 'three schools or two'. It is a complex piece of work and I would like to thank all the organisations, individuals, Law Officers and staff who have shaped the legislation based on their knowledge and experience.

However, this is not the end but rather the beginning of the end, when it comes to bringing into effect Capacity Law. Indeed, actually I think it could be considered that this is relatively simple compared to the other elements that are still outstanding; and for that I mean we have advance decisions to refuse treatment, advance care plans and probably – and I am fairly certain on this – the most difficult being 'protective authorisation'. So it needs to be, as it is called in the UK, deprivation of liberty standards. They are all in the Law but not yet commenced.

So I would just like the President's assurance that these matters will be prioritised and to know whether he can advise timescales for completion of the outstanding legislation. But as I say, I am glad that eight years after we first started down this road, finally the community can start benefiting from Capacity Law.

The Deputy Bailiff: If nobody else wishes to take part in general debate on this Proposition, H.M. Comptroller, are you able to answer the questions that Deputy St Pier ...?

1615

The Comptroller: I am on this one, madam, yes.

The explanatory memorandum is wrong and I am grateful for –

The Deputy Bailiff: Is wrong?

1620

The Comptroller: – it is wrong. It should be P who is the grantor, so the grantor applies in person to register.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you for that clarification.

1625

Deputy Brouard, in reply.

Deputy Brouard: Thank you, madam.

I think I have just got four people to reply to and thank you for your support for the amendment. Deputy Queripel, yes, having sat next to the late Deputy Perrot for nearly four years, in fact I think we could have possible both of us gone off to the beach because we basically knocked each other out on nearly every single debate that we had. He was on one side, I was always on the other. But I am quite happy to say that it is the essence of what Deputy Queripel wanted; he wanted to get this through. We have put in slightly more safeguards than there were originally and are very pleased with that and I think that has been covered by Deputy Matthews.

1635

Deputy Gollop wanted much more information. There is a lot more information about now and I think if he looks on the Greffier's website, there is a whole list of information and forms that people can fill in and it goes through how the process works. But if Deputy Gollop wants any further help or assistance, we are happy to facilitate that. We have worked very closely with the Greffe, who will

be our main sponsors in bringing this forward, and they have put a lot of work and time into making sure everything is ready.

Deputy St Pier wanted the reassurance from the panel. The panel, if needed, is available and I give him that reassurance. I think we in fact discussed that the other day at Committee and we do have the resources available for that panel when it is needed.

I think Deputy Soulsby mentioned the other parts of the priority. We all have this difficulty, we would like to do everything now. We would like to get all our houses built now. We would like to have the Government Work Plan, the next stage done now. We all have to prioritise. We have prioritised this particular piece of the overall umbrella Capacity Law. The other items will be prioritised in their place with the other priorities that we also have and the resources from the Law Officers and, as Deputy Soulsby alluded, some of these things are very complicated and require quite a lot of thinking through as to how they are put into place.

So, unfortunately, I cannot give an assurance of any date or whatever it is. But just like everybody else, and P&R, we will have it in our priority list and will place it accordingly with the other demands. I thank you all very much this morning for your support for this first tranche.

Thank you very much.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Queripel, did you ask for a recorded vote on the Ordinance itself?

Deputy Queripel: I did not but I may as well, madam, please. Yes, thank you. *(Laughter)*

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, Deputy Queripel.

There was a recorded vote.

Carried – Pour 36, Contre 0, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 3

POUR

Deputy Soulsby
Deputy St Pier
Deputy Taylor
Deputy Trott
Deputy Vermeulen
Deputy Aldwell
Deputy Blin
Deputy Brouard
Deputy Burford
Deputy Bury
Deputy Cameron
Deputy de Lisle
Deputy de Sausmarez
Deputy Dyke
Deputy Fairclough
Deputy Falla
Deputy Ferbrache
Deputy Gabriel
Deputy Gollop
Deputy Haskins
Deputy Helyar
Deputy Inder
Deputy Le Tocq
Deputy Leadbeater
Deputy Mahoney
Deputy Matthews
Deputy McKenna
Deputy Meerveld
Deputy Moakes
Deputy Murray
Deputy Oliver

CONTRE

None

NE VOTE PAS

None

ABSENT

Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Parkinson

Deputy Prow
Deputy Queripel
Alderney Rep. Roberts
Deputy Roffey
Alderney Rep. Snowdon

The Deputy Bailiff: There voted Pour 36, there were 3 absentees. The Proposition is carried.

Billet d'État VII

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

1. States of Deliberation's response to the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine – Debate commenced

Article 1.

The States are asked to decide:

Whether, after consideration of the Policy Letter entitled "States of Deliberation's response to the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine" dated 22nd March 2022, they are of the opinion:-

1. To affirm that the States of Guernsey stands with other democratic parliaments, and governments, in condemning the unwarranted and unjust acts of aggression of the Russian Federation against the sovereign state of Ukraine and its people and that the States of Guernsey supports the government and people of Ukraine in their valiant struggle to remain free to determine their own future.

The Deputy Bailiff: Before I invite Deputy Ferbrache to speak about the Proposition in relation to the Ukraine, after discussing this with the proposers of the amendments, in terms of debate, we will debate the amendments and general debate at the same time because I think we have come to the conclusion that will make it a coherent debate, given the subject matter. So debate will be on both the amendments and the general debate at the same time.

Thank you, Deputy Ferbrache.

The Deputy Greffier: The Policy & Resources Committee – States of Deliberation response to the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine.

Deputy Ferbrache: Thank you.

Madam, on behalf of myself and I am sure all the Members of this Assembly, I am grateful for the opportunity to bring before the States of Deliberation for us to be able to debate on behalf of the citizens of the Bailiwick, a public pronouncement of its unequivocal and unreserved support to the magnificent and brave people of the Ukraine, in their fight against the would-be evil emperor Putin and his acolytes and supporters, in their vain attempt to create an evil empire. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

This Bailiwick does not possess armed vessels; it does not possess artillery; it does not have fighter and bomber planes; it does not have professional soldiers and airmen. But what this Bailiwick is, is a bastion of decency, integrity, freedom (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) and democracy, and in the people of Ukraine we recognise kindred spirits.

We recognise people who simply want their children to be able to go to school without their schools being at risk of being bombed and shelled. They want to be able for their elderly people to

live in peace and not in fear. They want to be able to celebrate in their theatres without being murdered in them. They want to be able to sleep, eat and live in their homes, without them being destroyed. They want to live in peace. They want to be free.

There is one main Proposition and I want everyone who is an elected Member of this Assembly to – and I repeat that phrase – unequivocally and unreservedly affirm this Resolution. Even those Members who cannot be here today for various reasons, I want them publicly and as soon as possible to affirm their support in favour of this Resolution. Because the Resolution shows that the States of Guernsey stands with other democratic governments in condemning the unwarranted and unjust acts of aggression of the Russian Federation, against the sovereign state of Ukraine and its people. Its brave and good people. And that the States of Guernsey supports the Government and people of Ukraine in their valiant and heroic struggle to remain free and determine their own future.

The war, this senseless act of murder and destruction, has commenced in Europe, where we hoped that there would be no more wars; and it has commenced since we last sat as a States of Deliberation. There is no justification for it. There is no provocation. It was the actions of an evil man, a war criminal, a man with no decency and no humanity. And that comment applies to his acolytes.

The invasion by the Russian Federation, a country with a population of over 144 million people, and with a massive military arsenal, with no respect for democracy or free speech, is the result of the decision of Putin and his closest advisers in his regime. He and they attacked a sovereign, peaceful and decent country with far less weapons. They attacked a peaceful country who just wanted to live in peace.

The people in Guernsey, and indeed in so many places in the world, have been horrified at the death and destruction caused by the invasion of the Russian Federation. A humanitarian crisis of no comparison since the Second World War, greater than even all the monstrosities committed in the former Yugoslavia, has been perpetrated as a result of the invasion.

For our community, it brings back strong echoes of our Occupation, perpetrated by another monster and war criminal. These Islands were occupied by an unwelcome invader from June 1940 to May 1945. Those of us born here, even after the Occupation, know all too well of the Occupation. My mother, at seven years of age, and her brother, my Uncle Richard, who was six, waited three times at Vauvert school until they were taken as frightened small children to England. Their sister, my Auntie Pam, who was less than the age of one at the time, and my maternal grandparents followed shortly thereafter.

That was the story of one family. So many other Bailiwick families have their own stories to tell. My father was 11 and his family stayed here, as my paternal grandparents were elderly, and a brother of my father was in the sanatorium suffering from TB. There are so many personal testimonials, family stories and still living memories of people packing hurriedly, taking only what they could carry. They had, like so many people in the Ukraine, to leave their homes and their normal lives to seek sanctuary elsewhere for an unknown length of time.

The poor people of the Ukraine are now 80 years on from that, and they are having to suffer the same experience. As the war continues, the number of people directly affected within Ukraine continues to grow and by the thousands daily. Latest figures for the UN migration agency, namely the International Organisation for Migration, indicate that an estimated 6.5 million people, that is men, women and children, in Ukraine, have been internally displaced. On top of that nearly 3½ million, and growing, have crossed international borders as refugees.

That, in total, is about a quarter of the population of Ukraine. According to UNICEF, at least 4.3 million children have been displaced by the war, of which 1.8 million have fled into neighbouring countries as refugees. Like my mother in June 1940. Two and a half million children are internally displaced in the Ukraine. This is almost a euphemism for saying that they have had to leave their homes, some of which have been bombed by Putin's soldiers and airmen. They have had to leave in terror and for fear of their lives. Those children have fear in their heart and fear in their eyes. Many have witnessed acts of horror that no one should ever see, such as a six-year-old child with shrapnel on his head, watching as his mother who was by him and burned to death by his side.

Ukraine has seven and a half million children, so more than half of its children have been displaced. Many, many more live in abject fear.

1740 This policy letter has just one purpose. It is for me and every Member of this Assembly, whether they are in this room today or they are outside of this room, to denounce the so many acts of aggression by the Russian Federation against the Ukraine. I am asking for a recorded vote. I believe and expect – and so will our own community – that it will be unanimous and unequivocal. I expect it to be. We are the epitome of a decent community and we must express our support for Ukraine and our condemnation of the acts of war committed against them. Our counterparts in the UK, 1745 Jersey and the Isle of Man have already had an opportunity to set out their parliamentary responses to the act of aggression. They did that earlier this month. This is our first opportunity.

Earlier this month, the UN General Assembly also adopted a resolution deploring the aggression against Ukraine in the strongest terms and demanding that the Russian Federation immediately end its illegal use of force. Well, they have done nothing to do that; and they will not, because they are 1750 monsters and they are bullies and they are aggressive murderers.

Just pausing to reflect that in the real world miracles do not happen often. But wouldn't it be fantastic if, instead of shooting themselves in the leg so they no longer have to fight, the Russian troops laid down their weapons? That they realised they are not saviours, but invaders and murderers. That the Russians withdraw their artillery. That they silence their guns. That they cease 1755 bombing and they leave the territory that they should never have entered in the first place.

I cannot over-emphasise that our debate today, and the approval of the original Proposition, would be an act of solidarity with parliaments and communities around the world; and most of all would shine like a beacon in recognition of the courage of the Ukrainian people. The policy letter is short and was deliberately drafted to include only one Proposition and a short summary of the situation at the time of its writing. The Committee's intention was and is to enable the States of 1760 Deliberation to express a fundamental point on the affront to democracy and self-determination that is taking place. Let the voice of this small group of Islands be heard loud and clear in support of this Proposition.

Now, there has emerged some amendments brought by Deputy St Pier, one seconded by Deputy 1765 Soulsby. It is to note the likely effect of the potential impacts of the war on commodity prices and supply chains and in turn on the Government Work Plan. I will second his other amendment, to introduce several new Propositions to recognise the work done by our Government so far, at the wish of our community, and the truly fantastic response of our community. I would just say in relation to the last Proposition that I know my good friend and colleague Deputy Prow will speak 1770 in relation to that amendment, that is Proposition 7 in relation to that amendment, and I support his comments.

There are many examples that we could all cite. I will mention just one. I was watching a national news programme – and I mention this is in relation to the community support and efforts made by our community. I was watching a national news programme when I saw Jason, the son of my good 1775 friends Rodney and Audrey Brouard driving a lorry, accompanied by others, filled with food and other items on its way to as near to the Ukraine as it could get.

The situation has changed so rapidly, so the policy letter does not outline all the topics in which the States of Guernsey engaged, in responding to the war in the Ukraine. So updates on this work will be provided in this debate. I understand Deputy Prow, as President of the Committee for Home 1780 Affairs, will speak on matters of immigration, population management and cyber security in his speech. I can genuinely say to him that this is one of his speeches that I look forward to.

Deputy Inder, the President of Economic Development Committee, will cover matters such as economic effects and supply chains in his speech. Thankfully his mother-in-law, who is from Odesa, is safely with Deputy Inder and his family in Guernsey.

1785 I will cover the sanctions which Guernsey, in lockstep with the UK, has implemented. Also the decision which has been taken to cease tax information exchange with Russia, and also the direction given to the States' Investment Board to divest itself of the small amount of Russian assets it held.

And of course also to mention the generous donation made to charities supporting the response to the humanitarian crisis made by P&R, but the money comes from the public.

1790 There has been extensive cross-Committee work on various elements of the response to the war, including in applying the UK Family Visa Scheme similar to that in the UK, and considering whether and in fact how to offer a Home for Ukraine scheme, similar to that in the UK. I can say that, in relation to the Family Visa Scheme, six families either have or will soon be welcoming 12 family members. I am sure there will be more. By Monday of this week there were well over 200 expressions
1795 of interest received from Bailiwick residents to host Ukraine families and work is continuing apace to prepare support and resources for those potential future arrivals. There is a web page on gov.gg where we have collated information on the Government's response to the war in Ukraine, including a Ukrainian translation of information relating to applying for a visa, under the Family Visa programme.

1800 I know comments have been made about the UK response, but our constitutional relationship is clear. We follow and act in line with the UK Government's foreign policy. We thus remain in lockstep with the UK's response to the war in Ukraine, as part of the globally co-ordinated response. The role that we play as part of the international community has been aligned with the UK's response to the Ukraine. Russia, its wretched supporter Belarus, and other nations as appropriate, are being pursued
1805 and we will follow the UK absolutely in our alignment with them.

The alignment with the UK's response is important when it comes to *all* important practical aspects of the administration of the response. As we say in the policy letter, since the start of the invasion on 24th February the P&R Committee and its officers have been working closely with other States' Committees and the wider States of Guernsey, as well as the other Islands in this Bailiwick and the wider community, to ensure we are and will continue to do all we can to support Ukraine
1810 and its people, and to help the international effort to apply pressure on Putin's regime and the Russian Federation, to end the war. That work is continuing and it is occurring under the existing Committee mandates and legislation and within our constitutional relationship with the UK.

I just want to say this so that the public can hear it. During my time as President of P&R we have had to deal with Brexit, we have had to deal with COVID and now the war in Ukraine. We, as a community, have been so well-served by our officers and I thank them publicly. (**Several Members:**
1815 Hear, hear.) Their work has been of the first order and we should remember that, both past in relation to their work in COVID and Brexit and the current work they are doing in relation to the Ukraine.

1820 The response to the war has been wide-ranging and implemented at pace. We all recognise the urgency and are undertaking the work with vigour, speed and determination. I have every confidence we will continue to take all necessary steps, as this horrible war continues.

Let me say a little more about sanctions. Generally, and in this instance, the Bailiwick automatically applies and implements UK sanctions. We have done so with alacrity. The UK's recent
1825 sanctions against Russia have automatic effect in the Bailiwick. Where necessary, P&R has made new regulations to ensure those sanctions are adopted, with very minor changes for the Bailiwick's domestic context. These include regulations to further restrict the ability for Russian securities to be traded, and for other money market instruments to be created. Regulations have also been made which prohibit the trade of military goods, certain dual use goods and critical industry goods; as
1830 well as the provision of technical assistance, financial services funding and brokering services in relation to those goods.

The acting Director of Civil Aviation has published new regulations meaning that no aircraft which is owned, chartered or operated by a person connected with Russia, or which is registered in Russian, is permitted to fly in our air space, or in relation to our territorial waters. The Bailiwick has
1835 also banned access to our ports for vessels registered in Russia or flying the Russian flag, as well as vessels owned, controlled, chartered or operated by any person connected with Russia or a designated person. Sanctions against named Russian companies and individuals remain in place, and those align with the UK. Regulated companies are informed directly when new sanctions are imposed.

1840 As I have said, we have suspended all forms of tax co-operation with Russia. Exchange of information for tax purposes is a tool used to combat tax evasion, profit shifting and to risk asses for potential tax avoidance. Suspending the ability of Russia to receive such information, to ensure that Russia cannot use that information to increase its tax revenues, is important.

1845 P&R also directed, as I have already said, the newly formed States' Investment Board, to begin divesting itself of any Russian investments. Investment advisors have indicated that the States of Guernsey holds a very small amount of indirect investment in Russian entities. Approximately 0.19% of the overall investments, totalling £3,342,000,000. That divestment is well on its way.

1850 P&R, on behalf of the people of Guernsey and Alderney, has given £½ million of public money to support Ukraine; this was announced on 2nd March. That donation reflects the strength of feeling and solidarity locally, for the people of Ukraine in these dark times. The donation was split equally between two organisations, the British Red Cross and the UK division of the UNHCR.

1855 Our community has been even more generous. So many local businesses have given, so many local charities have been established and so many community groups and individuals have donated in so many ways. I, not as Chief Minister, but as a Guernseyman and as a citizen, say to all of them, thank you very much and I am so very proud of you.

1860 What to the future? In real life, not too many Davids beat Goliaths. An old boxing saying was 'a good big 'un will always beat a good little 'un.' Here we have a bad big 'un and a very good little 'un. And how the little 'un is fighting. With courage and truly magnificently. Ukrainian David is bloodying Russian Goliath's nose every single day. It has made Putin have to change his tactics – even with his world web of no giving information, and total propaganda; and, albeit with silent voices at the moment, to start beating a retreat.

1865 But so many Ukrainians have died or been wounded or displaced. So much damage has been done to the fabric of their country. When this bloody war eventually ceases, so much help will be needed to restore Ukraine, in so many ways. We, like others, must be prepared to assist fulsomely. After the end of World War Two, these Islands were bankrupt. We benefited so much from the help given to us by the UK, who themselves had suffered so badly.

1870 I started by commenting on Putin and his regime. Who would have anticipated, in the 22nd year of the 21st century, we would have a war in Europe? That we would have a sovereign, decent and peaceful country invaded by Putin. I stand no truck with those who say Ukraine has only been a sovereign state again since 1991. So what? Over centuries, this country was trampled upon by so many would-be evil emperors and empires.

1875 I stand no truck with those saying this is a battle between cousins. I have very many cousins, some I do not like, particularly, but I have never had any wish to blow up their homes and their hospitals, to kill 300 people in a theatre in Mariupol, to kill women, to kill children. President Zelenskyy is correct when he says the Kremlin is waging a war of annihilation. How can that be argued against by whatever apologists for Putin? How can anyone justify that people in Mariupol are lying dead in the streets? The city has been bombed and shelled incessantly. People having no food, water or electricity, having to drink from the sewers.

1880 The Russians have been trampling on the Ukraine and bringing all hell with them. How can Putin and his acolytes justify the terror they have caused to children? *Children*. I saw one news piece where Ukrainian children suffering from cancer had to be vacated from their hospital to another country. Their treatment had been interrupted and a cancer doctor said that meant some of them would die as a result of their dislocation. *Children*.

1885 I have seen, as we have all seen, the absolute terror in the eyes of children. That is happening in Europe in the 21st century. One day I hope, and as soon as possible, that the war will end. Like most of our wartime refugees, most Ukrainian people will want to return home as soon as it is safe to do so. At that time, as the same time as our Liberation in May 1945, there will be the joy of families reunited and the sorrow of those lost as a result of the conflict. The Ukraine people will face so many difficulties, but they have shown they are stoic, brave and frankly remarkable. They will reunite as a community once more.

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So I conclude by saying to my colleagues, pass the principal Resolution unequivocally and unreservedly. Vote against tyranny and oppression. Vote in favour of liberty, decency, freedom, democracy and the people of the Ukraine. *(Applause)*

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The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, Deputy Ferbrache.
I now invite Deputy St Pier, as the proposer of the amendment.

[Amendment 1](#)

To insert the following additional Propositions:

"2. To commend the generosity of the people of the Bailiwick in supporting the Bailiff's Fund and other charitable causes responding to the conflict.

3. To commend the decision of the Policy & Resources Committee, with the full support of the Overseas Aid & Development Commission, in donating £500,000 on behalf of the people of Guernsey from the contingency reserve, split equally between the British Red Cross and UK for UNHCR and noting that additional donations may be appropriate in due course.

4. To commend the actions taken by Policy & Resources Committee in the imposition of sanctions, divesting from Russian investments and the suspension of tax co-operation with the Russian Federation.

5. To note that in addition to the expression of support by the States of Guernsey in Proposition 1, as noted in paragraph 7.7, many members of the community wish to provide practical support to the people of Ukraine in any way they can, including, if possible, by providing sanctuary to those fleeing the conflict, having particular regard to the history of many of the Bailiwick's people seeking refuge in the United Kingdom in June 1940 ahead of the Occupation.

6. To commend the work to date of the Committees for Home Affairs, Education, Sport & Culture, Health & Social Care, Employment & Social Security, led and co-ordinated by the Policy & Resources Committee, with a view to developing coherent policy responses enabling the Ukrainian families of Guernsey residents to come to Guernsey, as well as exploring the viability of a broader 'Homes for Ukraine' visa sponsor scheme and, given that as time is of the essence for those fleeing conflict, to direct the completion of this work as swiftly as is practicable.

7. Taking the opportunity of the work already being undertaken in developing policies and legislation in response to the Ukrainian conflict, to direct relevant committees to give consideration to whether such policies and legislation can be applied in a manner which is appropriate for Guernsey to others seeking refuge or asylum (particularly from past, present and future conflicts); and that the Policy & Resources Committee having led and co-ordinated this work, reports back to the States in due course."

[Amendment 2](#)

To insert the following additional Proposition:

"2. To note that:

the duration, extent and wider consequences of the conflict in Europe and beyond following the invasion of Ukraine are unknown; and

the conflict may have significant impacts on Guernsey and its community including, among other things, on energy and food security and prices, logistics and supply chains, cyber security and public expenditure and revenues and consequently upon the States' objectives, policy plans and priorities in the Government Work Plan."

Deputy St Pier: Madam, I propose laying both together –

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, thank you.

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Deputy St Pier: – in light of the decision that they both be debated. I think, given that they were lodged relatively late, as of course the policy letter was short notice, it might be beneficial to ask the States' Greffier to read them for those who might not be familiar outside this Assembly.

1905 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Yes, States' Greffier, would you mind reading the amendment?

The Deputy Greffier read out the amendment.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

Deputy St Pier: Thank you very much.

1910 In 2008, Deputy Trott was Chief Minister, leading the Policy Council's response to the biggest financial crisis in 80 years; in 2020, of course, I was the President of Policy & Resources charged with leading the response to the biggest public health crisis in 80 years; and in 2022, Deputy Ferbrache is leading Policy & Resources and this Government's response to the largest geopolitical crisis, certainly in Europe and arguably globally in 80 years. Such is the nature of our Island and Island politics that it does interact with the outside world in exactly the way Deputy Ferbrache has described in his opening speech for this debate.

1915 Deputy Ferbrache has referred to the Island and the Bailiwick moving in lockstep with the United Kingdom, particularly in relation to foreign policy. Certainly, in relation to this policy letter and his opening speech, I absolutely affirm that I am moving in lockstep with Deputy Ferbrache and his comments in opening this debate today. Certainly, I affirm, as he was seeking Members to do, that Proposition 1 as currently drafted has my unequivocal support for the Resolution and I will be voting accordingly in the recorded vote that he has called for.

1920 Whilst commenting on Proposition 1, Deputy Ferbrache quite rightly emphasised a considerable number of times in opening the debate, that the cause of this conflict in Ukraine is the responsibility of a single individual, namely President Putin, and he referred to his acolytes and supporters within the Kremlin. I think the language of course of this Proposition is it refers to the acts of aggression of the Russian Federation – but, of course, it is the acts of the Russian Federation under the direction, as Deputy Ferbrache said when opening the debate, of that single individual. Certainly I think the community here is making the same distinction as Deputy Ferbrache, between Russians – all things Russian and the cause of this war – namely President Putin and his historical view –

1930 **Deputy Inder:** Point of order. I think, with the greatest of respect, Deputy Gavin St Pier has made an incredibly sweeping statement about the people of this Island and their response to all things Russian. Can he either source it, evidence it or withdraw it?

1935 **The Deputy Bailiff:** I think he was ... I will leave Deputy St Pier to answer.

1940 **Deputy St Pier:** Well, it is a matter of my opinion. Clearly, if Deputy Inder disagrees, no doubt he will say so in debate. I was not seeking to make a controversial point, merely emphasising, re-emphasising I think, the point that Deputy Ferbrache was making that the cause of this conflict is principally the responsibility of the Russian Federation's current leadership, namely President Putin and his political allies.

1945 In laying these amendments, I would just begin by thanking Deputy Ferbrache and Deputy Soulsby for their engagement with me and their support for them; and, indeed, I would like to just take the opportunity to thank all those Members who provided input to the amendments. The amendments, of course, as the States' Greffier has read, use a language of 'to affirm' and 'to commend' and 'to note' and in that sense they provide little substantive direction, as of course is the case with the original Proposition. That, really, is intentional.

This, sir, once again, as Deputy Ferbrache has said, with the support of the excellent officers advising the Policy & Resources Committee, this is a very good policy letter that is succinct. It is

1950 clear. It sets out the issues of what it is that the Policy & Resources Committee is seeking. A considerable amount of work has gone into this policy letter, that is clear; and a considerable amount of work is going on, as Deputy Ferbrache referred to, not only with the Committee that he is currently leading but also the other Committees that he referred to – Education, Sport & Culture, Home Affairs, of course. And we will hear from Deputy Prow, Economic Development and Deputy
1955 Inder and Employment & Social Security and many others.

I think it is appropriate that we do take the opportunity of this debate and this policy letter, to recognise and commend that work; and, as again Deputy Ferbrache did in his opening speech, the contributions of the community. That is, of course, what the proposed Proposition 2 seeks to do.

1960 Proposition 3, which makes reference to the contribution of £500,000 to the British Red Cross and the UK for UNHCR, madam, there is a minor typo. It refers to the 'contingency reserve'; that should actually read the 'budgetary reserve'. Again with your consent, madam, I propose that if it does become a substantive Resolution, that that is simply corrected as a typographical error.

In presenting this suggested Proposition, Deputy Vermeulen, quite rightly, on Monday, made reference to the fact that this is taxpayers' funding and that is, of course, correct. Policy & Resources
1965 are of course cognisant of that in making decisions as to how to use taxpayers' funding. But, of course, as one of the wealthiest communities in the world, per head, it is entirely appropriate and absolutely right that they have made that decision on behalf of the community and that is acknowledged and recognised. And indeed that actually if they deem it fit, as this conflict continues to evolve, that further contributions should be made, then that is a matter which they absolutely
1970 should consider doing.

The question of the imposition of sanctions, as Deputy Ferbrache has said, obviously follows in lockstep with the United Kingdom. The divestment from Russian investments, although a relatively very small proportion of our invested portfolio, is nonetheless an important and symbolic decision taken by the States' Investment Board under the direction of the Policy & Resources Committee,
1975 and that should be recognised.

I thought Deputy Ferbrache, in his opening speech, made a very personal reference to his own family's experience of leading up to and during the Occupation, which quite rightly will reflect the experiences of many in the community and that is, if course, what the proposed Proposition 5 seeks to do. It is an important part of the narrative and backdrop to this community's consideration of
1980 how it wishes to respond to this particular conflict knowing that in its history, in its very recent history and indeed in the living history of many still in the community, that it is a community that has had to seek sanctuary and the generosity of others in taking refuge elsewhere. So there is a direct parallel in our own historical experience.

Proposed Proposition 6 acknowledges the work of the Committees that I have referred to, in
1985 developing such a regime of sanctuary, and in particular does direct the completion of the work as swiftly as possible in relation to a potential Homes for Ukraine visa sponsor scheme, that is applicable and relevant for a community of our size. I certainly was, I think, surprised to learn yesterday that Jersey do not propose offering something similar in Jersey, and I would certainly be disappointed if Guernsey were to conclude – and I do not think it would be a credible conclusion –
1990 that we were *not* in a position to provide some version of that to help a broader section of the community, other than just those who already have family connections. I think the fact that, as Deputy Ferbrache has said, over 200 people have expressed support does indicate that there is a very real well of practical assistance that should overcome the issues which will naturally exist, and that the Policy & Resources Committee and other Committees are considering, in being able to
1995 offer such a scheme.

Proposition 7, of course, makes reference to ensuring that the work of looking at the policies and legislation is not lost merely to this particular conflict; but that actually we develop a wider policy of being able to provide sanctuary for others, potentially, in the future. In the last decade or so there have been a number of international conflicts that have given rise to whether Guernsey
2000 could, or should be in a position to provide assistance, and it really has hit the buffers in terms of the challenge of some of those policies and legislation that exists. So if we are taking the

opportunity to lift the drains on that in relation to a Homes for Ukraine visa sponsor scheme, it does seem entirely appropriate that we should consider its future use as well. That work, of course, is being undertaken across Government, exactly as Deputy Ferbrache said, but is being led and co-ordinated by the Policy & Resources Committee and it would be good to see a policy letter back in front of the States in due course.

Again, it is not a time-bound Resolution recognising the constraints on resources, or recognising the priorities of dealing with the current conflict rather than any others. It provides a flexibility to Deputy Ferbrache and his team to return as and when appropriate.

Deputy Ferbrache quite rightly referred to the 6.5 million of internally displaced refugees within Ukraine and the 3.5 million externally displaced. He also referred to the very many atrocities that he has witnessed across our screens and indeed that we all have. Of course the atrocities that he has referred to, sadly, are not simply confined to this conflict or simply to conflict in Europe. We know that they do exist elsewhere, and therefore ensuring that we do have an appropriate policy regime that is fit for purpose for us for the future, in tackling future such conflicts and atrocities I think is important, and hence the proposed Proposition 7.

In relation to the second amendment, seconded by Deputy Soulsby, which would seek to note that the extent of this conflict is unknown – yes, of course, in a sense stating the obvious, that we do not know how wide this will go, but I think it is very important we do take this opportunity in this debate. Deputy Inder started to do this in his opening general statement on behalf of his Committee this morning, that the community is prepared for the impacts of this conflict, that they are, potentially, significant, particularly of course if the conflict does expand in a way which is unknown and uncontrollable. In a way that of course we all hope it will not; but, given the leadership in Russia that Deputy Ferbrache articulated and referred to, that cannot, of course, sadly, be ruled out. The impact of that will be very personal. Not only for every family and household in the Island, in terms of its impact on food and energy prices – and of course we are already seeing that in fuel prices, directly – but ultimately on the ability of Government to function and deliver its priorities.

Its priorities may well need to be re-ordered and re-prioritised and the Government Work Plan, again picking up Deputy Murray's point earlier, already is an extensive document and our ability to deliver all of that may very well get blown off course by this conflict and its fallout. It is worth knowing that and preparing the community for that.

I think, madam, that is sufficient for me to open the debate. I will obviously be pleased to respond to the debate in relation to the Propositions which I am proposing are included in the final vote, and I look forward to the debate.

Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you,

Can I just ask Deputy Ferbrache to formally second the first amendment?

Deputy Ferbrache: I do, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: And Deputy Soulsby, formally second the second amendment?

Deputy Soulsby: Yes, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

Deputy Roffey.

Deputy Roffey: Thank you, madam.

'For God's sake, this man cannot be allowed to stay in power.' Those were the words of the President of the United States, speaking in Poland a few days ago and we all know that the White House quickly rolled back on maybe the constitutional import of those words, making clear that there was not a policy in the US to achieve regime change in Russia. But, nevertheless, President

2055 Biden has since made clear that speaking personally he meant every word and, in doing that, I think he reflected the views of millions, including, I hope, most of the Members of this States' Assembly. And I welcome the fact that Deputy Ferbrache, in his opening, frequently referred to the actions of President Putin rather than Russia as a whole, although of course he has led Russia into this action.

2060 I think the reason for this war is that President Putin sees the Ukraine as a threat. Not a military threat, not a military threat at all, but a threat by example. Because he knows that the Russian people know that the people of Ukraine they regard them as being very similar, brothers and sisters to themselves, having lived under the Soviet Union, particularly the people in eastern Ukraine, who are Russian-speaking and perhaps more Russian ethnic. It can be seen that those people are enjoying – or were until a few weeks ago – the fruits of a liberal democracy and showing how it could be made to work and how they could thrive.

2065 President Putin and his acolytes and his myrmidons were petrified of the people of Russia looking across the border and knowing that if it could work for the people of Ukraine it could work for Russia as well. That was why the experiment in liberal democracy that was flourishing in Ukraine had to be destroyed so that the example, the beacon, was not there for the people of Russia.

2070 What we are seeing ... I remember watching the Srebrenica Massacre; I lived through and have been in a country where a civil war has been going on; I have seen people killed and slaughtered. But nothing, I think, compares with this. This is the face of evil. And I really welcome the fact that we have got an opportunity to condemn it today.

2075 I wonder constitutionally where it leads, the fact that we are having this debate, I have to say. Because in 40 years in and out of the States, when I have tried to bring motions on international affairs, the wise old men, as they were men then, on A&F, always told me 'Well, Guernsey doesn't make pronouncements on international affairs. That is for the UK to do.'

2080 So I think a precedent is being set today, in some ways, because although we were absolutely in line with the UK, who look after our international affairs, on this occasion, if somebody brings a requête on another international affair, we may not be absolutely in step, or the proposition may not be absolutely in step, and P&R, as it will be then, will say, 'You can't do it because it is international and that is a matter for the UK.' The precedent will have been set. They will say, 'What do you mean? The States have done this in the past.'

That is a point for another day. Despite that constitutional interest on where this leads and what the precedent is, I am absolutely delighted to be able to speak today.

2085 Speaking on the amendment, in point 7 of the first amendment, it talks about putting in place a system to deal with asylum seekers from other situations in the future. Speaking on behalf of ESS, I can say that we already have made regulations that mean that any asylum seeker will be able to access benefits in Guernsey. Actually, the people under the Ukraine scheme will not be deemed to be asylum seekers, it is a different category, so we will deal with that differently, but in future if there are asylum seekers they will be able to deal with benefits.

2090 The other point where this hits, I guess, on ESS's mandate, is in relation to social housing. I am delighted that so many hundreds of people are coming forward, offering up their own homes and of course if people are living in Guernsey people's homes, they are not aggravating the housing situation in any way. In fact, if some of them end up working, if they stay long enough that they actually want to join the workforce and they will be free to work, and the services at the Job Centre will be available to them. They actually are probably having a beneficial effect on the housing situation because otherwise we would have had to bring people to fill those jobs, who would have been living independently.

2100 But in the real world we must know that some – this is *assuming*, and I absolutely agree with Deputy St Pier, I do not agree with Jersey. I think we should press on and have a non-related Homes for Ukraine scheme in Guernsey. In the real world some of those relationships will break down so what I suggest to P&R is if they end up with 400 names, or whatever it is at the end of the day, that they almost have a reserve set of people who, when relationships break down, can step in and take up the slack. Guernsey is unanimous, I think, in wanting to help in every way we can, the people of Ukraine. But if we started, though, in those circumstances, putting people into social housing and

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jumping the queue over locals, it would cause tension, and I do not think it is necessary if we structure the scheme in the right way.

I am glad that we have copied all the sanctions in the UK. It is a real tricky question, I think, of when and if you remove those sanctions; because sanctions, obviously, when the reason they have been brought in has been resolved, you lift them. I have heard UK ministers saying, 'When the war is over, when the Russians have left Ukraine, you lift them.' The trouble is we do not know how it is going to end. What I want, and I am standing with President Biden – for God's sake this man must certainly not remain in power – that may not be how it spins out. It may be that Ukraine in peace talks has to accept, in order to save more slaughter of their own people, something which is far from ideal, and which Putin tries to portray as some kind of benefit from his invasion to his own people, and that he stays on in power in Russia.

In those circumstances I hope, as I said, it is for the UK, not for us, we will follow them. But if there is any communication between us and the UK, I hope that we would not be too quick to raise sanctions, because that kind of situation should not be rewarded. I think that economic pain for Russia, even though it would cause economic pain for the ... Because if they catch a cold, we sneeze as well, because the world is a globalised economy. I think in those circumstances, to be honest, almost until some form of regime change has been brought about, I believe that those sanctions should remain in power.

I am not going to go on because I think we could all speak for half an hour today about our outrage. I echo every single word that Deputy Ferbrache said at the beginning. Like him, my family also, they actually stayed in Guernsey, they were not evacuated, but I think the support that came after the War was laudable. When we get a chance to help Ukraine rebuild, I hope we will do our bit. Heaven knows when that is going to be, but I unequivocally condemn what I think is the most evil episode of post-World War Two history. I never really thought I would see this in Europe. I am appalled and I am delighted to have the opportunity to vote for this Proposition.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: Thank you, Madam Deputy Bailiff.

First and foremost, I wish to speak to amendment 1, but I shall be brief on this point and I only wish to speak to Proposition 7 of this amendment. I want to move on to the main debate as quickly as possible and I do not want to say anything to dilute the main Proposition.

Madam, although I did not seek to challenge this when it was laid and you, madam, might take a different view, but in my humble opinion this Proposition 7 goes further than the policy letter Proposition, which is clearly limited to the response to the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine. The content of the Proposition clearly impinges upon the Committee for Home Affairs and I am disappointed, bearing in mind the seriousness of this matter, that the proposer did not contact me around the wording. If Deputy St Pier had, I would have pointed out that in my view and that of the Committee for Home Affairs, it should be the duty of the Committee for Home Affairs to report to this Assembly on immigration policy.

Furthermore, I would also have made the point that such policy, when responding to the invasion of Ukraine – as said, the subject of this policy letter – the provisions for Ukrainian nationals differs considerably from others seeking refuge or asylum. A point that was made on more than one occasion at the very helpful presentations that we had on the subject. The Home Affairs Committee is mindful of its place in the Common Travel Area and refugee conventions, and the constraints that therefore exist in applying policy or amending the extended immigration rules.

What is important is that the Committee has already made a decision, at its last meeting, to work in lockstep with the United Kingdom in relation to Ukraine nationals. It is only under these caveats that the Committee for Home Affairs will be able to interpret and progress this Resolution if passed. No Resolution of the States can alter that.

Now madam, I would like to move into general debate.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Prow, can I just clarify, are you actually seeking a 24(6) motion or are you just appealing it as part of your debate on the amendment?

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Deputy Prow: Madam, I did consider that but I think that the debate around the amendments actually is unhelpful and I am simply making, hopefully, a very powerful point around the poor wording of that particular Resolution. What I am actually saying is this Assembly can pass the Resolution but what is actually practically possible is a different matter. But I am not seeking to challenge it.

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The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you for that.

Deputy Prow: I really want to move into general debate, but I thank you for that.

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So, madam, in general debate, may I start by making two things very clear, before I turn to the matters which fall directly to the Committee for Home Affairs? First, I completely endorse all the words spoken by our Chief Minister (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) in his excellent opening speech to this debate. I stand shoulder to shoulder on everything he has said and I am sure every Member of the Assembly will.

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Madam, the Secretary General of the United Nations said in his statement:

The use of force by one country against another is the repudiation of the principles that every country has committed to uphold. This applies to the present military offensive. It is wrong. It is against the Charter. It is unacceptable ... With deaths rising, we are seeing the images of fear, anguish and terror in every corner of Ukraine. People – everyday innocent people – always pay the highest price.

The second point and this is a point very powerfully made by Deputy Ferbrache, and it is important, is to express thanks to all the officers of the Committee, External Relations, P&R, Guernsey Border Agency and others in public service who have done exceptional work, going the extra mile during the COVID crisis, and now again have worked exceptionally in providing a Bailiwick response to the fallout from the invasion. I would also echo what Deputy Ferbrache has said to the people of the Bailiwick for their generosity and outpouring of support for these people.

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This Assembly will have often heard me talking of the importance of being part of a community where everyone feels safe and secure and rights are protected. As a Government, we have a responsibility to condemn actions that threaten these fundamental freedoms. As a community we have watched as the situation in the Ukraine has unfolded. We have seen families, no different from our own, placed in desperate situations. Individually and collectively we have been motivated to take action and provide support.

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Working closely with political colleagues, Home Affairs have aligned with the developing UK immigration policy. Whilst there is a clear public and political will to take action as a Government, we must be mindful of our responsibilities, as a member of the Common Travel Area, and the need to keep in lockstep with the UK in relation to immigration and matters of foreign policy. This means any Ukrainian national who ordinarily lives in the Ukraine and is an extended family member of a locally qualified British citizen can, at no charge, apply for a visa to come to the Island. Further, persons of any nationality who have settled status in the Bailiwick can access the same offer for their extended family living in Ukraine. Extended family means parents, grandparents, adult children, siblings and immediate family members, spouse and dependent children.

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The challenges around the visa application process have been well publicised and the Guernsey Border Agency is working with the UK to ensure that any visa applications from the Ukraine are processed as quickly as possible. As the situation in the Ukraine evolves, how we respond continues to develop and we are committed to keeping the community informed. This includes the Homes for Ukraine sponsorship scheme. The Committee would encourage anyone with questions in relation to immigration or population management matters to get in touch. Contact details and the latest updates can be found on the gov.gg website.

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2205 The UK's recent sanctions made against Russia, in response to the war in Ukraine, have automatic effect in the Bailiwick. The regulations imposed financial, trade and immigration sanctions aimed at encouraging Russians to cease action which destabilises Ukraine. Enforcement of these sanctions, by Law Enforcement, especially the Economic and Financial Crime Bureau, is crucial if they are to have the desired impact. Whilst direct interaction with Russian entities in the Bailiwick may be limited, this is an operational priority for Home Affairs and for P&R in respect of financial sanctions.

2210 I would further endorse the praise afforded by Deputy Inder in his update statement, around praising the finance industry with their response to the sanctions and all the work they have done in complying with the sanctions that are in place.

2215 Separately, preparations continue for the possibility that the situation in Ukraine could impact on the Island's cyber security. It is important that Islanders remain vigilant. Everyone should be aware of the potential risks that phishing emails and suspicious requests for personal information.

The Committee for Home Affairs would like to reaffirm its support for the original Proposition in this policy letter and place on record its support for the people of Ukraine and their Government in their valiant and courageous efforts to remain free to determine their own future.

2220 Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, Deputy Prow.

We will now adjourn for lunch and reconvene at 2.30 p.m.

*The Assembly adjourned at 12.30 p.m.
and resumed its sitting at 2.30 p.m.*

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

1. States of Deliberation's response to the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine – Debate concluded – Propositions (as amended) 1-6 and 8 carried

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, Deputy Meerveld.

2225 **Deputy Meerveld:** Thank you, madam.

The developments in Ukraine prompted me to re-read the historic poems of Horatius, describing the early days of Rome, some two-and-a-half thousand years ago. My favourite passage is:

Then out spake brave Horatius,
The Captain of the Gate:
To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late.
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his gods.

2230 I think we have all been inspired by the valour and fortitude of the people of Ukraine and the way they are fighting to preserve their freedom against overwhelming odds, just as Horatius did. Guernsey has reason to feel even more empathy for the plight of Ukraine and its people than other parts of the UK. My family name, Meerveld, came to Guernsey from Holland in 1941, when my grandfather was brought here as forced labour, when another autocratic tyrant sent his army to occupy our Islands in a failed attempt to subjugate his neighbours.

I stand in solidarity with Ukraine and its people, as I am sure do all Guernsey residents, and I am proud to wear the Ukraine colours on my lapel, and the Ukraine flag is flying above my gate. I stand ready to support Ukraine in whatever way I can and pray that this blight on their country is soon nothing more than a bad memory.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Inder.

Deputy Inder: Madam, sorry, I was about to say sir again!

Along with so many other Bailiwick residents, I have been appalled by the devastating humanitarian refugee crisis involving the Ukraine. More than 10 million Ukrainians have fled their homes as a direct consequence of the Russian invasion and the true humanitarian disaster in terms of lives lost is not yet fully known and neither do I doubt it ever will be.

We have all seen the devastating impact this war has had on Ukrainian families and children. Be under no illusion, Members of the States and the wider public, this is a war on women and children. That is what it is. It is a war of destruction, it is a war on culture. It is a war on language. That is exactly what the Russian Federation and the hundreds of thousands of Russian troops in the country are doing now.

Now, most of you will have consumed most of your information by the TV. I, as you know, have connections to Odesa, Kyiv and outside of Mariupol and it is actually worse than you think it is. I, not me personally, have connections via the wife, where outside of Mariupol it is not just the artillery, it is ill-disciplined Russian troops who are looting, raping and executing the civilians in the various towns. That is what is happening on the ground.

Why is that important? I think it is important that we as an Island, Deputy St Pier first mentioned it and he spoke about the first generation of those lived experiences, not particularly mine, but many Guernsey families in this Assembly are children of refugees. My mother left in June 1940, after demilitarisation of Guernsey. She had nowhere; she did not know where she was going. Like my father as well. They ended up in Scotland, one ended up in Huntingdon, one ended up in Horsforth. She has got distinct memories, not quite understanding why there were thunderstorms every night, as a three-year-old. It was not thunderstorms, it was the City of Leeds being bombed.

She lost her language. Started as a Guernsey-French speaker, or at least understanding it, and came back with a Yorkshire accent. So it is beyond the deaths. It is a war on culture. That is what Putin and Russia has always been about. From the pogroms to the forced starvation of Ukraine in the 1930s, because they did not want to get into the wheat collective, that is what Russia has always done to Ukraine.

It is worth mentioning that, as we are children of refugees, many of us in this Assembly, we are also children of prisoners of war. Deputy Dudley-Owen, who cannot be with us today, her mother was born in Biberach. She is a child of a prisoner of war. The average weight of Guernsey people at the end of the Occupation was six-and-a-half stone.

My great-grandmother died of starvation in Guernsey and I read only last night a letter that was sent to my grandfather, Clifford Inder, from his sister. At the time she had married Benoit Percy. She married him in 1936 and moved to Lyon; and for six of their Occupation years she effectively fought for the *Maquis* in Lyon. She writes home, in a letter after the War, and says in that letter – and they write, as only that generation could, in the most stoic of ways, she describes the Battle of Pont d'Iserre, which is one of the bridges over one of the rivers near Lyon, how the Americans had parachuted behind German lines as they were retreating. Her husband was killed in the ensuing battle and she was saved by American soldiers. What she writes in that letter to her brother, my Clifford Inder:

No punishment is too great for what the Germans have done.

Eighty years on, I would say the same. No punishment is too great for what the Russians have done in Ukraine. It is absolutely appalling. It is a war on children, a war on women, a war on the

West. They did not have to do it. They had a choice. They could have traded or they could have chosen war. They chose war.

Anyway, on to the bit I am supposed to speak about. This was the bit that was referenced in Deputy Ferbrache's speech, some of which I had actually covered off in my statement anyway. As well as the current humanitarian crisis, there is also undoubtedly an economic impact created by war. Russia and Ukraine are significant global exporters of commodities like oil, gas, wheat and barley, used in the production and manufacturing of many products.

So, we are seeing a significant upward pressure on both energy and food prices and the potential for higher levels of inflation than we have seen for many decades. So in short anything you put in your tank or your car, anything you put in your house to heat it, anything you put in your mouth, is going to cost you more money. How long this carries on for, I have got no idea. I am not *The Economist*. But almost certainly it is going to impact on consumer spending.

But in line with the UK's approach, our Committee introduced regulations, as I described, to prevent Russian airline operators coming here to fly in the Bailiwick's airspace. I spoke in the statement about the efforts we have made with 2-REG to comply with the sanctions but, to date, the sanctions imposed by the UK Government, have had limited impact locally due to the limited exposure of the finance sector to Russian clients and Russian assets.

The latest data indicates that 0.1% of financial flows from Guernsey went into Russia from Quarter 3, 2021. As part of the Committee's ongoing engagement with industry, it has been in regular contact with Guernsey Financial Services and various trade associations. I would like to reiterate that the finance sector is fully complying with the required sanctions and the impact on the finance sector to date has been negligible.

We have not seen any direct impact on supply chains. We are keeping a watching brief as the full impacts are not yet known. Good contacts have been developed with operators and logistics providers through the Brexit process and these channels of communications will be kept open. It is clear that the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation has caused a devastating humanitarian and refugee crisis. I support this policy letter and denounce this act of aggression.

And on Mothering Sunday, my mother-in-law, who had driven 11 days through from Odesa, through Transnistria, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Cologne, Brussels, through Eurostar, we took her from the airport, she could not understand why so many Ukrainian flags were flying over Guernsey. So I will thank all of the people of Guernsey, particularly those who we do not hear so much about – the Polish groups, the Latvian groups, who have raised so much money and so much effort to ensure that funds, food, clothes and aid has gone to eastern Europe.

On that note, madam, I must end with *Slava Ukraini*.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: Thank you, Madam Deputy Bailiff.

I want to start with something personal, as perhaps others have shared, and I will try and be brief overall. In October 1981, I was with my father and mother going to a number of university interviews and we had an afternoon free and we found ourselves in Oxford Street in a shop, when there was an almighty panic and all of us got taken, chaperoned to the back of the shop, and were told to crouch down and some clothing was put around us. We were in that position for about half an hour and had to exit via a back door.

It was the day of the Wimpy bomb in Oxford Street, which ended up killing at least one person and injuring others. My father, he and my mother, I am sure as many people know, adopted me when they were in their fifties because they had not been able to have children of their own, largely due to the fact they got married just before the Occupation and medical operations were not available at that time and they were stuck in Guernsey, obviously, during that period. They, incidentally, had their honeymoon in London – they wanted to go to France, but already France was under threat – and every time they went to a wedding they were reminded of their own wedding, which was filled with seeing military vehicles preparing for war in London.

I grew up with some of these stories but that particular event in Oxford Street meant my father – who had been very quiet, really, with a lot of the trauma that he had endured, that I was not really aware of – later on that day, having been even more quiet during that time, started to tell me stories. One of those stories was of the fact that he had been on the White Rock in St Peter Port at the time of the air raid. He was a grower and he ran a haulage company at the time. He was in his mid-twenties.

He had six vehicles laden with tomatoes and he had his cousin, Frank Francis, Collenette working with him, and when they saw the planes coming over, they all dashed for security and safety somewhere. My father went and got some sandbags, with a group of people, and Frank went under one of the lorries. Of course the axles collapsed and crushed him. My father saw that happen. And there were a number of other stories.

I just raise that issue because we have people – my father has passed away now – but there are people still living in Guernsey who remember the horrors, the trauma of war. That, in a sense, helps me understand why there has been such widespread support in the Island for what is going on currently to people living in cities in the Ukraine. And I am very grateful to the members of Guernsey society who have demonstrated already, and are continuing to do so, the great support they want to do financially and in terms of opening their homes, if possible, to those displaced people that may end up on our shores.

I also would like to record my thanks to members of Eastern European communities here in Guernsey that we have relied upon for our economy and still do, and I think particularly of Romanians, Ukrainians themselves, Polish – the Polish community have done incredible humanitarian aid work here – and Latvians. I was, madam, last week with the Latvian ambassador in London, and again there was that sense of common experience, common history and obviously Latvia with its borders on to Russia, feeling a great deal of empathy with Ukraine.

Madam, I really do believe that, having said all that, we need to be careful not to be grandstanding and flag-waving of what we are doing in the midst of everything. There are some things that are best done quietly and effectively. So I will reluctantly support these amendments but I do not particularly like agreeing to things that can look like we are patting ourselves on the back. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

Similarly, I do not want to make promises that we cannot keep and some of these things at the moment are in the middle of quite intricate and difficult negotiations, and so I would ask the Assembly and our community to bear with us as we seek to enable what I think the majority in our community would like to do. It does not help for us to grandstand or to make promises that we cannot keep.

I think it is enough for us to make statements of solidarity and to tell the stories that we have that are in common with those that are currently suffering in eastern Europe. I commend the words of the Chief Minister and agree totally with condemning Putin and his associates and those who have supported this action; which, because I have connections there, mainly through my church and churches in Ukraine, I feel very strongly that we need to do all that we can. But it needs to be more than words and therefore I ask for support in all the things that we are seeking to do.

When I say 'we', I think of all the various Committees of the States, because it does not involve just P&R. I support what Deputy Prow and his Committee have volunteered and are keen to do and obviously Deputy Roffey and his Committee would be particularly involved as well. But I wanted to share these thoughts with the Assembly and apologise, I am going to have to leave in a few moments, because I need to be on a call with the UK.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Leadbeater.

Deputy Leadbeater: Thank you, madam.

My speech today has pretty much come out of conversations I had at the CPA in the Isle of Man recently, with two politicians from Cyprus and Gibraltar, and a column I read in *The Times* on Sunday.

It is all about the perception of Russians during this conflict and the perceptions that some people have of other people when their governments, not them, do cruel and terrible things, like Putin's administration is doing now.

This first part came from Matthew Parris from *The Times*. He said:

Walking last week from the Thames to Limehouse station, I overtook two women ambling the same way. The language they were speaking — at some volume — was unmistakable. They were Russian.

And, arising unbidden from within me, I was startled by my own response: spontaneous, surfacing before I could even think about it. Hostility. Towards two innocent women! "They shouldn't talk so loud," I heard myself say inwardly. "Not in Russian."

I conquered the feelings fast. This pair had nothing to do with the mass murder their President is visiting upon a brother nation. They probably disapprove, maybe feel ashamed, maybe even emigrated for this reason. On fair-minded reflection, that was my considered response. But there was no mistaking the visceral one and it had come from somewhere deep.

The way things are going in this Ukraine war, such rough responses will sweep the free world and they may take root, perhaps for generations to come. Is this even just Putin or is it Russia? The two may become inextricably tangled in the Western mind. Even as we recoil in disgust from Putin, the mark of Cain is being fixed in Western history upon one man as well as one nation.

'And the Lord said unto Cain, "Where is Abel, thy brother?" And he said, "I know not. Am I my brother's keeper?" And God said, "What hast thou done? The voice of thou brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground and now art thou cursed from the earth."'

It is called blood guilt and it is falling as we speak upon a whole nation. That is not right or fair but it is going to prove very hard to resist. We must try, though. The Russian people do not deserve this. Not yet least amongst the horrors their bloodstained President is unleashing. Vladimir Putin is placing upon his own countrymen a stain and a stigma that could endure for generations.

There may be Russian boys and girls, as yet unborn, who will be the victims. Not of open persecution but of that very slight hesitation, that always unvoiced question mark that the mere fact of a nationality can arouse wherever in the world, like Cain, its citizens may wander.

Unless Putin is forcibly and visibly removed by his own people, his own people could prove his final victims. Hundreds of millions soiled, not by their own actions but by their country's history. Do you think this is overstated? Think of the Germans. 'Don't mention the war.' How we laughed. *Fawlty Towers* was only a comedy but that joke comes from a very dark place, instantly recognisable to any British person. The sitcom hit our TV screens more than a generation after the end of the Second World War, when much of its audience, including me, would not have even been alive.

The German family dining at *Fawlty's* hotel would not have been combatants. Basil still goose-stepped around them, accusing them of invading Poland. Take a look at clips of that now and ask how comfortable you would feel watching that in the company of German friends.

Nobody thinks today's German people have anything to do with Naziism, yet whenever modern Germany acts in a high-handed or bullying way, as every nation sometimes does, some faint ripple of that recollection still ruffles the surface of the European consciousness. Nobody thinks today's Japanese people are in any way implicated in stories of cruelty to prisoners of war but look, too, at how long it took Europe, Asian and Australasia for a certain idea of the Japanese to fade. A visit to Britain in 1971 by Emperor Hirohito stirred sharp and widespread hostility over there. 'We cannot pretend that the past did not exist', said the Queen at a state banquet for him. The front cover of *Private Eye* magazine pictured him descending from aircraft, captioned, 'There's a nip in the air.'

No Serbs I know were remotely connected with the massacre of Bosnian Muslims or would have been any less horrified than the rest of us. But, be honest, even today, more than a quarter of a century later, does the word Serbia, like Srebrenica, invite a momentary shudder. This is what a powerful narrative of great cruelty can do. Not just to a government, or one-time leader, but to the very idea of a nationality.

I do not approve of this at all. We should never be hostile towards any person or peoples for what their leaders or governments have done. It is a kind of racism and deeply unjust. I simply acknowledge that in almost all of us, the tendency exists. We are associated and we associate others with what their tribe has done. The association should be suppressed, as many bad instincts should be suppressed. But it is there.

2420 And so to Russia, whose association with brutality and suffering is ancient. Putin is only the latest in long line of Tsarist and then communist bullies and tyrants. But Putin adds a new and cruel twist because this time it is not his own populace who are the victims, but a brother nation. I see the great courage of a few, mostly urban individuals and mostly urban resistance and protest movements, and I want to believe they speak for millions across that vast country who are silent. But whether or not they do, I feel the world is not going to make the distinction we might hope
2425 between the Russian people and their leadership. This could be dangerous and unutterably sad.

Who should we punish? Upon whom should the blood guilt fall? If Russia can be beaten back and driven from Ukraine, is the free world's quarrel over or is the quarrel with Russia? When and upon what conditions should sanctions and the attempt to poleaxe the Russian economy cease? If we do choose the hazardous road of show trials how far down the chain of command do the
2430 prosecutions go; and does the suspicion linger that all rich Russians are wicked people until proven otherwise?

In the heat of these awful hostilities, transfixed by TV images of burning buildings and bloodied Ukrainians, it is natural that from the outside we simply and fiercely just want the Russians to lose. But what if they do? Do we create for a new century a new leper nation, one of the biggest on the
2435 planet, after unifying the free world? This war may drift towards breathtaking confusion.

Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Aldwell.

2440 **Deputy Aldwell:** Thank you, madam. I wanted to speak first on amendment 1, please. Madam, being a Member of Home Affairs, amendment 1 Proposition 7 makes me uneasy:

7. Taking the opportunity of the work already being undertaken in developing policies and legislation in response to the Ukrainian conflict, to direct relevant committees to give consideration to whether such policies and legislation can be applied in a manner which is appropriate for Guernsey to others seeking refuge or asylum (particularly from past, present and future conflicts); and that the Policy & Resources Committee having led and co-ordinated this work, reports back to the States in due course."

This Home Affairs is 100% aligned with the UK Government to do all we can to help the people of Ukraine who seek safety from the brutal attack, which the world has witnessed, and we will continue wholeheartedly to do so. Our staff have been taken away from business as usual to deal
2445 with Brexit, which they continue to do. They were taken away from business as usual to deal with COVID, which they did admirably. They were asked to investigate GST at our borders and of course to support Ukraine, which they have done diligently. This is yet another request for them to leave business as usual and look at section 7 of the amendment, which appears to seek that the Bailiwick makes up its own rules to enable refugees and asylum seekers to settle here, from the past, present
2450 and future conflicts, and that we should bypass what is determined by the UK Government.

To keep this Bailiwick safe and secure, which is crucial to our mandate in Home Affairs, we must align to the UK Government, with its extensive resources, knowledge and intelligence on this matter. Of course, I wholeheartedly support Propositions 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 in this amendment, but I cannot support Proposition 7. We must align with the UK Government and keep our borders safe and
2455 secure. I ask that Proposition 7 be voted on separately, please, madam; and I would like to speak on the main policy letter.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Aldwell, we are dealing with the amendments and general debate all as one debate ...
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Deputy Aldwell: Can I carry on?

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, you can.

2465 Just incidentally, in relation to the amendment, amendment 1, if you are supporting all of the seven amendments you should vote for the amendment. If you wish to have them separated, that will have to be at the Proposition stage; whereas, as an amendment, they stand or fall together. They are not separated as individual elements. Just to make that clear.

Deputy Aldwell: Thank you.

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The Deputy Bailiff: Do carry on, Deputy Aldwell.

Deputy Aldwell: Thank you.

Madam, we have been asked today:

To affirm that the States of Guernsey stands with other democratic parliaments, and governments, in condemning the unwarranted and unjust acts of aggression of the Russian Federation against the sovereign state of Ukraine and its people and that the States of Guernsey supports the government and people of Ukraine in their valiant struggle to remain free to determine their own future.

2475 Madam, I wholeheartedly agree with this action. You will recall, along with other Deputies, on a parliamentary trip to Westminster, we felt honoured to witness the emotional standing ovation on Wednesday, 2nd March in parliament, led by the Prime Minister Boris Johnson, in solidarity with the Ukraine, against the aggression shown by the Russian Federation.

2480 I am privileged to be lead on Liberation Day celebrations here in Guernsey and I know every Guernsey family has an understanding, a story to tell, including myself, which they relay from their family's history, whether they were deported from this Island with only a small bag and sought shelter on the mainland, with some of those areas under regular bombing. Some Islanders were deported to camps and those who stayed and lived under Nazi rule, who had their freedoms removed.

2485 My generation, here in Guernsey, we are grateful to have no experience of being forced to leave our homes and all we have known, to see our homes decimated and under attack, living in constant fear as the people of Ukraine are experiencing. And so, what has been witnessed daily on our news channels has been heart-breaking. Millions displaced, towns destroyed and I know we have felt helpless in many ways. But our Guernsey community has stepped up to the mark, raising funds and sending aid to help wherever it is needed and we are also opening our doors to families to shelter in safety. Madam, sitting on two of the major Committees involved in pulling together the Islands' endeavours to help – Education, Sport & Culture and Home Affairs – I also personally wanted to pay tribute to the officers and staff who are working at pace to facilitate all that is required to enable these families to join us here in Guernsey and I know it has been a mammoth task.

2490 2495 It is normally the face of the Deputy we see in the media relaying information of actions completed, or work done diligently in the background, and I know the officers and their teams are working long hours to ensure everything is in place and I wanted it to be recorded that I thank them for their continued selfless dedication to the task. Guernsey has come together to support the courage of Ukraine and I know we will continue to do the very best to support them in every way we can. In finishing, I wanted to say I wholeheartedly support this policy letter.

2500 Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.

Deputy Moakes.

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Deputy Moakes: Thank you, madam.

I want to start by saying that I condemn Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine and I fully support the government and people of Ukraine. I want to make that statement, as Deputy Ferbrache has asked us all to do. Now 34 days into the war, what we have seen in the Ukraine is horrific. From the

2510 outset, Putin's forces have targeted civilians in their homes, in their streets, and even when they have tried to escape the carnage.

We have all watched the news and seen cities reduced to rubble, forcing many millions of men, women and children to flee for their lives. The result is that we now have the biggest humanitarian disaster since the Second World War, with millions of refugees now seeking safety in neighbouring countries. Let's be clear: war crimes are being committed on a daily basis.

2515 Most of us thought the fighting would be over in days. But we were wrong. Led by Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Ukraine has fought back. Civilians have joined regular forces and together they have put up a brave and fierce defence of their country, despite facing overwhelming odds. In many areas, they have prevented the Russians from advancing and in recent days there even appears to be evidence of Ukraine taking land back from Russian forces.

2520 All around the world, countries have rallied behind Ukraine, providing much-needed aid, together with defensive weapons, which they have been using to great effect. Crippling economic sanctions have also been applied to Russia, along with a targeted list of Russian citizens. Guernsey has been in lockstep with the UK by, for example, enforcing sanctions, providing humanitarian aid and offering Ukrainian family visas.

2525 Separately, people are taking to the streets to protest about Russia's illegal invasion, all around the world. Even in countries where the truth is suppressed, people are taking to the streets or defying the authorities in other ways. We must keep putting pressure on Putin and stand steadfast behind Ukraine's fight for freedom. I fully support this policy letter.

2530 Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gabriel.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, madam.

2535 I am lucky enough to have no personal history to share with the Assembly about invasion or evacuation. But as our story is kept alive, I am aware of the distress it caused previously, some 82 years ago, in 1940. I too am absolutely horrified about the invasion and destruction of Ukraine and ultimately the will of the people. So I stand next to Deputy Ferbrache, and likely the rest of this Island, in denouncing the invasion by Russian soldiers of the Ukraine.

2540 In relation to the UK sanctions that have been imposed, I am pleased to see that these have been adopted locally, in particular the Bailiwick's intervention in banning access to our waters of Russian-flagged vessels and aircraft into our airspace. To impose these sanctions, it is essential that a register of beneficial owners of companies and their assets is available, but only available to relevant organisations to investigate who owns those assets, as it is also essential to ensure that we do not provide services to sanctioned Kremlin links, oligarchs and businesses.

2545 Recent developments have demonstrated that a lack of company ownership transparency has hindered the application of sanctions in other jurisdictions. To enforce these sanctions you need to be able to trace assets and investments connected to those individuals, otherwise it is a drop in a very large ocean.

2550 Transparent beneficial ownership is still not usual globally, and it can be difficult to trace assets in some countries, and in some countries information is not even collected. If we want to be a civil, progressive society, our relevant scrutineers should be able to use this data. We need to make sure that information is available with no restrictions to access the data for the relevant parties.

2555 We have seen national and international headlines around superyachts that have been frozen or seized, but I cannot recall a lot on other potential interests. As a well-regulated jurisdiction it should be the norm for relevant organisations to be able to trace money and investment funds, hedge funds, private equity or shares in big corporations which, after a brief discussion with Deputy Trott the other day, I am assured that this is in place. As a transparent sector, any public beneficial ownership register must be mandated to independently verify the information collected and declared.

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In closing, I support the response of our Island people and Government and condemn the actions of the leader of the Russian nation, but equally stand appalled with likely most of the Russian population that their leader is instigating these vicious, appalling atrocities. We must be very careful, though, not to label all Russians as standing with their leader. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) When undertaking my training to be a local tour guide, it was instilled into me that we referred to the Occupation between 1940 and 1945 as not of a *German* occupation but of the soldiers occupying Guernsey. Because a lot of our tourists are German, wanting to see the history, the built history and the lived history.

So it is really important that prejudice, discrimination or antagonism by an individual community or institution against a person or people, on the basis of their membership of a particular racial or ethnic group that this persecution against any person due to their place of birth is always marked as unnecessary, inappropriate and abhorrent in our modern day society.

A Member: Hear, hear.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Soulsby.

Deputy Soulsby: Thank you, madam.

This is a time we must condemn those clear and blatant acts of aggression that threaten to undermine all that we believe in – democracy and the rule of law. For that there should be no doubt. Thanks to the bravery of those reporting from the war zones of Ukraine and what is happening every day, we are seeing with our own eyes such brutality and abuse of human rights that we thought we would never see again in Europe. Fake news, it is not.

Now, whilst we are a small jurisdiction and are very much dependent on the decisions of larger nations as to the direction and extent our support goes, we can play our part of showing that we are able to play our part and will continue to do so. The spirit of Guernsey has come alive again and my thanks go to the community for the amazing amount of work they have done in support of the people of Ukraine, be it financial or otherwise, and I hope that we can assist them in extending that help and support in the form of the sponsorship scheme.

Of course, what has happened since February should not be unexpected. Anyone studying geopolitics over the last few decades would not be surprised by the actions of Vladimir Putin in recent months. It was clear what happened in 2014 and the annexation of Crimea that it was not the end of it.

Recent events have reminded me of an excellent book I read a few years ago by the journalist and broadcaster Tim Marshall, called *Prisoners of Geography*. In it, he spoke a real truth, and I quote:

The physical realities that underpin national and international politics are too often disregarded, both in writing about history and contemporary reporting of world affairs. Geography is clearly a fundamental part of the why as well as the what. It might not be the determining factor but it is certainly the most overlooked.

Now, they say actions speak louder than words and there may be those who think this is an unnecessary debate, but it is important. Not only to state in clear terms our opposition to Russia's megalomaniacal leader but, supporting what Deputy Le Tocq has just said, also to use the right words.

Ukrainians are fighting for their home and their future. Soldiers and civilians alike are defending all they hold dear. What they are doing is truly remarkable and incredible. Russian conscripts do not understand why they are in Ukraine, are under-nourished and demoralised. At the same time, the Russian people are being brainwashed. No opposition is allowed and they are being fed propaganda that many believe is the truth. But we must not forget that this war was begun because of the actions of a dictatorial leader, not the ordinary citizens of Russia. The people of Ukraine are in the middle of an unjust war and suffering the horrendous consequences of it: death, destruction, their whole world turned upside down. Throughout all this they have shown strength and held the Russian forces at bay. But things cannot continue like this forever. There needs to be peace and I

am sure we all hope that the talks under way are successful and that a workable solution can be found sooner rather than later. This nightmare has to end and the Ukrainian people need to be able to live in peace and as masters of their own destiny.

As their truly inspirational leader Volodymyr Zelenskyy has said, it is a victory when the weapons fall silent and people speak up. Today we are speaking up. Let's hope it will not be long before the weapons fall silent.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Queripel.

Deputy Queripel: Thank you, madam.

I thank the people in Ukraine who are being bombed out of their homes, losing limbs and in many cases losing their lives, as I speak. It is so horrific. None of us can possibly imagine what it is like. What we can do is be compassionate and reach out to the people of Ukraine in an act of solidarity.

Guernsey as a community is always really good at doing that. As we are told in paragraph 7.7 of the policy letter, there has been a strong community response to the humanitarian crisis and many local businesses, community groups, charities and individuals have developed initiatives and made donations to show support for the Ukrainian people, on behalf of the Bailiwick. I applaud them all for doing that. As we are told in paragraph 8.1, the purpose of this debate is to enable the States to consider a Proposition which would, in effect, denounce the act of aggression by the Russian Federation. Well, I wholeheartedly denounce that act of aggression.

At the same time – and Deputy Leadbeater and Deputy Gabriel and Deputy Soulsby to a certain extent touched on this when they spoke – I am mindful of the fact that there are millions of Russian people who never wanted this war. They will also lose loved ones and their lives will also be ruined as a consequence of it. That is the real tragedy of war, both sides lose so much.

Sunday was Mothers' Day and mothers in Russia, as well as the Ukraine, would have lost children on that day. Such are the atrocities of war. We are also told in paragraph 8.2, the purpose of this policy letter and this debate is not to go into detail of the States of Guernsey response but to express a more fundamental point on the affront to democracy that is taking place.

Two of my greatest heroes campaigned for democracy most of their lives. Martin Luther King and Thomas Paine. Martin Luther King, as we all know, was assassinated campaigning for democracy and Thomas Paine was charged with treason, sentenced to death in the UK as a result of his efforts campaigning for democracy in the 1700s. He managed to escape and with the help of friends fled to America where he became Secretary of State – but that is another story for another time. The reason I admire Thomas Paine so much is he wrote the *Rights of Man*, which became the *Magna Carta* for democracy and laid the very foundation of the liberty we all enjoy today in this part of the world.

Martin Luther King, of course, had a dream, a dream that every adult and every child, regardless of creed and colour, would some day walk in hand in hand in peace. His life was taken from him by someone who did not want that. They did not want every person walking hand in hand in peace, regardless of colour and creed. Thomas Paine was sentenced to death by people who did not want democracy, true democracy, to happen. Millions of people have lost their lives campaigning for democracy down through the ages and they still are. But that does not mean we should stop campaigning for it.

I just want to touch on the issue of future supply of food for our community because we are, by tradition, an Island of fishermen, farmers and growers. We have the land available and we have something like 200 redundant vineries here in the Island. The land mass equivalent to that of 200 football pitches laying idle and unused. Many of those redundant vineries are in perfect condition and could be used tomorrow. Now, what I have suggested to the States is to purchase at least three of those vineries and start growing a lot more of our own food. I have been told by some of my colleagues, 'We can't do that.' I do not understand why we cannot do that. It makes perfect sense to me.

As we all know, the Proposition in the policy letter is:

To affirm that the States of Guernsey stands with other democratic parliaments, and governments, in condemning the unwarranted and unjust acts of aggression of the Russian Federation against the sovereign state of Ukraine and ... the States of Guernsey supports the government and people of Ukraine in their valiant struggle to remain free to determine their own future.

The last sentence of paragraph 8.4 tells us that if the States agrees with the Proposition in the policy letter it will 'provide evidence of the weight' of additional support for Guernsey's Government to continue to take action. I have no hesitation whatsoever in agreeing with that Proposition, madam, and also with the amendments, but at the point of taking action, as we know, Policy & Resources have already donated £0.5 million to the Red Cross and the United Nations refugee agency and I commend them for adopting such a compassionate approach. And I would ask them to please seriously consider donating another £0.5 million, because that money is an absolute lifeline to those two, the Red Cross and the United Nations refugee agency, and they do so much wonderful work to help people in crisis. So I would like to hear a response to that plea to P&R to donate another £0.5 million.

On that point, madam, some members of our community I have spoken to recently have asked why we are giving so much money to people on the other side of the world when we have so many under-privileged people here in Guernsey, who are struggling to survive. My response to them has been, 'Yes, I am aware, as are all of my colleagues in the Assembly, we have under-privileged people here in the Island struggling to get through the day. But they are not being bombed out of their homes. They are not losing limbs. They are not losing loved ones and they are not losing their lives. That is why we giving this money to people on the other side of the world.'

Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Falla.

Deputy Falla: Madam, I am grateful for the opportunity to debate this matter and to underline this whole Assembly's condemnation of the unwarranted acts of aggression against Ukraine. Guernsey's Occupation during World War Two and the evacuation of many Islanders impacted countless people and continued to affect many areas of Guernsey life for years, even decades after the war was over and this gives us just some small understanding of the horror that Ukrainians are facing today and into the future.

Like other Members who have spoken in this debate, my parents were evacuated and the circumstances arising from that resulted, in their case, in a broken family and other related issues. In showing our support and expressing our sympathy with the people of the Ukraine and also to those Russian citizens who, risking their own lives and liberty, are protesting against this unjustifiable war, we extend that empathy to those many Guernsey residents who have friends and family in the Ukraine, for whom this is an unimaginably worrying time.

The Ukraine is, geographically, a long way from Guernsey. But is it really that remote? Twenty-first Century communications and global developments have made the world a smaller place and, with Guernsey's own history to draw on, we see this unsought conflict and attack on the freedom of a nation through a particular lens. I applaud all those in Guernsey's community who are supporting Ukraine in whatever way they can, be that financial – and the Bailiwick's appeal now stands at £360,000 – or practical support; and I support amendment 1. I have no hesitation in condemning the unwarranted and unjust acts of aggression being perpetrated against the sovereign state of Ukraine by the Russian Federation.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Oliver.

Deputy Oliver: Thank you, madam.

From what I have read and seen in the news I can say that this nation has highlighted so many things in my life. Ukrainian people have such a compassion for their country and their families. I cannot start to imagine how it would feel having to flee my home with my children, leaving my husband behind, not knowing whether I would see him again, deciding what is important to pack in a suitcase when bombs are dropping around me, and not knowing where I am going to seek refuge.

These people have such bravery, fighting for their country and taking up the arms they can get their hands on to defend their cities. When I see them in refugee camps sitting there traumatised, in shock, wondering where their life is going to take them and whether their loved ones, left behind, are alive or dead. Has their home been bombed?

From now on, before I moan and groan about the trivial things in my life, I will think about Ukraine. What Putin has done for a country of innocent families is beyond belief. But what it has shown has served to unite democratic free country nations of the world, offering total strangers their home and aid. Out of this scenario, there is still some kindness and compassion in our world.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Haskins.

Deputy Haskins: Thank you.

I did not quite expect so many speeches but I do particularly agree with the views of Deputy Le Tocq. But, Deputy Bailiff, I would also support Home Affairs with a motion to separate out Proposition 7 of amendment 1 and vote separately on it. But the reason why I came to stand up was simply to assure Deputy Ferbrache and all of those listening that I absolutely, unequivocally and unreservedly support this policy letter and thus Ukraine.

Deputy Ferbrache wanted to hear from all Members and, as Deputy Dudley-Owen is *indisposée*, she has asked me to make sure that her views are recorded. Deputy Dudley-Owen also unreservedly and unequivocally supports the policy letter, adding that she roundly condemns the actions of the Russian Government and its leader. I give my thanks for bringing this policy letter and giving the opportunity to show our unwavering support for Ukraine.

Slava Ukraini.

The Deputy Bailiff: Alderney Representative Roberts.

Alderney Representative Roberts: Thank you, Madam Bailiff.

Firstly I would just like to say that I do not agree that it could be seen as patting ourselves on the back. I think we are congratulating the Guernsey people, who have experience in this over the generations and just how we feel about somebody in that position. I want to commend Deputy Ferbrache on his very powerful speech, emphasising on the cruelty and suffering of the Ukrainian nation, already having a substantial part of their country already annexed by Putin and his close, but I suspect, small bunch of supporters.

It is terrifying to know; really terrifying. These few that threaten the rest of the world with a nuclear option are a conspiracy to hold a gun to all of our heads, including these beautiful Islands and its people. When you see the grainy footage on the television, it reminds you of the grainy films of the refugees in Germany in World War Two, and the horrors they had to endure. Man's inhumanity to man sadly still endures and some never learn from the past.

Children, adults, carrying what belongings they could as they shuffle together to an unknown future, a graphic picture from the present that mirrors our past. Putin's mind belongs in a museum, along with his cruelty; and he is a true imitation of Adolf Hitler. A dangerous despot with his weaponry, he is probably the most dangerous ever.

I just wonder, myself, what could be his own final solution or what his plans for the West really are, and I would like, on behalf of Alderney, to thank and join hands with our Guernsey friends and support you all in our stance together. I am proud to be in unison in our support of the Ukraine.

2760 Deputy Ferbrache totalled it in his speech when he told a relative's tale from our own invasion in World War Two. I thank him for that tale and I thank everybody in here that has had a personal story, and there are probably more that have not given their story but do have them, or their relatives.

2765 All Alderney residents were evacuated on the boats – pets, property and livestock abandoned – one suitcase only was allowed. Cows were seen wandering down the breakwater as the boat sailed off to an uncertain future. I myself, like Deputy Ferbrache, also have a history on that. I had four generations on the boats – great-grandparents, grandparents, parents and my unborn sister, plus many more extended family.

2770 My own father was at war in the RAF, as a tail-end Charlie – rear gunner, at the back of the bombers. He survived the war. My great-grandparents, sadly, died in Glasgow, three months apart, never knowing of the victory or seeing the land of their birth again. On the family's return, the house was gutted. Can I just restart that? I am so sorry, I have missed a line.

2775 When they left, the key was left in the wall opposite. On return the house, they found, was gutted, and the key was never seen again. So in our Islands, people know how it feels to be lost, to be uncertain, to wonder what or where our loved ones are or what the future holds and the world must stand against the repeat of this genocide and tyranny with such resolve like never before. The first step is to help this nation of friends in every way we can. Good, ordinary people whose only want was peace and I am sure you will all admire the bravery and resolve of the Ukrainians in the defence of their lands, truly remarkable and against all odds.

2780 War is a very unwelcome visitor, but remember it is now the war next door. We totally support this and I commend this, from Alderney, and myself, in the strongest terms possible.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Matthews.

2785 **Deputy Matthews:** Thank you, madam.

2790 I would like to start by condemning in the strongest possible terms the brutal and barbaric invasion of a sovereign nation, Ukraine, by Russian armed forces. Madam, Guernsey of course has a strong cultural memory of war and evacuations. My grandfather was amongst those that were evacuated and was on one of the last boats to leave, and was said to be able to hear the bombs falling on the harbour as the Germans mistook tomato trucks for ammunition trucks and bombed our harbour.

2795 Both of those wars, the Second World War and the war in Ukraine – which is a war, despite what Russian media does not like to call it, it is a war in Ukraine – were wars against tyranny, for democracy. We are very lucky to have democracy in this Island. I was reminded, when we of course had our elections here recently, and standing in those elections somebody asked me the question: 'Can you name a political hero?' I thought there were some sorts of answers that people typically gave and I might have given, say, Nelson Mandela or Gandhi or Churchill, as I know Deputy Ferbrache often cites as his political hero.

2800 The answer that I gave was quite unusual. I gave Joe Biden as my political hero. That was partly because our election was running at the time almost alongside the US Presidential Election. I was greatly encouraged by somebody who was standing against Donald Trump. I think, actually, almost anybody standing against Donald Trump would have got my vote had I been able to vote in that election.

2805 But I am afraid I was very disappointed with my hero not long after his election during what I saw as a senseless evacuation from Afghanistan and the withdrawal there. I did not think that I would see in my lifetime something that looked like a US defeat or a NATO defeat. It certainly looked like that and it was something that historians may in the future come to think or come to judge was something that maybe led to or encouraged Vladimir Putin's action in Ukraine. That is something maybe historians might think in future.

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But that has given me a new, replacement political hero, which is of course, Volodymyr Zelenskyy. What incredible bravery and fortitude he has shown, literally under fire; and what incredible bravery and fortitude he has led the people of Ukraine to in the defence of their country and democracy from tyranny.

2815 We in Europe and in NATO, I feel, should do everything that we are able to do to support him and the Ukrainian people in their fight. Of course, Zelenskyy, whenever he speaks on this, has spoken of his request to Europe and to the western world to close the skies. Of course, I understand the difficulties, imposing a no-fly zone would entail. But can we at least given him the jets, give him the MIG-29s that he asks for? It seems, can we not at least provide him with the tools that he needs
2820 or that his country needs to be able to progress their defence of their country and of democracy? So my feeling is that we should do that if we can, and that is my view.

In Guernsey, sometimes we feel a sense of helplessness. We do not have, directly, our own military. It seems like there is very little that we can do. Of course, I was extremely encouraged to see the very generous £500,000 donation that Guernsey has made and that I feel is important.
2825 Russia must have felt that Europe would turn a blind eye to the invasion of Ukraine because Europeans would not want to deal with issues like refugees and the fall-out.

I think Europe is showing that actually we are supporting and we are doing what we can. I think this is going on for, it looks like, much longer than it might have been anticipated, and of course that £500,000 is going to be very useful in the immediate emergency response, but I do think that
2830 as this goes on more support may well be needed. The countries immediately bordering Ukraine have done so much to take in so many refugees and what an incredible job, when we look at what is happening in Poland and Slovakia and Moldova and all the countries of Eastern Europe and Europe.

I do think that £500,000, it is a lot of money, it represents the value of about one average house
2835 in Guernsey. Imagine how far that would go in a country like Moldova, the poorest in Europe, and all the support that they are providing to refugees. So my request for P&R, I guess, would be if any further assistance could be granted. So I would like to close, madam, by saying that I support this policy letter.

Thank you.

2840 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy de Lisle.

Deputy de Lisle: Thank you, madam.

I support the strong words of Deputy Ferbrache and the policy letter wholeheartedly: to stand
2845 with other democratic parliaments and governments in condemning the unwarranted and unjust acts of aggression against the sovereign state of Ukraine and its people; and support the government and people of Ukraine in their struggle to remain free and determine their own future.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has wreaked terror and horror. Many of Ukraine's cities have been bombed, killing thousands of civilians, innocent women and children, and soldiers enforcing millions
2850 to flee their homes. Russia's slide into corruption, autocracy, repression, aggression and dictatorship took many back to experiences during the Second World War here. In my case, evacuated to Widnes, a town where some 5,500 local children had been evacuated into the Welsh countryside under Operation Pied Piper. We sustained heavy bombing during the Blitz of Merseyside, with 300-680 bombers at a time causing disruption, numerous deaths and injuries.

2855 Memories of the noise of the bombers overhead, the residents being hit, the sirens, the run to the shelter. I ask that all Members act with solidarity with Ukraine and support this Proposition together with the amendments and the assistance being given to the people of Ukraine by Guernsey people.

Thank you, sir.

2860 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Dyke.

Deputy Dyke: Thank you, madam.

2865 I have no personal stories to tell that are relevant to the suffering of the people of Ukraine, so I will speak briefly. I thank Deputy Ferbrache for his excellent speech and agree with what he has said, and although I have no family stories to tell I can sympathise with the horrible plight of the people of Ukraine. The lucky ones are seeing their houses destroyed; the unlucky ones are seeing their family destroyed. It is a shocking scenario in the 21st century.

2870 I am very glad that we as a country and as a States' Assembly are all showing our support, both morally and materially, to the people of Ukraine. I am glad we are showing Ukrainian flags and for those reasons I will certainly be supporting this excellent proposal from our President.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

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Deputy Helyar: Thank you, madam.

2880 I have a personal story as well. Like many other Members of the Assembly, coming from a local family. My father was born in March 1945, before the Liberation. Half of the family were refugees in the north of England and put up by friends and relatives. So, the horrors that we can see in Ukraine are abhorrent. We must all condemn them. It is very difficult to follow what has already been said by many Members.

The one thing I would say, and it goes to a quote from George Orwell, which is that: 'We sleep soundly in our beds because rough men stand ready in the night to do violence on those who would harm us.'

2885 One of the things we have not mentioned and I would like to draw attention to is that there are many thousands of military personnel from the UK and our allies in NATO, standing at the moment at a very high state of readiness, in order to prevent the escalation of this conflict into the wider European area. We should, as Members, thank all of them for their service and for the fact that they are standing ready and able and willing to protect us. I would commend this policy letter to all
2890 Members and absolutely support all of its content.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gollop.

2895 **Deputy Gollop:** Deputy Helyar and indeed Deputy Matthews have reminded us of an element of the debate that we had ignored, which is our great support across the Channel Islands and this Bailiwick for the armed forces of NATO and the British Army and, to a certain extent, the French forces; and how important it is that we honour the spirit of the policy letter but also perhaps the Deputy St Pier/Deputy Soulsby amendment, which acknowledges that there is a potential economic
2900 and other material cost to Guernsey.

I do not want to be proved right on this one, but there is a chance it could escalate into a bigger war of one kind or another, especially if accidentally or deliberately Russian forces or missiles stray into Poland or some other country. So we have to be prepared, if we are to campaign and maintain our respect for freedom, for perhaps potentially difficult times ahead. Deputy Helyar is right, we
2905 should honour the armed forces, in many ways.

Perhaps my speech might take a slightly different tone in a few respects because, when this policy letter was first mooted about a week ago, I was not initially particularly a fan of it because I thought, at its worst, it could be potentially divisive, at its best it is an important statement of ethical and honour and belief, but perhaps from a relatively impotent perspective.

2910 But I think the power of the speeches today, especially Deputy Ferbrache, but everyone, has shown that there is value in this and it is also not only a statement of our conscience, of our ethical perspective as a democracy but also goes along with our growing international importance and identity. Indeed, the material within the policy letter strengthens the Assembly, the parliamentary side of our existence. Because clearly not just the United Kingdom but the Isle of Man and the States

2915 of Jersey have given a voice to their criticism and their repudiation in every sense of the actions of Putin – and I should not really honour him by calling him President Putin – at what he has done, and the Russian forces allied to him.

I think it is right that we totally condemn in every way this attack on a sovereign state and I entirely support the policy letter for that respect.

2920 However, we do have Russian people in our community. Even in our Assembly we have some Members who have clear and very honourable links with the Ukrainian nation and perhaps we have one or more Members who have links with Russia as well. Strangely enough, I cannot claim any occupation stories for my life. My father did get an OBE for being in the Ministry of Supply during the War, going around armaments places in the UK.

2925 But the name Gollop is a strange one, although it is not uncommon in Dorset and Devon. Some say it goes back to the Middle Ages of Gottlieb, meaning God's Love, from the German. And it could even be Yiddish because there is a Rabbi Gollop. It could even be derived from the word *Holub*, which means the holy dove of peace and it is a Ukrainian/Yiddish word, apparently. I mention that because it is a fascinating world.

2930 I think, I will not say it is a miracle, but I think the way the community across Europe, the British Isles and indeed the Channel Islands in giving solidarity to the Ukrainian people is very impressive, to say the least, and perhaps a sea change in the attitude towards asylum seekers as well. So I will support Deputy St Pier's amendment but I will come on to a little bit more about that.

2935 You see, the thing is, I have actually been to a peace meditation drop-in, to a church drop-in, to the official service of the Town Church and various other things. It is fair to say some Christians take perhaps a radical perspective because they have prayed for the people of the Ukraine in the world, but they also prayed for the soul and behaviour of Vladimir Putin, hoping that he will change his mind or see some divine intervention going on.

2940 But I think what we have to bear in mind is going back to these miracles, I think a minor miracle has been the very positive attitude of Moldova and Bulgaria and especially Poland, to the fate of the Ukrainian people. Some Members here, Deputy Inder I believe has actually been to Lvov, for example. But I like to give a little bit of historical perspective here. It is interesting that the city of Lvov in western Ukraine was once colonised by the Austro-Hungarian empire and was known as Lemberg, so it had a German elite, and it has a very substantial Jewish university culture as well.

2945 Then, after the First World War, the Great War, it was transferred to Poland and demographically it was for many decades principally a Polish city with German and Yiddish speakers, and with a Ukrainian minority. Then, in the great Stalin/Hitler terrible battle – maybe His Royal Highness, Prince Charles, has been proved right when he compared Vladimir Putin to Adolf Hitler, in many ways, as such a significant danger. But in the aftermath of World War Two, Lvov was transferred eastwards to the Ukraine and was effectively the Jewish community had been murdered in the hardest and most evil way imaginable, and I am afraid to say some of the Polish community had been as well and others were left.

2955 So there were a lot of difficult feelings between the fellow Slavic nations of Poland and Ukraine. When you go to the east of Europe, it is not quite like England is, or perhaps was, of being a relatively homogenous nation with most people living in England being English – I think we have a parallel perhaps with the Welsh, the Scottish and Irish, and Ireland has had a difficult history at times. But in the east of Europe you would have a community, a town, surrounded by aristocratic estates and villages – sort of *Fiddler on the Roof* territory – and there would be Jewish people, Polish people, Baltic people, Russian people, German people, all living but having different national identities.

2960 So there may well have been merit in a degree of negotiation about borders and ethnicities but the way Putin has done this – as he did with the Crimea and eastern Europe, and the covert invasion of eastern Ukraine in the last decade, that Prime Minister Boris Johnson is probably right to say we should have acted on earlier – has been dastardly. But it is a very complicated situation and I think Putin's actions have been so misjudged, which is why I do have worries it could go further. Because 2965 if his intention was to assimilate the Ukraine back as a little Russian part of Russia, it has completely failed because it has not just alienated the free world, it has alienated, as far as we know, many

ethnically Russian people who have been happy to live in Ukraine. It has, in a way, strengthened the identity of the Ukrainian people, their democracy, their society and their ethics and, whereas perhaps there were a few jokes in the international media a few years ago when a President was elected who had been a TV comedian, an actor, there are certainly no jokes now about the amazing work this president has done and the leadership he has shown.

So that is the perspective I come from, that we need to understand that these areas have a difficult history but we must unanimously condemn the behaviour and the retrogressive behaviour of Putin and the Russian forces. I am not altogether sure I understand the argument that it is Putin alone because, although I am sure many of the forces are under orders and would suffer great penalties if they did not obey, we had the joy of an Island-wide election, that Deputy Inder and many others worked to deliver two years ago. We know that our poll-topper was Deputy St Pier, who got nearly 60% of the vote of those who voted.

When you look at Russian elections, it is not infrequent that, outside Moscow, Putin gets 65% or 75% of the poll. Now, it is widely believed those figures are faked and there is a lot of less-than-transparent activity going on in Russian ballot boxes but one caveat I would give is the rival candidates are for the most part even more extraordinary. They are not the high-quality candidates we get in Guernsey. Some of them perhaps come from a fascist or an old-fashioned Soviet communist background and so I used to take the view that, almost as if Putin was a vaccination, that Putin was better than the alternatives. We now know that is not the case. But of course you have also seen in countries like Iraq, where there has been a regime change, things have not gone smoothly.

I suppose a bad part of my character that I try to fight – and I know Deputy de Sausmarez, Deputy Burford, Deputy Roffey will try to help this – is sometimes I do admire ‘men of destiny’, these autocratic figures who like to impose their will. Certainly now, any positive qualities Putin may have shown in his earlier days, when even accredited people like Lord Robertson, the NATO secretary said, ‘He was quite a nice man when we met him.’ I am sure he was not. But he and his regime have proved that we need a much more civilised international democracy.

Perhaps my misgivings over this policy letter, because we should not include all Russians in our denunciation, nor are we supposed to, it was Deputy Inder who made a very interesting point. He spoke of his relatives who could not forgive, understandably so, what the Germans did, and indeed some of us heard a breakfast talk today, which made the point that the Nazis at their worst, horrendous though they were in the Channel Islands for many people, the behaviour in the east of Europe was even worse in many instances.

The difficulty has been that the Allies in the last war, the Second World War, had exactly the issue Deputy Inder posed: how can we ever get over this? Sir Winston Churchill, funnily enough, vacillated a bit, because one day he was supporting Bomber Harris and the next day he was concerned about the likes of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Josef Stalin, of course, who were saying, ‘We have to destroy Germany for good. We have to imprison everyone. We have to have a scorched-earth policy and never allow Germany to have a say in the world again.’ Of course Germany later had an economic miracle.

Those are the sorts of issues we have to work with. How can we work with a rehabilitated Russia at some future stage, both economically and politically?

Deputy St Pier’s amendments cover a lot of ground, actually, because they go beyond the Ukraine to our attitude generally to people seeking refugee status and who might be able to contribute to our community. I suppose a nuance of difference I have with the Home Affairs theme is that they have not particularly wanted – beyond the reunification of families, like Deputy Inder has spoken about – to be too overt in facilitating refugees coming here. Now, we need –

I will give way to Deputy Prow.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: I thank Deputy Gollop for giving way but I am very confused as to what evidence that remark is based upon. I think the Committee *for* Home Affairs have made it absolutely abundantly clear that we will work in lockstep with the United Kingdom, that we are part of the Common Travel Area, that we are speaking to the Home Office and that our policies, as far as we possibly can, will be in step with those policies of the United Kingdom. So I really do not understand upon what evidence that remark is based. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Gollop, continue.

Deputy Gollop: My point is really that there have been several people, some who have businesses, some not, some from a humanitarian motive alone, who have asked me in various venues, what is happening in Guernsey about us sponsoring Ukrainian people? Now, we know that activity has occurred and is delivered with Islanders who have specifically got direct relatives. I know and I am only too aware that Home Affairs, External Relations and Policy & Resources have worked around the clock on this, but the message of communication in the media has not quite been there.

I turn to Jersey, which gave the impression that they were going directly along with the United Kingdom scheme and then recently said, 'No.' And I turn to the Isle of Man, who announced they are allowing sponsorship of Ukrainian migrants but in a different way from the United Kingdom, and it is not available for people in public housing. I do not quite get the message, which I think would be a more useful debate than just saying how disgusted we all completely are – and rightly so – with Putin. I think a more useful debate would be how far behind will we be in following the UK? Or will we adapt it to Guernsey's unique legal and financial circumstances? Or will we probably not do it, but help Ukrainians in a different way?

The community is actually completely confused about where we are with sponsoring people, if people are not directly related to Ukrainian people.

I will give way.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Prow.

Deputy Prow: I thank Deputy Gollop for giving way. Again, I am confused by the comments made by my friend Deputy Gollop. There have been several States of Guernsey releases, because that was how it was decided to do this, where what we have done is we have reached out to the community, we have reached out and said those people who are prepared and want to sponsor, whether they have joined the UK scheme or whether they envisage doing something else, to notify us. On gov.gg there is a form that you can fill out and you can let us know.

Deputy Aldwell and Deputy Ferbrache have alluded to the great work that our officers are doing and they are working very hard at, where there are sponsors, trying to match those people with the refugees. I do not understand where Deputy Gollop is getting a view that this is not happening. The press releases, I ask him to go into gov.gg now, there are at least four that he could read, which progressively show how the work is progressing.

Yes, there is still work to be done with Policy & Resources, and I accept that, but to give an impression that either Home Affairs, Policy & Resources or our officers are not looking into the sponsorship scheme and working very closely on the visa matching with the United Kingdom is just not true. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

Thank you, madam.

Deputy Gollop: Okay. That is not the point I am making. I am saying it is not clear to Members of the public what is going on. It is not clear to me, either.

I will put another pebble in the sea. Only last Friday, Saturday in our *Guernsey Press* media, there was an extremely bizarre story, but the upsetting part of it is that it is more than bizarre, it seems to be true, that the House of Commons loosely voted for Alderney to be considered as some sort

of asylum base, along with Ascension Island and somewhere in Cyprus. What are we doing about that?

For many years, we got absolutely nowhere in rehousing refugee and asylum workers from other countries. I appreciate what Deputy Prow has said but there has been a different message from Jersey, a different message from the Isle of Man and we just need to perhaps ... I know all the work is going on but the question is how much of it is in step with the United Kingdom and how much of it needs to be adapted to our own rules about Health, Social Security, and all those elements?

I will be interested to hear what other Members say about that because of course much of this is contained in the amended Propositions.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Blin.

Deputy Blin: Thank you, Madam Deputy Bailiff.

I am standing alongside all of my colleagues who will be taking a stand to talk about the policy letter. I wholeheartedly support this policy letter and I condemn Putin and the Russian Federation. I say it like that because of the number, the millions of Russians themselves who are condemning Putin as well and to ensure that we keep the level of kindness and empathy and compassion. That is the side of the people.

But the war, now. I abhor this unprovoked, unjustifiable war against Ukraine. And it is a war of choice. This was not a war built up of negotiations, it was a war of choice decided by Putin. So I stand, we stand, in solidarity with all other like-minded nations; and we stand against Putin and the Federation.

Madam Deputy Bailiff, I say through you that there are no two sides to this war. There are no two ways. Nothing justifies the murder of the women, the children, the elderly. Nothing at all. Let alone the David and Goliath battle that the Zs of the Russian tanks and forces coming through against all the rest of the world who are helping the Ukrainians fighting. But as this fighting goes on, just literally while I have been sitting here listening to everyone's input into the debate about their feelings about this conflict, I wonder how many more people have died. Is it one, two, 10, 20, as we keep on speaking? What pains me is just by waiting and sitting in this position, what is happening? I was just looking at some data, if I can briefly find it, this is only from four days ago, that there were statistics of 4,400 residential blocks destroyed; 138 healthcare facilities; eight airports; 378 universities and schools; 92 enterprises; 11 shopping malls. The list goes on. The value of it goes into billions.

And every day more weapons, more destruction goes on. This has to come to an end.

But in the meantime, what are we doing as the Bailiwick? What are we doing? Are we helpless? Actually, no we are not. We are trying to do other parts. We are trying to take a humanitarian approach. I am really appreciative, I am sure as we all are, for what P&R or the people of Guernsey did, contributing £500,000 through to the DEC, as well as the Bailiff's Fund, which as Deputy Falla has noted, the update of £360,000 there. These are large figures.

I noted the comment by Deputy Queripel and by I think Deputy Matthews to say maybe there should be more money required. I would not even add to that question at this point, myself, because I know that this will go on for a long time and this will be looked at constantly by our Government and by many governments around the world as well.

So, the humanitarian aid side, what has really astounded me is how this Island has pulled together, how the Islanders, our local Islanders, our Polish Islanders now, Hungarians, Romanians, Latvians ... I had the pleasure to volunteer to work with groups of them and they were talking in multiple European languages, but they all had one mission in mind and I believe Deputy Ferbrache mentioned about knowing of one gentleman who is driving a truck over there. Three vehicles went over to Poland to help, one Ukrainian lady, married to a Guernseyman, remained behind there for a few weeks to help with the work.

This goes on with other groups. With Deputy Inder's wife who has raised money for helping with aid. There were other groups who have been getting money for medical equipment. It is non-stop

and this goes on as well, how we see the work going on. Besides those supporting things, there are other aspects. There is the beginning of the formation of a small support group to help the future Ukrainian refugees. There are already some. And we should be pleased – this is not a pat on the back. We should be pleased that through the work of Home Affairs, through the agreements of working with the UK, we have managed to get families, direct family siblings, through to Guernsey. It is a small number but we know they then have the full rights to be here and continue, and they will be welcomed like we have welcomed many other people.

I am so impressed to feel and hear that so many Members of this Assembly, let alone the Islands, carry that little badge of refugee status through family and others. It means there is a connection. It means we understand how it works, for all these people coming through. So all the small actions are good.

The sponsored visa side, I think is worth more discussion or debate or work, because it is in line with ... Do not forget, we have to follow the protocol of the UK. We cannot stand separate and change the rights of CTA and other places. However, there is a strong group of individuals, businesses, communities, groups who have been approaching myself and maybe many others talking about they are willing, if they are given the statistics, the amount of money required, the medical protection, to bring over a number of people.

We cannot do as many as we wish. I was trying to get a statistic and it was one of the eastern ... I did make a note of it, excuse me while I ... Slovakia, five million population, 300,000 people, Ukrainians, have gone through their country, 20,000 are staying. If you look at percentages these are 3% or something, they are quite strong percentages going through. For Guernsey we should be looking at – this is a personal opinion – 50 or 80 or something. That is a large number for us. We cannot be talking in the hundreds but we can keep on helping in other ways.

We can sponsor. We can pay money to the UNHCR, through the refugee status. There are so many other things we can do. But the main thing is we have to stand proud to support, work together. When people say, 'How can we have one refugee here if we have our own housing shortage etc?' It is a very simple answer and I think Deputy Queripel alluded to it. But the other answer is, 'What if it's your family? What if it's your children? What if it's your situation and you are running for your life and you are trying to do something?' You are not thinking about the economic situation and where they are going to stay.

So actually we have to be human about this, Christian about this, pragmatic about this. We have to take all of the aspects required to make it work.

So I fully endorse the policy letter; I do support amendment 1. I do struggle a little bit with Proposition 7 of amendment 1 only because, if we have to vote for the whole piece, I struggle a little bit with Proposition 7 and it makes it harder. I do not know if that can be separated, but I do otherwise fully support the letter.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you.
Deputy Mahoney.

Deputy Mahoney: Thank you, Madam Deputy Bailiff.

First of all I think I have to say that I will not be seeking any virtues in Mr Putin, a more virtueless man I am not sure I could find in my head at the moment. I do condemn the cowardly and immoral actions of the Russian Federation and endorse the comments of those that have gone before me today.

As noted by various Members, Guernsey is a small place but we can make a difference. As a leading finance centre, we have a role to play and we are playing it. Deputy Gabriel referred in a small part of his speech to points in relation to beneficial ownership records and oligarchs and potential unknown money in Guernsey. But local regulation and the beneficial ownership records held by Guernsey are second to none, worldwide. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.)

I say this for two reasons. The first is to make it clear that this is not a place to hide your money; and secondly that words spoken in this place can have wings and it is important to get it right for the world to know. The most recent list that I have seen, with my other hat on, from the GFSC, has 978 names on it – 978 people that are currently subject to sanctions. If any of them have business or money in Guernsey it is now frozen. You cannot use it any more. Anyway, off my soapbox for that.

Just to finish, I endorse most of the comments that have been said today. I stand with the people and the legitimate government of the Ukraine and pray that there is an early end to this madness. Because that is the only word to describe this – ‘madness’.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Burford.

Deputy Burford: Thank you, madam.

My mother was evacuated from Guernsey during the War, so like many here I have a direct link with those who have suffered the effects of occupation of our Island. I need no exhortation or direction in order to support the people of Ukraine in their resistance against the vile aggression being perpetrated by Putin and his supporters; and I condemn Putin’s actions wholeheartedly.

I urge the Chief Minister to do everything he can to accelerate the sponsorship scheme so that we in Guernsey can play our part in offering sanctuary to Ukrainian refugees. Now that the UK has greenlighted such a scheme, let us please press ahead, as an Island, as much as we can. In his summing up, could Deputy Ferbrache please advise whether discussions are under way with refugee agencies in Poland or other nearby countries in order to identify those who we may be able to help and perhaps to fly or bring them back directly to Guernsey as he has suggested may be possible when Deputies were briefed.

I have also been approached by somebody who was very keen to offer a home to a refugee but whose domestic circumstances simply did not permit it and who wanted to know what other ways she could help in Guernsey taking refugees, whether that be financial or otherwise. It is an unformed idea but I will leave it with the Chief Minister.

I want to end by endorsing the plea that we also think of those of Russian heritage living in our Island and ensure our justified vilification of what the Russian Government is perpetrating is not also aimed at those of Russian heritage, who are as much opposed to this unjust war as we are.

Several Members: Hear, hear.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Vermeulen.

Deputy Vermeulen: Thank you, madam.

So our Island is only so big, there is only so many people, so many jobs, so many houses and only so much money. But our Island does have a rich history and it knows only too well what it is like to be occupied by a foreign force. Now, my mother, her family were evacuated but because she was a telephonist at the States’ Telephone Board, where she had to plug the wires in, she was deemed to be doing a valuable job, so she had to stay right up until the last moment, and she was constantly assured that a boat would be provided for her to evacuate her.

So the boat never came and the day when the tomato trucks were bombed, she ran out of the telephone exchange to her auntie’s house and she could hear the rat-a-tat-tat of the machine guns as they chased the ambulances down the Grange. She ran across the Grange. So she was stuck here. Now my father, he was in southern Holland, and in May 1940 he saw the skies blacken with bombers flying over the country and negotiations were going on, but in the meantime they flattened Rotterdam.

So after that he did not get on too well with Germans and he and his friend left Holland with the intent to get into Spain and get to the UK and join the Free Dutch Army. That was his mission. Unfortunately, he did not have the relevant paperwork at the time so he got arrested trying to cross

3225 the Spanish border and thrown into prison with his friend, who happened to be called Isaac, and
from Bayonne he was sent to Guernsey, scheduled to go to Alderney, which he managed to dodge
the bullet and stay on Guernsey. But he did meet my mother during that Occupation of our Island.
So there is the history there. They knew what it was like to be occupied. Ukraine is occupied by a
foreign force at the moment and that must be absolutely terrible for them.

3230 On my mother's side, the other ones, which were evacuated, they were shown such good
hospitality from the UK residents that put people up, many people from our Island, mostly our
youngsters. So we have got a part to play in all this and we do understand what it is like to welcome
people who have been made homeless and to put other people up. So it is very important.

3235 I completely condemn Putin's government and the actions it has taken – flattening cities; it is
very similar to what my father witnessed all those years ago. I commend the policy letter completely.
The Bailiff's Fund, at £350,000, that is an absolutely fantastic achievement in itself. We have not
really known war in Europe and it is only a couple of thousand miles away, so let's hope we can all
get together and this wicked conflict can come to an end as soon as possible. Sooner rather than
later.

3240 On the amendments, I know I should have spoken about the amendments first, if you could
debate on the first amendment, separately take a vote on 7, I would appreciate that.

The Deputy Bailiff: Can I confirm what will happen again? In terms of the amendment, you
either vote for it or against it, but then once it forms part of the Propositions, Proposition 7 can be
separated out. So the first step is vote for the amendment. If it is voted through, then we can divide
3245 up the Propositions, so 2 and 6 can be together and then 7 can be dealt with separately, but it is at
the Proposition stage, not at amendment stage.

Deputy Taylor.

3250 **Deputy Taylor:** Thank you, madam. I did not have any intention of speaking in this debate but
Deputy Ferbrache has pointed out we should all say something and there are a few points Members
have raised – particularly, I think Deputy Leadbeater and more recently Deputy Burford touched on
some really important points about the Russian community and not lumping them all together. So
I am quite pleased to hear those comments were made. **(A Member: Hear, hear.)**

3255 I do support the original Proposition but I am going to say reluctantly. That is not because I have
any sympathy, I am not going to commend Putin in any way, but Deputy Roffey touched the point
about whether this is something we should be doing. We are conscious that there are multiple
conflicts in the world that we do not talk about and we do not give any comment on. To single this
one out, as horrific as it is and as close as it may be, if we are going to start commenting on all
different kinds of things –

3260 I give way to Deputy Ferbrache.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Ferbrache.

3265 **Deputy Ferbrache:** I have got to ask in the third person, haven't I? **(The Deputy Bailiff: Yes.)**
Does Deputy Taylor not agree – if I could ask him directly, but I cannot – it is better to do some
right than no right? And that we cannot regulate all the disputes in the world but when we have
got one as manifest as this we should actually do something for it?

Could I perhaps suggest via you, madam, that on reflection, he dispel any doubts that he has
about that and just realise that this is overwhelmingly the right thing to do?

3270 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: I thank Deputy Ferbrache for his interjection. I am still fairly not sure. It is just, if
we are going to be commenting on all kinds of major conflicts whether they are affecting us directly,
3275 that is where I am not sure. I do not in any way condone any of the actions by Putin or the Russian

Government, anyone involved in it. I think it is totally wrong. But I am just not sure about whether we should be debating it in this way.

I heard a conversation on a building site, which was discussing what would actually happen and what roles people would get if they were called up to service. This was before the actual invasion had taken place and I thought to myself at the time, yes, it is an interesting conversation but it is kind of irrelevant. At the moment, if you get called up, it was a discussion about if you were the digger driver then you would probably want to get to go in a tank. It was a comical conversation on a building site, in a way, but I do not think it is something we should be discussing in this Assembly. I apologise if Members disagree with that.

I will still be supporting the original Proposition but, being totally honest, that is how I feel and I would not be anything other than honest. When it comes to the amendments, though, I cannot support them. If we start with amendment 1, I think Deputy Soulsby stated this was not a pat-on-the-back exercise. I just cannot help but feel amendment 1, with the exception of Proposition 7, really is just a pat on the back. Again, I do not disagree with the comments that are being made but I just do not think they should be going into a document like this.

Deputy Soulsby: Point of correction, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Soulsby, what is your point of correction?

Deputy Soulsby: I never said anything about a pat on the back.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Apologies. I retract the statement. It may have been Deputy Le Tocq. Apologies there.

The Deputy Bailiff: Carry on, Deputy Taylor.

Deputy Taylor: Proposition 7 itself, I can kind of see that actually has some meaning but I could not agree with it. I just think it is opening a massive can of worms and I just do not think it should be snuck in there.

As for amendment 2, at 2.1, I do not think you could really disagree with noting that this could go on a long time. It feels like stating the obvious a little bit. But I actually have taken a bit of issue of Proposition 2.2, shall we say:

... [that] the conflict may have significant impacts on Guernsey and its community including, among other things, on energy and food security and prices, logistics and supply chains, cyber security and public expenditure and revenues and consequently upon the States' objectives, policy plans and priorities in the Government Work Plan.

Now, apologies if anyone disagrees but I just think that is quite an insensitive amendment to be putting in. We are talking about people who have lost their homes, they are fleeing their countries and all I could think when I read that one was picturing Winston Churchill. I admit I have never actually listened to the full speech he gave about the day our Channel Islands be free, but it is as if he would tag on the end, 'To note that our dear Channel Islands are free and to note that the cost of tomatoes will be going down in the supermarkets. So it is win-win.' Or maybe turning up at a funeral, you give your respects, but then you give a note about how, 'But on the plus side, I am going to be inheriting a house.'

I just do not think we should be making any reference to any financial impact or otherwise that this war should be having. If we are doing this to show our support against the Russian Federation, Putin, I do not think we should also be putting in a caveat that we also need to be mindful of the costs that it will have on us.

So I would really, strongly, urge Members to throw out amendment 2. But then again, just to make absolutely certain, without any doubt, I do *not* condone any of the actions by the Russian Government or Putin but I just feel a little bit uncomfortable with this whole process.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy McKenna.

Deputy McKenna: Thank you, madam.

I would like to just agree with everything the Chief Minister said and we are very lucky to live in a democracy in such peace. That is no small measure and I think we owe a great deal of thanks to the former NATO Commander of the Allied Land Forces, General Cripwell, who has given a lifetime of service. These are the people we have to thank. So, thank you to the Chief Minister and I think we are all in agreement, and thank you to the General.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, madam.

I am going to start by taking a slightly different perspective from Deputy Taylor on amendment 2. I actually think it is quite important because there is, quite rightly, a huge outpouring of solidarity and support and sympathy for the plight of the people directly affected by this conflict. I think it is important to remember, when we are feeling the squeeze on our own lifestyles, why that might be – that this is a contributing factor and I think it is important to remember the link between the two. That is my personal perspective. So I actually do support amendment 2 for that reason and will add that this is something that, certainly the aspects that fall into the mandate of E&I are things that we are very alive to and looking proactively at.

But I am on my feet mainly to echo the theme that has been well-aided by Deputies Leadbeater and Burford, in particular, that we are condemning wholeheartedly the actions of the regime, and not the ordinary people; and others have spoken of this as well. I think it is important to not forget the thousands of Russian people, ordinary Russian people, who lost their lives (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) in our Bailiwick during the Occupation, as well, which is a solemn reminder of the difference between those who wage wars and those who have to fight them.

My dad tells a story about his first holiday off Island when he was a teenager and that was post-war, but of course he had grown up with a stereotypical understanding of the German people because he was growing up in Guernsey post-Occupation. Anyway he and some friends, he must have been about 16, went on holiday and they went over to France, took their bikes and he was probably pulling some sort of silly stunt or something but he came off his bike and hurt himself quite badly. They had gone quite unprepared. They did not have a first-aid kit or anything like that.

Luckily, there was another group of tourists, and they were German tourists, who did have all the kit. But as this group of German young people approached this group of Guernsey young people, my dad's reaction was terror, actually. Because he had grown up thinking that all Germans were bad people and he said that was the first time that he realised that German people were human beings and they were capable of great kindness, and he saw them in a completely different light. But he said until that point he had grown up with the stereotypical idea and conflated a whole nation with the regime that it was associated with. So I think those who have spoken on that theme, I thoroughly endorse that we do need to be very mindful of exactly that.

I would also agree with Deputy Roffey when he analysed what appears to be the motivation for this conflict, for this awful act of hostility and aggression. I agree with his theory that it seems to be motivated by a sense of threat from democracy, and that is important to remember as well. Democracy is precious. Free speech is precious.

It does also seem to me to be a deliberate strategy of the Putin regime to sow discord in the West, in democratic societies with free speech; and that is another aspect that I think we need to be mindful of, not to fall into the trap of ... It is an amazing privilege to be able to disagree with

3375 each other and to be able to challenge facts and challenge authority and that is something that we can fight for here, as well.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Alderney Representative Snowdon.

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Alderney Representative Snowdon: Thank you, madam.

These really are truly awful events that are unfolding, and it feels very much that history is repeating itself, unfortunately. I just want to turn to a little bit of a personal family story. When my grandfather fought in World War Two, he was British, he went to fight, and he went missing during that time. A letter was sent to his parents saying that he was lost and that he was presumed dead in action. He actually was behind enemy lines and made it back to his unit a few weeks later. He was lucky.

I think it was touched on a little bit earlier in the debate about the military side of this and all those Ukrainian forces fighting for the freedom and the lives for their people. So many of them will not be lucky and it takes us back to that time which we thought would never return again.

From Alderney's side, the community has worked very hard to do fundraising, raise money for the Ukraine appeal, also collecting donations from the community. Age Concern has worked very hard in Alderney to do that. We are fully behind this policy paper today. The States of Alderney will also be debating and supporting a very similar paper in April that will be presented to the States of Alderney, which will endorse the support for Ukraine.

I think it was touched on a little bit earlier in debate about the sponsorship scheme and I know that the Civil Service are working very hard and we have had a lot of very good briefings from the Civil Service, dealing with the sponsorship scheme, and it is tremendous the amount of people that have come forward, putting their names forward to try and help out. It may be useful if some sort of timeline is put into the public domain about when it will be happening and when opportunities will arise to try and help those people that are devastated.

Also this is unfortunately going to be long-term and I think, as has been highlighted in debate already, we are going to have to support, in any ways we can, for a tremendous amount of time, to try and get these people hopefully back into their countries and rebuild their communities, rebuild their homes, rebuild their country.

So I really, sincerely hope that the war ends very soon and peace can break out and the Ukrainian people will have freedom and be able to rebuild their lives and their homes. The States of Alderney is fully behind this policy paper and as I have said this will be also debated in the States of Alderney in April.

Thank you.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Murray.

Deputy Murray: I certainly will support the policy paper and the comments made by Deputy Ferbrache. I guess, what I would have liked perhaps to have seen was that this was condemning more the Kremlin, than necessarily the Russian people themselves as part of this, because I think I do echo a lot of what has been said insofar as the real perpetrators here are Putin and his henchmen. Why do I say that? Because the Kremlin has form. The Second World War, Stalin was a despot who destroyed, killed millions of his own people, as well as actually using a lot of his own people as cannon fodder, which is despicable.

So the Kremlin has form. Russian people, too, have suffered, and will suffer again as a consequence of this, as I think was mentioned by one of the speeches today. At the end of this they will be tarred by the same brush, which is very, very unfortunate. However, that said, there are some times at war – and I consider myself from a generation which has been very, very lucky (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) insofar as I have not been exposed to war. My grandfather fought in the Second World War, my father was in the Korean War, and my father-in-law actually was part of the Berlin airlift,

which again was a Russian-inspired situation. He actually was a Member of this Assembly many years ago, Len Corbin.

3430 When I was growing up, it was just a few years shy of the Vietnam War and I have missed all of that, and I am grateful for it. In fact, the reason that I am here is actually because of the generosity of the Guernsey people, because my father and my mother... My mother's sister was actually married by an evacuee, my uncle, who was a Gaudion who has a long history in Guernsey, who met her during the Occupation, in Glasgow, where many Guernsey people were evacuated to. I would not be here today if he had not met my aunt, invited her back to Guernsey and then invited our family
3435 to come and live here many years ago. And we were welcomed.

Guernsey has that capacity and we have always welcomed strangers in Guernsey and I think it is a strength of this Island, this Bailiwick, that we are able to do that. Consequently, I have no doubt that we will do the same again. We will step up to the mark.

3440 But I do hope that this war ends soon. War is a dreadful, dreadful scourge on humanity and I really hope that common sense will prevail sooner rather than later. But I will certainly support and do condemn what is happening in Ukraine at this point in time.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Trott.

3445 **Deputy Trott:** Thank you, madam.

There is little doubt in my mind that our debate today is proportionate with regard to our place, our global position. The fact that we are not a sovereign state in the true sense of the word, although in many regards we are, as we all know, autonomous in terms of our fiscal affairs and the making of our laws.

3450 However, the comments about why we as an Assembly feel the affinity that we do towards Ukraine, I do not think can be emphasised enough. Because my family, like many others, experienced a tragedy in the First World War, and evacuation partly in the Second World War. My father's family were evacuated, as were my mother's because both their fathers, the patriarchs in those families, went off to war. They both survived the War. They were lucky and they never forgot
3455 how lucky they were – one drove tanks and one was in the Navy – because the one that drove tanks had a miserable time with Monty, fighting Rommel, and the one that was in the Navy was shipwrecked twice. But they felt a sense of huge relief because both of their fathers had not survived the First World War.

3460 Now, I stand here this afternoon, very pleased to be a Member of the elected Assembly in Guernsey and not somebody like President Biden, or President Macron, or Prime Minister Johnson. I say that because I genuinely feel, like most others, that there will be an almost inevitable escalation, which will plunge Europe into even deeper turmoil.

I mentioned to some friends earlier a very prophetic comment made in the final series of the *Blackadder* comedy series, where Baldrick asks Captain Blackadder why the First World War had happened. And Deputy ... *Captain* Blackadder, replied – (*Laughter*) he may well have been – that there was a war because it was simply too much of a trouble not to have a war. There was an inevitability about it. I have to say that it feels like, to me, almost inevitable that there will be an escalation. I do hope I am wrong.

3470 I do not know if I am unique in this Assembly in regard of having done business in Russia. I think I probably am. Again I was telling some friends over lunch that I was called in a few years ago to join the board of a listed entity that had invested extensively in Russian assets and the investors, the shareholders, wanted to divest themselves of those assets and my job was to be involved in the sale of those assets. On one such occasion, I went to Moscow, and while I was there, over a few glasses of vodka, because that is how business is done in Russia, and through the services of a translator, I got talking to the chief executive of one of the businesses we were divesting from. It
3475 was a company called Superstroy. Now, Superstroy will be known to few in this Assembly but it is the Russian equivalent of B&Q. In other words, this man's role was providing building materials. He made things, or helped make things. Not destroy things.

But he had done his research. He knew that the owner of I think about 30% of his business, was a fund that was listed in London but administered here in Guernsey. He knew a little bit about Guernsey and he knew that we had been occupied by the Nazi state. His grandfather, I think, it may have been his great uncle, but certainly a close member of his family had been involved in the siege of, was it Stalingrad or Leningrad? I forget, I am not an expert in the history of this country. But he drew parallels, through the translator, of his family's experience at the hands of the Nazis and ours, in terms of the Occupation of this small Island. He was aware that only the Channel Islands, as part of British territory, were occupied.

Now the reason I tell that story is because none of us in this Assembly can have any idea what it is like to grow up in a totalitarian regime where you are indoctrinated into a fear of the West, as he was during the Soviet era; or to be in a community where the news that you get is sanitised so you are drip-fed, you are brainwashed into thinking a certain thing. But where there was real affinity, notwithstanding that, was the fact that he hated the idea that his country had been invaded by the Germans, and the terrible hardship that ensued.

Now, those that talk about regime change, I think realise that if it is to happen it will come from within. The problem is of course that the average Russian citizen views the West in a highly sceptical way, to put it politely, and does not really, at this stage, from what I can see, understand the parallels and the similarities between what Russia is doing to Ukraine and what Nazi Germany did to Russia.

So a little bit of personal experiences and personal observations there but one that is a collective one now and that is that I stand absolutely behind the Proposition. I think it was the right thing to do. I do commend those who have brought it before us and gladly add my name to those who condemn such actions and behaviours. But as I say, madam, I do fear that this is just the start of it and that there is a lot more misery to come.

The Deputy Bailiff: That appears to be the end – Deputy Fairclough.

Deputy Fairclough: Thank you, madam.

How can we do anything but condemn these or any acts of war, destruction or violence? I, like others, am deeply saddened at the images and stories that are emerging from across Europe and have nothing but sympathy for all of those caught up in the war. I commend the generous spirit of all the people of the Bailiwick in their support for the victims, both financially and practically.

I am not surprised at the reaction from our community, which invariably responds quickly and generously in the face of such challenges. The offers of help to those fleeing the conflict has been humbling and I join in the call for work to be done as swiftly as possible, to enable Islanders who wish and are able to welcome Ukrainian refugees into their homes. I also applaud the Isle of Man Government who, like us, are mirroring UK pathways to support refugees but also looking urgently at an approach which does not rely on the UK schemes and processes, in an effort to avoid bureaucracy getting in the way of helping those in need.

To such an end, I add my support to the consideration of policies which will allow others seeking refuge or asylum, so that every time people are displaced, for whatever reason, we will be in a better position to act accordingly. We need to do what we can as quickly as we can, to capitalise on the generosity and selflessness of those 200 or so local households who have offered to open their doors to those displaced by the tragic events of the last five weeks.

As Deputy Prow has already alluded to, those who suffer the most are often the poorest as commodity prices rise and sanctions and counter-sanctions kick in. The effect of these steeply rising prices must be mitigated wherever possible and, on behalf of the Bailiwick community, I urge all my colleagues to be cognisant of this as we plan for the short- and medium-term.

Regrettably, right now, there is no real end in sight for those caught up in this conflict, but we must do all we can, however small, to bring an end to the suffering of all those involved. I draw some comfort from the last two days of talks in Istanbul. However distant we feel from this conflict we, as part of the international community, are involved, and must do all we can to allow, in the

3530 words of the UN Secretary General this week, for 'progress in serious political negotiations' aimed at reaching a peace agreement.

But in the meantime, while battles rage on, often in places where there is no news coverage, as they have done for years, we should continue to stand with the international community and through our actions continue to play our own small part in international efforts to bring about peace; and support those affected by the conflict and reach out to those in need.

The Deputy Bailiff: Does anybody else wish to speak in the debate? In that case I will invite Deputy St Pier, who is responding as the proposer of the amendments.

3540 **Deputy St Pier:** Thank you, madam.

I was a little bit worried about where Deputy Gollop was going, in comparing my election record with that of Putin! Thankfully he did not develop that line of thinking any further.

Just whilst mentioning Deputy Gollop, I do have some sympathy with the point that he was seeking to make in relation to the aspect of communications, particularly around the development of a refugee scheme. I think that is not in any way to be seen as any kind of criticism of the work of the Committees. Indeed, that is why, in amendment 1, the suggested Proposition 6 commends the work of the Committees, including of course Home Affairs, for the work that they have done on this. But the pace of Government does not move necessarily at the pace that any of us would wish – and that is a view which is often expressed by Deputy Ferbrache, of course – and I do not think it is able to move necessarily at the pace of the will of the community on this particular aspect. I think that is probably a point that Deputy Fairclough was making there at the end.

This is a point, which again, Deputy Ferbrache and I have discussed in relation to communication. I do think, my counsel, my request to Policy & Resources Committee and the Home Affairs Committee and others seeking to communicate on the development of a refugee scheme, is: even if you have nothing to say, say it; even if it is merely that we are still in the process of developing it, we have still got questions, then communicate that. I think that really was the point that Deputy Gollop was seeking to make and, as I said, I do have some sympathy with that point of view because that was the one that again I sought to make directly to Deputy Ferbrache.

I am grateful to Members who have largely spoken in support of the amendment, with the exception of Deputy Taylor, who I think spoke against both. The concern does seem to be around what would become Proposition 7 of amendment 1 and that has clearly been led by the concerns of the Committee *for* Home Affairs and the Members that have spoken on behalf of the Committee.

I do understand and respect the duty of the Committee *for* Home Affairs, as Deputy Prow said, in relation to immigration policy. Certainly the failure to consult with him and others on his Committee ahead of this amendment being lodged is not in any way a sign of lack of understanding of that issue, or indeed a lack of respect for either he or his Committee. Again, simply the pressures of time, with the publication of this policy letter out of its normal sequence, and the dialogue that I had directly with the President of the Committee that was leading the policy letter.

But I do absolutely understand the point that Deputy Prow and indeed Deputy Aldwell was making as well on this. Of course, the proposed Proposition 7 is to direct the relevant Committees and of course one of which would be the Committee *for* Home Affairs. But I think, particularly on Deputy Aldwell's point, about that this would in some way bypass the UK Government that, I think, is overstating what is stated in Proposition 7. Clearly, the UK Government does already have a well-developed set of policies for dealing with asylum seekers and refugees from other conflicts and really that is not in any way going to be tampered with by what would become Resolution 7 if it were to be passed.

Deputy Le Tocq said we need to bear with the Committees in their work and I absolutely agree with that. A phrase which Deputy Le Tocq has used many times in the 10 years or so I have known him, is that you need to make sure that perfection does not become the enemy of the good. I have stolen that phrase in my dialogue with Deputy Ferbrache, and I know that Deputy Ferbrache shares

that view, that we do need to move at pace on this and not allow perfection to become the enemy of the good.

That of course is why the Proposition in the amendment is to direct the completion of this work as swiftly as is practicable. So it is not, again, seeking to tie the hands of the Policy & Resources Committee or indeed any of the other relevant Committees. It is recognising the point that Deputy Le Tocq has made, that we do need to bear with the Committees and allow them to work. But it does provide an opportunity for this Assembly to say that it *is* supportive of the idea of developing a Homes for Ukraine visa sponsor scheme that is relevant and appropriate for our Island – and that is what that Proposition will do.

Deputy Leadbeater, I think, began it – but Deputies Soulsby, Gabriel, Burford, Murray and a number of others have absolutely made the point far better than I was doing in opening on the distinction between Russia, Russians, its government and the Kremlin. There is little I can add to that.

Deputies Queripel, Matthews and Blin have made reference to the need for more funding and that of course again is why Proposition 3 would note that additional donations may be appropriate in due course. Again, I would not seek to, through this debate, through these Propositions, to tell P&R when to make that decision or how much to make that decision. Others have made that request for P&R to consider that. All this Proposition does is merely note that may be the case.

I think Deputy Helyar's point was a very good one in relation to the recognition for the military and indeed for the military of the United Kingdom and indeed its NATO allies who stand ready for any escalation in eastern Europe, but I think it is also worth recognising, as clearly the Ukrainians have, the role of the military in training, since 2016, since the invasion of Crimea. That clearly has been reflected in the Ukrainians' gratitude for the United Kingdom, because of the role which has taken place, in the provision of training and of course in the provision of defensive elements that are now needing to deploy.

Returning to the question of the development of a Homes for Ukraine scheme and a departure from the UK, and what is relevant – again, Deputy Fairclough mentioned the Isle of Man seeking to develop something which is not hamstrung by any bureaucracy that the UK may have. I think the issue of the Common Travel Area is a little bit of a red herring. I absolutely understand that we are part of that area and we are tied in, quite rightly, as Deputy Prow has said, to the immigration rules and regime, broadly, of the United Kingdom.

But, of course, Ireland as a member of the European Union, is also in the Common Travel Area. There is no realistic prospect of Guernsey ever becoming the back door to the United Kingdom for Ukrainians. Clearly, if you wanted to get into the United Kingdom, if you were regarding it as an opportunity to do so, then Ireland would be your simplest route right now.

So, I think the idea that Guernsey cannot identify and express a view on what it is seeking – I am not going to give way actually because I think we are nearly at the end of this debate. I think the idea that Guernsey cannot express its ambition in relation to developing a refugee scheme that is appropriate for it and that that is constrained by the Common Travel Area, is perhaps overplaying the role of the Common Travel Area.

Deputy Prow: Point of correction.

Deputy St Pier: But it may be that Deputy Prow disagrees.

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Prow, what is your point of correction.

Deputy Prow: My point of correction is that Deputy St Pier is misleading the Assembly in relation to the issue of the Common Travel Area.

The whole regime of entering into the Common Travel Area, putting aside the issue he makes about Ireland, is the fact that you need a visa; and that visa is issued by the UK Home Office and we are constrained by the visa-issuance regime. To make a point that it is a red herring to bring in the

question of the CTA is misleading. The visa arrangements, we *have* to work with the UK Home Office on the issuance of visas, which is central to the Ukrainian scheme.

3635 Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you very much.
Deputy St Pier.

3640 **Deputy St Pier:** Thank you, and actually I am grateful for that intervention because I think it does, to some extent, clarify and reinforce the point I was absolutely seeking to make that, yes, absolutely, the consent of the United Kingdom is required. We cannot just develop our own rules, and I do accept that point. My point, simply, was that I think, politically, we could articulate our own ambition, albeit it would have to be negotiated and discussed with the United Kingdom and agreed
3645 with the United Kingdom, that we could not just do it on our own. I think the political statement of an ambition would be achievable if we wished.

But I think the key point here is let's not get distracted by that issue. Clearly, the Committee *for* Home Affairs, other Committees, and the Policy & Resources Committee are committed to looking at developing a Homes for Ukraine scheme for the Island that is appropriate for us. There is clearly
3650 significant support and interest from the community in supporting that and the amendment merely directs that that work be completed as swiftly as possible.

Returning, finally, before I close and leave Deputy Ferbrache to sum up on the debate entirely, to the prospect of Proposition 7. Again, I think it would be helpful perhaps for Deputy Ferbrache to confirm his understanding of this Proposition, as the seconder of it, which is that it is seeking to do
3655 no more than express an intent in the direction of travel in relation to capturing the work which has already gone on, for example, as Deputy Roffey said, for the Committee *for* Employment & Social Security in amending Regulations to provide for asylum seekers. Proposition 7 merely gives an expression of intent, a direction of travel to capture that work, to return at some point when there is perhaps less pressure on the Policy & Resources Committee team to allow that consideration to
3660 apply in other similar conflicts and situations in the future. It is seeking to do no more than that.

It is certainly not directing the Committee *for* Home Affairs in any particular direction and it is certainly not seeking to usurp the role or relationship with the United Kingdom. I think if Deputy Ferbrache would address his understanding of the purpose of that particular part of the amendment, when he responds, that would be helpful.

3665 Thank you, madam.

The Deputy Bailiff: We now go to the voting on the amendments.

So amendment 1, which I will just repeat: in relation to amendment 1, that is for Propositions 2 through to 7 as a whole. It is a binary choice, if I can put it like that, because I know
3670 that issue has come up a number of times. So, in relation to amendment 1, those who vote for; those against?

Members voted Pour.

The Deputy Bailiff: Those Propositions therefore are added to –

Deputy Queripel: Madam, could I have a recorded vote on that, please?
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The Deputy Bailiff: I am afraid, Deputy Queripel, the vote has already been taken.

Deputy Queripel: I can still ask for a recorded vote, madam, under the Rules.

3680 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Well I think the vote was already taken. I shall check my Rules, Deputy Queripel, but I think you will find it was unanimous. Which Rule are you referring to Deputy Queripel?

3685 **Deputy Queripel:** Off the top of my head, madam, I do not know. But it says something along the lines of even when the vote has been taken a Member can still ask for a recorded vote. *(Interjections)* I say that, madam, because very often, it has happened quite often in the Assembly that a vote has been taken on the shout and the Presiding Officer has either ruled it out or said it is carried, and then someone has asked for a recorded vote. That has happened quite a few times in the past, and it changed. I know it is not going to change on this occasion, but I would like a record of it.

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The Deputy Bailiff: Well, Deputy Queripel, I am afraid I cannot find that Rule, unless anybody can point me to that Rule, it is quite clear that the vote was carried.

3695 **Deputy Queripel:** Perhaps the SACC President could find the Rule, madam?

Deputy Meerveld: I have not got the Rule Book to hand, but I believe a vote can be challenged after the call but I would question why on this occasion.

3700 **The Deputy Bailiff:** Well, I do not believe the vote is challenged and as, in accordance with me being the Presiding Officer, I am not going to have a recorded vote. There will be a recorded vote, if you so request one Deputy Queripel, on the Proposition.

So, amendment 2. Those who wish to vote for the amendment; those against?

Members voted Pour.

The Deputy Bailiff: That amendment is added to the Proposition.

3705 Now, as I suggested before, Deputy Ferbrache will now respond in relation to the main Proposition.

Deputy Ferbrache: Thank you very much indeed, madam.

I would like to start my reply by thanking each and every Member that has spoken. That was the purpose of the debate. It has been well-expressed, it has been couched in moderate terms. It has been a very sensible and civilised debate. So I thank all my colleagues.

3710

Freedom, that is what we are talking about. Freedom. Freedom does not exist in so many places in the world. I am going to start by referring to three senior Members of this Assembly and what have they have said; and those three senior Members, in no particular order of merit or otherwise, are Deputy Gollop, Deputy Roffey and Deputy Trott. Between them they have got so many years' service.

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Deputy Trott was around – sorry, I am looking, and they are very similar. Deputy Roffey was around 40 years ago and has been in and out and done something else other than the States, I am not quite sure what, but he has done other things too. *(Interjection)* Deputy Trott has been a senior Minister and has been in the States 22 years. Deputy Gollop joined the States just three years after I joined, in 1997 – albeit I left in 2000, voluntarily.

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In relation to their comments, Deputy Trott made the point that probably the majority of the Russian people have great suspicion about the West. That is because they have not lived in a democratic society, they have not had a free press, they have not been able to go on the internet and listen to the speeches of various people who put alternative views. So they do not particularly like or trust the West. That is a fact. Whether we like it or not, that is a fact.

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Deputy Gollop talked about the elections and he said – effectively, I am summarising rather than quoting his words directly, but I believe he understand what I mean by this – that there are people

worse than Putin. We would not believe it nowadays because Russia has a strong nationalist element, who are fascist in another way, they are communist and fascist, and they are dictatorial. They are not democratic; and we have got to acknowledge that fact.

Deputy Roffey talked about Putin and his ilk fear liberal democracies. They fear them because they are the ones that would destroy them. The trouble is that the Russian people are not educated in that sense. They do not have a culture of democracy. They have never had a democratic series of institutions. They have always had either tsars, or communists, or dictators or gangsters, as they have now, running them. That is the society that the Russians are in. So they are not like-for-like.

That is where we have got to admire the Ukraine, who have only again been an independent country for just over 30 years. Yet they grew a democracy in that time and they are a *true* democracy. So that is where we start from.

Now, the overwhelming majority of Guernsey people – I say ‘the overwhelming majority’ because in any society you are always going to get the odd idiot ... The overwhelming members of our society are not discriminatory, they are not racist, they like everybody. My paternal French grandmother, and she was here during the Occupation, once said, ‘We like everybody, even the English.’ In relation to that, it was a pretty typical attitude of the Guernsey people. It was then and it is now.

Where I disagree with Deputy Gabriel, when he said he was being taught by somebody about this course about showing people around the Island, and saying ‘refer to German soldiers rather than Germans’. Well, I am sorry, those German soldiers were Germans. They were Germans. It was the Germans that occupied Guernsey, it was the Germans that occupied Sark, it was the Germans that took over Alderney, whether we like it or not. It was the Germans. The Germans of 2022 are a lot different than the Germans of 1945 and that is the difference.

Countries have changed completely over that period of time and there are many bad Russians. Whether we like it or not, there are *many* bad Russians. I do not want to equalise this debate by saying ‘Look at Russia and look at Ukraine’ – because of course there are now so many thousands of Russian mothers who live in villages, who live in towns, whose sons are either not going to come home alive, or if their bodies do get back to Russia, they are going to come back in a body bag. They do not want that.

Look at the courage of the Russian woman journalist who stood up with her notice board on main TV. What courage for that person to show that! What courage for the many thousands of people who stood up – before the people have come and hit them over the head, or tried in some cases to even shoot them – to object to what Putin and his people are doing. We accept all of that unreservedly.

But I would like every Russian who can speak freely, that is not subject to the dictatorial trammels of Putin and his gangster regime, to say, ‘We support the Ukraine completely. We abhor what the Russian soldiers and Russians are doing.’ What I would like to have happened, and I think I said it in my initial speech ... fairy tales do not exist in real life and miracles of course do not happen very often. I would have liked the Russian soldiers to put their guns down. I would like the Russian soldiers to take their artillery away from the country. I would like the Russian pilots to refuse the fly the planes to bomb the cities, to shell the people.

Deputy Blin came up with a mind-blowing number of statistics about the number of hospitals, the number of schools, the number of theatres, the number of residences that have been destroyed by Russian guns and Russian weapons. We cannot ignore that. I have got no hostility at all towards the Russian people who have been subjugated, who cannot express their views, none at all – but my empathy today is overwhelmingly in favour of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people.

They are the people who are getting killed. They are the people who have been displaced. They are the people whose country has been decimated, They are the people whose country has been invaded. That is where our sympathy should be today. There is no balancing exercise in this at all in relation to that.

Answering a couple of questions. Very good points made by Deputy Queripel and Deputy Matthews about can we do more than the £500,000 we have already given? The answer is I am sure

we will, but it has got to be in a considered basis over a period of time and I am sure that Guernsey will continue to provide public money, charitable money and the like. I cannot stand up as President of P&R and say, 'Yes, tomorrow P&R are going to give another half a million pounds of public money to charities in the Ukraine.' I cannot say that. I have not got the power to do it and even if I

3785 did I would be saying it must be done in a considered, ordered and proper way. Because, as Deputy Trott has said – I hope he is wrong but I think he is right – this could escalate well beyond the physical boundaries of the Ukraine. I very much hope Deputy Trott, when I say that he is wrong – but I think, sadly, history has shown us he may well be right.

Deputy Burford said, and again a reasonable question, what have we done? Have we contacted

3790 agencies, charities in that part of the world? The answer is I do not think we have directly, yet, but there are several UNHR-accredited agencies and Third Sector groups, which we are aware of, some of whom we have existing strong links with which we would be able to work. I am sure we will do that. We are moving at the pace we can. We have only got so many resources. Where I agree is – and Deputy St Pier and I have had a conversation about that before – perfection is wonderful but it

3795 is also impractical. You have got to do practical things.

We are not moving – I do not mean Guernsey, I mean the world is not moving as quickly as I would like it to. And again answering the point Deputy St Pier asked me to make about the direction of challenge, yes, the direction of challenge should be that we should be making that point. But I am very much influenced by what I have heard today in the debate from Deputy Prow,

3800 in connection with that particular matter that he has said he is doing all he can, his Committee is doing all we can, and I know that we in P&R are doing all we can. So I am not actually sure if we now need Proposition 7 because of the assurance we have had, which I accept fulsomely from Deputy Prow, Deputy Aldwell and others. We can only do what we can realistically do.

Guernsey is more cosmopolitan than it has ever been. One of my businesses is hotels and

3805 restaurants. We employ Polish people, we employ Madeiran people, we employ Latvian people. We do not actually employ any Russians but we would if they were here. We employ Kenyan people, they are all good people, they are all people that we respect. They are all people that contribute towards our society.

When the Ukrainian people come, as more of them will come in due course, some of them will

3810 work where they can. They will contribute towards our society. They will enrich our society. But in relation to what we can do, we can only do so much at the pace that we can do it at. We are going as fast as we can. There was a phrase that I once heard somebody say, that today's shortcut is sometimes the longest way around. So therefore put your foundations down and move forward in a methodical way, but as quickly as you can. Do not let bureaucracy reign.

I take Deputy St Pier's point. We cannot tell the UK what to do but it may be that we could ask

3815 them to move a bit quicker and to change the rules and the bureaucracy. I think that is a very fair point. That is not going to rock any constitutional relationship at all, that is what we should be saying. But unlike some, I do not necessarily think we should be saying that in the newspaper, we should be saying that quietly over a telephone conversation or a Teams meeting, whatever it may

3820 be. And I do think we ought to do it in relation to that.

A very important day in Guernsey was 9th May 1945; and 10th May 1945 was a very important day in Sark, and our good friends in Alderney came back. The devastation that Alderney Representative Roberts mentioned – Alderney people left, and when they came back they came back to nothing. Their houses had been wrecked, all their stuff had been taken. They came back. In

3825 a way they had it worse than the other Bailiwick. Nobody had it good but they had it particularly badly because of what happened.

So, I would like it to be, and I do not know when it will be, it may be sometime hence. I would like there to be a 1st August or 10th October, whatever it is, a freedom day in the Ukraine, when they can say to Putin and his gangsters, they can say to the Russian soldiers who killed their people,

3830 'You go away, you stay away. We are now free. We are now united. We are now moving forward with our life. We are talking back our democracy. We are taking back our country.' They have got an inspirational leader, they are a brave and remarkable people.

Let's finish this debate by saying unequivocally, unreservedly, we support them. We undoubtedly will be behind them for the rest of their plight in their battle against a dictator. Against a man who is upsetting humanity, against his gangsters, against his acolytes. We are against them. We support them, we condemn the actions of those that have impinged upon their territory.

The Deputy Bailiff: Thank you, Deputy Ferbrache.

Deputy Queripel, I thought you were going to ask for a recorded vote. I was anticipating that.

Deputy Queripel: Deputy Ferbrache already asked for that, madam, in his speech.

The Deputy Bailiff: So, the first vote on Proposition 1, which is the original Proposition. Then on Propositions 2-6, then on Proposition 7 and then on Proposition 8.

So, States' Greffier, in relation to Proposition 1, could you call out the names, please?

There was a recorded vote.

Carried – Pour 37, Contre 0, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 2

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy Soulsby	None	None	Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy St Pier			Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Taylor			
Deputy Trott			
Deputy Vermeulen			
Deputy Aldwell			
Deputy Blin			
Deputy Brouard			
Deputy Burford			
Deputy Bury			
Deputy Cameron			
Deputy de Lisle			
Deputy de Sausmarez			
Deputy Dyke			
Deputy Fairclough			
Deputy Falla			
Deputy Ferbrache			
Deputy Gabriel			
Deputy Gollop			
Deputy Haskins			
Deputy Helyar			
Deputy Inder			
Deputy Le Tocq			
Deputy Leadbeater			
Deputy Mahoney			
Deputy Matthews			
Deputy McKenna			
Deputy Meerveld			
Deputy Moakes			
Deputy Murray			
Deputy Oliver			
Deputy Parkinson			
Deputy Prow			
Deputy Queripel			
Alderney Rep. Roberts			
Deputy Roffey			
Alderney Rep. Snowdon			

Deputy Queripel: Madam, whilst the votes are being counted, I have found the Rule.

The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, so have I actually, Deputy Queripel.

Deputy Queripel: It is 26(7), madam.

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The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, it is 26(7).

Deputy de Sausmarez: Madam Deputy Bailiff, unless I am mistaken, we might need some clarification on the numbering because I think we might have two Proposition 2s. So which one is 8? Has 7 become 8? Has amendment 2 become 8?

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The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, amendment 2 will need to be ...
There voted Pour 37, there were 2 absentees. Therefore, I confirm the Proposition is passed.
States' Greffier, in relation to Propositions 2-6, would you read the roll?

There was a recorded vote.

Carried – Pour 36, Contre 0, Ne vote pas 1, Absent 2

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy Soulsby	None	Deputy Taylor	Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy St Pier			Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Trott			
Deputy Vermeulen			
Deputy Aldwell			
Deputy Blin			
Deputy Brouard			
Deputy Burford			
Deputy Bury			
Deputy Cameron			
Deputy de Lisle			
Deputy de Sausmarez			
Deputy Dyke			
Deputy Fairclough			
Deputy Falla			
Deputy Ferbrache			
Deputy Gabriel			
Deputy Gollop			
Deputy Haskins			
Deputy Helyar			
Deputy Inder			
Deputy Le Tocq			
Deputy Leadbeater			
Deputy Mahoney			
Deputy Matthews			
Deputy McKenna			
Deputy Meerveld			
Deputy Moakes			
Deputy Murray			
Deputy Oliver			
Deputy Parkinson			
Deputy Prow			
Deputy Queripel			
Alderney Rep. Roberts			
Deputy Roffey			
Alderney Rep. Snowdon			

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The Deputy Bailiff: Yes, Deputy Meerveld?

Deputy Meerveld: Madam, may I suggest that on the vote that Deputy Queripel reported be recorded, when it sounded in the room that it was unanimous, of course – I have considered that since, and if someone wanted to abstain from a vote, the only way they can do that is by a recorded

3865 vote and having it recorded on *Hansard*. May I suggest that you just ask anybody who wished to abstain on that vote to say so, so it may be recorded?

The Deputy Bailiff: Deputy Meerveld, that is a very useful suggestion. However, given that we have just had a recorded vote on the detail of the amendment, in these particular circumstances – and I do apologise to Deputy Queripel, he was right in relation to 26(7):

Where voting on any matter is carried out otherwise than by a division or by ballot, any Member may, before the Presiding Officer rules that the matter was carried or was lost, or immediately after such a ruling, claim a division.

He was right, although nobody of course quoted the Rule at the time. But since we have now had a recorded vote of the amendments, I think Deputy Queripel can be sure we have got a very clear record how everybody has voted in relation to this matter.

3875 So, in relation to Propositions 2-6, there voted Pour 36, there was 1 abstention, there were 2 absentees. I confirm the Propositions are passed.

States' Greffier, in relation to the seventh Proposition.

There was a recorded vote

Lost – Pour 15, Contre 21, Ne vote pas 1, Absent 2

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy Soulsby	Deputy Taylor	Deputy Brouard	Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy St Pier	Deputy Trott		Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Burford	Deputy Vermeulen		
Deputy Bury	Deputy Aldwell		
Deputy Cameron	Deputy Blin		
Deputy de Lisle	Deputy Dyke		
Deputy de Sausmarez	Deputy Ferbrache		
Deputy Fairclough	Deputy Haskins		
Deputy Falla	Deputy Helyar		
Deputy Gabriel	Deputy Inder		
Deputy Gollop	Deputy Mahoney		
Deputy Le Tocq	Deputy Matthews		
Deputy Leadbeater	Deputy McKenna		
Deputy Parkinson	Deputy Meerveld		
Deputy Roffey	Deputy Moakes		
	Deputy Murray		
	Deputy Oliver		
	Deputy Prow		
	Deputy Queripel		
	Alderney Rep. Roberts		
	Alderney Rep. Snowdon		

The Deputy Bailiff: There voted Pour 15, Contre 21, there was 1 abstention and 2 absentees. Therefore the Proposition is not passed.

3880 In relation to the final Proposition, which is noted as number 2 on amendment 2, but as Deputy de Sausmarez rightly points out will be number 8 in relation to the Proposition.

States' Greffier.

There was a recorded vote.

Carried – Pour 34, Contre 3, Ne vote pas 0, Absent 2

POUR	CONTRE	NE VOTE PAS	ABSENT
Deputy Soulsby	Deputy Taylor	None	Deputy Dudley-Owen
Deputy St Pier	Deputy Dyke		Deputy Kazantseva-Miller
Deputy Trott	Deputy Mahoney		
Deputy Vermeulen			
Deputy Aldwell			
Deputy Blin			
Deputy Brouard			
Deputy Burford			
Deputy Bury			
Deputy Cameron			
Deputy de Lisle			
Deputy de Sausmarez			
Deputy Fairclough			
Deputy Falla			
Deputy Ferbrache			
Deputy Gabriel			
Deputy Gollop			
Deputy Haskins			
Deputy Helyar			
Deputy Inder			
Deputy Le Tocq			
Deputy Leadbeater			
Deputy Matthews			
Deputy McKenna			
Deputy Meerveld			
Deputy Moakes			
Deputy Murray			
Deputy Oliver			
Deputy Parkinson			
Deputy Prow			
Deputy Queripel			
Alderney Rep. Roberts			
Deputy Roffey			
Alderney Rep. Snowdon			

3885 **The Deputy Bailiff:** In relation to Proposition 8, there voted Pour 34, Contre 3 and there were 2 absentees. The Proposition was therefore duly carried.

Given the time, I do not think we will try and start the next item on the Order Paper.

3890 States' Members may be interested to know that gov.gg will be shut down at six o'clock because of work to be done and they hope to be able to sort out the issues within two hours. That is the advice we have been given, which is one of the reasons we are making sure we are finishing promptly this evening.

States' Greffier, will you therefore close the Meeting and we will see everybody again tomorrow.

The Assembly adjourned at 5.26 p.m.