



OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

STATES OF DELIBERATION

OF THE

ISLAND OF GUERNSEY

HANSARD

Royal Court House, Guernsey, Tuesday, 1st July 2025

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Present:

Sir R. J. McMahon, Esq., Bailiff and Presiding Officer

Law Officers

M. M. E. Pullum, K.C. (H.M. Procureur)
R. M. Titterington, K.C. (H.M. Comptroller)

People's Deputies

C. P. A Blin	M. S. Laine
Y. Burford	M. P. Leadbeater
T. L. Bury	J. P. Le Tocq
A. K. Cameron	M. Malik
H. L. Camp	A. D. S. Matthews
G. M. Collins	L. J. McKenna
R. P. Curgenvin	P. S. N. Montague
H. L. de Sausmarez	A. J. Niles
D. F. Dorrity	G. A. Oswald
S. J. Falla	J. M. Ozanne
A. Gabriel	C. N. K. Parkinson
J. A. B. Gollop	S. R. Rochester
M. T. Goy	T. M. Rylatt
S. T. Hansmann Rouxel	A. S. Sloan
M. A. J. Helyar	G. A. St Pier
R. M. Humphreys	J. D. Strachan
N. R. Inder	L. C. Van Katwyk
B. R. Kay-Mouat	S. P. J. Vermeulen
A. Kazantseva-Miller	S. Williams

Representatives of the Island of Alderney

The Clerk to the States of Deliberation

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

Absent at the Evocation

Alderney Representative E. Hill (*relevé à 10h 36*) ;
Alderney Representative E. A. J. Snowdon (*relevé à 10h 36*)

Business transacted

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States of Deliberation

*The States met at 10.00 a.m. in the presence of
His Excellency Lt Gen Richard Cripwell
Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bailiwick of Guernsey*

[THE BAILIFF *in the Chair*]

PRAYERS

The States' Greffier

EVOCATION

CONVOCATION

The States' Greffier: Billet d'État XI of 2025. 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 Court House on Tuesday, 1st July 2025 immediately after the sitting of the Royal Court to consider the item listed in this Billet d'État – Article 1, Election of the President of the Policy & Resources Committee

Welcome and congratulations to newly elected Members of the Assembly

The Bailiff: Members of the States, that is the first occasion on which I will address you collectively as such, and I am sure it will not be the last time. You are all most welcome to this Assembly, and I wish to congratulate each of you who has recently been elected as a People's Deputy for Guernsey to serve until the end of June 2029, and of course, if they were here, to welcome back the two Alderney representatives. They have travel issues.

The Rules of Procedure were commended to you all during your induction programme. One of the differences between this place and other jurisdictions is set out under the heading 'General Principles' in the preamble to those Rules, and I quote:

In Guernsey, parliamentary and governing functions are fused in one body, the States of Deliberation. Guernsey is governed not just through its parliament but by its parliament. In practice, most day-to-day functions are carried out by Committees of the States, each of which is independently responsible to the States of Deliberation.

In October 2020, I remarked at the start of that new term that I was quietly confident that those who had elected the Members will hope that they would govern collaboratively and so effectively and efficiently. Whether that was borne out will be for others to assess, but I do repeat that plea again today, recognising that differences of opinion among you will exist, and that that should result in robust debate, but please do not allow personalities to become more important than policies. (**A Member:** Hear, hear.) I very much wish you well in your endeavours over your terms of office.

Before we start populating the Committees, starting today with the President of what is the senior Committee of the States, for all candidates in the general election last month being elected in the single electoral district, in other words the first 38 past the post, there should be a recognition

that any such election cannot be delivered without there being a collective will to bring it about successfully. That is led by the Registrar General of Electors and the Central Returning Officer, assisted by polling station officers and the numerous volunteers who made the election the success it was for each of you.

I am going to invite you first to join with me in the customary fashion of this Assembly to thank all of them for what they achieved in delivering last month's general election. *(Applause)*

Billet d'État XI

POLICY & RESOURCES COMMITTEE

1. Election of a President of the Policy & Resources Committee – Deputy Lindsay de Sausmarez elected

Article 1.

To elect a sitting Member of the States as President of the Policy & Resources Committee to serve until 30th June 2029 in accordance with Rule 16 of The Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation, as set out in Section 1 of The Rules of Procedure of the States of Deliberation and their Committees

The Bailiff: I now invite nominations for the Office of President of the Policy & Resources Committee.

Deputy Bury: I propose Deputy Lindsay de Sausmarez, sir.

Deputy Laine: Sir, I rise to second that nomination.

Deputy Kazantseva-Millar: I propose Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Montague: I rise to second that nomination.

Deputy Niles: I rise to propose Deputy Mark Helyar.

Deputy Malik: I rise to second that.

The Bailiff: Are there any other nominations for this office? Okay, well, what I am going to do is I am going to invite the three candidates to come up to the top bench. Deputy de Sausmarez between His Excellency and the window, and Deputies Le Tocq and Helyar to my left, your right. What we will then hear are each of the proposers speaking for up to five minutes and then each of the candidates speaking for up to 10 minutes.

Because there are three candidates, we will then have questions which will relate to areas of policy included in the mandate of the Policy & Resources Committee. Because they are areas of policy, you will be able to find the mandate in the Rules of Procedure.

I simply remind all Members that the questioner can speak for up to 30 seconds only. Each candidate can reply to the questions but for no longer than 60 seconds. What we will do is we will put the candidate who was proposed first, Deputy de Sausmarez, to answer the first question first, but for the second question she will drop to the bottom of the pile and we will rotate the three candidates in that way so that each gets multiple opportunities to answer the questions first.

65 If you would like to ask a question to the candidates, and no member can ask more than one question, save if the time of 45 minutes expires and there are other people who – all Members have asked their one question, what I am going to ask you to do is to write your own name, if you want to ask a question, on a piece of paper. That will then go in my toque and I will draw out the first questioner and I will also draw out, so that you are forewarned, who the second questioner is going to be.

70 While the candidates are coming up to the bench please, if you want to be able to ask questions, then please write your name on a slip of paper and it will go in my Toq.

A Member: Please, sir, may we also remove our jackets?

75 **The Bailiff:** No.

A Member: Thank you.

80 **The Bailiff:** If everyone is now sitting comfortably, then what I will do is I will invite Deputy Bury, who has proposed Deputy de Sausmarez, to speak to Deputy de Sausmarez's candidature, please. Deputy Bury.

Deputy Bury: Thank you, sir.

85 Whether through working together at Specsavers, socialising with similar crowds, or trailing in her wake on the touch rugby field, it is fair to say that I have known Deputy de Sausmarez in various guises for quite some time. I probably thought that I knew her quite well but there was plenty I did not know, and that I have learned from working with her, both in the States and on Committee together during the last term.

90 Firstly, I learned that her capacity for work is seemingly boundless. President of E&I and Vice President at ESS was a hefty workload. However, at any ESS meeting, it was very clear that she was fully informed and fully across the papers we had, right down to the detail, including grammatical errors.

95 But for most people, applying themselves in this way to such a load would be enough, but not for Deputy de Sausmarez. She further showed her capacity by leading and supporting on amendments, requêtes and questions in the States, always offering meaningful input before and during debate. I learned that if you work with Deputy de Sausmarez on something, she is never a passenger.

100 Secondly, I learned that she has an admirable leadership style and collaborative approach. This was never demonstrated better than during a high-profile policy letter from E&I, where a member of her Committee dissented from the Committee proposals. Instead of what we had seen in other Committees during that time, where dissenting members were effectively punished and ostracised, Deputy de Sausmarez brought the policy letter with the Committee's position and the dissenting member's position both laid out as options for the Assembly. This allowed that Member to lay their stall out in what was widely regarded as their best speech of the term, and the rest of the Members to hear both options in a non-adversarial way. It was so very refreshing.

110 This speaks to something that we sometimes lost sight of last term. Behaviour matters. Deputy de Sausmarez is a good leader because she treats people with respect and civility. This perhaps explains how she gets so much done. She brings out the best in people. Without ego, if she does not know about something, she will not bluff her way through it or pretend she does. She will hold her hands up and then, my goodness, will she knuckle down and get up to speed. Within a week or so, it is hard to believe that she is the same person that did not know much about the subject previously. Although I must say, I have found these subjects few and far between.

115 I think that Members would agree these qualities are absolutely critical for our new President of P&R to have. The workload is huge and the need for a collaborative, non-divisive leader is pressing. We cannot have another term like we have just had.

More than what I have learned just over the last term, over the last week I have also had some meaningful conversations with Deputy de Sausmarez, quizzing her on what she intends to do if she is President of P&R. She has plenty of new and refreshing ideas to ensure accessibility of P&R for both Committees and Members, and these come from her extensive experience of being on the receiving end of P&R, as it were. She has, in recent times, seen what does not work in our overall structure of Government and for our Committees, and sees how it can be done better. She will go into these ideas more, in more detail, I am sure.

The narrative that has emerged post-election is that the electorate have voted for something different. The other candidates, who of course are respected and capable colleagues, have been on P&R before in senior positions. I know that Deputy de Sausmarez respects this and their experience. However, what we need now is a new way of looking at things and a new way of doing things. This is what Deputy de Sausmarez, as a candidate, offers us in the highest order.

In closing, sir, I will leave my colleagues with this. She topped the poll. The only one of us to break the 10,000 mark. She was ahead of the next in line by nearly 1,300 votes. So what I am saying, sir, is the public very clearly voted for Deputy de Sausmarez. Would it not be a great footing for us to start on, to show we are listening and do the same?

Thank you, sir.

The Bailiff: I now invite Deputy de Sausmarez to speak for up to 10 minutes, please.
Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir.

This election, the first decision that we will make together as a new Assembly, is not just about choosing one person for one role. It is about setting the tone and the direction for this term and beyond.

I did not set out to run for President of Policy & Resources. I only gave it serious thought after being encouraged by colleagues, members of the public, and business leaders, who felt that I could bring people together and get things done.

I could not turn down the chance to directly address the divisions and frustrations of the last four and a half years. Because of that, I am fully committed. The electorate has sent us a clear, powerful message. They want a change of approach. They voted for a fresh start. We now have a younger, more dynamic and more forward-looking Assembly. Candidates who showed that they could work constructively were recognised by the voting public. The division and tribalism that marred the last States began right at this point in this very vote in 2020 and it undermined trust from the outset. This Assembly, however, feels different. There is a new energy, greater diversity and more optimism. We owe it to those who elected us to build on that spirit and show that we can work as one team.

Of course, both other candidates also aspire to unity and cohesion. So what sets me apart? One differentiation is on tax. The election results show that many Islanders are worried about the GST-plus package and want this States to take another look. We need a pragmatic, clear and balanced approach that builds on the work already done and reassures people we have fully explored every option before introducing any new taxes. I believe my position best reflects where the community is and where it wants to go. There is broad recognition of the need for a more sustainable tax base, but people want more clarity around the numbers, a transparent look at other revenue options, a realistic assessment of the GST-plus impacts and mitigations, and robust protections for lower and middle income earners and small businesses.

As someone who is not in any way associated with the previous P&R's proposals, I can be trusted to be open-minded in this endeavour. Real care is needed when looking at Corporate Tax. It is essential that we take the business community with us on any reform journey. They need a reasonable degree of certainty if they are going to continue to invest in local operations and we have to be mindful of our position in relation to our competitor jurisdictions too. But we do need to move quickly. Clear decisions by early next year are crucial to maintain confidence.

Whatever the ultimate package looks like, we need fresh voices to bring the public with us, something that the previous P&R Committees, despite their commendable efforts, were not able to do. If the election results represent a shift in energy and emphasis, and I believe they do, then I am the candidate who best embodies that change.

I have great respect for Deputies Le Tocq and Helyar, and, if I become President, I have assured them that I would want them both to play leading roles to make the most of their skills and experience. However, the key distinction between us is that they are both former members of previous P&R Committees. And while they have experience of P&R from the inside, my nine-year experience of P&R is through interactions from the other side of the table, serving on Committees that have been subject to P&R decisions and processes, which is a more relevant perspective for the vast majority of Members sitting in this Assembly right now.

Because of that experience, I understand how our senior Committee can become more effective. First, I would build stronger, more genuine links between P&R and principal Committees. Each Committee and policy area will have a champion within Policy & Resources, engaged where helpful throughout policy development. That is not about oversight. It is about better understanding, enabling better strategic planning and helping policies succeed.

P&R has historically kept a sharp eye on the resources, but has been too passive in my view with respect to policy co-ordination. The Government Work Plan would benefit from greater strategic clarity and more focus. Where it makes sense to do so, I would like to create new platforms through which we can better use Members' expertise and interests and deliver for the community in a more targeted way.

Second, I would open up Policy & Resources to the rest of the Assembly. I would hold regular one-to-one meetings with Committee Presidents, improve those collective discussions and make myself available through drop-ins to any Member who wants to talk things through. I feel strongly that P&R should not be an ivory tower. It should empower and enable.

Third, I will strengthen our connection with the community. Our relationship with the public has been badly eroded, trust has frayed, and we need to earn it back. Life is tough for many people in the Island with a high cost of living, acute housing pressures, and the growing sense among young people that they have no future here. We need to listen better and communicate more openly, not just through one-off consultations, but through ongoing, meaningful dialogue with businesses, the third sector, young people and the wider public. We need to show that we understand their concerns. We are working in their interests and we are worthy of their trust.

This approach is not theoretical for me. I walk the walk. Leading by example on my Committees in the last term, I worked across the States, industry and the community to develop robust policies that secured strong support, even on sensitive or controversial issues. The Electricity Strategy, open market reforms, the dairy sector review, anti-discrimination Law and the pathway to net zero are just some examples, securing strong political and public support, often against the odds. We involved people from the start, listened properly, acted on feedback and brought people with us. I do not pay lip service to collaborative working. I do it and I do it well.

P&R has a big mandate, but I will pick out just a few issues that I think will be particularly important. Among my immediate priorities would be unlocking Leale's Yard, which is vital for housing and the reinvigoration of the Bridge.

Another cornerstone decision that P&R must lead on is the future strategic direction of the Harbours. I have also worked closely with the GDA over the last term and would continue to support them as an economic, social, and even environmental enabler. Offshore wind has huge economic potential and, having been closely involved for many years, I am best placed to keep driving that forward.

The Bailiwick Commission is an opportunity to positively reset our relationships with Alderney and Sark fit for the modern age. We urgently need a solution for Alderney's airfield in the short term while planning for sustainable connectivity longer term.

Speaking of the longer term, the Supported Living and Ageing Well Strategy really must be prioritised. Sustainably funded long-term care is increasingly important and, in considering it, we

220 must take into account its impact on younger generations too. I want Guernsey to be a place young people can see a future and I am determined to make that possible.

I know how tough and complex these challenges are. We face global uncertainty and now more than ever we need strong relationships with our neighbours and beyond. Through my leadership roles, I have represented Guernsey regionally and internationally, including through the British-Irish Council, in Brittany and Normandy, at Westminster, and at a global stage at the United Nations COP. I have built solid links across the Crown Dependencies, the UK, France, Ireland and further afield. I have been touched by the encouragement I have received from some of those counterparts to stand for this role.

230 As a member of the Civil Contingencies Authority for the last four and a half years, including over COVID, I have had a lot of experience too in making decisions to keep the Island safe and preventing and responding to emergencies, many of which the public and even other States' Members were never aware of, which is testament to the fact that we made the right calls.

235 We are now at a pivotal moment in our Island's future. The decisions that we make in this political term will shape Guernsey, not just over the next few years, but for generations to come. I am always encouraged to see so many young people in our public gallery as they are today, because they are this Island's most important stakeholders and it is our responsibility to establish strong foundations on which they can continue to build. We have an exciting opportunity to reset how we work as a Government, to rebuild trust with our community and to demonstrate to our electorate that when they spoke, we listened. We can show them that we are ready to work together for them.

240 Thank you.

The Bailiff: Thank you.

I am now going to invite Deputy Kazantseva-Miller to speak to her nomination of Deputy Le Tocq.

245 Deputy Kazantseva-Miller, please.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Sir, I am delighted we have three outstanding candidates for this election. Contested elections are a sign of democratic strength. They prompt us to consider not just who wants to lead, but who is best prepared to. They place responsibility on us, this elected Assembly, to choose what is right for the times ahead.

250 Guernsey stands at a pivotal moment. In such times, we must ask who can provide the confident, decisive, inclusive, strategic leadership needed from day one. Leadership that is rooted in experience, backed by results, and will be respected in Guernsey and on the global stage.

255 Deputy Jonathan Le Tocq is that leader. Deputy Le Tocq has a long and distinguished record of public service. First elected in 2000, he has practical experience of Government before and after the change in the system in 2004 and the revisions in 2016. He served as Deputy Minister for Treasury and Resources, as Home Affairs Minister, as Deputy Chief Minister, and as Chief Minister. He has been a member of the Policy Council and P&R for 13 years.

260 During Brexit, he secured continuity for our Island through quiet strategic diplomacy, whether leading international negotiations on tax transparency and beneficial ownership, or liberalising Guernsey's trade policy, Jonathan was a steady hand in the background, protecting Guernsey's reputation, constitutional independence, our economy, and our financial services. In our consensus and committee-based Government, delivery is not easy and is both art and science. Deputy Le Tocq has the experience to see through the noise and to prioritise. He has shown time and time again that, with the right approach, perseverance and diplomacy, it can be done and we have no time to waste.

270 Leadership is also about building bridges, not digging trenches. Deputy Le Tocq combines the Guernsey donkey spirit with the immense compassion, personal integrity, and skills that make him a unique local and global leader. He is equally at ease chatting to the UK Prime Minister, ambassadors, CEOs of global businesses, as well as our young people and those most vulnerable in our community. I witnessed him as someone who listens, builds consensus, lives with humility and

focus. In Deputy Le Tocq, we have a leader who is calm under pressure, and principled in action. He is the kind of leader who does the right thing, even when it is the hard thing to do. All while maintaining the highest levels of respect in politics, business, community, and the global stage. This is the kind of leadership Guernsey needs now more than ever, given the erosion of faith in politics and how many difficult decisions face us.

While firmly rooted in our community, Deputy Le Tocq has built Guernsey's profile on the world stage. He holds a trusted relationship with Westminster, Brussels, Paris, Crown Dependencies, across Asia, transatlantic, the Gulf states, as well as in our wonderful Bailiwick, working closely with Alderney and Sark. His fluency in French and Guernésiais has opened many doors and will be extra handy thanks to our renewed ferry links with France.

Fighting for our rights and building our international trade links is essential for our continued economic stability, sustainable growth, and will become more, not less important. This must be our own era of national renewal. We need leadership that can help restore stability and lead the Assembly to reimagine the future for our Island.

Deputy Le Tocq is committed to delivering on that vision and believes passionately in opportunity for all Islanders. He believes in a Guernsey where people do not have to leave to succeed. He backs innovation, infrastructure, housing, education, lifelong learning, key levers for a fairer and sustainable economy that works for all. He faces fiscal challenges head on, balancing ambition with responsibility. He is fiscally prudent, not in words but in action.

Sir, this is a defining moment, one that demands experience, foresight, the ability to make difficult decisions, and the courage to lead with clarity and purpose.

Members, I am proud to propose Deputy Jonathan Le Tocq today, a steady hand, a principled voice, someone who for years has shaped progress for our Island and is ready to lead the Assembly with passion and vigour to reimagine our future for generations to come. A leader trusted because he has earned it.

The Bailiff: I will now invite Deputy Le Tocq to speak to his candidature.
Deputy Le Tocq, please.

Deputy Le Tocq: Mr Bailiff, Members of the States, it is with a deep sense of duty and enduring hope that I offer myself to serve as President of the Policy & Resources Committee. This is not a role I seek for personal prestige, but because I believe our Islands stand at a critical crossroads and I believe I have the skills and that I am ready to lead us forward with experience, humility, resilience, and a steady hand. We all know that the next few years will demand more of us than ever. More collaboration, more clarity, and more courage. I believe I bring those qualities and I am asking for the support of this Assembly to help steer Guernsey through what comes next.

Why me and why now? My journey in public life has never been about politics for politics' sake. From my early days brought up in the family of a long-serving Parish Constable and Douzenier, to my time as Chief Minister, and through serving this Assembly over multiple terms, I have always tried to listen well, to act wisely, and to put Guernsey first. I have had the privilege of representing this Island on the global stage, negotiating with the EU and UK Ministers during the turbulent Brexit talks, building inter-Island co-operation with Jersey and the Isle of Man, and ensuring Guernsey's voice was heard when it mattered.

But just as importantly, I have worked with many Members here across the variety of Committees and differing perspectives to get things done. I believe strongly in consensus, not combat, and I believe the Presidency of Policy & Resources must now be held by someone who can unite, not divide. Let us be honest with ourselves. The challenges facing our Bailiwick are real and they are pressing. Our fiscal position is fragile. Our infrastructure needs modernisation. Our housing market is locking out too many young people and skilled workers. The longer we delay tough decisions, the more difficult the consequences will become.

We need to increase productivity without compromising our quality of life. We need to attract investment without losing our distinct identity. We need to protect the most vulnerable in our

society while living within our means. None of this will be easy. But nor is it impossible if we face it together with focus and shared purpose. That is why I believe we need leadership that builds bridges rather than battlegrounds. We need, not just plans, but priorities, and only a few priorities. We cannot have so many priorities that they do not belong in the category 'priority' anymore. We do not need just ambition, but achievement. Not just a loud voice, but a listening ear.

If entrusted with this role, I will focus on three key areas. Firstly, fiscal responsibility with vision. We cannot keep postponing hard decisions about how we fund our public services. We have resolutions in place. They can and must be refined, reviewed, and then ready for implementation. There is time to do this, but we need to hit the ground running. I pledge to bring those with differing views together and to help find a consensus way forward with sustainable, fair and balanced options to address our fiscal deficit. Options that protect our competitiveness, but also ensure we do not saddle future generations with the costs of our delay.

Secondly, housing and skills for the next generation. Our young people must see a future here. I have three daughters here and four grandsons now, and I feel very strongly about that. That means unlocking land for housing, supporting vocational and lifelong learning and ensuring our economy is equipped with the skills it needs, not just for now, but for the next 30 years. There are doors opening up for us if we have the courage to diversify our economy, building on our successes. For example, recent discussions I have had at a trade conference about Guernsey's potential to become a Commonwealth AI hub, specialising in the niches that we are already strong in.

Thirdly, leading with integrity and inclusion. I will run an inclusive, transparent Policy & Resources Committee, one that values input from other Committees on a regular basis, that communicates clearly and that seeks to restore public confidence in our decision-making process. I want a Committee that empowers others, not micromanages them, that provides leadership without arrogance, that delivers results, not headlines. I will endeavour to create regular meetings of all the key Committee Presidents with P&R on a more frequent basis than has occurred in the past, with a formal agenda and focus. We must also provide better communication between P&R and the whole Assembly in the key priority areas, as well as the whole Island community, including Alderney. This can be done, because it has been done before, but it requires all of us, our time and dedication and our co-operation.

Most of those present today will know my style. I do not shout the loudest. I do not believe in political theatre. What I do believe in is constructive leadership rooted in Guernsey's values, pragmatism, fairness and community. I know how to work effectively with Ministers in other Governments, with our own Civil Service, with the Islanders, and with this Assembly, my fellow States' Members. I have chaired Committees through complex legislation. I have led international negotiations. I have brought consensus from disagreement. I know that true leadership is not about telling others what to do, but about listening, building trust and enabling others to succeed. We do not need drama in our leadership. We need direction.

To achieve this, we will need to create a new culture. That culture needs to be less risk averse, less focused on regulation and legislation, more creative in seeking the outcomes we desire, and our objectives must be far more focused. If our priorities are many, then we will likely fail and deliver few. We must put aside pet projects and seek to do a few things well.

Sir, the role of Policy & Resources President, which should be a value all of us in public office hold, is not one of personal ambition. It is one of stewardship. To make this work, we require something like a Government of all the talents. I am adapting that from William Grenville, who became British Prime Minister during the Napoleonic Wars. His vision was to disperse with partisan and ideological strategies and to utilise all the diverse skills, a meritocracy of round pegs in round holes, to focus resources and energies towards common goals rather than at each other.

This demands someone who can think long term, act wisely in the short term, and hold the confidence of this Assembly and the community beyond. I offer myself, not as someone with all the answers, but as someone with experience, stability and determination to ask the right questions and to work with everyone to find solutions. We are only custodians of this Island for a short time.

375 Let us leave it stronger, fairer and more united than we found it. I ask for Members' support, not just for me, but for the future of Guernsey and Alderney.

Thank you.

380 **The Bailiff:** Welcome to the two Alderney Representatives. Is it your wish to be relevéd?

Alderney Representative Snowdon: Yes, please, sir.

Alderney Representative Hill: Yes, please.

385 **The Bailiff:** If you would like, you could, instead of sitting at the back on your chairs, you could take the seats that have been vacated next to Deputy McKenna and Deputy Blin. You might want to come in the other end. If you want to be able to ask questions when we get to question time to the three candidates for the office of President of the Policy & Resources Committee, can you write your name on a piece of paper and I will tuck it in and mix it up without looking to the pile that is already in my tuck.

390 Next, I am going to invite Deputy Niles, as the proposer of Deputy Helyar, to make his speech. In these election meetings, these are not maiden speeches. Maiden speeches only start in the middle of the month.

So up to five minutes for you, Deputy Niles, to describe Deputy Helyar.

395 **Deputy Niles:** Thank you, sir.

It is my privilege to propose Mark Helyar as President of the Policy & Resources Committee. When I stood for election, I made it clear in my manifesto that I wanted to see quicker and better decisions made in this Assembly by people who collaborate and who care about this Island. In this coming term, when someone asks me to support something and if I can see that it helps matters progress to a sensible conclusion, then I will always say yes.

400 Mark has been open in his manifesto and in his campaign about how he will stand for the position of President of P&R. By proposing Mark, we give ourselves the opportunity to consider the experience, capabilities and attributes that he will bring.

405 Let us first consider his experience. Mark has served our community at the highest level in professional services and the third sector, bringing to the table a combination of technical acumen and practical wisdom. His background in finance and law, leading to several global awards, is not just a line on a résumé, it is a foundation for prudent stewardship of our Island's resources. This will be his third term, having served as Vice-President of Policy & Resources during the turbulent post-COVID period, and as a non-States' Member on the Public Accounts Committee between 2008 and 2012.

415 His performance and work rate and seamless adaption as a new Deputy into one of the Island's most technically demanding roles as Treasury lead led to public acknowledgement of his performance from several in the Assembly who were not natural political allies. His lengthy and highly detailed work as Chair of the Tax Review Committee led to the current States' Tax Reform Policy finally being approved in early 2024. Mark was the originator of the States' Investment Board, the Guernsey Development Agency, the Bailiwick Commission, the broadband rollout, and he delivered four budgets among involvement in dozens of other projects in a role which reaches into the heart of Guernsey's Government and the work of every Committee.

420 Any Member who has viewed the new parliament.gg website and looked at the parliamentary workload over the last four years and eight months will have seen that Mark's involvement in debates runs for six pages. He is and has been, without any doubt, one of the Assembly's busiest and able Members.

425 I have worked with Mark on the Tax Review Committee and through my involvement as a non-States' Member of Economic Development throughout the last term. Mark's motivation is clear. He is a Guernseyman, committed to serving his Island, the wider Bailiwick, and its people with integrity

and dedication. Mark is not afraid to admit what he does not know and can listen to advice and have the courage to act decisively once a course is set. These are the hallmarks of a leader who can inspire public trust and unity.

430 We must now build consensus to deliver for our community. Mark is a leader who values transparency and accountability. He understands that good governance is not just about making the right decisions but about explaining them clearly and honestly to the people we serve. He is not afraid to take responsibility and he expects the same from all of those around him.

435 As we look to the future, we need a leader who can navigate the complexities of our world with wisdom and foresight. We need a leader who can build bridges and foster collaboration in this Assembly. Sir, Mark Helyar's qualifications are clear, a proven track record, a tireless commitment to our values, and the drive to unite diverse voices around common purpose.

I ask you all to support Mark Helyar's candidacy for the office of President of Policies & Resources Committee.

440 Thank you.

The Bailiff: Finally, I will invite Deputy Helyar to speak to his candidature, please.
Deputy Helyar.

445 **Deputy Helyar:** Thank you, sir.

Members, I thank Deputy Niles for his proposal speech and also Deputy Malik for seconding.

450 The first thing I would ask is for everyone to relax. When I stood up to ask a question during the last election for Chief Minister, I observed that it felt like I had just walked into a turf war. As it turns out, I was right, and like everyone else in that Assembly we all ended up on one side or another. It was not a great start. This is not at all the same. The candidates here are not in opposition. We are simply providing the Assembly with different perspectives, options and styles for leadership with the same set of problems to deal with whoever is elected today.

455 I am confident we will work together productively whatever the outcome of this election, and in recognition of that it would be my intention to invite Deputy de Sausmarez and Deputy Le Tocq to join me on P&R, if I am successful.

460 The issues Guernsey faces are truly significant. Urgent housing needs, immigration, escalating health costs, the imperative for fiscal reform, and the necessity to restructure and sustainably fund our financial services and infrastructure. These are not abstract problems. They touch the lives of every Islander and they demand not only courage and decisive action but also a fundamental reset in how we, as an Assembly, work both together and with our public servants.

465 Setting the tone comes from the top of any organisation and being positive, collaborative and listening to the competing and sometimes chaotic needs of our Government and its Members will be a chief objective and that of my chosen team. I intend P&R to walk the walk. I know very well from bitter experience that there is no power in this role. The power lies in the Assembly and in the community which it serves. I believe we need a P&R which remembers this and which gets its hands dirty, not a P&R in a gilded cage.

470 Part of the role is helping new Members achieve their objectives. My advice for new Members is do not accept that things have to be done the way they have always been done. Use the question 'Why?' most often and remember that when people cannot control you, they will try to control how others feel about you. It will quickly become clear to Members over the next few months that it is difficult to see the wood from the trees or to make any measurable progress and this can be very disheartening. We are about to be dropped into a maelstrom with hundreds of competing needs, services and projects, all chasing resources which cannot match what we are already doing, within an organisation which continues to grow beyond the means of our revenue base and often without our knowledge or ability to intervene.

A personal aim is for the Government, in other words this Assembly, to reverse our focus from competing with and against one another and start to focus into the organisation on delivery of smaller, incremental, tangible goals, building deadlines, targets, accountability and responsibility

into this organisation. Facilitated by a P&R which also reaches inter-Committee work to facilitate it, guiding and enabling better visibility across all Committees to understand their competing time, resource and financial limitations.

My objective for P&R and its members is to work hard trying to make the complex simple. To do that, Committees will need to step back at the earliest opportunity, assess the current position, stabilise any business-as-usual issues, and then consider what is in delivery stage, pipeline and drafting, and prioritise finishing a few things, bite size if you will, and after that we must iterate according to what resources are available.

I will lead a P&R whose objective is to support and facilitate our new Housing Committee to deliver practical, sustainable solutions from within the new Housing Plan. This means working across Committees to unlock land, streamline planning, support development that meets real needs and ensure that the third sector and the private sector are active partners in our response. This term, housing is not just a policy issue, it is a visible test of our resolve and ability to act and ensure delivery for the common good of this Island.

A great deal of our responsibility this term lies in the delivery of plans, reviews and inquiries across several principal Committees that will require careful planning and co-ordination. They also come in many cases at significant and growing expense, which we cannot readily afford, which brings me to my key issue for this term. Sir, we must successfully enact, without delay, agreed policies on tax reform and that will be my key objective. I will support continuing to review the ever-changing landscape of Corporate Tax, including the potential for dialling up zero-10 to zero-15 and to again consider other forms of territorial taxation urgently.

I will directly include those Members in the Assembly who promote other alternatives in that process because, until we have done this with some finality, we will not be able to move Guernsey on. But it is imperative in my view that these things must be done concurrently and not consecutively. The dithering and delay over tax reform has already lost Guernsey £170 million, which could have funded our schools and hospital.

Our recent accounts demonstrate that we have very little cash and are already running Government on an expensive overdraft, and our reserves are rapidly dwindling. The imperative in conducting any further review of taxation is that we must consult, take account of feedback from industry, and make properly considered and evidence-based decisions for our Bailiwick, which objectively balance risk against reward.

This means we should not propose solutions which make Guernsey less competitive. We cannot afford to do so. If our economy starts to shrink more rapidly as a result of further prevarication, we will face even more significant problems facilitating urgent and deep cuts to public services. Now is the time to bolster confidence, not create uncertainty. I fully expect that without favourable tailwinds and full implementation of the States' agreed tax reforms and Pillar Two, which I enacted as Treasury lead, that Guernsey's finances will further deteriorate and we will face a fiscal crisis within the next seven years.

With this risk in mind, one of the first actions I intend to implement as President of Policy & Resources will be via the Committee to request the Law Officers to draft an amendment to the Civil Contingencies Legislation to enable it, in an altered format, to be triggered in the event of an economic crisis or emergency. That is a direct reflection of how serious I consider our financial circumstances are becoming.

Moving on, I am committed to supporting our Senior Leadership Team in the restructure of our public services. We owe it to taxpayers to deliver Government that is efficient, accountable and focused on outcomes. We must help public services harness technology, streamline processes, and ensure that every pound spent delivers real value for our community. At the same time, we must maintain high standards of care and support for those who need it most. Reform is not about cutting for the sake of cutting, it is about building a public sector fit for our future.

Fiscal discipline though must underpin everything we do. We must be responsible stewards of public resources, safeguarding Guernsey's financial stability and autonomy, and the autonomy of the wider Channel Islands generally. We have to prove to those ultimately responsible for our good

governance that we can govern ourselves. This means making tough choices but also investing where it counts in infrastructure, in people, and in the long-term resilience of our Island and the wider Bailiwick. That is inevitably likely to require a commitment to borrowing to achieve some of Government's goals once our revenue position has been stabilised.

535 Sir, I personally pledge to lead, as I have done throughout my professional career, with honesty, transparency and integrity. I will work tirelessly with the rest of P&R and Presidents and Members to foster a culture of constructive and collaborative Government. I will also put the interests of Guernsey before politics. If I am not successful in this election, then I will try to serve faithfully in some other capacity. Sir, my ambition is for this Assembly, under my leadership, to be remembered
540 not as the managers of decline but as architects of Guernsey's renewal.

We, all of us, have a part to play and share in that ambition. Let us collectively have the courage to make the difficult decisions, the resolve to see them through, and above all the unity to ensure that the Bailiwick's best days lie ahead of us.

Sir, I ask every Member of this Assembly to please support me in this endeavour.

545 Thank you.

The Bailiff: Members of the States, we are now going to move into 45 minutes of questions to the three candidates. As I explained before, you get up to 30 seconds to ask a question, but you probably do not really need the full 30 seconds, and each candidate has up to a minute to respond.

550 So the first person who will ask a question is Deputy Blin. The second person who will be asking a question is Deputy Rylatt. I am simply going to announce the second questioner each time so that they are preparing themselves for what they are going to ask.

So the first question, Deputy Blin, please.

555 **Deputy Blin:** Thank you, sir.

As the previous Chair of the Offshore Wind Group Sub-committee of Policy & Resources, and having seen first-hand the progress made on the wind farm work, and bearing in mind the unanimous support of the Assembly, how will your leadership deliver real progress in achieving the continuation and completion of this work?

560 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir.

565 I think, of the candidates, I am the one that has been most closely involved in the offshore wind work and indeed in renewables from before that as well. It is absolutely essential that there is involvement from the right areas of the States. We need to use people's experience and knowledge. P&R has got a really critical role to play because the main barriers we have got in terms of offshore wind are in terms of access to market, and that involves our relationships with those potential market jurisdictions. So it is essential that we do have a link with Policy & Resources.

570 It is also essential that we have buy-in and involvement from Environment & Infrastructure, who have a whole realm of things in their mandate, which are touched upon in that. It is also important that we use the experience that has been built up over the course of this last Assembly to really deliver that, because that project is a potential game changer and it is so important that we see it through.

575 **The Bailiff:** The minute is now up, Deputy de Sausmarez.
Deputy Le Tocq, please.

580 **Deputy Le Tocq:** I think the way in which the first phase of the project has taken place has been successful. It is now over, but there could be a restructuring and I think there should be really to engage more people. Because it is now going to get more complicated and we have to do several things at once. For example, on CfDs, the contracts will need some degree of international relations

to make sure that we can sell appropriately. We will need to engage with partners and so we do need to hit the ground running. It could be done as a sub-committee, it could be done as a special group made up of States' Members.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Thank you, sir.

Deputy Blin will be aware that I was a big supporter of this during the last States. Our P&R was the one that created the Sub-committee which Deputy Blin was the Chair of. I have a background, my first degree was in environmental sciences. I was a member of the Renewable Energy Commission before I became a Deputy, so I firmly believe in it. All roads lead back to finances this term. If we cannot invest in the work that needs to be done, we will fail. So we need to sort out our financial situation as soon as possible.

The Bailiff: After Deputy Rylatt it will be Deputy Inder.
Deputy Rylatt's question, please.

Deputy Rylatt: Thank you, sir.

If successful, you will lead a States of Deliberation elected by fewer than one in three Islanders. How will you use the Policy & Resources mandate to rebuild trust with the community?

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: In a sense, we are not leading the Assembly, we are leading the Committee, but I do accept that there is a tone that needs to be set. I really do believe we have lost trust and one of the ways we could renew trust is take a leaf perhaps out of our Alderney friends' books and that is to have some form of Island meeting, Island People's Meetings or at least take the Committee and maybe some other Presidents around in the different parishes to meet on a regular basis with people. That has been lost. We used to have more of that of course when there were districts or parishes but that is one of the things I would certainly like to look at and to put in place.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Thank you, sir.

A good question. I agree with that proposal so that is an area where we are already collaborating. One of the reasons that feedback was given to me during the election was that people do not trust the Government because it does not make any decisions. So one of the things we need to commit to is, once we have made a decision, to live with it and move forward. If it turns out to be the wrong one, then we should iterate our position, not try to unwind everything constantly. So I would like to see some commitment to positive decision-making with a view to building trust.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: I think it is all about early engagement. I think the States have had a habit historically of deciding things and then going out to consultation, and I think that process needs to be reversed. I think we need to engage people at the earliest possible opportunity. We have got some incredible talent and people with time and energy to give and we need to harness that. So we need to get their input from the earliest possible opportunity. I think we also need to work on our internal dialogue as well and make sure that we get information to the community in the ways in which they can best receive it.

The Bailiff: After Deputy Inder it will be Deputy Oswald.

635 Deputy Inder's question, please.

Deputy Inder: Thank you, sir.

The Guernsey International Business Association has stated that territorial tax will damage the fiduciary funds and captive sector, the core of our economy. Would candidates confirm that, if
640 elected, they will stabilise industry fears by immediately stating that the territorial tax discussion is over?

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

645 **Deputy Helyar:** No, I would not do that because I think it has been very clearly put and there are several Members who have been elected on a mandate to look at that again, and I think we do need to look at that again but it needs to be done very urgently. I think I know what the conclusion is already but that presupposes what the Assembly will decide and it is a democracy. If I am outvoted, I am outvoted.

650 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: I agree with Deputy Helyar's view on this. I think there is a clear mandate to do exactly that but I think we do need to do it in a way that is working with industry to provide
655 them the assurance that they need. So I think it needs to be very carefully scoped and any group looking at that needs to be carefully balanced and well informed.

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

660 **Deputy Le Tocq:** I cannot add very much to what the others have said. I do believe that we need to do this very quickly but I believe we need to do it, even though I have seen several reviews of this and quite clearly there are risks. So I would want to be absolutely certain that we can review it again and then move on.

665 **The Bailiff:** After Deputy Oswald it will be Deputy Gabriel.
Deputy Oswald's question, please.

Deputy Oswald: Thank you, sir.

Bearing in mind the anticipated workload of the Policy & Resources Committee in the
670 forthcoming term, as already mentioned by the candidates, do the candidates have any view on expanding the number of sitting members for P&R to enable this workload to be managed in a more effective and timely manner and/or consider formalising a delegated role perhaps in the form of established sub-committees to help make appropriate decision making in a timely manner?

Thank you.

675 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir.

I think the answer to the first suggestion of increasing the size of the P&R Committee itself, from
680 me personally, I do not think that would be the best approach, partly because I think there is quite a lot of evidence out there that, beyond four or five people, decision-making does get worse.

But I do wholeheartedly embrace, as I mentioned in my speech, the power of sub-committees and targeted groups to really look at issues in detail and make sure that those are delivered. So I think that personally is the way forward.

685 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

690 **Deputy Le Tocq:** It would be possible under the Reform Law I think for us to increase the Committee but that would mean that no doubt others would be taken off other Committees and that might cause problems. But we certainly do need to share the workload effectively and get more people engaged. It is possible to do that without those sort of structural changes. We will have a review of the Machinery of Government that I took part in the last term, and I think that needs to look at the size of the senior Committee. But certainly one of the things I have alluded to I would do is get the Presidents and members in of other Committees on particular topics, focus agenda on
695 a regular basis so that we are well-informed about policy co-ordination.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

700 **Deputy Helyar:** I do not disagree with either candidate in terms of those issues. The problem is, as Deputy de Sausmarez said, if you make the Committee too big, how big do you make it? Do you make it 40 people so we can all make decisions? That is the problem we have. We do not have any executive authority.

Some of the mandates within P&R are very large, so Deputy Le Tocq's former portfolio in International Affairs takes him out of the Island a lot of the time. He would have, I am sure, welcomed having an Assistant Minister with the authority to be able to assist him and I think in certain parts of the portfolio that would be very helpful, and with succession planning. I think that is an important part of it.

Thank you.

710 **The Bailiff:** After Deputy Gabriel it will be Deputy Williams.
Deputy Gabriel's question, please.

Deputy Gabriel: Thank you, sir.

I would like to ask the candidates about the GWP. Is it the right tool for the job? Is it fit for purpose? What is their stance on it? Will they revise it or scrap it even?
715

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

720 **Deputy Le Tocq:** That is a very good question because we have had an operating deficit last year and we have used obviously some of the reserves which go into some of the Work Plan. It certainly needs to be reviewed and, like I said in my speech, I think we need to concentrate certainly for the first half of this term in just doing a few things that can be done and not trying to do everything badly. It would be good to do a few things well.

725 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Helyar.

730 **Deputy Helyar:** At risk of repeating myself, I agree with Deputy Le Tocq again. The GWP, putting that together was a good way of building a moment-in-time snapshot of Government's objectives. It took a vast amount of central resources and policy-making staff and I am just not sure that is a useful way of using that very valuable and experienced resource. I prefer the iterative approach to these things. I think we save up too many problems and make them too big, which means the Assembly then has problems tackling them. We should deal with things in smaller chunks because that makes it easier for us to move forward if nothing else.

735 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir.

I do agree, the Government Work Plan, the theory is absolutely fantastic, but I think the reality is that it has turned into just a long list of workstreams that the Committee has put everything in. Part of the problem, when we look at the GWP, is that the strategic objectives are so broad you can hang anything off them. So I do think there needs to be greater focus, greater strategic planning in order to properly focus and then streamline. But I do agree with the sentiments expressed by Deputies Le Tocq and Helyar as well.

What I would say is I would not support taking the time to rip that up and start again. I think that is completely the wrong approach. I think what we have got there has got good bones and we just need to build on them.

The Bailiff: After Deputy Williams' question it will be Deputy Falla.
Deputy Williams, please.

Deputy Williams: Thank you, sir.

As finance is such a big issue, I think we are all agreed, I would just like greater clarity from all the candidates about what they would do regarding our finances and, more crucially, by when decisions would be made?

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Thank you, sir.

I have made it clear I think in the election campaign that, as the only last person in the Assembly that was the progenitor of the GST-plus package, I think we need to implement that in the guidelines that have already been set. The consequences of not doing that are too serious for us not to contemplate it and that we will start to see things slide in the economy quite quickly if we do not build some confidence that we are making decisions and moving forward. So that is what I would do first and then we will move on to other things. Perhaps zero-15 is an easy decision to make early as well. That would generate more income sooner.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: I would establish a body such as a SIAC to make sure that we have got the right skills and expertise and it can draw other skills and expertise, whether that is from the community or from the Assembly more generally, into that body in order to have a real focus.

But I think, as other candidates have expressed, time is of the essence and specifically in relation to the question on timeline I think that we cannot leave it. Ideally by the end of the year, but that might be too ambitious. So I think quarter one by next year at the absolute latest would be the timeline I would be looking at.

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: I agree that it is all about timing because our finances are fragile and very vulnerable, as we have seen only recently. While a review needs to take place, and the fact is we have to recognise that we often take a long time populating those things and getting them in order, we really do need to hit the ground running and make sure that we are doing this quickly, swiftly, and effectively to take people with us.

The Bailiff: After Deputy Falla it will be Deputy Kazantseva-Miller.
Deputy Falla's question, please.

Deputy Falla: Thank you, sir.

What do you see as key to unlocking real economic growth?

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The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

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Deputy de Sausmarez: Two things spring to mind. The first is housing because that is such an economic enabler or, more pertinently, when it is not working it is the complete opposite, it is an absolute albatross around our necks. So it is absolutely essential that we prioritise our housing objectives to make sure that we can support our economy.

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The second thing is productivity. I have always been keen to support measures that will increase productivity because I think that is the tide that floats all economic boats, and I think there are potentially some quick wins that we could look at that could give a real productivity boost to our economy. Those are ideas not from me, those are what our business community themselves are telling us and I think it is time we listened.

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

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Deputy Le Tocq: I agree about productivity. I mentioned it in my speech and we certainly need to do that. We need to couple that with skills and lifelong learning and changing the job opportunities.

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I do believe however we have got doors opening to us for growth. One of those, for example, is in the continent, in France particularly now, where we have got partnerships particularly with Brittany Ferries, and we should build on that. We need to get champions here to really encourage our industry to think outside the box, build on what is going well at the moment, and concentrate on doing that, see what comes out of that rather than speculate in all different directions.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

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Deputy Helyar: The key thing, we live in an Island with a finite resource. We do not grow tomatoes anymore. There is not a lot of fish left in the sea unfortunately. So we have to export something to have an economy and our current export sector is financial services. In order for that sector to continue to thrive, we need to look at new opportunities. I think we should be looking more at crypto, for example. It is very developing in other areas of the world and I think we are losing pace with that.

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But the key thing is confidence. Confidence is everything in an economy. People will not come here and invest if they feel that the Government is about to pull the rug out from under their business. We need to get behind us our fiscal issues and move forward, that is the key.

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The Bailiff: After Deputy Kazantseva-Miller it will be Deputy Hansmann Rouxel.
Deputy Kazantseva-Miller's question, please.

Deputy Kazantseva-Miller: Thank you, sir.

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The mandate of P&R includes the policy framework for the regulation of financial services. What action would each candidate take to ensure our financial services regulation and regulator is proportionate, and that Guernsey continues to be open for business, especially for new and emerging fintech and digital asset solutions?

Thank you.

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Deputy Le Tocq: This is a good question and I do think that we increasingly in recent years have become more risk averse. The Policy & Resources Committee particularly is responsible for setting that risk appetite. Deputy Helyar has mentioned crypto, for example. I already in my past role have been talking with the regulator to see what more we could do on that level to make use of the fact that we have a good reputation. I do think the risk appetite is particularly one of the things that we are going to have to do.

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That means that there may well be some things that we see happen in Guernsey that are not successful, but I think we need to take that risk in order to encourage the next generation that there is something here for them to do, some industry that they can work in effectively.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Thank you, sir.

I have already mentioned crypto and I think it should be possible to denominate Guernsey companies in crypto, for example, and that is something we can do really quickly, provided that we can everybody over the issues that might generate from a KYC perspective. We did some of the work in terms of risk appetite statement for the Commission last term but the work of Moneyval overtook and so it was put back on the shelf.

We were asked to do that by the then Chairman of the Commission because they need to understand how they regulate the regulator: what are the boundaries in which it operates, what are the businesses it wants to see it encouraging and doing in the Island, and what is its objective? At the moment it does not have those objectives from Government and I think we could really do a great job of setting those in order to develop that side of our economy.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: Certainly I agree that it is about Government taking I think a slightly more proactive role than we have previously in terms of the objective setting, being mindful of course that the reason we have regulation really on the whole is to make sure that we can maintain a reputation for being a good place to do business.

I am the first person to put my hand up and say this is not my area of expertise but I also know that we do have some people that do have that expertise – some within this very Assembly – so I would want to make sure that they are very much included in those conversations in order to take that work forward.

The Bailiff: After Deputy Hansmann Rouxel it will be Deputy Goy.
Deputy Hansmann Rouxel's question, please.

Deputy Hansmann Rouxel: Thank you, sir.

The purpose of Policy & Resources is also to co-ordinate policy. Along with the answers to the questions to the Government Work Plan how would you, as President, ensure that the next plan drives cross-Committee collaboration, sets measurable outcomes from the start and clearly communicates that progress well to the public?

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: One of things I would like to do is to implement a change into the way Committees conduct themselves in meetings. We spend a lot of time generating minutes and not getting them back very quickly, so we do not really know what our action lists or objectives are. I would like to see that done away with and Committee meetings to be recorded. I would just like a simple set of actions, the person delivering it, the date in which it is to be delivered, and then to measure that. I would like to communicate that across all Committees so that everybody can see what everybody's objectives are and whether they are meeting them or not.

We need to understand where the resource issues are because resources are quite lean on a policy level at the moment, and that would be a good way of centralising that co-ordination to understand where the effort is and whether we are having any success.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

895 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** I think a lot of this comes down to the relationship between Policy & Resources and the Committees themselves. I would say I have been lucky enough to be involved in two Committees that were highly productive in fact, but we did have some frustrations in terms of the way that we were able to work with P&R.

As I mentioned when I spoke, I would like there to be a champion from within P&R for each policy area and each principal Committee. It seems as though the workload at P&R itself has absolutely ballooned over the last term and I think it is so important that we can streamline that.

One of the suggestions that I would make is that by better delegation, etc., you reduce the BAU to once every fortnight and you use that extra meeting on the alternate weeks to look at that strategic co-ordination because I think that is what has been so missing. I think we can much better support Committees if we take that approach.

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: I will try to add to what others have said.

910 Policy & Resources is often firefighting, and that is not good use of time so we certainly do need to look at other ways in which we can achieve that. I alluded at the same time to the fact that I would want something like a regular monthly meeting where after Policy & Resources has met on a Tuesday morning that Presidents or representatives from the Committees come in and we focus on two or three key policy areas and discuss where they overlap, where they impinge on other mandates so that we have got opportunity to input into that at that time. That will be better than ad hoc meetings that are less focused and I think that is one of the things that we could do.

When I was Chief Minister I also used to visit the various other Departments and sit with them. We could do that as a Committee, but all of this takes time and we would need to look at the proper time allocation.

920 **The Bailiff:** After Deputy Goy it will be Deputy Collins.
Deputy Goy's question, please.

Deputy Goy: Thank you, sir.

925 How will you support and actively work towards the closing of all legal loopholes that have so far allowed the wealthiest section of our society to avoid paying their fair share of taxes? Please do not say GST-plus, because if you want to tax the yachts and luxury car purchases of the wealthy you can just have a luxury tax without a GST to burden people.

Thank you very much.

930 **The Bailiff:** Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: I think that is exactly the kind of thing that would need to be looked at by SIAC, and I think it would welcome any such input from people with ideas.

935 I know certainly on the E&I Committee last term we did a lot of work to develop alternative revenue streams, but because we could not get that through to the P&R stage, and P&R had other priorities, we were not able to progress it. I do think there are a lot of ideas worth looking at out there. I think it is really important that we do so in a very targeted way but clearly, as other people have said, I do think we also need to pick up that work and act on it with great speed and efficiency.

940 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: A number of those loopholes have been identified in recent budgets and they are in the process of being closed, such as loans and distributions to directors and the like. There

945 are obviously more that can be done, and that is one of the things that the Review Committee could look at, and certainly within the budget we have got scope to do that this year.

I think in terms of any additional tax, however, that needs to be looked at very carefully because I have been through a few of these things and, okay, perhaps we have not communicated as effectively but if we start producing new taxes, and there is a plethora of them, it then becomes a
950 nightmare to administer and it does not raise as much as people would think.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: The answer would be no differently than has been done in the past. Reviews of
955 these kind of issues are conducted constantly and all Members have the opportunity to amend the budget every year when it comes in, including taking action against those sorts of things. I would just challenge the assertion that people are not paying a fair share. It has not been explained and obviously there is not the time to do it, but those kinds of loopholes do not stop people paying tax, they simply defer it. I would contest the assertion that that is the case.

960 Thank you.

The Bailiff: After Deputy Collins it will be Alderney Representative Hill.
Deputy Collins's question, please.

965 **Deputy Collins:** Thank you, sir.

Can the candidates tell us, if elected, which four other Members of this Assembly they would like to propose tomorrow?

Thank you.

970 **The Bailiff:** I am not going to allow that question on the basis that it does not really fall within the mandate of the Committee as a matter of policy.

Alderney Representative Hill.

Alderney Representative Hill: Thank you, sir.

975 I would like to ask the candidates what does 'growing the Bailiwick economy together' really mean for you?

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

980 **Deputy Le Tocq:** For me it means making the best use of all the talents we have. We have talked about the talents in this room but during the election campaign one of the other candidates I noticed said we need to reach across the 'isle', and he spelt that without an 'A'. I think he meant an 'A' there but I thought that was actually a very good slogan. We do need to reach across the isles.

985 It is good to see that we have very creative people here but we do not sing our praises well enough. Growing the economy; we should take a leaf out of our sister island, Jersey's, book because they are far better at promoting themselves. That is one of the main things that we can do here. We can do it now because there is lots of good things to talk about that can grow and increase productivity.

990

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Thank you, sir.

995 There has been a lot of discussion about the extent to which Guernsey taxpayers support Alderney. I have not always been in support of those things but clearly the better Alderney's economy does the less it has to be supported from Guernsey, so I would support any co-ordination

of efforts to improve its economic development. Mutual marketing from a tourism perspective, for example, which is an important part of its economy, and working together through the Bailiwick Council and the Commission as we have done, as you know, for many years.

1000

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: To me growing the Bailiwick economy together includes Alderney, and of course Sark as well. I think there have been some recent examples where we have been working much more co-operatively and looking at that bigger picture.

1005

Obviously there was a recent decision in this Chamber, one of the last decisions taken by the previous States, around supporting Sark with their electricity challenges. I know that we are working closely with Alderney on renewable energy as well. What I would like to stress is I do not see it as a one-way street. I think actually we should be looking far more to be open to the positives that can come in Guernsey's direction from Alderney and Sark because I do believe that they are there. There is a potential symbiotic relationship in terms of housing, for example. But ultimately we need to make sure that we get the connectivity right as well.

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The Bailiff: The next question is going to be Deputy Vermeulen, to be followed by Deputy Parkinson.

1015

Deputy Vermeulen's question, please.

Deputy Vermeulen: Would you be inclined to revisit Leale's Yard for housing to quickly provide a solution to our housing shortage?

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The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Yes. That is an easy one.

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I would be in favour of trying a different approach. We tried supporting it by purchasing final accommodation in that; that did not work. I would be in favour of purchasing the site and then the States perhaps chopping it up and allow different developers to do parts of it. But we do need to move that forward. It is a vast area of the north of the Island that could be redeveloped on a brownfield site. We should just get on with it.

1030

We need to assume more risk in doing so. We cannot have a gilded lily, it is not going to be possible, there is always going to be risk, but we should move that project forward as soon as possible.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

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Deputy de Sausmarez: I have not been privy to the discussions that have taken place around the P&R table recently, but I do know that Leale's Yard is absolutely essential to move forward (**A Member:** Hear, hear.), as I mentioned when I spoke in fact.

1040

It has actually been a real frustration of mine for many years because it is not just about housing. I totally agree with Deputy Vermeulen that it has got incredible potential for housing, which we all know is so important, but it is about more than that. It is the cornerstone to the reinvigoration of the whole Bridge area, and until we get Leale's Yard moving forward we cannot do some of those mega infrastructure things like flood defences and harbour redevelopments either, so we need that. It is an absolutely essential piece of the puzzle and I do not know how yet but I am determined we would find a way.

1045

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: Yes, very good question.

1050 As Members will be aware, sir, we, the States, owns the Data Park land nearby and there have already been applications about the opportunity to create new infrastructure there, which will be very important. Leale's Yard is also vital; I have always believed in it and I know that we can do this, so watch this space.

1055 **The Bailiff:** After Deputy Parkinson it will be Deputy St Pier.
Deputy Parkinson's question, please.

Deputy Parkinson: Thank you, sir.

1060 My question is also about property: affordable housing. The last States significantly did not manage to build much affordable housing and it is very clear that the private sector has little appetite for building accommodation for that end of the market. So what will your P&R do about the problem, given that (a) this will require massive investment by someone, and P&R has the resources, and (b) P&R also owns the States' properties?

Deputy de Sausmarez: Thank you, sir.

1065 I think the first part of the answer has to be work very closely with the soon-to-be newly established Committee for Housing. I share Deputy Parkinson's frustrations over affordable housing but I would say that, particularly in the last year or so, we have been making a lot of progress to unlock sites and we have now got a much healthier pipeline of affordable housing ready to go.

1070 I would say it is not always about throwing money at the problem. We discovered when we actually went out and did that work site by site that sometimes the blockers were things like contaminated land policies and things. So we have actually been able to free up a lot of sites and get things moving. I would say though that I think probably the gamechanger would be to establish something like a housing commission or at least a housing champion; someone who can really get things moving, someone who knows how Government works, someone who knows how industry works, and someone – or a body – that can actually focus on delivery. I would also say there are all sorts of very interesting tenures that we need to be exploring.

The Bailiff: Your minute is up, Deputy de Sausmarez.
Deputy Le Tocq please.

1080 **Deputy Le Tocq:** I really do not think we need another body to do various things. I think this Assembly itself needs to look at its risk aversion as well because, for a season at the very least, we need to be involved in achieving that – I do not like the term 'affordable housing' but I know what it means; first-time buyers and smaller housing, housing for key, strategic workers. Very important. There are some risks that we might be able to take I believe with some of our investments to help to unlock some of those things. That is something that the new P&R is going to have to look at if we are going to do this in any short space of time. Some of these things needs to be done fairly quickly.

1090 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Helyar.

1095 **Deputy Helyar:** Yes, so I have got great hopes that our new Housing Committee is going to be freed up because it is so focused now in terms of its mandate on delivering the hot of the press Housing Plan, which has lots of really good stuff in it. It is going to be really interesting to see how that develops. P&R's key role there is to make sure that it gets all the support and resource that it needs to do that.

1100 In terms of finance, I do think we need to be a bit more clever about how we finance some of these things, including looking at things like securitisation of rent and securitisation of TRP that we could use to raise capital to do some of these things. These are all options that we should be using and the expertise is here locally to enable us to do that if we so wish.

The Bailiff: After Deputy St Pier it will be Deputy Matthews.
Deputy St Pier's question, please.

1105 **Deputy St Pier:** The last Policy & Resources Committee rejected the recommendation of the Scrutiny Management Committee to establish an IT advisory board. Since that recommendation we have learned of delays in the electronic patient record system, and that the Agilisys contract is being unwound, with numerous new IT contracts requiring oversight and management. Do the candidates wish to revisit, or perhaps – in Deputy Helyar's language – iterate that decision.

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The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: Yes.

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The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Indeed.

I would not be quite so certain that iterate means revisit but that iterate means make a decision and then keep on going. But I would welcome any approach that makes this more reliable and certainly less costly. There were some big errors in what we did last time and they are not any political fault. I think much more needs to be done at the technical level to assume that what we are doing is the right thing is not perhaps always the right approach.

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The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

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Deputy de Sausmarez: The key is I think around that technical expertise. I think that is where the States have been tripped up is that we have not necessarily had the technical expertise on the States' side, and that is where things have come unstuck. So I am agnostic on the best way of getting that technical expertise around the right tables and inputting into those decisions, because I do understand that things have already changed so we may have already improved that slightly, but however we do it I think that is the essential component. We need to make sure that the States have access to the right kinds of technical expertise to help inform its decisions.

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The Bailiff: After Deputy Matthews it will be Deputy Dorrity.
Deputy Matthews's question, please.

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Deputy Matthews: Thank you, sir.

Guernsey has a housing crisis and also our approach to population is not working well. Can P&R use its position to co-ordinate housing and population policy with those policy areas in its own mandate to form a more consistent approach?

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The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: Yes, I think it can.

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Immigration in particular was a big issue during the election I found, certainly on the doorstep and speaking to people. The question is really co-ordinating and prioritising, which is P&R's sole responsibility. As I said during my opening speech, we need to reach into the organisation to facilitate things which the public finds important, to make sure that they are brought to the top of the pile, because the Government Work Plan is enormous, for anyone that has read it, and the priorities are constantly changing. But I do think we need to recognise the issues raised during the election and address them as soon as possible.

1150

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

1155 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** Thank you, sir.

As someone who has long banged this drum this is exactly the kind of example that I had in mind when I suggested P&R takes a more proactive approach to high level strategic planning because in my view that is what has been lacking. I think P&R has historically been really good at keeping a firm handle on the finances as best they are able, but they have been much less focused on that co-ordination. As Deputy Helyar mentioned earlier – or maybe it was Deputy Le Tocq – they are just constantly firefighting. It is so important that actually we can take it up to that strategic level and get things done, but that will involve streamlining the business as usual that comes in to P&R in order to free up those resources to do that.

1160 But I think it is about that proper engagement with Committees so that we can get that proper strategic oversight.

The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

1170 **Deputy Le Tocq:** Yes, I think in many ways population demographics within that, because that is a big issue as well, and then the adequate housing; living on a rock it is very difficult for us to have flexibility that we might need that you could find if we had more land, for example, or access to other types of housing that we cannot here. But we do need to be more engaged and joined-up in our thinking because these impinge on a number of different committees. I would certainly seek to find at least one person on P&R who could champion that and bring that together.

1175 **The Bailiff:** After Deputy Dorrity it will be Deputy Ozanne.
Deputy Dorrity's question, please.

Deputy Dorrity: Thank you, sir.

1180 I would be interested to hear the candidates' opinion on how the strides being made in artificial intelligence will affect the Island's office-based labour force in the short term, and how they feel we can best prepare for this.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

1185 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** Thank you.

Yes, AI is one of those areas where the speed of innovation is far outpacing any Government's ability to keep up, certainly in terms of regulation, which has got its own concerns, but I appreciate that is not Deputy Dorrity's question. His question was around the States' own workforce.

1190 I think the first thing to say is that it has enormous potential benefit and I think the key will be making sure that we harness that benefit and prepare for the flipside of that. I suspect Deputy Dorrity has in mind potential redundancies. I would look to see how we can work smarter and harness the power of AI in order to do that. But, yes, I think it does have huge potential but obviously also huge downside risk as well.

1195 **The Bailiff:** Deputy Le Tocq.

1200 **Deputy Le Tocq:** Anything sudden in our economy would be a bad thing and, therefore, we do need to prepare for that eventuality. But, as Deputy de Sausmarez said, there are some pluses here for us as well, and that is if we can get our name – punch above our weight in the area of innovation. I think we have people here, and we have certainly got people in our industry and community here, who are keen to press ahead on that. That is why I say we need a greater risk appetite to see what we can do because I know the world, and particularly the Commonwealth, is saying, 'You are ideal

1205 for this, you are non-threatening, you are small, but you have got already an existing industry that could be built upon.'

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

1210 **Deputy Helyar:** One of the greatest powers of a small organisation or a small jurisdiction is that it is usually very nimble. It can make decisions quickly, it can adjust and pivot according to the way things are changing externally, and AI is one of those things, so we should be able to adapt to it. But I think one of the problems that we have got is that over time we have allowed ourselves to become less nimble than we should be. That is one of the things that we need to focus on.

1215 When I spoke in my opening speech about making complex things simple, that must be a focus. Is this a nimble process? Is it getting in people's way? What can we do to make life easier for people and to adapt to this kind of technology rather than putting barriers in the way of using it.

The Bailiff: After Deputy Ozanne it will be Deputy Rochester.
Deputy Ozanne's question, please.

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Deputy Ozanne: Thank you, sir.

Given that part of the P&R mandate is to oversee external affairs, what is the vision that each candidate has for how we develop our relationship with our closest neighbour, Jersey, with whom we have to compete as well as work and collaborate, particularly on security matters?

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The Bailiff: Deputy Le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: Well, how long have I got to speak on this?

1230 I have been – and I think many know – for many years a *[Inaudible 11:34:00]* Jersey and I am pleased to say that we have a very good working relationship. On the other hand, we have had some experiences with working with Jersey that have not gone so well, so that needs to be balanced. The key is in the word 'relations', it is about making that happen through relationship and long-term trust, and I do believe that we are stronger together and there are opportunities that come between our two Islands to work effectively together.

1235 We have got a joint Brussels office, we have got a joint office in France, we often represent one another when both of us cannot go. But the work has increased phenomenally since Brexit particularly and we need to work with Jersey far more.

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

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Deputy Helyar: One of the problems of all of the Channel Islands is that we share a challenge of scale. Jersey is twice the size of us but I think we need to find a project that we can share that will enable us to reach a view that that kind of co-operation can be mutually beneficial. I can think of two subjects; health is one of them. We both face huge challenges in terms of health costs and hospital bills and so on. The other one is offshore wind, and Jersey is ahead of us in that at the moment. These are things where we could be co-operating for a mutual benefit to build a brighter and more cohesive future, because we do need to recognise as the Island gets smaller the challenges of scale get more and more difficult.

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The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

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Deputy de Sausmarez: I accept that Jersey is a competitor jurisdiction in terms of our financial services sector, for example, but my experience of having been in Government is a really close and co-operative relationship. Maybe that is because I have worked in the kinds of policy areas where that is beneficial, but I have always found it to be a very productive relationship.

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I would just take a slightly different view from Deputy Helyar when he says that Jersey are ahead of us in offshore wind. In my experience – and I am very close to this work – that is not the case. They are taking a different path. They are ahead of us in some respects but we are ahead of them in others, and wonderfully it looks as though it could all converge at similar time. We have been working with them very closely to make sure that we can maximise those opportunities because I totally agree with Deputy Helyar, that it is about making the most of our combined scale.

All I would say apart from that is I think we do share a certain culture and I think it is important that we keep those links and we foster those links, and certainly in all the work that I have done –

The Bailiff: Your minute is up, Deputy de Sausmarez.
After Deputy Rochester it will be Deputy Leadbeater.
Deputy Rochester's question, please.

Deputy Rochester: Thank you, sir.

The end of term report for Policy & Resources states that the Committee is responsible for developing and promoting the States' overall policy objectives. Much has been said by all three candidates about the pressing short-term needs that need to be addressed. How will each of you balance those short-term priorities with the delivery of a long-term vision for our Island?

The Bailiff: Deputy Helyar.

Deputy Helyar: That is a really big question for a minute answer.

I really do think we just need to treat the problems that we have at the moment like an elephant, and the way that you eat an elephant is one mouthful at a time. The biggest problem that we have is finance and there is going to be no confidence in our economy without sorting out our financial issues and committing successfully to a bright future. Because if we do not do that, all of the other things that go with it that we need to fund will not function properly and we will have to start to reverse from where we are, which is not a good thing for us to be doing.

The Bailiff: Deputy de Sausmarez.

Deputy de Sausmarez: I agree with Deputy Helyar in that respect but would add to it that I do think that long term vision is so important. For me, one of the keys to that is involving the people who have the biggest stake in the game, and that is young people.

I find that in the roles that I have held in Government so far I am often dealing with problems that have arisen as a result of decisions that were taken when I was the age of some of the younger people sitting in the public gallery today. I did actually get a successful amendment through a few years ago to say that each Committee does need to think about the long-term impacts, including on future generations, and I think it is time we started putting that into practice.

The Bailiff: Deputy le Tocq.

Deputy Le Tocq: Things have changed somewhat since when my father was a Douzenier and he used to bring the Billet home and we would discuss the things in it. Back in the 1970s it was a very different sort of scenario. Things happened very quickly. We were affected by the global world far more than we were. I come back to what I said before; in the first half of the term we need to do a few things well, and we need to be very self-disciplined about not going down other routes so that our energies as an Assembly – but particularly as P&R – are focused on those things.

Obviously sorting out our finances will be the key that unlocks some of those future things for future generations.

The Bailiff: The 45 minutes are up, which means that Deputy Leadbeater cannot ask his question. Perhaps you would like to show your appreciation, Members of the States, to all three candidates. *(Applause)*

1310 It is now time to vote for the President of the Policy & Resources Committee and I am going to ask you to take your pieces of paper and write a name on it. Just one name of one of the three candidates, and I will remind you who those candidates are: Deputy de Sausmarez has been proposed by Deputy Bury and seconded by Deputy Laine; Deputy Le Tocq has been proposed by Deputy Kazantseva-Miller and seconded by Deputy Montague; and Deputy Helyar is proposed by
1315 Deputy Niles and seconded by Deputy Malik.

Are there any Members who have not handed in their ballot papers? I think we can probably guess the three names here. Are there any other ballot papers to come in? Members of the States, I am not going to rise I am just going to sit here and we will await the outcome once the votes have been counted.

1320 Members of the States, I have been handed the record of the voting for the election for a President of the Policy & Resources Committee. Deputy de Sausmarez, proposed by Deputy Bury and seconded by Deputy Laine, secured 22 votes. Deputy Le Tocq, proposed by Deputy Kazantseva-Miller and seconded by Deputy Montague, secured 7 votes. Deputy Helyar, proposed by Deputy Niles and seconded by Deputy Malik, secured 11 votes.

1325 On the basis that Deputy de Sausmarez has received the majority of the votes cast I think I can declare her elected as the President of the Policy & Resources Committee and no second ballot is required. *(Applause)*

Deputy de Sausmarez, is there anything you would like to say today?

1330 **Deputy de Sausmarez:** I was not expecting this bit, sir. Apart from thank you very much, I am overwhelmed by the support, but I really would like to pay credit to the two other candidates here. I really firmly believe that contested elections are important; it is a fundamental part of the democratic process.

I will go slightly off script and also thank the would-be contestants, the ones that did not run,
1335 because I think actually they behaved in a way that I was very touched by as well.

I did not have anything prepared, sir, I had not thought past the last bit so I think I will just sit down, but when is the bit where I can go over and shake my colleagues by the hand?

The Bailiff: After the meeting, and then tomorrow you can take your seat to my left,
1340 Deputy de Sausmarez.

There is no other business for this meeting so we will close today's meeting and we will resume tomorrow for the election of membership of the Policy & Resources Committee at 9.30 a.m.

The Assembly adjourned at 11.48 a.m.