

# STATES OF JERSEY

## OFFICIAL REPORT

**MONDAY, 14th NOVEMBER 2011**

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## **The Roll was called and the Dean led the Assembly in Prayer.**

[13:00]

### **ELECTION OF CHIEF MINISTER DESIGNATE**

#### **The Bailiff:**

May I begin by welcoming His Excellency to this, the first sitting of the new Assembly. [Approbation] Secondly, while welcoming all Members for, as I say, this first sitting of the new Assembly perhaps I can offer a special welcome to all new Members and I trust they find their time here interesting and rewarding. [Approbation] Finally, I would like on behalf of Members to thank the Dean for organising the service this morning which I felt gets the business of the Assembly off to a very good start. [Approbation] Well, as Members know, the only matter of business today is the selection of a new Chief Minister so I will begin by asking the Greffier to read the nominations received under Standing Order 116.

#### **The Greffier of the States:**

Two nominations were received for the post of Chief Minister by the deadline set out in Standing Order 115(1)(d). They were Senator Sir Philip Bailhache and Senator Ian Joseph Gorst. The nomination of Senator Bailhache was made by Senator Alan John Henry Maclean, Deputy Susan Jane Pinel of St. Clement, the Deputy of St. Martin, the Connétable of St. Helier, the Connétable of Grouville, Deputy Sean Seamus Patrick Augustine Power of St. Brelade, Senator Lyndon John Farnham and the Connétable of Trinity. The nomination of Senator Gorst was made by Senator Brian Ian Le Marquand, Deputy Andrew Kenneth Francis Green of St. Helier, Senator Paul Francis Routier, the Connétable of St. Mary, Senator Francis du Heaume Le Gresley and the Connétable of St. Lawrence. I can confirm that both candidates submitted a policy statement as required by Standing Orders and I can further confirm that I have circulated details of the nominations and the statements to all Members as required.

#### **The Bailiff:**

Under Standing Order 116(3) the order in which the candidates are to speak and be questioned is to be drawn by lots. So the Greffier is going to put the names of the 2 candidates in his ample toque and I will then draw one of them out and whichever one I draw out will go first. Senator Gorst will go first. Now, under Standing Orders each candidate must not be present and not be able to hear what is going on while the questions are asked and the speech of the other candidate is given; but before Senator Bailhache leaves I will just remind members of the procedure I think. Each candidate will speak for up to 10 minutes, the Greffier will ring a bell after 9 minutes and then ring a second bell at the end of the 10 minute period and no matter where the candidate in his speech he will have to stop at that very moment, no period of grace. Then there will be 40 minutes of questions to each candidate. I remind Members and candidates that those questions and answers must be concise; I am sure a lot of Members will wish to ask questions and, therefore, I propose to allow each Member to ask one question, not a supplementary, as otherwise in this particular matter not enough Members will be able to ask questions. Clearly if we run out of Members asking their first question then Members can ask a second question. Again, in relation to questions, a bell will be rung 3 minutes before the end of the period as a warning and a second bell will be rung at the end of the 40 minute period and this is not Mastermind where a candidate may start and then finish; whether it is somebody asking a question or the candidate in the midst of answering the question, at the end of that period it will have to cease. That seems to me the fairest to make sure that each candidate gets exactly the same amount of time. So I hope that is clear so, Senator Bailhache, would you please withdraw with a member of the Greffier's staff who will ensure Senator Bailhache is unable to hear what is going on. The only other thing to mention before starting, of course, is that Members will recall that the media are entitled to be filming at the moment and will

film the statement of each candidate, but they will have to cease filming when questions start and I shall remind them of that at the appropriate moment. Very well, Senator Gorst?

**1. Senator I.J. Gorst:**

Today the world faces unprecedented challenges. As a small Island community we are not immune to them. For us to overcome these issues we must work together to harness the passion, energy and potential of each and every one of us. This must be our prime concern over the next 3 years. During the Senatorial hustings I declared my intention to stand for Chief Minister. I have immense pride in this Island. For me, politics is about public service in the interest of all Islanders. In my 6 years in the States I have acted with integrity and honesty. As a Minister I have shown that I am not afraid to act, to make the decisions that are necessary for the long term future of the Island. I have experience of Government and I understand the issues that we face today. I believe in applying traditional values to the modern world; in prevention rather than cure; in planning for the future rather than burying our heads in the sand; in action rather than prevarication. The cornerstones of my beliefs are family, community and opportunities for all. I have a vision of a society where we protect the most vulnerable and where everybody has the opportunity to fulfil their potential. These aspirations are magnified in the context of the challenges we face. Now more than ever we need to foster a successful and cohesive community that builds on Jersey's unique community spirit; where all Islanders have the opportunity to succeed; where people who work hard and strive to do well see the fruits of their labours; where those who take responsibility for themselves get the support they deserve; and where assistance is available for those who need help. It is every parent's desire to give their child the best start in life; our aim must be to give a younger generation the personal and practical skills necessary to contribute to our community and to succeed in the job market. A greater emphasis on vocational skills is crucial to this; we do not want people left behind. Education is an economic as well as a social necessity. We should remember that a decent education, coupled with a job, provides a sense of worth and a purpose and is the best anti-crime policy, anti-welfare policy, and the best foundation for a strong community. The disappointing news about fulfilment has made job creation even more of a priority. We are already offering training and intensive personal support through Advance to Work, Advance Plus and Enhanced Work Zone. We must do more to encourage job creation through social security contribution holidays, job subsidies and importantly reviewing the granting of job licenses. In every way a job has to be regarded as preferable to a life on benefits. Income support is a lifeline, not a way of life. If someone has a chance of a job then they have a responsibility to take it. Of course we must never forget that some Islanders are unable to work or can only undertake limited work; we must support those who find themselves in this position and ensure that they have access to every opportunity.

[13:15]

Ultimately it is businesses and entrepreneurs that deliver economic growth, tax revenues and jobs; we need to create the right environment where new businesses can start, grow, thrive and succeed. To do this we must stimulate the abilities, talents and creative innovation of Islanders. Government has to promote the message that Jersey is very much open for business. To secure our economic future it is vital that we maintain effective relationships with other jurisdictions. I have already represented Jersey on the international stage in the U.S. (United States) and across the developing world as detailed in my statement. Creating opportunities is part of the solution for enabling young Islanders who are working hard and seeking to better themselves to have a home of their own; a home where they can bring up a family, that gives them a stake in our society, encouraging them to stay and contribute to the Island. Reintroducing the States Loan Scheme, creating a loan scheme for deposits and shared ownerships schemes are all potential ways forward. There are of course a host of other issues that we need to address; modernising the public service must continue; we need sound public finances - we cannot mortgage the future of our children by loading them with unsustainable debt. The number of Islanders over 65 will double by 2040; we are already taking

sensible and timely action to address the challenges posed by the ageing population, especially in terms of long term care and pension age; actions I took as Minister for Social Security. We need to give effect to the proposals set out in the Health ‘green paper’ that will deliver a health system that is safe, sustainable and affordable. Redesigning services with more focus on community based options will ensure that our public resources are spent more efficiently. This will allow us to improve the health and treatment of Islanders, focusing on education and prevention in areas such as alcoholism, diet and smoking. I have already made changes to the Health Insurance Fund that will deliver a more positive partnership with G.P.s (general practitioners). During the recent election Islanders made clear that they expect us as an Assembly to get on with addressing the everyday issues while at the same time dealing with the subject of electoral reform. That is why I have supported and will continue to support an Electoral Commission to find a fair and lasting solution. However, in the short term a more inclusive approach to Government would result from an increasing the number of Members who play a role in policy development and subsequent implementation. I will give Assistant Ministers more of a cross-departmental remit and I will support a reinvigorated scrutiny function operating as a ‘critical friend.’ Proper scrutiny of decisions leads to better Government. Today I am asking Members to put aside their own individual interests in favour of the Island’s interests. There is much that we can do, much that we can change, much that we can achieve if we work together. I want a new era of politics underpinned by respect and co-operation. This will require a new maturity from every one of us; only in this way can we restore public confidence in this Assembly. The challenges we face are serious but with every challenge comes opportunity. My vision - built around an opportunity economy and a responsible society - is the right way forward; it is the right one for this Assembly, the right one for our community and the right one for future generations. Success only comes with the right ideas, the right approach and the right leadership. I have the skills, Ministerial experience, motivation and energy to carry out ...

**The Bailiff:**

I am sorry, Senator, you must draw to an end. [**Approbation**] First of all can I remind the media they must cease filming now and secondly then just to remind Members that both questions should be concise and answers by the candidate should be concise. I will now take questions.

**1.1 Deputy S. Power of St. Brelade:**

Could I ask the candidate; he used the phrase “income support is a lifeline not a way of life” would the candidate give his views on the situation with regard to income support as it exists at the moment at Social Security?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

Yes, I will try to be slightly more succinct than I was in my closing remarks. I believe that income support as it stands now is that we have made changes throughout the last year to ensure that it is giving appropriate support; that people take jobs where there are jobs and we now need to see how those changes bed in. We must be very careful; it is easy for us to look at other jurisdictions - perhaps the U.K. (United Kingdom) - and believe that our system is like theirs. It is not. They are now looking to introduce a system like ours. It is an entitlement benefit, people are entitled along the lines that we as an Assembly have agreed. That is absolutely right and proper. As with anything that Government is doing of course there is always room for improvement and that is part of the challenge for the next 3 years.

**1.2 Connétable P.J. Rondel of St. John:**

I was listening quite intently, Senator, on your comments or your speech ...

**The Bailiff:**

Through the Chair please.

**The Connétable of St. John:**

Yes, my apologies... on the speech of the Senator; and I heard very little to do with the area - as the former Minister will know - I have great interest in which is T.T.S. (Transport and Technical Services) and the likes. What will the Minister put in place please for the infrastructure of the Island given the colossal amount of work to be done in that area; and will he give us an insight on what he proposes to spend that money on?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

Yes, as the Connétable will realise, it is difficult to even fit-in exactly what I wanted to say, let alone pick-off all the other subjects that are important and going to be important over the next 3 years. While I was taking part in the Senatorial election part of my manifesto there was investing for the future and I spoke a lot there about investment infrastructure. I believe that we as a Government unfortunately have been guilty of not investing appropriately in the past; we are now having to deal with that. We must develop new mechanisms to invest in that infrastructure and I know the Connétable is particularly keen on drains and that is an area that we need to address, along with a new liquid waste strategy that we require. We must be creative in how we use the money that we have currently got. We have seen a new investment strategy lodged only last week which gives some indications perhaps of how we could address those issues. We know that there are ideas around public/private partnerships and we know that P.A.C. (Public Accounts Committee) suggested that we should be looking at borrowing. We must look at all these areas because it is absolutely critical that we do invest going forward because what we cannot do is leave unmanageable debt to our children and to our grandchildren.

**1.3 Senator S.C. Ferguson:**

Given the financial pressures facing us, what priority would the Senator give to a serious business transformation programme?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I am not sure whether the Senator has quite had time to read my statement or not but in there I outlined the need for a modernisation of public service. We need to change the culture. One of the questions that we need to ask ourselves; the service that we are providing, should Government be providing it? Could it be provided elsewhere? We should not just of course look at cost when we are asking that question but we should also look at quality of service because that is just as important and in some areas of course more important. It is absolutely critical if we are to continue to balance our books that we have a transformation. We need to transform the way that we manage property; we need to transform the way that we use our office space and we need to transform our terms and conditions.

**1.4 Senator F. du H. Le Gresley:**

Does the candidate agree that the setting up of the committee of inquiry into historical abuse is a priority for the next Council of Ministers and if not, why not? If in agreement would the candidate give the Assembly a categorical assurance that the appointment of a chairman and terms of reference for a committee of inquiry will be brought to the States for approval in early 2012.

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

In the interest of brevity perhaps I could say yes and yes.

**1.5 Deputy G.P. Southern of St. Helier:**

What single characteristic distinguishes this candidate from the other candidate; and what in particular does this candidate for Chief Minister intend to have achieved by the end of his 3-year term?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I do not think it is for either candidate to say what it is necessarily that is different about them as opposed to the other. It is for each candidate to outline their vision and talk about the issues that they wish to see addressed. I believe that we cannot afford to carry on in the way that we have for the last 3 years being personal, being petty about politics and ideas. [Approbation] We are facing such overwhelming pressures that we absolutely must work together. It will require each one of us to sometimes put aside our own personal differences in the best interests of our Island and of our community; and if Members do not wish to do that I will be so bold as to say then please do not vote for me today because I believe it is so fundamental.

#### **1.6 Deputy K.C. Lewis of St. Saviour:**

Further to news that the U.K. is shortly to end low value consignment relief on goods entering the United Kingdom from the Channel Islands; what action, if any, would the candidate take to convince the U.K. Government to maintain the *status quo*?

#### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

We have been quite a long time in getting to where we are today. Ministers have been communicating and liaising with our colleagues in Guernsey, with industry, and with the U.K. Government. It appears at this point that it is very difficult for us now once the announcement has been made to deliver the *status quo*. We must remember that this is an internal taxation issue of the United Kingdom. Yes, we must stand up for our rights; yes, we must stand up when something appears to be discriminatory, but it is a decision of the United Kingdom Government and it appears to me that it will - as I have said - be difficult to return to the *status quo* at this point in time. But there is a lot that we can do to continue to talk and communicate with the U.K. Government; there is a lot that we can continue to do to talk and help industry here because one of the fundamental concerns obviously is the effect on those individuals in this particular industry.

#### **1.7 Deputy R.G. Le Hérisier of St. Saviour:**

I wonder if the candidate could outline what he sees as his vision for planning policy and in what areas in particular would he like to see radical improvements?

#### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

Planning policy; as the Deputy will know I normally sit on the other side of planning policy and fight against development. I think that the next Minister of Planning and Environment must give the majority, if not all, of his or her powers to the Planning Applications Panel. [Approbation] It cannot be appropriate for one individual to be making such decisions.

[13:30]

I think anecdotally it is becoming evident that there are problems in the Planning Department, particularly with the speed that applications are coming through; and we must be aware that applications going through Planning in a timely fashion help the economy and there are some blockages there now. We must, as a priority, make sure that whatever is causing those blockages is removed. But we must at the same time ensure that all applications comply with the policies that this Assembly has approved. [Approbation]

#### **1.8 Deputy J.A. Hilton of St. Helier:**

With Island families facing the threat of an increase in tuition fees can the candidate tell Members what he feels that he can do to assist those middle-income families in particular to aid them with the cost of university education?

#### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

It is my understanding we do not know yet quite how those increased tuition fees are going to affect our young people. The Education Department is currently negotiating - I hope is what they are doing - to ensure that we are not disadvantaged by those increases in tuition fees. In my statement

one of the proposals that I have put forward is that there are greater, if not full, tax relief in university fees. I think that will go a long way to helping the current situation, those middle-income families who currently find the cost of tuition fees excessive, and hopefully it will tie-in with what has developed when we finally know what the new fees are going to be. It is another area where we must continue to fight our corner and make sure that we are not disadvantaged as we have been in the past.

### **1.9 Deputy T.M. Pitman of St. Helier:**

Bearing in mind it seems quite obvious that the first 2 Chief Ministers never really either understood or committed the need to diversify the economy, even noting the candidate's statement, what assurances can he give that for him this commitment will be more than just words?

### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I believe that the Economic Development Department are committed to diversifying the economy. It is very difficult. There are 2 roles that I see going forward - and I have got to be careful because the current Minister is sat right in front of me - there are 2 roles that I see Economic Development need to really pick up and run with over the next 3 years; and that is becoming a body which provides seed capital for local entrepreneurs and businesses who have good, well-tested, well-researched ideas, giving them a little bit of financial support to get on and see if they can make it a success. The second is supporting local businesses where they encounter Government departments as a blockage to what they want to achieve.

### **1.10 Deputy M. Tadier of St. Brelade:**

The candidate talked about those who work hard being able to see the fruits of their labour. Many of those who work in the fulfilment industry are on zero hour contracts on little more than the minimum wage with scarce prospect of any redundancy packages should they be made unemployed. For them the distinct fruit of their labour is unemployment and hardship. Would the Minister comment on the morality of companies who return obscene profits on the back of dubious employment practices, such as some companies in Jersey; and would he also say what he did to try and eliminate these practices in his 3 years at Social Security?

### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

If I can take the last bit first; I introduced redundancy payments, I introduced an insolvency scheme; they are basic rights that I believe employees should expect in a mature democracy. I cannot - having spent 3 years as the political custodian of the Employment Law - condone the use of zero hours contracts when proper appropriate contracts should be in place, it is only right. This Assembly has made a decision to give employment protection to members of our community and we should not condone it where employers are trying to avoid the protections that we believe should be in place. Ministers have and will continue - whoever they are, I believe, on Thursday - to try and find ways forward for those individuals who find themselves now perhaps looking at unemployment because of what is happening to the fulfilment industry. I have listed some of the things that I believe we should do, not only in my statement but in my speech. Economic Development is working with employers to see if we cannot match-up vacancies that they are currently going to have either over the Christmas period or later on with the skills of those people who are already in the fulfilment industry. That is a body of work which will have to be a priority over the months up to Christmas and beyond.

### **1.11 Deputy M.R. Higgins of St. Helier:**

One of the criticisms of the previous Council of Ministers was its use of spin and the lack of openness and transparency. Would the candidate give an undertaking (a) that he personally will not engage in spin and will be open and transparent in his dealings with the Assembly and with Scrutiny Panels; (b) that he will expect the same from his Council of Ministers; and (c) that he will



take urgent steps to introduce the Freedom of Information (Jersey) Law recently passed by this Assembly and will start doing so in 2012.

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I hope that I have not spun so far in my 6 years in the States; I believe in giving balanced, accurate information and explaining the issues. Unfortunately of course sometimes one man's balanced, accurate explanation of the issues is another man's spin. But it is important that we are open, that we do not engage in spin, because it is important that we explain the issues to our community about the decisions that we have to make, the challenges that we are facing as an Assembly and as a community. It is only by explaining how we have arrived at those decisions and all the facts that we have had to take into consideration that our community will understand and that understanding is part of the process of them regaining faith in the decisions that we make here in this Assembly on their behalf. It would be nice to think that we could introduce the Freedom of Information (Jersey) Law in 2012; from the information I have seen and the readiness of the departments that just will not be practical. I know that the last Council of Ministers did and I believe that the new Council of Ministers will commit to do all that they can to ensure that processes and procedures are in place, that in can be introduced in early course. As I said in my statement, when I am picking Ministers - should I be successful today - then I will be asking them whether they are prepared to build the new consensus and leadership that I believe is absolutely critical and that will be a criteria for me putting them forward for nomination to this Assembly.

**1.12 Connétable A.S. Crowcroft of St. Helier:**

The position of St. Helier was one of the issues addressed by the working group chaired by the former Deputy of Trinity, the late David Crespel. The welfare burden has been equalised but does the candidate believe the position of St. Helier is fair and if not what will he do to correct it?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I am not sure exactly which position that is unfair that the Connétable is referring to, unless it is rates.

**The Connétable of St. Helier:**

I am only alluding to the report produced after Clothier that said St. Helier's position was unfair and needed addressing. I simply am interested in the candidate's thoughts about that.

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

As the Connétable will know, Members get many, many reports through their door. I suspect if it was before Clothier it was a report that was issued prior to my election to this Assembly. I may of course be incorrect and if that report is referring to the unfairness with regard to political representation in light of the fact that it was subsequent to Clothier - the Connétable is nodding - then I hope that those issues will be addressed by an electoral commission.

**The Bailiff:**

The Connétable of Trinity. Did I not see your light Connétable? [Aside] [Laughter]

**1.13 Connétable J.M. Refault of St. Peter:**

I would just like the Senator if he could clarify for me 2 comments he made, both similar; one about balancing having more people involved in Government... and one could assume from that it is Assistant Ministers, but that may be a wrong assumption on my part. But equally about giving Assistant Ministers a cross-departmental mandate. Are the 2 interrelated and how does he see that cross-departmental mandate working in practice?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

There are going to be a number of processes running in parallel throughout the next 3 years, in my opinion. One is going to be changes to the electoral process; that will without doubt necessitate changes to the number of Ministers, the number of Assistant Ministers and how Scrutiny functions and the number of people who are able to sit on Scrutiny. That is one of those processes which I believe will be working away over the course of the next 2 or 3 years. In the intervening period I am of the belief that we need to involve more people more directly in departments and in the activity that goes on day-to-day. That might be through working parties; in fact I suspect it will be, so that we can take issues, we can set up working parties that can liaise with Ministers and Assistant Ministers and make sure that some of the issues that have been stalled over the last number of years... let us take for example the alcohol strategy - it just needs people with an interest, people in the Assembly with ability, to sit down in a working party and start to drive that forward in conjunction with the Ministers. That is one. Cross-departmental Assistant Ministers: it is about time we had a Minister for the Elderly or an Assistant Minister for the Elderly. It is about time that we had a cross-departmental Assistant Minister for Children. I think we could all, if we considered the challenges that we face, think of other areas where Assistant Ministers could have a much more roving mandate than they currently have which would enable work to happen in a speedier fashion.

**The Bailiff:**

I think I must go to a handwriting class. It was the Deputy of Trinity that ... [Laughter]

**1.14 Deputy A.E. Pryke of Trinity:**

I take that as a compliment, Sir. Following on from what the candidate has just said about excessive alcohol problems. How would the candidate look at solving this problem and would one of the issues be his thoughts on minimum pricing?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

Of course, minimum pricing I would not personally wish to see but perhaps on behalf of the good of everyone in our community, that is something that we certainly should consider. As I understand it, one of the problems with the alcohol strategy is just that, that there are one, 2, if not 3 departments involved. One department, perhaps, would like to see it advanced quickly. Another department would not like to see it advanced at all and a third department would just like to see it advanced whenever it can be advanced. That cannot be appropriate. We know that some in our community do struggle with this problem and, to them, it is an overwhelming problem. We should not step aside from that. We must meet those challenges. If it means minimum pricing, if we can provide the evidence to say that that will deal with the issue and that will alleviate the problem, then perhaps that is what we should consider.

**1.15 Deputy J.M. Maçon of St. Saviour:**

The new Chief Minister will sit as the chairman of the States Employment Board. Can the candidate please explain what new human resources policies, if any, he would like to see implemented?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I think that we have probably got quite a few policies that we have not yet implemented. I sat on a working group with Deputy Le Hérissier and the Deputy of St. Peter and we talked about succession planning, modern managers and we produced ... of course, I would say this, would I not, we produced a rather good policy on the issue but it seems that that has not been acted upon. It is issues like that we need to make sure that we act upon them where we have agreement.

**1.16 Senator A. Breckon:**

I think the Senator mentioned in his opening speech about strengthening Scrutiny. Can he say where he believes Scrutiny is weak and also could the Minister say whether or not he believes that

Social Security benefited from the scrutiny process with reports on income support and a funded elderly care scheme?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

As I said earlier, changes to Scrutiny will inevitably, in my opinion, result from the changes to the form of Government and the electoral mandates that we might have going forward. I am of the opinion that Scrutiny has worked the best where it has been topic-based. We have had some absolutely fantastic hand-in-hand topic-based Scrutiny reviews, departments and Scrutiny Panels, and they have produced excellent results.

[13:45]

They have helped Ministers to get to the right policy and they have helped Scrutiny Panels to see that they are listened to. For example, the *Rural Strategy* was an excellent report. With regard to his particular question, there can be no doubt whatsoever that his Scrutiny review into long-term care stimulated action and allowed me to take that forward and to deliver what I delivered. Perhaps that is not the resounding comment I can make with regard to income support purely because we in the department were already doing an income support Scrutiny review but what it has done is highlighted areas that we already knew to a certain extent needed to be addressed and reviewed in that income support review.

**1.17 Deputy E.J. Noel of St. Lawrence:**

During my time as Assistant Minister in Treasury and Resources, I have formed the opinion that there are currently 2 Members of this Assembly who can successfully fill the role of Minister for Treasury and Resources over the next 3 years, being Senator Ozouf and Senator Gorst. Who will the candidate nominate and vote for for this extremely important role?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I am grateful to the Deputy for his support with regard to my abilities. **[Laughter]** Today is the election for Chief Minister. Thursday and/or Friday will be the election for a Minister for Treasury and Resources and 8 other Ministers. Some Members may have received an email overnight suggesting that it was a package. We do not have that system in Jersey. We vote for each individual position. Any single Member of this Assembly can challenge the position or the person put forward by the Chief Minister for those offices. That is absolutely right and proper. We are not a party system. We are an independent system and it will be for each Member to decide later this week who it is that they wish to see as Minister for Treasury and Resources. Having said that, I have currently 2 choices in mind. The Deputy might not like what I am now going on to say, that is either Senator Le Marquand or Deputy Le Fondré.

**1.18 Senator L.J. Farnham:**

Given the diffidence with which the Island appears to be treated from time to time by outside sources, I would like to ask what relevant experience does the candidate have in relation to representing and protecting Jersey's interests, privileges and opportunities overseas but particularly in the U.K.?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

As I outlined in my statement, I have represented Jersey on the international stage in the past. I have, like many Members, met various visiting foreign dignitaries in our community as well. I believe that we, as an Assembly, must work together. We must harness the talents and abilities of every member of this community. It will not be that one Member is able to perform every task and I think that we must move away from the idea that one person will be able to do everything. I passionately care about this community. I will defend this community's rights and privileges to the hilt and that is how I will fulfil those duties and the functions of Chief Minister, should I be successful.

### **1.19 Deputy J.A. Martin of St. Martin:**

A follow-on because he asked my question - the Constable of St. Peter - about the enhancement of an Assistant Minister. I heard the Senator say that there could be a cross-departmental and that would involve possibly a Minister ... well, I am presuming means Assistant Minister for the Elderly and possibly Assistant Minister for Children, *et cetera*. Does the Senator believe that without being elected properly in this House, anybody should have that much responsibility and if he does not, what is he going to do about it?

### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I would not wish to see this as just simply moving the Assistant Ministers into a process where they are elected by this Assembly at this moment in time outside of what is brought forward by the Electoral Commission. I do believe that this is something that we should consider and it will help to raise those issues but it will, as the Deputy knows in the previous role that she had as Assistant Minister for Health, there were issues that she was facing that were very much tied-up with Social Security. If she was able to have a roving remit that meant that she could feed into Social Security and deal with those issues, I think it would have enhanced in a very positive way the issues that she was trying to address and that is what I am talking about.

### **1.20 Deputy S. Pitman of St. Helier:**

Could the Senator give his views on Jersey becoming an independent Island State and by that I mean independent from the U.K.

### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I think that the issue of independence and our international relations with other communities has moved on. It might have seemed appropriate at some point for us to move to independence from the United Kingdom. While we continue to face pressures from that direction, I believe that the other pressures and the greater pressures are coming from the rest of Europe and from other jurisdictions, and that is where we are now going to need to target our focus towards in delivering our message about who we are and what we do.

### **1.21 Senator P.F.C. Ozouf:**

The candidate spoke about his potential Minister for Treasury and Resources. Could he say who his nominees for Health and Social Services and Education will be and will he ask those nominees to stick to the Comprehensive Spending Review targets?

### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

As I said earlier, today is not the day for election of those other Ministers. If I am successful today, then I will give thought to who those individuals might be. I am aware of a number of Members who would like to be put forward for those particular positions. Any nominee for the office of Minister that I put forward, of course, I would be asking them to comply with the previously agreed decisions of this Assembly and that is to make the savings. That is not the only bad news. Each department is going to have to find more savings and work more efficiently and more effectively in the future as well.

### **1.22 Senator P.F. Routier:**

Is the candidate aware that there are currently stressors on the respite services with children and adults with learning disabilities and can he give any comfort to families who have a child with learning disabilities that, if elected, he will ensure that the provision of good and sufficient respite care will be available?

### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

Another one in which I can be brief. Yes, and yes.

### **1.23 Deputy C.F. Labey of Grouville:**

A major concern to Islanders at the moment is that of population and migration. Does the Senator feel we have it right at the moment and, if not, what measures would he put in place to ensure that we do?

#### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

We may not have it right at this precise moment in time but, as the Deputy knows, we, in this Assembly, have approved a new housing and jobs law. I know the Deputy does not necessarily agree with me but I believe that that, with the ability to allow us to review job licences and thereby control the number of non-local licences, will be absolutely critical in this area. I am committed to doing that. I have talked about it for a number of months. The Deputy will know that in my time at Social Security, we liaised often on a daily basis with regard to the skills of the unemployed individuals that we were seeing in our community and the requests for non-local licences that Economic Development were seeing from businesses, and we made the case very successfully in hundreds of cases that those new licences were not required because there were people already living in our community who could undertake those jobs. It is difficult. It is easier to import new labour. It will not be easy for us to deal with this issue but it is one that we absolutely have to get to grips with because otherwise we are leaving people who are already living in our community out of work and unemployed and that cannot be acceptable any way that we look at it.

### **1.24 The Very Reverend R.F. Key, B.A., The Dean of Jersey:**

The candidate will understand that even given the higher turnout this time, there is a huge disconnect between this Assembly and ownership, as it were, of our Island heritage and future and a large section of our community. What, in terms of his passions and values, can he bring to bear so that all those who live in this Island can think of it as their Island and look at this legislature and think of it as their Government?

#### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I outlined, I hope clearly, in my statement - and I have spoken more of it today in my opening remarks - that I believe that Jersey is a fantastic community. I love living here. I am proud of this Island. However, I am aware that there are too many members of our community who do not feel the same way about the Jersey I love and it is absolutely critical that we put in place measures. I have talked about work, I have talked about houses, I have talked about health, I have talked about a secure retirement and we must not just talk about these issues but we must act and deliver and it is through that delivery, together, that I believe we will re-engage our community with this Assembly and it is the right thing to do.

### **1.25 Deputy J.H. Young of St. Brelade:**

Can I ask the Senator to expand on his reply to Deputy Le Hérissier and, in particular, explain the simplified planning arrangement he proposes for the delivery of affordable homes which is outlined in the strategic paper that we have seen and please confirm or otherwise to the Assembly whether or not this implies a change to the policy of protection of greenfield sites under the existing Island Plan policy and whether this new arrangement will result in an improvement in public confidence in the planning system?

#### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

It does not involve a change to the Island Plan as it was recently approved, which gave extra protection to green space. One of the key issues that we need to address is the use of States-owned sites and we need to evaluate the units that can be delivered there. We need to understand what taking out the value of that land will do to the affordability of the units that we build on those sites and, at the same time, we need to communicate with developers to find a process whereby they

might be able to deliver affordable units on developments that they are bringing forward as well but it absolutely does not mean a deviation from the recently approved Island Plan.

**1.26 Deputy R.C. Duhamel of St. Saviour:**

Does the candidate support the concept of ‘Steady State’ economics for an Island State economy?

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

I must say that, on balance, I do not. We have seen decline in our economy over the last number of years so therefore we do have headroom to see economic growth, as I have said in my opening comments. Businesses provide jobs, they provide tax revenues. We need to enable them to get on and do that. Yes, we need to use our resources carefully. We need to use our resources more effectively. We need to use our resources more efficiently.

**1.27 Deputy G.P. Southern:**

What moves, if any, will the potential Chief Minister propose to ensure an improvement in Jersey’s international standing on tax transparency?

[14:00]

**Senator I.J. Gorst:**

We already have a programme of signing T.I.E.A.s (Tax Information Exchange Agreements) across the world. I fully support that and we need to in my mind continue that and perhaps even up the pace. This is part of the work that we need to undertake. We do commit to comply with the best international standards. We should, in my opinion, neither be in advance of those nor behind them. We should just be compliant with those international standards but as I said in answer to a question earlier, we need to get out more, as it were, and talk about what we do and ...

**The Bailiff:**

Very well. I am afraid that is that, then. **[Approbation]** No applause from the gallery, please. The gallery is to remain quiet. Very well. Then Senator Gorst will leave to a secure environment and we will invite Senator Bailhache to return.

**Deputy M. Tadier:**

Sir, during this break, may I ask some direction from the Chair? I was under the impression that question time was reserved for elected members of the States and while I appreciate the Chair probably thought that there were no questions, no lights on, what is the position with unelected members asking questions?

**The Bailiff:**

The position is that it is entirely a matter for the Chair. I invited the Dean because there were no other Members at that stage who had indicated with their light but I do normally give preference to elected Members. Very well, then. If I now turn to Senator Bailhache, the media may now start recording again while Senator Bailhache speaks but then will have to stop when he has finished. Senator?

**2. Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

It feels very different down here. I have put my name forward as a candidate for Chief Minister for 3 main reasons. The first is that I think that my electoral platform of constitutional reform can best be achieved by a partnership between the Council of Ministers and the P.P.C. (Privileges and Procedures Committee) and I should like to lead the Council of Ministers in that respect. There is an overwhelming public demand for reform and I am sure that Members will respond to it. Secondly, since the election, I have been approached by literally hundreds of people asking me to stand and that is pressure that is difficult to resist. But thirdly, my re-immersion in the parliamentary process has opened my eyes to the many threats that the Island faces from the outside

and I believe that my experience of dealing with Whitehall and the international community puts me in a stronger position than my opponent to defend Jersey's interests in these difficult times. Members may ask whether it is a problem that my brother is the Deputy Bailiff. If I may say so, the public clearly thought not and nor do I. The Deputy Bailiff is a man of independence and honour and the idea that biased rulings might be given just on my account seems to me remote. If Members elect me, there will, I hope, be culture changes. I have had numerous discussions with Members and former Members since announcing my candidacy, discussions which will, so far as I am concerned, continue if I am elected. I have been shocked by the number of times I have been told that Members did not find the last 3 years a pleasant experience. Politics is a serious business but it should also be enjoyable and fulfilling. I do not want, and I must say I am not prepared to work in, the kind of negative and untrusting environment that seems to have characterised the operation of the last Assembly. When I was last here as an elected Member, everyone felt involved and useful. I want to restore that sense of belonging. That is not a bit of slushy idealism. Many of us will have sharply opposing views as to the way forward and there will be passionate debates but those who lose the argument should not feel that their views are without value and any Member who wants to play a constructive part in the governance of the Island should be enabled to do so. So how do we bring about this change for the better? Senator Gorst has said that he wants to be inclusive and by implication to create a rainbow coalition in the Council of Ministers. Now, coalitions can be fine, even when composed of people of strongly differing views, provided that those people are prepared to compromise and to accept after full discussion a majority view. That is what I mean by collective responsibility. The rainbow coalitions that we have had in the last 6 years where Ministers have felt free publicly to disagree with each other have not worked and have just spread discord to the rest of the Assembly. I do not want more of the same. I want to offer Members something different and involvement in the decision-making process and inclusiveness in a different way. I make 2 broad suggestions. The first is that the so-called Troy Rule should be abolished. At present, the rules prevent the Assembly from appointing more than 12 Assistant Ministers. By regulation, we could increase that to 15. If we wanted to do more, we would have to amend the States of Jersey Law. For my part, I think we could have up to 20 Assistant Ministers. That would help Ministers to delegate more functions to their assistants and would also, assuming that Ministers acted as they should in discussing important issues with their assistants, involve more Members in significant ministerial decisions. Secondly, the performance of Scrutiny Panels could be enhanced. At present, some work well but some do not. At the new Members' induction on Scrutiny, there was consensus that mutual trust between the Scrutiny chairman and the relevant Minister was an important component. Scrutiny should not be used to pursue the personal hobbyhorses of committee chairmen rather than critically to examine Ministerial policy **[Approbation]** and Ministers should be obliged to treat Scrutiny seriously and with respect. Scrutiny is a vital part of our political system. If the number of Assistant Ministers is to be increased, the other side of that coin is that they should be able to serve on Scrutiny Panels obviously outside their area of operation. That would strengthen Scrutiny and I am surprised that the last Council of Ministers was opposed to that reform. Good scrutiny, however, requires skills that are not always present. For example, the examination of witnesses is an art that can be learned. The Attorney General, who was a qualified advocacy trainer before his appointment, may be able to guide us. I found reading the transcripts of some of the Scrutiny hearings depressing. Members had good points but they could not extract the information that they wanted. Sloppy behaviour by Ministers and their officials was not punished. If witnesses turn up without the proper documents and without properly preparing themselves, the hearing should be adjourned so that the witnesses can get their act together. Chairing a panel or a committee fairly and effectively is another art that can be learned. Sorting out the way we work is critical to achieving the ends that most of us seek. We all want to improve access to affordable housing so that more young people can get their foot on the housing ladder. We want to protect children from abuse and to ensure that every child leaves school literate and numerate and with appropriate skills for life. We want to be creative in getting unemployed people back to work and persuading others to work on to a later age in order to

combat the demographic time bomb. We want to strengthen our health service and enhance social safety nets so that no one is frightened of growing old. So far as possible in this imperfect world, we want to create a fair society where people are proud to call themselves Jersey men and Jersey women. We want a cohesive society at ease with itself and tolerant of all the minorities in our midst. No one surely will disagree with any of that. A strong and balanced economy based upon prudent fiscal policies is a prerequisite for achieving these aims. We may differ on the means to get there but the end cannot be controversial. We have in broad terms an excellent public service but the Council of Ministers needs to articulate clearly its vision for business transformation envisaged by the Comprehensive Spending Review. The first priority, however, is to create a Council of Ministers working together as a team. We cannot have a viable team if it contains Members who fundamentally disagree with each other. There cannot be any proper accountability to the Assembly. The Council should be bound by rules of collective responsibility. If elected as Chief Minister, I will offer Members leadership from the front. Whether Members follow will, of course, be a matter for them but I will not shrink from giving a lead as to the way in which I believe that a particular problem should be resolved. My leadership style is collaborative. I have never liked giving orders. I seek to persuade and if I fail, I accept the majority view. I think that together we can create a new and positive dynamic in Jersey politics. As an Assembly, we have much work to do to regain the public's trust but the first step is to learn to trust each other. **[Approbation]**

### **2.1 Deputy G.P. Southern:**

Can the candidate state clearly how the States can possibly work better if, as he plans, he reduces the number of Deputies while enhancing the role of the Constables, especially in the light of the verdict delivered by the voters of St. Brelade on their previous Constable who chose to be a Minister?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think that the public has shown very clearly at the hustings, certainly for the Senatorial elections, that they want the Constables to remain in the States. The Constables are a vital link between the Parishes and this Assembly and to remove the Constables from the States would be to diminish not just the office of Constable but to diminish the Parishes themselves, and I do not believe that that is what the people want. So far as the Deputies are concerned, I have proposed that the remaining number of Members of the States should be apportioned between Deputies sitting in larger constituencies. This is clearly a matter for discussion and a matter for debate but I do not personally think that that diminishes the role of the Deputy.

### **2.2 Deputy K.C. Lewis:**

I make no secret of the fact I have always advocated greater co-operation with our sister island of Guernsey. If elected, which areas does the candidate believe that these relationships could be improved with our northern Bailiwick?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think that there are numerous areas where co-operation could be improved between Jersey and Guernsey.

[14:15]

One of the obvious first areas to address would be in the context of fisheries where there has been a total breakdown of trust between the islands as a result of action taken I am afraid by our sister Bailiwick but there are, no doubt, other areas as well.

### **2.3 Deputy T.M. Pitman:**

With regard to the Electoral Commission, probably the greatest mistake leading to the disaster of Ministerial government was cherry-picking against all advice. Having taken that majority decision to go for Electoral Commission, the candidate says he accepts the majority view, so why does he



want to waste more States time by going back on a decision? Is it clearly that he just does not like it?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think my answer to that question is that I do not believe that this is an issue that the public wants kicked out into the long grass, and I fear that the appointment of an Electoral Commission might very well amount to an abdication of responsibility by this Assembly. We have had a report by the Clothier panel, which was not entirely accepted by this Assembly. It seems to me that it would be the worst of all options to set up another Commission composed, perhaps, of outsiders who would have to learn how the Island works and then to find that the Assembly was not sympathetic to the conclusions reached by that Commission. That would be to let the public down. The public has shown quite clearly that it wants reform and it does seem to me that the solution of the problem is not too difficult.

**Deputy T.M. Pitman:**

With due respect, it was the majority view. The candidate did say he supported it.

**The Bailiff:**

Deputy, you know the rules. One question each and it is question time not statement time so please do not try and get in a further observation.

**2.4 Deputy M. Tadier:**

Earlier this year, the States approved by a democratic majority decision that there should be a committee of inquiry into historical child abuse. One of the terms of reference that was agreed - again by a majority in the States - was that among others, the role of Crown Officers, including whether there was any political interference with decisions to prosecute, should be one of the terms of reference and it falls to the Chief Minister and his department to implement this committee of inquiry. So, firstly, is the candidate supportive of the committee of inquiry and, secondly, which steps would he take to minimise any perception of real or perceived conflict of interest, given that he was one of the Crown Officers and a member of the judiciary at the time?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

Dealing with that last point first. I am not sure that I had any involvement in any of the issues relating to the child abuse inquiry but if I am wrong in that respect, then clearly I would have to consider my position as to whether I took any part in the decision-making process. So far as the broader question is concerned, it is a sensitive and very difficult matter. The Assembly has agreed to establish a committee of inquiry. The cost of that inquiry was put by the Minister for Treasury and Resources at £10 million. For my part, I think that was an underestimate and I think that the costs could very well mount to £20 million or even more, given the range of the terms of reference that have been adopted by the Assembly. That perhaps is not the most important issue. What is important is that we find a means to bring closure to an issue that has divided the Island and caused anxiety for far too long. What is also important, it seems to me, is to bring reconciliation to those who have suffered from abuse in the past so that at the end of a long process by a committee of inquiry, if we have one, they feel that something has been gained. There is nothing to be gained by creating a tortuous process which does not, at the end of the day, satisfy those who have suffered from abuse. So it is a very difficult issue.

**2.5 Deputy R.C. Duhamel:**

What changes, if any, will the candidate be seeking in relation to the States of Jersey Law 2005, Part 4, Article 18(2)(e) to allow greater participation by non-Ministerial Members in setting and deciding strategic policy directives?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

My understanding is that the first duty of a new Council of Ministers is to produce a draft strategic policy for discussion and consideration by this Assembly and the process of arriving at that strategic policy is one that must clearly involve as many Members as possible. I am not able to be specific at this stage as to how I would create that involvement but it is certainly important that there should be involvement.

## **2.6 Senator F. du H. Le Gresley:**

Does the candidate believe that Policy H3 in the Island Plan, which seeks the provision of affordable housing on developments of 6 or more homes at a rate of 12.5 per cent rising incrementally to 20 per cent after 5 years, is viable when the Island, and, in particular, the construction industry, is in recession?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think it is very important to do everything that is possible to achieve the aim that is set out in that policy of the Island Plan. I do think that we have available to us land which can be released for housing and should be released for housing and that we have the means whereby this aim can be achieved. One of the difficulties which has arisen in the past in relation to shared ownership is one about which I feel strongly because I consider, having played a part in the drafting of the law on co-ownership some years ago, that there is a means whereby the existing law can provide a means of satisfying the desire of shared ownership and I think that that would greatly enhance the availability of affordable housing for members of the public.

## **2.7 Senator B.I. Le Marquand:**

Having read the candidate's statement and heard his answer to an earlier question, I am going to ask him to clarify as to whether what he is saying in relation to the 30 other Members of the States that his proposals would neither include Senators nor would include keeping the link between the small country Parishes and their individual Deputy.

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think that the problem that has bedevilled constitutional reform in this Assembly is that there have always been particular groups of people who were opposed to particular reforms. Some have opposed the abolition of the Senators. Some have protected the position of Deputies of small Parishes. Some have wanted the Constables in; some out, and so on and if we are to achieve reform - which I remind Members is without any doubt the desire of the public - then there have to be some compromises. I do not personally necessarily rule out in a new composition of the States a body of Senators but that is a body to be discussed. What is important is that we get on and find a solution to the problem.

## **2.8 Senator S.C. Ferguson:**

Given the financial pressures facing us, what priority would the Senator give to a serious business transformation programme and who would he propose as Minister for Treasury and Resources to pursue this?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I certainly think that a business transformation scheme in development of the Comprehensive Spending Review is extremely important and if I may be permitted to say so, the Scrutiny Panel report prepared by Senator Ferguson was a model of constructive criticism [**Approbation**] of the Council of Ministers and the difficulties which they had not entirely resolved. In answer to the second question, I have obviously given some considerable thought to the composition of a Council of Ministers if the Assembly were to honour me by electing me. I have spoken to each Member and sought to ascertain the aspirations of each of them. So far as the Minister for Treasury and Resources is concerned - and it applies to all Ministries and all Members - I have made no promises. There seem to me, however, to be 2 candidates who stand head and shoulders above the

rest. The first is Senator Gorst, the second is Senator Ozouf. I have no particular predisposition but I will say that whoever is recommended by me to the Assembly will not have the same unrealistically broad-ranging functions that were held by the previous Minister for Treasury and Resources. They were not good for the individual and they were not good for the Assembly.

### **2.9 Senator P.F. Routier:**

Is the candidate aware that there are currently stressors on the respite services for children and adults with learning disabilities and can the candidate give any comfort to families who have a child with learning disabilities that, if elected, he will ensure that the provision of good and sufficient respite care will be made available?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I know that this topic is particularly dear to the Senator's heart and very rightly so. I think I would answer the question by saying that I was aware of the pressures and that it seems to me that these and a number of other social issues could best be resolved by entrusting - probably to a Minister but perhaps to an Assistant Minister - a responsibility for co-ordinating a whole range of social policies in the Island and whether that should rest with the Minister for Health and Social Services or the Minister for Social Security or someone else would be a matter for discussion, but I think that these social issues do need to be addressed.

### **2.10 The Connétable of St. Helier:**

Jersey people are rightly proud of the environment we live in. What are the greatest threats to our natural and urban environment and how would the candidate, if elected, seek to address them?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

The greatest natural threats to our environment I suppose come from climate change which is a subject that the Assembly has not really embraced in recent years, and which I think does need to be carefully considered. So far as the town of St. Helier itself is concerned, I think there are issues which previous Assemblies have tried but not entirely succeeded in addressing in order to reclaim the town of St. Helier for ordinary people in the face of threats from the night economy. Parts of St. Helier are not very pleasant places to be at certain times of the evening and I think that a co-ordinated and holistic approach to these problems, which has been mooted before, is one that really ought to be grasped with both hands.

### **2.11 Deputy J.M. Maçon:**

The new Chief Minister will sit as the chairman of the States Employment Board. Can the candidate please explain what new human resources policies he would like to see implemented, if any?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

The Chief Minister is indeed the chairman or has been the chairman of the States Employment Board but I am not sure, for my part, that that is really a function that the Chief Minister ought to perform and I would certainly want to give consideration to delegating that function to an Assistant Minister if I were appointed as Chief Minister.

[14:30]

So far as the general policy of human resources is concerned, it is clear that the implementation of the Comprehensive Spending Review is going to give rise to stressors in some respects in relations with our employees and these stressors need to be addressed by full consultation, by taking people into one's confidence and by taking nobody by surprise and I certainly would want to follow policies on those lines if I were to be elected.

### **2.12 Deputy R.G. Le Hérissier:**

The candidate's views on independence have perhaps been misinterpreted and caused consternation in some quarters. Could he clarify to the House, does he believe independence is, in and of itself, a good thing or would he only contemplate it under certain circumstances and if so, which?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I have made it clear on a number of occasions, certainly during the Senatorial election campaign, that I have never advocated independence for Jersey. What I have advocated is that the Island should be prepared for independence if that were the only way in which we could retain our autonomy and our privileges that we have enjoyed for more than 800 years. I do not think that it would be helpful for me to speculate on the circumstances which might give rise to a situation where it would be desirable to seek independence except that to say if the United Kingdom were to present us with a scenario where we were told that our interests, for example, in Europe, could no longer be protected by them and that it would be in our interests to become a sovereign state, then those could be circumstances when we should examine it. The important thing is not to bury our heads in the sand. We ought to be prepared for any contingency. There is a report which is lodged with the Council of Ministers making certain recommendations as to action which ought to be taken and I would like to dust that off if the Assembly elects me and follow some of those recommendations.

**2.13 Deputy M.R. Higgins:**

Does the candidate consider Jersey's taxation system to be fair to all its citizens and would he be prepared (a) to adopt a progressive income tax system rather than the flat rate of 20 per cent; (b) rebalance the situation where under the Zero/Ten tax regime, personal taxes account for 82 per cent of all taxes and company taxes are currently 12 per cent and falling; and (c) would he be prepared to adopt a land development tax?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

That is a very long question. I will try to give a short answer. I do not think that at this stage a graduated tax would be a sensible way to change our tax system. We have had a flat rate of 20 per cent for many years and a graduated rate of tax, although it may be necessary to examine it, but in my view, at this stage, would not be a constructive way forward. So far as Zero/Ten is concerned, Zero/Ten was a policy that was, in effect, thrust upon us because it was the only way in which the Island could retain the financial services industry. A zero rate of tax is critical to the retention of the financial services industry and Zero/Ten was a compromise that enabled the finance industry to remain here. I agree with the Deputy that there is an unfairness as to the taxation of businesses. It is not fair that businesses owned by those outside the Island do not pay tax but those inside the Island do pay tax and that is a matter which I think should be given very urgent consideration. There was a third question, but I am sorry, I have lost it. [Aside] Land development tax. I am not in favour of a land development tax for this reason. The Planning Law gives us the power to exact from developers planning agreements - planning conditions - which require the development of land in a certain way and properly used, sensibly used, those powers in the existing Planning Law can be used to achieve much the same kind of thing as a land development tax but much more easily.

**2.14 The Deputy of Grouville:**

A major concern to Islanders at this time is that of population and migration. Does the Senator feel we have it right at the moment and, if not, what measures would he put in place to ensure that we do.

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

The Population Office informs me that it has been very sensitive to the political desire to reduce immigration and to use the resources that are available in the Island to the fullest possible extent. I think that my short answer to the Deputy's question is that the balance at the moment is about right.

The Island needs a certain amount of immigration if we do not have the skills in the hospitals or elsewhere to carry out the work that has to be done but clearly immigration should be discouraged or prevented to the extent that there are unemployed people or people in the Island who are capable of carrying out the work that there is to be done.

**Deputy E.J. Noel:**

In answering Senator Ferguson's question, the candidate has answered my question and, indeed, agreed with me.

**2.15 Deputy T.A. Vallois of St. Saviour:**

Co-ordination of Minister's policy is an important step in the Chief Minister's Department. Social policy has not been a priority over the last few years, would the candidate indicate what his first priority would be in terms of the social policy and whether he agrees the Social Policy Group should meet more than once every 6 months?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think I might have already answered that question of the Deputy. I certainly do think that the Social Policy Group should meet more frequently than that if 6 months is the time between meetings. The co-ordination of social policy is an extremely important matter. As I have said earlier, it seems to so important that it is a matter that ought to be given by way of responsibility to a Minister.

**2.16 Connétable D.W. Mezbourian of St. Lawrence:**

In his speech the candidate spent a great deal of time speaking about States reform and, indeed, of course that was his election platform. If elected, how will he balance States reform with every other requirement of the role of Chief Minister and, if he is unsuccessful in this election, will he stand as Chairman of P.P.C.?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

The balancing of the desire for reform with the other functions of a Chief Minister will, as the Constable suggests, no doubt be difficult. But as I indicated in my opening speech, I have reached the conclusion that the best place for this particular Senator to be in order to try to achieve the constitutional reforms which were the reason for my seeking election was that of Chief Minister. I believe that a co-ordinated approach between the Council of Ministers and the P.P.C. in relation to reform would be unstoppable. That is why I have sought election as Chief Minister. Sorry, there was a second part of the question?

**The Connétable of St. Lawrence:**

The second part was if the candidate is unsuccessful in this election will he stand as chairman of P.P.C.?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think that is a hypothetical question which I should like to consider in due course. **[Laughter]**

**2.17 Senator A. Breckon:**

The Senator mentioned in his opening speech about the Connétables and the link with the Parishes, can he say, if elected as Chief Minister, how he himself and how he would perhaps encourage Ministers and Members of this House to develop better links with the community and perhaps greater transparency?

**Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I think that there is a case for entrusting an Assistant Minister with a responsibility for developing links with the Parishes and links with the third sector. We have seen in the Parish of St. John a fine

example of a Parish Plan being developed and it seems to me that that is an example which might very well be imitated in other Parishes. I know that some Parishes are thinking of that. But so far as the Council of Ministers is concerned, I think that entrusting to an Assistant Minister responsibility for links with the Parishes and the third sector and encouraging, in particular, the third sector to consider what parts of functions which are currently undertaken by Government could be done would be a useful way forward.

### **2.18 The Connétable of St. Peter:**

The Senator in his opening speech made a comment or a paraphrase “sorting out the way we work”; does he see any difficulties or advantages in working either within the constraints or the advantages of the C.S.R. to sort out the way that we work?

#### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I am sure this is my fault but I am not sure that I understand the Constable’s question. I wonder if he might rephrase it.

#### **The Connétable of St. Peter:**

Certainly. The point is I picked up in the opening speech that the Senator made a comment that he would like to sort out the way that we work. I was wondering whether he saw the C.S.R. programme we are currently going through having any implications for the thoughts he has about sorting out the way that we would work, whether there would be advantages within that to help him to stream his thoughts or disadvantage because of the constraints of financial pressures and cutting public spending.

#### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I must say that I had not associated in my mind the C.S.R. process and the separate process of reforming the way in which the States operate. It may be that there is an overlap and that is something that I must say I had not considered before, but I am certainly prepared to do so.

### **2.19 The Connétable of St. John:**

Over many years the Senator will have heard my views on the infrastructure of the Island, would he be encouraging his Minister for Treasury and Resources and other Ministers around the table, if he is elected, in making sure that proper funding is put in place for our road repairs, our sea defence and our waste infrastructure, *et cetera*?

#### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I am sure that drains should be one of the highest priorities of the Council of Ministers. **[Laughter]** But more seriously I think that there is certainly a case for looking at and trying to resolve the current unfairness in relation to sewage treatment which means that those who are not connected to the mains network have considerable expenses in the form of sewage collection and so forth, whereas those who happen to be fortunate enough to be connected to the main service get their drainage dealt with entirely free. So I would certainly, in short answer to the Constable’s question, be encouraging a serious and free approach to this problem.

[14:45]

### **2.20 Deputy S. Power:**

Does the candidate feel that there may have been a missed opportunity in the last Council of Ministers in not strengthening and working harder to improve economic and trading links with our closest neighbours, Le Manche and d’Ille-et-Vilaine conseil général? Does he feel with 3 university teaching hospitals very close by, within a 30 minute flight time - Caen, Rennes and Nantes - that we could have improved our health links with our French neighbours?

#### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

As the Assembly will know, I am very sympathetic indeed to building up closer links with Normandy and, indeed, with Brittany. Many years ago I was partly responsible for establishing the small office which we now have in Normandy. I agree with the Deputy wholeheartedly that one of the aspects of the otherwise excellent Green Paper that we have on Health, which is absent, is the possibility of using the resources of the French health service to deliver services which we need in Jersey. I understand, of course, that there are language difficulties and that many people might be reluctant to seek treatment in France, but the French health service is excellent, as I know from my personal experience. I certainly think that developing links in that respect is something that should be very seriously considered.

### **2.21 Senator L.J. Farnham:**

Given the diffidence with which the Island appears to be treated with from time to time by outside sources, I would like to ask what relevant experience does a candidate have in relation to representing and protecting Jersey's interest, privileges and opportunities overseas but particularly within the U.K.? To make the question clear ...

#### **The Bailiff:**

I think that question is fairly clear.

### **Senator L.J. Farnham:**

Well, Sir, I would like to hear the candidate's relevant experience, not what he proposes to do.

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

My relevant experience, Sir, is that I have been a Law Officer for nearly 20 years and I have held your office for a number of years and in both those connections I have had very close relationships with firstly the Home Office and then the Department for Constitutional Affairs and latterly the Ministry of Justice in seeking to protect the Island's privileges and developing our interests in that respect. One of the functions of the Bailiff, which is perhaps not very widely known, is the responsibility to advise the Chief Minister on constitutional matters and that is the reason why official correspondence passes through the Bailiff's Office before it goes to the Lieutenant Governor and on to the Ministry of Justice. That experience over the last 30 years or so I would place at the disposal of the Assembly.

### **2.22 Deputy S. Pitman:**

During the elections all candidates were asked by the *J.E.P. (Jersey Evening Post)* about what our priorities were and the Senator did say that Government reform was top of his priorities. Could he say why that was and also given that we now have around 1,400 registered unemployed is this still his priority?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

The Deputy is quite right, of course, that there are a huge number of pressing issues that face the Assembly, of which the large number of unemployed is but one. The reason why I put constitutional reform at the top of my agenda when I was seeking election was that it seemed to me to be a root problem. Unless the Assembly can sort out the problems of the way in which Ministerial government has worked in the last 6 years, it is so much more difficult to devote time and energy to the really pressing problems that the Island faces. That is why it was at the top of my agenda.

### **2.23 Senator P.F.C. Ozouf:**

We learnt last week of the decision of the U.K. to remove L.V.C.R. (Low Value Consignment Relief) with further difficulties in relation to unemployment. What does the candidate propose to do about this problem?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

The first thing to say about the fulfilment industry is that it is neither illegal nor immoral. **[Approbation]** The arrangements made with Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs have been completely transparent. The United Kingdom Government has known about the fulfilment industry from the very start. There has been a Memorandum of Understanding with H.M.R.C. (Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs) for more than 10 years. The action by the United Kingdom Government was a purely political manoeuvre to appease certain small businesses in the United Kingdom whose real complaint was with the internet and not with the Channel Islands. The United Kingdom will not save any tax, in my view. Indeed the manoeuvre is likely to cost money in terms of collecting tax on uneconomic transactions, which was the reason why L.V.C.R. was introduced by the E.U. (European Union) in the first place. There are no winners here, but the real losers are the 1,000 or so Jersey employees who are at risk, shortly before Christmas, of receiving redundancy notices which may lead to unemployment and to severe economic stress. The casual indifference shown by the United Kingdom Government to the human costs of their actions is shocking. No thought appears to have been given to the effect in a small community of this economic aggression. The equivalent effect in England would be to create, at a stroke, 750,000 unemployed. Imagine the scenes in the House of Commons if the European Union had announced an action which was to make 750,000 U.K. citizens unemployed. We owe it to our people to condemn unequivocally this heartless action. **[Approbation]**

### **2.24 The Deputy of Trinity:**

With the effects that the Island has a problem with excessive alcohol intake, what are the candidate's thoughts of addressing this problem and would he be proposing a minimum price per unit?

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I do not know, subject obviously to advice from experts, that interfering with the ...

### **The Bailiff:**

Very well, Senator, I am afraid that is it. **[Approbation]** I will ask the usher to bring back Senator Gorst. May I have Members' attention a moment, please. While Senator Gorst is being brought back, perhaps it would be useful just to remind Members that the next sitting of the Assembly is Thursday, 17th November. The Order Paper will be on Members' desks but this will involve selection of Ministers, appointment of the Chairman of P.P.C., P.A.C., 5 Scrutiny Panels and the Jersey Overseas Aid Commission. The Chief Minister Designate's nominations for positions has to be in to the Greffier by 9.30 a.m. on Wednesday, 16th, and these will be circulated. Any other Member can then nominate a candidate at the meeting, that just has to be proposed and seconded, but all candidates are reminded they may have to speak for 10 minutes and be questioned for up to 20 minutes. The Assembly, if it needs, will sit on a second day, Friday of this week as well as Thursday. Very well, so Senator Gorst has returned so now there is to be an open ballot. Pre-printed ballot papers will be circulated to you and what you are asked to do, please, is to place your name at the space shown on the top of the ballot and then put a cross against either Senator Bailhache or Senator Gorst. Have all Members had a ballot paper? Very well, then we will inspect the ballot boxes. So now the Deputy Viscount and the Chief Usher will collect the ballot papers. Excuse me, up there, no filming at this stage. The rules were made clear when you started so I am disappointed to find media breaking the rules. Very well, all the ballot papers have been handed in so I shall ask the Attorney General and the Deputy Viscount to count the votes. I am also going to ask the Assistant Greffier to be there with them in order to collate the votes so that obviously Members can know which Members have voted in which way quickly when they return. Please retire. I think this will probably take 5 minutes or so, so we will adjourn briefly during that time, but one matter, if Members agree, it seems to me sensible as we do have the media here, they



should be able to record the result. Do Members agree to that? Very well, we will adjourn until the count is ready.

[14:58]

## **ADJOURNMENT**

[15:11]

### **The Bailiff:**

Usher, would you ask the scrutineers to attend, please? The votes cast in the ballot were as follows: Senator Bailhache, 24 votes; Senator Gorst, 27 votes. **[Approbation]** I am sorry but I have already indicated to the gallery, the gallery should not please show favouritism one way or the other. It is for States Members, not for the gallery.

### **Deputy J.A. Martin:**

Can we please ask who voted which way?

### **The Bailiff:**

Yes, indeed. The Greffier will read out the 24 and the 27.

### **The Greffier of the States:**

The following Members voted for Senator Bailhache: Senator Ozouf, Senator Breckon, Senator Maclean, Senator Farnham and Senator Bailhache; the Connétables of St. Helier, Trinity, Grouville, St. Clement, St. Peter, St. John, St. Ouen and St. Saviour; the Deputy of Grouville, Deputy Power, Deputy Noel, the Deputy of St. John, Deputy Baker, Deputy Young, Deputy Pinel, the Deputy of St. Mary, the Deputy of St. Martin, Deputy Bryans and the Deputy of St. Peter. The following Members voted for Senator Gorst: Senator Routier, Senator Ferguson, Senator Le Marquand, Senator Le Gresley and Senator Gorst; the Connétables of St. Lawrence, St. Mary, St. Brelade and St. Martin; Deputy Duhamel, Deputy Le Hérissier, Deputy Martin, Deputy Southern, the Deputy of St. Ouen, Deputy Hilton, Deputy Le Fondré, the Deputy of Trinity, Deputy Shona Pitman, Deputy Lewis, Deputy Tadier, Deputy Trevor Pitman, Deputy Vallois, Deputy Higgins, Deputy Green, Deputy Maçon, Deputy Baudains and Deputy Rondel.

### **The Bailiff:**

Very well, so I confirm that Senator Gorst is the Chief Minister Designate. Can I remind the Assembly that it will reconvene at 9.30 a.m.

### **Senator I.J. Gorst:**

Sir, perhaps I could take this opportunity to thank Members who voted for me. I could also perhaps thank Senator Bailhache for a well-fought campaign. **[Approbation]** I believe that every Member that has returned to this Assembly has the ultimate best interest of this community at heart. I intend to work with every Member whether they voted for me or not.

[15:15]

I do not underestimate the challenges and the task which is before us. I ask, as I said in my opening comments, that we might now deliver a new era of unity, working together, and working in the best interests of every Member of our community. Thank you. **[Approbation]**

### **Senator P.M. Bailhache:**

I wonder if I might just claim the indulgence of the Assembly to be the first of the elected Members to congratulate the Chief Minister Designate most warmly on his election and to wish him well. **[Approbation]**

### **The Bailiff:**

Thank you very much then to the Chief Minister Designate and to Senator Bailhache. So the Assembly will adjourn and reconvene at 9.30 a.m. on Thursday with a willingness to go over to Friday should that become necessary.

## **ADJOURNMENT**

[15:16]

## **APPENDIX ONE**

### **STATEMENT MADE BY SIR PHILIP BAILHACHE**

#### **(1) Vision for a strategic policy**

##### The Assembly and its procedures

I stood for election as senator on a platform of constitutional reform of the States. I expressed the views that the reputation of the States had sunk in the public estimation, and that too much time was wasted on the discussion of relatively trivial matters, and that too much energy was wasted on personal antagonisms instead of concentrating on important issues affecting the well being of the Island. Those views struck a chord with the public, and I think that members have a duty to respond by embracing reform, not just of our constitution but also of some of our working practices. Time is a valuable commodity. Other than in exceptional circumstances, it is not sensible to spend three or four days a week in the Chamber. It leaves no time for the proper functioning of ministerial government, nor of scrutiny, nor for carrying out the myriad other tasks which should occupy the time of parliamentarians.

During 2010 only 13.5% of States time was spent debating legislation, which ought to be the primary function of a legislature. In any other legislature this would be unthinkable. There is a place for backbench propositions, and for questions, but there is currently no constitutional structure to ensure that the time allocated is proportionate to the other work of the Assembly.

What can be done about it? A key part of the solution lies in reducing the number of members. The Clothier Panel recommended that the Assembly should be reduced to 42 seats and we should accept that recommendation. I part company with Clothier on the question of the Constables. My view is that the Constables should stay because they are a vital link with the parishes. If they stay, that leaves 30 other members to be elected from the other constituencies. The last Assembly resolved on 15 March 2011 to establish an Electoral Commission, but it seems to me that this solution is more complicated than the problem. If it is assumed (1) that the number of members should be reduced to 42 and (2) that the Constables should continue as members, the remaining part of the reform ought not to be too difficult to resolve. If elected as Chief Minister, I would propose, subject to consultations, the rescindment of the resolution of March 2011 and the appointment of the PPC or a Special Committee of the States to determine the remaining issues on the assumptions set out in (1) and (2) above. I do not accept that the States are incapable of resolving these issues relating to the composition of the Assembly before putting the package to the public in a referendum. I should like to see a collaborative approach to reform between the Council of Ministers and the PPC.

Debate and questioning of ministers are an important part of the parliamentary process. But there should be reasonable parameters, as in other parliaments, so as to ensure that debates are not open-ended and without limit of time. There should be a Business Committee, perhaps as a delegation of the PPC, composed of representatives of government and backbenchers which would be authorised to timetable debates and to allocate reasonable time limits for them. That authority should be granted within a framework of an agreed period (say two days) for the

meeting of the States. Priority should be given to debating matters of importance, as assessed by the Business Committee.

### The economy

The recession and other external factors have buffeted the Island's economy in recent years, but we are in a financial position that is the envy of many other countries. We should continue the policies adopted by the previous Assembly of strengthening the economy by restoring a balance between income and expenditure as soon as possible, by eliminating waste, and encouraging growth based on improved productivity.

The CSR will clearly be a crucial challenge for the new Council of Ministers. Delivery of the £65 million cuts will not be easy and will require determined efforts by Ministers and officials and the support of the Assembly as a whole. The new economic growth strategy to be debated early in 2012 should provide a platform for the renewal of economic growth. Further research should take place and efforts renewed to provide the necessary statutory and business frameworks for new industries based upon the protection of intellectual property and similar niche markets.

The current rate of unemployment is a matter of serious concern, particularly but not exclusively in relation to young people. The range of initiatives put together by the Economic Development, Education and Social Security Departments such as Advance to Work, and Advance Plus should be supplemented, even by short-term ad hoc plans involving the creation of public works schemes to get people back into employment. The nurturing of the work ethic is vitally important to prevent a section of society from sliding into a culture of hopeless dependency on the state. The existing schemes are a good example of different Ministers working closely together to deliver policy objectives. A strong skills and training agenda will be key to reducing levels of unemployment, and the need for importing employees.

The rate of home ownership at some 60% is too low and urgent steps should be taken to create affordable housing and the means to get a foot on the housing ladder. The Minister of Housing has taken important first steps, and they should be continued. A robust legal structure should be created to support the concept of shared ownership. Advantage can be taken of the current low interest rates to help more Islanders to realize the dream of owning their own homes.

### Taxation

No one likes paying tax, but the Island obviously needs money to pay for essential public services. Tax is, however, an imposition on the public, and there is no justification for it unless it meets that criterion of essentiality. Personal income tax should remain at 20%. That is a reasonable rate, and is a long-standing symbol of our fiscal stability. An important element of any tax system is fairness. The "20 means 20" policy adopted by the Assembly has not been implemented as originally intended by its architects. It has bitten too hard upon those on low and middle incomes. As soon as is prudently possible, that should be rectified.

Fairness does not exclude wealthy immigrants. It is in the Island's interests to encourage a small number of wealthy immigrants to come to Jersey because of the many benefits to the economy, apart from paying tax, that they bring. Yet the rules that govern the tax they pay should be fair too. There is currently a disparity that justifies a review.

The taxation of companies is a difficult area. A considerable tax burden has been transferred from companies to individuals during the last few years, as a result of the Zero/Ten policy. The Zero/Ten policy was not of our choosing, but was a response to pressure from the UK and the

European Union in order to safeguard the financial services industry and the Island's economic future. The current arrangements in relation to the taxation of local businesses are neither sensible nor sustainable, and work needs to be done to ensure that greater fairness operates in that area too.

GST, whether we like it or not, it is here to stay. Almost every other country has it in some form, and very few have the rate as low as 5%. It is an effective and reliable way to raise revenue. We should manage the economy in such a way as to ensure that the rate is not allowed to rise beyond 5% for the foreseeable future.

GST should be simple, broad and low. I am opposed to complicated exemptions which would involve additional civil servants in the tax office and push the general rate up. I am equally opposed to the exemption of so-called healthy foods which would mainly benefit the better off, and would put a foot in the door through which other exemptions and complexities will later slide. Changing eating habits is a matter for education, not fiscal policy. Protection for the lower paid should come, as now, through the Income Support system.

I recognise nonetheless that not everyone in the Assembly shares these views. Indeed GST on food has become a thoroughly poisonous issue with members holding entrenched and opposing views that over the last three years or more have divided the Council of Ministers and the Assembly itself. The issue has been hotly debated on at least six occasions, and a resolution is not in sight. The time has come for the issue to be referred to the public who will, at the end of the day, have to live with the consequences of whatever the decision may be. The abolition of GST on food would, obviously, have fiscal consequences and involve additional taxation either in the form of a higher rate or elsewhere in the tax system. I would recommend to the Assembly that the issue be referred to a referendum which would settle the matter once and for all.

## Health

The Island faces significant challenges in maintaining the quality of our health service as life expectancies continue to increase. Clearly spending on health is a high priority, but innovative ways will need to be found to fund the service in future, and to ensure that standards of care do not decline. Models of health funding from other countries apart from the UK need study so as to find a way to ensure that our health system remains the best for a jurisdiction of Jersey's size.

Few things are more important to us as we grow older than our health. Life expectancy has changed dramatically during the last 50 years, but there is no pleasure in living longer if you are confined to a sickbed or disabled in mind or spirit. A longer life is only worth it if you have the health to enjoy it. We are not likely to grow old happily if we drink or eat too much, take no exercise, or smoke. Living a healthy life style is not expensive; but it needs education. The number of overweight children in our community is shocking. Preventative medicine, that is taking action to avoid problems in the future, is an obvious priority.

The Minister for Health has recently published an important report by KPMG which gives us a platform from which to start to plan. In the next 25 years demand for health services will obviously increase considerably. To meet that demand we have either to increase the availability of services, at great cost, or find some other way to deliver what we need in the Island. I want to find a Jersey solution – one that is not necessarily found elsewhere. We need to consider the extent to which private health care can help to bridge the gap. The fundamental principle is that there must be an effective system of public health available at the expense of the state to the general public. It would be unacceptable in a civilised society that people could not get medical treatment because they could not afford it. But that does not mean that there is no place for private health care. 50% of the population already has private medical insurance

with BUPA or some similar organisation. Using insurance schemes to buy in health expertise, and to bring it to the Island for so many days a month, may be one way of ensuring that we have available specialist skills that we cannot afford all the time.

The General Hospital needs considerable investment. A crucial decision as to whether to build a new hospital on another site, or to renovate the existing building in Gloucester Street will need to be taken by the Assembly.

We also need to consider to what extent the third sector, which has large resources, can be brought into the equation. Jersey Hospice Care is an inspirational example of what an independent voluntary association can do for the public good. Let us see to what extent the increasing demand can be met by the third sector. Whatever we do, we must maintain standards in the health service.

The Social Services element of the Minister's responsibilities needs particular attention. Much good work has been done following the Williamson report to address problems relating to the care of vulnerable children but it is vital to continue that work. Drug and alcohol addiction is another area where more needs to be done. As Chief Minister, I would want to ensure that these and other social issues were put close to the top of the agenda.

### Education

The Minister for Education has also published a Green Paper which provides a framework for discussion as to what, if any, fundamental changes are required.

Our education system is unusual. 43% of children go to fee-paying schools, compared with 7% in the UK. That seems to me, however, to be a matter for pride; parents are showing in the most practical way that they care about their children's education. The financial contributions made by parents of children at the Colleges and the Catholic schools save taxpayers at least £10 million a year. And the sharing of cost by parents and the States means that thousands of children who would not otherwise have the opportunity of benefiting from the different ethos of the fee-paying schools, can do so.

The Green Paper floats the suggestion of merging Hautlieu and Highlands to create a 6th form college. I would want to see very strong evidence of benefit before taking this forward. Hautlieu has an equally important but different ethos, and achieves very good academic results. Highlands College has developed its own position and has achieved much for a very broad range of students. We should be careful not to undermine these successes. Closer collaboration between the fee-paying sector, Hautlieu and Highlands on academic curriculum would clearly be beneficial.

What about the other secondary schools which are just as important and have their individuality too? I believe that the secrecy surrounding their examination results was a mistake, although understandable considering the way in which the information can be misused. Literacy and numeracy are very important, but comparing a narrow band of the exam results of the four 11-16 schools with the rest in a league table is neither sensible nor fair. If you remove many of the academically able students and send them to Hautlieu or the fee-paying schools at 14 it is not surprising that the 11-16 schools do less well in terms of GCSE results. There are better measures of success or failure. It is also important to consider extracurricular activities and facilities for vocational training, all of which can show whether children are getting a rounded education as a preparation for life. On that basis some of the 11-16 schools have really impressive results.

It is disappointing that the Green Paper makes no mention of the possibility of developing a small university in Jersey. The new Institute of Law has shown that it is possible to develop a law faculty without vast expense to the public purse. We need to be bolder and more visionary than we have been in the past. Our industries and public service are crying out for intellectual skills that are not there, and there is no reason why at least some of them should not be home grown.

Clearly, the consultation now being undertaken by the Department will inform the nature of future steps to be taken.

### The environment

The Assembly has adopted a new Island Plan which sets the framework for future development and the protection of the environment. The protection of the coastline and, by implication, the preservation of the Green Zone and other special areas have been enshrined in law for over 50 years. Yet there is still public anxiety at the way in which our planning processes operate. Few appear content with the status quo. In retrospect, it seems clear that the substitution of an individual (the Minister for the Environment) for a committee of seven persons as a decision making body was a mistake. The creation of a Planning Applications Panel has been a partial remedy, but the uncertainty as to where responsibility for decision making lies remains. An amendment to the Law should be introduced in order to remove the Minister's authority and duty to decide planning applications. That authority should be vested in a Panel or Committee of 5 or 6 persons appointed by the Assembly and presided over by an Assistant Minister of Planning. The Minister should have responsibility for strategy and overall policy, and for setting any general guidelines in consultation with the Panel, but should play no part in dealing with individual applications. It should be expected that the Assistant Minister would regularly keep the Minister fully informed as to any difficulties in the practical operation of the Law and planning rules. A controversial planning decision is far better taken by a group of elected members than by a Minister alone.

A consequence would be that departmental officials would know where the authority to grant or refuse permission lay, and give them and the public confidence that a consistency of approach would be followed. There should be an intensive induction programme for the Assistant Minister (Planning) and the appointed panel so that all appreciated fully the spirit and intent of the Planning and Building (Jersey) Law 2002, and the impact of any judicial decisions on appeals from the Minister or the old Planning and Environment Committee.

### Community

The spirit of community is one of the aspects of life in Jersey that makes the Island a very special place. The large number of local people involved in the honorary service, in charitable and voluntary associations, and in other unselfish work in the community is extraordinary. This spirit should be nurtured. In part, it depends upon the parochial system, which is one reason why the office of Constable should not be devalued by the removal of the Constables from the States. In part it relates to the work of the churches. In part it stems from the enclosed nature of an Island community. It is strategically important to nourish this spirit of community. The States should encourage devolution of local authority to the parishes to the extent that it is practical and sensible to do so.

Serious attention needs to be given by Ministers and by the Assembly to the way in which the night economy impacts upon the well being not only of residents of St Helier but also of visitors to the Island. We have not yet imported the yob culture of binge drinking and disorderliness that so badly afflict some English cities, but the town is too often not a pleasant

place to be during the evening. People should be free to enjoy themselves, but violence and intimidating behaviour are unacceptable. A holistic approach involving all relevant agencies needs to be adopted.

Most people have pride in our community and that too should be nurtured. We are a small nation with our own laws, history and heritage; our own parliament, flag and traditions. We are not part of England, nor the UK, nor France. We are Jersey. We have our own separate identity and we should encourage our citizens to take pride in that. A national anthem is one way of expressing that pride. It is not nationalistic or exclusive. On the contrary it is a way of enabling all those who have made Jersey their home, whatever their national origin, to join in celebrating the things that make Jersey special and to share a sense of national identity. However much we may rejoice in our Norman ancestry, it is really no longer appropriate on sporting or other occasions to have an anthem which extols the merits of a region of a foreign country. We need to decide whether the winner of a recent competition sponsored by the former Senator Walker is to be formally adopted, or whether we should begin again. But national emblems do not end with a flag and an anthem. We could consider adopting a national flower, a native to Jersey, as do most other countries large and small. Most countries also have national animal. Emblems of this kind are a symbolic means of asserting the individuality of a country and their importance should not be underestimated. I would encourage the preparation of a consultation paper to develop these ideas.

### Constitutional relationships

I am a fervent supporter of Jersey's constitutional rights to self-government and judicial independence, which we have enjoyed for more than 800 years. We have no representation at Westminster nor in the European Parliament. Decisions affecting Jersey people should be made in Jersey by our elected representatives in this Assembly. If external forces threaten us, we should assert our rights and protect our political and fiscal autonomy.

The current crisis over Low Value Consignment Relief (LVCR) is an example of the need to be firm in the defence of the rights of our citizens. The fulfilment industry that has grown up around LVCR is neither illegal nor immoral. Hundreds of Jersey people depend upon it for their jobs and their livelihood. The UK is of course perfectly entitled to review a tax relief or any other aspect of their domestic tax system, but any measures taken should be non-discriminatory and in accordance with law.

The European Code of Conduct Group on Business Taxation appears to have accepted the Zero/Ten policy as an acceptable solution, although that decision is yet to be ratified by ECOFIN. No one should be under any illusion, however, that Jersey's tax system will not be subject to further scrutiny at some time in the future. We need to be alert to changing moods in Europe and to be prepared to defend our interests.

## **(2) The manner of discharging the functions of Chief Minister**

Discussions with members past and present have made it clear that there was much dissatisfaction during the last 3 years as to the operation of the Assembly. On the one hand, Ministers and some members felt that too much time was wasted on trivial propositions and questions that were often more concerned with the proposer's or questioner's desire to justify his or her existence in the Assembly than the public interest. On the other hand other members felt excluded by Ministers from the decision making process, and complained of a lack of transparency and openness from the Executive. It was felt that scrutiny reports were sometimes

not accorded the respect they deserved. A number of members were offended by the personal antagonisms of others.

During the hustings I made my position plain on these issues. The Assembly is a place for debate on the important issues of the moment. Inevitably members will have different and sometimes strongly opposing views which they have the right to express firmly and robustly. Freedom of expression is one of the fundamental privileges of our assembly and of every democratic parliament. That freedom is qualified only by Standing Orders, which members have agreed should govern their conduct in the Assembly. Standing Order 155 requires that elected members shall at all times comply with the Code of Conduct. No member is entitled to opt out of the Code of Conduct. It should not be necessary for the Assembly to take powers to enforce compliance with the Code of Conduct. However, a parliamentary assembly that tolerates persistent breaches of a code that it has voluntarily adopted will forfeit the respect of the public. That cannot be permitted.

My hope is that the demand for a change of culture so clearly demonstrated by the public during the recent elections will inspire members to treat each other with mutual respect as required by the Code of Conduct.

So far as relations between the Council of Ministers and Scrutiny Panels are concerned, I would encourage Ministers to work closely with “their” panel and to develop a rapport with the Chairman. Scrutiny works best when there is trust between the chairman and the Minister. I would be more prescriptive, but there is a weakness at the heart of our system that I will, if elected, ask the Assembly to remedy. At present each Minister is a corporation sole and has complete autonomy in his or her sphere of responsibility. The counter-balance of that autonomy was originally intended to be the authority of the Chief Minister to appoint and dismiss the ministers. An amendment during the debate on the States of Jersey Law removed that authority, and the Chief Minister has, therefore, no legal power to fulfil the responsibilities that the Law imposes on him. He can seek to persuade, but can do no more. A Chief Minister should have the power to appoint and dismiss, and the power to shuffle the pack from time to time as he sees fit.

Each member should have a task or tasks which are useful and fulfilling. Under our system of government there are only a limited number of ministerial and assistant ministerial posts. Scrutiny, if properly used, can be a useful and fulfilling function. But there are other tasks that could be also assigned to members without becoming an assistant minister. By way only of example, a member could assume political responsibility for liaison between the Minister of Education and a particular school or schools. Inclusiveness means for me the useful involvement of each member, to the extent of course that the member desires it, in the governance of the Island. To that end, I would propose to delegate to an Assistant Minister in the Chief Minister’s Department the responsibility, with my active involvement, for informal and confidential liaison with members, and for discussing how members’ aspirations can be fulfilled.



**STATEMENT MADE BY SENATOR IAN JOSEPH GORST OF ST. CLEMENT**

My prime focus in this statement is to outline my vision for the future of Jersey. At its heart are the key factors that I believe build a successful and cohesive community: education and training together with the availability of jobs, the provision of affordable homes, the enjoyment of good health and access to a secure retirement. The challenge is to deliver these essentials for all Islanders against the continued backdrop of worldwide economic uncertainty.

Jersey has a unique community spirit that must be encouraged. I want my young daughter to grow up in a society which is inclusive, where there is appropriate support and opportunity for the less well-off and for the vulnerable – but also support for those who show initiative and inspiration and want to better themselves and their Island. I want a Jersey where we grow our own communities, industries and jobs and where we make our own way in the world. I also want a Jersey where we embrace diversity; a Jersey where everyone has a future.

An accountant by profession, I have been a States Member for the last six years as Deputy of St Clement and, since 2008, Minister for Social Security. Before that, I held the position of Assistant Minister in both the Chief Minister's and the Treasury and Resources Departments. Working with my colleagues across the Assembly and in the Council of Ministers has shown me that without respect, tolerance and co-operation, government cannot function well. I believe that we must foster these qualities as individuals and as an Assembly. By doing so, we will engender a greater consensus and achieve the society that we desire.

As I set out below, I intend to continue to promote practical, deliverable solutions that make a difference to the lives of Islanders.

**Employment, training and education**

Our future economic success and the very fabric of our society depend on us prioritising education, delivering training and promoting employment opportunities. Never has this been more critical than in the current environment. In these challenging times, tackling unemployment and offering support and retraining to all those who find themselves seeking work has to be a priority. However, the figures for youth unemployment tell us that we must not lose sight of the importance of education and training in delivering a generation of local young people equipped for the world of work.

A good education is something to which everyone is entitled and which gives our children the best start in life so they can fulfil their aspirations and take full advantage of the opportunities that will come their way. Responses to the current consultation paper will guide us as to the optimal investment in our education system.

Already around 90% of our young people are staying on in post-16 education. Whether at Highlands College studying an employer-focused vocational course or in a school sixth-form, we must ensure that the education system continues to deliver well-rounded adults who have the personal and practical skills necessary to contribute to our community and to succeed in the job market.

It is commendable that a high proportion of our young people go on to university education, but the increase in fees must not prevent this from continuing. This cost burden, most heavily felt by 'middle Jersey', could be eased by applying tax relief to university fees. And once they have graduated, or perhaps gained experience elsewhere, one would hope to attract our brightest students back to the Island with graduate opportunities in the civil service or a diversified private sector.

This will mean that, in time, we will have more home-grown senior staff who have a greater commitment to and understanding of our community.

Higher education is not the path for us all. I wholeheartedly endorse the work of Skills Jersey in assisting local youngsters in acquiring the skills that will allow them to fill the essential roles that so often are the preserve of imported labour, whether in the construction, retail, agriculture or hospitality industries. More can and should be done to raise the status of vocational skills and to encourage their acquisition.

### **Opportunities for Islanders**

A more highly-trained workforce is an essential goal, but its impact is diminished when there are few jobs available. Advance to Work, Advance Plus and the Enhanced Work Zone are helping find jobs for young people and the long-term unemployed, but more needs to be done. Further options include (Social Security) contribution holidays for employers who take on youngsters and job subsidies to promote apprenticeships and new workers. Of course, these initiatives cost money, but such investment in our community will pay dividends in the future.

To help create the jobs we need we must review the arrangements for granting job licences. With more than 1,300 people unemployed, it is not unreasonable to expect employers to play their part by focusing on filling jobs from the pool of locally qualified people; with the right political will this will now be achievable. With our fulfilment industry under imminent threat of closure due to the removal of low value consignment relief (LVCR) such moves are essential.

I expect the Economic Development and Social Security departments to engage with employers to match appropriately qualified individuals to the available jobs. The new employer engagement team can help make this happen. States funding for any further round of capital infrastructure and maintenance projects should be conditional on the jobs created being filled by appropriately qualified local people, with subsequent monitoring to ensure compliance.

For their part, each individual has a responsibility to take the work that is available. The Income Support system acts as a safety net, helping those in the greatest need. It is not intended to support a lifestyle based on benefits. I would look to the new Minister for Social Security to continue my work putting in place measures to ensure that in every way being in a job is regarded as preferable to a life on benefits. We must resist the notion that people can settle for a life without work.

### **Strengthening the economy**

While the economic situation in Jersey is far better than that being experienced by some of our larger neighbours, we are not immune from the global economic downturn. We must do all we can to encourage, protect and diversify our finance industry, which contributes so much to the Island's prosperity.

Fewer jobs means lower tax revenues and now more than ever we need to foster an environment that encourages the creation of new businesses and a diversified economy. Ultimately, it is businesses and entrepreneurs that deliver economic growth; the role of government is to create the right environment for business to prosper and jobs to be created. I have already acted to change the 'opening year' rules for new businesses to help facilitate this.

The Economic Growth Strategy is currently out for consultation. Rightly it stresses the importance of: sustaining a flourishing and diverse financial services sector; supporting new high productivity sectors and markets; and raising productivity in existing sectors of our economy. E-commerce, intellectual property, advanced telecommunications/broadband technology and event-based tourism

are all areas that we need to be exploring and encouraging in the quest to provide jobs for local residents. Well-researched and viable initiatives can be encouraged with the input of seed capital. We have to get the message out that Jersey is very much 'open for business'.

However, we must not neglect our traditional industries, such as agriculture and tourism, which are the bedrock of our community and do more to help create markets for local products both here and off-island.

### **Affordable housing**

The vast majority of our young Islanders are doing all that they can in terms of working hard and seeking to better themselves. Yet they find it almost impossible to get a foot on the housing ladder, either at all or only at risk of over-extending themselves. Owning our own home where we can bring up a family is a goal to which many of us aspire. Achieving this goal gives people a stake in our society, encourages them to stay and contribute to the Island, and ultimately creates an asset they can pass on to their children.

The challenge we face at the moment is that it is difficult for our young people to take those first steps. While the high level of property prices has brought financial gain to many, it has put the traditional three-bedroom house – approaching £500,000 – out of reach of most young people. The solution is to build more affordable housing and to assist potential buyers to raise and sustain the funding required so that they can take on the responsibility of purchasing their first family home.

Proposals around stamp duty concessions for first-time buyers will be useful, but are not enough. Further research is warranted into the possible re-introduction of the States loan scheme, which helped so many Islanders in the past. Creating a loan scheme for deposits is another option as are shared ownership schemes. All such proposals should be investigated and, where affordable, introduced.

Of course, owning their own property is for some neither a desire nor a realistic proposition. I would expect the Housing Minister to continue with the current refurbishment of the existing housing stock and to consider providing more social rental properties, built by locals. The competing interests of landlord and tenant in the private residential sector will not disappear, but the States can build further on its work to establish a modern framework for that relationship and to promote fair and reasonable rents and tenancy agreements.

### **Addressing the ageing population**

The number of Islanders over 65 will double by 2040. We need to continue to plan for the challenges created by this demographic shift, particularly when considering the cost and funding implications for the provision of pensions and for our health and social services. Any action we take must not bankrupt future generations.

As Social Security Minister, I obtained States approval for a new scheme to fund long-term care for the elderly. The new scheme will ensure that this increased demand can be adequately funded, while removing the financial worries that many families face when a loved one has to move into care.

The scheme will allow more people to be cared for in their own home, which is what many people say they prefer. The scheme is scheduled for introduction in 2013 and we need to ensure that work continues to meet this date. Too many islanders have already waited too long for this key initiative.

Today's workers are tomorrow's pensioners and I have already taken action to secure the long-term viability of the Social Security pension for future generations. The States has approved my plans that link increases in pension age to increases in life expectancy.

Of course our pensioners need to have adequate income in their old age and I have safeguarded the value of the old age pension by retaining the link to earnings – a link that the UK has only just restored. In response to calls for a mechanism to safeguard the position of pensioners where the rise in inflation runs higher than earnings, I have commissioned a review of how this might operate and how much it might cost.

We must remember that older people have much to offer and therefore we have to be innovative in considering ways to encourage them to remain in the workforce for longer. Without this, migration will rise rapidly if we are to sustain our economy. We also need to evaluate tax incentives to encourage people to save for retirement and to continue the policy of constructing homes and sheltered accommodation appropriate to the needs of older people.

### **Continued access to high-quality healthcare for Islanders**

Long-term care is but one of the pressures that an ageing population will place on Jersey's health and social care services. The public responses to the Health Green Paper showed overwhelming support for a new model for health and social care in Jersey that will help deliver a health system that is safe, sustainable and affordable.

We must ensure that we turn the vision into reality and we get on with plans to redesign services so that they can be provided well into the future. This will allow us to improve the health and treatment of islanders – particularly by focusing on education and prevention in areas such as alcoholism, diet and smoking – and ensure that our public resources are spent more efficiently. I have already made changes to the Health Insurance Fund that will deliver a more positive partnership approach with GPs.

### **Preserving our environment**

The Environment Department must become the environmental conscience of our government and our community. One of Jersey's outstanding features is its natural environment and we change it at our peril. Discussion around the building of homes – both affordable and to meet the needs of an ageing population – has to take place with reference to the Island Plan and its aim to preserve our countryside. My upbringing on a farm has fostered a healthy respect for the challenges facing those who depend upon the land for their living, and it benefits the community at large to protect our green fields and agricultural land. We must encourage schemes to bring back more agricultural land into use to help deliver greater food security for the Island. Sensible housing development on brownfield sites and States-owned land must be the preferred solution, coupled with simplified planning arrangements.

We must introduce an integrated energy policy to maintain an affordable and secure energy supply to meet the changing world energy challenges and to underpin the Island's economic and social prosperity. This includes assessing whether the Island's natural resources – principally wind, tidal and perhaps geo-thermal – could be a sustainable source of energy. Elements of this work have already been undertaken by the Commission chaired by the Constable of Grouville.

### **Modernising the public service**

I am committed to sustainable public finances and to keeping the tax burden to a minimum; reforming the public service is key to delivering promised cost savings. This will require cultural

change. We will need to consider what are the core services we should be providing for our community. We must work with the public sector workforce to maximise efficiency, encourage cross-departmental working and progress the terms and conditions review. Reviewing and rationalising the States property estate must be a priority so that surplus sites can be identified and future use agreed, especially for housing.

### **Social policy unit**

My time as Minister for Social Security has confirmed my view that a social policy unit is required to coordinate and drive forward various social initiatives, avoiding duplication of effort and bringing a more focused approach to this area that touches us all. A more joined-up approach would take into account, for example, the inter-relationship between Income Support, housing policy, the work of social services and the important roles in the community played by the Third Sector and the parishes. This social policy unit will allow us to take social policy seriously – putting it on a par with economic policy and no longer its poor relation. Even in tight economic times, we must not compromise social and community cohesion.

### **Reforming the States**

While I have highlighted a number of the principal areas that the new States Assembly will have to address, the composition and reform of the States itself is another issue that will come to the fore over the next three years. I have supported and will continue to support the appointment of an Electoral Commission to find a fair and lasting solution to this issue which otherwise, particularly in the eyes of the public, has the potential to distract us from addressing the many important issues that the Island is facing.

However, there are measures we can take now that would help to increase the number of Members who play a meaningful role in policy development and subsequent implementation. These include Assistant Ministers who would have more of a cross-departmental remit – with responsibility for overarching issues such as the ageing population, the alcohol strategy, and children and youth issues. Together with a reinvigorated Scrutiny function operating as a ‘critical friend’, a more inclusive approach to government would result.

Of course, differences of opinion would not disappear, but the intention would be that more States Members would be involved in shaping policy. This must be of benefit to the Island as a whole.

In this short statement, I have focused on those areas that I believe will be the most critical to the Island’s future over the next three years – although I recognise that there are other important topics that will require our attention. Any omission from this document should therefore not be seen as a lack of interest or commitment on my part.

### **Fulfilling my responsibilities as Chief Minister**

The Chief Minister’s role is one of service not only to the Island but also to the States Assembly. It would be an honour and a privilege for me to serve as Chief Minister.

I believe that I would bring a fresh approach to the role, characterised by energy, openness and a willingness to listen. This is important to build a more cohesive community – both inside and outside the States Assembly.

In the challenging economic times that we face, strong leadership is vital. However, that leadership must be built around consensus. This approach is the only way to make the hard decisions that will

then have broad support across the States Assembly and, by implication, from the majority of Islanders.

As Chief Minister I would continue to act with the honesty and integrity that I have demonstrated in my six years in the States as a Deputy for St Clement, as Minister for Social Security and as Assistant Minister in the Chief Minister's and Treasury and Resources Departments.

The public is disillusioned by what they see as confrontational personality-based politics and I believe I offer the best prospect of delivering a new inclusive approach that takes account of the disparate views represented in the Assembly. In the past, others may have covered themselves in the cloak of consensus and inclusivity, but in my tenure at Social Security I have shown the success and effectiveness of this approach. I have exhibited firm leadership with a willingness to listen to contrary views.

A consensus approach should not be seen as a sign of weak leadership. On the contrary, a Chief Minister who fails to take people with him or her and who seeks to drive through policies with little respect for those who disagree is showing scant regard for the Islanders that those Members represent. A further polarisation of entrenched views and ever more personalised debates would result.

I have always been prepared to meet colleagues to explain particular aspects of a policy that may concern them. And while they may continue to disagree, I would like to think that in coming to their final decision they are at least more informed about the basis for mine.

As Chief Minister I would not shy away from making difficult decisions. Nor would I turn away from issues that may have become stalled or neglected. At Social Security I came forward with proposals for a long-term care scheme that were unanimously approved by the Assembly – an issue first raised over a decade earlier. And bringing forward plans in an election year to raise the pension age was said by some to be electorally unwise. But one always has to act in the long-term interest of the Island, not to seek short-term popularity.

In putting forward candidates for Ministerial office, I would be looking to choose competent individuals who have the skills, expertise and enthusiasm to undertake the role. I would not be looking favourably on colleagues who fail to reflect the new consensus approach to politics that I am seeking.

I would expect Ministerial colleagues to advocate policies that are well thought out, well-researched, balanced and therefore more likely to succeed.

Of course, differences of opinion would not disappear and long may this continue. A healthy democracy depends on it. The intention is that all Members of our Assembly would be involved in shaping policy and with that involvement would come more focused debates and, one would hope, less entrenched positions. An efficiently functioning States Assembly is what Islanders expect.

An important aspect of the Chief Minister's role is to represent the interests of the Island in talks with other jurisdictions. As we have seen we face threats and challenges from the UK government, therefore we must continue to develop our own international identity and personality. Ongoing dialogue and engagement with political colleagues in other jurisdictions is essential if we are to gain early notice of any policies that may have repercussions for the Island. We are then in the best position to reverse or alleviate the consequences of any decisions made elsewhere. Again I have the leadership style and skills that are most likely to deliver results for Jersey.

I have already represented Jersey on the international stage. For example, in 2010 I chaired the opening session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Small Countries Conference and I attended the United Nations in New York which agreed the Millennium Development Goals. I have also met Heads of State and fellow Parliamentarians in Washington and across the developing world in connection with my work on Overseas Aid.

## **Conclusion**

I have set out how my approach based around consensus and inclusivity can lead to a States Assembly that is less entrenched and confrontational, and which works together for the common good of the Island. In the current economic climate, we cannot afford political leadership that makes little effort to engage seriously with the broad spectrum of Members and with other stakeholders across our community. I am prepared to make the difficult decisions – how I reach those decisions is what sets me apart.

Meeting the needs of Islanders in terms of education and training, employment opportunities, affordable housing, enjoying good health and a secure retirement are my policy priorities over the next three years. It is imperative that we get these ‘basics’ right in today’s uncertain economic times.

I have the skills, ministerial experience, motivation and energy to carry out the role of Chief Minister. I ask Members to give me the opportunity to serve the community of the Island in this capacity.