

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GIBRALTAR PARLIAMENT

AFTERNOON SESSION: 3.27 p.m. – 6.19 p.m.

Gibraltar, Friday, 21st February 2020

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The Gibraltar Parliament

The Parliament met at 3.27 p.m.

[MR SPEAKER: Hon. M L Farrell BEM GMD RD JP in the Chair]

[CLERK TO THE PARLIAMENT: P E Martinez Esq in attendance]

Question for Oral Answer

DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER

Q176/2020 Spanish aircraft incursions – Further details

Clerk: Friday, 21st February, Meeting of Parliament.

We continue with Answers to Oral Questions. We go to Question 176 and the questioner is the Hon. D J Bossino.

Hon. D J Bossino: Can the Minister for Aviation provide further details regarding the aircraft incursions perpetrated by Spanish aircraft in January?

Clerk: Answer, the Hon. the Deputy Chief Minister.

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Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): Mr Speaker, I assume the hon. Member refers to the incursions of 28th January. Two incursions occurred in Gibraltar airspace on 28th January. The first was by a Guardia Civil helicopter resulting in the inbound BA flight having to be put in a holding pattern. The second was by a fixed-wing Spanish military aircraft which delayed the departure of the return BA flight, which had to be held on the ground after it had started taxiing.

On neither occasion did the Spanish aircraft contact Gibraltar Air Traffic Control. As the intentions of the Spanish aircraft were unclear, Gibraltar Air Traffic Control took precautionary action. As a result of these appropriate and timely actions undertaken by Gibraltar Air Traffic Control personnel, there were no flight safety implications during either incursion.

Aircraft incursions are dealt with by the Ministry of Defence, because they have the radar which records the activity.

As with incursions in British Gibraltar Territorial Waters, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office protests all incursions by Spanish state aircraft to the Spanish authorities.

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Hon. D J Bossino: Mr Speaker, since I filed the question I think there have been further incursions certainly reported by GBC. One, I think, was another aircraft which was seen flying in the southern part of Gibraltar, and also there was an incursion in British Gibraltar Territorial Waters. Can the hon. Member provide further details in relation to those, if he does have them?

- **Hon. Deputy Chief Minister:** Mr Speaker, I am afraid I do not have details. I am aware that they happened, but I do not have the details of the incursions the hon. Member refers to. I would be happy to provide the details to him at a future date.
- **Hon. D J Bossino:** Mr Speaker, as quite properly it is an issue of defence that issues are processed and indeed it was reported in the press that that had happened is there anything that the Gibraltar Government locally can do in relation this? And can the hon. Member provide any details, in relation to that, as to the actions his Government is taking in relation to these unacceptable incursions?
- 40 **Hon. Deputy Chief Minister:** Mr Speaker, as the hon. Member knows, this is a responsibility of the United Kingdom under the Constitution of Gibraltar, and whereas the Government has maritime assets which are often deployed at sea, we have no air assets or any other way of countering that.

What we do is raise the matter with the United Kingdom straight away and get the UK to make a relevant protest to Spain. We also let others know of these incursions and this activity when we need to do so.

- **Hon. D J Bossino:** Mr Speaker, the hon. Member may not be able to expand on that last remark in his answer, but when he refers to 'others', can he explain who those others may be?
- **Hon. Deputy Chief Minister:** Mr Speaker, I would be happy to tell the hon. Member in the anteroom and to brief him privately on that. I have no problem in letting him have the information, but on a private basis.

Questions for Written Answer

Clerk: Answers to Written Questions, the Hon. the Chief Minister.

Hon. Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, the reason we are moving to answers to Written Questions is because the Minister with responsibility for Justice and Equality is representing Gibraltar at a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association event in the Falkland Islands, and so hon. Members will have the choice of having the questions they have put to her orally at the next session or in writing, if they wish to have those answers ahead of the next session, in keeping with the Rules.

I therefore now have the honour to table Written Questions W51/2020 to W60/2020.

Mr Speaker: Ordered to lie.

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Order of the Day

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS

Standing Order 19 suspended to proceed with Government motions

Clerk: We now move to Government motions. The Hon. the Chief Minister.

Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, I have the honour to move the motion standing in my name, which reads as follows:

I beg to move, under Standing Order 59, to proceed with the suspension of Standing Order 19 in order to proceed with Government motions.

Mr Speaker: Those in favour? (Members: Aye.) Those against? Carried.

GOVERNMENT MOTIONS

Abortion referendum neutral information document – Motion carried

Clerk: The Hon. the Chief Minister.

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Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, I have the honour to move the motion standing in my name, which reads as follows:

This House approves the neutral information document for the Referendum to be held on the 19th March 2020 on the amendment to the Crimes Act which has been circulated to all Hon. Members.

Mr Speaker, the House was able – in the latter part of last year, I recall – to work together in producing the question and the paradigm on which this referendum will be held. Although there may be divergent views in the House as to whether there should be a referendum or not, or indeed what the result of the referendum should be and how different Members may exercise their rights as citizens to vote in answer to the question that is being put, we were able to work to ensure that the mechanics of the referendum were agreed between us and, most importantly, the question was agreed between us.

Mr Speaker, we also agreed that there should be an opportunity for everyone who is going to have the right and eligibility to vote in that referendum to be informed neutrally of what the issues in the referendum are, and that this should be done in a way that would then facilitate the argument for those who are going to be proposing that voters should back one side or the other so that the raw material, the amendment that is the subject of the commencement that is being put to people in the referendum, should be something that everyone should be able to have a look at for themselves and that the campaigns should know everyone in the community who is eligible to vote has access to. To do that, this was the neutral information document that we proposed that the Referendum Administrator should ensure every household in Gibraltar receives.

Mr Speaker, working with the Government's Law Officers, the Referendum Administrator has proposed a text for the neutral information document which was shown to me and which has subsequently also been shown to hon. Members, in particular I think the Leader of the Opposition. Given that we both are going to be proposing different answers should be given in respect of the question posed, I think there could be no better arbitrage of neutrality than that somebody who is likely to be proposing that No should be supported and somebody who is – vociferously, some say – advocating that Yes should be supported should be the ones who have the ability to input on whether the document is neutral, and indeed the whole House should have the ability to, during the course of this motion, propose such amendments as they might think appropriate to the document.

So, the document is now before the House. I am satisfied that it is neutral in presenting the issue in the referendum, the question in the referendum, the existing law and the amendment to that law, and I understand – having had an opportunity to review it, I have seen some changes the hon. Gentleman has proposed – that it may be possible for the House to unanimously support that this document, subject to the debate today, should be the one that is sent as the neutral information document to every household in Gibraltar to be accessible to every eligible voter in Gibraltar. I should say, Mr Speaker, it is probably useful that copies of this document might be made available in the ... I do not know whether we call them polling stations or voting stations for a referendum, so that if anybody were to want to have regard again, just before they vote, to the raw material, they should have a couple of copies available there for reference.

So, Mr Speaker, I commend to the House that we should approve the neutral information document which has been circulated to Members and which has had the benefit of the input of the Referendum Administrator, the Government's Law Officers, a representative of the Government and a representative of the Opposition — which happened to be advocating different votes in the referendum — and therefore that this is a neutral information document. I commend, therefore, the motion to the House.

Mr Speaker: I now propose the question in the terms of the motion moved by the Hon. the Chief Minister.

The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition.

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Hon. K Azopardi: Mr Speaker, we will be supporting this motion.

I should say before I start that the fact that I have these heavy tomes in front of me is not because I am going to start referring to any difficult treatises of law but rather because I am just trying to get my notes closer to my eyes at this age of mine. Yes, I know that the lectern that we have behind us is rather more chunky than the slender version that has been designed for the office of the Chief Minister, which of course is the prerogative of the Leader of the House. I was only joking. I am fine with the books.

Mr Speaker, we will be supporting it. It is important to note the design of the neutral information document in the context of the package of measures that we have designed by consensus, if I can put it that way. I think it is important to understand where this comes from and the degree of consensus that has been possible, and it is important for me to say so because of a point that I want to make during the course of my intervention.

We see it very much that the neutral information document is part indeed of a sequence of steps. First of all, we had the consensus motion back in December. Despite the fact that we take markedly different views on the issue itself, the substantive issue, we were able to agree a motion which designed the process and mechanics for this referendum. Indeed, we were also able to agree the question itself, the drafting of the question. There was a pre-meeting before the motion was presented by the Chief Minister, where we were consulted on those issues and we were able to do that. It is also part and parcel of the package which forms the rules of the referendum. Albeit I made the point yesterday that we were not consulted on those, the rules themselves are indeed designed to ensure a degree of neutrality and fairness — indeed, that is

the whole purpose of the rules, overseen by the Referendum Administrator. There has been now a designation of bodies, an entity that will say yes and an entity that advocates for no, and there are restrictions on other people to campaign, and indeed in the rules there are broadcasting restrictions to ensure equality of treatment.

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All of those are important principles around which this document should be seen. The document itself is not one to be seen in isolation. It is in the context of that attempt to deliver neutrality, fairness, equality and fair presentation.

The document itself we have gone through. We have suggested some changes which have been taken on board. The document was first discussed, or at least the concept of the document was first discussed, the Chief Minister will remember, when we had the private meeting on the possibility of a consensus motion, the idea that there should be some kind of information of an official nature which should go out to each household to guide the voter, if nothing else, because we are conscious that campaigners on both sides may present the argument in the best way that they think is in their interest but not necessarily perhaps with strict adherence to perhaps what the current law or the future law does.

So there was a need for this document. This document is as short as it could be. It summarises the current law, it summarises the future law, it summarises the effects of voting yes or no and then it annexes the current law and indeed the law that is being proposed. We are happy, in the summary of the legal positions, that it does adequately, fairly and neutrally present the issue, and for that reason we will be supporting the motion to approve the draft that we have seen and indeed signified our approval to the Referendum Administrator on.

The document has been the subject indeed of some public comments, not just on the motion itself, because we indicated to people as far back as December that there would be such a neutral information document, because it was contained in the motion that was passed by this House in December; it was also discussed recently on television. There was the designation of campaign bodies for both sides recently and there was an interview with the Referendum Administrator in the context of that.

There were then some remarks by the Chief Minister also about the neutral information documents. I imagine that he was asked by GBC for some comments during the visit of a neighbouring mayor. It seems to be all part and parcel sometimes ... I understand that the press, when they catch a Minister or a Member of the Opposition on one issue, they then also ask for a soundbite on something else. I took it that that was the case.

I will make the point to the Hon. the Chief Minister that I did think, I have to say, that some of his remarks ... or at least the tail-end remark was inappropriate. I say so in the best spirit possible, but I want to explain why because there were then subsequent comments that seemed to ... Well, there was a dingdong between the Chief Minister and one of the campaigning bodies, and I have to say that I think that perhaps the Chief Minister has not understood the point that was being made.

My reaction, I have to say, when I first saw the interview, because the interviews that were played by GBC ... There was a straight-bat interview by the Referendum Administrator – straight bat, as you would expect it to be, because he was being asked about process and he explained that indeed he had designated the campaign bodies that day, one for yes and one for no, and that is what he explained. Immediately after that and in the context of that, there was then a short interview with the Chief Minister where he was explaining the importance of neutrality and fairness in the referendum, and indeed respect, and I have to say that I agreed with everything that he said except for the last words. And when I say I agreed with everything except the last words it is not because I may disagree with him on the substance of the position; what I was disagreeing with him on is that he should express a view at that moment.

I want to make it very clear to the hon. Member that I have no issue with the hon. Member expressing his view on the substance of this issue at any time. He is free to do so, as indeed we are. I make the point to him, on the motion of 20th December, that I did not think it was appropriate for politicians to campaign. I made the distinction between campaigning and

expressing a view. He said at the time he did not agree with me, and that is fine. I also understand that, and he can take a different view as to whether there should be a distinction between campaigning and expressing a view.

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My point and why I think his comments on the Monday interview were inappropriate is because it was just after the Referendum Administrator with his straight-bat interview on designation of campaign bodies. It was just after, and in the context of him explaining to people the importance of respect, neutrality and fairness. I just remind the hon. Member, if I may, because I made a note of exactly what he said and this is why I want him to understand the point that I am making. He said:

It is important the information should be put out there neutrally, and so campaigns can comment on their particular views on that information. I will be bringing a motion to Parliament to approve the neutral information document to be sent to every household in Gibraltar by the Referendum Administrator so that the campaigns can bring their own views to bear.

He was talking about the importance of respect, neutrality and fairness. So, when he then, immediately, in the same breath, went on to say that he was advocating that people should vote yes for a particular reason, that is what I thought was inappropriate, because what he was giving an interview on was the importance of respect, neutrality and fairness, just after the Referendum Administrator had designated two bodies in the context of each body being responsible for the campaigning on the issue. So he should have kept it at that and not commented any further. He is then free separately to comment as long as he wants on the issue.

I know he reacted quite badly to a letter that was received by the Referendum Administrator from the Pro-Life Movement, but that is why I say I think he misunderstood where they were coming from, because what they said in their letter was that they thought that at that moment, when the Chief Minister 'proceeded' – I am reading from the letter – 'to express his partisan and disputed opinion,' – in their view disputed – the way that the broadcast was put out there – and again I am reading from their letter – breached 'basic concepts of fairness and impartiality'. So, what they were addressing there was not the issue of whether the Chief Minister can, as a matter of principle, express his view yes or no. That is not what they were saying. What they were saying was at that moment – and I have to say, as a viewer sitting at home I had exactly the same reaction.

Not only that, Mr Speaker, I have to say that, again as someone who was reading the reaction in the press, I was rather then taken aback by the Chief Minister's press release on Government of Gibraltar letterhead on this. There are different views in the Government. I know that by majority they support one particular view, but at least one Minister does not. Even so, I was quite surprised at a press release which not only hit out at GPLM but rather complained that they were suggesting that his right to freedom of expression was somehow being constrained, and worse still, singled out two individuals repeatedly in the press release by name, implying that they were seeking to restrict the Chief Minister's rights and in no uncertain terms giving those two individuals a public dressing down.

When there was a live complaint to the Referendum Administrator ... Mr Speaker, the Chief Minister needs to understand, and I am sure he does because the Chief Minister is not a fool. He called me a fool the other day, but he is not a fool. He understands what he is saying and he understands what he is doing, and in doing this he understands perfectly well what he is doing. He needs to use the office of the Chief Minister in a responsible and measured way. He is not engaging with the Spanish state; he is engaging in a public dingdong with the entity that has been officially designated as the No campaign by the Referendum Administrator. He is also doing so in response to a complaint that has been received by the Referendum Administrator. He is putting the Referendum Administrator in an invidious position. What is the Referendum Administrator, who is a civil servant, supposed to do now, when he has seen a rather extreme response from the Chief Minister? He knows that he puts the Referendum Administrator himself in a difficult position.

And not only that: when he exercises his office as Chief Minister he needs to do so in a measured way. In my opinion, there was no call whatsoever for him to engage in such a combative way with two individuals who have only done things in their history to care for people. One of them is a former headmaster and the other person has a track record in caring for people, and what they are trying to do is put across their view. They were certainly not seeking to constrain the right of the Chief Minister to express his opinion. I certainly did not think so, and I do not think that anybody else thought that either. I have to say that the reaction I have had to the Chief Minister's press release in respect of this matter has been certainly one of surprise at the fact that the Chief Minister thought it was necessary for him to engage in that way with the GPLM.

So, Mr Speaker, as I say, we thought that reaction in the context of a neutral information document should have been kept in the spirit of what we were trying to achieve, which is to keep it neutral and fair, and in that context, therefore, I am not going to express my view on whether I am going to support a yes or a no vote in this referendum today. I am certainly not going to do it today; I am going to fall short of that because I believe that what we are keeping to is the context of the importance of neutrality of the information and of the respect that needs to be given to both sides.

Whether you advocate a yes vote or a no vote I think it is important to lower the tempo. There have been plenty of social media reactions that have been not measured and perhaps of high emotion. I think it is important to tone it down and that is why I raise the issue I raise, because I certainly think from the position that I hold here it is appropriate and right that I should say that I saw those comments with a degree of surprise at the excessive nature of them.

Mr Speaker, in terms of the motion and the document itself, I make clear that we are content and satisfied that it is neutral and that it will fulfil the role that it is supposed to fulfil, and for those reasons we will support the motion.

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Marlene Hassan Nahon.

Hon. Ms M D Hassan Nahon: Mr Speaker, regarding the neutral document, I consider it an appropriate document, technical and objective, and just what the people will be needing as a guide for the upcoming referendum, so I will be supporting this motion.

With regard to what the Leader of the Opposition has just said, I have been following the events that have transpired over the last few days on this issue and I have to say that I fully support the Chief Minister on what actually happened. I think that whether we agree or not on what he said or did not say, it is a matter of style. Maybe I would have taken that opportunity to campaign; maybe I would not have. Maybe the Leader of the Opposition in the Chief Minister's position would have done so, or not. But it is all a matter of style. We have to celebrate the fact that we have a free media and people should be entitled and allowed to express their views.

The main issue here is whether or not we believe and trust, which I personally do, that the national broadcaster and our newspapers will give equal coverage to either side – but actually trying to clamp down on any official or on any elected Member expressing their views at a moment like this, when we are fully in campaign mode, is trying to stifle freedom of speech, which obviously I am very much against and I think is a slippery slope at this point.

I do not believe anybody should be told what to say or how they say it. The Chief Minister and our respective parties will be judged upon that at the next election, on the matter of style and substance of our output, and I think the Chief Minister was perfectly entitled to say whatever he wanted, so I will be supporting this motion on the neutral document.

Thank you.

Mr Speaker: Does any other hon. Member wish to speak on the motion? I will call the mover of the motion to reply.

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Hon. Chief Minister: Mr Speaker, thank you.

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The motion before the House today is only about the neutral information document, so it is really quite something to be told, in the context of the motion just on the neutral information document, that in the context of the interview just on the neutral information document I should not have said anything other than referring to matters which are neutral, respectful, fair and do not go into campaign mode, and to see the Leader of the Opposition try – and I say 'try' because I do not think he has achieved it – to use this as a moment to seek to reprimand the Leader of the House, the senior elected political representative of the people of Gibraltar, for having expressed a political view. Indeed, Mr Speaker, it is frankly remarkable that he should try and do that.

The hon. Gentleman refers to there have been a 'dingdong'. Well, Mr Speaker, I do not think there has been a dingdong, and he, I think, fails to appreciate what it was that the Gibraltar Pro-Life Movement were doing in the complaint that they made if he calls it just a dingdong. I know that he has quoted a little part of their complaint, but is it that he has not read the bits that complain about *where* the Chief Minister expressed the view and about where the broadcaster asked the question and when they broadcast it?

Mr Speaker, as far as I am concerned, not as a person who will take a view in the referendum but as the senior elected political representative of the people of Gibraltar, I will not accept that anybody in this community should be told where and when they cannot say things other than in Rules that have been approved by this House. In other words, there is nothing in the Rules approved by this House in respect of this referendum or otherwise that tells the Chief Minister of Gibraltar what he can and cannot say anywhere, and it is indeed a slippery slope – I am not going to give way – to suggest that that is the case, a very slippery slope. Indeed, Mr Speaker, if we did have such rules, they would be curtailing the very freedoms that we all stand for. No, they are not there, Mr Speaker. The hon. Gentleman is going to pretend to say (Interjection) that the Rules and the referendum somehow curtail – I am not going to give away.

Hon. K Azopardi: A point of order.

Hon. Chief Minister: No, there cannot be a point of order on something that I have just decided not to give way on, Mr Speaker.

Mr Speaker: It is the right of the Chief Minister, if he wishes to give way, to do so, but I cannot press the Chief Minister to give way.

Hon. K Azopardi: No, my point of order, Mr Speaker, is that he is asserting there are no rules, and I have a right to clarify that, surely, if he has asserted it and it is incorrect.

Hon. Chief Minister: Mr Speaker -

Mr Speaker: The Chief Minister may care to comment on what you are saying.

Hon. Chief Minister: Thank you.

If there were rules that prevented me from saying what I said, why didn't he make that as the first point when he got up in respect of this motion, to say that I had replied, that I was acting properly and in exercising my freedom of speech in breach of Rules that we had passed in this House? Because he knows that is not the case, although it is convenient for him to try and get up now and pretend that there are.

Mr Speaker, it is absolutely clear – (Interjection) Of course I am not going to give way, because the House has already been entertained by the hon. Gentleman, in this alleged attempt to reasonably just put his support for the neutral information document and call for the Chief Minister to consider how he deals with things, in his attempt to pretend to be a vanilla and

silken voice in this when indeed what he is doing is promoting those who would seek to prevent those of us who want to support one side in the referendum from freely expressing our views in that respect. The Government that I lead will not have it. Even if we might be of different views in respect of aspects of this, we certainly will not be put in a position where any of us, whatever our views, will not be free to express those views.

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Mr Speaker, there have been other referenda in the history of Gibraltar and indeed we have observed referenda in Gibraltar and elsewhere in recent memory. In all of those instances the political elected leaders of those communities, including ours, have expressed views in respect of those referenda and they have done so in the same location and sometimes with greater verve and gusto in respect of the options that they represented and defended than I did last week or earlier this week. Nobody ever complained about that. That is what gives away that the hon. Gentleman is simply seeking, by the back door, to try to defend those he supports in this referendum.

He says that the people I responded to are only known for wishing to be kind to people and to look after people. Well, Mr Speaker, there might be different views about that. Or is it that he does not realise that? Doesn't he realise that those of us who take a contrary view to the view that he appears to be taking in this referendum believe that Gibraltarian women's lives are being put at risk by those who are vociferously making an argument not to change the law; that Gibraltarian women are being pushed out of their country to carry out medical procedures that are going to continue to be carried out whether people vote yes in the referendum or no; and that therefore, even though they might come at this from the best and most genuine position, there may be those of us who from the best and most genuine position do not believe that their position is one that seeks to protect and to care in the way that others of us believe that we must protect and we must care for our women folk?

Mr Speaker, therefore I do not agree with him that it was not right for me to respond in what one might call my usual vehement tone. I think politics is a serious business: if you do not believe something passionately, do not pretend to come to this House to defend it. I am not vanilla and silken; I am what I am, I stand for what I stand for, and much like probably the most successful of the FLOPs I have seen recently, the Hon. Mr Feetham, I stand for what I believe and I argue about what I believe. You might say I am (Interjection) inelegant. One person's inelegant is another person's representative and the person that they feel most represented by. I do not pretend to put on a silken cloak to not say what I intend to say, which is to promote a side that I am pretending not to promote because I am pretending to be neutral. That is not me. Maybe that is him, Mr Speaker. I stand for what I believe and I have made very clear in this House, in interviews on the local broadcaster and elsewhere, what I will be voting in this referendum and why, and when I am attacked for saying so I vehemently, passionately and vigorously take the view that I respond in the way that I have responded. It is the only way in which I need to respond. One man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist, and one man's good politician is another man's bad politician. This is a democracy: people choose him, people choose me, they choose her - and more people chose me, so that is why I get to do interviews in front of the cassette that says 'Working for You'. That is why I get asked my views and that is why I give them.

Honestly, Mr Speaker, I really do not think that there is much to be said about this, but he has wanted to say much about it because he wants to be the hero of the Gibraltar Pro-Life Movement – and he will allow me to say that I believe that he is cynical in the extreme in doing so. Why do I believe that? For all the reasons that I told him during the course of the leader's debate back in October, 24 hours before the glorious third successive electoral win of the parties that I lead

He was saying during the course of that debate that he believed that this law was about abortion on demand and that women should instead make complaints to the Police about rape or incest which might then lead to abortion. As I reminded him then — although none of them have ever been able to come up with a law that they say they can produce — if this law which we

are proposing should be commenced is an abortion on demand law, which it is not, at least it is an abortion on demand law in the Gibraltar Health Authority, whilst his proposed law, the one that he cannot draft, the one that nobody has been able to come up with, is an abortion on demand law in a police station that risks a woman having to go into a cell, that disregards the mental health that he says he cares about.

Again, he brings motions on these issues etc., or at least writes to me on them, although he sends those draft motions to the press before I even have a chance of reading his emails; therein his genuine attempt to agree something ... He says he cares about mental health. In fact, what he should say to this House is that he cares about the mental health of men, because when it comes to the mental health of women who might be suffering as a result of an unwanted pregnancy his argument is 'Unless it is rape or incest and you go to the Police and they deal with it somehow, mental health does not matter to me because it is abortion on demand.'

That is what we are dealing with. That is the level of political hypocrisy that one is required to flesh out to show that the vanilla is actually much more spicy and that the silken is much more cotton, that there is side to the hon. Gentleman's attempt to paint himself as the voice of reason, that when he is calling for respect and neutrality what he is doing is advancing the cause of that which he defends – which is frankly indefensible, in my view, as he knows.

He says that it was difficult for him to understand why it was that I replied on the letterhead of the Government of Gibraltar. Well, I would have thought even he could work out that the complaint was not about Fabian Picardo, it was about the Chief Minister of Gibraltar, and if he cares to read again the complaint he will see it is a complaint about the Chief Minister, and the letterhead of the Chief Minister of Gibraltar is the letterhead of the Government of Gibraltar.

Mr Speaker, frankly I do not think there is absolutely anything in what he has said which has any substance or merit. There was nothing extreme in the response that we gave. I did not pick out any individuals. I responded to individuals who had signed a letter complaining about the actions of the leader of Government business in Gibraltar by pointing out what they were doing and the potential slippery slope on which they embark Gibraltar in respect of freedom of speech.

Frankly, therefore, I think that there is every reason to expect that this campaign will be respectful and it will be fair; but it will not be neutral, because the campaign has begun. The designation of the two bodies and the signing of the Order are about the beginning of the campaign, and there we have to have the gumption to defend what we believe, otherwise we do not deserve to be elected political representatives of our people if we are just going to make points on the easy subjects. The hon. Gentleman gave it away when he said, 'You are not replying to Spain.' The Chief Minister of Gibraltar is not here just to reply to Spain or to the United Kingdom, or to take the happy causes. We are here to deal with *all* of the issues, and he should expect to see that I will not be neutral in this process.

He said that he has had reactions to what I said. I have too. Mr Speaker, to a fault I have had congratulations for having put the response to those complaining about the start of this referendum campaign in as forthright a way as I thought it was necessary that I should. Those responses have come from quarters I would not have expected, including those who do not agree with me as to how people should vote on 19th March. In other words, there are those who defend voting no in the referendum who felt it was inappropriate for there to be a complaint about one of the individuals who wants to support the opposite being on television and being broadcast.

The hon. Gentleman no doubt is surrounded by people who want to tell him how well he has done. Now that he has been re-elected as leader and has a straight run, he will have a lot of that, but he needs to discern who is genuine in the process of doing so.

I take great comfort from the fact that people who do not defend my partisan line and who do not defend my line in this referendum also felt it was appropriate that I should respond in that way. Talking about balance and impartiality in the context of the referendum is to attack the broadcaster for failing to provide balance and impartiality, and there is indeed a very

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slippery slope where people try and affect freedom of speech and try and affect a journalist's right to report and edit in the way that he sees fit. We have not seen this in Gibraltar for the past two years since Mr Clinton wrote to the *Chronicle* to tell them that their use of an apostrophe was in the wrong place in relation to the word 'mortgage', the quotation mark – an attempt to curtail even a journalist's right to punctuation! (*Laughter*)

Mr Speaker, these things are funny, but there is an underlying critical reality. There are those of us who accept criticism within the bounds of what is fair and proper and the laws of defamation and libel, and there are those who seek always to curtail those who do not have the same opinion and to stop us from expressing that view. For all those who defend saying what one feels, saying what one believes, whether it is on my side in this referendum or otherwise, I stand to defend them. They, I think, know that now, on both sides of this debate in the referendum, but I still believe that all sides have to date been respectful, I believe they have been fair and I think that this can continue to be the case on the basis of the parties that have been designated in this campaign.

I call, in the wider community, those who are involving themselves in the debate, as they should, on social media in particular, to show the same respect and to show the same approach in fairness, not to mention individuals by name, not to call them out for their experiences, not to put up photographs of political leaders with their pregnant wives to try and embarrass or somehow turn the debate into the personal, and to really let's have a discussion about the key issues – but let's make it robust. Calling for respect does not call for weakness; it calls for debate on the substance of issues – hard debate, robust debate, not weak debate but respectful debate.

And so, Mr Speaker, I am heartened that the hon. Lady and I see eye to eye on these issues, although we might disagree on many others, and she has analysed it also from the point of view of the attempts to curtail the freedom of the media – in this case the local broadcaster – at the same time as there has been an attempt to curtail freedom of speech.

I call the hon. Gentleman opposite out for pretending to be doing one thing when we all know what it was that he was trying to do. But I do, of course, nonetheless thank him for the thing that he was called upon to talk about, which was the motion and the neutral information document and his approach to that, which was all that we were here to talk about this afternoon and he decided to take it elsewhere. But at least we know that we are likely to be able to count on the unanimous vote of the House in support of this motion and the distribution of the neutral information document.

I should just add, Mr Speaker, before I sit down, that I have known the Referendum Administrator now for many years. He is more robust than most and if he felt that he had to pick me up on any issue, he would. He often does during general elections, regardless of what he might think the outcome may be, and he knows that whilst this party is represented on this side of the House nobody is ever going to complain if he ever complains about us.

Thank you very much. I commend the motion to the House. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: I now put the question in the terms of the motion proposed by the Hon. the Chief Minister. Those in favour? (**Members:** Aye.) Those against? Carried.

Bestowment of Gibraltar Medallion of Honour on Elio Cruz – Motion carried

Clerk: The Hon. the Chief Minister.

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Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, I have the honour to move the motion standing in my name, which reads as follows:

GIBRALTAR PARLIAMENT, FRIDAY, 21st FEBRUARY 2020

This House acknowledges the huge contribution made by Elio Cruz to the cultural, artistic, literary and musical heritage of Gibraltar and therefore and hereby posthumously bestows on him the Gibraltar Medallion of Honour.

Mr Speaker, I start, believing — as I started the earlier motion — that this is likely to be a motion that is going to enjoy support across the floor of the House, but I will believe that we can do that unanimous supporting of this motion once I have heard the speeches, because you never know these days; on the most neutral motion one might end up finding that there are differences of opinion.

But in the case of Elio Cruz, Mr Speaker, I doubt that there will be anybody in this House who will want to raise a word against him receiving the Gibraltar Medallion of Honour, for a simple reason: Elio Cruz has been in the background of most of our lives. To some extent we might not even be aware that he has been there. We all know, of course, of *La Lola se va pa Londres*, which is his key piece. He was also an artist in the sense of painting, and I learnt that at the recent excellent exhibition of his life's work which has been organised by Gibraltar Cultural Services and by Alice Mascarenhas, where I saw a body of work which I was not aware of in respect of this man, but also in his music. I had not been aware that when we hear *La Virgencita de Europa* the lyric that we are hearing is a lyric from Elio Cruz. I know that that is a song which is not *Llevame donde Naci*, which is neutral at a religious level, it is a religious song, but I know it is a song that is known to all those who live in Gibraltar, whatever their religion. It has been part of what one might call, in the name of the old Radio Gibraltar programme, part of the soundtrack of our lives. Elio Cruz has been there in the background so often.

When Mr Anthony Lima was Mayor of Gibraltar he wanted to bestow on Elio the Mayor's Award. I recall that Elio was unable to come to Gibraltar to receive the award and he was presented with the award in the United Kingdom because he was then elderly and he found it difficult to fly. Indeed, once the Government was made aware, through the work of Gibraltar Cultural Services and Alice Mascarenhas, of the whole body of work that Elio Cruz represented, we considered it was appropriate that he should indeed receive the Gibraltar Medallion of Honour.

Unfortunately, Mr Speaker, and I say this in a genuinely heartfelt manner, this award will be posthumous because Mr Cruz has recently passed away. That is not a reason that his family and his memory should not have the Gibraltar Medallion of Honour in his history and in his body of work as a final exclamation mark to record the pleasure that he has brought many generations of Gibraltarians and the pride that all future generations of Gibraltarians can take in the body of work that he leaves behind, and I therefore commend the motion to the House. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: I now propose the question of the terms of the motion moved by the Hon. the Chief Minister.

Hon. E J Reyes: Thank you, Mr Speaker.

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I wish to reassure the Chief Minister, first of all, that he will have the unanimous support of the Official Opposition on this side of the House in respect of this motion; indeed, it is only right and fitting that Elio Cruz should be honoured with at least a Gibraltar Medallion of Honour.

If I may, Mr Speaker, as a contribution and something I want to be recorded, I was struck by and wholeheartedly agreed with the summary of the obituary written in respect of Elio Cruz when he died in June last year, whereby the journalist summed it up nicely by saying:

He was encyclopaedic on the arts, music and culture in general. His mind was always constructing and working on his next project, his next play, or working out how the set had been changed so fast in the latest production he had just seen.

Yes, Mr Speaker, those are lovely words by which to be remembered.

In his summary, the Chief Minister gave us a brief rundown on Mr Cruz. I am very happy to also want to record that Elio Cruz was a schoolteacher by profession and there are schoolteachers on both sides of his House, so we certainly know what his fundamental thing was; and, above all, there are many Gibraltarians who are graduates of St Mary's College, where Elio Cruz studied, so I am sure they also feel equally proud of him.

In only the last couple of days we have seen the adverts that the 2020 edition of the Gibraltar Drama Festival will take place in March and it is indeed the Gibraltar Drama Festival where Elio Cruz started to gain his first standing ovations, if one can call it that. He was the writer of winners of original plays. He was also obviously the author of a winning play himself. He was also the author of plays whereby actors ended up getting best actor award, best actress award, best original play and all those awards that come with it. So certainly there is a whole list of cultural performing arts achievements out there.

In respect of the fine arts, he seems to have been equally as able a person. He won several prizes as a painter, having started in the Calpe Institute Artists Group and he seemed just to have moved on from success to success. Like all painters, unfortunately, perhaps we only realised the better part of his original works after his lifetime.

Mr Speaker, it is interesting to note that Elio Cruz is someone who, despite having lived away from Gibraltar for many years, never ceased to be a Gibraltarian at heart. Indeed, before the days of digital and email transfers of correspondence, he used to have a monthly supply of local newspapers sent to him, and that kept him very much abreast. That, and his own personal experience, is what led him to write that very successful play *La Lola se va pa Londres*, and that came after that. He certainly knew how to bring alive that typical Gibraltarian woman that those of us who perhaps are old enough to remember patio life knew, that on every patio there was someone very much like Lola. And although it has been produced, I believe, three times now, it is something for the future. Certainly we always look forward to events that bring our community together, and it is one of those events that will do so.

I had the privilege of seeing what I think was the second performance – I was a bit too young to see the first one – of *La Lola*, and after the play I had the opportunity to meet, personally, Elio. He was a contemporary very close in age to my late father. One thing that struck me about Elio within just a few minutes was he was a very knowledgeable man. He could talk about anything, but like people of that generation he was above all able to talk first-hand about being a young boy evacuated to London and later to Northern Ireland, and the hardships they went through – and yet they were doing it with a smile. Anyone studying the history and the growth of the Gibraltarian – and Dr Garcia, I think, will agree with me completely – has got to empathise with the character, and Elio Cruz was certainly someone who could portray a true Gibraltarian.

No matter where you are in the world, no matter if you moved in the late 1950s to London, he never lost his Gibraltarian touch. In fact, he never even lost his Gibraltarian accent from his manner of speaking. He was someone we all very much looked forward to meeting whenever he came to Gibraltar. He was an only child but did come regularly when health permitted him to visit his parents. Unfortunately, as the Chief Minister said, eventually with time he chose not to come back to Gibraltar. But I want to add that Elio was, beyond a shadow of a doubt, a very proud Gibraltarian. Like I said, he never lost touch with the community he grew up with. And above all, he always remained a Gibraltarian at heart.

Today he forms part of our social and cultural history. He lived with us for a moment of time but his driving force *La Lola* is very much a part of us with the same dreams, aspirations and hope for a better world, with that strong sense of identity and belonging. This was Elio personally, through and through. He was everything *La Lola* was and he is everything that an aspiring Gibraltarian should aim for, so we are extremely pleased to support the Chief Minister in this motion. (*Banging on desks*)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Marlene Hassan Nahon.

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Hon. Ms M D Hassan Nahon: Mr Speaker, Elio Cruz was a Gibraltarian playwright who will go down in history for, over the years, in the literature that he has produced, having immortalised the Llanito culture and spirit. That is something that unites our people from all backgrounds, religion, age, denominations and political persuasion.

It is true what the Chief Minister said, that many of us had not known too much about this great man, which only reinforces his humility and his integrity, and that he did things with no expectations or airs and graces. Clearly, despite the lack of fanfare over this man, he managed to enrich our bank of culture and arts in the community, so I take this opportunity to posthumously thank this talented man for his services to culture and the arts and I congratulate his family for this very deserved honour.

Needless to say, I shall be supporting the motion. Thank you.

Mr Speaker: The Hon. John Cortes.

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Minister for the Environment, Sustainability and Climate Change (Hon. Prof. J E Cortes): Mr Speaker, I rise as the current Minister for Culture to support the motion and I think as I do so I reflect the views of all those many hundreds of Gibraltarians who are active in the arts – the performing arts and the fine arts – and all aspects of culture in Gibraltar.

As a very young child I remember well attending rehearsals of some of his plays, some of which my brother used to take part in, in the old days of Group 56 and St Joseph's Drama Group; and I too knew Elio later in life, mainly from his dramatic performances and from his plays.

I am glad to say that my predecessor and my friend and colleague Steven Linares, when Minister for Culture, visited Elio – I am sure he may want to add something himself – with members and representatives of the Gibraltar Cultural Services and saw the richness of his work and was committed to bringing the exhibition that the Chief Minister opened just a few weeks ago which really revealed the wholeness of Elio Cruz's contribution to what being Gibraltarian is.

I think there might be something more, though, and it may be that we have not seen anything ... One of the things that I did not know is that he was also a keen photographer. Sadly, there were only two or three photographs that were found and formed part of that exhibition. I like to think that, somewhere, someone will in the future find Elio Cruz's photographs and that he still has something to contribute to Gibraltar in the future.

Mr Speaker, what can I say? I think that I reflect the views of all the community in the arts in Gibraltar in supporting this motion. (Banging on desks)

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Mr Speaker: Does any other hon. Member wish to speak on the Chief Minister's motion? Otherwise, I will ask the Chief Minister to reply.

Hon. Chief Minister: Mr Speaker, I want to thank the whole House for their support of this motion.

I was struck by something that the Hon. Mr Reyes said. I think that *La Lola* has not disappeared just because patio culture has disappeared. I would put it no higher than this: I know many Lolas even today, although there may be fewer patios.

Indeed, what Gibraltarian has not reminded themselves of the title of that play as we have sat on the plane to London, whether we are off for a trip with the family or to negotiate the most important concordats with the Foreign Office? Every time someone goes to London, don't you have that thing in the back of your mind: *La Lola se va pa Londres*? And that is only the pinnacle of this man's work, the most known of this man's work. This was a Mor and Santos immortalising in the local patois 40 years ago, 50 years ago, 60 years ago, so this is highly deserved and I am grateful that this motion will pass unanimously.

Mr Speaker, I should have said also that apart from Gibraltar Cultural Services and Mrs Alice Mascarenhas, Mr Cecil Gomez I think contributed a lot of material for the fantastic exhibition. Mr Gomez in particular has been a collaborator of Elio Cruz for many years.

Mr Speaker, I suppose — and if we have different opinions about how people should vote in this referendum, I suppose we have many different opinions about what I am going to say next — wherever Elio Cruz is now, if he is now, he must be smiling watching 17 Gibraltarians presided over by another having a discussion about the merits and demerits of him receiving such a medal. What a fantastic patois we might make in the way that we exchange each other ... What a fantastic plateau for him to write now, wherever he is — if he is — perhaps an even funnier play than the ones he has left us with already. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: I now put the question in the terms of the motion proposed by the Hon. the Chief Minister. Those in favour? (**Members:** Aye.) Those against? Carried.

Bestowment of Freedom of the City of Gibraltar on Hon. Adolfo Canepa CMG OBE GMH – Motion carried

Clerk: The Hon. the Chief Minister.

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Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, I have the honour to move the motion standing in my name, which reads as follows:

This House:

NOTES the impeccable track record of public service of the Hon. Adolfo Canepa CMG OBE GMH;

TAKES NOTE of his long service to Gibraltar from the moment he was first elected to the House of Assembly in 1972;

RECALLS that he served as Chief Minister from 1987 until 1988, and as a Government Minister from 1972 until 1987;

RECALLS that he served as Leader of the Opposition from 1988 until 1992;

RECALLS that he was Speaker of the Gibraltar Parliament from 2012 until 2019;

FURTHER RECALLS his role as Mayor of Gibraltar from 1976 to 1978 and from 2014 until 2017; ACKNOWLEDGES that the Hon. Adolfo Canepa CMG OBE GMH continued to serve Gibraltar in roles which were often voluntary and unpaid between 1988 and 2012;

CONSIDERS that this trajectory of public service is deserving of the highest honour that can be bestowed by this House in the name of the people of Gibraltar;

AND HEREBY therefore bestows the Freedom of the City of Gibraltar on the Hon. Adolfo Canepa CMG OBE GMH.

Mr Speaker, I think everyone in this House knows the person who is the subject of this motion and I think we all know him well. There are few in this community who do not know Adolfo Canepa. Indeed, he is one of those people who is better known to most as Adolfo than he is as Mr Canepa, and I think that also demonstrates the sort of character he is that engendered that level of proximity and approachability.

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I am struck by the fact that Adolfo was first elected to this House in 1972, a very good vintage it was too. I think that in 1972 the House elected three of the people who went on to serve this community the most in all our history — indeed four. It elected Joe Bossano, who is still here. It elected Adolfo Canepa, who was until recently still here after an interruption. And it elected also Joshua Hassan and Peter Isola, both of whom had already a long trajectory of service and then went on to continue a long trajectory of service. What a vintage it was. I suppose people look at us, Mr Speaker, and hope that none of us give as much of that vintage and that we make way a

little sooner for others, but certainly in Adolfo Canepa here was a man who went on to serve from 1972 onwards.

I am struck, whenever I speak to Adolfo, by the amount of things that he was able to do in those days courting bipartisan support. Few people will know that pensions and unemployment benefit were creatures of that time in this House and legislation brought to this House at that time. Few people will imagine that today we might be able to do that which Adolfo I think relates in his autobiography and he has often related to me, which was to take a proposal that had been put by Joe Bossano in respect of benefits and turn it into something that the AACR then produced Bills on, and was supported. That relates also to issues in respect of the Employment Tribunal and unfair dismissal etc., that level of bipartisan work.

When you look at history and you think of what was happening in those days, of course what sticks in your mind is Bossano versus Hassan, etc. That is the sort of broad-brush history of those moments, but there was a lot going on underneath in the background and Adolfo Canepa was one of the architects and engineers, not to say the midwives, of exactly that sort of positive bipartisan action which leaves us all with a much better community today with those pension provisions that we have, with those social security provisions that we have and with those employment laws that we have. Of course they may have been amended a thousand times since then, but there would have been nothing to amend if that work had not been done in the first place.

When Adolfo came to this legislature he came to it from the relative comfort of teaching. Mr Reyes has just reminded us that there are other teachers in this House today. And we have worked with teachers in the context of our post-colonial struggle considerably since the war, Mr Speaker. Dennis Matthews is another person who was a teacher also. But if that was a part of the work with the unions and self-determination, here was a man who chose to come into this House and to leave perhaps a more comfortable existence as a teacher because he felt it was right and proper that he should.

Mr Speaker, as we all know, Adolfo found himself holding the post of Chief Minister for a short period between 1987 and 1988. That was a period of great political flux in our community: the time of the Airport Agreement and the issues around that; the end of the argument about the Brussels process in the 1984-88 period, although the Brussels Agreement was to come back as an issue after 1991. This was a time of great political argument and it would have been very difficult indeed for anybody to have led the AACR to victory at that time given what was happening politically, but it shows you that the gumption of the man was there. He was prepared to lead the party even though there might have been little chance that the opinion polls at the time were wrong and that they might win. After that period, he went into a period of service as Leader of the Opposition.

He understood that perhaps his partisan political time was passed. He then took on other roles in our community which are not least significant because they were not elected. He was called upon by Joe Bossano, as Chief Minister, to start the work of implementing European Union directives, an issue that had not been brought to anybody's attention before. Sometimes when the debate is had about how many directives were overdue in 1996, little regard is paid to the fact that the existence of directives and the need to transpose them into Gibraltar law had not been brought to the attention of the Gibraltar Government until sometime in the mid-1990s. With Adolfo out of the House, Joe Bossano, his political adversary and close personal friend, thought he had the integrity to do a job for the Government that he had opposed and brought him into Government service. What better demonstration that it was the right choice that despite the change of administration in 1996, he continued to serve Sir Peter Caruana and the GSD in that role throughout their 16 years in government with different levels of involvement.

Mr Speaker, when I picked up the phone in 2012 to ask Adolfo Canepa to become Speaker of this House he was, as usual, ready to serve, but he told me something that I think all of us who have dealt with Adolfo know is common in his approach to anything that he does in life, and I am sure that he will have no difficulty with my disclosing that. He said to me, 'I very much want to

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do it, let me talk to Julie,' because he understood, as most of us understand, that going into public life – and taking the Chair that you have taken drags you into public life, even if it does not drag you into public argument – is something that requires the support of the whole family. With Julie's support he took the Chair of the Speaker of this House and he has served us with absolute distinction, as all of our Speakers have. He did not always rule in the way that I would have liked, and that is, I suppose, what makes him such a great Speaker. He did not always rule in the way that Members opposite would have liked, no doubt. That is probably what makes him such a great Speaker. Looking at a Speaker and assessing his distinction is not about deciding how many goals you scored or how many goals the others scored, but about the fact that he was a neutral observer of the proceedings and a magnificent referee of the Rules, and he discharged that role until the last election.

During that period when he was Speaker, I also had to call upon him to be Mayor, and again when I picked up the phone with the Deputy Chief Minister to ask Adolfo whether he would once again take on the role of Mayor he did not hesitate to tell me that he would, but he will not mind me disclosing publicly that he said, 'Let me talk to Julie.' In the post of Mayor in particular, the spouse or partner of the holder of that office is called upon to be present and involved in ceremonial functions, so of course that was absolutely right.

And so, Mr Speaker, in the recognition that we are giving Adolfo Canepa with the Freedom of the City of Gibraltar in this House, I generally believe it is going to be one which we will bestow unanimously and with common joy across the floor of the House.

We are also recognising the contribution to public life in Gibraltar of his family and in particular of his spouse Julie, who was supportive of him when he made the difficult choice to leave teaching to go into politics, supportive of him in his role as Minister, supportive of him in his role as Leader of the Opposition, as Speaker and as Mayor on those two occasions. Adolfo often refers to Julie not as his better half but as his better two thirds, and I think he would agree with me that he is just underestimating her a little when he does that! She has our thanks and recognition also in the context of this motion, as do, of course, all of his family.

Mr Speaker, the people of Gibraltar do not have much to give, but when we give it we give it with love and I am sure that we will unanimously want to bestow this Freedom on Adolfo with joy and to demonstrate how much we appreciate the work he has given in his lifetime to Gibraltar.

I commend the motion to the House. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: I now propose the question in the terms of the motion moved by the Hon. the Chief Minister.

The Leader of the Opposition.

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Hon. K Azopardi: Mr Speaker, we will absolutely and wholeheartedly support this motion.

If I can summarise before I go on to perhaps talk in a bit more detail, I think there are several pillars on which I certainly will regard him: a man who has held all the high offices of state in this community — Chief Minister, Leader of the Opposition and Speaker; secondly, a politician of substance, seriousness and dignity, qualities which are to be admired — not a populist, not someone of populist superficiality, which sometimes you see in the modern era of politics, so often. He was a man who was almost the polar opposite of populist superficiality. He was someone who was serious, dignified and indeed who was always one of substance; a man and a family who suffered deep personal tragedy and carried it with great dignity, and still continued to serve despite those personal tragic blows; and a man who served not just for a few years but for the better part of 50 years, like the title of his book *Serving my Gibraltar*, for half a century.

Mr Speaker, people who may have shorter historical memories may perhaps remember that there was some friction from time to time in the last Parliament, on occasion, when Adolfo was Speaker, but I have to say that that would be to really judge the issue on a very narrow basis and in no way do the Members on this side of the House make that kind of judgement. Irrespective

of what may have been thought on individual issues at the time, it certainly does not overshadow a stellar career of service, which is what Adolfo has contributed to this community and for which we must be deeply thankful. Indeed, this honour is richly deserved, as it was when Her Majesty conferred upon him the honour of not just the OBE but the CMG, the higher honour, more recently.

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When I make these remarks — and now I step back into perhaps making some personal observations — I am delighted to be supporting this honour to give Adolfo the Freedom of the City, and I do so from the perspective that certainly ... Well, I was too young for ... I only voted in in one election in which Adolfo was on the ballot paper. I regret to say that I did not vote for him in that election, and indeed I say quite clearly that in that election ... Well, the election was in 1988 but I can safely say that I was brought up in a household where my parents and my grandparents never voted for the AACR, so when I make my judgement of his career I do so from that perspective. I come from a family who were not AACR voters and yet I absolutely endorse the comments of the Chief Minister on his great contribution to this society, to our community and indeed the contribution of the AACR that I recognise, of which he was a part of for so many years.

Adolfo was of course – is, of course – much older than I am, so my judgement of Adolfo is to a very large extent historical and from afar, although I did have dealings with him from time to time and if I may just permit myself some personal indulgences and reflections on him, the first time I encountered Adolfo was as a young, nerdy 17-year-old, when I came here with some friends of mine and I sat in the public gallery. The AACR was in, I believe, its last term, or the second to last term it would have been, around about 1983-84 I think it was. I was actually really struck with his impressive performances in questions and answers, batting away the Opposition Members' questions. I thought him then the only impressive AACR Minister, save of course for the Chief Minister of the time. I did think he was quite a performer in this House.

In the same year, during one of those sessions that we had at school where we were all collected into groups and we were all sent off to see Ministers in the old days, I was in a group of five or six students who were sent to see Adolfo in his office, which was then, I think, located where Joshua Hassan House is now. I remember sitting there and we were after his explanation of Government and so on, and he spoke on topics. He then invited questions and I rather impertinently asked him a difficult question on the commercialisation of the dockyard, because that was the topic of the day. My father worked in the dockyard and I thought it was an appropriate question. I am not sure he thought that was a good question to ask him, but he was very nice about it and gave me a very full answer as to the policy that the AACR stood under.

Much later – around 20 years later, I have to say, or 20-30 years later, actually – I had the pleasure of dealing with Adolfo at the constitutional talks with the UK. Of course I served in government when, as the Chief Minister has said, he was part and parcel of what was then the Legislation Support Unit (LSU) and the Advisory Services there.

But I dealt with him a bit more when we had the constitutional talks in London and I had the pleasure, on one occasion I remember, of sitting next to him on the plane to London when we were on the way to constitutional talks, and as it happens of course, with everyone who has served this community for so long and at such a high level, his knowledge, experience and ability to direct and command the discussion on historical political issues was really fascinating. He rather gracefully described me in his book as knowledgeable on the constitution during those talks. It may have surprised him – and I am sure he does not remember – that I was that upstart who asked him that question on the commercialisation of the dockyard. If he had remembered that, maybe it would not perhaps have been such a graceful reflection.

I will of course remember Adolfo, as a politician, as someone who was forthright, serious, thoughtful and clear always, and all major attributes that someone should have in politics. He was, as the Chief Minister has said, a Minister for 16 years. I have said before – I said it during the ceremonial opening of Parliament when we reflected on some comments on Adolfo as Speaker –that they were probably really tough years to be a Minister. No period of being in

government is easy, as the Members opposite know especially because they are in government now, which is not an easy time to be in government; we were in government during joint sovereignty. But Adolfo's period in government, when he was in government at a time with the border closure, with all the pressures that brought to bear, must have been a really hard time to be a Minister providing for the future survival of this community. That was a real test of what you had to have to make this community go forward.

He was a man, I think it is safe to say, and he will not mind me saying, of the moderate progressive centre left at a time when he got involved in politics when the social security, education and health benefits we take for granted were unimaginable. I think that is fair to say. He very graciously used to describe himself, when he did to me a couple of times about his time as Chief Minister... that he would be remembered as a footnote in history. I thought that was not just graceful but it masked in fact, the real achievement that we should remark on, and observe that he is not a footnote, in this community. He has served this community for 50 years with stellar service, and indeed the achievement of someone who gets to be Chief Minister of this community, when only a handful of people have been privileged to serve in that role, should never be, in my view, respectfully, described as a footnote. And indeed his time, albeit short, was the crowning achievement of his ministerial career.

He was clearly someone who was intellectually brilliant and hardworking. He observes in his book that in those days there were only a couple of scholarships that were given to people, so to achieve going to the UK without being privately paid by your parents was a real task, and the fact that he did so was a mark of him as an individual and someone of ability.

He was, of course, a teacher by profession and he brought that to bear, my colleagues say, when he was the Speaker of this House. I did not directly have experience of that, but I am sure that that was so.

He observes in his book that he found it difficult to adjust to being Leader of the Opposition after being in government – and I know that feeling – but after retiring from frontline politics he continued his public service in Gibraltar in several roles, as the Chief Minister has indicated, advisory, mayoral, and then Speaker crowning his long career.

This is a richly deserved honour and it is proudly supported by us all. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Marlene Hassan Nahon.

Hon. Ms M D Hassan Nahon: Mr Speaker, as you will well know from your time as Clerk in this House and now Speaker, the majority of motions that are presented to this House are usually contentious and do not enjoy unanimity across the floor. I am therefore extremely pleased to assume that, in this case, this motion will be enjoying the full support of this House and for very obvious and deserved reasons.

To me Mr Canepa holds a very special place in my heart and in my childhood memories, of course, having been a firm co-pilot to my late father when he worked hand in hand with him throughout his political life. My appreciation for the work and achievements of Mr Adolfo Canepa will therefore come as no surprise to this House. With a political journey spanning almost five decades, this great man served as Deputy Chief Minister in my father's Government, later going on to succeed him as Chief Minister on my father's exit from political life.

Mr Speaker, when we think about our own lives and the time given to public service in this very House, most of us expect to be around for a decade, or two at most, and apart from the Father of the House, Mr Joe Bossano, sitting across the floor — a contemporary himself of Mr Canepa, who also has an impressive record of years in public service — few of us will match an entire lifetime dedicated to political life. For that, today we owe Mr Canepa a huge collective debt of gratitude because it is people like Mr Canepa who have been there, through thick and thin, when the chips were up and when the chips were down, to navigate our community through difficult times and to see us through to the other side.

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In fact, when we review his political journey, Mr Canepa's contribution to our democratic history is nothing short of outstanding. Mr Canepa, serving as a Government Minister in the days of the closed Frontier, led the revolution of the Social Insurance Scheme by increasing old-age pensions and making the scheme universal. Prior to his taking over the Labour and Social Security portfolio, only industrial workers and low-paid white collar workers were eligible to contribute to the scheme until Mr Canepa made it universal by including those in the private sector. Including everybody in the scheme was indeed a revolution and, coupled with this, he ensured to increase pensions astronomically from £2.10 a week to £6 a week.

Mr Canepa will also be remembered for tying annual increases in pensions to average earnings, directives that we take for granted today but that were pioneered by this good man with true socialist values, just like introducing legislation to protect workers against unfair dismissal, legal pathways that protect workers to this day and were brought about under Mr Adolfo Canepa.

He then went on to bear the brunt of the closure of the dockyard, attending meetings with my late father and the late Baroness Thatcher in London to secure the future of the dockyard, achieving a very beneficial package of aid for our people.

Mr Canepa has dedicated his life to public service from his teaching days right up until a few months ago when he was Speaker of this House, where we have seen him diligently apply the Rules of this House, often through passionate altercations with this most distinguished predecessor of yours, Mr Speaker, altercations and heightening of tensions which I think – I am sure – we will all fondly remember him for.

He has served as Government Minister, Deputy Chief Minister, Leader of the Opposition, Mayor and Speaker, but most importantly he has served as a man of our people for almost five decades. I will therefore proudly and emphatically be voting in favour of this motion to award Mr Canepa this most distinguished honour and I congratulate him and his family for this most wonderful honour and take this opportunity to thank him for his years of dignified service.

Mr Speaker, I also take this opportunity and echo the sentiments of the Chief Minister about his wife Julie and thank her for being his rock and his motivation in delivering his great work to us with the determination and elegance with which he has done so over the decades. This lady has been a clear key factor in Mr Canepa's success and service to our community and she must not go underestimated here today. As the old saying goes, behind every great man is a great woman.

Thank you. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: May I also remind hon. Members that he acted as Governor on a number of occasions?

Does any other hon. Member wish to ...? Prof. John Cortes.

Minister for the Environment, Sustainability and Climate Change (Hon. Prof. J E Cortes): Mr Speaker, clearly in support of the motion, if I may add some personal observations.

There is the exception that proves the rule and the Hon. Chief Minister said earlier, rightly, that Adolfo is known as Adolfo, rather than Mr Canepa. There are at least two exceptions in this room because both the Hon. Mr Reyes and I were taught by him in Form 2A in the Gibraltar Grammar School, and for us he always has to be Mr Canepa as well as Adolfo.

Mr Speaker, when one recollects one's school career, you remember most of your teachers. Usually, one or two stand out. When I recollect my school career, my teacher was Mr Canepa. He was a firm teacher, he was a caring and understanding teacher and he had the respect and, most important, despite his firmness, the affection of everyone he taught. In fact, as a teenager – a young teenager, I must have been – when I heard that he was standing for election I remember having a conversation with my late father and saying, 'What happens now? Does he have to leave teaching?' I was so upset that he was going to have to stop teaching, but education's loss was Gibraltar's gain.

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I also had the honour to work as a civil servant for some years when he was MEDT, as we used to call it – Minister for Economic Development and Trade – and he was also Chair of the Development and Planning Commission. I think I am correct in saying that he was probably one of the first, if not the first full-time Minister in the Government of Gibraltar at a time when this just was not done – so, once again, a pioneer in that.

But above all, Mr Speaker, I have just to comment that Mr Canepa – Adolfo – taught me a lot, a lot more than mathematics and a lot more than Arsenal Football Club, of which he remains a firm supporter. He taught me values, and not just me but many Gibraltarians, and apart from all the contributions in the political world I think his contribution in education and in teaching a lot of then young people, now not so young people, value and even in themselves merit the honour that this House is going to bestow. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Edwin Reyes.

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Hon. E J Reyes: Thank you, Mr Speaker.

Yes, together with my colleague Dr Cortes I certainly remember. I could not have put it better myself. He was a strict man but fair, and he did command that respect, I think, even among his colleagues in the teaching profession.

I remember he certainly made my day in I think it must have been 1971. He was one, like myself, of a minority: the supporters of the Gunners. But because Arsenal managed to achieve the double that year ... As deputy head teacher, as he was at the time, he used to stand at the top of the steps in the lower playground and inspect all the boys as we walked up, and we were told off — either you had the wrong colour shirt or tie, but the favourite was sending us all for haircuts, because the fashion in those days was to have much longer hair than now. He actually stopped me there, shook my hand and said, 'Congratulations, we did it,' and he made my day, much to the astonishment of my 30 other classmates: how dare this man show affection to people? He was always careful not to single any pupil out, either to reprimand them or to praise them. He was always equal there.

He was indeed a kind man and everything, but he was a sports lover as well. I remember during his early years as a full-time Minister, and in fact during his first term as Mayor, he would often turn up at weekends in the days of the closed Frontier to the Victoria stadium or to the Europa sports ground and sit there casually on a Saturday or Sunday and watch endless hours of cricket. He always had nice words, but very accurate, to comment on you: your bat was not straight enough; you need to practise this, that and the other. As Mayor, he made us in Gibraltar different because the visiting teams would be introduced to him, saying, 'This is Mr Canepa, the Mayor of Gibraltar.' They really thought we had brought out the red carpet for their team.

I have one memory as well, having had the shock of my life. I had applied for a rather senior teaching job. It was a full PSC board meeting, and as my name was called and I walked into the interview room, who was there to chair the whole PSC but Mr Canepa himself. My thoughts rushed back to 30 years earlier and I said, 'That's it, I do not stand a chance in hell of getting this post,' but it proves Mr Canepa's fairness and judgement because he actually gave me the post. So, for that, Mr Canepa, and for your continued unending support ... Like myself, the good and the bad days, we are always behind Arsenal. Thank you for your service to Gibraltar. (Applause)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Sir Joe Bossano.

Minister for Economic Development, Enterprise, Telecommunications and the Gibraltar Savings Bank (Hon. Sir J J Bossano): Mr Speaker, I can say that I shared the privilege and the opportunity of being a friend of Adolfo from before politics and from school days. That is to say we are the same age and we were in the same school and we recently have finished up in the same place.

Of course, at the beginning of my involvement in politics everybody used to belong to the AACR. You were either AACR or an independent, and in Devil's Gap Steps we were all AACR. It was indistinguishable from being in the AACR and being in the union because the AACR, in something that is perhaps unique, because ... In most countries, it is the trade union movement that first starts campaigning at an industrial level and then finds that it has to enter the political level to get beyond what they can do within a framework which can only be changed politically. But in Gibraltar's case it was in the reverse direction – the AACR actually created the trade union movement, instead of the trade union movement leading to the creation of a political arm. So the trade union movement here was the arm of the party rather than as was the case in the UK, that the unions eventually decided they had to enter the political arena in their own right instead of lobbying.

The AACR was the left wing of Gibraltar – not just left of centre, it was the left. I think it was a period of time when the main issue, one that has not yet terminated as far as we are concerned, and I think now perhaps even as far as they are concerned since the Hon. Leader of the Opposition shared the view with us when we were speaking from the top of the Casemates car park ... for many years ... It is a battle that has not yet been won and not yet finished, but certainly it is a battle that the AACR led, which was the battle for decolonisation, for self-determination, for the recognition of the Gibraltarians.

Many of the things that made being in politics difficult was precisely the colonial layer and Adolfo was as much a campaigner against colonialism as I was, even though we were on different sides in this House, and we were on different sides in the House initially precisely because of our views on decolonisation. The issue with the position that was being taken by the AACR on the future relationship was going down this route, which was unanimous at one time, with Peter Isola and Sir Joshua both going with the same view to the United Nations on free association or close association with the United Kingdom, and the position then was that the flaw in free association was precisely the ability of the United Kingdom to cut the union, to cut the link.

Free association carried a risk in a situation where, even at that early stage in the 1970s, it was obvious to those of us who were involved that we were being pushed in a direction that we did not want to be, and being in government in the 1970s with a closed Frontier ... Even in 1970, even early in 1972 and 1973, people in London were already planning what was going to happen after 1975, or 1976 or 1977, whenever it was that the dictator next door died, because it was going to happen within a matter of years and they were preparing for what was going to be, from the perspective of the Foreign Office, a different scenario. The defence and the protection of Gibraltar which we had always taken for granted was being put at risk the moment that people saw a need to give comfort to the newly born democracy in Spain in order to ensure that it did not fall back into the hands of a military dictatorship, and that meant that, for the first time, after Franco's death in 1975 Gibraltarians were seen as having to have the defence and protection of their interests put on balance with the need to provide warmth and support to the people on the other side. It was a very difficult time to be in government; I was not in government, I was in opposition.

Of course, on domestic matters the relationship with Adolfo was a very close one. He had been in the trade union movement. He was a school teacher. He came into politics at a time when it was very difficult for working people to come into politics because there was this untaxed allowance which was a sort of pocket money for part-time politicians and the law said that ... As it originally was in the 1970s, practically nobody, other than those in the private sector, stood for election because the public sector included the Ministry of Defence, the DoE, the Government of Gibraltar, the City Council, so you were only able to go into politics in Gibraltar really if you had the ability to be self-employed or you were in the private sector, or you had to give up your livelihood and go in the hope that you got into government and got £750 a year allowance, or stayed in a Opposition and got £350 – not that it made that much of a difference! Of course, in the private sector, as I discovered when I came back, if you were

branded as a Bolshevik you did not stand much of a chance of being offered employment. With a wife and three children, and one on the way, really the only hope available in Gibraltar was the union.

But Adolfo, in our first exchanges in this House, introduced a piece of legislation, which the hon. Lady has referred to, which is the protection against unfair dismissal, which is the law we have today, which was being introduced in the United Kingdom by a Tory government as a sop to the unions because they were introducing negative things for the union and they were offering something to sugar the bitter pill of the trade union regulations. I remember that was a speech that Adolfo made. Adolfo said, 'In the United Kingdom it is a right-wing government' the AACR in those days was very close to the Labour Party - 'and it is a right-wing government that has introduced the protection for workers against unfair dismissal as a sugar on the pill of introducing controls on trade union rights, and we are introducing the sugar without the pill.' This is how he described the law because in fact the law gave the protection to workers, and our law was the first law in Europe to protect, because it had been done only in the UK. For many years, and even to this day, there are places in Europe that do not have laws on unfair dismissal. In the United Kingdom the period of time has been cut back to six months sometimes under the early years of Labour and then put back to two years under conservative governments. We have always had the 52 weeks of the original legislation of 1972. It was introduced in the United Kingdom in 1972; we introduced it here shortly after, in 1973.

There have been two important pieces of legislation where Adolfo sat on this side and I sat on that one but we were very close in what we wanted to achieve. In the case of unfair dismissal, there were a number of things that I proposed to improve the legislation and Adolfo was quite happy to delay the Committee Stage to sit down with me and discuss how what I wanted would work. And this was right at the start; we had only been here for a few months. So, the personal relationship, the personal warmth, the affection we have for each other never got interfered with by any differences that we might have had politically because we were on different sides in the House.

There were many occasions in the years of the AACR when the AACR was being pushed, I think, in an area that they would rather not have been in relation to the Brussels Agreement and the Lisbon Agreement. There was clearly a background of the difficulties of Gibraltar with a closed Frontier and the possibility of MoD cuts, and the United Kingdom Foreign Office saying we have got to move in the direction of getting closer to Spain and talking to Spain.

Many decisions in those years were being taken when the people in government who were taking them and defending them were not 100% convinced that we should be going in that direction. Not only do I know that from my personal relationships, but in fact the stuff that gets published after 30 years in the United Kingdom shows that the people who sat in the Foreign Office knew that the Gibraltarians were going to be difficult in moving to where the UK thought we should be moving because Franco was no longer there.

It has always been a problem making people understand, in London, that of course although no Gibraltarian in his right mind would vote to be put under a dictatorship, apparently 44 of them wanted to be under a dictatorship in the first referendum, so it is not impossible, but what is incredible is that 44 people should actually vote to join a government that gave them no rights at all; people just really voted in the opposite direction.

But they did not understand that if there is a democracy in Spain, it does not alter the fact that we are a different people with our own identity and our own right. That is the one thing that is most important about the work we do politically and the most important thing about the work that Adolfo has done in his life and I have done in mine when we have fought for the things in which we believed, and that is that this is all about our survival as a people, what we have talked about recently in the previous motion of granting the Freedom of the City on somebody who has captured and encapsulated the identity of our people. That is what we are. We are a people in our own right. We fight with each other, like any family, because we have different views about what is best for the family, but we can never put the family at risk. The reality of it is

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that we serve Gibraltar best when we know that if there are things that are too important for us to have the luxury of falling out with each other and putting what is important at risk, we all are mature enough to realise that we need to make sure the risk is removed; and then, when the risk is removed, we will go and fight each other again.

It is important that we continue to do that because it has been easier to do when somebody like me has been on that side or on this side, dealing with somebody where the fact that we did not belong to the same political party and we had taken different routes was a minor difference in our view — our views on what we should be doing to protect labour, on what we believed on social security, on what we believed on protecting the economy of Gibraltar, and what we believed about defending the rights of our people. The marginal differences were the result, I think, more of reacting to the United Kingdom on where the United Kingdom was pushing us with Brussels and Lisbon and Strasbourg than in anything that was internal. In the internally we were always able to do things in a compromise way because we were not that far apart ever before.

I believe we are doing something that we need to do to thank Adolfo for everything that he has put into getting us where we are today, and I believe that Adolfo would want me to say that we hope that those who come after us will be as committed to our homeland and love our country as much as I know he does and he knows I do. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Damon Bossino.

Hon. D J Bossino: Mr Speaker, Adolfo Canepa was a key figure in Gibraltar politics when I first grew an interest in it as a precocious teenager in the late 1980s.

He was appointed Chief Minister following Sir Joshua's resignation in the midst of the politically controversial signing of the Airport Agreement in 1997, but the Canepa administration was to be a short-lived one. As he says, it was just over 100 days from when he was appointed Chief Minister on 11th December 1987 to when he called the election for 24th March 1988, which was won by the GSLP's landslide victory of the Father of the House.

Mr Canepa, as the motion spells out, has held many political positions in Gibraltar, those of Chief Minister, Leader of the Opposition, Speaker and Mayor. For this he should be justly proud, and we are quite properly recognising it in the passing of this motion.

It has not, however – and it has been alluded to by various Members today – been a bed of roses. As anyone will know from either talking to him, as I do very often, or reading his memoirs – which I have here, entitled *Serving my Gibraltar* – in many respects participating in public life represented a huge personal and real sacrifice to him and his family. Again as has been alluded to earlier, he had to give up his job as a teacher, for which he clearly had a passion and he loved, in order to fully enter the fray and become Minister at a reduced salary. I wish to read some of the excerpts from his book, where he talks about this. He says:

Having been told over the phone that Bob Peliza had unexpectedly called an early election, and sensing what the purpose of the meeting was, Julie told me before I left that she supported me fully and that I should seize the opportunity to stand for election since I might later regret not having done so. I therefore agreed when asked by Sir Joshua to stand for the 1972 General Election.

Julie's support was vital. For me, it meant that she would have to continue to teach as the main breadwinner of our family, which then included our three young children. As deputy head of the Grammar School, I had been earning over £1,750 per annum. Even if elected into government, I would only earn £700 per annum as a Minister, less than a labourer, who was earning £13.50 per week at the time. It was a considerable sacrifice in financial terms, apart from the fact that I may never be able to return to teaching again.

Public life and in particular holding ministerial office in the 1970s, as again has been alluded to by the Leader of the Opposition, was far from easy. Not only was Gibraltar operating under a closed Frontier situation, it was also subjected to much industrial strife when the unions were, dare I say, at the height of their militancy. I refer to one particular episode, which the Hon. Mr Isola will be interested to hear, where we saw and experienced in this House the outpouring

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of that militancy. If the House will bear with me, this is a book which I highly recommend. I must say I found it very interesting when I read it, now six years ago. It goes:

On 27th September 1974, Sir Joshua, with the support of his Ministers, outrightly rejected the concept of parity, which was also at the time anathema to the MoD, as stated by Roy Hattersley on behalf of the Labour government then in office in London. Soon the local unions commenced a period of intense industrial action ...

- as the Hon. Mr Bossano will recall -

and on 17th December 1974, which happened to be my 34th birthday, a very hostile crowd gathered outside the House of Assembly before the commencement of a meeting. Government Ministers were abused and jostled as we entered the building and the Police had to protect us. The Members of the Opposition had no problems, for they supported parity. Ironically, later that day when all Members were effectively imprisoned in the House by the crowd and stones were thrown, one of those stones broke through a window and nearly hit one of the Members of the Opposition, Mr Peter Isola.

— which I did not know until I read it in the book, so yes, very tough times indeed. One of Adolfo's comments which he has made to me and has stayed with me and has stuck in my mind is when he told me some years ago — I think at the time when Sir Peter Caruana was the Chief Minister — in one of the many conversations I have had with him, that, and he said, 'Gibraltar es ahora facil de gobernar' — 'Gibraltar is easy to govern now', and of course he is making reference to how difficult it was during that decade of the 1970s.

Then, as political fate has it, despite many years of loyal service as an AACR Minister and Deputy Chief Minister of successive AACR victories in the polls – 1972, 1976, 1980 and 1984 – he only had about a hundred days in the top job. Some say that he should have been given more time in office to bed in and bring his own character into play and perhaps even his own legacy. An earlier transfer of power may have allowed him to put up a better fight at the election that he was duty-bound to call in early 1988, and we will never know what would have happened had he been given that opportunity slightly earlier.

Mr Speaker, this is the final excerpt I would like to read from the book, which encapsulates the point I have just made:

I couldn't help recalling what J E Triay had told me in front of the Supreme Court shortly after I became Chief Minister:

1140 - and this is J E Triay quoted -

'You have been left holding the candle.' J E Triay and I had buried the acrimony of the 1980 General Election in the past.

And then he goes on and says when he remarked to his father – this is Adolfo's father – what J E Triay had told him, apparently Adolfo's father told Adolfo:

'He is wrong. The candle that you are holding has no wick left.'

I think it really encapsulates what Adolfo went through during that very difficult period in his life. Mr Speaker, I would like to end simply by saying that all of this, his activity in politics, came at a significant cost to himself, his beloved wife Julie and his then young family, so that in some measure – and I am sure Adolfo himself would agree – this accolade that we are bestowing on him today goes not only to him but I think also to Julie and his children Hayley, John and Michael.

Of course we will support this on this side of the House. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: Does any other hon. Member wish to speak?

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Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): Mr Speaker, much of what I am going to say has obviously been said by many hon. Members, but I feel nonetheless it is important to do so and repeat it for the record.

I want to welcome and support the motion tabled by my hon. Friend the Chief Minister, and I do so as someone who has known or heard of Adolfo Canepa almost since I was born. Adolfo is a stalwart of Gibraltar politics. I have no doubt as to the merit of this award and it is something which is extremely well deserved. As the text of the motion spells out, the Freedom of the City is the highest honour that this House can bestow in the name of the people of Gibraltar.

As we have heard, Adolfo has enjoyed a long and exemplary record of public service. He stood for election first in 1972 under the banner of the AACR, won the election and served as Minister for Labour and Social Security, and he was then part of the winning team in four successive general elections: the Big Lie election of 1972, the Hattersely election of 1976, in 1980, and the dockyard general election of 1984. He will be remembered too for his time as Minister for Economic Development and Trade and also as loyal deputy and trusted aide to the then Chief Minister, Sir Joshua Hassan.

Mr Speaker, there are only two Gibraltarians who have served as Chief Minister, Leader of the Opposition and Speaker of this House. Sir Bob Peliza, as has been said, is one of them, and Adolfo Canepa is the other. That fact of history I think says it all.

I also want to touch briefly on his book, *Serving my Gibraltar*. It is, to me, an honest and fascinating account of his life, which covers both the political and the personal. I too had the opportunity of reading it from cover to cover and I certainly enjoyed and thoroughly recommend it as well, because it is through those pages that we learn who Adolfo Canepa is and, in a sense, what Adolfo Canepa is all about. He gave up teaching, as we have heard, for example. He made a very real financial sacrifice when he opted for public service — not easy in those days with a young family. We learned from the book also about the high points, and sadly too about the sad points, the low points that touched his life, the personal and the political.

Mr Speaker, it is obviously to be expected that that contribution was recognised by Her Majesty the Queen with the CMG and the OBE and by this House with the Gibraltar Medallion of Honour because the name Adolfo Canepa is synonymous with honesty and with integrity. He will go down in history as someone who made an important contribution to the shaping of the Gibraltarian identity, to the shaping of who we are today.

A word of tribute to Adolfo's wife Julie: I had the pleasure of being seated next to her recently in a dinner hosted by the Mayor in the City Hall. I was enthralled by the anecdotes she recounted, with some passion, about their early life. I know she has been a pillar of strength by his side throughout.

So, Mr Speaker, I would like to congratulate Adolfo and Julie, their children and all the family, and I am delighted to support this motion. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: I now call on the -

Hon. D A Feetham: Mr Speaker, thank you very much.

I start by associating myself entirely with the various contributions that Members of the House have made. They have outlined Adolfo's achievements, expressed them far better than I could ever hope to have done. I just want to add a few words.

I was, of course, Leader of the Opposition for four years when Adolfo was Speaker of the House. I probably had more run-ins with Adolfo than I did with the Hon. the Chief Minister. Chief Minister's Question Time was often 10 paces at dawn, but not with the Hon. the Chief Minister — with the Speaker. As I felt the third supplementary navigate my vocal chords I could see, from the corner of my eye, Adolfo Canepa inching towards that microphone in order to utter the dreaded words 'No, no, no,' followed by the more dreaded words, 'you are debating.'

But what people do not see is the humanity of the man, the encouragement that he personally gave me, the support that he gave me behind the Speaker's Chair, always

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understanding, because he was a political animal – because he had sat in that chair as Leader of the Opposition – that being Leader of the Opposition in Gibraltar is a vital role but it is in fact a very lonely, difficult role to discharge. He was somebody who – he would not do so if he did not genuinely believe it – when he felt there was a contribution that I had made, or some other Member of the bench had made, that was good, he would privately say to me, 'That was a good speech, that was a good contribution.' I always appreciated that because it showed a different face to the man, and you always appreciate that type of encouragement, particularly from that type of man, who was a man of immense experience, immense years in politics, and for him to say you have done well and for him to be privately supportive meant the absolute world to me at that moment in time.

He was also somebody who – and again I speak very privately about this, from a personal perspective – also encouraged me to stand at the last election. When I was unsure about whether I wished to stand or I did not want to stand, he would often have conversations with me and he was one of the people who encouraged me. He said, 'You must stand – you continue to make a contribution to Gibraltar politics and I think it would benefit Gibraltar you standing.' Again, that is very much something that I appreciate and that will stay with me for the rest of my life.

Of course, on occasions like this everybody is talking about achievements and about your record and talking up what you are and what you have done, but when you actually strip away those words, when you strip away what everybody has said about Adolfo Canepa — rightly, because he deserves it — he is one of those few individuals who can actually take a step back, who can sit down and can say, 'That's my record and you judge me by my record.' Not a lot of people can actually say that, Mr Speaker. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Albert Isola.

Minister for Digital and Financial Services (Hon. A J Isola): Mr Speaker, very briefly, I have known Adolfo for a very long time, for different reasons to most of the Members. He was a great opponent of my father's, politically, but also a great friend and I think that is reflected in many of the contributions from hon. Members on both sides of the House today.

For me, there are three words that really tell me what an individual Adolfo is. Substance: he was always a man who dived into the detail and worked hard, everything he knew was by work and by commitment and he was a hugely committed individual who put his full effort into everything that he did, so as a consequence he always had substance. Integrity: he was always a man of complete honesty and fairness, so I always regard him as a man of total integrity. Above all else, he was a gentleman to anybody and everybody he came across.

For me to be able to be here today, on a day when we are recognising his achievements and his contribution to public service, is a privilege and I am delighted to be able to support the motion by my hon. Friend the Chief Minister. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. Roy Clinton.

Hon. R M Clinton: Thank you, Mr Speaker.

I was, of course, far too young to have attended the grammar school and had the benefit of Mr Canepa's education, but judging from the results it must have been exceptional. Of course, in 1972 I was but five years old and so I was unable to witness the accession to this House by what can only be called 'old school' politicians'. Certainly Mr Canepa has set the bar high: high in terms of his service to Gibraltar, as he has set out in his excellent book, and high in the sense that he is always a man of principle. Whether or not I agreed with him as Speaker, he always held his point of view in a very reasonable manner, I would say.

Mr Speaker, I do feel honoured to actually have been able in this Chamber to have worked with Mr Canepa, because it is not always often that you get the opportunity to work with people

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who will in due course no doubt become pillars of the establishment of Gibraltar and will have their own mythology and legend that will follow them, as indeed no doubt the Father of the House will have in due course.

I first came across Adolfo, funnily enough ... and he probably does not remember it, but certainly I was subjected to the same Liberal Studies classes as the Hon. Leader of the Opposition had in school. I think it was 1985 or 1986, and fresh from a talk, in fact by the Father of the House, in Bayside, where he was espousing his secret economic plan, which ... He never told me what it was, but he said it would not be a secret if he told me. I think it is still the case today. But fresh from Joe Bossano's talk I, again with the same kind of grouping, was sent to Adolfo Canepa. He must have drawn the short straw for the Government, since he seems to have got all the sixth-formers. I do recall not asking him about the dockyard but asking him, funnily enough, about the points system. I berated him as to why such a system existed and he said, 'Well, it's a matter of quality.' I said, 'Well, how can the Government decide who is a good or bad student?' I put it to him that it boiled down to money — in, I guess, a precedent of things to come: my obsession with money. But he obviously held his ground and I went off and pursued my own career. He has probably forgotten the incident.

Certainly, Mr Speaker, an award such as this has most certainly been hard earned and is most certainly well deserved and has my wholehearted support.

Thank you, Mr Speaker. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: The Hon. the Chief Minister.

Hon. Chief Minister: Mr Speaker, what a pleasure to hear the House join in support for this important motion to bestow our highest honour on Adolfo Canepa.

I was struck by some of the things that the Hon. the Father of the House said, and Adolfo Canepa is like Joe Bossano: one of those politicians who says, when he is not in power, when it comes to one of the Gibraltar issues, one of the key issues ... They say, as Joe Bossano said, and as he has described the politics of Adolfo Canepa, 'Before they get to him, the Chief Minister of Gibraltar, they have to get through me.' I will always remember, at the time of joint sovereignty, Joe Bossano getting up and saying that about the ability of the United Kingdom government to get at the then Chief Minister and the then Government, and he is right to associate those sorts of sentiments with the type of politician that Adolfo Canepa is and the way that he attended to the issues that he was dealing with when he became Chief Minister and the politics of the AACR when he became its leader.

You were absolutely right to remind us also, of course, Mr Speaker, that Adolfo Canepa has been one of the few Gibraltarians who has acted also as Governor. And so, to add simply to the recital of titles that he has held, the positions he has held in this community, not only has he been Leader of the Opposition, Chief Minister, Mayor and Speaker, he has also been Acting Governor in a short period, in the short interregnum. I think the Hon. Mr Bossino has talked about politics not being a bed of roses. Anybody who has held all of those posts knows that if you want a bed of roses you become a florist, not a politician. Adolfo Canepa has, through the sacrifices he has successively made, demonstrated that he was ready for politics, aka not the bed of roses.

I was also struck, and wished that the admission had been made in cross-examination, by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition having told us that in 1988 he did not vote for the AACR. From my historical recollection, the only other parties standing at that election were the GSLP and the Independent Democratic Party. If it had been a cross-examination, Mr Speaker, the next question would have been: which of the other two did you support? He is gesticulating towards the Father of the House, from which I will take it that the witness is admitting to having voted GSLP. If that is the case, Mr Speaker, I have to bring to bear ... I know this should not be about us, but the hon. Members opposite so often make it about themselves that I am going to fall into the trap of now bringing into the equation my own experience of Liberal Studies with Adolfo

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Canepa, which was a shared experience with the person who did not stand for the leadership of the party opposite, Mr Speaker.

In 1989, when Adolfo Canepa was leader of the AACR, Joe Bossano was incumbent Chief Minister and Peter Montegriffo had formed the GSD, all three of them came to see us and I asked a question – that has since been referred to by Members of the other party – of Joe Bossano in relation to tobacco and I asked similar questions of Peter Montegriffo and Adolfo Canepa. I also asked Adolfo Canepa how he felt about the GSD and about Peter Montegriffo having left the party. He said, 'Well, with Hassan and Montegriffo in the same building, they are obviously working together in the creation of this new party,' feeling very betrayed, and I was always struck by those words.

So, Mr Speaker, given what Adolfo said, if the successor in title of the AACR is the GSD, then the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition is leading the party he voted against in 1988! (Laughter) There is no jury, Mr Speaker, this is not a cross-examination, but such is the history of Adolfo Canepa in the political comings and goings over those periods that he was key to what happened thereafter.

Mr Speaker, I do not think it is possible for me to withdraw support for a motion I have brought myself, but the Hon. Mr Feetham, as usual, brings me to the brink of those issues when he tells me that Adolfo was responsible for persuading him to stand for election again! (Laughter) I knew he was a kindly man, but I did not quite know how kindly he was.

But he is, of course, absolutely right to remind us that there were times at Question Time when Adolfo was Speaker when all of us felt the strength of Adolfo's view as to where debate should happen and where the questioning should happen, and very often I was not allowed to have my own 10 paces at dawn with the hon. Gentleman, which he and I, I know, looked forward to with our respective – his red, my blue – light sabres, because of Adolfo's view that debate had to happen in another part of the proceedings. I think he has got us into that discipline. (A Member: Yoda.) He is too tall to be Yoda. He has got us into that discipline and now I think we have learnt that debate is not for Question Time. Therefore, again his influence on the procedures of this House I think has been great.

The Hon. the Deputy Chief Minister referred to what it is that Adolfo's life has been synonymous with, and he gave a number of examples, I think, from my own contribution and the reason for my bringing this motion — which I prepared with the Deputy Chief Minister and he is co-author of this motion … Adolfo's name is synonymous with service: service to this community, service to this Gibraltar, to 'my Gibraltar', as he calls it, to our Gibraltar, as it is for all of us.

I think the one thing we have not said yet is that he also agreed to chair the Commission on Parliamentary Reform and prepare the report on that, which was a responsibility he took after the 2011 General Election. He quickly turned that around, and that was a very useful instrument which we are now going to, I hope, take further in the Select Committee.

Mr Speaker, of course, something has been said in the last contribution which I cannot agree with. The Father of the House will not one day be a huge legendary figure. The Father of the House is a legend in his own political lifetime, and there are very few who can achieve that. The Father of the House loves being talked about, as we all know, loves being praised and will love my reminding the House that he does not need effluxion of time to be legendary. Of course there was a debate in 1988 about a secret economic plan, but the secret economic plan cannot be secret to anyone anymore because it was implemented from 1988 to 1996, so I am surprised that some still refer to that as a 'secret' economic plan when it is lying in plain sight. That is just, I think, an important correction of the record.

Mr Speaker, I think everybody who has spoken during the course of this debate has spoken from the emotion of affection for the subject of this motion, Adolfo Canepa. I think he is recognised as one of the great Gibraltarian politicians. I think he is recognised as a giant of this community and as such it is right that this community should bestow on him the greatest honour that we have in our gift to bestow, which is the freedom of this fair city of ours. I am

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grateful for the support of all Members of the House for this motion and I commend the motion to the House. (Banging on desks)

Mr Speaker: I now put the question in the terms of the motion proposed by the Hon. the Chief Minister. Those in favour? (**Members:** Aye.) Those against? Carried.

BILLS

FIRST AND SECOND READING

Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 – First Reading approved

Clerk: Bills – First and Second Reading.

A Bill for an Act to amend the Imports and Exports Act 1986. The Hon. the Deputy Chief Minister.

Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): I have the honour to move that a Bill for an Act to amend the Imports and Exports Act 1986 be read a first time.

Mr Speaker: I now put the question, which is that a Bill for an Act to amend the Imports and Exports Act 1986 be read a first time. Those in favour? (**Members:** Aye.) Those against? Carried.

Clerk: The Imports and Exports (Amendment) Act 2019.

Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 – Second Reading approved

Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): I have the honour to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr Speaker, the Bill before this House today is a consequence of our departure from the European Union. This is one of a number of Brexit-driven legislative measures which are designed to protect the position of Gibraltar going forward. It will also provide flexibility and speed on matters that have to be processed urgently. I explained during the debate on the European Union (Withdrawal Agreement) Bill that the Government was working to provide an alternative international legal framework for Gibraltar outside the European Union. In other words, the existing framework, which is based on EU law, would be replaced by a wider framework which is based on other international agreements and conventions. This policy is taking place across the board. The Bill before the House today is part of that strategy.

Mr Speaker, clause 1 of the Bill contains the short title. I give notice that this will need to be amended in Committee Stage. The date says 2019, and that should be amended to read 2020.

Clause 2 says that the Act comes into operation on the day of publication.

Clause 3 sets out an amendment to section 129(f) of the Imports and Exports Act 1986 by inserting a new subsection (g). This will provide a mechanism for the Government to implement international agreements, conventions and any other international obligation. I should add that this relates only to imports into and exports from Gibraltar, the imposition and collection of customs duties and related matters.

Mr Speaker, I commend the Bill to the House.

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Mr Speaker: Before I put the question, does any hon. Member wish to speak on the general principles and merits of the Bill?

1400 Hon. K Azopardi: Mr Speaker, it was not particularly obvious what this was for. It was a very one-section Bill, and what the explanatory memorandum really just repeats is what is in the clause, but the purpose behind it was not obvious.

Can I just ask the Member to clarify, if he can: is this related simply to consequential issues as a result of maybe the withdrawal agreement or Brexit arrangements? Is it related to the MoUs specifically? Can he give us a bit more guidance? He has been quite generic in his presentation, and the Bill and the explanatory memorandum do not really assist in any way in helping us to understand.

On this side of the House we do not want to place hurdles where there are not any, so perhaps it can just be dealt with as a clarification – and if he can clarify, then we will have a good understanding of the objective behind this.

Hon. Deputy Chief Minister: Yes, Mr Speaker, there are a number of international conventions - Council of Europe Conventions, for example - related to the transport of goods and relating to customs matters and customs issues. Some of those conventions have been extended to Gibraltar already but they have not been given legal effect in Gibraltar because our membership of the European Union did not require us to do that. But now, as we leave the European Union, we need to ring fence and protect certain areas, the manner in which goods arrive in Gibraltar, and the mechanism that we have chosen to do that is these international conventions which we would like to implement.

Without going into more detail, because I think it may not be wise to do so publicly, the gist of it is that there is an international legal framework relating to the transportation of goods, the movement of goods across the border and customs procedures, which we would like to implement in Gibraltar as a result of our departure from the European Union. If we had not left the European Union, it may not have been necessary to do it.

Hon. R M Clinton: Mr Speaker, I am grateful to the Minister for his clarification. (Interjection) No, that is true. Was that a reply, or —? (Interjection) Sorry, then I will ...

Mr Speaker: I now put the question, which is that a Bill for an Act to amend the Imports and Exports Act 1986 be read a second time. Those in favour? (Members: Aye.) Those against? Carried.

Clerk: The Imports and Exports (Amendment) Act 2019.

Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 -Committee Stage and Third Reading to be taken at this sitting

Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): I beg to give notice that the Committee Stage and Third Reading of the Bill be taken today, if all hon. Members agree.

Mr Speaker: Do all hon. Members agree that the Committee Stage and Third Reading of the Bill be taken today? (Members: Aye.)

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Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019 – First Reading approved

Clerk: A Bill for an Act to amend the Freedom of Information Act 2018. The Hon. the Deputy

Chief Minister.

Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): I have the honour to move that a Bill for an Act to amend the Freedom of Information Act 2018 be read a first time.

Mr Speaker: I now put the question, which is that a Bill for an Act to amend the Freedom of Information Act 2018 be read a first time. Those in favour? (**Members:** Aye.) Those against? Carried.

Clerk: The Freedom of Information (Amendment) Act 2019.

Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019 – Second Reading approved

Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): I have the honour to move that the Bill be now read a second time.

Mr Speaker, this House unanimously approved the Freedom of Information Act 2018. I explained at the time that other countries which have adopted this legislation usually saw a gap of several years between its approval and its commencement. The reason for this is that the public administration needs to prepare for the implementation of the Freedom of Information regime.

Mr Speaker, the Government has been told by the Information Commissioner that there are now three Government Departments ready to be listed in the Schedule. However, before that happens, the Government has been advised that there is a need to amend the Act and to bring it up to date in a number of important areas.

This Bill, as the explanatory memorandum makes clear, amends references to the Data Protection Act 2004 and includes references to the General Data Protection Regulation, which is Regulation EU 2016/679. It also amends the consequential amendments made by the Act.

I also give notice now of two minor amendments which I will be moving in Committee Stage: the first, in clause 1 of the Bill, where again 2019 must be changed to 2020; the second is to remove the inverted commas in the full stop at the end of clause 3(6)(b).

Mr Speaker, I commend the Bill to the House.

Mr Speaker: Before I put the question, does any hon. Member wish to speak on the general principles and merits of the Bill?

I now put the question, which is that a Bill for an Act to amend the Freedom of Information Act 2018 be read a second time. Those in favour? (**Members:** Aye.) Those against? Carried.

Clerk: The Freedom of Information (Amendment) Act 2019.

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Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019 – Committee Stage and Third Reading to be taken at this sitting

Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): I beg to give notice that the Committee Stage and Third Reading of the Bill be taken today, if all hon. Members agree.

Mr Speaker: Do all hon. Members agree that the Committee Stage and Third Reading of the Bill be taken today? (Members: Aye.)

COMMITTEE STAGE AND THIRD READING

Clerk: Committee Stage and Third Reading, the Hon. the Chief Minister.

Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, I have the honour to move that the House should resolve itself into Committee to consider the following Bills clause by clause: the Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 and the Freedom of Information (Amendment) Act 2019.

In Committee of the whole House

Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 – Clauses considered and approved

Clerk: A Bill for an Act to amend the Imports and Exports Act 1986. Clause 1.

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Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): Mr Chairman, this was the amendment of the date from 2019 to 2020.

Mr Chairman: Clause 1 as amended stands part of the Bill.

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Clerk: Clauses 2 and 3.

Mr Chairman: Clauses 2 and 3 stand part of the Bill.

1500 **Clerk:** The long title.

Mr Chairman: Stands part of the Bill.

Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019 – Clauses considered and approved

Clerk: A Bill for an Act to amend the Freedom of Information Act 2018. Clause 1.

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Deputy Chief Minister (Hon. Dr J J Garcia): Mr Chairman, again amending the year from 2019 to 2020.

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Mr Chairman: Clause 1 as amended stands part of the Bill.

Clerk: Clause 2. 1510

Mr Chairman: Clause 2 stands part of the Bill.

Clerk: Clause 3.

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Hon. Deputy Chief Minister: Yes, Mr Chairman, clause 3(6)(b) removing the inverted commas after the full stop at the end of the clause.

Mr Chairman: Clause 3 as amended stands part of the Bill.

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Clerk: The long title.

Mr Chairman: The long title stands part of the Bill.

Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 -Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019 -Third Reading approved: Bills passed

Clerk: The Hon. the Chief Minister.

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Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, I have the honour to report that the Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 and the Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019 have been considered in Committee and agreed to with amendments, and that they should now be read a third time and passed.

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Mr Speaker: I now put the question, which is that the Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019 as amended, and the Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019 as amended be read a third time and passed.

Those in favour of the Imports and Exports (Amendment) Bill 2019? (Members: Aye.) Those 1535 against? Carried.

Those in favour of the Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2019? (Members: Aye.)

Those against? Carried.

ADJOURNMENT

Chief Minister (Hon. F R Picardo): Mr Speaker, this is the last opportunity that we will have to meet before the referendum of 19th March. The Government has agreed that the meeting of the House next month, which is March, should be the week after the referendum, not the week of the referendum, which is the third week of the month, and so I now move that the House should adjourn sine die, knowing that next month we will be meeting in the fourth week rather than the third week of the month.

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Mr Speaker: I now propose the question, which is that this House do now adjourn *sine die*. I now put the question, which is that this House do now adjourn sine die. Those in favour? (Members: Aye.) Those against? Passed.

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	, ,		
This House will now adjourn sine die.			
Ti	he House adjourned sine die at 6.19 p.m.		