

Monday, 11 December 2023

(10.30 am)

**LADY HALLETT:** Mr Keith.

**MR KEITH:** Good morning, my Lady. Today's witness is the Prime Minister.

**MR RISHI SUNAK (sworn)**

**Questions from LEAD COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY**

**MR KEITH:** Could you commence your evidence, please, Prime Minister, by giving us your full name.

**A.** Rishi Sunak.

**Q.** Mr Sunak, you have provided a witness statement for the purposes of this module, INQ000236674, which has been signed in the usual way, with the declaration of truth. We're very grateful to you for the provision of that statement. Also the further written material from members of your team, erstwhile team in then Her Majesty's Treasury, the statements of Mr York-Smith and Ms Josephs, all of which will of course be considered by the Inquiry in due course. Thank you very much for providing the statement and for attending today.

We understand that you wanted to say a few words by way of preface to the evidence that you'll be giving.

**A.** Thank you, Mr Keith.

Yes. Thank you for having me here today. I just

1

That is all correct, is it not?

**A.** Yes, it is.

**Q.** Mr Sunak, I'd like to start, please, just with some of the forensic building blocks underpinning your evidence today and the issue of the provision of material to the Inquiry.

In your statement, you set out how you "rarely used texts to communicate with colleagues". Your phone, you said, doesn't retain and nor do you have access to text messages at all relating to the period of the crisis.

And in addition you said although on occasion you used WhatsApp to communicate around meetings and logistics and so on, you generally were only party to WhatsApp groups that were set up to deal with individual circumstances such as arrangements for calls, meetings and so on and so forth; is that broadly correct?

**A.** Yes, that is all broadly correct.

**Q.** You don't now have access to any of the WhatsApps that you did send during the time of the crisis, do you?

**A.** No, I don't. I've changed my phone multiple times over the past few years, and as that has happened the messages have not come across. As you said, I'm not a prolific user of WhatsApp in the first instance. Primarily communication with my private office and obviously anything that was of significance through

3

wanted to start by saying how deeply sorry I am to all of those who lost loved ones, family members, through the pandemic, and also all those who suffered in the various different ways throughout the pandemic and as a result of the actions that were taken. I've thought a lot about this over the past couple of years, it's important that we learn the lessons so that we can be better prepared in the future, and it's in that spirit and with enormous respect for all those affected that I'm here today. I look forward to giving evidence in a spirit of constructive candour to help the Inquiry with its deliberations.

**Q.** As is very well known, Mr Sunak, you were elected Member of Parliament for Richmond in Yorkshire in May 2015. You then became, in January 2018, a junior minister at what was then the Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government. You then became chief secretary to the Treasury in July of 2019, and most relevantly for our purposes in February 2020 did you become Chancellor of the Exchequer after Sajid Javid MP?

You remained Chancellor of the Exchequer until July of 2022, so after the conclusion of the coronavirus pandemic crisis, and of course you became Prime Minister on 25 October 2022, following the resignation of Liz Truss as leader of the Conservative Party.

2

those conversations or exchanges will have been recorded officially by my civil servants, as one would expect.

**Q.** Evidence has been given to the Inquiry to the effect that Mr Johnson announced the institution of this Inquiry in May 2021, and around that time officials discussed the need for ministers and others to retain WhatsApps -- it was a matter of debate, in fact, in WhatsApp communications between officials themselves. Around that time, April and May 2021, did nobody say to you, "Chancellor, it's important that you do retain your WhatsApps" or "We need to put into place measures for them to be backed up in case they become relevant to an Inquiry"?

**A.** No, I don't recall either those conversations that you refer to between officials, but you might have been referring to officials in Number 10 --

**Q.** Yes.

**A.** -- rather than the Treasury? No -- yes, so -- and I don't recall anyone in my office making that recommendation or observation to me at the time.

**Q.** Do you happen to recall, it's probably quite a long shot, changing phones around that time as it happened?

**A.** Not around that time. As I've said, I have changed my phone multiple times in the years since then, and, as I said previously, every time that's happened the

4

1 messages wouldn't have come across. But, as I said, I'm  
2 not a prolific user of WhatsApp and with the  
3 private office, again, that would all have been recorded  
4 formally on the record. Or, indeed, where I've had  
5 exchanges with other individuals, some of those have  
6 been part of the evidence that's formed the Inquiry's  
7 deliberations.

8 **Q.** They have indeed, and I should make plain that we've got  
9 some of your messages from the other interlocutors to  
10 the communications.

11 Now, turning to the role of Chancellor of the  
12 Exchequer, and it is of course because you were  
13 Chancellor of the Exchequer that your evidence today is  
14 of the greatest importance, you describe how -- in your  
15 statement, you describe how there was obviously  
16 throughout the currency of the entire crisis a clash  
17 between public health epidemiological considerations and  
18 economic and fiscal issues, both by way of the economic  
19 considerations which had to be taken into account by the  
20 government, and also the vast economic and societal  
21 damage that would be done by decisions such as  
22 lockdowns.

23 In that debate, which raged throughout the pandemic,  
24 what was the general position of the Chancellor of the  
25 Exchequer? What position generally did you and

5

1 a way. As many people have alluded to, and I did at the  
2 time, there were a range of impacts, many of them  
3 socioeconomic, the impact on children's education, on  
4 mental health, on the issue in the criminal justice  
5 system as well as the pure economic impact, and it was  
6 important that policymakers considered the totality of  
7 those, and that was a consistent point throughout. But  
8 obviously my particular responsibility was the economy  
9 and fiscal policy.

10 **Q.** You do, I think, refer to how the issues confronting the  
11 government consisted of highly compelling competing  
12 interests; would that be a fair summary?

13 **A.** Yes, I think that is right. Again, as I said, none of  
14 these decisions were easy, as I think everyone has  
15 acknowledged --

16 **Q.** Indeed.

17 **A.** -- and the Prime Minister's incredibly difficult job was  
18 to have to balance many competing interests and make the  
19 best decision with the evidence and advice available to  
20 him at the time. And, again, only he could do that  
21 because only he saw the totality of those, with input  
22 coming from various different Cabinet ministers with  
23 their domains of expertise and responsibility.

24 **Q.** We will see in a moment the way in which the arguments  
25 were promoted by HMT, Her Majesty's Treasury. In

7

1 Her Majesty's Treasury take?

2 **A.** Well, I don't think I ever referred to it as a "clash",  
3 I think I saw my role as Chancellor of the Exchequer as  
4 making sure that the Prime Minister had the best  
5 possible advice, information, analysis relating to the  
6 economic impact or consequences of some of the decisions  
7 that he was having to make. Obviously the Chancellor of  
8 the Exchequer's role is to be responsible for the  
9 country's economic and fiscal policy and the financial  
10 services sector, so that was my primary responsibility  
11 in the role, and then as it pertained to the pandemic my  
12 jobs were not just to design and implement economic  
13 interventions like the furlough scheme or support for  
14 public services and businesses, but also, as I said, to  
15 provide analysis and advice to the Prime Minister as he  
16 made his decisions.

17 And more broadly, just touching on what you said at  
18 the beginning, Mr Keith, as a senior Cabinet minister,  
19 one of the consistent arguments or points that I made  
20 from the beginning, throughout, was just making sure  
21 that we collectively, and the Prime Minister, considered  
22 the totality of the impacts of the decisions that we  
23 were making. It wasn't, as -- I didn't ever describe it  
24 as a clash just between public health and economics;  
25 I think that's to think about it in far too narrow

6

1 general terms, however, was it a question of putting  
2 before the Prime Minister your and HMT's views on the  
3 likely consequences of whatever decision might be taken  
4 by him, or did you engage in the ultimate debate as to  
5 what should be done? Did you promote a particular  
6 outcome in relation to, for example, lockdown decisions,  
7 decisions to ease, decisions to institute a roadmap,  
8 decisions whether or not to have a circuit-breaker and  
9 so on? Did you promote a particular position as part of  
10 your role as Chancellor of the Exchequer, or was it just  
11 a question of providing broad advice as to the  
12 consequences?

13 **A.** I think it's probably difficult to generalise in that  
14 way, it would depend on the decision confronting the  
15 Prime Minister or the committee or the meeting that  
16 I would be participating in. So it wouldn't be one  
17 consistent answer throughout the pandemic, it would be  
18 context-specific. But as a general rule, my primary  
19 responsibility was to feed in advice and analysis as to  
20 the economic consequences of what was being considered,  
21 of course where the Prime Minister would ask for my  
22 broader opinion I'd always be happy to give it to him,  
23 if it was something that I thought I could offer on the  
24 basis of some element of knowledge. But broadly,  
25 primarily, my role was to feed in the economic advice

8

1 and analysis, and I can provide opinions to the  
2 Prime Minister as and when he would have requested them.

3 **Q.** Do we take it from the fact that this advice was given  
4 to the Prime Minister that the Prime Minister ultimately  
5 was the decision-maker who mattered? It's notable that  
6 a great deal of the advice that you provided was  
7 directed exclusively at the Prime Minister, as opposed  
8 to, perhaps, exclusively or in large part to Cabinet or  
9 the other bodies? Of course you address them as well,  
10 but the final decision-making appears to be concerned  
11 solely with the Prime Minister?

12 **A.** Well, I think it's absolutely right to say that the  
13 Prime Minister, as I say in my evidence, was the  
14 ultimate and sole decision-maker. I think that's --  
15 I don't think that's particularly controversial or  
16 challenged. Only he has the ability to make those  
17 decisions across competing interests.

18 I wouldn't say it's fair to say I only fed advice in  
19 to him. I'm sure we will go on to discuss it shortly,  
20 but there were various committee structures that were  
21 set up to facilitate that decision-making and provide  
22 forum for debate and discussion where the Prime Minister  
23 could hear different views from colleagues and obviously  
24 through bilateral meetings as well. So there was  
25 an extensive process by which information was shared.

9

1 Prime Minister obviously is responsible for setting up  
2 the decision-making structures that work best for him,  
3 and he had done that through the taskforce, the Covid-Os  
4 and Ss, complimented by bilateral meetings with  
5 different ministers. All of that really is a question  
6 for the Prime Minister as to how he wanted to hear the  
7 arguments and see the evidence, analysis from  
8 colleagues. And I participated in all of those, as was  
9 my job, and I certainly felt that I always had that  
10 opportunity, so there was no point did I feel that  
11 I didn't have that opportunity to input analysis or my  
12 point of view into the process, but in general the way  
13 that decisions were made was through the committee  
14 structures that he had set up, Covid-O, Covid-S and  
15 Cabinet, for the most part. That's where decisions were  
16 taken.

17 Now, there may be an iterative process leading up to  
18 that final decision-making meeting, but again that's  
19 a question for the Prime Minister as to how he liked to  
20 organise that. For my part I would say I was always  
21 able to feed in appropriately and adequately into those  
22 mechanisms. And ultimately it was up to him how he  
23 wanted to hear the different views from different  
24 people, but ultimately the decision was made in one of  
25 those forums, as one would expect in the way our system

11

1 Often, in the first instance, the Treasury would be  
2 sharing or I would be sharing that information with, as  
3 it later became, the Covid Taskforce, whose job it was  
4 to co-ordinate and synthesise information from many  
5 departments to put together to Cabinet or Cabinet  
6 committees or presumably the Prime Minister himself so  
7 that he could make his decision.

8 **Q.** There was indeed a very developed process and it was  
9 a process that altered over time?

10 **A.** Yes.

11 **Q.** The government put into place a number of changes in  
12 order to make it work better, and we can see the  
13 progress from the MIGs at the beginning to Covid-S and  
14 Covid-O and so on.

15 But the material shows, Mr Sunak, that when it came  
16 to a hard-edged decision, whether or not the  
17 Prime Minister would impose a lockdown or not impose  
18 a circuit-breaker or institute the tier system, the  
19 Treasury was astute to ensure that it provided its  
20 opinion to the Prime Minister to the very last moment.  
21 You would try, in effect, to get the last word, to say  
22 "Prime Minister, these are the consequences of whatever  
23 decision you will take and you need to know what they  
24 are"?

25 **A.** I -- I'm not sure that's a fair characterisation. The

10

1 of government works.

2 **Q.** So that we're absolutely clear about this, there was  
3 never a time when you felt that you didn't have  
4 an adequate opportunity of making your views plain?  
5 Whatever it was that you wished to say about the various  
6 difficult decisions that the Prime Minister faced, you  
7 had that opportunity?

8 **A.** Yeah, as a general observation about my reflection over  
9 the period, I don't sit here today thinking: gosh, there  
10 were many opportunities where I didn't have that  
11 opportunity. As a general rule I always felt that  
12 I could. I mean, I saw the Prime Minister probably more  
13 than I saw my own wife for this period of time. We were  
14 working very closely together, as I was with my other  
15 Cabinet colleagues, and as a general rule I was able to  
16 participate in everything that I felt I needed to or  
17 ought to in order to get the evidence, analysis to him  
18 in a way that he could use it to make decisions.

19 **Q.** Let's look for a moment at the structure of the way by  
20 which material and analysis was put before the  
21 Prime Minister.

22 Have you set out in your statement -- and we'll  
23 have, please, the statement at page 23 -- the various  
24 different ways in which HMT analysis was shared with the  
25 Cabinet Office and the Prime Minister? There were

12

1 shared weekly monitoring products, there was a regular  
2 economy update meeting, you refer to particular advice  
3 on 14 February, a paper in March. There was then  
4 a rolling process by which HMT officials contributed to  
5 Cabinet Office advice for the Prime Minister on the  
6 re-opening of non-essential retail. There were  
7 obviously publications of your own department's economic  
8 analysis, we can see that at paragraph 75.

9 And going back a page to page 22, paragraph 72, have  
10 you provided certain particularly important papers  
11 around about the time of the first lockdown decision,  
12 dated 12 and 15 March, and then after the decision,  
13 15 April?

14 We'll have a quick look at one or two of those to  
15 see the nature, at that time, of the Treasury  
16 intervention.

17 So INQ000232069.

18 We can see here a document with a read-out of  
19 a Prime Ministerial meeting on Sunday 15 March, so the  
20 day before the lockdown decision, Prime Minister, that's  
21 correct, isn't it?

22 "For a meeting at 5pm ... the PM commissioned advice  
23 on further options ...

24 "It was agreed that a package of announcements would  
25 be put to COBR on Monday [the 16th] ..."

13

1 see, was on labour supply impacts and analysing days  
2 that would be lost through isolation policies.

3 Obviously as the pandemic -- and in the following  
4 weeks the Treasury was able to significantly increase  
5 the sophistication with which it was modelling the  
6 impacts of things, not least because they were actually  
7 happening. It broadened the use of data that we had  
8 access to, on a much more real-time basis, from  
9 non-traditional sources. It procured and developed  
10 other models, particularly at a microeconomic level, on  
11 firm -- firm level impacts on employment and insolvency,  
12 and it extensively engaged with external experts as  
13 well. So I think this is very early on. As the  
14 pandemic progressed, what you'll see, as I said, is the  
15 detailed nature of the analysis will have improved  
16 considerably over time.

17 **Q.** Would it be fair to say that perhaps on account of the  
18 speed with which the first lockdown decision was made,  
19 the degree of fiscal and economic analysis that was  
20 placed before the Prime Minister, by comparison to  
21 later, was significantly different, it was a much --  
22 there was a much narrower debate, if you like, about the  
23 economic and fiscal consequences at that time by  
24 comparison to the second and third lockdown decisions?

25 **A.** I think that is -- that is fair, not least because this

15

1 And then you can see at the bottom of the page,  
2 "Summary of papers to PM", and then information about  
3 the various options confronting him: household  
4 isolation, atypical setting, shielding/social  
5 distancing, and so on.

6 If we look at page 5, you will see "HMT Position",  
7 and did your department set out, in relation to each of  
8 the particular interventions or social distancing  
9 measures, what the consequences would be or would be  
10 likely to be in terms of impact, economically and  
11 fiscally?

12 Then if we look over the pages to 6 and 8, we can  
13 see what the impact would be fiscally in terms of  
14 a number of other particular options.

15 So does that give a fair indication of the sort of  
16 information which your department provided to the  
17 Prime Minister?

18 **A.** I mean, yes. All I'd say is this was very, very early  
19 on, as you said, so this was --

20 **Q.** It is.

21 **A.** -- we were weeks into this, and I think what you'll see  
22 over the duration of the next 18 months is the -- I'd  
23 say the quality and extra granularity of the information  
24 that -- and analysis that we were able to provide  
25 improved considerably. The focus early on, as you can

14

1 was so unpredictable and uncertain. Once we had entered  
2 into the first lockdown then you actually had data as to  
3 the impact of these measures, and you could use those to  
4 forecast what would happen in the future when you were  
5 going to repeat them. But at this point this was not  
6 something that anyone had grappled with before or  
7 modelled with any precision, so it was very hard to be  
8 precise about the impacts. And, as I say, we developed  
9 more modelling capability, broadened the source of data  
10 over time. And external groups like the OBR, who is, of  
11 course, the government's independent forecaster,  
12 themselves, in about the middle of April, published  
13 quite extensive independent forecasting of the impact on  
14 the economy from Covid. And again, they continued to  
15 iterate that, as did the Bank of England and other  
16 external bodies. So I think there was just  
17 a considerable body of external and internal work that  
18 was done from this point onwards, and -- but as you say,  
19 this was very early on.

20 In terms of the other economic information that was  
21 relevant around exactly the same time as this note was  
22 the situation in the gilt markets.

23 **Q.** We'll come to that.

24 **A.** Oh, fine. Because they're -- it's around the same kind  
25 of time, just days after that, from memory.

16

1 Q. In fact the lockdown decision was the 23rd, and the  
2 debate about the gilt markets was the Thursday before,  
3 so the --

4 A. It's -- the 19th was the first conversation I had with  
5 him, and then followed up but --

6 Q. We'll look at that.

7 A. Fine.

8 Q. We'll have a look at another document, INQ000232115.  
9 This is a document dated 15 April 2020, so after the  
10 lockdown decision.

11 The Cabinet Office produced a paper, *COVID-19 Social*  
12 *Distancing Review summary data deck*, and we can see from  
13 pages 5 to 7 and 9 to 11 a considerable amount of  
14 information and analysis provided about the economic  
15 impact of, of course, what was then the lockdown, and we  
16 can see the sort of detail into which it descends.

17 Would that sort of economic and societal analysis  
18 have been produced by HMT?

19 A. I mean, I think what you'll see from that presentation,  
20 I think it was produced by the Cabinet Office --

21 Q. It was.

22 A. -- rather than the Treasury, so no doubt the Treasury  
23 would have fed into that --

24 Q. Indeed.

25 A. -- and, I would imagine, worked closely particularly

17

1 first and foremost I was always in a position where  
2 I felt I had the opportunity to provide the  
3 Prime Minister with relevant advice and information that  
4 he needed. That's the first thing to say.

5 I think the second broad observation I have was that  
6 the Covid-O and Covid-S structure actually worked,  
7 I thought, quite well. It was modelled on something  
8 that had -- the Prime Minister himself I think had  
9 brought in during the Brexit process, so it was  
10 a template that had -- that I participated on, more at  
11 the O level in those days -- so it's a template that had  
12 been used before, had been shown to work.

13 My general recollection is that it was a good  
14 structure and it did that separation between broader  
15 strategy and operations. I thought it was a structure  
16 that made sense and I found typically effective.  
17 I think my significant recollection of this time was the  
18 lack of the taskforce model early on, which was  
19 corrected by about June, and then improved as well over  
20 time. And I think that is -- that was an improvement,  
21 and I think actually that is a model that now is ready  
22 to be deployed off the shelf and rightly so. But not  
23 having a taskforce at the centre that -- I think it was  
24 described as the gearbox or the engine room, that could  
25 synthesise across departments the information and

19

1 with economic departments like BEIS or DFT, for example.  
2 I saw them -- or DWP, and I saw those departments,  
3 I think, at least a couple of them, referenced in some  
4 of the slides that you showed. So of course Treasury  
5 would have fed into that alongside those departments and  
6 would have been working closely with them to think  
7 through the impact.

8 Q. You've described how, ultimately, many of the most  
9 momentous decisions were matters for the Prime Minister.  
10 I'd like to ask you, please, about your understanding of  
11 where and when those sorts of decisions were taken.  
12 The Inquiry has received a considerable amount of  
13 evidence about the debates and the decision-making  
14 processes that went on around the Prime Minister with  
15 his closest advisers, effectively debates in the Cabinet  
16 Room, at 9.15 meetings, in meetings with the  
17 Prime Minister and his advisers.

18 Did you form a view yourself as to the divide  
19 between the taking of those decisions by the  
20 Prime Minister and his advisers and the necessary debate  
21 which had to take place in Cabinet? Did you believe  
22 that Cabinet was in any way being sidelined, as one or  
23 two witnesses have suggested?

24 A. You know, that's not -- that's not my strong  
25 recollection. I mean, to reiterate what I said before,

18

1 analysis and advice coming in for the Prime Minister to  
2 present things in the round together with input from  
3 SAGE, I think was a necessary and an important step in  
4 improving the quality of the decision-making and the  
5 sharing of information. And so, as I said, that was not  
6 there in the first couple of months, and clearly at that  
7 phase it was -- DH were described as the lead  
8 department, with the response particularly in March and  
9 April, and I think if this happened again one would want  
10 to make sure that that taskforce model was there from  
11 the beginning, you know, day one, day zero, because that  
12 definitely improved things.

13 Q. It was Mr Cummings who referred to the Cabinet Office as  
14 being a gearbox but with sand in it. Did you as  
15 Chancellor take a view as to the efficiency of the  
16 Cabinet Office, particularly in those early days from  
17 March through to May, by which time, as you rightly say,  
18 the Covid-S, Covid-O structure was put into place?

19 A. Look, I think it was very difficult. I think it's  
20 obviously easy to sit here now and say taskforce was  
21 better, of course it was, Covid-O and Covid-S was  
22 better, yes, of course it was, and it improved  
23 decision-making. I think those first few weeks were  
24 extremely difficult for everybody. I don't doubt that  
25 everyone was trying very hard to do the best that they

20

1 could in trying circumstances, dealing with something  
2 that we hadn't dealt with before. So it's -- you know,  
3 I wouldn't sit here and say that people weren't doing  
4 the best they could, I think they were. But it's clear  
5 that the taskforce structure, the O and the S  
6 structures, made things, I think, work more effectively  
7 and efficiently, and they were not there right at the  
8 beginning, and it's good that they were implemented, and  
9 good that they continued to improve over time.

10 But I think the other -- just the other thing I'd  
11 say is I think there is this perception that somehow  
12 decisions are not being made in these fora, but I think  
13 they're really -- my strong recollection is that they  
14 were. The Covid-Os and Covid-S were the places where an  
15 appropriate group of people came together to discuss, to  
16 deliberate, for the Prime Minister to make his decision.  
17 Now, there's obviously a trade-off between speed of  
18 decision-making and the number of people involved,  
19 I mean, it was ever thus, and I think there's probably  
20 no perfect answer, ultimately it's for the  
21 Prime Minister to himself figure out what the right  
22 balance between those two things is. Broadly I thought  
23 the O, the S structure did that. But also,  
24 decision-making is an iterative process, that's the  
25 reality of government. I think what would be normal is

21

1 you as the occupant of Number 11. You couldn't not have  
2 seen how Number 10 was responding to this unprecedented  
3 crisis?

4 **A.** So you described, not my word, people saying about  
5 dysfunction in Number 10 or the Cabinet Office.  
6 Obviously I -- you know, I didn't work directly in  
7 Number 10 or in the Cabinet Office, so it's hard for me  
8 to comment on that other than to say that my  
9 interactions with Number 10 and the Cabinet Office  
10 during this period felt fine to me.

11 Again, I'd go back to, broadly: was I able to input  
12 advice to the Prime Minister or when decisions were  
13 being made? I felt I was. I didn't feel I'd been shut  
14 out or not able to participate.

15 And my recollection of that period, that early  
16 period, was a series of, I think as it was then, as you  
17 say, not Covid-O, and Covid-S, they were probably COBR  
18 meetings, which involved groups of people considering  
19 these things, and -- so lots of people around the table  
20 was my recollection, at the key moments on 16 March,  
21 9 March. As far as I can remember, at all of those  
22 points -- there was a COBR meeting, I was probably at  
23 it. There were minutes that were circulate -- well,  
24 SAGE minutes that had been circulated that formed part  
25 of the advice pack. Deliberations were made, decisions

23

1 that there would be a series of potentially bilateral  
2 meetings or a small group meeting leading up to the  
3 final decision meeting. I think that's completely fine.  
4 Every Prime Minister will have a different  
5 decision-making process that works for them. That's --  
6 the previous Prime Minister I think liked that. I think  
7 nothing wrong with it, quite healthy, it allowed him  
8 time to digest the arguments. So I don't think there's  
9 anything wrong with there being a series of meetings  
10 considering the same topic before a final Covid-O,  
11 Covid-S or Cabinet meeting to make -- to take the final  
12 decision.

13 **Q.** Your answer, at least at the start, Mr Sunak, was  
14 heavily predicated upon the existence of Covid-S and  
15 Covid-O, but in the earlier period, particularly around  
16 the time of the first lockdown and those decisions in  
17 March and April, the evidence from a number of witnesses  
18 is to the effect that there was a circumvention of  
19 Cabinet governance, a certain level of dysfunction, and  
20 I emphasise it's only evidence and these are all matters  
21 for my Lady in due course, but the witnesses have spoken  
22 about dysfunction in Number 10 and the Cabinet Office,  
23 and how the system around the Prime Minister was not  
24 working well, to put it neutrally.

25 That must have been something that was apparent to  
22

1 were taken quite quickly, and acted on, in all of those  
2 key moments. So that's my general recollection of  
3 that -- of the period.

4 You're absolutely right, and as I've said, the  
5 formal taskforce structure and the O and the S structure  
6 hadn't been established at this point, but things were  
7 moving so quickly. And largely, as I'm sure we'll get  
8 on to, the government -- the Prime Minister just largely  
9 acted on the advice that was put in front of him from  
10 SAGE with regard to what interventions to implement at  
11 what time. I mean, that's my strong recollection of  
12 this period of those three weeks or two weeks in March.

13 **Q.** The public health considerations took primacy --

14 **A.** Absolutely.

15 **Q.** -- in effect --

16 **A.** Yeah.

17 **Q.** -- which is why although the arguments about the likely  
18 impact of lockdown were made, they didn't assume  
19 anything like a comparable strength in terms of the  
20 overall --

21 **A.** Yeah, and you've said that before and I agree, it was  
22 the -- Department of Health were very clearly, as per  
23 all the evidence, the lead department leading the  
24 response. My strong recollection of this period is the  
25 advice would come in from SAGE -- obviously that advice

24

1 changed over the weeks, which I'm sure we'll get into,  
 2 but largely my recollection is the government acted on  
 3 the advice it was given with regard to interventions.  
 4 And the economic advice, as you pointed to, was  
 5 provided, I would say not just for information, that's  
 6 to downplay it, but it was not driving the conversation,  
 7 and -- that's right in the way you've described it.

8 **Q.** In your statement you describe how you would, in  
 9 addition to these formal procedures, see the  
 10 Prime Minister informally but that no decisions of  
 11 significance were made in those situations and you state  
 12 all major decisions were made within formal structures.  
 13 But presumably during these informal debates Covid was  
 14 at least part if not the predominant part of the debate  
 15 and how, economically and fiscally, there were issues to  
 16 be debated?

17 **A.** Yes. I think when I was talking about that, I wasn't  
 18 referring to this period. I mean, obviously I didn't  
 19 know the Prime Minister particularly well at this point  
 20 in time, when I became Chancellor. Obviously that  
 21 relationship grew over time and, you know, both of us  
 22 living in the same building. So -- and this went on for  
 23 almost two years. So over the course of that period, as  
 24 we got to know each other better, there's clearly more  
 25 opportunities for -- you know, we might be sitting in

25

1 to have had conversations about life, family, friends,  
 2 work, at the same time. But in terms of decision-making  
 3 structures, as I'm -- I'm very clear that, you know,  
 4 there was rigorous and proper debate and deliberation  
 5 with colleagues in those structures after they were set  
 6 up, and even before that more generally, and that was my  
 7 consistent view throughout. I mean, those debates and  
 8 deliberations did happen throughout with not just me but  
 9 with other colleagues as well.

10 **Q.** I ask, as you know well, because of the article in  
 11 The Spectator, "Rishi Sunak on what we weren't told",  
 12 dated 27 August 2022, in which the author of the article  
 13 says that you said that:

14 "[You] tried not to challenge the Prime Minister in  
 15 public, or leave a paper trail. 'I'd say a lot of stuff  
 16 to him in private' ..."

17 This is of course -- it's on page 8 if you want to  
 18 see it in all its glory:

19 This is all, of course, in the context of Covid.  
 20 The article is, of course, about your role in Covid.  
 21 And, as I say, it says:

22 "He tried not to challenge the Prime Minister in  
 23 public, or leave a paper trail. 'I'd say a lot of stuff  
 24 to him in private,' he says. 'There's some written  
 25 record of everything. In general, people leak it -- and

27

1 the garden together at the weekend or something. So --  
 2 you know, as is completely normal -- so it wouldn't just  
 3 be Covid because by the point those types of  
 4 conversations were happening between us, there were  
 5 other things as well --

6 **Q.** Not just Covid, but of course always with an economic or  
 7 fiscal bent to it? That is, of course, what your role  
 8 was, you were the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

9 **A.** Yes, I wouldn't say all our conversations were  
 10 work-related, we were also able to talk about things  
 11 that were not work-related, but I'd say my conversations  
 12 with him on policy would obviously be predominantly  
 13 based on the economic and fiscal considerations of what  
 14 we were doing.

15 **Q.** Of course, they were debates about the matters which  
 16 were of the greatest concern to the government at that  
 17 time. That is why, of course, you were discussing them  
 18 with the Prime Minister.

19 I ask --

20 **A.** I mean, I'd say -- yes, I think there is a -- I think  
 21 you just work with colleagues, and if you happen to be  
 22 neighbours it's impossible not to see each other outside  
 23 of a formal Covid-S meeting. That's just the practical  
 24 reality of being neighbours and sharing a garden and  
 25 living in the same building. So it would be weird not

26

1 it causes problems'."

2 Why, if you were debating these hugely important  
 3 topics with the Prime Minister, was it important not to  
 4 leave a paper trail?

5 **A.** That's -- well, I think as the article says, that's not  
 6 something that I've said, the quote from me is "I'd say  
 7 a lot of stuff to him in private", and in fact there is  
 8 a written -- there is some written record of everything.

9 So, I mean, of course I had conversations with the  
 10 Prime Minister. As I said, we -- you share a garden,  
 11 you're neighbours, you live together, of course there'd  
 12 be conversations I'd be having with him and -- in terms  
 13 of written records, I mean, I'm sure we'll get on to it,  
 14 at multiple moments I would write to him with -- just so  
 15 that he could have it in one place, a set of thoughts or  
 16 analysis from me with regard, perhaps, to exit roadmaps  
 17 or the 2-metre to 1-metre or -- and there will be  
 18 others, or re-opening or travel. You know, so those are  
 19 document -- there is actually, in fact, lots of  
 20 different bits of evidence that you have and that we've  
 21 provided of when I did actually write to him formally at  
 22 particular points where I thought it made sense to lay  
 23 out a set of arguments from me to him -- and --

24 **Q.** We will look at some of the bilateral --

25 **A.** Yeah.

28

1 Q. There are many, many bilateral meetings where formally  
2 your officials and yourself and the Prime Minister and  
3 his officials met to talk about Covid-related issues as  
4 well as all the other economic-related issues that you  
5 raised. It's just that, what is the Inquiry to make of  
6 the suggestion here, to which you do appear to lend your  
7 support, that there was a form of communication between  
8 the Prime Minister that was not recorded and was  
9 obviously of significance?

10 A. Well, I think the point I'd probably challenge is that  
11 it's of significance. I think it is genuinely  
12 impossible for every single conversation between two  
13 Cabinet ministers, whoever they are, to be recorded.  
14 I mean, there aren't civil servants following Cabinet  
15 ministers through the division lobbies, on a typical  
16 evening, where they might be chatting about something,  
17 or if I was having lunch with my family in the garden at  
18 the same time that the Prime Minister was on a typical  
19 weekend in Downing Street, and we'd obviously be  
20 chatting as we were barbecuing or something. I mean,  
21 it's just -- it's clearly impractical to think that  
22 every single conversation between two Cabinet ministers  
23 can be recorded in that way, but -- I think everyone  
24 would accept that.

25 But I think that's obviously fine because what is  
29

1 Or at least that's what the journalist said you were  
2 implying.

3 "I wasn't allowed to talk about the trade-off,"  
4 says Sunak. Ministers were briefed by No 10 on how to  
5 handle questions about the side-effects of lockdown.  
6 "The script was not to ever acknowledge them. The  
7 script was: oh, there's no trade-off, because doing this  
8 for our health is good for the economy."

9 We need to be quite clear, don't we, that the  
10 reality was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer,  
11 yourself, and HMT, took every opportunity to bring to  
12 the attention of the Prime Minister the potential  
13 consequences of the lockdown decisions and the fiscal  
14 and economic harm that would be done. That's very  
15 apparent, would you agree with that?

16 A. Yes, that was my primary responsibility, and that's what  
17 we did.

18 Q. And if we look at INQ000182359, this is an analytical  
19 note which expressly refers to it being a trade-off  
20 between continuing Covid-19 social distancing and  
21 minimising foregone economic activity and other costs.

22 Was this a document produced by HMT dated 22 April  
23 provided to the "Quad" group of ministers, that is to  
24 say the group of yourself, the first Deputy  
25 Prime Minister, Mr Raab, Mr Gove and Mr Hancock, whilst

31

1 happening is when there are formal decisions to be made  
2 and formal conversations to be had, those are happening  
3 with officials, they are minuted, they're happening in  
4 Cabinet committees or Covid-Os or Covid-Ss or in Cabinet  
5 itself or in bilateral meetings, and the decision itself  
6 is made in those forums, and that's -- ultimately what  
7 matters is the decision and how it was made and who fed  
8 into it. And that's all a matter of public record and  
9 recorded correctly.

10 I mean, I think it would be -- it's implausible to  
11 think that every single conversation between two Cabinet  
12 ministers could be recorded in that way, I mean, that's  
13 just not practical or plausible.

14 Q. All right.

15 Page 3 of the same article, and it may be that  
16 you've got something to say about what should be taken  
17 from this article generally, but on page 3 you refer to  
18 the -- in general terms, conversations that you had with  
19 the Prime Minister and to the debate that went on  
20 constantly around the Prime Minister as to what  
21 decisions should be taken.

22 You say:

23 "A cost-benefit calculation -- a basic requirement  
24 for pretty much every public health intervention -- was  
25 never made."

30

1 the Prime Minister was ill? So a Treasury document that  
2 expressly addresses the trade-off between continuing  
3 social distancing and economic activity.

4 A. I'm not familiar with that document, so I don't know if  
5 it's clear who it's come from --

6 Q. Well, you may not know the individual document, but --

7 A. Well, I do recall, because the person who wrote it,  
8 I'd -- I worked with him in a previous guise, and  
9 I don't think he did work at Treasury, I thought he was  
10 in a different department, so it's not obvious to me  
11 that the document does come from the Treasury, or not.  
12 So I can't -- I can't say that it does come from the  
13 Treasury.

14 My point, though, referring to the quote you had  
15 from the Spectator article previously, was not about the  
16 substance of the discussions that were happening in  
17 government, which, as you rightly said, and -- and I was  
18 making the point about some of the consequences, again  
19 not just economic but the other impacts in all other  
20 walks of life as well. The point was about the  
21 communication strategy. And I can certainly sympathise,  
22 actually, with a communications strategy that wanted to  
23 simplify things, because we were dealing with something  
24 that was, again, unprecedented. We didn't know how  
25 people would respond, behave, comply. And so the --

32



1 you know, the sense was a simpler communication strategy  
2 would be better for achieving that objective, and it was  
3 just better to focus on the health impacts and --  
4 because that would be the way to improve compliance.

5 And again I have sympathy as a reasonable argument  
6 to make, you know, but that argument that was made to  
7 achieve that aim came at the cost of not having from the  
8 beginning a broader conversation about the other impacts  
9 in other walks of life, and again impacts that may not  
10 be felt immediately but would be felt down the line.  
11 And I think that -- that was just -- that was the  
12 approach of the communications strategy. That's what  
13 I was referring to in the Spectator article.

14 And again, it doesn't mean that it was wrong, by the  
15 way, because I think it's a reasonable position to have  
16 taken that it was better to have a simpler communication  
17 strategy that didn't talk about all those other things,  
18 because we wanted people to comply with what we were  
19 asking them to do. Reasonable position. I was making  
20 the point that -- you know, I think you could have said  
21 actually we could have had a broader conversation from  
22 the beginning about some of these things. That was the  
23 point I was making in the article. But this document,  
24 as I said, I don't know or recollect.

25 **Q.** The article itself makes no reference to this being

33

1 lockdowns, that your position and HMT's position was  
2 that there is a trade-off: if you make a decision  
3 about -- if you make a decision to lock down, it's going  
4 to be enormously damaging. I mean, that was your  
5 *raison d'être*, was it not?

6 **A.** I think that -- I wouldn't quite put it like that, but  
7 I'd say my -- almost my constitutional responsibility as  
8 Chancellor of the Exchequer was to make sure that the  
9 Prime Minister had the economic -- well, the analysis  
10 and the advice relating to the economic and fiscal  
11 implications or consequences of the decisions that he  
12 was considering.

13 **Q.** Indeed.

14 **A.** Of course that was my job, and of course that's what  
15 I did. And I don't -- I don't think it's controversial,  
16 and indeed given -- I see now, and the evidence has been  
17 submitted to the Inquiry by many of the scientists from  
18 SAGE acknowledging that the benefit -- I think the Chief  
19 Scientific Adviser at the time said -- has said --  
20 former Chief Scientific Adviser said that the benefits  
21 of imposing lockdowns had to be balanced by policymakers  
22 against the social, health and other economic detriments  
23 that they would cause. Professor Edmunds said  
24 policymakers had to weigh up many other ethical,  
25 logistical and economic constraints. And again, I could

35

1 a comms issue, it simply quotes as you saying:

2 "The script was not to ever acknowledge them. The  
3 script was: oh, there's no trade-off, because doing this  
4 for our health is good for the economy."

5 But you say that was just a question of  
6 communication policy?

7 **A.** Yes, because I think -- well, if you can bring it back.

8 **Q.** Page 3 of INQ000280042, and it's the top of the page,  
9 Mr Sunak.

10 **A.** Yes, it was -- it was -- and that is talking about the  
11 comms strategy, because it's what you're allowed to talk  
12 about, it says very specifically, and then, again, not  
13 my words but the author's words:

14 "Ministers were briefed by No 10 on how to handle  
15 questions about the side-effects of lockdown."

16 That, again, is briefing before people do media  
17 appearances, and the script, in a generic sense,  
18 probably refers to the standard what Number 10 produces  
19 and still produces to this day as a kind of broadcast  
20 script or broadcast brief that has the government's  
21 overall public-facing narrative. So that is very much  
22 what those comments are talking about.

23 **Q.** But there was no doubt whatsoever, as far as you could  
24 tell, in the public's mind that as Chancellor you were  
25 warning of the economic and fiscal consequences of

34

1 quote, you know, actually the previous Chief Scientific  
2 Adviser also said there were costs in other domains of  
3 life, economic, people's wellbeing, education. All  
4 those needed to be analysed. So I don't think it's  
5 particularly controversial to say that of course there  
6 are lots of other impacts that come from decisions --

7 **Q.** That --

8 **A.** -- but my particular responsibility was to make sure  
9 that the economic ones were considered or the  
10 Prime Minister had an opportunity to consider them.

11 **Q.** It is obvious that --

12 **A.** There's a separate question -- sorry to interrupt -- and  
13 then there's a separate question about how much it is  
14 appropriate to talk about those in public, which is what  
15 this refers to.

16 **Q.** We need to be clear about this, Mr Sunak. You made no  
17 bones about the fact that there was a trade-off, that  
18 there were huge, it's self-evident, devastating economic  
19 and societal consequences from the lockdown decisions.  
20 That is obvious. The whole country knows that.

21 The Chancellor of the Exchequer, yourself, made no  
22 bones about it. The Treasury raised, quite properly,  
23 perhaps constitutionally, all the concerns that needed  
24 to be raised. But you reject the suggestion, which  
25 appears to be given by this article, that that full

36

1 debate, the nature of the trade-off, wasn't properly  
 2 identified or at least wasn't properly ventilated by  
 3 you, perhaps because of briefings by Number 10, and  
 4 I want to ask you whether that was in fact correct?  
 5 **A.** Sorry, I'm not sure I understand the question here.  
 6 **Q.** Did ministers brief you, or rather did Number 10 brief  
 7 you that you couldn't raise the obvious issue of the  
 8 economic and fiscal harm that would be done by  
 9 a lockdown decision? Was that not in fact a debate that  
 10 was obvious to everybody and it was a debate in which  
 11 you played a full part?  
 12 **A.** As I said, that debate was certainly something that  
 13 happened in the deliberations. As we've previously been  
 14 discussing, it didn't happen particularly extensively  
 15 for the first lockdown, because everything happened very  
 16 quickly at that point and was driven, as I said, largely  
 17 by the public health advice. Over time that debate  
 18 became, I'd say, more a feature of the discussions,  
 19 particularly because we started to have more  
 20 understanding and evidence of the impact, on the short  
 21 term at least, of what lockdowns were doing or the NPIs  
 22 were doing in other domains or other walks of life. So  
 23 that was the kind of evolution of the debate inside of  
 24 government.  
 25 As I said, from a comms strategy -- very

37

1 Prime Minister, is:  
 2 "READOUT: Friday bilat ..."  
 3 Is "bilat" a shorthand for the meetings that you had  
 4 bilaterally with the Prime Minister?  
 5 **A.** Yes.  
 6 **Q.** "... on NPI [non-pharmaceutical interventions] easements  
 7 'no actions for teams just for info only'."  
 8 Your principal private secretary says:  
 9 "Following the inconclusive strategy meeting the  
 10 [Prime Minister]/[Chancellor] met and discussed the plan  
 11 for NPI easements on Friday. No other minister  
 12 included -- shows the strength of the [Chancellor's]  
 13 voice in these discussions."  
 14 This email, did you see this email after the event?  
 15 Did you see the read-out? Do you recall?  
 16 **A.** No, I wouldn't typically see these read-outs.  
 17 **Q.** All right. She does appear there to be referring to  
 18 how, as the Chancellor, because of your ability to meet  
 19 bilaterally with the Prime Minister, your voice carried  
 20 a particular strength; would you agree?  
 21 **A.** I'm not entirely sure I would agree in any  
 22 disproportionate sense, it's completely normal for the  
 23 Prime Minister to meet with the Chancellor bilaterally,  
 24 I do the same now in this job, previous Prime Minister  
 25 did the same --

39

1 understandably, as I said, reasonable people can  
 2 disagree -- simplicity of message is often important and  
 3 the simpler message was just to focus on the public  
 4 health side of it earlier on. And again, I think that  
 5 evolved over time. And if you compare what was said in  
 6 press conferences in the autumn, for example, when these  
 7 debates were happening, it had evolved by that period of  
 8 time. Earlier on it was certainly not a feature.  
 9 I think you can just see that if you watch all the press  
 10 conferences. And then when you get to the autumn you  
 11 have, I think, in the press conferences a much more open  
 12 discussion about the fact that there are all these other  
 13 things that policymakers have to take into account.  
 14 These aren't easy decisions, they're balance decisions,  
 15 they're all different types of impact. You had, you  
 16 know, whether it's Chris Whitty or Patrick Vallance  
 17 saying all the things I've just said in press  
 18 conferences in September and October, I don't think you  
 19 would find those types of -- that type of communications  
 20 all forming part of the message earlier on in the  
 21 pandemic, I think that's probably fair to say.  
 22 **Q.** All right.  
 23 Could we have INQ000236586, page 1, please, which is  
 24 an email from your principal private secretary,  
 25 Elizabeth Perelman, dated 6 June 2020. The subject,

38

1 **Q.** Forgive me, there's no -- so that we're not at  
 2 cross-purposes, there is no suggestion of any  
 3 impropriety meeting with the Prime Minister bilaterally.  
 4 You are the Chancellor, he is the Prime Minister, it's  
 5 a vital relationship to the workings of government. But  
 6 I want to ask you to address the strength of your voice  
 7 in those discussions on the issues which directly  
 8 concerned the pandemic, because of the debate about SAGE  
 9 and the NPI easements and --  
 10 **A.** Well --  
 11 **Q.** -- the plan, and so on?  
 12 **A.** -- as I've already said, I felt I always had the  
 13 opportunity to convey my thoughts and provide advice to  
 14 the Prime Minister, I said that early on, and that  
 15 happened in a range of forums, whether in these  
 16 bilateral meetings or through the smaller group meetings  
 17 or the Covid-O or the Covid-S. I've been, I think,  
 18 consistent in my evidence that I always felt I had the  
 19 opportunity to provide the Prime Minister with advice.  
 20 **Q.** Indeed.  
 21 **A.** I wouldn't read anything particularly into the fact that  
 22 I had a bilateral meeting with him, I'm sure he was  
 23 having bilateral meetings with other ministers as well,  
 24 all part of how he would like to make decisions, and  
 25 that ultimately is a question for him, but for my part

40

1 of course I had the opportunity to feed in.  
 2 **Q.** If we look at page 2, we can see a reference to "Next  
 3 Steps", and after a list of next steps or actions which  
 4 are envisaged to be taken, your principal private  
 5 secretary says this:

6 "On Monday I am just going to check where No10 have  
 7 got to and ensure on track for Tuesday. Until announced  
 8 you never know!"

9 That would appear on one reading to be a reference  
 10 to an understanding held by her that there was a degree  
 11 of backing and veering or change in position or perhaps  
 12 just debate within Number 10 which meant that until  
 13 decisions were actually announced there was a risk they  
 14 might not be adhered to. Would you agree?

15 **A.** I think I touched on it in my responses earlier, that  
 16 decision-making is a process, and every Prime Minister  
 17 will have a different process by which they want to make  
 18 decisions, and that will just be different depending on  
 19 the personality, style of the person in the job. But my  
 20 experience of the previous Prime Minister was, and  
 21 I think entirely rightly, that for big decisions he  
 22 would want to go over the arguments, test out different  
 23 points of view. He might do some of that bilaterally  
 24 with ministers, do some of it in smaller group meetings,  
 25 and through that process, again, same way that you

41

1 process you hear different things which challenge  
 2 thoughts that you had before.

3 **Q.** INQ000236594, page 1 is another email from  
 4 Elizabeth Perelman to various recipients in the  
 5 Treasury. We can see at the bottom of that first page:

6 "The [Chancellor] in particular wanted to  
 7 [thank] you, [the economic] team, [the] health team and  
 8 [the] COVID team for all the work. The  
 9 briefs/[information] meant that [Chancellor] was well  
 10 armed to challenge/scrutinise the proposal ..."

11 I should say this is dated 9 October,  
 12 Prime Minister.

13 "... and had a level of detail beyond the rest of  
 14 the room which allowed us to make and land our  
 15 points.....with a great result.

16 "An outline of the wider discussion is below, but  
 17 afterwards there was a smaller  
 18 [Prime Minister]/[Chancellor] huddle and the upshot is:

19 "No final decision has been taken on the NPIs."

20 Then over the page, please:

21 "However the [Prime Ministerial] steer is that he is  
 22 not minded to agree to the [Cabinet Office] proposal ...  
 23 his preference is either do nothing or close pubs  
 24 only ..."

25 Then under the bulleted points:

43

1 develop policy or I develop policy as Chancellor, that  
 2 process of discussion, debate, reviewing evidence and  
 3 analysis, might change your mind on something. I don't  
 4 think there's anything wrong with that. Over, you know,  
 5 the many development processes that I've personally been  
 6 involved with as Chancellor, it might well be the case  
 7 that you come to a question with an intuitive view of  
 8 what you think is right and, over the course of a policy  
 9 development process, going over the analysis, the  
 10 evidence, hearing from people, that you think, "Ah,  
 11 well, I did think that, but it's clear now, having  
 12 reviewed everything, that that wasn't right", or "We  
 13 should do it a different way". I think that's entirely  
 14 normal -- particularly when you're dealing with  
 15 something that is uncertain and unprecedented, it's not  
 16 surprising that that happens, and I don't necessarily  
 17 think that it is a bad thing. It shows that someone is  
 18 engaging with the process and hearing from different  
 19 people before you get to a final decision meeting in the  
 20 right format, Covid-O, Covid-S, Cabinet, et cetera.

21 But I don't think it's necessarily, as I said, a bad  
 22 thing that over the course of a process the  
 23 Prime Minister would want to hear different points of  
 24 view before coming to a final decision, and it may well  
 25 be that, you know, during the -- as I said, during that

42

1 "Clearly there is a high risk that this unwinds/is  
 2 unpicked over Friday/Weekend."

3 So two questions, please, Mr Sunak. Firstly, the  
 4 reference to the fact that there was a huddle between  
 5 yourself and the Prime Minister after the general debate  
 6 appears to suggest that, with this Prime Minister, there  
 7 was an ability to get the last word in, to meet with him  
 8 and to be able to influence his ultimate decision.

9 Secondly, the reference to unwinding and unpicking  
 10 a position which appears to have been agreed suggests  
 11 that this wasn't an open-ended debate which led to  
 12 a consistent decision; there was the ability to be able  
 13 to unwind or unpick a position which had already been  
 14 reached.

15 Do you agree with both those propositions or  
 16 neither?

17 **A.** Obviously I didn't write the email --

18 **Q.** No.

19 **A.** -- so I don't know precisely what it refers to, and is  
 20 it possible that I might have had a chat with the  
 21 Prime Minister once a meeting wound up on my way back  
 22 somewhere? Of course that's possible. You know, he  
 23 might have said to me, "Mm, that was interesting, I'm  
 24 thinking X as a result of it". I don't think anything  
 25 particularly wrong with that, right? I mean, I don't

44

1 recall a huddle or not, it might be just saying -- he  
2 might have been just giving me a sense of where his head  
3 was at at that particular moment in time. And again,  
4 I don't think there's anything particularly untoward  
5 about that, to be honest.

6 And as I've talked previously about decision-making  
7 processes and ultimately there would be a final decision  
8 taken at an appropriate forum, it might well be that  
9 there had been an iterative process leading up to that,  
10 but, again, I don't think in and of itself that that is  
11 necessarily a bad thing, and again I'm not entirely sure  
12 what this specifically refers to.

13 **Q.** You refer to the fact that there might be an issue as to  
14 where his head is at, where the Prime Minister has  
15 reached in terms of his thinking. I need to ask you,  
16 because of the evidence which has been given by his  
17 former Cabinet secretaries, his former chief adviser,  
18 his former director of communications, also by,  
19 privately, his Chief Scientific Adviser, that he had  
20 a tendency to back and veer, to bear the impression of  
21 the last person who sat with him in terms of the debates  
22 which were raging in Downing Street, and that this led  
23 to a degree of chaos or, to use Sir Patrick Vallance's  
24 words, operational inefficiency. Were you aware that  
25 his closest advisers had seemingly unanimously taken the

45

1 paper, someone checked and that was the last we heard of  
2 it. I think that would actually be far worse, quite  
3 frankly. So I'm -- it's good that there was debate  
4 about these things.

5 Now, you know, in terms of operational inefficiency,  
6 again, you know, there is no perfect amount of  
7 deliberation versus speed. That's a trade-off that only  
8 the Prime Minister can make. You know, again -- and it  
9 will be context-dependent, it will be  
10 decision-dependent, so it's hard to generalise what the  
11 right amount of deliberative time is. But as I've  
12 talked about the process, I don't think it's a problem  
13 that the Prime Minister gets advice from different  
14 people, mulls over it and tries out different arguments,  
15 assuming there is the time to do that, before coming to  
16 a final decision. I think it's a good thing that there  
17 was debate, because debate was required when you're  
18 dealing with consequences of the sort that we were.

19 **Q.** How often, if at all, Mr Sunak, did you leave  
20 Downing Street or leave Number 10 Downing Street after  
21 debating issues with the Prime Minister, perhaps in  
22 a bilateral or multilateral conversation, and been told  
23 that a decision had been reached or that his view was X  
24 to find out later that his view had changed or that  
25 a decision had been unwound or unpicked? Can you recall

47

1 view that there was a lack of efficiency? The  
2 administration is described privately as "brutal and  
3 useless" or "criminally incompetent" or "operationally  
4 chaotic"? Was any of that known to you?

5 **A.** No, I don't think any of those comments were shared with  
6 me at the time.

7 You made a point, though, Mr Keith, as if debates  
8 raged. I don't think that that is necessarily a bad  
9 thing.

10 **Q.** No, indeed not.

11 **A.** I mean, these -- it's right that there was vigorous  
12 debate because these were incredibly consequential  
13 decisions for tens of millions of people, in all  
14 spheres. Whether it was health, whether it was  
15 education, whether it was economic, whether it was  
16 society, whether it was long-term impacts, these were  
17 incredibly big decisions the likes of which no  
18 Prime Minister had taken in decades, if ever, like this.  
19 So the fact that there was debate and that people were  
20 passionate about it and they had different points of  
21 view is, I think, (a) unsurprising and (b) good, because  
22 it would be worse if we were having this conversation  
23 and all the commentary was: well, there was no debate  
24 about any of this whatsoever, it was all just  
25 signed off, straightforward, someone put a piece of

46

1 any such instance of that happening over this  
2 particularly fraught period from March through to  
3 October?

4 **A.** I mean, I'm sure it did. I mean, you know, you make so  
5 many, many, many decisions over the course of two years,  
6 but I --

7 **Q.** Well, we know which decisions are the most important.  
8 We know the momentous decisions, Mr Sunak. Did he  
9 change his mind when you had been given to understand  
10 that he had reached a view on the decisions which you  
11 and his closest advisers were debating at such ferocious  
12 length?

13 **A.** Again, I think if you could be more specific. I mean,  
14 if we talk about the first -- there were many, many  
15 momentous decisions, right, so -- I mean, that's why  
16 this is an important piece of work, that is extensive.  
17 But let's -- we'll get in -- if we talk chronologically,  
18 the decisions around the first lockdown, no, I don't  
19 think that happened, because as -- I mean, we haven't  
20 gone into it yet and we haven't touched on the economic  
21 analysis, which I think we'll come to later --

22 **Q.** We will.

23 **A.** -- or I can talk about the economic context we're  
24 operating in. But, you know, my strong recollection of  
25 those few weeks in March was that advice was put to the

48

1 government, to the Prime Minister, from SAGE, and advice  
 2 was followed, pretty much imminently, on the same day in  
 3 most cases if not all cases, during that period. The  
 4 advice changed from SAGE during that period, but the  
 5 government -- when the advice changed, the government  
 6 acted. The Prime Minister didn't say, "I'm going to do  
 7 this and then I'm going to change". We were sitting  
 8 there, we got the advice about when we should implement  
 9 self-isolation, household isolation, originally not to  
 10 close schools, not to ban mass events. Things changed  
 11 particularly on 16 March. That's when the advice from  
 12 SAGE changed considerably about the speed of  
 13 implementation. But, again, the Prime Minister reacted,  
 14 schools were closed on, I think -- you know, well, that  
 15 was announced on the 18th because that was put before  
 16 the committee at the time that -- and again, that was  
 17 just acted on immediately, I think the same day. Both  
 18 on the 16th and the 18th, I think the Prime Minister  
 19 stood up the same day and announced those decisions.  
 20 And again even up to about, I think, 19 March, the view  
 21 from SAGE, the view from the Chief Medical Officer was  
 22 that the existing measures that had been announced, if  
 23 there was, in their words, 75% compliance, that they  
 24 should do the trick. Right?

25 And, again, then it was clear that compliance maybe  
 49

1 I'm sure we will have a fulsome discussion on each of  
 2 them --  
 3 **Q.** But I'm asking you just generally your impression as the  
 4 Chancellor. Were you a Chancellor in an administration  
 5 in which there was an absence of clear consistent  
 6 decision-making following full and robust debate, or was  
 7 it your impression that the decisions were being made  
 8 properly, that there was a proper opportunity for  
 9 everybody to have their say, and then the Prime Minister  
 10 took decisions and stuck to them? Which is it?  
 11 **A.** So I can only answer for myself in terms of did everyone  
 12 have the ability they wanted to feed in. Ultimately,  
 13 because I'm not -- you know, I don't know the extent to  
 14 which other Cabinet ministers felt that they were  
 15 sufficiently included or fed in or met the  
 16 Prime Minister. It's a question for them. I've been  
 17 consistently clear for my part I did have that ability  
 18 from the beginning and throughout to feed into  
 19 decision-making and, as I said throughout, it's right  
 20 that there was debate and -- discussion and debate.  
 21 That's my general recollection. I don't think -- there  
 22 weren't decisions that were made by fiat, I think there  
 23 was good debate and discussion about decisions as we  
 24 went.

25 And unfortunately we were just dealing with  
 51

1 wasn't high enough and further interventions had to be  
 2 put in place. But my strong recollection in that period  
 3 of all those decisions is that there wasn't a "we do one  
 4 thing and then change our minds", it was just the  
 5 government responding to the advice from their  
 6 scientific advisers. The scientific advice changed and  
 7 then the government obviously changed with it. But it  
 8 wasn't -- not -- I think that's not -- again, that's  
 9 what -- that's what the government did at that time, it  
 10 followed the advice from the scientists and didn't  
 11 change its mind.

12 **Q.** May we take it, because you've referred to the first  
 13 lockdown decision by way of your answer, that the same  
 14 position took place -- the same position was reached in  
 15 relation to the later decisions, for example roadmaps  
 16 and easements, circuit-breakers, package A, tiers and so  
 17 on and so forth? Are you saying that there was  
 18 a consistent clear position adopted by Downing Street  
 19 after the debate that obviously took place, and  
 20 decisions weren't made which were then unpicked, or that  
 21 there was a consistent approach adopted?

22 **A.** I mean --

23 **Q.** For those later periods.

24 **A.** I think -- I mean, you just named, I think, almost six  
 25 different decisions, all of which probably merit, and  
 50

1 an unpredictable situation which people hadn't  
 2 experienced before. And so did things have to iterate  
 3 as we went along? Of course they did. And we'll get  
 4 into that I'm sure when we address each of those  
 5 individual decisions that you've mentioned.

6 Now, in each of those, of course, there would have  
 7 been a period of iteration where we adjust the  
 8 circumstances or facts as they changed. I don't think  
 9 that is wrong. And I think it's hard to generalise,  
 10 you know, but what we should do is go into each of those  
 11 things in detail, as I look forward to doing, and I'm  
 12 sure we will over the course of today.

13 **Q.** We will.

14 The first lockdown decision was taken on 23 March.  
 15 In your statement, you relay, as you said this morning,  
 16 your general impression that the recommendations which  
 17 were being made in public health terms were strongly  
 18 supported and there was a sense of the sooner the better  
 19 that they were implemented, because the majority of the  
 20 advice, indeed the vast majority of the advice that the  
 21 government was receiving in those weeks of 9 and  
 22 16 March focused upon the public health considerations,  
 23 the exponential nature of the growth curve, the damage  
 24 that would be done and the ultimate collapse of the NHS,  
 25 and of course on the number of deaths, the mortality  
 52

1 that would ensue.

2 Can you recall, Mr Sunak, your take on and your  
3 recollection of the robustness of the data underpinning  
4 the proposition that the NHS would collapse? It was  
5 obviously debated by you and others at the meeting on  
6 the Monday 23rd, it was debated at all the COBRs and the  
7 Cabinet meetings hitherto. What was the understanding  
8 that you had? Was it undoubtedly going to be the case  
9 that the NHS would collapse, or was it a case of: it's  
10 in peril, there are very grave concerns as to whether or  
11 not it will be overwhelmed or overtopped, but we've got  
12 to see to what extent surge capacity and the heroic  
13 efforts of the NHS itself could save the day? Where was  
14 the final line reached?

15 **A.** I can't -- I can't specifically recall the analysis that  
16 was presented. I don't know, my overall recollections  
17 of this period, which may be helpful for this context,  
18 were obviously we were starting to get information  
19 coming in about Covid internationally. The general  
20 response was being led by DH. I think you will be  
21 familiar with the "contain, delay" strategy, which is  
22 what we were advised by the scientific experts to  
23 follow. The strategy was, as you said, to prevent the  
24 NHS from being overwhelmed. You know, I vividly recall  
25 at the time the Chief Scientific Adviser saying,

53

1 case and obviously subsequent measures were implemented.  
2 I don't remember the specific analysis that we were  
3 shown about the NHS being overwhelmed. I don't think  
4 I would have been in any position to challenge it --

5 **Q.** No.

6 **A.** -- and it was coming from the NHS at that moment.

7 **Q.** How much of the debate on that Monday revolved  
8 an understanding of what the impact on the NHS might be?  
9 Because the reason I ask, so you can understand the  
10 genesis of the question, Prime Minister, is that there  
11 was a great deal of information about beds and ICU  
12 beds --

13 **A.** Yes.

14 **Q.** -- and the number of beds and so on, and how many would  
15 be needed and whether they'd be overwhelmed and so on.  
16 But there was also a fair amount of information from the  
17 NHS as to what could be done by way of additional surge  
18 capacity, whether the NHS would survive, whether it  
19 could survive. And given that ultimately the decision  
20 to lock down rested at least in part on what the impact  
21 on the NHS would be likely to be if that decision were  
22 not taken, we need to know to what extent the actuality  
23 of the impact on the NHS was debated. Was it taken as  
24 said that there would be a collapse and therefore you  
25 had to act? Was there a detailed debate about the

55

1 you know, and I think it's recorded in the minutes,  
2 that, you know, the strategy was not to completely  
3 suppress the disease. Right? Which I think there was  
4 a misunderstanding about this. But that -- he was very  
5 explicit that that wouldn't work and that would just  
6 lead to a later second -- a second peak later in the  
7 year which did overwhelm the NHS. So what they wanted  
8 to do was flatten the curve, change the epidemiological  
9 shape and -- and they were very concerned about going  
10 too early. Right? The general advice from them was  
11 they were worried about implementing these things too  
12 early. They said that in private but also -- in private  
13 in the meetings but also in public in the press  
14 conferences.

15 But you're right, increasingly it became -- well,  
16 the advice we were getting was the NHS was imminently in  
17 danger of being overwhelmed, incrementally more and more  
18 measures were implemented. New modelling came out  
19 I think around the 16th which changed the timing that  
20 SAGE had worked to previously. Government acted on  
21 that, acted again on the 18th, and, as I said, I think  
22 Chris Whitty on about the 19th was clear that the  
23 decisions we'd made, having closed schools at that  
24 point, or announced, so if there was good compliance  
25 should be sufficient. That turned out not to be the

54

1 reality of the NHS and whether or not in fact  
2 an alternative position could be taken which wouldn't  
3 inevitably lead to the collapse of the NHS?

4 **A.** So I can't specifically recall. You're absolutely right  
5 there was a lot of talk about ICUs and monitoring of  
6 ICUs, what was happening, and then you had the forecasts  
7 from the scientific advisers with degrees of infection  
8 and hospitalisation.

9 **Q.** Indeed.

10 **A.** And then as far as I can remember, but I might be  
11 confusing it with a later period, you could easily plot  
12 the curves of, "Look, here's a line of NHS capacity,  
13 here's the predicted admissions" --

14 **Q.** There were curves then.

15 **A.** And look, what -- of course you would look to see, well,  
16 you know, how could we improve capacity through the  
17 Nightingales or flexing staff in ratios, all these types  
18 of things which we did. I don't think I was in  
19 a particular position or I don't remember there being  
20 enormous challenge of those assumptions that we were  
21 presented with the NHS. I'll be honest though, I can't  
22 precisely recall, but I think it was just -- it was  
23 presumably -- I think it was largely taken if they were  
24 saying we were going to be overwhelmed in a matter of  
25 days or weeks if this carries on this projected curve,

56

1 you know, it wasn't -- there wasn't an enormous amount  
 2 of disagreement with that. Regardless, we should do  
 3 everything we can to increase capacity, and I think we  
 4 did, investing in Nightingales in particular. And  
 5 changing staffing ratios was the other thing that  
 6 helped, but I don't -- I don't precisely, as I say,  
 7 recall the data that was presented in the debate that  
 8 was had around it.

9 **Q.** All right.

10 **A.** But you are right that that was what was driving --

11 **Q.** Of course.

12 **A.** -- everything. So, as I said, it was not a total  
 13 suppression, and I think this is where this issue of  
 14 herd immunity came out --

15 **Q.** I'm sorry to interrupt. Can we address herd immunity  
 16 and the other strategic or conceptual issues separately.

17 **A.** Sure.

18 **Q.** Finally on this question of the NHS, in hindsight,  
 19 Prime Minister, and you've looked back at the  
 20 documentation from that weekend, of course, and on the  
 21 Monday and the COBR meeting on the Monday at 5 pm and  
 22 the Cabinet meeting which took place afterwards, after  
 23 the public announcement on the Tuesday, are you  
 24 surprised by a relative absence of hard data as to the  
 25 direct impact on the NHS and on the amount of debate

57

1 reflection, look, I agree, data was not as good as it  
 2 could have been at the beginning. I think that improved  
 3 over time and would be a big lessons learned for me.

4 To your broader point about: was there enough  
 5 attention (inaudible) on this? You know, this was all  
 6 happening very quickly. As the advice was coming in  
 7 from the people at SAGE, it was essentially just acted  
 8 on. On the -- you know, I think on the 12th, on the  
 9 16th, on the 18th, on the 20th and the 23rd.

10 Sorry, I know you're referring to days and I think  
 11 about it as dates in my head, so if you could translate  
 12 your Mondays and Sundays into dates, it would help me.  
 13 But those are the key dates that I remember and the key  
 14 meetings. I think either -- the 16th is when the advice  
 15 changed about the timing of implementation. Government  
 16 I think made announcement same day. 18th again --

17 **Q.** Indeed.

18 **A.** -- conversation about London --

19 **Q.** Will you forgive me if I --

20 **A.** Sorry.

21 **Q.** Because we're going to be looking at it after the break  
 22 in a bit more detail.

23 **A.** Oh, okay.

24 **Q.** I didn't suggest to you that the data was not as it  
 25 could have been at the beginning, to which you lent your

59

1 which was directed towards working out what really would  
 2 happen to the NHS if, by contrast to taking that further  
 3 ultimate step on the Monday, the government had simply  
 4 waited to see whether or not the measures imposed in  
 5 good faith the previous week should be given more time  
 6 to work?

7 **A.** So one of my more general reflections on this whole  
 8 thing but particularly on this period as well is about  
 9 data and access to good data. I think it's very clear  
 10 that early on there just wasn't the quality and  
 11 timeliness of the data, in all areas that you would have  
 12 liked, in order to make decisions, but I think that's  
 13 clear.

14 Now, that improved over time, I think. So the good  
 15 news is I'd like to believe if this happened again  
 16 actually we now know the data that we need and are able  
 17 to get it, in terms of monitoring the progression of the  
 18 virus or what's happening in the economy or the testing,  
 19 all these things, including the NHS. You know, do  
 20 I think at this moment in time the data was perfect?  
 21 I doubt it was. I can't remember it precisely. I would  
 22 assume it will be much improved today compared to as it  
 23 was then, about our ability to know exactly what was  
 24 happening in various hospitals.

25 To your broader -- so I think -- or a general

58

1 assent by saying "I agree". There was obviously data  
 2 before you and your colleagues from the NHS sitreps,  
 3 which were daily, there was data in relation to the  
 4 number of beds, the number of ICU beds and so on. There  
 5 was data in relation to the infection fatality rates,  
 6 the hospitalisation rate and so on. The broad position  
 7 was plain as a pikestaff: you knew what the position was  
 8 in the NHS and you knew what the position was in terms  
 9 of hospitalisation and fatality rates.

10 My question to you is: are you surprised at the  
 11 relative absence of debate in those final ultimate  
 12 decision-making meetings as to what really would happen  
 13 to the NHS if you decided not to impose a mandatory  
 14 stay-at-home order?

15 **A.** I mean, I -- you know, as I remember it -- I think,  
 16 actually, you have to remember there were all these  
 17 scenes -- what people talked about a lot was Lombardy.  
 18 Right? I think people could -- it was in Italy, that  
 19 region of Italy, there were these scenes at the hospital  
 20 being overwhelmed, and I think that was very much in  
 21 people's consciousness at the time, was the scenes from  
 22 Lombardy, what happened in Lombardy, and needing to  
 23 avoid that happening in the UK. So I think that was the  
 24 kind of emotional backdrop to these conversations.

25 And you're absolutely right, of course the NHS

60

1 presented all the data on ICU and all that, and it was  
 2 based on the combination of the scientific modelling of  
 3 what was going to happen to hospital admissions and the  
 4 NHS saying: well, obviously if you have admissions up  
 5 here and capacity down here that's a pretty poor outcome  
 6 for everybody. I don't remember the degree of scrutiny  
 7 over those assumptions, of saying, "No", or, "You guys  
 8 are just being very conservative, clearly you can treat  
 9 five times as many people as you think". I don't  
 10 remember those precise conversations. They may well  
 11 have happened.

12 I wouldn't have any particular ability to challenge  
 13 them, I don't think. You know, if the medic of -- the  
 14 Chief Medical Officer and the head of the NHS are  
 15 telling you, "This is the amount of staff we've got,  
 16 this is how many are going to be off sick themselves,  
 17 this is the maximum number of people or the ratio we can  
 18 have of ICU nurses to a bed, even if we flex it", it's  
 19 probably hard for me to say, "Well, you're wrong".  
 20 Right? I mean, I could probably say "Well, they've done  
 21 this over here" or "done this over there", but, again,  
 22 this is not my lane, so to speak. But ...

23 **Q.** This was, of course, one of the most momentous decisions  
 24 in the history of this nation. A great deal of water  
 25 has passed under the bridge, the decision taken at that

61

1 first lockdown decision.

2 You referred earlier to the debate about  
 3 herd immunity and also the advice that the government  
 4 received to the effect that implementation of the  
 5 measures, plural, should not be undertaken too early.

6 A great deal of evidence has been received about the  
 7 nature of the debate about herd immunity, the danger of  
 8 suppression, which might lead to an uncoiled spring, and  
 9 the issue of the timing of measures which then led into  
 10 the wider debate about behavioural fatigue. You'll  
 11 recall all these debates.

12 What should the Inquiry make of those debates? To  
 13 what extent did they occupy valuable time and bandwidth  
 14 in the weeks of 2 and 9 March? Do you recall there  
 15 being a great deal of time spent on debating these  
 16 somewhat conceptual issues?

17 **A.** You know, I don't precisely. I think I was probably  
 18 a receiver, as it were, of information on that topic.  
 19 The Department of Health were the ones who were the lead  
 20 department presenting the information.

21 The Delay, Contain strategy was one that, to the  
 22 best of my knowledge, had been signed off by our  
 23 scientific health advisers. That's what we were told,  
 24 I think, at Cabinet, so I had no reason to particularly  
 25 doubt it.

63

1 5 pm meeting --

2 **A.** When you say the 5 pm meeting, what date?

3 **Q.** Monday 23 March, the decision to impose a mandatory  
 4 stay-at-home order followed by the Prime Ministerial  
 5 announcement, and then the Cabinet meeting the following  
 6 day. It all revolved around that decision. My  
 7 suggestion to you is that debate just didn't take place  
 8 or, if it did, it didn't take place to the degree to  
 9 which it should?

10 **A.** You know I can't remember precisely recall that  
 11 particular meeting but, as I said, the track record of  
 12 all those meetings, 16th, 18th, 19th -- or 20th and  
 13 23rd, was the government following the scientific advice  
 14 that was put in front of it about the right NPIs to  
 15 implement and at what time, based on -- based on  
 16 protecting the NHS, as you said.

17 **MR KEITH:** Thank you.

18 My Lady, is that a convenient moment?

19 **LADY HALLETT:** Certainly. We'll break til 12.05.

20 (11.51 am)

(A short break)

22 (12.05 pm)

23 **LADY HALLETT:** A slightly slower process because  
 24 identification has to be checked.

25 **MR KEITH:** Prime Minister, just some final questions on the  
 62

1 **Q.** Yes, that was a document that was published on 3 March.  
 2 It had its genesis in a commissioning email from the  
 3 Secretary of State on 10 February. I'm more concerned  
 4 with the weeks leading up to those --

5 **A.** You mean after --

6 **Q.** -- decision --

7 **A.** Yeah.

8 **Q.** -- the decision to implement the measures of the 12th,  
 9 16th and then 20 March.

10 **A.** I don't think the overall strategy changed. I think it  
 11 always was the strategy, which was to not completely  
 12 suppress the curve but to flatten the peak and push it  
 13 out. I do remember this concept -- you know, I don't  
 14 have any strong recollections, but I remember the Chief  
 15 Scientific Adviser talking about herd immunity in that  
 16 context. And I think the minutes of one of the meetings  
 17 in -- I think maybe it is on the 12th, to your point,  
 18 where I think the minutes say that he said a good  
 19 outcome being that by September 2020 herd immunity would  
 20 be reached. So that's in the --

21 **Q.** That's the reference to herd immunity. In fact I was --

22 **A.** That's in the minutes of that meeting --

23 **Q.** It is.

24 **A.** -- attributed to him. But I think it was just to get  
 25 the point across that the aim and the goal could not be

64



1 and should not be to completely suppress the virus, it  
 2 was about changing the shape of the curve. And all  
 3 these interventions I saw as -- viz our previous  
 4 conversation at the end of the last session, were about  
 5 doing that so that the NHS was not overwhelmed.  
 6 **Q.** There were a number of SAGE meetings and COBR meetings  
 7 where the issue of "Don't go too early" --  
 8 **A.** Yes.  
 9 **Q.** -- "timing is vital", dominated the debate --  
 10 **A.** Yes.  
 11 **Q.** -- at least the debate about whether or not measures  
 12 should be implemented.  
 13 You were, of course, present at the COBRs. To what  
 14 extent do you assess that, had the government not  
 15 received advice, "Don't go too early, there is a limit  
 16 to which the population will be able to countenance and  
 17 to deal with such measures", to what extent did that  
 18 debate slow down the ultimate decision-making?  
 19 **A.** My strong recollection from this period is that the  
 20 government acted, I think, almost immediately on the  
 21 recommendations from SAGE.  
 22 **Q.** Well, SAGE didn't, with respect, make specific  
 23 suggestions, it could only recommend that more stringent  
 24 interventions would be applied, and then they would  
 25 produce papers showing what the consequences would be of

65

1 approach over that weekend.  
 2 **A.** I think the 16th is the meeting I remember, which is  
 3 where -- and I think the Imperial modelling had come out  
 4 at around the same time. SAGE themselves said at that  
 5 moment in time, and it's recorded in the minutes, that  
 6 their view had changed just in the past few days.  
 7 So, look --  
 8 **Q.** That's what you recall?  
 9 **A.** Yes. You know, in those mid-teens days something  
 10 changed. I do remember it was the Imperial modelling  
 11 that had come out at around the same time, which no  
 12 doubt was a factor but again you'd have to ask them.  
 13 And then on the 16th that's when they said, "We need to  
 14 do these things sooner than we thought, do them now".  
 15 And I think the Prime Minister announced them that day.  
 16 **Q.** He did. There was a suite of measures on the 16th, and  
 17 then of course decision taken on the 18th to close  
 18 schools, and then on the 20th you'll recall vividly --  
 19 **A.** Yes.  
 20 **Q.** -- the decision that non-essential retail and so on  
 21 should shut. But the fact that you, as Chancellor,  
 22 recall the debate about the warning, and I don't mean  
 23 that in any pejorative sense, the debate about the  
 24 potential impact of going too early rather suggests that  
 25 it was an important issue and that it would be prone, it

67

1 any particular intervention.  
 2 **A.** But they also advised on timing.  
 3 **Q.** They did --  
 4 **A.** And so -- both on substance and timing. So I think on  
 5 9 March, from memory, I have to check, was the meeting  
 6 where they said, "Look, here are three things that we  
 7 think you're going to need to do, but we don't think you  
 8 need to implement even the first one until later in the  
 9 month, and here are three things that you definitely  
 10 don't need to think about now, including banning mass  
 11 events or closing schools". So that was a meeting  
 12 I remember vividly.  
 13 Now, that was on the 9th, I think --  
 14 **Q.** That was the week of 9 March, yes.  
 15 **A.** Then what happened -- on what -- then they came back  
 16 with timing advice, which on the 12th was more specific,  
 17 and the timing advice on the 12th said you don't need to  
 18 implement the first of these until, I think, the 20th,  
 19 and the other two later. Then that all changed on the  
 20 16th.  
 21 **Q.** Well, there was a 13th SAGE where they said don't allow  
 22 a concern about the timing of implementation to delay  
 23 anything you might wish to do. So there was a change on  
 24 the 13th in terms of material from SAGE and the evidence  
 25 is quite clearly that there were dramatic changes in the

66

1 would be likely to have had an impact on the  
 2 decision-making process?  
 3 **A.** I think we were following the advice from the  
 4 scientists, so --  
 5 **Q.** All right.  
 6 **A.** I do agree that we were influenced and informed by what  
 7 they were telling the government to do and when to do  
 8 it, and they definitely early on, as you've mentioned,  
 9 they talked a lot about timing and not going "too  
 10 early", in their words, in the press conferences and  
 11 with us in meetings.  
 12 **Q.** On Thursday 19 March, WhatsApps between Mr Cummings and  
 13 Mr Cain show that there was an emergency or at least  
 14 a debate that had to take place in front of the  
 15 Prime Minister concerning the fear that the bond market  
 16 or I suppose. the gilts market, as we would call it,  
 17 might collapse, or at least a concern as to the extent  
 18 to which the government might be able to fund itself.  
 19 Just so that we can get the chronological picture  
 20 correct, did you go and debate or speak to the  
 21 Prime Minister that Thursday in relation to your  
 22 concerns about funding because there had been, or as  
 23 there was shortly to be, a placing of debt in the  
 24 marketplace that failed? So there was --  
 25 **A.** Yeah.

68

1 **Q.** -- a real problem on that Thursday.  
 2 **A.** Yes. Now, I don't recall the precise timing and the  
 3 date when I was speaking to the Prime Minister on these  
 4 issues, but you'll have a record of it, but the key  
 5 moments were I received advice on the 19th --  
 6 **Q.** Thursday?  
 7 **A.** Yes. Which -- and the reason for that was the day  
 8 before there was a very significant move in gilt rates.  
 9 So the cost of our borrowing, to put it in ordinary  
 10 language. And there had been a move across most  
 11 developed markets, bond markets, but the move in the UK  
 12 was outsize relative to our peers, and that was  
 13 obviously concerning. So that was global investment  
 14 community starting to take a different view on the  
 15 UK Government's ability to borrow or the price that we  
 16 should pay for that. And the cost of our borrowing at  
 17 that point had tripled in a matter of probably about  
 18 a week.  
 19 **Q.** So it was a very major problem --  
 20 **A.** So that was -- and there are some other things that are  
 21 technical, but led the Treasury and the advice I was  
 22 getting to tell me that there was -- the gilt markets  
 23 were showing some signs of impaired functioning. So  
 24 that was all -- that was what was happening on the 18th  
 25 and the 19th.

69

1 and we couldn't raise the money we needed. That is  
 2 an extremely serious and rare event, and it happened  
 3 once before in the financial crisis, and it  
 4 unsurprisingly caused enormous anxiety inside the  
 5 Treasury and with me, because it was a very worrying  
 6 development.  
 7 Subsequent to that, the government had to enter  
 8 into, I think what you were referring to, Mr Keith,  
 9 which was something called the Ways and Means facility,  
 10 which again, in ordinary parlance, is an overdraft  
 11 facility at the Bank of England. It's the government  
 12 saying: we're not sure if we're going to be able to  
 13 borrow the money that we need and fund ourselves so we  
 14 will open up essentially an overdraft at the Bank of  
 15 England, and if need be they will just fund us.  
 16 Which is, again, almost unprecedented, it happened  
 17 once before in the crisis, and it is a strong evidence  
 18 of the extreme stress that we were under from  
 19 a financing perspective.  
 20 Sorry to explain, but I think it's important for  
 21 understanding the context that I was operating in and  
 22 that's what I would have, over the course of those few  
 23 days, no doubt have explained to the Prime Minister.  
 24 **Q.** And what did you understand to have been the impact of  
 25 you telling the Prime Minister about your concerns? So

71

1 **Q.** Indeed.  
 2 **A.** And then something else happened on the 21st.  
 3 **Q.** I don't want to go into the detail of it, would you just  
 4 confirm that, of course, the government put arrangements  
 5 into place to ensure additional liquidity. In the event  
 6 they weren't used, but the government was on top of the  
 7 problem. And you raised this problem with the  
 8 Prime Minister on the Thursday --  
 9 **A.** Yeah.  
 10 **Q.** -- in the context of the decision-making which was then  
 11 going on as to whether or not London should be locked  
 12 down first, and you were concerned in any final decision  
 13 the Prime Minister understood that the bond market, the  
 14 gilt market, was a consideration; is that a fair --  
 15 **A.** Yes. So I think it's worth, if you don't mind, me just  
 16 spending a minute on it, because I do think it's  
 17 important for the context of the time, because it was  
 18 incredibly worrying to me as Chancellor.  
 19 What happened on the 21st is that we had a failed  
 20 gilt auction. So what does that --  
 21 **Q.** Is this the BMO operation?  
 22 **A.** Yes. What that means is the government, in order to  
 23 fund itself and pay for all the things that we need,  
 24 borrows in the markets, and on that day, when we tried  
 25 to borrow from people, the auction didn't go as planned

70

1 in the context of the debate which was running on, of  
 2 course, during those days as to the extent to which  
 3 further measures would need to be imposed and, of  
 4 course, ultimately whether there should be a lockdown  
 5 decision, what impact did your concerns about the gilt  
 6 or the bond market and the government's ability to fund  
 7 itself have on that decision-making process?  
 8 And I ask, and so that you are clear, there is some  
 9 suggestion that there was on that Thursday mooted the  
 10 possibility of locking down London in advance of the  
 11 rest of the country. We want to know to what extent  
 12 that decision was influenced by the concerns about  
 13 government borrowing.  
 14 **A.** Probably a question for the previous Prime Minister,  
 15 really, because he would have been hearing lots of  
 16 different things from lots of different --  
 17 **Q.** But you must have expressed a view on it to the Prime  
 18 Minister when you spoke to him on the Thursday?  
 19 **A.** I don't recall other than explaining to him the stress  
 20 that we were under, and it was a relevant consideration  
 21 for him. That's why he had an impossible job, in many  
 22 ways, to balance all these very difficult things.  
 23 But with regard to London specifically, I recollect  
 24 that meeting and I recollect that the priority  
 25 intervention that had been recommended, suggested by

72

1 SAGE, was to close schools. And we did that. The  
2 Prime Minister announced that I think on the same day as  
3 the meeting, on the 18th, not just in London but  
4 nationally.

5 **Q.** Yes.

6 **A.** So in terms of the substantive, "Here are the set of  
7 options for London", the one in the papers that would,  
8 it says, would be most effective was closing schools,  
9 that was announced the same day by the Prime Minister,  
10 acted on.

11 **Q.** What debate did you have with the Prime Minister about  
12 whether or not locking London was an advisable step to  
13 take in light of your concerns about the gilt market?

14 **A.** I don't recall a specific meeting or conversation about  
15 those two things. I think more generally, as I've said,  
16 my job was to provide him with best economic evidence,  
17 advice, analysis, and it was a relevant consideration  
18 for him that there was this situation in the gilt  
19 markets. It was right that he was aware of that.

20 And of course, with regard to London, we took the  
21 advice of SAGE and closed schools not just in London but  
22 across the entire country on the same day that that  
23 advice came to the committee.

24 **Q.** Yes. The decision was then announced on the 18th to  
25 take effect from the 20th?

73

1 grappling with today. Economic scarring is the  
2 long-term impact on the economy from things that happen  
3 in the short term.

4 Again, I won't go over it in great detail but  
5 I think, you know, it's clear that, as a result of what  
6 was happening that over -- you know, the economy was  
7 being impacted, jobs would be impacted, which is crucial  
8 for people's livelihoods, businesses would be impaired.  
9 And because of the borrowing that was necessary, that  
10 would have an impact on future tax levels.

11 In summary -- those are high level, I'm happy to  
12 elaborate if you need, but they're covered my witness  
13 statement.

14 **LADY HALLETT:** Mr Sunak, just to reassure you and others,  
15 I don't just take into account your oral evidence but  
16 I do, before reaching any conclusions, take into account  
17 everything you've said in writing. So don't worry, it  
18 will all be considered.

19 **MR KEITH:** And to be plain, I've asked you because it's  
20 important that the public understand that you have  
21 attempted to set out in your witness statement some of  
22 the overarching consequences of the major first lockdown  
23 decision --

24 **A.** If I might, Mr Keith, people can see it, I think it's  
25 important -- and this is always tricky in public policy,

75

1 **A.** On the 20th, that's correct.

2 **Q.** In your statement, so that we can understand, and it's  
3 a matter of obviously huge public interest, we can  
4 understand the nature of the impact of the lockdown  
5 decision, have you set out -- and we'll have your  
6 statement at page 53, at paragraphs 182 to 187 -- the  
7 scale of the economic and social impact of the pandemic  
8 restrictions?

9 Mr Sunak, I'm going to respectfully ask you to try  
10 to keep your answers as concise as you can. Perhaps you  
11 might just agree with the following proposition: do you  
12 set out in those paragraphs the damage that was done in  
13 terms of the impact on GDP, the damage on the economy,  
14 the government's borrowing, the costs of course, the  
15 fiscal impact, and the scarring, that is to say the  
16 long-term damage that was done to the economy through  
17 alterations in labour supply and the like?

18 So you've attempted to set out in very broad terms  
19 what the lockdown decision did?

20 **A.** Yes, and my witness statement contains a summary of the  
21 various economic impacts, as you highlighted. Biggest  
22 fall in GDP was predicted, in hundreds of years,  
23 borrowing reaching World War II levels. The impact that  
24 that would have obviously on the labour market,  
25 unemployment and tax levels, which obviously we're

74

1 is many of these impacts are not felt immediately,  
2 they're felt over time. And that is always a tough  
3 thing to deal with when you're communicating. But, you  
4 know, as it turned out, we were able to borrow what we  
5 needed to fund the pandemic response. The impact of  
6 having to pay it back only comes well after the fact  
7 when everyone can -- you know, everyone forgets why it  
8 was necessary and now everyone is grappling with the  
9 consequences -- I am grappling with the consequences of  
10 that as we have a historically high -- you know, a tax  
11 burden that is higher than I would like. That is  
12 a direct consequence of the support that was provided  
13 during the pandemic and then later on.

14 But, as I said, those things were often hard to get  
15 across, but they're all contained in the statement.

16 **Q.** Let's please not go on to the issue of tax burdens.

17 There are two issues to which you pay particular  
18 attention in your statement following the lockdown in  
19 March and April 2020, Mr Sunak. The first is that HMT  
20 expressed concern that there had been overcompliance  
21 with the government's stay-at-home messaging during the  
22 first lockdown. Essentially you were concerned and your  
23 department was concerned that the public hadn't  
24 understood sufficiently clearly from the government's  
25 communications that they should go to work only if they

76

1 could not work from home, and that the messaging perhaps  
 2 had -- the nuance of that position had been lost in the  
 3 overall messaging "Stay at home to help us save lives".  
 4 What did the Exchequer do about that? Was there any  
 5 means open to you to try to change the messaging or to  
 6 try to ensure that people did go to work where they  
 7 permissibly and legally could do so?  
 8 **A.** You're right in summarising the situation. Perhaps the  
 9 best example of it is in the construction industry,  
 10 which, because it was by its nature outdoors, and we'd  
 11 seen what had happened in other European countries, more  
 12 activity was able to be continued in Europe than was the  
 13 case in the UK. I would say that was a good example of  
 14 the messaging being slightly lost.  
 15 I don't think there was anything that we could do  
 16 about it particularly. It was a relevant point when we  
 17 came to the exit roadmap in the May plan and trying to  
 18 get that messaging right. And it -- because the  
 19 scientific advice and the modelling was predicated on  
 20 a -- you know, an amount of people who were working from  
 21 home and an amount of people who were at work, and what  
 22 ended up happening is those assumptions were essentially  
 23 undershot and fewer people were out at work than had  
 24 been anticipated.  
 25 **Q.** Indeed.

77

1 modelling has been given, and then a reference to the  
 2 timing of any decision.  
 3 If you could go forward, please, to page 4, we will  
 4 see this specifically following up on NPI commission,  
 5 non-pharmaceutical intervention commission:  
 6 "I know you are already working on a paper updating  
 7 [the Chancellor] on the economic impact of NPIs ..."  
 8 There is going to be a wider Cabinet discussion.  
 9 And then this at 3b, Prime Minister:  
 10 "... I propose the following as a ... next step:  
 11 "... [a] Paper that we can share with the [Prime  
 12 Minister] ahead of [the bilateral] (opportunity for [the  
 13 Chancellor] to set out his views and the economic  
 14 analysis to the PM, without it being watered down by the  
 15 [Cabinet Office] process)."  
 16 Do you know what that is a reference to, the  
 17 "watered down by the [Cabinet Office] process"? Because  
 18 plainly you, as the Chancellor, are absolutely entitled,  
 19 you suggested it yourself, perhaps constitutionally  
 20 obligated, to bring the economic angle to bear in front  
 21 of the Prime Minister, without it being "watered down"  
 22 by any other part of government. So what is that  
 23 a reference to, do you think?  
 24 **A.** Obviously I didn't write the email so it's hard for me  
 25 to comment. And if you flick back to the earlier bit of

79

1 Could I ask you, please, also just to slow down  
 2 a little bit, when you give your answers,  
 3 Prime Minister. There is a record, of course, being  
 4 kept by our stenographer.  
 5 If we could just look at INQ000236583.  
 6 It's an email, again, from your principal private  
 7 secretary in the Treasury to various recipients, and as  
 8 you rightly say -- this is in fact dated April, but it's  
 9 on the cusp of the debate about the recovery plan, so,  
 10 as you say, the debate about coming out of the lockdown.  
 11 The email says:  
 12 "... [the Chancellor] is considering the paper for  
 13 the Cabinet Office process ...  
 14 "Quick readout of the discussion in the meeting this  
 15 afternoon ..."  
 16 Then obviously references to your position in  
 17 relation to the various issues which are being debated  
 18 within the Treasury: how difficult it is to argue that  
 19 the NPIs should be lifted while the number of cases and  
 20 deaths are still rising, but that you were broadly  
 21 supportive of the strategy that encourages return  
 22 behaviour back to the economy.  
 23 Then there is a reference to economic groups  
 24 starting to model, and your wish that you have very  
 25 clearly in mind the exact timetable of what advice on

78

1 the email, I think -- actually, as you can see from  
 2 that, it clearly mentions a Cabinet Office process --  
 3 **Q.** Yes.  
 4 **A.** -- which is right and appropriate, but also, even when  
 5 it talks about modelling on sectors, to bring that  
 6 together with the CMO thinking on the health impacts.  
 7 I think even in that email you can see -- as I said,  
 8 I didn't write it, so I'm not sure entirely what it's  
 9 referring to, but it's clear that there is  
 10 a Cabinet Office process that we are feeding into, the  
 11 CMO is feeding in, and that's the right way for the  
 12 Prime Minister to receive.  
 13 **Q.** There's no suggestion that there shouldn't be a process,  
 14 there has to be a process, the Cabinet Office will  
 15 synthesise to some extent what is contributed by other  
 16 government departments, but these are the most senior  
 17 officials in your department talking about your position  
 18 and your thoughts and what should be done in advance of  
 19 a bilateral, and it refers to a concern that your voice  
 20 might be watered down by the Cabinet Office, and  
 21 therefore that must have been something of which you  
 22 were aware, if only in the most general terms?  
 23 **A.** I think as I've said previously, I never felt that  
 24 I didn't have an opportunity to feed in what I wanted to  
 25 the Prime Minister. And again, I didn't write the

80

1 email. I'm not sure how officials may have felt in  
2 their conversations with other departments or the  
3 Cabinet Office. I generally thought we had good  
4 constructive relations and, for my part, I felt I always  
5 had the opportunity to feed into the Prime Minister's  
6 thinking.

7 **Q.** All right.

8 A second noteworthy debate was taking place, before  
9 we look at the detail of the roadmap, you expressed  
10 concern in May, in fact at a 9.15 meeting on 14 May,  
11 that international polling had suggested that the  
12 British people were more fearful of the virus than other  
13 countries, and in the Spectator article to which I've  
14 already referred you, you state that -- well, you say  
15 this, it's quoted:

16 "In every brief, we tried to say: let's stop the  
17 "fear" narrative. It was always wrong from the  
18 beginning. I constantly said it was wrong."

19 What was that about? What was your concern about  
20 the general response of the British people?

21 **A.** Again, from an economic perspective, we are  
22 a consumption-driven economy, and therefore people's  
23 jobs and livelihoods and our ability to pay for public  
24 service is a function of consumption being strong, and  
25 if you have a situation like this where we've actively

81

1 a country.

2 **Q.** All right.

3 **A.** So that was their concern.

4 **Q.** The clock is ticking, I'm going to ask you to try to  
5 just be a little more concise, if you wouldn't mind,  
6 Prime Minister.

7 On the subject of the obvious understanding of the  
8 needs of those in part-time work, the vulnerable, the  
9 young, female employees, members of the black and  
10 minority ethnic sector, your statement makes it plain  
11 that if not at the forefront certainly a major part of  
12 the Exchequer's thinking throughout the pandemic was the  
13 need to ensure that their interests were not forgotten  
14 and that as much should be done as possible, and ought  
15 to be done as possible, in terms of trying to get the  
16 consumer sector back to life, to safeguard their  
17 position.

18 And we'll just have a quick look where you've  
19 summarised the position. It's your statement,  
20 INQ000232069, and the interventions are at page 26.

21 Sorry, it's not 232069, it's your witness statement,  
22 page 26:

23 "In ... briefings and papers that were circulated  
24 before meetings, there was often reference to and  
25 consideration of [the] equalities impact ..."

83

1 discouraged or shut down consumption sectors from  
2 operating, once they re-open it was a point of concern  
3 for me and for anyone thinking about the economy, and  
4 those jobs, as to the pace of return, of people  
5 returning to normal activity over time. Because if they  
6 didn't, then that would have significant implications  
7 for many people's jobs.

8 And those sectors of the economy, and this is  
9 a really important point, that were most impacted by  
10 lockdown, these consumption sectors, hospitality,  
11 leisure, tourism, retail, disproportionately employed  
12 people who were the most vulnerable in society, those on  
13 the lowest incomes, people coming off welfare, women,  
14 ethnic minorities, those working part-time. So those  
15 jobs, I think as a matter of social justice, were  
16 particularly important to try to safeguard, and polling  
17 was clear -- I can't remember the exact polling firm,  
18 but there was international polling --

19 **Q.** Ipsos.

20 **A.** Ipsos -- that demonstrated there seemed to be, or there  
21 was a much greater reticence for people in the UK to  
22 want to return back to all those activities, even once  
23 things had been re-opened, and that was -- that would  
24 have genuine impacts on people's lives and their jobs,  
25 and our -- and everything else that we'd want to do as

82

1 You received equality impact assessments in relation  
2 to HMT policies.

3 Then if we scroll back out, paragraph 82, you were  
4 obviously aware:

5 "... from an early stage that less well-off  
6 households were 'particularly vulnerable to the economic  
7 shock' ..."

8 How could you not, of course, be aware?

9 And consideration was therefore purposefully given  
10 to at-risk and other vulnerable groups in your economic  
11 decision-making.

12 So that's clear. I think at paragraph 83 you also  
13 refer to Long Covid. Do you recall at what time  
14 Long Covid presented itself on the Exchequer's horizon?

15 **A.** I don't specifically. I recall in the May plan having  
16 a conversation with the CMO about including in that  
17 document consideration of other health impacts, beyond  
18 the immediate Covid impacts, and I think there's some  
19 language in the May plan that talks about the various  
20 other health impacts at that point, as something I was  
21 keen to stress that was a consequence of all of this  
22 that we should understand. I don't remember  
23 specifically.

24 **Q.** All right.

25 On account of, as you rightly say, the need to

84

1 ensure that the retail and hospitality sectors could be  
 2 brought back to life as soon as reasonably possible, the  
 3 Treasury pushed, indeed, for the sector to be opened  
 4 ahead of schools. That was the original position of  
 5 HMT, was it not?  
 6 **A.** I think, if I recall --  
 7 **Q.** It was ultimately what happened, but I think that was  
 8 the Exchequer's position?  
 9 **A.** If I recall it correctly when I was having these  
 10 deliberations or participating in them in May, there's  
 11 a letter I sent to the Prime Minister that contains it,  
 12 non-essential retail -- I think you'll have the  
 13 exhibit --  
 14 **Q.** Yes.  
 15 **A.** -- which may be helpful. I talk about non-essential  
 16 retail because of the economic -- the jobs, you know,  
 17 there are millions of jobs and particularly the type of  
 18 people in those jobs. But also, as we later discovered  
 19 and was my sense during, SAGE themselves later said that  
 20 non-essential retail had a very minimal impact on R.  
 21 That was what all the evidence concluded, that it was  
 22 very minimal impact on R.  
 23 And now, with regard to schools, I said in that May  
 24 thing they should be opened, particularly the early  
 25 years, alongside or immediately after non-essential  
 85

1 our roadmap", dated May, paragraph 17:  
 2 "We must then continue with our plan to return early  
 3 years, reception and years 1 and 6 to school."  
 4 That is, continuing after the opening of  
 5 non-essential retail.  
 6 Can you recall why or how the final position was  
 7 reached, the order of play in which schools and  
 8 non-essential retail opened? Do you recall how that  
 9 debate was resolved?  
 10 **A.** No, not particularly. I think you said previously,  
 11 Mr Keith, that hospitality was before schools, which  
 12 is -- as you said there, it's not, it was retail and  
 13 education pretty much together, one after another, and  
 14 hospitality later.  
 15 **Q.** That was the position that was reached, yes.  
 16 **A.** But that was also what I -- that email said.  
 17 **Q.** Right, non-essential --  
 18 **A.** The one that you had previously popped up also had  
 19 hospitality in July, and schools and retail before then.  
 20 **Q.** You called in the -- well, according to the email from  
 21 your principal private secretary dated 4 May, she says:  
 22 "... open sectors now ..."  
 23 Then:  
 24 "... schools early June, and non-essential between  
 25 the two ..."  
 87

1 retail, and before hospitality, because I cared very  
 2 much on the impact on children and their educational  
 3 attainment and development, and that letter talks about  
 4 those things.  
 5 So retail because of the jobs and because it had  
 6 minimal impact. Immediately alongside that,  
 7 particularly the early years, education, of schools and  
 8 nurseries. And it was only after that, hospitality. So  
 9 that was the sequencing in the letter I wrote in May.  
 10 **Q.** Indeed.  
 11 If we have INQ000236585, it's an email from your  
 12 principal private secretary to various recipients, and  
 13 on the first page there is a reference to the Chancellor  
 14 focusing in -- perhaps it's on page 2, yes, the second  
 15 bullet point:  
 16 "Therefore need hospitality open in the Summer  
 17 (July), and to his this and to stage things...this  
 18 means open sectors now, schools early June, and  
 19 non-essential between the two (mid may)."  
 20 So certainly at the beginning of May, and this is  
 21 dated I think 4 May, the proposal from the Treasury  
 22 is: we've got to get hospitality and particularly  
 23 non-essential open, and then schools will follow.  
 24 And there's another letter, an email, INQ000232085,  
 25 paragraph 17 on page 2, this is your letter "Delivering  
 86

1 So open sectors now, then non-essential, then  
 2 schools. But --  
 3 **A.** It says hospitality thereafter. It says hospitality --  
 4 yeah, I don't have it in front of me, but it had  
 5 hospitality in July --  
 6 **Q.** Let's have a look, INQ000236585.  
 7 **LADY HALLETT:** On my reading of it, if you look at the  
 8 months, I don't think the "between the two" makes sense.  
 9 **A.** I mean, I think if -- I mean, as you -- if you have the  
 10 second page up --  
 11 **MR KEITH:** Yes, it's the second page --  
 12 **A.** -- I think it said "need hospitality open in Summer  
 13 (July)".  
 14 **Q.** "... this means open sectors now, schools early June,  
 15 and non-essential between the two (mid may)."  
 16 So non-essential is coming in before schools, that's  
 17 the --  
 18 **A.** Yes, just a couple of weeks, but what you'd said, that  
 19 hospitality was also coming in, I just want to reiterate  
 20 that was never the case.  
 21 **LADY HALLETT:** "Between the two" doesn't make sense, it's  
 22 first.  
 23 **A.** It was retail --  
 24 **MR KEITH:** This was your policy, Prime Minister.  
 25 **A.** Well, I would say -- well, all I'm saying is the point  
 88

1 was to do retail and schools a couple of weeks apart, in  
2 May/June. Hospitality was always summer because it was  
3 the last thing. Retail because, as you see from the  
4 letter that you had up in May, the jobs and people  
5 particularly employed in those jobs, again people who  
6 were more vulnerable work in retail, on lower incomes,  
7 and actually those jobs therefore have, I think,  
8 a broader social purpose or benefit as well as the job  
9 itself.

10 And in schools, as far as I remember it, again not  
11 my -- obviously my particular responsibility, there was  
12 actually a real concern that it would be very difficult  
13 to get schools to come back, and I would imagine you've  
14 taken evidence on that point. But my recollection was  
15 that there was quite a lot of resistance from the sector  
16 about schools coming back. I think there was -- parents  
17 were also concerned, and there was an issue that many  
18 schoolteachers were themselves either isolating or  
19 impacted and actually it would be very difficult to have  
20 schools open in full --

21 **Q.** All right, so all that was part of the mix --

22 **A.** That was part of the mix --

23 **Q.** I'd suggest that this wasn't exactly how it panned out,  
24 but it was quite clear that consideration was given to  
25 these various competing factors and reasons why schools

89

1 referred to international comparative data, in essence  
2 how other European countries were showing, you said, how  
3 re-opening the economy can be done.

4 Can we just look very briefly at the issue of  
5 comparative data.

6 Did the Treasury, throughout the whole crisis, refer  
7 repeatedly, of course, to what other countries were  
8 doing, what their data was demonstrating, what ultimate  
9 decisions they were taking in light of their own  
10 particular positions, and was that something that was at  
11 the forefront of the debate when these arguments came to  
12 be ventilated in front of the Prime Minister?

13 **A.** I think it's probably too much to say it was at the  
14 forefront but certainly right to say it was another  
15 piece of information which was helpful and useful to  
16 take into account, yes.

17 **Q.** All right.

18 On 28 April, so again around this time, you had  
19 a bilateral with the Prime Minister.

20 INQ000236584.

21 Again, this is a note from your principal private  
22 secretary referring to a bilateral on Tuesday, the  
23 subject matter is "PM [Bilateral] on Tuesday".

24 On the first page, there is a reference to the  
25 Prime Minister's instinct -- we can see there in the

91

1 could only be opened when they were?

2 **A.** Again, that -- a question probably for the  
3 Education Secretary and the Prime Minister. I would say  
4 from an economic perspective -- or the only input the  
5 Treasury would have into that deliberation or the  
6 Cabinet Office would be the labour market impact. And  
7 that's why, from a purely economic perspective, again it  
8 would be Education Secretary who would talk about  
9 children's attainment. Although I cared very much about  
10 that, as you can see from the letter I sent, and it's  
11 there, because I've long-stand had concerns about that.

12 But from an analytical perspective what, the  
13 Treasury could do is explain -- I mean,  
14 unsurprisingly -- if you open early years and children  
15 and -- primary school children, that has  
16 a disproportionate benefit on the labour market because  
17 it means their parents can return to work in a way that  
18 that doesn't -- you don't necessarily get that benefit  
19 from older students. But --

20 **Q.** All right. Around the same time, in fact on 7 May, you  
21 expressed to a Covid-S, Mr Sunak, your concern that  
22 unless the economy was re-opened at perhaps a somewhat  
23 faster speed than some other Cabinet ministers were  
24 advising, we would be at risk of placing the  
25 United Kingdom at a competitive disadvantage, and you

90

1 first bullet point -- being that:

2 "... we might have overdone lockdown; telling that  
3 no other countries closed construction (turned to our  
4 [international] slide) but said interesting that there  
5 are new opportunities coming out of this and online is  
6 growing."

7 And he also says -- a little further down the  
8 page -- that the "sooner get this open the better", but  
9 then refers to the risk of another exponential increase.  
10 And I think he says overall he's agitated that he didn't  
11 have a plan.

12 Yes. To what extent in these early days of the  
13 roadmap, Mr Sunak, was the Prime Minister concerned  
14 that -- concerned as to how he would equate the  
15 imperative of making sure that there be no unnecessary  
16 risk -- growth in prevalence, and the need to get the  
17 economy back going? It must have been a source of  
18 perpetual anxiety and you had these debates with him as  
19 to how he should resolve them.

20 **A.** Again, probably better addressed to him, but we recapped  
21 previously the economic impacts. By this point we had  
22 a much greater sense of what they were because we  
23 were -- I don't see the date of this email but I think  
24 it -- was it -- did you say May or end of April?

25 **Q.** Yes, it's the end of April, 28 April.

92

1 **A.** The government's independent forecaster, the OBR, had  
 2 published their reference scenario, I think perhaps  
 3 a week, ten days before this, so that would be in the  
 4 public domain. It was pretty stark. I won't recap it  
 5 all again but that was then all out there and we were  
 6 collecting real-time data on the number of people that  
 7 were furloughed, the businesses that were shut,  
 8 et cetera, et cetera, so it would be unsurprising if  
 9 that wasn't something that he was considering.

10 **Q.** There's an email from again the same Elizabeth Perelman  
 11 on 21 May.  
 12 INQ000232168.  
 13 This is an email which follows yet another meeting  
 14 with the Prime Minister in which she says, I think  
 15 probably on page 2:  
 16 "No one can say that HMT has not given gold standard  
 17 economic advice to the  
 18 [Prime Minister]/[Chancellor] ..."  
 19 Perhaps there might be an element of marking one's  
 20 own homework there. But:  
 21 "... the Chancellor has not eloquently and  
 22 authentically put these points across."  
 23 So there can be no question but that you've  
 24 eloquently and authentically put these points across.  
 25 "But once again he was a lone voice and it was  
 93

1 sectors of the economy that were open or closed, but in  
 2 hospitals or care homes, which requires a slightly  
 3 obviously different response. Those weren't well  
 4 understood issues earlier on but it was clear that they  
 5 were stating to become issues. So those were the types  
 6 of conversations that I was having at that moment in  
 7 time.

8 **Q.** All right.  
 9 Do you recall in June how an HMT official who  
 10 attended SAGE provided a read-out which referred to the  
 11 fact that the CMO, Professor Sir Chris Whitty, and the  
 12 Government's Chief Scientific Adviser, Professor Sir  
 13 Patrick Vallance, began to warn that the package of  
 14 measures for re-opening, in particular the beginning of  
 15 July, was at the riskier end of the spectrum and  
 16 therefore had the potential to increase R above 1? Do  
 17 you recall that warning being relayed to you or to the  
 18 Treasury at the end of June?

19 **A.** I don't. What I do recall, perhaps should have started  
 20 with this, is this May plan -- I'd say two things about  
 21 it. One is that it was conditional, so there were  
 22 various tests that were set out to unlock each stage,  
 23 and indeed it was delayed at one point, which shows,  
 24 I think, the flexibility of decision-making and  
 25 responsiveness to the health concerns. And --  
 95

1 a tricky meeting, where sense was they were trying to  
 2 appease him."  
 3 Do you recall what that is a reference to?

4 **A.** No.  
 5 **Q.** Was it, do you think, a reference to the fact that in  
 6 this particular meeting you had argued for an opening up  
 7 of the economy but the majority of the room had  
 8 expressed its combined view that the risk of opening up  
 9 too fast would have terrible consequences further down  
 10 the road? Was that not the debate that was going on at  
 11 the time?

12 **A.** I can't comment on the particular meeting because  
 13 I don't recall it. In general, I was making the points  
 14 at this time about the economic impact, what was  
 15 happening internationally, the fact that we were  
 16 investing in test and trace and the Joint Biosecurity  
 17 Centre as new institutions that would allow us to manage  
 18 an exit, and I was also concerned at this point in time  
 19 about the data that we were receiving on transmission  
 20 and admissions, and I think it was exactly around this  
 21 time that it was clear that we had probably been  
 22 overestimating R., that's something that SAGE themselves  
 23 acknowledged a bit later, and also the issue of  
 24 nosocomial transmission, where a large amount of the  
 25 transmission that was happening was happening not in  
 94

1 **Q.** Step 2 was delayed from 1 to 15 June?  
 2 **A.** Yes. But I think it demonstrates the process working  
 3 and the conditions working.  
 4 And the second, and perhaps most important thing to  
 5 say, is, you know, the May plan was developed with  
 6 scientific and epidemiological input, and it was  
 7 modelled at SAGE in early May. I remember the CMO --  
 8 and again this is recorded in the minutes of the Covid  
 9 strategy meeting at the time -- saying that this package  
 10 of measures should not push R above 1. I mean, that was  
 11 my strong --

12 **Q.** What strategy meeting was that?  
 13 **A.** That was in the Covid strategy meeting, I think, in --  
 14 I haven't got the exact date in front of me -- in May.  
 15 I'm happy to send it -- it's in my witness statement.

16 **Q.** By June, Mr Sunak, wasn't the scientific evidence, the  
 17 epidemiological evidence from SAGE and from the CMO and  
 18 the GCSA that the measures which had been agreed, first  
 19 proposed and then agreed, were at the riskier end of the  
 20 spectrum? And I'm specifically asking you about the  
 21 stage which had been reached by then, late June, which  
 22 was step 3. Were you not aware that the scientists were  
 23 beginning to question the speed at which the roadmap was  
 24 operating? Do you recall that being brought to your  
 25 attention?  
 96



1 **A.** No. I think they always thought that, from the  
 2 beginning. I think they thought it was consistent with  
 3 R not being above 1 that -- I think from the beginning  
 4 they thought it was -- you know, at that end of the  
 5 spectrum, it was closer to 1 than it was to 0.1, if  
 6 I can put it that way. But they were involved and  
 7 modelled the package of measures that were announced in  
 8 May. I think that's important.

9 **Q.** They didn't. They didn't model the package, Mr Sunak,  
 10 they gave advice through SAGE on what the consequences  
 11 would be of the package, and then it was for the  
 12 government, the Prime Minister in particular, to decide  
 13 what consequences would flow from whatever he decided.

14 **A.** That's -- again, I don't have a perfect recollection,  
 15 but I thought in the -- early in May, either on the 2nd  
 16 or 5th, around that time, that SAGE had modelled the  
 17 impact on R of the various measures under consideration,  
 18 and at the meeting I think on the 6th the CMO and CSA,  
 19 the minutes record, were broadly content.

20 **Q.** That was, I think, in relation to the broad roadmap,  
 21 which was itself dated 13 May, and step 1, which  
 22 of course was the first step. The second step, which  
 23 was 15 June, and the third step, of course, came later.

24 And by the end of June, 23 June, the CMO and the  
 25 GCSA were warning that the package of measures was at

97

1 developed and hadn't changed, and I strongly recall it  
 2 being modelled in terms of the impact on R and people  
 3 broadly being comfortable that it did just about keep  
 4 things at that level.

5 And I think the other thing, as I said, that was  
 6 a relevant consideration at this time was that in June,  
 7 probably actually three days before this email, the SAGE  
 8 minutes record that there had been errors that meant  
 9 that for some time they had been overestimating the rate  
 10 of transmission, making it look artificially high.

11 **Q.** Well, there was an issue about hospital data, was there  
 12 not?

13 **A.** Yeah, I mean, I think in the SAGE minutes from 20 June  
 14 it's very clear that SAGE -- because there were errors  
 15 in the data collection so it meant that all the numbers  
 16 we were working off were artificially high. There was  
 17 also a separate --

18 **Q.** You mean -- forgive me, just so that we don't lose track  
 19 of where we're going --

20 **A.** Yes, but I think it's a relevant consideration --

21 **Q.** No, no, if you just bear with me.

22 **A.** Of course.

23 **Q.** In the same email, in the middle of the page, there's  
 24 a bullet point which refers to that very issue:  
 25 "... NHS have looked in to the serious concerns

99

1 the riskier end of the spectrum, with the potential to  
 2 increase R above 1.

3 Shall we have a look at INQ000232181.

4 It's a read-out of SAGE from your principal private  
 5 secretary:

6 "Vallance noted the heavy trailing in the press of  
 7 the measures the govt has now announced it will relax;  
 8 said he and Whitty had made clear to the policy makers  
 9 that this package was at the riskier end of the spectrum  
 10 (with the potential to increase R above 1), and that  
 11 they needed to be prepared to re-impose measures if  
 12 necessary. Noted also that this package reduces the  
 13 space for doing other things, like bringing schools back  
 14 in September. If schools are to return, policymakers  
 15 may have to reimpose restrictions in other places like  
 16 retail."

17 The government had obviously made the various  
 18 decisions that it made in relation to the three steps  
 19 and the roadmap, but by the end of June the Treasury was  
 20 of course considering the voucher scheme that became Eat  
 21 Out to Help Out. Was that not something that was being  
 22 contemplated at the end of June, with a view to its  
 23 implementation in August?

24 **A.** Yes, I mean, I don't recall seeing that email, so that  
 25 didn't come to me. As I said, the exit plan was

98

1 raised by the modellers about the hospital admissions  
 2 data, and claim it is causing no more than a 5% error in  
 3 that data stream."

4 So there was a debate about the significance of the  
 5 error and what its impact was, but the NHS appeared to  
 6 say there was no more than a 5% error. But be that as  
 7 it may, whatever the position was on the data, the CMO  
 8 and the GCSA were raising a general alarm at the end of  
 9 June about the risk that the transmission prevalence  
 10 would go up and that the package which had already been  
 11 agreed was itself already at the riskier end of the  
 12 spectrum.

13 So the question for you is: to what extent did HMT  
 14 understand at the end of June that whatever it proposed  
 15 to do thereafter came with significant risk?

16 **A.** You know, I -- that's just not my recollection of it.  
 17 I mean, my recollection was that we went over a set of  
 18 things that could be done, it was conditional, it was  
 19 delayed at one stage on the advice from the scientists.  
 20 So I think that shows that the process was working.  
 21 I think there were genuine issues about the robustness  
 22 of the data, but also where the R was coming from,  
 23 because there was this issue about nosocomial  
 24 transmission that was definitely not properly understood  
 25 at the time, potentially accounting for up to a quarter

100

1 of the transmission, which obviously requires a very  
 2 different response. But also I think -- analysis has  
 3 been done subsequent to this that I wasn't aware of at  
 4 the time from professors of medicine and economics at  
 5 Imperial and Manchester that applied a QALY analysis to  
 6 the first lockdown and its duration. And their QALY  
 7 analysis, which you'll be familiar with, is a tool of  
 8 health, a public health analysis, suggested that the  
 9 lockdown in its severity and duration is likely to have  
 10 generated costs that are greater than the likely  
 11 benefit. So I think --

12 **Q.** I mean, so -- I'm so sorry, I don't want to get into  
 13 quality life assurance models.

14 Is it your position, as the Chancellor, that at the  
 15 end of June you were unaware that the government's chief  
 16 advisers, epidemiological, public health advisers, were  
 17 making clear that the existing package was already at  
 18 the riskier end of the spectrum, and therefore that,  
 19 going forward, real care would have to be taken to  
 20 ensure that that prevalence and the R rate going above 1  
 21 did not eventuate?

22 **A.** I was always clear that schools were something they  
 23 viewed as a big risk factor, which I think is alluded to  
 24 in that email.

25 **Q.** Did you know that the package in place was at the

101

1 consequences, otherwise she wouldn't have been writing  
 2 to you in this term?

3 **A.** I just -- I didn't write this email --

4 **Q.** And you didn't see it, you think?

5 **A.** I rarely, if ever, saw these emails. That's just not  
 6 something I would have done. Right? I would have been  
 7 briefed here and there on things that I needed to know,  
 8 but I definitely didn't see these emails on a regular  
 9 basis, that's --

10 **Q.** Questions like risk and whether or not Treasury plans  
 11 would have an impact upon prevalence and an increase in  
 12 transmission and ultimately hospitalisation and death  
 13 were obviously issues which were brought to your  
 14 attention?

15 **A.** Yes, and my strong recollection is that the set of  
 16 measures that were announced in the May plan was one  
 17 which the scientists had fed in on, had modelled and was  
 18 consistent with R being at or below 1, and on their  
 19 advice one step of that plan was delayed for, I think,  
 20 a fortnight in June, and there were measures that were  
 21 continued with after this email, which rather suggests  
 22 that there wasn't a significant concern raised, because  
 23 when they had raised a concern previous to this the  
 24 government acted on it with regard to delaying whichever  
 25 step it was, step 2 or step 3. So I think there is

103

1 riskier end of the spectrum epidemiologically?

2 **A.** I don't precisely remember that, but I do remember it  
 3 was modelled and designed to keep R at or below 1.

4 **Q.** All right.

5 **A.** And, as I said, I'm sure it was closer to 1 than it was  
 6 to 0.1, but remember, as we've discussed in the first  
 7 session, policymakers are taking into account a whole  
 8 range of considerations and the objective strategy here  
 9 was not to completely suppress the virus, it was to make  
 10 sure that the NHS was not overwhelmed, that is  
 11 consistent with a range of R ratios, so ...

12 **Q.** The point is well made. Ultimately the Prime Minister  
 13 has to make the final decision and he'll take into  
 14 account the risk, he'll take into account the economic  
 15 and fiscal consequences. But the point here is that  
 16 this demonstrates that the Treasury, because this is  
 17 your principal private secretary, were told, rightly and  
 18 responsibly, that there were alarm bells ringing about  
 19 the package already in place, and therefore the Treasury  
 20 could not have been unaware that whatever it proposed in  
 21 the public interest, economically, going forward, came  
 22 with risks.

23 I mean, there is no way which any responsible  
 24 Treasury could consider implementing plans without  
 25 having at least half an eye on the epidemiological

102

1 a track record of the government responding to the  
 2 concerns that the scientists had and actively delaying  
 3 a stage of the unlocking.

4 **Q.** All right.

5 **A.** So, I mean, that's all I can remember about that  
 6 event --

7 **Q.** No, no, that's clear.

8 Can I squeeze in one further topic before the break,  
 9 and it's this, and we can deal with it very shortly:  
 10 your statement refers to the issue of PPE.  
 11 Prime Minister, that is, as you know, a matter for  
 12 a later hearing, but you address the issue of PPE from  
 13 a high-level Treasury perspective. Is this a fair  
 14 summary of the position insofar as the Exchequer was  
 15 concerned: plainly HMT involvement in the issue of PPE  
 16 commenced right at the beginning, it commenced in  
 17 March 2020; is that right?

18 **A.** Yes, I -- that is right.

19 **Q.** And whilst although at the beginning the Treasury was  
 20 obligated to approve individual PPE contracts at the  
 21 request of the DHSC, the Treasury had agreed to depart  
 22 from the usual process and put into place a flexible  
 23 spending control envelope. So the DHSC were given  
 24 an envelope within which they could spend and within  
 25 which they could enter into PPE contracts without having

104

1 to go to the Treasury or the chief secretary to the  
 2 Treasury or you. And that funding envelope started  
 3 I think at £100 million on 25 March but by 11 April it  
 4 was £1 billion. Is that a fair summary of the envelope  
 5 position?  
 6 **A.** Yes. It's probably worth me expanding on it.  
 7 **Q.** Well, only if you think that we'd be greatly assisted by  
 8 it, given that there is another module looking at it,  
 9 but it may or may not be the case you'll have to give  
 10 evidence in that module and I'm trying to cover the  
 11 possibility you might not, Mr Sunak, by asking you just  
 12 to agree with my general proposition now.  
 13 **A.** I think that the first thing to say is I wasn't involved  
 14 in it day-to-day because it was led by the chief  
 15 secretary.  
 16 **Q.** Yes.  
 17 **A.** Generally we aim to move at pace given the urgency of  
 18 the requirements and, as you suggested accurately, we  
 19 put in place a new way of doing it so that rather than  
 20 individual contracts being agreed as would be normal  
 21 with the scrutiny that would come from that, HMT gave to  
 22 the Department of Health a budget that it could spend.  
 23 It raised that budget I think five different times, it  
 24 ended up being close to £14 billion in the end, so that  
 25 there would be no blocks and there would be speed of

105

1 **Q.** And they changed over time?  
 2 **A.** -- so that there could be no issue with the Department  
 3 of Health procuring the PPE that it wanted at the speed  
 4 that it wanted. And, as said, led primarily by the CST,  
 5 but there a deliberate change to the normal processes to  
 6 enable pace -- at -- at the expense of the, say, normal  
 7 amount of rigour and scrutiny that would go into those  
 8 approvals.  
 9 **MR KEITH:** Thank you.  
 10 **LADY HALLETT:** Right. I have been asked to take a shorter  
 11 lunch break.  
 12 **MR KEITH:** I'm very sorry.  
 13 **LADY HALLETT:** So I shall return at 1.55.  
 14 **(1.04 pm)**  
 15 **(The short adjournment)**  
 16 **(1.55 pm)**  
 17 **LADY HALLETT:** Mr Keith.  
 18 **MR KEITH:** Prime Minister, the reduction from the 2-metre  
 19 rule to the 1-metre rule, very shortly.  
 20 On 2 June, Cabinet decided that the rule needed to  
 21 be re-examined, you'll recall.  
 22 **A.** On the 2nd --  
 23 **Q.** Take it from me, please.  
 24 **A.** Okay.  
 25 **Q.** The analysis showed that there was a very significant

107

1 approval so that PPE could get to the people who needed  
 2 it.  
 3 And the last thing to say was no issues were ever  
 4 substantively raised with me about blocks in that  
 5 process of delays at all, including -- I think we had  
 6 a meeting in April on the PPE plan and there's no  
 7 minutes or anything recorded of there being any issues  
 8 about that. I think it worked very well from our  
 9 ability to give the Department of Health the cover it  
 10 needed and the funding it needed to buy the PPE that it  
 11 wanted.  
 12 **Q.** The approval process was amended at great speed, very  
 13 rapidly?  
 14 **A.** Yes.  
 15 **Q.** And lastly, the Treasury was properly concerned in the  
 16 process as to what sort of checks and balances should be  
 17 put into place, and that was something then that was  
 18 negotiated between yourself and the DHSC. So you might  
 19 suggest, "Well, these are the sorts of conditions that  
 20 you need to apply when you enter into PPE contracts", so  
 21 you kept a controlling hand on the overarching system of  
 22 checks and balances whilst not being concerned with the  
 23 individual deals?  
 24 **A.** Yes, but those overarching conditions were deliberately  
 25 flexible --

106

1 difference between the economic impact of a 1-metre rule  
 2 and that of a 2-metre rule, and you and the Treasury  
 3 made it absolutely plain that if the 2-metre rule  
 4 continued, many businesses would remain unviable. Yes  
 5 or no?  
 6 **A.** So what I did was convene a group of other  
 7 secretaries of state, including from the departments of  
 8 Business, DCMS, Transport and Local Government, together  
 9 with the CDL, to take the evidence.  
 10 Few major points. One is that it would make a big  
 11 difference to the number of businesses that would open,  
 12 or how they could profitably open. Second was the  
 13 international comparisons; at that point 24 other  
 14 countries had something less than 2 metres.  
 15 And then thirdly, international organisations like  
 16 the World Health Organisation and the European Centre  
 17 for Diseases also had recommended something different.  
 18 I wrote to the Prime Minister on behalf of that  
 19 group on 3 June. The Prime Minister then convened  
 20 a review panel involving the Chief Medical Officer,  
 21 Chief Economist, I think by -- convened by the  
 22 Cabinet Secretary. I wasn't involved in that process --  
 23 **Q.** Sorry, I know I've asked you to speed up inferentially.  
 24 Please try not to speed up too much, it makes it very  
 25 hard for the stenographer.

108

1 A. So that -- I wrote the letter on the 3rd containing our  
2 analysis and evidence. The Prime Minister established  
3 a panel which included the Chief Medical Officer --  
4 Q. Yes.  
5 A. -- chaired by the Cabinet Secretary. They made  
6 a recommendation to the Prime Minister, which he  
7 accepted, to move to 1 metre plus.  
8 Q. At the heart of --  
9 A. What was called 1 metre plus.  
10 Q. Yes. At the heart of that debate was the recognition,  
11 of course, that the 2-metre rule, if it remained, would  
12 be economically hugely damaging, but that whilst SAGE --  
13 and it was made absolutely plain to you in an email from  
14 your principal private secretary on 4 June, whilst SAGE  
15 adhered to the view that science clearly supported the  
16 2-metre rule, the scientific impact was what was  
17 described by SAGE as a continuum, not an absolute rule,  
18 and that mitigants could be put into place when it's not  
19 possible to adhere to 2-metre rule at all times.  
20 So the science leant towards and in favour of the  
21 2-metre rule, but it recognised itself that it was  
22 a movable feast, that there could be mitigants put into  
23 place, and that it was a policy choice for the  
24 government, and that was a matter for government to  
25 decide. That's a fair summary, isn't it?

109

1 my witness statement to jog my memory, but the review  
2 panel, I think -- I was not involved in the work of the  
3 review panel, it was chaired by the permanent secretary  
4 to Number 10, included apparently the Chief Scientific  
5 Adviser and the Chief Medical Officer, alongside the  
6 Chief Economic Adviser.  
7 It says here, and again I assume I'm quoting from  
8 the report:  
9 "The guidance should change to state that 2 [metres]  
10 or 1 [metre] with risk mitigation ... are acceptable,  
11 and that businesses should set out the mitigations that  
12 they will introduce in their risk assessment."  
13 Q. The review was a policy review which the government was  
14 entitled to implement. That is common ground between  
15 us, surely? It was a policy decision which the  
16 government could take and did?  
17 A. Of course it's the government's --  
18 Q. Thank you.  
19 A. But I think this is an important point. My recollection  
20 of it was the Prime Minister deliberately established  
21 a panel to bring together, as -- and he would like to,  
22 bring together the input from the science -- the  
23 Scientific Adviser, the Medical Officer, as well as the  
24 economic analysis, consider them together to come up  
25 with a recommendation. And -- as I said, I'm quoting

111

1 A. Yes, and I just go back to -- I think they're important  
2 points -- the World Health Organisation and the --  
3 Q. I don't want to ask you about what support there was for  
4 it in policy terms. It is obvious that the government  
5 was entitled to produce that policy, but also that there  
6 was a risk with it, but that it was a risk which the  
7 government was entitled to run?  
8 A. Also worth bearing in mind that the Chief Medical  
9 Officer himself sat on the review panel that published  
10 the final recommendation about moving to 1 metre plus.  
11 I think we do need to remember that. The review panel  
12 included the Chief Medical Officer and it was their  
13 recommendation to move to 1 metre plus or 1 metre with  
14 mitigations that the Prime Minister accepted.  
15 Q. No, the Chief Medical Officer was on the review panel,  
16 and the review panel recommended that there be that  
17 reduction, but the Chief Medical Officer's position  
18 himself was: there is a risk but that it's a matter for  
19 government not me to resolve the degree to which that  
20 risk is entered into by virtue of this policy decision.  
21 He never said, "Mr Sunak, in terms of the  
22 epidemiological risk, you, the government, can go ahead  
23 with the 2-metre reduction to 1-metre rule with my  
24 blessing"; that's just not what occurred, is it?

25 A. Well, my recollection is different, and I'm looking at

110

1 from it -- I think the report or the summary of its  
2 conclusions said that the guidance should change.  
3 So that is a recommendation jointly from the panel,  
4 as I read it, which obviously is different to what you  
5 said, but I'm just quoting from the panel summary  
6 recommendations.  
7 Q. In that debate, an important part, perhaps as equal as  
8 the economic considerations, was the question of risk,  
9 and the SAGE meeting and the Covid-S meeting and the --  
10 in particular the Covid-S meeting of 22 June -- made  
11 plain that obviously in that decision was a balance,  
12 a balance between the transmission risks and the  
13 economic consequences of not doing it. And Covid-S, to  
14 which you were of course a party, you were present on  
15 that meeting, was made aware that the potential for  
16 higher occupancy affects risk. It's an obvious point.  
17 The question of transmission risk was something that had  
18 to be debated and it was resolved in favour of the  
19 economic opening up. Do you agree?  
20 A. Maybe it would be helpful if I -- can we bring up  
21 paragraph 257 of my witness statement?  
22 Q. By all means.  
23 A. Because that contains the panel's summary of its  
24 conclusions. Again, there's a specific point in  
25 paragraph (c) where it says:

112

1 "... mitigations can reduce the risk at 1m, so that  
2 it is broadly equivalent to being 2m apart, noting that  
3 a precise and quantitative assessment of how much risk  
4 is reduced by mitigations is not possible."

5 And then the paragraph (d) is the bit I was quoting  
6 for before, saying that the panel concludes that the  
7 guidance should change.

8 Again, this was a panel that I was not involved in  
9 but contained scientific and medical advice alongside  
10 economic advice, and it went to the Prime Minister, not  
11 to me, and he acted on their recommendation, and I think  
12 rightly brought together all sides of the debate.

13 **Q.** Mr Sunak, there is no doubt that the review panel made  
14 a policy recommendation and it was instituted. The  
15 point is a different one.

16 In making that decision, the government was assisted  
17 by expert scientific advice on the risk. In the very  
18 nature of that decision there was a balance between the  
19 transmission risk and the economic consequences. That's  
20 what the debate was all about. So I simply ask you to  
21 recognise that in that debate an important  
22 consideration, but ultimately not the winning  
23 consideration, was what risks are attendant upon such  
24 a social distancing change; do you agree that?

25 **A.** I wasn't privy to the deliberation on the panel.

113

1 **Q.** No, no, please. There is a method to my madness. I'm  
2 asking you why, in light of the obvious issue of risk of  
3 transmission inherent in any scheme that encouraged  
4 households to come together, did the Treasury not  
5 consult with SAGE, the CMO, the Secretary of State for  
6 Health, or anybody else outside Number 10?

7 **A.** Because Eat Out to Help Out had been designed  
8 specifically in the context of the safe lifting of NPIs  
9 that had already been signed off, as we'd talked about  
10 before, as part of the May plan, which had re-opened  
11 hospitality, indoor hospitality. That had already been  
12 part of the approved May plan. Eat Out to Help Out only  
13 operated within that context. And indeed there were  
14 a significant range of other NPIs that were in place,  
15 including social distancing, Covid secure guidance,  
16 table service, contactless ordering, one-way systems,  
17 all of which had been put in place. The overall  
18 re-opening of indoor hospitality had already been  
19 implemented and, as we'd discussed before, modelled and  
20 all the rest of it and involved scientists in that, and  
21 Eat Out to Help Out was designed to operate within that  
22 context, of the safe lifting of NPIs. It didn't do  
23 anything further than that.

24 This was a micro-policy to make sure that that  
25 capacity, which the scientists had already said was part

115

1 **Q.** Okay.

2 **A.** Because I didn't sit on it. All I can point you to is  
3 a letter which I sent to the Prime Minister which you  
4 have in evidence which explained my admittedly specific  
5 point of view about the economics.

6 **Q.** I understand that, but your very own witness statement  
7 at 257(c) makes plain that the panel considered the  
8 risk, risk was an important consideration.

9 That review, of course, took place -- as you know,  
10 it was published on 24 June. On 8 July you presented  
11 your plan for jobs to the Cabinet, and Mr Hancock said  
12 in evidence, when he gave evidence on 30 November, that  
13 it was at that Cabinet meeting on 8 July that he heard  
14 about the Eat Out to Help Out scheme for the first time.  
15 The scheme was announced, you'll recall, on the same  
16 day, 8 July, as part of the plan for jobs.

17 Given that the Eat Out to Help Out scheme encouraged  
18 the coming together of different households in indoor  
19 spaces, which it did of course in restaurants, why was  
20 that plan not put by the Treasury in front of SAGE, in  
21 front of the Secretary of State for Health, and/or the  
22 Chief Medical Officer for their consideration of the  
23 very same issue of the absolute risk of transmission?

24 **A.** So the first thing to say is, why do Eat Out to Help Out  
25 at all?

114

1 of an overall package which could be safely delivered,  
2 was actually used. And it was done very much in that  
3 context. In the same way that other economic decisions  
4 like a VAT cut for hospitality or a stamp duty cut or  
5 indeed furlough or anything else, or grants for the  
6 hospitality industry, wouldn't ordinarily be cleared  
7 with medical advisers, nor was this, because we had  
8 already made the collective decision to re-open indoor  
9 hospitality and this was a policy that sat within and  
10 beneath that.

11 **Q.** In addition to the obvious economic policy, which was to  
12 encourage consumption in the hospitality sector, to  
13 encourage people to use restaurants and to preserve the  
14 jobs of women and the lower paid and individuals from  
15 minority ethnic backgrounds in the hospitality sector,  
16 it's obvious that the plan was designed with  
17 a meritorious consideration in mind. But it was also  
18 part of that plan, was it not, to address what you had  
19 called the "fear", the fact that data showed that our  
20 country was far and away the least likely to get back to  
21 normal, and to promote what you've described in your  
22 Spectator article as an optimistic counternarrative.  
23 You wanted to bring about a change in behaviour to  
24 encourage people, more people than had previously gone  
25 restaurants the previous year, to encourage people to

116

1 come together. That was part of the policy objective,  
2 was it not?  
3 **A.** I think as you're describing it they're one and the  
4 same. My primary concern was protecting millions of  
5 jobs of particularly vulnerable people who worked in  
6 this industry. All the data, all the evidence, all the  
7 polling, all the input from those companies suggested  
8 that unless we did something many of those jobs would  
9 have been at risk with devastating consequences for  
10 those people and their families. And that's why  
11 independent think tanks had recommended doing something  
12 like this, indeed other countries had done something  
13 like this, because everyone was grappling with the same  
14 issue: of how to ensure that those jobs are safeguarded  
15 as people returned. And that was the primary driver for  
16 what we were doing.

17 **Q.** And all that material, Mr Sunak, internationally, the  
18 material from industry bodies and the like, all referred  
19 to the balance, the balance inherent in any scheme to  
20 encourage households to come together in greater  
21 numbers, the issue of risk of transmission.  
22 Putting aside its obvious economic advantage and  
23 putting aside the obviously good policy reasons for  
24 encouraging restaurant use in the context of restaurants  
25 which were already Covid-safe, there was no getting away

117

1 **Q.** The minutes of the meeting of Covid-S, which you  
2 attended on 22 June, make clear that Professor Sir  
3 Chris Whitty, in the context, you'll recall, of the  
4 debate about reduction from 2 metres to 1-metre rule,  
5 said the most risky areas of the package were indoor  
6 hospitality and the prospect of re-opening schools in  
7 September.

8 So there was a clear flag, of course there was  
9 a flag, to the issue of transmission in the context of  
10 indoor hospitality. Why did the Treasury not raise  
11 expressly the scheme for Eat Out to Help Out in the  
12 Covid-S meeting of 16 July, the Covid-S meeting of  
13 22 July, the Covid-S meeting of 6 August, all of which  
14 were concerned with transmission risk, August planning,  
15 self-isolation periods, schools, scenarios, September  
16 return dates, but nothing about Eat Out to Help Out?  
17 Why was that?

18 **A.** But I think that exactly illustrates my point, because  
19 I think what people have missed in this conversation is  
20 that there was almost a month between the announcement  
21 of Eat Out to Help Out and its commencement. A month.  
22 A month for people to raise concerns that they may have  
23 had. And actually it's precisely in those three  
24 meetings that you mentioned, Covid-S on 16 July, the  
25 Chief Medical Officer in the minutes talked about two

119

1 from the fact that an issue for you and the Treasury  
2 was: will it nevertheless have an impact on  
3 transmission? It's the elephant in the room. It  
4 couldn't be avoided, could it?

5 **A.** Well, no, because you made the point in your remarks, it  
6 was about Covid-secure openings. Indoor hospitality had  
7 been opened as part of the May roadmap. And not opened  
8 in a casual or wanton way, it had been opened with  
9 a significant set of restrictions, including social  
10 distancing, which limited and reduced significantly the  
11 typical occupancy of a restaurant, with one-way systems,  
12 with signage, with screens, with shift work, with  
13 contactless payments. Indeed, there was 55 pages of  
14 government guidance for the hospitality industry,  
15 supplemented by 100 pages of guidance from their trade  
16 association, UKHospitality, including the need for  
17 individual risk assessments at an individual restaurant  
18 level. So there was an extraordinary amount of work  
19 that had gone into the safe re-opening of hospitality in  
20 a way that it was not previously. Right? And it was  
21 an entirely different set of hospitality, and within  
22 that context, this policy was designed to ensure that  
23 the capacity that was available, that had been deemed to  
24 be safe, would actually be used in order to safeguard  
25 the jobs of some vulnerable people.

118

1 significant risk moments: schools and winter. He did  
2 not mention Eat Out to Help Out.

3 On 22 --

4 **Q.** Your --

5 **A.** If I could just finish, because it's important.

6 On 22 July the agenda item is August planning, and  
7 again it was not raised by the Chief Medical Officer or  
8 Chief Scientific Adviser. On 6 August, the Covid-S that  
9 you acknowledged, again the minutes show that returning  
10 to schools was the single riskiest element of the  
11 government's plan. Those three meetings all happened  
12 after the announcement of Eat Out to Help Out, all of  
13 them involved the Chief Scientific Adviser and the Chief  
14 Medical Officer, they considered specifically the  
15 forthcoming risks, and at none of those meetings was it  
16 raised by them as an issue. Indeed, the PPS to the  
17 Prime Minister has also been specific in his evidence to  
18 this Inquiry that he doesn't recall representations  
19 being made to them to revisit the policy.

20 So I know there has been a lot of commentary on this  
21 point, but there was almost a month between announcement  
22 and commencement. I've outlined my reasons for why we  
23 implemented the policy and why we thought it was the  
24 right thing to do, and I believe it was the right thing  
25 to do to safeguard those jobs in the context of the safe

120

1 re-opening that had already been agreed, but at none of  
 2 those moments in those meetings -- there was plenty of  
 3 opportunity for people to have raised it either with me  
 4 or with the Prime Minister -- I don't recall, and the  
 5 minutes do not suggest, that it was raised at all in the  
 6 three precise meetings that you mentioned.

7 **Q.** Those meetings, Mr Sunak, were raised by you in your own  
 8 witness statement as examples of meetings at which no  
 9 concerns were raised, but do you accept that the issue  
 10 of Eat Out to Help Out was never raised by you or your  
 11 department expressly at those meetings or at any other  
 12 earlier meeting, and that by the date of those meetings  
 13 the scheme had already been announced following the  
 14 Cabinet on 8 July and announced to the public the same  
 15 day?

16 **A.** But I --

17 **Q.** It was already in place --

18 **A.** Why would I raise it as a risk when I didn't believe  
 19 that it was because it was designed in the context of  
 20 a safe re-opening? The onus is surely on the people who  
 21 now believed that it was a risk to have raised it at the  
 22 time when something could have been done about it if  
 23 they felt strongly.

24 I'm very clear that I don't believe that it was,  
 25 because hospitality had been deemed to be safe to

121

1 raised it at all with anybody outside Number 10?

2 **A.** Because, as would be completely normal for all economic  
 3 policy before fiscal events, that's long-standing  
 4 practice and always has been so. I wouldn't have  
 5 discussed the VAT cut on the hospitality sector with the  
 6 Secretary of State for Health or the stamp duty cut or  
 7 the grants. These are all either market-sensitive or  
 8 economic --

9 **Q.** No, Mr Sunak, forgive me, those are all fiscal measures.  
 10 The Eat Out to Help Out scheme encouraged more people,  
 11 additional numbers from different households, to come  
 12 together in restaurants to eat. It wasn't just a fiscal  
 13 issue. It was a behavioural matter. Was it one that  
 14 was applied across the whole of the United Kingdom?

15 **A.** Yes, but so were many of the economic interventions.  
 16 But, again, the point remains, indoor hospitality,  
 17 all the points you made about people coming together and  
 18 eating, was already part of the May plan, had already  
 19 been collectively agreed and announced. It had been  
 20 said to the country restaurants were safe to visit, with  
 21 all the extra Covid-secure systems that had been put in  
 22 place. That was the message. So much so that the  
 23 Cabinet Office ran a national campaign entitled "Enjoy  
 24 summer safely", backed it with considerable funding and  
 25 national advertising, partnered with brand name

123

1 re-open with a considerable -- as I said, hundreds of  
 2 pages of guidance, changes in practice, and had been  
 3 recommended by think tanks and had been done by  
 4 countries elsewhere. This was a very reasonable  
 5 sensible policy intervention to help safeguard those  
 6 jobs in that safe re-opening. That was my view.  
 7 I didn't believe that it was a risk. I believed that it  
 8 was the right thing to do. But if others are suggesting  
 9 they didn't, they had ample opportunity to raise those  
 10 concerns in forums where I was or where the  
 11 Prime Minister or others were, and they didn't.

12 **Q.** Why didn't you tell the Secretary of State for Health in  
 13 a public health crisis before 8 July that you were  
 14 planning on announcing, once it had gone through Cabinet  
 15 that day, a scheme to Eat Out to Help Out? Why didn't  
 16 you, bearing in mind that this was a scheme to encourage  
 17 households to come together, and you'd been debating at  
 18 the very same time the reduction in the 2-metre to  
 19 1-metre rule, say to the CMO, "We have this plan, it's  
 20 to encourage the economy to open up, to help the  
 21 hospitality sector, there are very strong public policy  
 22 reasons in support of it, but it is obvious there are  
 23 transmission risks" -- of course there were -- "but our  
 24 position is it's all right, we are just simply going to  
 25 have to do this in the greater good"? But you never

122

1 companies, because the overall approach was to tell the  
 2 country it was now safe to return to doing these  
 3 activities because we had made progress on the virus,  
 4 because we had Track and Trace, because we had the JBC,  
 5 because we had all this Covid secure guidance. That was  
 6 the very clear message, backed by a national advertising  
 7 campaign. It just wouldn't be entirely normal to  
 8 discuss individual fiscal measures with people that sat  
 9 within that context.

10 **Q.** Do you acknowledge that the evidence from  
 11 Professor Chris Whitty, Professor Sir Patrick Vallance,  
 12 Professor Sir Jonathan Van-Tam, respectively the CMO,  
 13 GCSA, Deputy CMO, is unanimous that had they been  
 14 consulted they would have advised it was highly likely  
 15 to increase transmission. And whilst, of course, it's  
 16 a policy matter over which they wouldn't have had the  
 17 whip hand, it was an issue on which they would have  
 18 expected to be consulted given the behavioural aspect of  
 19 the scheme, the bringing together of more people from  
 20 different households? Do you acknowledge that?

21 **A.** But they've not said that to me, I've not seen that,  
 22 and, as I said, they had ample opportunity to raise  
 23 those concerns between the announcement of the scheme  
 24 and its implementation. None of them chose to do so in  
 25 any fora that they were in. And I think all of them

124

1 have said on the record, as the evidence also  
2 conclusively demonstrates, that this was in way -- no  
3 shape or form responsible for a second wave, which was  
4 predicted by the CMO and CSA as early as my first  
5 conversation with them in March --

6 **Q.** We'll come to --

7 **A.** -- and happened in every other country in Europe.

8 **Q.** That is a different issue, with respect, and we're going  
9 to address that in a moment.

10 The scheme itself, was it brought to the attention  
11 of the devolved administrations? Did you ask for their  
12 input or consult with them in any way before the scheme  
13 was imposed and introduced in the other four nations --  
14 the other three nations?

15 **A.** Again, that wouldn't have been ordinary policy. It  
16 wasn't on things like the furlough scheme or other  
17 support that we did. These are -- the competencies of  
18 the UK Government are competencies of the UK Government,  
19 and they are announced in the normal way.

20 **Q.** Now, on the question of impact, it is absolutely right  
21 that you make plain that whilst there is some slim  
22 evidence to suggest that there was a correlation between  
23 the take-up of the scheme and new cases of Covid, there  
24 is other evidence, primarily in fact a paper prepared by  
25 HMRC, to suggest that there was no correlation. Some

125

1 And as general rule the Treasury was always wary, as it  
2 should be, of temporary things that cost money becoming  
3 permanent, because that comes with significant fiscal  
4 implications. So the idea was very clearly to have  
5 something that was temporary to elicit the behavioural  
6 response, and that was always meant to be the case.

7 **Q.** So it was about behavioural response in part, it wasn't  
8 just about the fiscal support for the sector?

9 **A.** I've --

10 **Q.** You've just said ...

11 **A.** I mean, that's exactly right, because in order to  
12 safeguard the jobs of 2 million people working in the  
13 sector, you need people to go and use those businesses.  
14 And all the evidence, analysis and general view of  
15 everyone was that it was unlikely that that was to  
16 happen because people were not likely to return to those  
17 old behaviours, and this was designed to help encourage  
18 them to do so in a safe way. That is the explicit  
19 purpose of it. You can't safeguard those jobs without  
20 people being at the businesses so that they have the  
21 money to keep those jobs and employ those people.  
22 That's the whole point.

23 **Q.** One codicil to this, please, Mr Sunak.

24 Mr Hancock told this Inquiry that he'd received  
25 feedback that the scheme was "causing problems in our

127

1 local authorities with very high Eat Out to Help Out  
2 take-up had relatively low levels of new Covid cases,  
3 some other local authorities with high take-up had  
4 higher take-up of the Covid virus. So the evidence  
5 doesn't significantly support the proposition that there  
6 was an impact on infection rates.

7 Nevertheless, why was the scheme not extended?

8 **A.** Because it was always designed to be temporary.

9 **Q.** A submission from HM Revenue & Customs titled "Eat Out  
10 to Help Out extension", dated 26 August, said:

11 "This is a submission concerning the possible  
12 extension of the Eat Out to Help Out scheme. There have  
13 been some concerns that opening up the hospitality  
14 sector has contributed to the rising rate of infection  
15 that have led to local lockdowns."

16 So was one issue, one concern at the time that  
17 debate was had around the extension, that there was in  
18 fact or might have been an impact on infection rates?

19 **A.** No, the primary motivation was that it was meant to be  
20 a temporary intervention. Because in order to elicit --  
21 and this is standard economic policy -- in order to  
22 elicit a behavioural response, by definition what you  
23 want is for something to be temporary, and credibly  
24 temporary, because otherwise you don't elicit the  
25 behavioural response that you are hoping to achieve.

126

1 intervention areas", and he said that he'd told HMT  
2 about those concerns. And that must have been  
3 because -- from the time he said it, at the end of  
4 August -- in the context of the debate about whether or  
5 not there should be an extension. Are you aware that  
6 the Secretary of State for Health, who by your own word  
7 didn't know in advance of the Cabinet meeting 8 July of  
8 the promulgation of the scheme, expressed concerns  
9 latterly to your department about the risk of  
10 transmission?

11 **A.** No. I'm not sure I have any record of that, but I do  
12 know that he has said there has been undue focus on this  
13 one item in his evidence to this Inquiry.

14 **Q.** Excuse me? You suggest he said this isn't a matter of  
15 some importance?

16 **A.** I think he said himself that there has been undue focus  
17 on this one item, was his words to the Inquiry, and he  
18 certainly -- I have no recollection of him raising that,  
19 nor do I have any record of him doing so with me at the  
20 time.

21 **Q.** Well, it's a matter for my Lady, but matters as to  
22 whether or not they are of importance for this Inquiry  
23 are for this Inquiry.

24 Scientific advice. It is obvious, Mr Sunak, that  
25 throughout the pandemic, SAGE, which consisted of highly

128



1 distinguished expert contributors, gave enormous time  
2 and energy over hundreds of meetings in the service of  
3 the government. Do you agree that?

4 **A.** Yes, and I very much -- I make that same point in my  
5 witness statement as well, and I'm grateful to them for  
6 everything they did.

7 **Q.** You say in the article in The Spectator that a lady was  
8 planted on SAGE. You said:

9 "The Sage people didn't realise for a very long  
10 time that there was a Treasury person on all their  
11 calls ..."

12 And in the article you describe how this meant that  
13 you were "alerted early to the fact that these  
14 all-important minutes of SAGE often edited out  
15 dissenting voices".

16 It's difficult to know how much of that is  
17 journalistic flourish, but would you accept that  
18 everybody who attended SAGE -- the identity of everybody  
19 who attended SAGE was known to SAGE and the secretariat  
20 that ran SAGE because of course they all had to give  
21 their identities and their phone numbers for the  
22 purposes of the calls that took place?

23 **A.** Well, as I said, there, I wasn't -- it wasn't apparent  
24 to me in some conversations then that they did realise,  
25 but, I mean, it's almost by-the-by, the point was there

129

1 **LADY HALLETT:** That's a question for the journalist,  
2 I think, Mr Keith.

3 **MR KEITH:** Would you accept that whilst the science was  
4 highly complex and uncertain, and obviously not  
5 susceptible to clear outcomes, that the advice given by  
6 SAGE was, over the entirety of the pandemic, given in  
7 good faith and at the upper limits of all their  
8 professional abilities?

9 **A.** Yes, I make that same point in my witness statement.  
10 But having considered this, and there's again some  
11 reflections looking back at this time with regard to  
12 SAGE, I think there are a few things that, you know,  
13 I've reflected on over time that I probably was less  
14 focused on at the time.

15 I think the first one was, and this is the point  
16 that I was getting at in the article, SAGE's views were  
17 presented as a consensus or a single view. I think  
18 there was a -- definitely not an accurate perception of  
19 the degree of debate and perhaps lack of consensus  
20 within SAGE. I think that is how it was presented,  
21 again. Not to take away in any way from them, but it  
22 was presented as a more singular view when in fact there  
23 was more debate within SAGE about most things.

24 I think secondly --

25 **Q.** Can I ask you to pause there, and just ask you about

131

1 was someone there who was feeding back information which  
2 is incredibly helpful, and you've shared some of it  
3 before, summaries of which were often given to me  
4 verbally.

5 **Q.** Vanessa MacDougall, who was a member of your department  
6 at that time, was encouraged to attend. In fact  
7 Sir Patrick Vallance had encouraged the attendance of  
8 somebody from Treasury on SAGE in correspondence with  
9 Sir Tom Scholar. Was Sir Tom Scholar the  
10 permanent secretary in your department?

11 **A.** Yes.

12 **Q.** Right. In that same article, you also say:

13 "... for a year, UK government policy -- and the  
14 fate of millions -- was being decided by half-explained  
15 graphs cooked up by outside academics."

16 That wasn't a reference to SAGE, was it?

17 **A.** Sorry, where is that?

18 **Q.** It's page 6:

19 "... UK Government policy -- and the fate of  
20 millions -- was being decided by half-explained graphs  
21 cooked up by outside academics."

22 **A.** Those aren't my words, just so we're clear.

23 **Q.** Why would they appear in an article with you exclusively  
24 devoted to the issue of your performance during the  
25 pandemic crisis?

130

1 your views on that first point, Mr Sunak.

2 **A.** Okay.

3 **Q.** Evidence has been given to the effect that, indeed, the  
4 consensus minutes were relatively short, designed to  
5 allow people to read them. Evidence has also been given  
6 as to the extent to which they were read. But it's  
7 obvious that Number 10 had officials attend SAGE,  
8 Mr Warner attended, and it's obvious that HMT had  
9 an official attend as well, in order precisely that the  
10 wider range of views could be made clear to their  
11 sponsoring departments, Number 10 and HMT.

12 Would that, did that not suffice? You were aware  
13 of --

14 **A.** I don't think that was the explicit reason that someone  
15 was on the calls. They were just there more generally.  
16 And I'm not -- I'm making the point that I think just  
17 more generally in the policy debates that were being  
18 had, and in the external communications, I'm not sure  
19 the country probably understood that there was less  
20 consensus within SAGE than was being presented, because  
21 this was an inherently tricky subject --

22 **Q.** And on that issue, some evidence has been given to the  
23 effect that, of course, SAGE responded to commission  
24 requests from the government, the government would raise  
25 issues with it to which it responded, and of course SAGE

132

1 advise while government decides, that's self-evident.

2 In your reflections, do you think SAGE could ever  
3 have been put in a position of making specific  
4 recommendations, that is to say giving specific advice  
5 on policy outcomes, off its own bat?

6 **A.** No, I think they're conflating two different things  
7 there. The first is, even on the advice, not the  
8 specific policy recommendations, even on the scientific  
9 advice that they were putting, I think as many of them  
10 have now said, that they themselves were deeply divided  
11 over the scientific evidence. That's from one of them  
12 that was there at the time. I think that was  
13 underappreciated. And I think we -- in hindsight, and  
14 on reflection, it probably would be good to have made  
15 sure that there was a broader awareness of that point.

16 I think the second thing is the science itself, as  
17 you pointed out, Mr Keith, was itself uncertain.  
18 I think people hear "science", and I reflect on it, and  
19 they think: science, okay, two plus two equals four,  
20 that's what this is. It clearly wasn't like that. This  
21 was uncertain science. As the scientists themselves  
22 say, it would be too simplistic to say that there was  
23 one answer on these things, and itself was prone to  
24 change. So SAGE's advice on asymptomatic transmission,  
25 the benefit of face masks or schools, all of that

133

1 over, which was public health.

2 Now, there's been a lot of commentary and debate  
3 over this point about how much there was a focus more on  
4 SAGE than other aspects of it. I think everyone from  
5 SAGE in -- has subsequently made it crystal clear that  
6 they view policymakers as having to take into account  
7 many other considerations in their deliberations.  
8 I think they would say that, Chief Scientific Adviser  
9 has said that, I would agree with that. And they had  
10 one very important input into that multifaceted process.

11 **Q.** Forgive me. If all they were doing was providing  
12 advice, why did you say in that Spectator article, "If  
13 you empower all these independent people, you're  
14 screwed", "We shouldn't have empowered the scientists in  
15 the way we did"?

16 **A.** Yeah, I think -- what I would refer to there is I think  
17 a similar comment was made by the director for the  
18 Institute for Government, and he talked about the public  
19 attention and distorting consequences of extreme focus  
20 on SAGE. I think that was the point, that in the debate  
21 there was, as I say, a kind of elevation of SAGE in that  
22 debate. And I think again, on reflection, that is  
23 something to consider, whether that was appropriate.  
24 Because SAGE, as we've discussed and they would  
25 themselves be open about, had a particular focus, but it

135

1 changed over time. So science itself was not certain,  
2 it was not singular, there was more debate about it.

3 I'm not sure that nuance was communicated perhaps as  
4 much as it should have been, so that people could  
5 understand the decisions we were making. It wasn't as  
6 simple as crystal clear science view, crystal clear some  
7 other view. The science itself had a range of views --

8 **Q.** Of course.

9 **A.** And again for simplicity, reaching a consensus is  
10 obviously helpful for policymakers, but we can't lose  
11 sight of the fact that it was more complex than that.

12 **Q.** But you obviously understood that SAGE advised while  
13 government decided? There was no question of you  
14 thinking at any time these scientists are doing any more  
15 than giving advice to the government based on their best  
16 knowledge and experience as to what the consequences are  
17 of any particular policy decision the government  
18 reaches? SAGE never said, "You, the government, must on  
19 Monday impose a lockdown"; it just didn't work like  
20 that, did it?

21 **A.** I'm not sure quite how the advice was phrased --

22 **Q.** Well, you've read the consensus minutes.

23 **A.** I can't remember exactly the language it was using, but  
24 in general SAGE's job was to provide advice to the  
25 government but in the sphere that they had competence

134

1 was only one focus, that policymakers had to take into  
2 consideration when making decisions, yet there was --  
3 you know, there was no -- I'm sure we'll come on to it  
4 later -- economic SAGE and the like, you know, there  
5 wasn't an equivalent or a similar, in the public's eyes,  
6 something like SAGE for other aspects of it. And  
7 whether that distorted, in the words of the IFG  
8 director, the debate is, I think, open to discussion and  
9 deliberation, and that --

10 **Q.** We will come back to economic SAGE in a moment,  
11 Mr Sunak.

12 **A.** Yes.

13 **Q.** Just before we leave, though, the question of SAGE as it  
14 was, did you form any view over time as to the process  
15 by which the SAGE advice was funnelled through the Chief  
16 Medical Officer and the GCSA to the Prime Minister?  
17 It's plain that they gave verbal briefings to the  
18 Prime Minister, who may or may not have read the SAGE  
19 minutes, as to what the import was of the advice that  
20 was being given almost twice a week, three times a week  
21 during the crisis. Did you have a view as to whether  
22 that funnel system was working?

23 **A.** I -- it's probably not something that I had any great  
24 understanding of, the relationship between SAGE and the  
25 Prime Minister. As I said, I had a -- I think, a more

136

1 granular understanding of what was happening at SAGE  
2 because, as you pointed out, someone was there able to  
3 relay to me, where it was relevant, a slight nuance or  
4 where there were debates and disagreements. That was  
5 helpful for me, when I went into meetings, knowing that  
6 there may be more -- more debate within SAGE than was  
7 necessarily being presented in the summary of their  
8 discussion.

9 **Q.** All right.

10 On the issue of economic SAGE, you are aware that  
11 the Institute for Government report on the Treasury  
12 during Covid from 2023 posited the possibility of  
13 a parallel committee to SAGE being formed to address  
14 socioeconomic issues. So that the epidemiological and  
15 scientific issues could be fed through the existing  
16 SAGE. In parallel, analogously, there would be  
17 a socioeconomic SAGE which would deal with the other  
18 countervailing considerations. It could then be brought  
19 together with another body or brought together at  
20 government level.

21 Did you or your officials ever contemplate the  
22 institution of such a committee or take part in a debate  
23 as to whether this was a good idea to pursue?

24 **A.** It was never something that was raised with me, and  
25 I think the evidence that you've heard from the Treasury

137

1 definitively.

2 **Q.** In any event, none of this was raised with you,  
3 notwithstanding what must have been your extant  
4 contemporaneous concerns about SAGE?

5 **A.** No, but this is a -- this is a different point. This is  
6 about --

7 **Q.** No, did you express internally or to others your  
8 concerns about the empowerment of scientists during the  
9 crisis, Mr Sunak? In which case, why was there not more  
10 consideration given to this alternative model by the  
11 Treasury?

12 **A.** Ah, so I think the question is there are different -- as  
13 I understand the debate on the economic SAGE -- which  
14 again just for the record was not something that  
15 I remember being raised with me at all or the  
16 Prime Minister during this period, I think we should  
17 just be clear about that. I don't think he has any  
18 recollection of it being raised, nor do his office, nor  
19 do I. But I think there are different rationales as to  
20 why people think an economic SAGE might have been  
21 helpful, and it's important to separate them because  
22 they're two very different rationales.

23 One is that the modelling expertise or more  
24 generally the expertise didn't exist inside the Treasury  
25 to do the job. But that is something that I don't think

139

1 corporate, and the Chief Economic Adviser makes clear  
2 that it was never put forward as a formal proposal, nor  
3 was an official HMT view ever sought. So that's the  
4 evidence that you have from the Treasury.

5 **Q.** Can I just pause you there. She indeed, and it's  
6 Clare Lombardelli from HMT, attended a meeting or  
7 a seminar on 5 June --

8 **A.** Yes, one meeting.

9 **Q.** And a number of options were posited: an economic SAGE,  
10 a single model or something more informal.

11 She says in an email to her colleagues in the  
12 Treasury -- thank you, INQ000235261 -- that:

13 "The economists [obviously] killed the single model,  
14 some liked the idea of an economics SAGE. It was agreed  
15 that Ben Warner would follow up with me, Vallance,  
16 Stephen Aldridge and Ian Diamond."

17 Sir Patrick Vallance is obviously the reference to  
18 "Vallance". Ian Diamond is the chair of the Office for  
19 National Statistics. Stephen Aldridge, is he HMT?

20 **A.** You know I don't -- I don't know. He was the person  
21 that was on top of the memo that you had before.

22 **Q.** He was indeed.

23 **A.** I recollect working with him in a previous role in  
24 a different department, which is -- and I don't remember  
25 working with him at the Treasury, so I can't tell you

138

1 is true. I think the Treasury did have the capability  
2 to do the analysis that we needed, it improved it over  
3 time, but it also engaged extensively with external  
4 people and economists, as it should do, to build that  
5 advice, use new forms of data.

6 And the second thing is there exist already  
7 independent organisations, principally the OBR, but also  
8 the Bank of England and others, so HMT is not operating  
9 in a vacuum, there are many other independent bodies  
10 doing a very similar job and doing it at a very high  
11 level. So I don't think that that reason for an  
12 economic SAGE stacks up. I'm happy to elaborate.

13 There's a separate rationale, which I think,  
14 Mr Keith, is a bit more what you were alluding to, which  
15 is that it might be helpful as a counterweight in the  
16 narrative, because if you had a public health SAGE, then  
17 you needed an economic SAGE. Now, that's a different  
18 reason. I'm not personally particularly persuaded by  
19 that, because I think the expertise exists, it's more  
20 for government to decide how it wants to appropriately  
21 balance these things, communicate --

22 **Q.** You are, with respect, the government now. You must  
23 have formed a view as to whether or not, in the light of  
24 this crisis, the optimum system was put into place and  
25 whether or not there is, in fact, a very good argument

140

1 for having a parallel body for dealing with other  
2 non-scientific considerations?  
3 **A.** I'm not particularly persuaded that it's necessary,  
4 because, unlike SAGE, that expertise exists within  
5 government departments. The Treasury has the ability to  
6 do the modelling and the analysis that's necessary on  
7 the economy and there are -- it works with external  
8 bodies. Indeed, you mentioned Ian Diamond. He himself  
9 has said that he worked closely with the Treasury during  
10 this period, I think is indicative of their approach.  
11 There are other organisations that do the same type of  
12 thing.

13 And ditto in other departments, that expertise will  
14 already exist. The difference with SAGE is that  
15 expertise did not exist within DH, as I understand it,  
16 which is why it was necessary. So I don't think that  
17 rationale really supports the need for an economic SAGE.

18 There's a separate point, though, about titles,  
19 structures. Not to develop extra information but just  
20 how they are weighed in the debate, in the discussion.  
21 Again, I've expressed some views about reflections about  
22 how SAGE was perceived, which I think I tend to agree  
23 with the Institute for Government comment that there was  
24 kind of -- I forget his exact words, but there was  
25 a slightly disproportionate focus. I think that's

141

1 every department, by the way, including Department of  
2 Health and everything else.

3 **Q.** Yes, but of course we are examining this issue in the  
4 unique circumstances of the ultimate decision-making  
5 process that the Prime Minister was forced to engage  
6 with, which is how to balance economic, societal and the  
7 many other considerations in a way which would command  
8 confidence and bring, of course, the government and the  
9 public with it.

10 **A.** Again I think even if the precise advice itself wasn't  
11 published, there was considerable information in the  
12 public domain, put there by HMT alongside all the fiscal  
13 events that I did, of which there were many during this  
14 period, but also by the government's independent  
15 forecast. So you have to remember, for over a decade  
16 now the government has had an independent forecaster, so  
17 it doesn't mark its own homework, in the OBR. They  
18 published extensively on the impacts of all these  
19 things, as did the Bank of England, who contain probably  
20 more people engaged in forecasting and modelling the UK  
21 economy than anyone else. And then again you have the  
22 IMF, the OECD and investment banks. So I don't think --

23 **Q.** I'm so sorry, could you slow down a little bit.

24 **A.** Sorry, I was taking your steer to move along, sorry,  
25 I misinterpreted the signal.

143

1 right. That doesn't necessarily mean you need to create  
2 countervailing structures elsewhere, you can just choose  
3 to communicate or think about SAGE differently, or  
4 science SAGE.

5 Again, people may have different points of view on  
6 that, reasonable people can disagree, but my reflections  
7 are that it wouldn't necessarily have added to anything.

8 **Q.** It's obvious that the Treasury provided detailed  
9 analysis to Number 10, relayed through you, relayed  
10 through these bilateral meetings, relayed as part of  
11 emails to Number 10 or the Cabinet Office. But that  
12 advice, of course, was not transparent in the same way  
13 that the SAGE advice was, would you agree? These  
14 weren't reflections of an HMT committee, the minutes of  
15 which were then condensed and published and made known  
16 to the world.

17 **A.** Yes, I think that is -- well, actually, it's not quite  
18 right, because HMT did publish a considerable amount of  
19 information --

20 **Q.** Of underlying data. But the data, the information, the  
21 advice and the analysis which was given directly to  
22 Downing Street by HMT was never itself published, was  
23 it?

24 **A.** I think that is -- I mean, it's entirely normal. But  
25 yes, I mean -- I think that's the same that goes for

142

1 **Q.** I didn't tell you to go so fast that we can't keep up.

2 **A.** So I think my point would be there was considerable  
3 information about the economic impacts on the economy in  
4 the public domain not just from HMT but many other  
5 independent expert bodies. So even if this specific  
6 advice on a micro point wasn't published there was a lot  
7 of evidence out there -- look, is it possible that HMT  
8 could have published even more? Perhaps. I think --

9 **Q.** You bemoan in the article in The Spectator the absence  
10 of cost-benefit calculations. You say:

11 "... a basic requirement for pretty much every  
12 public health intervention -- [but this] was never  
13 made."

14 What did you mean by that?

15 **A.** Again, I think I'm just agreeing with something that one  
16 of the epidemiologists has subsequently said, that,  
17 you know, cost-benefit in a precise way wasn't done.  
18 I think you talked about it, Mr Keith, in our early  
19 conversation about March, where the -- you know, just  
20 was just happening very quickly. I mentioned QALY  
21 analysis before, you told me not to mention it, but that  
22 would be an example of a cost-benefit analysis that has  
23 been used in other aspects of healthcare. And indeed,  
24 independent academics used it to evaluate the benefits  
25 and costs of the first lockdown. That was the broader

144

1 point I was making.

2 **Q.** There was, it appears from the evidence of  
3 Clare Lombardelli, at the beginning of the pandemic, no  
4 pre-existing model of how a pandemic would affect the  
5 economy, there was no material showing what the  
6 estimated costs would be likely to be. Of course.  
7 During the course of the pandemic, did you instruct the  
8 Treasury to start preparing cost-benefit calculations on  
9 account of your view that those sorts of analyses were  
10 simply not there?

11 **A.** I think that would be more a function for the  
12 Cabinet Office and the taskforce, and that's exactly  
13 what you would expect the taskforce to, over time, be  
14 able to do, which is to synthesise the different -- the  
15 different things from different areas, you know, try and  
16 bring them together. So that -- that's really what the  
17 taskforce over time was able to do a better job at.

18 **Q.** Mr Sunak, the HMT is a wizard in the field of fiscal and  
19 economic matters and cost-benefit analyses. You can't  
20 bemoan in The Spectator on one hand the absence of any  
21 calculation along those lines and then say that it's  
22 something that you expect the Cabinet Office to have  
23 done. Why didn't the Treasury say, "The government  
24 would be hugely assisted by calculations that bring  
25 together the cost-benefit thinking about future

145

1 **Q.** Indeed, I don't think anybody has suggested that.  
2 Could we now look, please, at the winter strategy  
3 briefly, and September/October. The winter strategy  
4 document of 19 September made plain that the infection  
5 was spreading rapidly. The seven-day average of  
6 confirmed cases had risen from 1,077 in mid-August to  
7 "3,598 today", that's 19 September, and is on a sharp  
8 upward trajectory, and there are references to what the  
9 hospital admissions might be if no further measures are  
10 implemented.

11 As a general rule, and I'm sure you would accept  
12 this proposition, the Treasury briefed you, we can see  
13 a briefing for a Covid Strategy Committee, Covid-S  
14 meeting on 21 September, to oppose a circuit-breaker --  
15 obviously a proposal for circuit-breakers was what was  
16 being discussed -- on the basis that the Treasury feared  
17 that a circuit-breaker of perhaps two to three weeks  
18 wouldn't itself be enough, if that was the route that  
19 would be pursued, and also there was a risk that if it  
20 was only two to three weeks the government might find  
21 itself in the awful position of coming out of  
22 a circuit-breaker whilst the number of deaths is still  
23 going in the wrong direction. So there were good  
24 arguments to be made against circuit-breaker; you made  
25 them, did you not?

147

1 lockdowns, let's do it"?

2 **A.** Because I think it's an incredibly hard thing to do.  
3 I think we shouldn't just assume that it was available  
4 off-the-shelf to just do. These are incredibly complex  
5 decisions, and in many cases very hard to quantify.  
6 I mean, many health decisions are trade-offs. I mean,  
7 how do you think about quantifying -- we do it with  
8 drugs often with QALY analysis, but the moral dimensions  
9 to these things is very complex.

10 My point is the Cabinet Office -- the taskforce is  
11 the right place to bring together different aspects of  
12 it. Now, we seconded -- actually the Treasury seconded  
13 ten people to the taskforce particularly to help with  
14 all of this. And again, I think, a reflection on all of  
15 this for the future is if someone has developed a better  
16 way to integrate these things, then that's something  
17 that -- expertise one would ideally like to have next  
18 time around.

19 But I'm not sure that it's that straightforward.  
20 I think you can do illustrative cost-benefit analyses,  
21 as indeed the academics who produced the QALY paper did,  
22 but we shouldn't pretend that you could reduce all these  
23 things to a simple number that the Prime Minister can  
24 just see and then make a decision based on it. It will  
25 never be that straightforward.

146

1 **A.** Yes, I was never particularly persuaded by the  
2 circuit-breaker, as indeed others weren't either.

3 **Q.** And it's fair to say that at the meeting of Covid-S on  
4 21 September, and also the COBR and Cabinet meetings on  
5 the 22nd, you presented analysis from HMT showing how  
6 a circuit-breaker would hit the hospitality sector  
7 incredibly hard, with consequential damage to its  
8 vulnerable workforce; that's all very obvious.

9 In the course of Professor Sir Chris Whitty's oral  
10 evidence, he said this in response to a question:  
11 **"Question:** ... had there perhaps been  
12 a circuit breaker in September, had perhaps a tier level  
13 system been introduced earlier and had time to work over  
14 a longer period of time, there remains the possibility  
15 that that second lockdown might not have been  
16 necessary --

17 **"Answer:** Yeah --

18 **"Question:** -- or might not have been as long?

19 **"Answer:** I think that is -- I think most people  
20 would say that's the case."

21 So that we're absolutely clear, there was nothing  
22 wrong with opposing a circuit-breaker, the government  
23 was a very, very difficult position and the arguments  
24 were extremely finely balanced between damage to the  
25 economy and the public health considerations in terms of

148

1 rising infection; is that obvious?  
 2 **A.** Yes, it was obvious -- obviously a finely balanced  
 3 decision, indeed the CSA and the CMO used that phrase,  
 4 I think, at a press conference at the time.  
 5 **Q.** They did.  
 6 **A.** And it was also the case that SAGE themselves said that  
 7 the evidence base on which to judge the effectiveness  
 8 and harms associated with different interventions was  
 9 weak at that moment in time, and that policymakers would  
 10 have to consider a whole range of impacts alongside the  
 11 epidemiological impacts.  
 12 So that was the context of the discussion at the  
 13 time, even from the medical and scientific advisers and  
 14 the kinds of things that they were saying. Indeed,  
 15 I think the Deputy Chief Medical Officer as late as the  
 16 end of October, about 20 October, himself in a press  
 17 conference said that he didn't think a national  
 18 firebreak was the right policy, and that was a month  
 19 after the deliberations that we're talking about at the  
 20 end of September.  
 21 **Q.** There was a meeting on 20 September in Downing Street or  
 22 Chequers, I can't recall where, where the Prime Minister  
 23 met with -- you'll recall because you were there --  
 24 Professors Edmunds and McLean and Professor Gupta,  
 25 Professor Heneghan, and Anders Tegnell of Sweden.

149

1 reasonable for the Prime Minister to seek a diversity of  
 2 opinion as he's coming to make decisions. A question  
 3 for him really more than me. I was invited to  
 4 a meeting, I went to a meeting. But I don't think  
 5 there's anything wrong with hearing from a range of  
 6 people. I think that's a healthy process and if some  
 7 people -- there's long evidence of -- in behavioural  
 8 psychology about, you know, people getting into  
 9 groupthink and the Prime Minister, if he wants to get  
 10 out of consensus views, again, inherently there's  
 11 nothing wrong with that, I don't think --  
 12 **Q.** I haven't suggested --  
 13 **A.** -- on from the UK --  
 14 **Q.** Mr Sunak, so that we don't have an unnecessary hare run,  
 15 I'm not suggesting that it was wrong to seek that  
 16 advice, I'm merely asking you whether or not you  
 17 wondered why you had been asked to attend alongside that  
 18 scientific advice from the range, the spectrum from  
 19 which it derived; you didn't think about it?  
 20 **A.** No.  
 21 **Q.** All right.

22 The tier system. We can deal with this very  
 23 briefly, because it is obvious that there were a number  
 24 of meetings in front of Covid-S to consider the  
 25 recommendation from the Covid Taskforce that there be

151

1 Did you reflect upon why that meeting was being  
 2 called, given the government's stated position that it  
 3 would follow the science, by which it presumably meant  
 4 its own Chief Medical Officer and Government Chief  
 5 Scientific Adviser?  
 6 **A.** I wasn't responsible for organising the meeting, so you  
 7 have to -- I guess whoever organised it would be the  
 8 person to ask.  
 9 **Q.** Did you express views in the meeting in support of  
 10 Professor Heneghan and Professor Gupta's stated  
 11 position, which was essentially that there was no  
 12 requirement for there to be a lockdown and that, in the  
 13 general scheme of things, a lockdown would be  
 14 an overreaction, massively damaging and  
 15 epidemiologically not required?  
 16 **A.** I don't have any strong recollections of the meeting, it  
 17 was Prime Minister wanting to hear from a range of  
 18 different scientists and get their views, some domestic  
 19 and one from Sweden, as you mentioned.  
 20 **Q.** You must have asked yourself, at a particularly intense  
 21 time: why am I attending this meeting to hear the views  
 22 of scientists who are outside the range of, I suppose,  
 23 the consensus range of evidential advice that was being  
 24 received from SAGE?  
 25 **A.** It didn't strike me as odd and I think entirely

150

1 a tier system.  
 2 You discussed on 8 October with the Prime Minister  
 3 directly the health and economic arguments, and then  
 4 following that day, I think perhaps that night or the  
 5 next day, the Cabinet Secretary briefed officials that  
 6 you and the Prime Minister had agreed that the  
 7 government would seek to negotiate the restrictions  
 8 which were a necessary part of the tier process.  
 9 Mr Hancock has said in evidence that he knew at the  
 10 time of the announcement of the tiered system on  
 11 12 October that it wouldn't work.  
 12 What was your view as to the likelihood that this  
 13 tier system, which to remind ourselves of course was  
 14 imposed from 12 October and required these detailed  
 15 local negotiations to take place, would work? Did you  
 16 have a view on it?  
 17 **A.** I think -- I mean, well, the strong -- I say strong --  
 18 I mean, the general consensus, I think, amongst our  
 19 medical and scientific advisers on -- going into the  
 20 autumn was that a local approach was the right approach.  
 21 You can see that in the SAGE minutes consistently from  
 22 the end of June, you know, they talk about an emphasis  
 23 on local control. I think I remember the Chief Medical  
 24 Officer in Cabinet either at the beginning of October or  
 25 end of September making the point that actually the UK's

152

1 national outbreak in the first wave had been  
 2 an exception to the pattern across Europe, where Italy  
 3 and Spain in particular had seen more localised  
 4 outbreaks, and I think he said, in the minutes it's  
 5 recorded, that it's possible the second wave will be  
 6 localised. And again that, even once we ended up going  
 7 into a second -- I think the proof is here, actually,  
 8 even once we ended up going into a second national  
 9 lockdown, the Cabinet minutes I think from 10 November  
 10 reflect the CMO's views that reintroducing the tiered  
 11 system after the national measures seemed entirely  
 12 rational.

13 So I think the strong point of view of everyone was  
 14 that a local approach was sensible to try. He thought  
 15 that even after we'd gone into a national lockdown.  
 16 I think --

17 **Q.** Forgive me, you've referred to the SAGE minutes  
 18 consistently from the end of June. By October and the  
 19 time of the introduction of the tier system, the CMO and  
 20 the GCSA had made it absolutely plain that this would  
 21 simply not suffice to reduce the R below 1 and that the  
 22 only epidemiologically justified route was a more  
 23 stringent circuit-breaker or lockdown. The position had  
 24 changed, had it not, by October?

25 **A.** Well, in the minutes of the 20 October Cabinet meeting  
 153

1 it was, bluntly, a bit of a chance as to whether or not  
 2 epidemiologically --

3 **A.** Ah.

4 **Q.** -- it would work?

5 **A.** Right. Well, then I would --

6 **Q.** I mean, there was a system in place concerning the --

7 **A.** Yeah.

8 **Q.** -- negotiations --

9 **A.** No, I understand, I understand your question.

10 **Q.** -- which were difficult.

11 **A.** Well, in which case I would just point you to the  
 12 remarks of the Deputy Chief Medical Officer on  
 13 20 October in the press conference, where he was asked  
 14 and he said, "This national firebreak you talk about,  
 15 no, I don't think that's right, and I don't think it's  
 16 consistent with the epidemiological picture we are  
 17 seeing, I think it would be very difficult to justify".

18 The Chief Medical -- I think the -- not the Chief  
 19 Medical Officer but maybe the medical director at the  
 20 NHS also made a point after that in the same press  
 21 conference about the varied epidemiological impact they  
 22 were seeing around the country in hospitals. So at the  
 23 end of October, exactly on the date that you're talking  
 24 about, in public the Deputy Chief Medical Officer was  
 25 saying that he didn't think national action would be  
 155

1 the CMO is recorded as saying the country remains split  
 2 into three broad categories, this justified the  
 3 government's approach of three tiers of local alert  
 4 level.

5 **Q.** Yes.

6 **A.** That's in the Cabinet meetings on 20 October.

7 **Q.** And in that meeting on and 11 October he made it plain  
 8 that, epidemiologically, there was a very high risk that  
 9 the tier system would not work to bring R below 1, you  
 10 were aware of that?

11 **A.** As I said, on 20 October he said that it justified the  
 12 government's approach of three tiers at a local alert  
 13 level. That's in the Cabinet minutes on 20 October.

14 **Q.** All right.

15 **A.** And even after the national lockdown, he said that it  
 16 would be entirely rational to reintroduce the tiering  
 17 system.

18 **Q.** Yes, but that, of course, is after the --

19 **A.** But I'm saying it goes to the point that the principle  
 20 of a tiered system is one which had con -- I think wide  
 21 support amongst scientific and health advisers.

22 **Q.** We may be at cross purposes --

23 **A.** Yes, I fear we are.

24 **Q.** Obviously there is a justification for a tier system  
 25 within its own parameters, but was it not apparent that  
 154

1 justified, given the varied epidemiological picture  
 2 across the country. And that was backed up I think by  
 3 Steve Powis in the same press conference.

4 **Q.** Forgive me, in the Cabinet and the Covid-S meetings,  
 5 which you attended as the Chancellor of the Exchequer,  
 6 you were aware that epidemiologically this was a bit of  
 7 a chance. It was quite likely it would not work to  
 8 bring R below 1 but it was, in policy terms, a position  
 9 open to the government to take and one that you  
 10 supported, because of course you would be violently  
 11 opposed to a lockdown?

12 **A.** I think that's not a fair characterisation of my  
 13 position. I was opposed to a circuit-breaker in  
 14 September because I didn't think it would have achieved  
 15 its stated objectives, something that I think most  
 16 people now acknowledge to be the case and I've seen in  
 17 evidence people now accepting that it wouldn't have  
 18 prevented the need for a second lockdown. Indeed, it  
 19 didn't work in Wales when it was tried. So I was  
 20 specifically opposed to a circuit-breaker, again, as  
 21 I've --

22 **Q.** Yes, I've --

23 **A.** I think -- I think "violently opposed" to lockdowns is  
 24 not an accurate characterisation of my position at that  
 25 time. I was opposed to a circuit-breaker on its own  
 156

1 merits, because I didn't think it would work.

2 Now, at the end of October -- we can both quote  
3 minutes back at each other, I'm looking at a Cabinet  
4 minute from 20 October where the Chief Medical Officer  
5 is saying --

6 **Q.** What was your position, Mr Sunak, by 30 October, in  
7 relation to the lockdown decision of 4 November?

8 **A.** As the minutes showed, I didn't oppose it at the end  
9 of -- into November, I didn't oppose that lockdown. But  
10 what I can tell you, that it was reasonable to believe  
11 at the end of October that the regional approach may  
12 still work. That was a reasonable belief.

13 Now, obviously it turned out not to be right, with  
14 the benefit of hindsight, but when you have the Deputy  
15 Chief Medical Officer themselves saying at the end of  
16 October that he doesn't believe that national action is  
17 warranted because it wasn't consistent with the varied  
18 regional picture we're seeing, that demonstrates to you  
19 that reasonable people believed that that -- the  
20 regional approach may still work and it was worth  
21 trying.

22 Now, clearly, in the event, it didn't. But as we  
23 discussed earlier, these things were finely balanced,  
24 lots of things to think about, but was it a reasonable  
25 approach at the time? I think so, and it was

157

1 **A.** No, no, the debate, and as I think the record shows and  
2 the evidence shows, the point I made to him, which he  
3 did consider but ultimately disagreed with me on, was to  
4 consider whether it was necessary to shut non-essential  
5 retail as part of that lockdown. That's what the record  
6 shows. I put that. It -- the Prime Minister I think  
7 said he wanted to think over that. He ended up deciding  
8 that it was worth shutting it down -- because by this  
9 point we had the evidence from SAGE that confirmed the  
10 very minimal impact on R from closing non-essential  
11 retail. So by this point we had that data. So I said  
12 reasonable to consider whether that was necessary given  
13 the impact it would have on those people's jobs, doesn't  
14 have any impact on R as far as we're being told. Prime  
15 Minister thought about it, decided to include it in the  
16 lockdown, for simplicity of -- or whatever, I don't know  
17 why exactly, but the simplicity of the overall approach.  
18 But that was my main specific point about that decision,  
19 was purely on non-essential retail.

20 **Q.** All right.

21 **A.** And that is I think recorded in all the evidence that  
22 you have.

23 **Q.** It is.

24 Three final questions, please.

25 Firstly, inappropriately and unattractively, there

159

1 extensively debated. So in terms of thinking about the  
2 decision-making process, even if the decision might be  
3 one that in hindsight people would revisit, I don't  
4 think there was any failure in the process, because it  
5 was extensively debated in government.

6 **Q.** Do we take it from that that you had every opportunity  
7 to dissuade the Prime Minister from the ultimate  
8 decision to oppose the lockdown in November 2020? You  
9 were heard, your voice was listened to, but ultimately  
10 the Prime Minister in effect decided that there had to  
11 be a lockdown?

12 **A.** It was always the case that decisions ultimately laid  
13 with the Prime Minister, that's the same throughout, and  
14 my job throughout, as I've said, was to make him aware  
15 of the impacts of the decisions. And I always felt that  
16 I had that opportunity.

17 **Q.** Did you specifically say to him, "Prime Minister, my  
18 position as the Chancellor of the Exchequer is  
19 a lockdown is not warranted"? For all the reasons that  
20 this Inquiry understands and for all the reasons  
21 reflected in the paperwork before you and before this  
22 Inquiry, in that ultimate debate your view was "I think  
23 this is the wrong decision" --

24 **A.** No.

25 **Q.** -- is that what you told him?

158

1 is material which shows that the Treasury was  
2 pejoratively associated with death. Some officials in  
3 Number 10 described the Treasury as the "pro death  
4 squad", obviously on account of the fact that the  
5 Treasury was seen to be opposed to maximum public health  
6 interventions and was -- quite properly, as we've  
7 established -- promoting the issue of the need to avoid  
8 economic and societal damage and harm.

9 Were you aware that the Treasury was being referred  
10 to in those terms? You may not have been aware.

11 **A.** I wasn't, and I do not think it is a fair  
12 characterisation --

13 **Q.** Indeed.

14 **A.** -- on the incredibly hard working people that I was  
15 lucky to be supported by at the Treasury, and in the  
16 same way earlier you talked about the people at SAGE  
17 being motivated by doing what they thought was best in  
18 the public interest, I would say exactly the same about  
19 all the people who worked with me at the Treasury, who  
20 worked extremely hard throughout the entire period and,  
21 as you kindly alluded to earlier, and the IFG report,  
22 are widely considered to have done some things that no  
23 one had thought possible, that saved millions of  
24 people's livelihoods and helped the economy get through,  
25 and therefore helped families get through, and support

160



1 the country through a difficult time. I'm grateful to  
2 them for what they did, and, as I said, I don't think  
3 that is a fair characterisation of how they approached  
4 their jobs at all.

5 **Q.** Indeed.

6 It is obvious that many of the very difficult  
7 decisions which had to be taken by government were  
8 themselves highly politicised. They are decisions which  
9 engage the public, they have given rise to an enormous  
10 amount of public anxiety as well as public heat and  
11 light, and it's obvious that the government acted,  
12 whenever it acted, in good faith and doing the best that  
13 it possibly could. That is its stated position and  
14 there is no basis for challenging that.

15 One particularly contentious issue is the issue of  
16 free meals in holidays. You'll recall, Prime Minister,  
17 that Marcus Rashford, the footballer, spearheaded  
18 a campaign, "Make the U-turn" campaign. He campaigned  
19 for holiday food vouchers for children who were entitled  
20 to free school meals. And an extract from  
21 Sir Patrick Vallance's diary refers to a meeting on  
22 13 June 2021 when this issue came up, and Sir Patrick  
23 has suggested that somebody at the meeting said "Good  
24 working people pay for their children to eat and don't  
25 want freeloaders", and he has suggested that in the

161

1 **LADY HALLETT:** Shall we take the break now?

2 **MR KEITH:** Please.

3 **LADY HALLETT:** I shall return at 3.25.

4 (3.08 pm)

(A short break)

6 (3.25 pm)

7 **LADY HALLETT:** Given the time and obviously the  
8 Prime Minister's other commitments, I'm afraid I'm going  
9 to have to be particularly tough on core participants'  
10 questioning this afternoon.

11 First of all, Ms Morris.

12 **Questions from MS MORRIS KC**

13 **MS MORRIS:** Thank you, my Lady.

14 Mr Sunak, I ask questions on behalf of Covid  
15 Bereaved Families for Justice UK, and I have been given  
16 permission to ask questions on one topic, and that is  
17 financial support for care home workers. So I'm going  
18 to put a short number of propositions to you from the  
19 evidence already before the Chair and I'm going to ask  
20 you two short questions about them.

21 First of all, the Inquiry has already heard from  
22 Mr Hancock, and according to his second statement it had  
23 been realised by early June 2020 that agency workers  
24 moving from one care home to another was a key pathway  
25 through which the virus was entering care homes to

163

1 context of -- I don't need it up on the screen, thank  
2 you very much -- in the context of the Chancellor of the  
3 Exchequer and the Chief Whip.

4 Plainly you couldn't both have said it, if anybody  
5 said it, but I want you to please answer whether anybody  
6 did say those words and whether you recollect anybody  
7 using them?

8 **A.** I did not say those words, I don't recollect anyone  
9 saying those words, and my concern throughout the  
10 pandemic was making sure that we had support in place  
11 for the most vulnerable. And I think as all the  
12 evidence now shows, and as independent analysts such as  
13 those at the Resolution Foundation have said, that our  
14 schemes actually helped the most financially vulnerable  
15 the most, poverty fell, unemployment remained low. The  
16 distributional analysis published by the Treasury again  
17 supports that it was the poorest households who were  
18 protected the most by what I and the government did  
19 throughout this time, because people who were least well  
20 off were uppermost in our thoughts throughout this time,  
21 because we knew it would be particularly difficult on  
22 them, and that's why we put a range of things in place  
23 to help them, and I'm glad the evidence shows that they  
24 did get the most support.

25 **MR KEITH:** Prime Minister, thank you.

162

1 devastating effect.

2 According to him, at a Covid-O meeting on  
3 15 September 2020, it was agreed that regulations would  
4 be brought in to prohibit staff movement between  
5 care homes as a matter of law, and the proposals were  
6 drafted and then went out for consultation.

7 By December 2020, he described how DHSC had  
8 finalised proposals which included a compensation  
9 package for such workers' foregone hours which required  
10 Treasury agreement. That's clearly where I'm going to  
11 ask you about your involvement.

12 However, Mr Hancock said at, just for the record,  
13 paragraph 491 of his second statement, that:

14 "... it became clear that HMT was reticent to fund  
15 a scheme to support staff affected by the proposed  
16 regulation, and the implementation of the plan was  
17 delayed again."

18 And in fact he uses the word "opposition" in the  
19 same paragraph .

20 According to a later DHSC submission to Mr Hancock  
21 on 5 January, this time 2021, it noted that HMT  
22 ministers decided not to fund the compensation scheme,  
23 saying it was the wrong mechanism but they are open to  
24 options to support increased staff supply.

25 Mr Hancock described how, in the event, the proposed

164

1 regulations to restrict the movement of workers were not  
2 brought forward due to the lack of compensation in work  
3 for(?) shortages at that stage.

4 So my first question is: what was your involvement  
5 in this process, Mr Sunak, and what was the reluctance  
6 and reticence?

7 **A.** Well, the first thing to say that, you know, in  
8 particular from the beginning of the pandemic I was  
9 cognisant that this would have an enormous impact on the  
10 NHS and social care workforce, family and organisations,  
11 which is why we put an enormous amount of funding in  
12 place to support them. Now, obviously for social care  
13 that largely goes through local authorities, so one of  
14 the earliest things we did was provide billions of  
15 pounds extra for local authorities in unringfenced  
16 grants so that they would have extra funds to spend on  
17 the things they needed to at the time, and that was done  
18 I can't remember exactly what date, but relatively early  
19 on in the pandemic.

20 Now, with regard to social care in particular,  
21 I wasn't, and I don't have any strong recollection of  
22 these sets of conversations, I wasn't primarily involved  
23 with them to the best of my knowledge, and I think you  
24 referenced an advice that HMT ministers --

25 **Q.** Ministers, yes.

165

1 January 2021. My second question is this: given that  
2 staff movement was a primary contributor to care home  
3 infections, and according to the Department of Health  
4 still a key infection prevention and control concern at  
5 a time of increased incidence, why was there still no  
6 mechanism to incentivise and/or to compensate care home  
7 staff to confine themselves to working in one care home  
8 by January 2021?

9 **A.** Well, I think if I check the details I think there was  
10 some new funding announced on 16 January and the CST had  
11 considered a proposal from DH about a general fund to  
12 boost the social care workforce and had approved it, and  
13 it was precisely to support providers to restrict staff  
14 movement between care homes and other care settings,  
15 et cetera, et cetera. So I think those conversations  
16 were happening and a fund was announced, as far as I can  
17 tell, but again it wasn't something that I was directly  
18 involved in, that was the chief secretary to the  
19 Treasury's primary responsibility.

20 **Q.** And you would agree from the documents that you're  
21 referring to and that I'm referring to that that wasn't  
22 in place before January 2021, despite the conversations  
23 taking place between the departments and the chief  
24 secretary for the Treasury?

25 **A.** Yes, I don't remember these conversations, again,

167

1 **A.** The person responsible, which I think is clear from the  
2 documented evidence, was the chief secretary to the  
3 Treasury, and he is the minister responsible for  
4 spending, and he was the one that was going back and  
5 forth with the Department of Health on the various  
6 options that were available. I think in the Department  
7 of Health advice, I haven't got the exact date, it says  
8 "CST considered funding an alternative proposal, not  
9 convinced the policy will achieve its aim". And also  
10 the DH advice was that -- whether to proceed when we  
11 nearly have the vaccine was already in the balance. So  
12 I know that there were conversations happening between  
13 the chief secretary and the department, they were not  
14 ones that I was sighted on or involved in.

15 **Q.** So, in short, did it cross your desk?

16 **A.** Not to my recollection. And having reviewed best I can  
17 some of the evidence at the time with the Treasury, as  
18 I said, these specific two proposals on compensation  
19 mechanisms and things were dealt with by him. In the  
20 event I think a general fund was established at some  
21 point for the social care workforce specifically around  
22 this time, but again it wasn't something that I was  
23 directly involved in.

24 **Q.** The question I have is specifically aimed around this  
25 period between the end of 2020 and prior to

166

1 happening until immediately before then anyway, having  
2 reviewed this pack from the Treasury. It sounds like  
3 those conversations were predominantly happening in and  
4 around December, with an announcement in January.

5 **Q.** Okay.

6 **A.** And I think there's another point that's worth making,  
7 that in the end I think key system partners no longer  
8 supported it, and that's something that I think the  
9 Secretary of State for Health and his officials have  
10 also said in their evidence. It wasn't just the  
11 funding, it was -- actually the mechanics of making it  
12 work, I think, weren't -- as I said, key system partners  
13 no longer supported it, was the conclusion they had come  
14 to as well.

15 **Q.** But one of the reasons the regulations was not put in  
16 place by that point was because of the lack of financial  
17 package; would you agree with that?

18 **A.** I don't -- as I've said, it's not something that I was  
19 directly involved in. And I think there were separate  
20 regulations that had been considered, but again it was  
21 not something that I was actively involved in, so it's  
22 hard for me to comment much beyond what I've said.

23 **MS MORRIS:** Thank you.

24 Thank you, my Lady, those are my questions.

25 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much indeed, Ms Morris.

168

1 Ms Harris? No. It's Ms Gowman, exactly.  
 2 Mr Sunak, I don't know if you can see Ms Gowman --  
 3 **THE WITNESS:** I can.  
 4 **LADY HALLETT:** -- if you look round the pillar.  
 5 **THE WITNESS:** No, no, I can.  
 6 **LADY HALLETT:** Sorry about the pillars.

7 **Questions from MS GOWMAN**

8 **MS GOWMAN:** Thank you, my Lady.  
 9 Prime Minister, I ask questions on behalf of the  
 10 Covid-19 Bereaved Families for Justice Cymru, and my  
 11 questions relate to the UK Government's interactions  
 12 with the devolved administrations, and in particular the  
 13 Welsh Government.

14 My first topic relates to the Eat Out to Help Out  
 15 scheme, and you've already explained in your evidence  
 16 that the devolved administrations were not consulted.  
 17 Did the devolved administrations and specifically the  
 18 Welsh Government have the option of opting out of the  
 19 scheme, and if not, why not?

20 **A.** I'm not -- I'm not sure whether that was something that  
 21 was ever raised with me, to be honest. I don't --  
 22 I don't recall receiving any formal submission from the  
 23 Welsh Government to do that. And if there is, I'd be  
 24 happy to see it, but it's not something that I recall at  
 25 the time. But, as I say, if you have it, I'd be happy

169

1 frequently do. So, if that was something that they  
 2 wanted to raise, I'm sure they would have raised it  
 3 through the normal channels that they had.

4 **Q.** Thank you.

5 My second topic relates to the funding of public  
 6 health decisions in Wales during the pandemic, and I'm  
 7 going to put two particular paragraphs that are  
 8 contained within the first witness statement of the  
 9 First Minister for Wales, Mr Mark Drakeford's statement.

10 This is exhibit INQ000273747, page 40.

11 Before we turn to Mr Drakeford's statement, it's  
 12 important to set out two points of context that you've  
 13 set out within your witness statement. You say in your  
 14 statement that the UK Government provides most of the  
 15 devolved administrations' funding, with quantum to be  
 16 determined by the Barnett formula. And you also say  
 17 that the UK Government provided the devolved  
 18 administrations with an upfront funding guarantee in  
 19 July 2021, and that was further uplifted on three  
 20 occasions to enable the devolved administrations greater  
 21 flexibility to respond to the pandemic.

22 With those important points of context in mind, and  
 23 turning to Mr Drakeford's statement, at paragraph 136 of  
 24 the statement, he says this, and I hope that it's on the  
 25 screen in front of you:

171

1 to have a look at it, but I don't recall them ever  
 2 making a formal submission to opt out of the scheme.

3 **Q.** Was that not indicative of the lack of consultation with  
 4 them in the first place, though?

5 **A.** No, because -- I mean, as -- we have a devolution  
 6 settlement where obviously the UK Government is able to  
 7 make policy on matters that are reserved and devolved  
 8 governments make matters on policy which is devolved  
 9 without -- I wouldn't expect them to consult me on  
 10 things that they were doing that were within their  
 11 devolved competence -- every time they were making  
 12 a budget decision -- ordinarily, again, they wouldn't  
 13 expect to consult the UK Government on that. That's how  
 14 our devolution settlement works. But, as I said,  
 15 I don't recall them ever, after announcement of the  
 16 scheme -- and as we've discussed there was almost  
 17 a month between announcement and commencement -- them  
 18 formally saying to me or the Treasury that they wanted  
 19 to not participate in the scheme. I don't think they  
 20 ever did that. Again, I don't recall them doing so.

21 **Q.** I think, Prime Minister, you've answered my second  
 22 question on that topic. But did the Welsh Government  
 23 have the opportunity, in your view, to raise concerns if  
 24 they had concerns?

25 **A.** I think they always have an opportunity and they

170

1 "On 23 October 2020 the Welsh Firebreak came into  
 2 effect. Had we had the confidence that the UK  
 3 Government would provide the money needed to support  
 4 people during the firebreak we probably would have  
 5 implemented the lockdown [earlier]. However, it was  
 6 hard for Wales to take the initiative because that meant  
 7 we had to take the decision without financial support  
 8 provided by the UK Government."

9 Now, I'm not asking about the merits of the  
 10 firebreak or otherwise, but do you agree with  
 11 Mr Drakeford's views in respect of the lack of financial  
 12 support?

13 **A.** No, I don't. We have a constitutional settlement in the  
 14 UK whereby funding for devolved administrations comes  
 15 either through their -- you know, their standard bloc  
 16 grant, their own tax raising powers, but then also the  
 17 Barnett formula. So when the UK Government decides that  
 18 it's increasing spending in areas of England that  
 19 triggers what were called Barnett consequentials or  
 20 extra funding for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland,  
 21 because they're obviously funded at a larger level than  
 22 in England. That is the constitutional settlement as it  
 23 works.

24 Because of the unprecedented nature of the pandemic,  
 25 we actually did something different. Precisely to give

172

1 devolved administrations extra financial flexibility and  
2 security. We gave them money in advance of that being  
3 triggered by a decision that might be taken with respect  
4 to England, precisely because we were -- recognised that  
5 there would be some degree of iteration.

6 That was introduced in July. It's never been done  
7 before, it's unprecedented, the upfront funding  
8 guarantee. It was uplifted three times, the second time  
9 of which was -- or the first time of which was in early  
10 October, so just before this period. In total it was  
11 an extra £5 billion for Wales, which is a significant  
12 amount. So they had -- and they had total freedom to  
13 spend that money as they wished, and so that money was  
14 available beyond their existing -- again, they have tax  
15 raising powers and borrowing powers that they can use if  
16 they want to raise extra funding but, as I say, we had  
17 provided in an unprecedented fashion money in advance of  
18 it being constitutionally triggered to give them extra  
19 financial flexibility.

20 **Q.** I think, Mr Sunak, it was 9 October that the first  
21 uplift was implemented.

22 **A.** Yes.

23 **Q.** Is that right?

24 **A.** Yes, the upfront funding guarantee was introduced in  
25 July, it was then uplifted three times, the first of

173

1 Moving on, in a similar vein, Mr Drakeford goes on  
2 at paragraph 138 of his statement to say that  
3 October 2020 was a challenging month for  
4 intergovernmental relations, and then at paragraph 139  
5 he concludes as follows:

6 "The Chancellor of the Exchequer refused to fund the  
7 consequences of a public health decision taken in Wales.  
8 That decision was, in my view, one of the most misguided  
9 decisions of the whole pandemic. It demonstrated that  
10 the Four Nations of the UK were to be treated  
11 differently by HM Treasury. It was, in effect, acting  
12 as a Treasury for England, not a Treasury for the UK.  
13 This was vividly illustrated when, within a few days of  
14 the Welsh firebreak a similar set of measures were  
15 adopted for England. Funds to support that cause of  
16 action were then released by the UK Treasury. Those  
17 funds were extended to Wales, but only because of  
18 decisions taken in response to the public health  
19 position in England, not because of the public health  
20 needs in Wales."

21 So the same question, Mr Sunak: do you agree with  
22 Mr Drakeford's views? Is he being fair?

23 **A.** No, I don't, it's the same answer I gave before, it  
24 precisely had funded extra money for Wales in early  
25 October in advance of that being triggered as is normal.

175

1 which was on 9 October, so just before these  
2 conversations.

3 **Q.** Thank you.

4 **A.** Again, that's funding -- just so we're clear, at that  
5 moment that would be the Welsh or Scottish or  
6 Northern Ireland governments receiving funding before it  
7 had been triggered through something that  
8 the UK Government had done. So the constitutional  
9 settlement doesn't normally work like that, but that was  
10 the government saying "We want you to have extra money,  
11 we don't know if actually this will ever come to pass,  
12 it may well, but we want to give you that extra  
13 certainty now". We'd never done that before. As  
14 I said, we did it and then we uplifted it three times,  
15 including just before this particular moment.

16 **Q.** And you've said in your evidence as well that Wales and  
17 indeed all of the devolved administrations had their own  
18 tax raising powers in addition to any of the additional  
19 funding that would have been made available by the UK  
20 Government?

21 **A.** Yes, I was giving an explanation more generally of how  
22 the funding settlements work, and borrowing powers as  
23 well. Again, there was a bit of a primer in there about  
24 how devolved funding works in general.

25 **Q.** Thank you.

174

1 And I think actually what the UK Government demonstrated  
2 through the pandemic, that there was incredible benefit  
3 to the people in Wales, and indeed Scotland and  
4 Northern Ireland, of being part of the United Kingdom,  
5 because the UK as an entity had the balance sheet  
6 strength to fund what were unprecedented interventions  
7 like the furlough scheme, which benefitted, I haven't  
8 got the exact numbers in front of me, but a considerable  
9 number of people in Wales and indeed in Scotland and  
10 Northern Ireland. That was just one of many UK measures  
11 implemented, indeed the increase in Universal Credit,  
12 much of the support elsewhere extended through the  
13 welfare system, all of which benefitted people in Wales.  
14 So that was the UK Government delivering for people  
15 across the UK. And, as I said, money was made available  
16 for Wales in advance of need because of the way that we  
17 structured the upfront funding guarantee. And again it  
18 was not ringfenced, it was up to the Welsh Government to  
19 decide how to spend that money.

20 **MS GOWMAN:** Thank you, Prime Minister, those are my  
21 questions.

22 Thank you, my Lady.

23 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Ms Gowman.

24 Ms Mitchell.

25 Ms Mitchell is over there.

176

1 **Questions from MS MITCHELL KC**

2 **MS MITCHELL:** Prime Minister, I appear as instructed by  
3 Aamer Anwar & Company on behalf of the Scottish Covid  
4 Bereaved.

5 You've given evidence this morning in relation to  
6 the difficult job of balancing economic consequences of  
7 the pandemic with the decisions that have to be taken on  
8 health by those who have to make those decisions.  
9 Health obviously being a devolved matter, the  
10 First Minister of Scotland was tasked with that  
11 responsibility, and the funding of that matter rested  
12 with the UK Government.

13 Can I have INQ000217057 up, please.

14 This is a letter from the then First Minister,  
15 Nicola Sturgeon, to the then Prime Minister,  
16 Boris Johnson. At page 1, just for the date, we get  
17 that date on 23 September 2020, and can we go to the top  
18 of page 2.

19 Now, I appreciate you won't have received this  
20 letter directly unless it was forwarded on to you, but  
21 what this says on that date, 23 September, is:

22 "And third, if it is not possible to reach  
23 a four nations agreement on further restrictions with  
24 associated support, what arrangements can be put in  
25 place to ensure that devolved administrations are not

177

1 much later than that, that the issue hadn't been raised  
2 and dealt with.

3 **A.** The reason I mention July is because July was the first  
4 time that the upfront funding guarantee was put in  
5 place. So it was as early as July, in fact, before  
6 these conversations, that the UK Government had decided  
7 to do something unprecedented, which is to provide extra  
8 funding to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in  
9 advance of that funding being triggered constitutionally  
10 through the Barnett formula, and then that funding was  
11 uplifted three times subsequently to that. The first of  
12 those uplifts was in October.

13 **Q.** Indeed, it would appear, though --

14 **A.** And so shortly -- I think shortly after this letter, by  
15 the look of things.

16 **Q.** Yes, indeed, it would appear though, notwithstanding  
17 what you've told us about, there were still concerns in  
18 relation to both the Scottish Government and also the  
19 Welsh Government in relation to this particular issue.  
20 What I'm saying is that after the arrangements had been  
21 put in place that had been made, were you aware of these  
22 further particular concerns in relation to the quandary  
23 that Scotland and Wales found itself in in questions of  
24 making decisions on public health that might require  
25 additional public funding, for example, to funding that

179

1 constrained in making what we judge to be essential  
2 public health decisions because we lack the financial  
3 flexibility to provide support to affected sectors or  
4 individuals?"

5 Now, you've already touched obviously on that issue  
6 with my learned friend, who has already asked you  
7 questions.

8 The first question I would like to ask you about  
9 this is: were you made aware, either by Mr Johnson or  
10 Mr Gove, as to the concerns the First Minister had at  
11 that time?

12 **A.** Yeah, I can't recall this specific letter.

13 **Q.** You may not recall the specific letter, but were you  
14 made aware of concerns either by Mr Johnson or Mr Gove  
15 about that particular concern of the First Minister?

16 **A.** Not in a specific sense. In general there were  
17 conversations throughout the pandemic about points of  
18 difference with the DAs, but I can't remember any  
19 specificity around those conversations at this  
20 particular time or more generally.

21 **Q.** Because I'm keen to explore the timescales that you've  
22 identified, because I think you mentioned July 2020 in  
23 your answer to my learned friend, and I'm wondering if  
24 July 2020 is the correct time? Because it seems both  
25 Mr Drakeford and Ms Sturgeon were expressing concerns,

178

1 might be different from that?

2 **A.** I'm not sure I agree with the sequencing. I thought the  
3 date, if you can flick back to the first page of the  
4 letter --

5 **Q.** That letter can be placed up on the screen.

6 **A.** If you just flick back to the ...

7 **Q.** Indeed.

8 **A.** Yes, so that was on 23 September. So actually two weeks  
9 after that there was an uplift --

10 **Q.** Indeed --

11 **A.** -- the upfront funding guarantee. So again I wasn't  
12 familiar with this particular letter, but --

13 **Q.** Forgive me, Prime Minister --

14 **A.** -- subsequent to that, if there was a concern raised  
15 anyway there was action in early October to increase the  
16 funding to the Scottish Government beyond its, at that  
17 point, constitutional amount that would be -- would be  
18 due.

19 And, again, I'd make the same point that I made  
20 previously: we have an existing constitutional  
21 settlement --

22 **Q.** Indeed, Prime Minister, I'm not --

23 **A.** -- which obviously was -- we acted in an unprecedented  
24 fashion, but that is the constitutional settlement we  
25 have.

180

1 **Q.** I'm not looking for that analysis. What I'm looking for  
2 is specifically just to ascertain whether or not even  
3 an absence of the Barnett formula, so an absence of  
4 reacting to what was happening in the rest of the UK and  
5 uplifting the amount even in advance, I'm asking  
6 separately about the issue.

7 If I can give an example: I don't need this to be  
8 put up, but for the purposes of the Inquiry,  
9 INQ000235213, the statement of Nicola Sturgeon,  
10 paragraphs 102 and 103.

11 In her written evidence to this Inquiry, Mr Sunak,  
12 she states that the Scottish Government had pressed for  
13 a more generous approach to financial support for those  
14 required to self-isolate. In particular, the  
15 Scottish Government analysis showed that the labour  
16 impact of requiring self-isolation was unequal. People  
17 who were able to work from home were unlikely to lose  
18 income as a result of complying with self-isolation, but  
19 people who were not able to work from home were more  
20 likely to face a loss of income if they self-isolated  
21 and did not attend the workforce.

22 Firstly I would like to ask you about this: what  
23 conversations did you have with the Scottish Government  
24 in relation to whether a more generous approach to  
25 financial support from those who could not work from

181

1 So I think that is important.

2 **Q.** Mr Sunak --

3 **A.** You can't abstract away from it, I think that's the  
4 entire basis of how it works.

5 **Q.** Well, that is the basis of how it works, but I think the  
6 difficulty was that in a pandemic the First Minister was  
7 in charge of health and was asking the Prime Minister:  
8 what assistance can we get, rather than waiting for the  
9 rest of the UK, if we want to --

10 **A.** And my point was the upfront guarantee was put in place  
11 precisely so that they didn't have to wait. The whole  
12 point about it, it was funding in advance of that  
13 funding being triggered by something consequent down the  
14 line.

15 **Q.** Can I --

16 **A.** So it's precisely because of that that the upfront  
17 guarantee was put in place --

18 **Q.** Can I --

19 **A.** -- and increased regularly.

20 **Q.** -- return to my question, which was: what conversations  
21 did you have with the Scottish Government in relation to  
22 the issue that was raised about the unequal labour  
23 impact of requiring self-isolation to those who could  
24 work from home and those who couldn't?

25 **A.** You know, I don't recall any specific conversations.

183

1 home but required to self-isolate?

2 **A.** I just -- you said you wanted to think about this  
3 relationship absent the Barnett formula.

4 **Q.** Yes.

5 **A.** I genuinely think that's hard to do. The Barnett  
6 formula is the way that UK Government spending in  
7 reserved areas translates into -- into devolved areas  
8 translates into incremental spending in the devolved  
9 administrations. It's hard to abstract away from that;  
10 that is the entire basis of our constitutional financial  
11 settlement.

12 **Q.** Indeed, but --

13 **A.** So -- and we operated it in a way that was more generous  
14 than it normally works in order to provide extra funding  
15 in advance to the devolved administrations for them to  
16 use as they wanted, on top of their own ability, if they  
17 wanted, to raise more money or indeed borrow money.  
18 They have flexibilities that were available to them to  
19 do that. And actually, in the Scottish Government's  
20 case, on more than one occasion with the Barnett formula  
21 consequential that they received from the UK Government  
22 they were able to implement policies that were more  
23 generous than those that had been implemented in  
24 England, because they were obviously making different  
25 choices or that money was -- enabled them to do that.

182

1 Most of the financial engagement with the DAs happens  
2 via the chief secretary to the Treasury, and there's  
3 a standard finance ministers' quadrilateral that happens  
4 at that level between the DA finance ministers and the  
5 chief secretary. That happened, as I believe, regularly  
6 during the pandemic, which would be the forum for those  
7 discussions.

8 **Q.** Were you aware that such analysis was done?

9 **A.** As I said, more generally the UK Government did  
10 implement a scheme for self-isolation payments, and  
11 right at the early part of the pandemic I introduced  
12 a scheme to support those who were self-employed --

13 **Q.** Yes, but I'm asking --

14 **A.** -- considerably.

15 **Q.** -- about the specific issue of inequality between those  
16 who could work from home who self-isolated and those who  
17 couldn't. Were you aware of that inequality and were  
18 you aware of that problem?

19 **A.** I think it's, I guess, self-evident that there would be  
20 an inequality between those things.

21 **Q.** And --

22 **A.** I would just -- by definition if you can work from home,  
23 obviously you would be less impacted by self-isolation  
24 requirements.

25 **Q.** Was there anything done in that regard to try and

184

1 equalise that inequality?

2 **A.** As I said, we introduced extra payments for people who  
3 were self-isolating, and we obviously introduced  
4 considerable economic support more generally for  
5 people's jobs and livelihoods which, as I touched on in  
6 my evidence earlier, was disproportionately focused on  
7 the most vulnerable and has been demonstrated to have  
8 achieved that aim in helping those on the lowest incomes  
9 the most.

10 **Q.** Finally, in your evidence you have indicated that you  
11 reflected upon your time as Chancellor and you've spoken  
12 of lessons learned and reflections. We know that prior  
13 to this pandemic we've not heard any evidence of prior  
14 economic pandemic planning, despite it being highest  
15 risk on the National Risk Register. What provisions do  
16 you think should be put in place to allow the devolved  
17 administrations, in the event of the next pandemic, to  
18 access additional funding to allow schemes --  
19 for example, such as furlough and those that we've  
20 talked about -- to be put in place when they're required  
21 in those parts of the UK but not required in England, ie  
22 when the Barnett formula isn't triggered?

23 **A.** I think that speaks to our overall constitutional and  
24 devolution settlement, and I think it's quite hard to  
25 completely unpick that. It may speak to -- you know, it

185

1 economic decisions that I made, and no doubt I will be  
2 back to give extensive evidence on all of those. This  
3 was about decision-making structures and processes, but  
4 with regard to that and the devolved administration,  
5 again as I've said, the chief secretary to the Treasury  
6 is the one that maintains the quadrilateral framework of  
7 finance ministers. That's always been the case, I think  
8 generally has worked well, worked well when I was CST,  
9 and I think the upfront funding guarantee was a good  
10 innovation, and I'm glad we put it in place.

11 **MS MITCHELL:** I may have questions for next time.

12 My Lady, I'm obliged.

13 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Ms Mitchell.

14 Mr Menon.

15 Mr Menon's over there, Prime Minister.

16 **Questions from MR MENON KC**

17 **MR MENON:** Good afternoon, Mr Sunak. I ask questions on  
18 behalf of a number of children's rights organisations,  
19 and I want to return to the topic of the campaign for  
20 free meals for poorer school children during the summer  
21 holidays.

22 Lee Cain, the former Downing Street director of  
23 communications, told the Inquiry that the government's  
24 initial resistance in 2020 to Marcus Rashford's campaign  
25 for free meals for poorer school children during the

187

1 may speak to a need to do things on a more UK-wide basis  
2 next time around. The upfront guarantee system  
3 I actually think worked relatively well in providing  
4 that funding in advance to devolved administrations and,  
5 as I said, at -- broadly over the course of the pandemic  
6 most things happened at similar places at similar times.  
7 I think that if you step back from all the debates and  
8 discussion, broadly that is what happened, is my general  
9 recollection of the time during it.

10 **Q.** And therefore of those lessons learned, you think that  
11 broadly there isn't a need to change anything?

12 **A.** As I said, obviously the Inquiry will no doubt have  
13 helpful suggestions, but from an economic support  
14 perspective, which was my role at the time, you know,  
15 I'm confident that the economic support that we put in  
16 place achieved its objectives. It protected millions of  
17 people's jobs, livelihoods and businesses, and it did so  
18 in a way that disproportionately benefitted the most  
19 vulnerable across the United Kingdom, and that's  
20 something that I'm proud of and I'm glad it worked.  
21 Obviously I'm sure there will be helpful suggestions as  
22 to how to improve on it in the future.

23 **Q.** But you yourself don't have any helpful solutions that  
24 you could give the Inquiry?

25 **A.** Well, obviously this module is not concerned with the

186

1 summer holidays was a "huge blunder in that hungry  
2 children were not the right place to start showing  
3 public spending restraint from a moral or political  
4 standpoint".

5 Given the government's subsequent U-turn on this  
6 issue, do you agree that Lee Cain was right about that?

7 **A.** Well, you know, I can't remember the exact  
8 decision-making around that in any great detail other  
9 than to know that ultimately the government spent,  
10 I think, about half a billion pounds over the course of  
11 the pandemic funding free school meals, and then I put  
12 in place as Chancellor a permanent uplift in the  
13 provision for vulnerable children called the Holiday  
14 Activities and Food programme, which is funded quite  
15 considerably to provide not just food but enriching  
16 activities for children during holiday times, obviously  
17 focused on the most disadvantaged children, and that is  
18 now a permanent feature post-pandemic of the support in  
19 place for vulnerable children in our country.

20 And again, I just go back to what I said previously  
21 about our overall and my overall approach during the  
22 pandemic was very much focused on those on the lowest  
23 incomes and as a result they rightly received  
24 disproportionately more help and benefitted the most.

25 **Q.** So are you saying that it was somebody else in

188

1 government who was initially opposed to funding this,  
 2 rather than you, the Chancellor of the Exchequer?  
 3 **A.** I can't recall the individual discussions.  
 4 **Q.** What was your view in 2020 on this matter initially?  
 5 **A.** Actually I genuinely can't --  
 6 **Q.** Can't remember?  
 7 **A.** I genuinely can't recall the exact discussions. In the  
 8 end we did ultimately fund it. There was a discussion  
 9 about term time and out of term time, because obviously  
 10 those were different things, one hadn't been impacted by  
 11 the pandemic. Ultimately the government did fund quite  
 12 considerably the free school meals programme and  
 13 replaced it with -- not replaced it, added to it with  
 14 something more permanent in the Holiday Activities and  
 15 Food programme.  
 16 **Q.** Mr Keith -- the very last topic that he asked you  
 17 about -- raised a further meeting on the same topic  
 18 a year later in June 2021. Now, I'm afraid I didn't  
 19 understand your answer to his question, it may just be  
 20 me, but can I ask you this: in June 2021, did you  
 21 personally oppose free meals for poorer school children  
 22 during the summer holidays in June 2021?  
 23 **A.** I can't remember at what point we funded instead the  
 24 Holiday Activities and Food programme because, as we  
 25 were coming out of the pandemic, unsurprisingly, things

189

1 they have new babies. The value of those vouchers was  
 2 also increased on a permanent basis.  
 3 **Q.** Mr Sunak, I'm trying not to interrupt you, but I've got  
 4 limited time. Can I just clarify this matter, please:  
 5 you told Mr Keith that you never said anything along the  
 6 lines of "Good working people pay for their children to  
 7 eat and don't want freeloaders"; do you recall a meeting  
 8 at which anybody in the government expressed such  
 9 a sentiment?  
 10 **A.** No.  
 11 **Q.** So as far as you're concerned it was never said, you  
 12 don't recall it ever being said by anybody in the UK  
 13 Government?  
 14 **A.** No.  
 15 **Q.** Can we at least agree on this finally, then: that if  
 16 anybody had expressed such a sentiment about the parents  
 17 of poorer school children, that would be a reprehensible  
 18 thing to say in the circumstances of a pandemic that's  
 19 caused so much economic turmoil?  
 20 **A.** Well, it's precisely because I knew that the pandemic  
 21 was causing particular turmoil for those who were on the  
 22 lowest incomes that our support deliberately and  
 23 specifically helped them the most and benefitted them  
 24 the most, because I thought that was the right thing to  
 25 do, and I think we should be judged especially on our

191

1 that were temporary were being removed more generally.  
 2 All the -- whether it was furlough, whether it was for  
 3 the self-employed, I mean, it was reasonable not to be  
 4 able to sustain -- you have to remember we spent almost  
 5 £400 billion, or more accurately borrowed £400 billion.  
 6 It was one of the most generous and comprehensive  
 7 support packages put in place anywhere in the world, it  
 8 disproportionately did benefit the most vulnerable, and  
 9 actually poverty actually fell during this period as  
 10 a result.  
 11 But it's clear that that's not sustainable forever,  
 12 so as the pandemic ended and we returned to more normal  
 13 life, it's reasonable that we returned to a more normal  
 14 state. But actually, when it came to the situation of  
 15 free school meals, even though the pandemic support  
 16 ended, more permanent extra support was put in place.  
 17 So the provision of meals and indeed activities today is  
 18 greater and more generously funded than it was before  
 19 the pandemic, as a result of changes that were made.  
 20 **Q.** Mr Sunak, you've talked --  
 21 **A.** That's through the Holiday Activities and Food  
 22 programme, and indeed the increase in what are called  
 23 the Healthy Start vouchers, which are vouchers that are  
 24 given I think to expectant or new mothers to -- for them  
 25 to use on fresh fruit and milk and things like that when

190

1 actions and our actions in this regard was that the  
 2 support was in place to help the most vulnerable.  
 3 Now, of course people would always like you to do  
 4 more, always like you to do things slightly differently,  
 5 but in the round I think it's hard to argue with the  
 6 proposition that the support we put in place was  
 7 incredibly comprehensive and, in terms of its scale,  
 8 generous by international standards and the evidence is  
 9 clear that it disproportionately, rightly, benefitted  
 10 those on the lowest incomes.  
 11 **MR MENON:** Well, I'm sure that will be explored in a future  
 12 module. Thank you, Mr Sunak.  
 13 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Mr Menon.  
 14 Mr Friedman.  
 15 Mr Friedman is just behind you to your right,  
 16 Prime Minister, but if you could make sure you keep your  
 17 voice into the microphone. Thank you.  
 18 **Questions from MR FRIEDMAN KC**  
 19 **MR FRIEDMAN:** Good afternoon, Prime Minister. I act for  
 20 four national disabled people's organisations, and we  
 21 also want to ask you about those proposed regulations in  
 22 the winter of 2020 to prevent care workers moving  
 23 between care homes and other placements to stop the  
 24 spread of the virus.  
 25 The issue is also dealt with in the statement of

192



1 Helen Whately, then Minister for Social Care, and  
2 of course brought back into that role by you as  
3 Prime Minister. We need not go to it directly, but for  
4 the record it's at INQ000273897.

5 Now, Minister Whately deals with the problem that  
6 these proposals sought to fix: the significant number of  
7 people worked in more than one care setting, a balance  
8 was needed between stopping that happening and  
9 protecting people in a profession where, as Whately  
10 describes it in paragraph 229 of her statement, staff  
11 worked part-time, on zero hours contract, and the  
12 majority of that workforce were women and working for  
13 often low levels of pay.

14 Now, we've heard your answers to Ms Morris  
15 King's Counsel, who asked you questions for the Covid  
16 bereaved families, including that you were not directly  
17 involved in these decisions, and there's no criticism on  
18 that, Prime Minister, but may we just put the position  
19 of the Minister for Social Care to you and just get your  
20 reflections on it.

21 First she'd advocated for a furlough scheme and then  
22 a compensation scheme for workers who, under these  
23 regulations, were going to be mandated effectively not  
24 to work; and that's at paragraphs 236 to 239 of her  
25 statement. In essence, cutting it short, HMT considered

193

1 So in short, some funding to deal with  
2 understaffing, but no additional funding to support not  
3 working, and no regulations happened. Instead there was  
4 just voluntary guidance to employers.

5 So, from a Treasury point of view -- and I'm asking  
6 you just to reflect on it now and assist the Chair --  
7 was this voluntary approach a safe enough approach to  
8 the movement of staff between care jobs when it was  
9 known that there was a continuing risk that they could  
10 not afford to do otherwise?

11 A. Again, I'm not obviously familiar with all the policy  
12 debates, so it's -- I can't sit here and make  
13 a pronouncement on what the right policy would have  
14 been. I think that would be the opposite of a good  
15 decision-making process. I can tell you that across all  
16 the different health and public services interventions  
17 that we made, a cumulative total of about £150 billion  
18 was spent. So I think you've heard evidence from the  
19 chief executive of the NHS, the government did provide  
20 the NHS in particular with the emergency funds needed;  
21 I've talked about the billions that were provided to  
22 local authorities who are obviously responsible for  
23 social care as well.

24 So if you're saying that: how some of that money was  
25 used should have been better prioritised for this versus

195

1 these positions but did not approve either furlough or  
2 some further compensation scheme; instead, as you say in  
3 your evidence this afternoon, it proposed a financial  
4 scheme to increase the supply of care workers.

5 So, Mr Sunak, looking back at the situation now, and  
6 of course thinking forward as Prime Minister, why reject  
7 any kind of furlough scheme or any compensation fund and  
8 instead prefer an alternative proposal to increase the  
9 supply of labour that didn't actually target the  
10 specific problem of staff movement?

11 A. Again, I'm afraid I'm not sure I can add much to my  
12 previous evidence. I wasn't directly involved in these  
13 conversations, I'm not familiar with the various  
14 arguments that were being deliberated and policy  
15 discussions, so it's very hard for me to speculate or  
16 comment beyond what I've already said and my review of  
17 the materials obviously three years later.

18 Q. Well, just looking forward, then, let me just try and  
19 help you if it's fair to do so.

20 We know that there was an alternative workplace  
21 capacity fund, and it was for £120 million, and it came  
22 in from January 2020 to supply additional labour, but no  
23 payment to not work and ultimately -- the evidence is  
24 there -- no regulations introduced to stop movement  
25 between homes and other settings.

194

1 other things, perhaps. But, again, I'm not familiar  
2 with the specific policy proposal, why it was deemed to  
3 be ineffective at the time, why it was not supported by  
4 key system partners, not just the Treasury but more  
5 broadly; my understanding was there were operational  
6 issues with it as well, having reviewed the materials.  
7 Clearly I just -- I can't sit here and speculate on what  
8 the right answer is to something that I was not involved  
9 in or have no intimate detail about.

10 MR FRIEDMAN: Thank you, my Lady.

11 LADY HALLETT: Thank you, Mr Friedman.

12 Mr Thomas.

13 I'm afraid Mr Thomas is right over by that wall,  
14 Prime Minister, so ...

#### 15 Questions from PROFESSOR THOMAS KC

16 PROFESSOR THOMAS: Prime Minister Sunak, Leslie Thomas, and  
17 I'm instructed by Saunders Law and I represent FEHMO,  
18 the Federation of Ethnic Minority Healthcare  
19 Organisations. You remember them, those are the very  
20 people we were clapping for on Thursday evenings at  
21 8 pm.

22 So, some context for you: the Chief Scientific  
23 Adviser, Sir Patrick Vallance, told this Inquiry that it  
24 was entirely foreseeable that there would be disparities  
25 in health outcomes during the pandemic because of

196

1 historically known structural inequalities.  
 2 I have three short questions for you.  
 3 One, with your Eat Out to Help Out scheme  
 4 specifically, please tell us what were the specific  
 5 measures or considerations in its design to address the  
 6 vulnerabilities of ethnic minority workers in the  
 7 hospitality sectors and other sectors?

8 **A.** I'm sorry, do you want to do one question at a time?

9 **Q.** Yes.

10 **A.** Well, as I touched on earlier, it was precisely because  
 11 the millions of people who worked in that industry were  
 12 disproportionately from vulnerable groups -- lower paid,  
 13 people moving off welfare, people working part-time,  
 14 women, ethnic minorities -- that I thought as a matter  
 15 of social justice those jobs were incredibly important  
 16 to focus on saving, because all the evidence that we  
 17 were seeing, and talking to businesses, was that there  
 18 was a real fear that they wouldn't be able to protect  
 19 those jobs and people would have to be let go --

20 **Q.** Sorry, Prime Minister, forgive me for cutting across  
 21 you, because time is short and I know that you wouldn't  
 22 be trying to talk me down on the clock.

23 My question was very specific. My question was very  
 24 specific: what were the specific measures or  
 25 considerations in its design to address the

197

1 We can agree this, can't we, albeit in hindsight:  
 2 your Eat Out to Help Out scheme further exacerbated  
 3 structural inequalities by placing low paid workers,  
 4 such as those who I represent, back into an increased  
 5 risk of infection? We can agree that, can't we?

6 **A.** No, I don't agree that. These workplaces were safe and  
 7 deemed to be safe for everybody as a result of the Covid  
 8 secure guidance that they had to comply with as a matter  
 9 of re-opening, and that was, as I said, determined by  
 10 the overall re-opening plan, and actually what it did  
 11 was protect those people's livelihoods, because the risk  
 12 was those people wouldn't have a job to go to if we  
 13 hadn't done something to try and help make sure that  
 14 their businesses were operating, and I think that would  
 15 have had devastating socioeconomic and health  
 16 consequences for those low paid people if the job that  
 17 they depended on disappeared, and the consequences for  
 18 them and their family of not having a job would be  
 19 incredibly significant, and I want to do everything  
 20 I can to prevent that from happening and to save their  
 21 jobs.

22 **Q.** In the planning of the stages of the Eat Out to Help Out  
 23 scheme, what were the assessments made regarding the  
 24 potential risk of increased transmission within  
 25 multigenerational households, particularly those from

199

1 vulnerabilities of ethnic minority workers in the  
 2 hospitality sector? That was my question.

3 **LADY HALLETT:** Just before you answer, Mr Sunak. Mr Thomas,  
 4 I think that comment was inappropriate. So please just  
 5 answer the question, Prime Minister, and ignore the  
 6 reference to your deliberately talking Mr Thomas out.

7 **A.** Thank you, my Lady.

8 I think that would be better addressed in the  
 9 government's guidance to the sector which I referred to  
 10 earlier, which was considerable, 55 pages long, and  
 11 supplemented by the 100 pages of guidance issued by  
 12 UKHospitality, the industry trade association, which if  
 13 you review it had very detailed guidance that  
 14 I understand was put together with advice from Public  
 15 Health England, who are the experts on this, about how  
 16 to make sure that workforces of all ethnicities were  
 17 protected at work, and the measures such as screens,  
 18 changing shift patterns, use of different entrance and  
 19 exits, are all some practical things that I can recall.  
 20 But that's how that consideration was properly taken  
 21 care of, not just in the hospitality industry but across  
 22 the entire economy and the sector guidance that was  
 23 published in conjunction with Public Health England, who  
 24 are the experts on exactly that topic.

25 **PROFESSOR THOMAS:** Let's move on.

198

1 black, Asian and minority ethnic backgrounds, as  
 2 a result of individuals returning to work in the  
 3 hospitality sector, and did you use equality impact  
 4 assessments to assess this risk?

5 **A.** I think I've addressed this before, and it would be the  
 6 same answer. It had already -- Eat Out to Help Out was  
 7 designed in the context of the safe lifting of NPIs that  
 8 had been signed off and agreed as part of the May plan.  
 9 There was considerable Covid secure guidance put in  
 10 place to safely re-open indoor hospitality, and this  
 11 scheme operated within all of those constraints, within  
 12 that guidance that had been previously signed off,  
 13 approved and implemented.

14 **PROFESSOR THOMAS:** My Lady, thank you.

15 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Mr Thomas.

16 Mr Metzger.

17 Mr Metzger's over that way, Prime Minister.

18 **THE WITNESS:** Thank you.

#### 19 Questions from MR METZER KC

20 **MR METZER:** Mr Sunak, I have a small number of questions on  
 21 behalf of the Long Covid groups.

22 Given the significant multifaceted economic costs  
 23 resulting directly from Long Covid -- which the  
 24 Covid-19 Taskforce had estimated at between £158 million  
 25 and £316 million between the period March 2020 and

200

1 March 2021 for workplace absenteeism due to Long Covid  
 2 alone -- would you agree that the fact that  
 3 a significant number of people would suffer from  
 4 long-term consequences of Covid-19 meant that Long Covid  
 5 was a relevant consideration in your advice as  
 6 Chancellor to government on policy decisions to limit  
 7 transmission of Covid-19?

8 **A.** I touch on this briefly in my witness statement,  
 9 you know, I don't -- as I said, the Treasury  
 10 participated in a Long Covid forum that had been put  
 11 together across government, and I think actually there  
 12 was not a huge amount known about it particularly early  
 13 on, so I don't recall it being a particular feature of  
 14 the advice I was receiving or getting from the Chief  
 15 Medical Officer and others, probably because we'd --  
 16 you know, no one understood it well at that moment in  
 17 time.

18 **Q.** Well, Prime Minister, you do touch upon it I think in  
 19 one paragraph in your witness statement. But in  
 20 November 2020, the OBR economic and fiscal outlook  
 21 reports -- we don't need to go there, but it's  
 22 INQ000114451 at page 116 -- referred to the increased  
 23 need for spending in disability benefits as a result of  
 24 increases in labour market inactivity as a result of the  
 25 pandemic which could be directly related to the virus  
 201

1 multifaceted -- and I've given explanation of the  
 2 different transmission channels for scarring to occur --  
 3 is something that was already incorporated into the  
 4 economic forecasting from the OBR, the Bank of England  
 5 and others, because the prevalent view amongst most  
 6 economic experts was that there would be scarring  
 7 impacts as a result of the pandemic.

8 As I said, there are different transmission  
 9 mechanisms for those, one of them is the labour market,  
 10 of which this is a subset. So I think there are  
 11 a variety of reasons for scarring --

12 **Q.** Yes.

13 **A.** -- estimates of it changed over time, no doubt this was  
 14 one of them and it was factored -- the scarring impact  
 15 was factored into all the forecasting that was done.

16 **Q.** So, Prime Minister, do you agree specifically in  
 17 relation to Long Covid a direct health impact, long-term  
 18 impact arising in the context of workplace absenteeism  
 19 because of there being known growing numbers of  
 20 Long Covid sufferers?

21 **A.** I haven't seen the precise evidence that links the rise  
 22 in economic inactivity that we have seen precisely to  
 23 Long Covid. I think actually the surveys that have been  
 24 done and the evidence and advice that I saw demonstrated  
 25 that it was far more multifaceted than that, and there  
 203

1 and specifically referred to Long Covid.

2 Do you agree that the OBR reports recognised that  
 3 there was enough information by the time of the second  
 4 lockdown to expect that Long Covid would result in  
 5 increased cost to the Treasury and scarring to the  
 6 economy?

7 **A.** I mean, I think without question we've seen a rise in  
 8 economic inactivity since the pandemic, and it has been  
 9 a focus of policy for a while now, with considerable  
 10 investment in fact at various different -- in various  
 11 different ways to try and actually support people back  
 12 into work.

13 **Q.** Yes.

14 **A.** I don't disagree that there has been a rise in economic  
 15 inactivity --

16 **Q.** Yes.

17 **A.** -- and also that that was -- and potentially that is  
 18 something that would have contributed to scarring and  
 19 identified at the time, yes.

20 **Q.** Yes. So you agree from November 2020, the time of the  
 21 second lockdown, that there would be -- there was enough  
 22 information to expect that Long Covid would result in  
 23 increased costs to the Treasury and scarring because of  
 24 the workplace absenteeism and the rise in Long Covid?

25 **A.** I think more generally the concept of scarring, which is  
 202

1 wasn't one simple explanation, which is why the problem  
 2 is actually not so straightforward to reverse, although  
 3 we are making progress.

4 So I don't recall there being a direct relationship  
 5 or someone quantifying the specific contribution of  
 6 Long Covid to the rise in economic inactivity. It seems  
 7 plausible to assume it is playing a part, but everything  
 8 I've seen suggests that there are a number of factors  
 9 that have led to the rise in economic inactivity and the  
 10 scarring impact that we've seen.

11 **Q.** But would you agree that the impact of Long Covid would  
 12 be particularly relevant to policy decisions taken at  
 13 times when there's high prevalence of Covid-19?

14 **A.** Again, with regard to economic inactivity or the impact  
 15 on scarring, it is one of a number of factors that have  
 16 led to a rise in economic inactivity is probably what  
 17 the evidence suggests. But, I mean -- so, as I said,  
 18 there's a range of reasons for the rise in economic  
 19 inactivity, not all attributable to Long Covid, so --

20 **Q.** No, but --

21 **A.** -- policymakers have to consider all of them, not one on  
 22 its own.

23 **Q.** No, but including Long Covid you accept?

24 **A.** It seems plausible to assume that it is a contributing  
 25 factor, that I can't sit here and tell you that I've  
 204

1 seen something that explains exactly what it is  
2 contributing to or how much of the rise in inactivity  
3 that we've seen is down to that. I haven't seen any  
4 precise --

5 **Q.** All right.

6 **A.** -- on that, so I just simply can't tell you how much of  
7 a feature it is.

8 **Q.** But we do know that there's been no advice from -- we  
9 haven't seen any advice from Her Majesty's Treasury  
10 warning of the economic costs of Long Covid born from  
11 high prevalence of Covid-19. How, if at all, did the  
12 economic costs from Long Covid inform your advice to the  
13 Prime Minister, and are you able to give an example?

14 **A.** No. I mean, as I said, I think more generally the  
15 impact of Covid on the labour market was misestimated by  
16 most people because the predominant fear throughout this  
17 entire period was significant unemployment, which  
18 thankfully didn't manifest itself in the end, but the  
19 predominant labour market fear from all economists was  
20 about the rise in unemployment that would happen as the  
21 furlough scheme was wound down --

22 **Q.** Yes.

23 **A.** -- over time.

24 **Q.** Yes.

25 **A.** What was underappreciated was the rise, the subsequent  
205

1 **Q.** Yes.

2 **A.** -- the plan as it was laid out, delayed in one place to  
3 accommodate some concerns.

4 **Q.** Yes.

5 **A.** But it was put together with the input of the medical  
6 advice.

7 **Q.** Mr Sunak, finally this: do you accept that the economic  
8 cost of workplace absenteeism in circumstances where  
9 there was a rising number of persons who were suffering  
10 long-term sickness due to Long Covid, it was important  
11 that that be a feature of Her Majesty's Treasury's  
12 advice on NPIs and therefore, if that was taken into  
13 account, then that became -- those increased costs were  
14 an accepted trade-off for keeping the economy open?

15 **A.** I'm not sure there was a precise quantification or  
16 understanding of the potential costs from that  
17 particular reason for rising economic inactivity and, as  
18 I've said previously, I think the rise in economic  
19 inactivity that -- it was not something that was  
20 foreseen by most economic commentators. The reasons for  
21 it are still being bottomed out, but are almost  
22 certainly multifaceted and don't exclusively focus on  
23 one area.

24 There's obviously an economic cost from economic  
25 inactivity, that's why the government is investing --  
207

1 rise in economic inactivity. It was underappreciated by  
2 all including the Treasury, but all economic  
3 commentators I think, of which, as I said, there are  
4 a number of reasons for that.

5 **Q.** Sorry, Prime Minister, can I just cut across you,  
6 please. I'm very sorry.

7 In summer 2021 the government started planning for  
8 high prevalence of Covid-19, which meant the government  
9 was accepting there will be more cases of Covid-19 and  
10 therefore as a result Long Covid.

11 Were the increased costs from more cases of  
12 Long Covid an accepted trade-off for keeping the economy  
13 open?

14 **A.** I don't think the conversation was ever that precise  
15 about that particular thing. I think in my recollection  
16 of 2021 was an exit roadmap that was put together in  
17 February, extensive engagement and discussion with our  
18 public health advisers and Chief Scientific Adviser,  
19 CMO. I think both of them have said that they feel like  
20 that exit roadmap is something that the government  
21 got -- you know, we all did very well. It had five-week  
22 periods, time to make a step, review data, adjust as  
23 needed. Again, like the May roadmap, it was delayed at  
24 one stage. All of that was informed with medical and  
25 health advice, all of it, and we followed that --  
206

1 and has been for a while -- in reducing it across  
2 a whole range of different initiatives, particularly in  
3 the health space but also through DWP to support those  
4 who can work to work, and that work has been ongoing now  
5 for a long time. I started it, the current Chancellor's  
6 continued it. There's considerable funding in place to  
7 support people into work and reverse economic inactivity  
8 but, as I said, it's multifaceted.

9 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much.

10 **MR METZER:** Thank you, Prime Minister.

11 Thank you, my Lady.

12 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Mr Metzger.

13 Right, lastly, Mr Jacobs. Where have you gone?

14 **MR JACOBS:** At the back again, my Lady.

15 **LADY HALLETT:** Ah. Behind the pillar, Prime Minister.

#### 16 **Questions from MR JACOBS**

17 **MR JACOBS:** Mr Sunak, my questions on behalf of the  
18 Trades Union Congress are regarding financial support  
19 for self-isolation, the issue of those on the lowest  
20 income facing two weeks of self-isolation on the £95 of  
21 statutory sick pay, or indeed nothing if they are  
22 ineligible.

23 Firstly, is it accurate to describe that the  
24 Treasury was urged from many sides to take greater  
25 action on financial support for self-isolation?  
208

1 **A.** Well, the first thing to say is that the Treasury did  
2 take action, in my first budget that I delivered as  
3 Chancellor in March we made changes to the operation of  
4 the statutory sick pay scheme, so that it operated from  
5 day one rather than from day four as was normal, that it  
6 covered asymptomatic self-isolators, and we put in place  
7 a half a billion pounds hardship fund distributed to  
8 local authorities, particularly designed to pick up  
9 those hard cases and make sure that those who needed to  
10 could get extra support.

11 So those were the decisions that were taken in  
12 March. It later became a feature of discussions,  
13 I think at the tail end of the summer there were some  
14 conversations between Number 10 and others, and then  
15 there was quite an extensive set of deliberations  
16 leading to the announcement in September of the £500  
17 payment for -- to support people to self-isolate.

18 **Q.** Mr Sunak, you've described various decisions that were  
19 taken. My question, straightforwardly, was a slightly  
20 different one: is it accurate to describe that the  
21 Treasury was urged from many sides to take greater  
22 action on financial support for self-isolation?

23 **A.** I think it's a fair thing to say that on every single  
24 topic there is always someone urging the Treasury to do  
25 more and spend more. I think that is a universal view.

209

1 get tested in low socioeconomic groups. Rishi reacted  
2 strongly against that and said basically just stop the  
3 social interactions. For Rishi it is all about personal  
4 responsibility and get the state out."

5 Then on 7 September 2020:

6 "Chancellor blocking all notion of paying to get  
7 people to isolate, despite all the evidence that this  
8 will be needed."

9 Are those fair characterisations of your position?

10 **A.** No, and they're not borne out by the evidence either,  
11 because in August we introduced a scheme, a pilot scheme  
12 in high incidence areas with payments for people to  
13 self-isolate, and in September we announced a national  
14 scheme, and those conversations were happening  
15 throughout August and September more generally, as far  
16 as I remember and having reviewed the evidence. So the  
17 proof is that we did introduce a scheme to do that, but  
18 like on most things my job is to scrutinise, it's right  
19 that there are debate over policy, and that was the same  
20 on this policy like many others.

21 **Q.** They certainly were fair characterisations, weren't  
22 they, Mr Sunak, for the first six months following  
23 self-isolation as a key measure from March 2020 until  
24 the end of September when the scheme was brought in, for  
25 that period of time it was an issue that was

211

1 I could -- you could pick any single policy and that  
2 would be the case, including this, but that would apply  
3 equally to any other thing that I did in the pandemic.

4 **Q.** Whilst some action was taken, and we'll come on to that,  
5 is it right realistically to say that you personally,  
6 Mr Sunak, and the Treasury were extremely resistant to  
7 any significant scheme of support?

8 **A.** No, I was sceptical that it would make a significant  
9 difference to the levels of people self-isolating, which  
10 was the purported basis for the scheme, and it's  
11 entirely reasonable for those conversations to happen  
12 and they did happen, but ultimately a scheme was  
13 introduced. It was introduced in September, it provided  
14 a £500 payment, and it was introduced as a result of  
15 those deliberations in government, testing propositions,  
16 and I think that is again a sign of a process that is  
17 working. Ultimately this is taxpayers' money, it's  
18 right that there are conversations that happen to make  
19 sure that it's being spent in a way that is effective,  
20 and this was just one of those many conversations that  
21 happened.

22 **Q.** There are a number of references in Sir Patrick's  
23 diaries, Mr Sunak, to your personal position, and by way  
24 of example, 27 July 2020 he writes:

25 "Dido pushed to get financial support for people to  
210

1 unaddressed, wasn't it?

2 **A.** No, that's again not a fair characterisation. I took  
3 action on self-isolation in the first budget that  
4 I delivered on 11 March, and this didn't then become  
5 a particular topic of debate until the end of the  
6 summer, and that's unsurprising because that was when  
7 the test, track and trace scheme had been set up at  
8 a proper scale, at which point this became a more  
9 relevant consideration. It just wasn't relevant earlier  
10 because (a) we were in a national lockdown and (b) we  
11 didn't have test, track and trace up and running with  
12 the testing volumes to make this a kind of mass  
13 consideration. When it came up at the end of the summer  
14 we went through it, as we would with any other policy.  
15 It -- all the evidence at the time and subsequently has  
16 not concluded -- people have many opinions on this, but  
17 no one was able to produce any clear evidence that  
18 higher payments would make a difference to compliance  
19 rates. Indeed, there were many other reasons people  
20 weren't complying which had nothing to do with their  
21 need to work, and it was all about boredom, loneliness,  
22 going shopping, reducing symptoms, misunderstanding of  
23 the rules.

24 So it wasn't ever clear to me that this was the  
25 primary reason, and indeed all the evidence of what we

212

1 did demonstrated that it didn't make a significant  
 2 difference, if any, to compliance rates. But we did  
 3 introduce it, as I said, £500 in September, after  
 4 a pilot study that was done in August.

5 **Q.** Mr Sunak, before I move on to my next question, you say  
 6 that it wasn't relevant in the earlier period. For  
 7 those on lower incomes who kept the country going,  
 8 working in food processing plants, in transport, in  
 9 social care, through lockdown, it was highly relevant,  
 10 wasn't it?

11 **A.** And there was considerable support in place for the most  
 12 vulnerable, as I've documented in my previous answers.  
 13 Not only did we put in place a half a billion pound  
 14 hardship fund for local authorities specifically to help  
 15 people who most needed it, we temporarily increased  
 16 Universal Credit which was worth £1,000 a year, we  
 17 increased again significantly the local housing  
 18 allowance for 1.5 million of the most vulnerable  
 19 families worth £600 a year, and we had a self-employment  
 20 scheme so that all those who were self-employed were  
 21 benefitting from considerable support whether or not  
 22 they were still able to work.

23 So there was considerable support in place for  
 24 everybody and, as I've pointed to, the evidence is clear  
 25 that it did disproportionately benefit the most

213

1 other alternative that was suggested at the time was  
 2 DWP, but it was clear from all the advice that I'd  
 3 received and the department themselves that that wasn't  
 4 practical, not least because it would have required  
 5 primary legislation, I think, for DWP to have the  
 6 ability to make payments like that and they simply  
 7 didn't have a delivery apparatus, unlike local  
 8 authorities, who had local welfare assistance schemes  
 9 and were well placed to know their most vulnerable  
 10 people, and also local authorities did have access to  
 11 all the same underlying benefits data as DWP.

12 So, look, none of these are perfect by all means,  
 13 but I don't think there was a credible alternative to  
 14 local authorities doing this, and --

15 **Q.** I think, sorry, I'm running very short of time.

16 **LADY HALLETT:** I think you've run out of time, I'm afraid,  
 17 Mr Jacobs.

18 **MR JACOBS:** Ah. In that case, I'd better leave it there.  
 19 Thank you, my Lady.

20 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much.

21 **MR KEITH:** My Lady, that concludes the oral evidence.

22 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much.

23 Thank you very much, Prime Minister. I appreciate  
 24 that -- well, I doubt there's ever an easy time for you  
 25 to come along here to give evidence, but I appreciate

215

1 vulnerable and those on the lowest incomes. My point  
 2 was that this became a more significant consideration in  
 3 terms of the scale because of test, track and trace, so  
 4 this had an ability to impact the national progress of  
 5 the pandemic because we were now testing at such  
 6 a scale; and as soon as that became a conversation, test  
 7 track and trace was set up, we engaged with all those  
 8 conversations and implemented a scheme in September  
 9 which provided £500 of support.

10 **Q.** On that scheme introduced in September providing £500 of  
 11 support, it ultimately had very, very low take-up,  
 12 didn't it?

13 **A.** Yes, my understanding is around a fifth of people took  
 14 it up.

15 **Q.** In terms of the reasons for that, it was a local  
 16 authority administered scheme, was it foreseen that  
 17 doing it that way would be cumbersome and frankly  
 18 inaccessible with many local authorities each  
 19 implementing their own individual scheme in a slightly  
 20 different way?

21 **A.** Now, look, that's always the challenge with doing things  
 22 by local authority, they will be slightly different even  
 23 if there's national guidance. I'm not sure there was  
 24 an alternative, so it was accepted it wouldn't be  
 25 perfect but it was better than doing nothing. The only

214

1 it's difficult this particular week, and thank you for  
 2 your help.

3 **THE WITNESS:** Thank you for having me.  
 4 **(The witness withdrew)**

5 **LADY HALLETT:** That completes, as Mr Keith says, the oral  
 6 evidence for Module 2. The oral evidence is, I have to  
 7 repeat and emphasise, just one part of the process.  
 8 It's an important part, of course it is, but so is the  
 9 written material, that is also important, so also are  
 10 the submissions of core participants, and I will  
 11 consider all that evidence before I reach any  
 12 conclusions, and I'll hear the submissions of  
 13 core participants on Wednesday and Thursday and also,  
 14 because of the tight timetable, give them an extended  
 15 time to submit any written submissions to supplement the  
 16 oral submissions.

17 So I shall return to Module 2 on Wednesday.  
 18 Thank you all.

19 **MR KEITH:** Thank you, my Lady.  
 20 **(4.33 pm)**

21 **(The hearing adjourned until 10 am**  
 22 **on Wednesday, 13 December 2023)**

23  
 24  
 25

216

	INDEX	
		PAGE
1		
2		
3	MR RISHI SUNAK (sworn) .....	1
4		
5	Questions from LEAD COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY ...	1
6		
7	Questions from MS MORRIS KC .....	163
8		
9	Questions from MS GOWMAN .....	169
10		
11	Questions from MS MITCHELL KC .....	177
12		
13	Questions from MR MENON KC .....	187
14		
15	Questions from MR FRIEDMAN KC .....	192
16		
17	Questions from PROFESSOR THOMAS KC .....	196
18		
19	Questions from MR METZER KC .....	200
20		
21	Questions from MR JACOBS .....	208
22		
23		
24		
25		

<b>LADY HALLETT:</b> <b>[29]</b> 1/3 62/19 62/23 75/14 88/7 88/21 107/10 107/13 107/17 131/1 163/1 163/3 163/7 168/25 169/4 169/6 176/23 187/13 192/13 196/11 198/3 200/15 208/9 208/12 208/15 215/16 215/20 215/22 216/5 <b>MR FRIEDMAN:</b> [2] 192/19 196/10 <b>MR JACOBS:</b> [3] 208/14 208/17 215/18 <b>MR KEITH:</b> [15] 1/4 1/8 62/17 62/25 75/19 88/11 88/24 107/9 107/12 107/18 131/3 162/25 163/2 215/21 216/19 <b>MR MENON:</b> [2] 187/17 192/11 <b>MR METZER:</b> [2] 200/20 208/10 <b>MS GOWMAN:</b> [2] 169/8 176/20 <b>MS MITCHELL:</b> [2] 177/2 187/11 <b>MS MORRIS:</b> [2] 163/13 168/23 <b>PROFESSOR THOMAS:</b> [3] 196/16 198/25 200/14 <b>THE WITNESS:</b> [4] 169/3 169/5 200/18 216/3	<b>1,077 [1]</b> 147/6 <b>1-metre [5]</b> 28/17 107/19 110/23 119/4 122/19 <b>1.04 pm [1]</b> 107/14 <b>1.5 million [1]</b> 213/18 <b>1.55 [1]</b> 107/13 <b>1.55 pm [1]</b> 107/16 <b>10 [22]</b> 4/16 22/22 23/2 23/5 23/7 23/9 31/4 34/14 34/18 37/3 37/6 41/12 47/20 111/4 115/6 123/1 132/7 132/11 142/9 142/11 160/3 209/14 <b>10 am [1]</b> 216/21 <b>10 February [1]</b> 64/3 <b>10 November [1]</b> 153/9 <b>10.30 am [1]</b> 1/2 <b>100 million [1]</b> 105/3 <b>100 pages [1]</b> 198/11 <b>100 pages of [1]</b> 118/15 <b>102 [1]</b> 181/10 <b>103 [1]</b> 181/10 <b>11 [2]</b> 17/13 23/1 <b>11 April [1]</b> 105/3 <b>11 December 2023</b> <b>[1]</b> 1/1 <b>11 March [1]</b> 212/4 <b>11 October [1]</b> 154/7 <b>11.51 am [1]</b> 62/20 <b>116 [1]</b> 201/22 <b>12 [1]</b> 13/12 <b>12 October [2]</b> 152/11 152/14 <b>12.05 [1]</b> 62/19 <b>12.05 pm [1]</b> 62/22 <b>120 million [1]</b> 194/21 <b>12th [5]</b> 59/8 64/8 64/17 66/16 66/17 <b>13 December 2023</b> <b>[1]</b> 216/22 <b>13 June [1]</b> 161/22 <b>13 May [1]</b> 97/21 <b>136 [1]</b> 171/23 <b>138 [1]</b> 175/2 <b>139 [1]</b> 175/4 <b>13th [2]</b> 66/21 66/24 <b>14 billion [1]</b> 105/24 <b>14 February [1]</b> 13/3 <b>14 May [1]</b> 81/10 <b>15 April [1]</b> 13/13 <b>15 April 2020 [1]</b> 17/9 <b>15 June [2]</b> 96/1 97/23 <b>15 March [2]</b> 13/12 13/19 <b>15 September 2020</b> <b>[1]</b> 164/3 <b>150 billion [1]</b> 195/17	<b>158 million [1]</b> 200/24 <b>16 January [1]</b> 167/10 <b>16 July [2]</b> 119/12 119/24 <b>16 March [3]</b> 23/20 49/11 52/22 <b>16th [11]</b> 13/25 49/18 54/19 59/9 59/14 62/12 64/9 66/20 67/2 67/13 67/16 <b>17 [2]</b> 86/25 87/1 <b>18 months [1]</b> 14/22 <b>182 [1]</b> 74/6 <b>187 [1]</b> 74/6 <b>18th [10]</b> 49/15 49/18 54/21 59/9 59/16 62/12 67/17 69/24 73/3 73/24 <b>19 [9]</b> 17/11 31/20 169/10 201/4 201/7 204/13 205/11 206/8 206/9 <b>19 March [2]</b> 49/20 68/12 <b>19 September [2]</b> 147/4 147/7 <b>19th [5]</b> 17/4 54/22 62/12 69/5 69/25 <b>1m [1]</b> 113/1	189/18 189/20 189/22 201/1 206/7 206/16 <b>2022 [3]</b> 2/22 2/24 27/12 <b>2023 [3]</b> 1/1 137/12 216/22 <b>20th [6]</b> 59/9 62/12 66/18 67/18 73/25 74/1 <b>21 May [1]</b> 93/11 <b>21 September [2]</b> 147/14 148/4 <b>21st [2]</b> 70/2 70/19 <b>22 [2]</b> 13/9 120/3 <b>22 April [1]</b> 31/22 <b>22 July [2]</b> 119/13 120/6 <b>22 June [2]</b> 112/10 119/2 <b>229 [1]</b> 193/10 <b>22nd [1]</b> 148/5 <b>23 [1]</b> 12/23 <b>23 June [1]</b> 97/24 <b>23 March [2]</b> 52/14 62/3 <b>23 October 2020 [1]</b> 172/1 <b>23 September [2]</b> 177/21 180/8 <b>23 September 2020</b> <b>[1]</b> 177/17 <b>232069 [1]</b> 83/21 <b>236 [1]</b> 193/24 <b>239 [1]</b> 193/24 <b>23rd [4]</b> 17/1 53/6 59/9 62/13 <b>24 [1]</b> 108/13 <b>24 June [1]</b> 114/10 <b>25 March [1]</b> 105/3 <b>25 October 2022 [1]</b> 2/24 <b>257 [2]</b> 112/21 114/7 <b>26 [2]</b> 83/20 83/22 <b>26 August [1]</b> 126/10 <b>27 August 2022 [1]</b> 27/12 <b>27 July 2020 [1]</b> 210/24 <b>28 [1]</b> 91/18 <b>28 April [1]</b> 92/25 <b>2m [1]</b> 113/2 <b>2nd [2]</b> 97/15 107/22	200/25 <b>3b [1]</b> 79/9 <b>3rd [1]</b> 109/1
<b>...</b> [1] 79/10 ... <b>next [1]</b> 79/10 ...' [1] 129/11	<b>15 June [2]</b> 96/1 97/23 <b>15 March [2]</b> 13/12 13/19 <b>15 September 2020</b> <b>[1]</b> 164/3 <b>150 billion [1]</b> 195/17	<b>2</b> <b>2 June [1]</b> 107/20 <b>2 metres [2]</b> 108/14 119/4 <b>2 million [1]</b> 127/12 <b>2-metre [9]</b> 28/17 107/18 108/3 109/11 109/16 109/19 109/21 110/23 122/18 <b>20 June [1]</b> 99/13 <b>20 March [1]</b> 64/9 <b>20 October [7]</b> 149/16 153/25 154/6 154/11 154/13 155/13 157/4 <b>20 September [1]</b> 149/21 <b>2015 [1]</b> 2/14 <b>2018 [1]</b> 2/15 <b>2019 [1]</b> 2/18 <b>2020 [26]</b> 2/19 17/9 38/25 64/19 76/19 104/17 158/8 163/23 164/3 164/7 166/25 172/1 175/3 177/17 178/22 178/24 187/24 189/4 192/22 194/22 200/25 201/20 202/20 210/24 211/5 211/23 <b>2021 [14]</b> 4/5 4/9 161/22 164/21 167/1 167/8 167/22 171/19	<b>4</b> <b>4 June [1]</b> 109/14 <b>4 May [2]</b> 86/21 87/21 <b>4 November [1]</b> 157/7 <b>4.33 pm [1]</b> 216/20 <b>40 [1]</b> 171/10 <b>400 billion [2]</b> 190/5 190/5 <b>491 [1]</b> 164/13	
<b>0</b> <b>0.1 [2]</b> 97/5 102/6	<b>1</b> <b>1 billion [1]</b> 105/4 <b>1 metre [5]</b> 109/7 109/9 110/10 110/13 110/13 <b>1,000 [1]</b> 213/16	<b>1m [1]</b> 113/1	<b>5</b> <b>5 billion [1]</b> 173/11 <b>5 January [1]</b> 164/21 <b>5 June [1]</b> 138/7 <b>5 pm [3]</b> 57/21 62/1 62/2 <b>500 [5]</b> 209/16 210/14 213/3 214/9 214/10 <b>53 [1]</b> 74/6 <b>55 pages [2]</b> 118/13 198/10 <b>5pm [1]</b> 13/22 <b>5th [1]</b> 97/16	
<b>1</b> <b>1 billion [1]</b> 105/4 <b>1 metre [5]</b> 109/7 109/9 110/10 110/13 110/13 <b>1,000 [1]</b> 213/16	<b>15 June [2]</b> 96/1 97/23 <b>15 March [2]</b> 13/12 13/19 <b>15 September 2020</b> <b>[1]</b> 164/3 <b>150 billion [1]</b> 195/17	<b>3</b> <b>3 June [1]</b> 108/19 <b>3 March [1]</b> 64/1 <b>3,598 [1]</b> 147/7 <b>3.08 pm [1]</b> 163/4 <b>3.25 [1]</b> 163/3 <b>3.25 pm [1]</b> 163/6 <b>30 November [1]</b> 114/12 <b>30 October [1]</b> 157/6 <b>316 million [1]</b>	<b>6</b> <b>6 August [2]</b> 119/13 120/8 <b>6 June 2020 [1]</b> 38/25 <b>600 [1]</b> 213/19 <b>6th [1]</b> 97/18	
<b>1</b> <b>1 billion [1]</b> 105/4 <b>1 metre [5]</b> 109/7 109/9 110/10 110/13 110/13 <b>1,000 [1]</b> 213/16	<b>15 June [2]</b> 96/1 97/23 <b>15 March [2]</b> 13/12 13/19 <b>15 September 2020</b> <b>[1]</b> 164/3 <b>150 billion [1]</b> 195/17	<b>3</b> <b>3 June [1]</b> 108/19 <b>3 March [1]</b> 64/1 <b>3,598 [1]</b> 147/7 <b>3.08 pm [1]</b> 163/4 <b>3.25 [1]</b> 163/3 <b>3.25 pm [1]</b> 163/6 <b>30 November [1]</b> 114/12 <b>30 October [1]</b> 157/6 <b>316 million [1]</b>	<b>7</b> <b>7 May [1]</b> 90/20 <b>7 September 2020 [1]</b> 211/5 <b>72 [1]</b> 13/9 <b>75 [2]</b> 13/8 49/23	
<b>1</b> <b>1 billion [1]</b> 105/4 <b>1 metre [5]</b> 109/7 109/9 110/10 110/13 110/13 <b>1,000 [1]</b> 213/16	<b>15 June [2]</b> 96/1 97/23 <b>15 March [2]</b> 13/12 13/19 <b>15 September 2020</b> <b>[1]</b> 164/3 <b>150 billion [1]</b> 195/17	<b>3</b> <b>3 June [1]</b> 108/19 <b>3 March [1]</b> 64/1 <b>3,598 [1]</b> 147/7 <b>3.08 pm [1]</b> 163/4 <b>3.25 [1]</b> 163/3 <b>3.25 pm [1]</b> 163/6 <b>30 November [1]</b> 114/12 <b>30 October [1]</b> 157/6 <b>316 million [1]</b>	<b>8</b> <b>8 July [6]</b> 114/10 114/13 114/16 121/14 122/13 128/7 <b>8 October [1]</b> 152/2 <b>8 pm [1]</b> 196/21 <b>82 [1]</b> 84/3 <b>83 [1]</b> 84/12	
<b>1</b> <b>1 billion [1]</b> 105/4 <b>1 metre [5]</b> 109/7 109/9 110/10 110/13 110/13 <b>1,000 [1]</b> 213/16	<b>15 June [2]</b> 96/1 97/23 <b>15 March [2]</b> 13/12 13/19 <b>15 September 2020</b> <b>[1]</b> 164/3 <b>150 billion [1]</b> 195/17	<b>3</b> <b>3 June [1]</b> 108/19 <b>3 March [1]</b> 64/1 <b>3,598 [1]</b> 147/7 <b>3.08 pm [1]</b> 163/4 <b>3.25 [1]</b> 163/3 <b>3.25 pm [1]</b> 163/6 <b>30 November [1]</b> 114/12 <b>30 October [1]</b> 157/6 <b>316 million [1]</b>	<b>9</b> <b>9 March [4]</b> 23/21 63/14 66/5 66/14 <b>9 October [3]</b> 43/11 173/20 174/1 <b>9.15 [1]</b> 18/16 <b>95 [1]</b> 208/20 <b>9th [1]</b> 66/13	



<p><b>A</b></p> <p><b>Aamer Anwar [1]</b> 177/3</p> <p><b>abilities [1]</b> 131/8</p> <p><b>ability [16]</b> 9/16 39/18 44/7 44/12 51/12 51/17 58/23 61/12 69/15 72/6 81/23 106/9 141/5 182/16 214/4 215/6</p> <p><b>able [27]</b> 11/21 12/15 14/24 15/4 23/11 23/14 26/10 44/8 44/12 58/16 65/16 68/18 71/12 76/4 77/12 137/2 145/14 145/17 170/6 181/17 181/19 182/22 190/4 197/18 205/13 212/17 213/22</p> <p><b>about [213]</b> 2/6 6/25 12/2 12/5 12/8 13/11 14/2 15/22 16/8 16/12 17/2 17/14 18/10 18/13 19/19 22/22 23/4 24/17 25/17 26/10 26/15 27/1 27/20 29/3 29/16 30/16 31/3 31/5 32/15 32/18 32/20 33/8 33/17 33/22 34/10 34/12 34/15 34/22 35/3 36/13 36/14 36/16 36/17 36/22 38/12 40/8 45/5 45/6 46/20 46/24 47/4 47/12 48/14 48/23 49/8 49/12 49/20 51/23 53/19 54/4 54/9 54/11 54/22 55/3 55/11 55/25 56/5 58/8 58/23 59/4 59/11 59/15 59/18 60/17 62/14 63/2 63/6 63/7 63/10 64/15 65/2 65/4 65/11 66/10 66/22 67/22 67/23 68/9 68/22 69/17 71/25 72/5 72/12 73/11 73/13 73/14 77/4 77/16 78/9 78/10 80/5 80/17 81/19 81/19 82/3 84/16 84/19 85/15 86/3 89/16 90/8 90/9 90/11 94/14 94/19 95/20 96/20 99/3 99/11 100/1 100/4 100/9 100/21 100/23 102/18 104/5 106/4 106/8 110/3 110/10 113/20 114/5 114/14 115/9 116/23 118/6 119/4 119/16</p>	<p>119/25 121/22 123/17 127/7 127/8 128/2 128/4 128/9 131/23 131/25 134/2 135/3 135/18 135/25 139/4 139/6 139/8 139/17 141/18 141/21 141/21 142/3 144/3 144/18 144/19 145/25 146/7 149/16 149/19 151/8 151/19 152/22 155/14 155/21 155/24 157/24 158/1 159/15 159/18 160/16 160/18 163/20 164/11 167/11 169/6 172/9 174/23 178/8 178/15 178/17 179/17 181/6 181/22 182/2 183/12 183/22 184/15 185/20 187/3 188/6 188/10 188/21 189/9 189/17 191/16 192/21 195/17 195/21 196/9 198/15 201/12 205/20 206/15 211/3 212/21</p> <p><b>above [6]</b> 95/16 96/10 97/3 98/2 98/10 101/20</p> <p><b>absence [7]</b> 51/5 57/24 60/11 144/9 145/20 181/3 181/3</p> <p><b>absent [1]</b> 182/3</p> <p><b>absenteeism [4]</b> 201/1 202/24 203/18 207/8</p> <p><b>absolute [2]</b> 109/17 114/23</p> <p><b>absolutely [12]</b> 9/12 12/2 24/4 24/14 56/4 60/25 79/18 108/3 109/13 125/20 148/21 153/20</p> <p><b>abstract [2]</b> 182/9 183/3</p> <p><b>academics [4]</b> 130/15 130/21 144/24 146/21</p> <p><b>accept [7]</b> 29/24 121/9 129/17 131/3 147/11 204/23 207/7</p> <p><b>acceptable [1]</b> 111/10</p> <p><b>accepted [5]</b> 109/7 110/14 206/12 207/14 214/24</p> <p><b>accepting [2]</b> 156/17 206/9</p> <p><b>access [6]</b> 3/9 3/18 15/8 58/9 185/18 215/10</p> <p><b>accommodate [1]</b> 207/3</p> <p><b>according [5]</b> 87/20 163/22 164/2 164/20</p>	<p>167/3</p> <p><b>account [14]</b> 5/19 15/17 38/13 75/15 75/16 84/25 91/16 102/7 102/14 102/14 135/6 145/9 160/4 207/13</p> <p><b>accounting [1]</b> 100/25</p> <p><b>accurate [4]</b> 131/18 156/24 208/23 209/20</p> <p><b>accurately [2]</b> 105/18 190/5</p> <p><b>achieve [3]</b> 33/7 126/25 166/9</p> <p><b>achieved [3]</b> 156/14 185/8 186/16</p> <p><b>achieving [1]</b> 33/2</p> <p><b>acknowledge [5]</b> 31/6 34/2 124/10 124/20 156/16</p> <p><b>acknowledged [3]</b> 7/15 94/23 120/9</p> <p><b>acknowledging [1]</b> 35/18</p> <p><b>across [21]</b> 3/22 5/1 9/17 19/25 64/25 69/10 73/22 76/15 93/22 93/24 123/14 153/2 156/2 176/15 186/19 195/15 197/20 198/21 201/11 206/5 208/1</p> <p><b>act [2]</b> 55/25 192/19</p> <p><b>acted [15]</b> 24/1 24/9 25/2 49/6 49/17 54/20 54/21 59/7 65/20 73/10 103/24 113/11 161/11 161/12 180/23</p> <p><b>action [1]</b> 175/11</p> <p><b>acting [9]</b> 155/25 157/16 175/16 180/15 208/25 209/2 209/22 210/4 212/3</p> <p><b>actions [5]</b> 2/5 39/7 41/3 192/1 192/1</p> <p><b>actively [3]</b> 81/25 104/2 168/21</p> <p><b>activities [8]</b> 82/22 124/3 188/14 188/16 189/14 189/24 190/17 190/21</p> <p><b>activity [4]</b> 31/21 32/3 77/12 82/5</p> <p><b>actuality [1]</b> 55/22</p> <p><b>actually [43]</b> 15/6 16/2 19/6 19/21 28/19 28/21 32/22 33/21 36/1 41/13 47/2 58/16 60/16 80/1 89/7 89/12 89/19 99/7 116/2 118/24 119/23 142/17 146/12 152/25 153/7 162/14 168/11 172/25</p>	<p>174/11 176/1 180/8 182/19 186/3 189/5 190/9 190/9 190/14 194/9 199/10 201/11 202/11 203/23 204/2 <b>add [1]</b> 194/11 <b>added [2]</b> 142/7 189/13</p> <p><b>addition [4]</b> 3/11 25/9 116/11 174/18</p> <p><b>additional [8]</b> 55/17 70/5 123/11 174/18 179/25 185/18 194/22 195/2</p> <p><b>address [10]</b> 9/9 40/6 52/4 57/15 104/12 116/18 125/9 137/13 197/5 197/25</p> <p><b>addressed [3]</b> 92/20 198/8 200/5</p> <p><b>addresses [1]</b> 32/2</p> <p><b>adequate [1]</b> 12/4</p> <p><b>adequately [1]</b> 11/21</p> <p><b>adhere [1]</b> 109/19</p> <p><b>adhered [2]</b> 41/14 109/15</p> <p><b>adjourned [1]</b> 216/21</p> <p><b>adjournment [1]</b> 107/15</p> <p><b>adjust [2]</b> 52/7 206/22</p> <p><b>administered [1]</b> 214/16</p> <p><b>administration [3]</b> 46/2 51/4 187/4</p> <p><b>administrations [14]</b> 125/11 169/12 169/16 169/17 171/18 171/20 172/14 173/1 174/17 177/25 182/9 182/15 185/17 186/4</p> <p><b>administrations' [1]</b> 171/15</p> <p><b>admissions [6]</b> 56/13 61/3 61/4 94/20 100/1 147/9</p> <p><b>admittedly [1]</b> 114/4</p> <p><b>adopted [3]</b> 50/18 50/21 175/15</p> <p><b>advance [12]</b> 72/10 80/18 128/7 173/2 173/17 175/25 176/16 179/9 181/5 182/15 183/12 186/4</p> <p><b>advantage [1]</b> 117/22</p> <p><b>advertising [2]</b> 123/25 124/6</p> <p><b>advice [96]</b> 6/5 6/15 7/19 8/11 8/19 8/25 9/3 9/6 9/18 13/2 13/5 13/22 19/3 20/1 23/12 23/25 24/9 24/25 24/25 25/3 25/4 35/10 37/17 40/13 40/19</p>	<p>47/13 48/25 49/1 49/4 49/5 49/8 49/11 50/5 50/6 50/10 52/20 52/20 54/10 54/16 59/6 59/14 62/13 63/3 65/15 66/16 66/17 68/3 69/5 69/21 73/17 73/21 73/23 77/19 78/25 93/17 97/10 100/19 103/19 113/9 113/10 113/17 128/24 131/5 133/4 133/7 133/9 133/24 134/15 134/21 134/24 135/12 136/15 136/19 140/5 142/12 142/13 142/21 143/10 144/6 150/23 151/16 151/18 165/24 166/7 166/10 198/14 201/5 201/14 203/24 205/8 205/9 205/12 206/25 207/6 207/12 215/2</p> <p><b>advisable [1]</b> 73/12</p> <p><b>advise [1]</b> 133/1</p> <p><b>advised [4]</b> 53/22 66/2 124/14 134/12</p> <p><b>adviser [18]</b> 35/19 35/20 36/2 45/17 45/19 53/25 64/15 95/12 111/5 111/6 111/23 120/8 120/13 135/8 138/1 150/5 196/23 206/18</p> <p><b>advisers [15]</b> 18/15 18/17 18/20 45/25 48/11 50/6 56/7 63/23 101/16 101/16 116/7 149/13 152/19 154/21 206/18</p> <p><b>advising [1]</b> 90/24</p> <p><b>advocated [1]</b> 193/21</p> <p><b>affect [1]</b> 145/4</p> <p><b>affected [3]</b> 2/9 164/15 178/3</p> <p><b>affects [1]</b> 112/16</p> <p><b>afford [1]</b> 195/10</p> <p><b>afraid [5]</b> 163/8 189/18 194/11 196/13 215/16</p> <p><b>after [32]</b> 2/20 2/22 13/12 16/25 17/9 27/5 39/14 41/3 44/5 47/20 50/19 57/22 59/21 64/5 76/6 85/25 86/8 87/4 87/13 103/21 120/12 149/19 153/11 153/15 154/15 154/18 155/20 170/15 179/14 179/20 180/9 213/3</p> <p><b>afternoon [5]</b> 78/15 163/10 187/17 192/19 194/3</p> <p><b>afterwards [2]</b> 43/17</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>A</b>					
<b>afterwards... [1]</b> 57/22	<b>aim [5]</b> 33/7 64/25 105/17 166/9 185/8	<b>all right [17]</b> 30/14 38/22 39/17 68/5 81/7 83/2 84/24 90/20 91/17 95/8 102/4 104/4 122/24 137/9 151/21 154/14 159/20	<b>although [5]</b> 3/11 24/17 90/9 104/19 204/2		
<b>again [97]</b> 5/3 7/13 7/20 11/18 16/14 20/9 23/11 32/18 32/24 33/5 33/9 33/14 34/12 34/16 35/25 38/4 41/25 45/3 45/10 45/11 47/6 47/8 48/13 49/13 49/16 49/20 49/25 50/8 54/21 58/15 59/16 61/21 67/12 71/10 71/16 75/4 78/6 80/25 81/21 89/5 89/10 90/2 90/7 91/18 91/21 92/20 93/5 93/10 93/25 96/8 97/14 111/7 112/24 113/8 120/7 120/9 123/16 125/15 131/10 131/21 134/9 135/22 139/14 141/21 142/5 143/10 143/21 144/15 146/14 151/10 153/6 156/20 162/16 164/17 166/22 167/17 167/25 168/20 170/12 170/20 173/14 174/4 174/23 176/17 180/11 180/19 187/5 188/20 194/11 195/11 196/1 204/14 206/23 208/14 210/16 212/2 213/17	<b>alarm [2]</b> 100/8 102/18	<b>always [28]</b> 8/22 11/9 11/20 12/11 19/1 26/6 40/12 40/18 64/11 75/25 76/2 81/4 81/17 89/2 97/1 101/22 123/4 126/8 127/1 127/6 158/12 158/15 170/25 187/7 192/3 192/4 209/24 214/21	<b>announcment [12]</b> 57/23 59/16 62/5 119/20 120/12 120/21 124/23 152/10 168/4 170/15 170/17 209/16		
<b>against [3]</b> 35/22 147/24 211/2	<b>albeit [1]</b> 199/1	<b>all-important [1]</b> 129/14	<b>announcements [1]</b> 13/24		
<b>agency [1]</b> 163/23	<b>Aldridge [2]</b> 138/16 138/19	<b>allow [5]</b> 66/21 94/17 132/5 185/16 185/18	<b>announcing [1]</b> 122/14		
<b>agenda [1]</b> 120/6	<b>alert [2]</b> 154/3 154/12	<b>allowance [1]</b> 213/18	<b>another [11]</b> 17/8 43/3 86/24 87/13 91/14 92/9 93/13 105/8 137/19 163/24 168/6		
<b>agitated [1]</b> 92/10	<b>alerted [1]</b> 129/13	<b>allowed [4]</b> 22/7 31/3 34/11 43/14	<b>answer [14]</b> 8/17 21/20 22/13 50/13 51/11 133/23 162/5 175/23 178/23 189/19 196/8 198/3 198/5 200/6		
<b>agree [33]</b> 24/21 31/15 39/20 39/21 41/14 43/22 44/15 59/1 60/1 68/6 74/11 105/12 112/19 113/24 129/3 135/9 141/22 142/13 167/20 168/17 172/10 175/21 180/2 188/6 191/15 199/1 199/5 199/6 201/2 202/2 202/20 203/16 204/11	<b>all [170]</b> 1/18 2/1 2/3 2/9 3/1 3/10 3/17 5/3 11/5 11/8 14/18 22/20 23/21 24/1 24/23 25/12 26/9 27/18 27/19 29/4 30/8 30/14 32/19 33/17 36/3 36/23 38/9 38/12 38/15 38/17 38/20 38/22 39/17 40/24 43/8 46/13 46/23 46/24 47/19 49/3 50/3 50/25 53/6 56/17 57/9 58/11 58/19 59/5 60/16 61/1 61/1 62/6 62/12 63/11 65/2 66/19 68/5 69/24 70/23 72/22 75/18 76/15 81/7 82/22 83/2 84/21 84/24 85/21 88/25 89/21 89/21 90/20 91/17 93/5 93/5 95/8 99/15 102/4 104/4 104/5 106/5 109/19 112/22 113/12 113/20 114/2 114/25 115/17 115/20 117/6 117/6 117/6 117/7 117/17 117/18 119/13 120/11 120/12 121/5 122/24 123/1 123/2 123/7 123/9 123/17 123/21 124/5 124/25 127/14 129/10 129/14 129/20 131/7 133/25 135/11 135/13 137/9 139/15 143/12 143/18 146/14 146/14 146/22 148/8 151/21 154/14 158/19 158/20 159/20 159/21 160/19 161/4 162/11 163/11 163/21 174/17 176/13 186/7 187/2 190/2 195/11 195/15 197/16 198/16 198/19 200/11 203/15 204/19 204/21 205/5 205/11 205/19 206/2 206/2 206/21 206/24 206/25 211/3 211/6 211/7 212/15 212/21 212/25 213/20 214/7 215/2 215/11 215/12 216/11 216/18	<b>alone [1]</b> 201/2	<b>am [7]</b> 1/2 2/1 41/6 62/20 76/9 150/21 216/21	<b>answered [1]</b> 170/21	
<b>agreed [13]</b> 13/24 44/10 96/18 96/19 100/11 104/21 105/20 121/1 123/19 138/14 152/6 164/3 200/8	<b>along [5]</b> 52/3 143/24 145/21 191/5 215/25	<b>alluded [3]</b> 7/1 101/23 160/21	<b>amended [1]</b> 106/12	<b>answers [4]</b> 74/10 78/2 193/14 213/12	
<b>agreeing [1]</b> 144/15	<b>alongside [8]</b> 18/5 85/25 86/6 111/5 113/9 143/12 149/10 151/17	<b>alluding [1]</b> 140/14	<b>amongst [3]</b> 152/18 154/21 203/5	<b>anticipated [1]</b> 77/24	
<b>agreement [2]</b> 164/10 177/23	<b>also [57]</b> 1/15 2/3 5/20 6/14 21/23 26/10 36/2 45/18 54/12 54/13 55/16 63/3 66/2 78/1 80/4 84/12 85/18 87/16 87/18 88/19 89/17 92/7 94/18 94/23 98/12 99/17 100/22 101/2 108/17 110/5 110/8 116/17 120/17 125/1 130/12 132/5 140/3 140/7 143/14 147/19 148/4 149/6 155/20 166/9 168/10 171/16 172/16 179/18 191/2 192/21 192/25 202/17 208/3 215/10 216/9 216/9 216/13	<b>almost [12]</b> 25/23 35/7 50/24 65/20 71/16 119/20 120/21 129/25 136/20 170/16 190/4 207/21	<b>amount [20]</b> 17/13 18/12 47/6 47/11 55/16 57/1 57/25 61/15 77/20 77/21 94/24 107/7 118/18 142/18 161/10 165/11 173/12 180/17 181/5 201/12	<b>Anwar [1]</b> 177/3	
<b>Ah [5]</b> 42/10 139/12 155/3 208/15 215/18	<b>alterations [1]</b> 74/17	<b>allured [3]</b> 7/1 101/23 160/21	<b>ample [2]</b> 122/9 124/22	<b>anxiety [3]</b> 71/4 92/18 161/10	
<b>ahead [3]</b> 79/12 85/4 110/22	<b>altered [1]</b> 10/9	<b>alternatives [8]</b> 56/2 139/10 166/8 194/8 194/20 214/24 215/1 215/13	<b>analogously [1]</b> 137/16	<b>any [60]</b> 3/18 16/7 18/22 39/21 40/2 46/4 46/5 46/24 48/1 55/4 61/12 64/14 66/1 67/23 70/12 75/16 77/4 79/2 79/22 102/23 106/7 115/3 117/19 121/11 124/25 125/12 128/11 128/19 131/21 134/14 134/14 134/17 136/14 136/23 139/2 139/17 145/20 150/16 158/4 159/14 165/21 169/22 174/18 178/18 183/25 185/13 186/23 188/8 194/7 194/7 205/3 205/9 210/1 210/3 210/7 212/14 212/17 213/2 216/11 216/15	<b>anybody [9]</b> 115/6 123/1 147/1 162/4 162/5 162/6 191/8 191/12 191/16

<b>A</b>	122/21 122/22 122/24 123/7 123/9 125/17 125/18 125/19 126/25 128/5 128/22 128/23 131/12 134/14 134/16 137/10 139/12 139/19 140/9 140/22 141/7 141/11 141/20 142/7 143/3 146/4 146/6 147/8 147/9 150/22 154/23 155/16 160/22 161/8 164/23 168/24 170/7 171/7 176/20 177/25 188/25 190/22 190/23 190/23 195/22 196/19 198/15 198/19 198/24 203/8 203/10 204/3 204/8 205/13 206/3 207/21 207/21 208/18 208/21 210/18 210/22 211/9 211/19 215/12 216/9 <b>area [1]</b> 207/23 <b>areas [8]</b> 58/11 119/5 128/1 145/15 172/18 182/7 182/7 211/12 <b>aren't [3]</b> 29/14 38/14 130/22 <b>argue [2]</b> 78/18 192/5 <b>argued [1]</b> 94/6 <b>argument [3]</b> 33/5 33/6 140/25 <b>arguments [13]</b> 6/19 7/24 11/7 22/8 24/17 28/23 41/22 47/14 91/11 147/24 148/23 152/3 194/14 <b>arising [1]</b> 203/18 <b>armed [1]</b> 43/10 <b>around [33]</b> 3/12 4/5 4/9 4/22 4/23 13/11 16/21 16/24 18/14 22/15 22/23 23/19 30/20 48/18 54/19 57/8 62/6 67/4 67/11 90/20 91/18 94/20 97/16 126/17 146/18 155/22 166/21 166/24 168/4 178/19 186/2 188/8 214/13 <b>arrangements [4]</b> 3/15 70/4 177/24 179/20 <b>article [20]</b> 27/10 27/12 27/20 28/5 30/15 30/17 32/15 33/13 33/23 33/25 36/25 81/13 116/22 129/7 129/12 130/12 130/23 131/16 135/12 144/9 <b>artificially [2]</b> 99/10 99/16 <b>as [395]</b>	<b>As I said [4]</b> 37/25 98/25 136/25 203/8 <b>ascertain [1]</b> 181/2 <b>Asian [1]</b> 200/1 <b>aside [2]</b> 117/22 117/23 <b>ask [29]</b> 8/21 18/10 26/19 27/10 37/4 40/6 45/15 55/9 67/12 72/8 74/9 78/1 83/4 110/3 113/20 125/11 131/25 131/25 150/8 163/14 163/16 163/19 164/11 169/9 178/8 181/22 187/17 189/20 192/21 <b>asked [9]</b> 75/19 107/10 108/23 150/20 151/17 155/13 178/6 189/16 193/15 <b>asking [11]</b> 33/19 51/3 96/20 105/11 115/2 151/16 172/9 181/5 183/7 184/13 195/5 <b>aspect [1]</b> 124/18 <b>aspects [4]</b> 135/4 136/6 144/23 146/11 <b>assent [1]</b> 60/1 <b>assess [2]</b> 65/14 200/4 <b>assessment [2]</b> 111/12 113/3 <b>assessments [4]</b> 84/1 118/17 199/23 200/4 <b>assist [1]</b> 195/6 <b>assistance [2]</b> 183/8 215/8 <b>assisted [3]</b> 105/7 113/16 145/24 <b>associated [3]</b> 149/8 160/2 177/24 <b>association [2]</b> 118/16 198/12 <b>assume [6]</b> 24/18 58/22 111/7 146/3 204/7 204/24 <b>assuming [1]</b> 47/15 <b>assumptions [3]</b> 56/20 61/7 77/22 <b>assurance [1]</b> 101/13 <b>astute [1]</b> 10/19 <b>asymptomatic [2]</b> 133/24 209/6 <b>at [280]</b> <b>at-risk [1]</b> 84/10 <b>attainment [2]</b> 86/3 90/9 <b>attempted [2]</b> 74/18 75/21 <b>attend [5]</b> 130/6 132/7 132/9 151/17 181/21 <b>attendance [1]</b> 130/7	<b>attendant [1]</b> 113/23 <b>attended [7]</b> 95/10 119/2 129/18 129/19 132/8 138/6 156/5 <b>attending [2]</b> 1/20 150/21 <b>attention [7]</b> 31/12 59/5 76/18 96/25 103/14 125/10 135/19 <b>attributable [1]</b> 204/19 <b>attributed [1]</b> 64/24 <b>atypical [1]</b> 14/4 <b>auction [2]</b> 70/20 70/25 <b>August [12]</b> 27/12 98/23 119/13 119/14 120/6 120/8 126/10 128/4 147/6 211/11 211/15 213/4 <b>authentically [2]</b> 93/22 93/24 <b>author [1]</b> 27/12 <b>author's [1]</b> 34/13 <b>authorities [11]</b> 126/1 126/3 165/13 165/15 195/22 209/8 213/14 214/18 215/8 215/10 215/14 <b>authority [2]</b> 214/16 214/22 <b>autumn [3]</b> 38/6 38/10 152/20 <b>available [8]</b> 7/19 118/23 146/3 166/6 173/14 174/19 176/15 182/18 <b>average [1]</b> 147/5 <b>avoid [2]</b> 60/23 160/7 <b>avoided [1]</b> 118/4 <b>aware [22]</b> 45/24 73/19 80/22 84/4 84/8 96/22 101/3 112/15 128/5 132/12 137/10 154/10 156/6 158/14 160/9 160/10 178/9 178/14 179/21 184/8 184/17 184/18 <b>awareness [1]</b> 133/15 <b>away [5]</b> 116/20 117/25 131/21 182/9 183/3 <b>awful [1]</b> 147/21	131/11 136/10 157/3 166/4 180/3 180/6 186/7 187/2 188/20 193/2 194/5 199/4 202/11 208/14 <b>backdrop [1]</b> 60/24 <b>backed [4]</b> 4/12 123/24 124/6 156/2 <b>backgrounds [2]</b> 116/15 200/1 <b>backing [1]</b> 41/11 <b>bad [4]</b> 42/17 42/21 45/11 46/8 <b>balance [14]</b> 7/18 21/22 38/14 72/22 112/11 112/12 113/18 117/19 117/19 140/21 143/6 166/11 176/5 193/7 <b>balanced [4]</b> 35/21 148/24 149/2 157/23 <b>balances [2]</b> 106/16 106/22 <b>balancing [1]</b> 177/6 <b>ban [1]</b> 49/10 <b>bandwidth [1]</b> 63/13 <b>Bank [6]</b> 16/15 71/11 71/14 140/8 143/19 203/4 <b>banks [1]</b> 143/22 <b>banning [1]</b> 66/10 <b>barbecuing [1]</b> 29/20 <b>Barnett [9]</b> 171/16 172/17 172/19 179/10 181/3 182/3 182/5 182/20 185/22 <b>base [1]</b> 149/7 <b>based [6]</b> 26/13 61/2 62/15 62/15 134/15 146/24 <b>basic [2]</b> 30/23 144/11 <b>basically [1]</b> 211/2 <b>basis [11]</b> 8/24 15/8 103/9 147/16 161/14 182/10 183/4 183/5 186/1 191/2 210/10 <b>bat [1]</b> 133/5 <b>be [284]</b> <b>bear [3]</b> 45/20 79/20 99/21 <b>bearing [2]</b> 110/8 122/16 <b>became [14]</b> 2/15 2/17 2/23 10/3 25/20 37/18 54/15 98/20 164/14 207/13 209/12 212/8 214/2 214/6 <b>because [142]</b> 5/12 7/21 15/6 15/25 16/24 20/11 26/3 27/10 29/25 31/7 32/7 32/23 33/4 33/15 33/18 34/3 34/7 34/11 37/3 37/15
----------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>B</b>	96/18 96/21 99/8 99/9 100/10 101/3 102/20 103/1 103/6 107/10 115/7 115/9 115/11 115/17 115/18 117/9 118/7 118/8 118/23 120/17 120/20 121/1 121/13 121/22 121/25 122/2 122/3 122/17 123/4 123/19 123/19 123/21 124/13 125/15 126/13 126/18 128/2 128/12 128/16 132/3 132/5 132/22 133/3 134/4 135/2 139/3 139/20 144/23 148/11 148/13 148/15 148/18 151/17 153/1 160/10 163/15 163/23 168/20 173/6 174/7 174/19 179/1 179/20 179/21 182/23 185/7 187/7 189/10 195/14 195/25 200/8 200/12 201/10 202/8 202/14 203/23 205/8 208/1 208/4 212/7	127/7 151/7 <b>behaviours [1]</b> 127/17 <b>behind [2]</b> 192/15 208/15 <b>being [74]</b> 8/20 18/22 20/14 21/12 22/9 23/13 26/24 31/19 33/25 51/7 52/17 53/20 53/24 54/17 55/3 56/19 60/20 61/8 63/15 64/19 75/7 77/14 78/3 78/17 79/14 79/21 81/24 92/1 95/17 96/24 97/3 98/21 99/2 99/3 103/18 105/20 105/24 106/7 106/22 113/2 120/19 127/20 130/14 130/20 132/17 132/20 136/20 137/7 137/13 139/15 139/18 147/16 150/1 150/23 159/14 160/9 160/17 173/2 173/18 175/22 175/25 176/4 177/9 179/9 183/13 185/14 190/1 191/12 194/14 201/13 203/19 204/4 207/21 210/19 <b>BEIS [1]</b> 18/1 <b>belief [1]</b> 157/12 <b>believe [9]</b> 18/21 58/15 120/24 121/18 121/24 122/7 157/10 157/16 184/5 <b>believed [3]</b> 121/21 122/7 157/19 <b>bells [1]</b> 102/18 <b>below [6]</b> 43/16 102/3 103/18 153/21 154/9 156/8 <b>bemoan [2]</b> 144/9 145/20 <b>Ben [1]</b> 138/15 <b>beneath [1]</b> 116/10 <b>benefit [18]</b> 30/23 35/18 89/8 90/16 90/18 101/11 133/25 144/10 144/17 144/22 145/8 145/19 145/25 146/20 157/14 176/2 190/8 213/25 <b>benefits [4]</b> 35/20 144/24 201/23 215/11 <b>benefitted [6]</b> 176/7 176/13 186/18 188/24 191/23 192/9 <b>benefitting [1]</b> 213/21 <b>bent [1]</b> 26/7 <b>bereaved [4]</b> 163/15 169/10 177/4 193/16 <b>best [13]</b> 6/4 7/19	11/2 20/25 21/4 63/22 73/16 77/9 134/15 160/17 161/12 165/23 166/16 <b>better [17]</b> 2/8 10/12 20/21 20/22 25/24 33/2 33/3 33/16 52/18 92/8 92/20 145/17 146/15 195/25 198/8 214/25 215/18 <b>between [49]</b> 4/8 4/15 5/17 6/24 18/19 19/14 21/17 21/22 26/4 29/7 29/12 29/22 30/11 31/20 32/2 44/4 68/12 86/19 87/24 88/8 88/15 88/21 106/18 108/1 111/14 112/12 113/18 119/20 120/21 124/23 125/22 136/24 148/24 164/4 166/12 166/25 167/14 167/23 170/17 184/4 184/15 184/20 192/23 193/8 194/25 195/8 200/24 200/25 209/14 <b>beyond [6]</b> 43/13 84/17 168/22 173/14 180/16 194/16 <b>big [5]</b> 41/21 46/17 59/3 101/23 108/10 <b>Biggest [1]</b> 74/21 <b>bilat [2]</b> 39/2 39/3 <b>bilateral [16]</b> 9/24 11/4 22/1 28/24 29/1 30/5 40/16 40/22 40/23 47/22 79/12 80/19 91/19 91/22 91/23 142/10 <b>bilaterally [5]</b> 39/4 39/19 39/23 40/3 41/23 <b>billion [9]</b> 105/4 105/24 173/11 188/10 190/5 190/5 195/17 209/7 213/13 <b>billions [2]</b> 165/14 195/21 <b>Biosecurity [1]</b> 94/16 <b>bit [10]</b> 59/22 78/2 79/25 94/23 113/5 140/14 143/23 155/1 156/6 174/23 <b>bits [1]</b> 28/20 <b>black [2]</b> 83/9 200/1 <b>blessing [1]</b> 110/24 <b>blocc [1]</b> 172/15 <b>blocking [1]</b> 211/6 <b>blocks [3]</b> 3/4 105/25 106/4 <b>blunder [1]</b> 188/1 <b>bluntly [1]</b> 155/1 <b>BMO [1]</b> 70/21 <b>bodies [6]</b> 9/9 16/16	117/18 140/9 141/8 144/5 <b>body [3]</b> 16/17 137/19 141/1 <b>bond [4]</b> 68/15 69/11 70/13 72/6 <b>bones [2]</b> 36/17 36/22 <b>boost [1]</b> 167/12 <b>boredom [1]</b> 212/21 <b>Boris [1]</b> 177/16 <b>Boris Johnson [1]</b> 177/16 <b>born [1]</b> 205/10 <b>borne [1]</b> 211/10 <b>borrow [5]</b> 69/15 70/25 71/13 76/4 182/17 <b>borrowed [1]</b> 190/5 <b>borrowing [8]</b> 69/9 69/16 72/13 74/14 74/23 75/9 173/15 174/22 <b>borrows [1]</b> 70/24 <b>both [10]</b> 5/18 25/21 44/15 49/17 66/4 157/2 162/4 178/24 179/18 206/19 <b>bottom [2]</b> 14/1 43/5 <b>bottomed [1]</b> 207/21 <b>brand [1]</b> 123/25 <b>break [7]</b> 59/21 62/19 62/21 104/8 107/11 163/1 163/5 <b>breaker [14]</b> 8/8 10/18 147/14 147/17 147/22 147/24 148/2 148/6 148/12 148/22 153/23 156/13 156/20 156/25 <b>breakers [2]</b> 50/16 147/15 <b>Brexit [1]</b> 19/9 <b>bridge [1]</b> 61/25 <b>brief [4]</b> 34/20 37/6 37/6 81/16 <b>briefed [5]</b> 31/4 34/14 103/7 147/12 152/5 <b>briefing [2]</b> 34/16 147/13 <b>briefings [3]</b> 37/3 83/23 136/17 <b>briefly [4]</b> 91/4 147/3 151/23 201/8 <b>briefs [1]</b> 43/9 <b>bring [14]</b> 31/11 34/7 79/20 80/5 111/21 111/22 112/20 116/23 143/8 145/16 145/24 146/11 154/9 156/8 <b>bringing [2]</b> 98/13 124/19 <b>British [2]</b> 81/12
----------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<p><b>B</b></p> <p><b>British...</b> [1] 81/20</p> <p><b>broad</b> [6] 8/11 19/5 60/6 74/18 97/20 154/2</p> <p><b>broadcast</b> [2] 34/19 34/20</p> <p><b>broadened</b> [2] 15/7 16/9</p> <p><b>broader</b> [9] 8/22 19/14 33/8 33/21 58/25 59/4 89/8 133/15 144/25</p> <p><b>broadly</b> [14] 3/16 3/17 6/17 8/24 21/22 23/11 78/20 97/19 99/3 113/2 186/5 186/8 186/11 196/5</p> <p><b>brought</b> [12] 19/9 85/2 96/24 103/13 113/12 125/10 137/18 137/19 164/4 165/2 193/2 211/24</p> <p><b>brutal</b> [1] 46/2</p> <p><b>budget</b> [5] 105/22 105/23 170/12 209/2 212/3</p> <p><b>build</b> [1] 140/4</p> <p><b>building</b> [3] 3/4 25/22 26/25</p> <p><b>bullet</b> [3] 86/15 92/1 99/24</p> <p><b>bulleted</b> [1] 43/25</p> <p><b>burden</b> [1] 76/11</p> <p><b>burdens</b> [1] 76/16</p> <p><b>Business</b> [1] 108/8</p> <p><b>businesses</b> [11] 6/14 75/8 93/7 108/4 108/11 111/11 127/13 127/20 186/17 197/17 199/14</p> <p><b>but</b> [293]</p> <p><b>but I</b> [1] 48/6</p> <p><b>buy</b> [1] 106/10</p>	<p>122/14 123/23 128/7 142/11 145/12 145/22 146/10 148/4 152/5 152/24 153/9 153/25 154/6 154/13 156/4 157/3</p> <p><b>Cabinet committees</b> [1] 30/4</p> <p><b>Cabinet Office</b> [22] 12/25 13/5 17/11 17/20 20/13 20/16 22/22 23/5 23/7 23/9 78/13 79/15 79/17 80/14 80/20 81/3 90/6 123/23 142/11 145/12 145/22 146/10</p> <p><b>Cabinet secretaries</b> [1] 45/17</p> <p><b>Cabinet Secretary</b> [3] 108/22 109/5 152/5</p> <p><b>Cain</b> [3] 68/13 187/22 188/6</p> <p><b>calculation</b> [2] 30/23 145/21</p> <p><b>calculations</b> [3] 144/10 145/8 145/24</p> <p><b>call</b> [1] 68/16</p> <p><b>called</b> [8] 71/9 87/20 109/9 116/19 150/2 172/19 188/13 190/22</p> <p><b>calls</b> [4] 3/15 129/11 129/22 132/15</p> <p><b>calls ...</b> [1] 129/11</p> <p><b>came</b> [17] 10/15 21/15 33/7 54/18 57/14 66/15 73/23 77/17 91/11 97/23 100/15 102/21 161/22 172/1 190/14 194/21 212/13</p> <p><b>campaign</b> [6] 123/23 124/7 161/18 161/18 187/19 187/24</p> <p><b>campaigned</b> [1] 161/18</p> <p><b>can</b> [92] 2/7 9/1 10/12 13/8 13/18 14/1 14/12 14/25 17/12 17/16 23/21 29/23 32/21 34/7 38/1 38/9 41/2 43/5 47/8 47/25 48/23 51/11 53/2 55/9 56/10 57/3 57/15 61/8 61/17 68/19 74/2 74/3 74/10 75/24 76/7 79/11 80/1 80/7 87/6 90/10 90/17 91/3 91/4 91/25 93/16 93/23 97/6 104/5 104/8 104/9 110/22 112/20 113/1 114/2 131/25 138/5 142/2 142/6 146/20 146/23 147/12 151/22 152/21 157/2</p>	<p>157/10 166/16 167/16 169/2 169/3 169/5 173/15 177/13 177/17 177/24 180/3 180/5 181/7 183/8 183/15 183/18 184/22 189/20 191/4 191/15 194/11 195/15 198/19 199/1 199/5 199/20 206/5 208/4</p> <p><b>can't</b> [33] 32/12 32/12 53/15 53/15 56/4 56/21 58/21 62/10 82/17 94/12 127/19 134/10 134/23 138/25 144/1 145/19 149/22 165/18 178/12 178/18 183/3 188/7 189/3 189/5 189/6 189/7 189/23 195/12 196/7 199/1 199/5 204/25 205/6</p> <p><b>candour</b> [1] 2/11</p> <p><b>capability</b> [2] 16/9 140/1</p> <p><b>capacity</b> [9] 53/12 55/18 56/12 56/16 57/3 61/5 115/25 118/23 194/21</p> <p><b>care</b> [26] 95/2 101/19 163/17 163/24 163/25 164/5 165/10 165/12 165/20 166/21 167/2 167/6 167/7 167/12 167/14 167/14 192/22 192/23 193/1 193/7 193/19 194/4 195/8 195/23 198/21 213/9</p> <p><b>care home</b> [5] 163/17 163/24 167/2 167/6 167/7</p> <p><b>care homes</b> [5] 95/2 163/25 164/5 167/14 192/23</p> <p><b>cared</b> [2] 86/1 90/9</p> <p><b>carried</b> [1] 39/19</p> <p><b>carries</b> [1] 56/25</p> <p><b>case</b> [19] 4/12 42/6 53/8 53/9 55/1 77/13 88/20 105/9 127/6 139/9 148/20 149/6 155/11 156/16 158/12 182/20 187/7 210/2 215/18</p> <p><b>cases</b> [10] 49/3 49/3 78/19 125/23 126/2 146/5 147/6 206/9 206/11 209/9</p> <p><b>casual</b> [1] 118/8</p> <p><b>categories</b> [1] 154/2</p> <p><b>cause</b> [2] 35/23 175/15</p> <p><b>caused</b> [2] 71/4 191/19</p>	<p><b>causes</b> [1] 28/1</p> <p><b>causing</b> [3] 100/2 127/25 191/21</p> <p><b>CDL</b> [1] 108/9</p> <p><b>centre</b> [3] 19/23 94/17 108/16</p> <p><b>certain</b> [3] 13/10 22/19 134/1</p> <p><b>certainly</b> [11] 11/9 32/21 37/12 38/8 62/19 83/11 86/20 91/14 128/18 207/22 211/21</p> <p><b>certainty</b> [1] 174/13</p> <p><b>cetera</b> [5] 42/20 93/8 93/8 167/15 167/15</p> <p><b>chair</b> [3] 138/18 163/19 195/6</p> <p><b>chaired</b> [2] 109/5 111/3</p> <p><b>challenge</b> [9] 27/14 27/22 29/10 43/1 43/10 55/4 56/20 61/12 214/21</p> <p><b>challenge/scrutinise</b> [1] 43/10</p> <p><b>challenged</b> [1] 9/16</p> <p><b>challenging</b> [2] 161/14 175/3</p> <p><b>chance</b> [2] 155/1 156/7</p> <p><b>Chancellor</b> [47] 2/19 2/21 4/10 5/11 5/13 5/24 6/3 6/7 8/10 20/15 25/20 26/8 31/10 34/24 35/8 36/21 39/10 39/18 39/23 40/4 42/1 42/6 43/6 43/9 43/18 51/4 51/4 67/21 70/18 78/12 79/7 79/13 79/18 86/13 93/18 93/21 101/14 156/5 158/18 162/2 175/6 185/11 188/12 189/2 201/6 209/3 211/6</p> <p><b>Chancellor's</b> [2] 39/12 208/5</p> <p><b>change</b> [17] 41/11 42/3 48/9 49/7 50/4 50/11 54/8 66/23 77/5 107/5 111/9 112/2 113/7 113/24 116/23 133/24 186/11</p> <p><b>changed</b> [22] 3/20 4/23 25/1 47/24 49/4 49/5 49/10 49/12 50/6 50/7 52/8 54/19 59/15 64/10 66/19 67/6 67/10 99/1 107/1 134/1 153/24 203/13</p> <p><b>changes</b> [5] 10/11 66/25 122/2 190/19 209/3</p>	<p><b>changing</b> [4] 4/22 57/5 65/2 198/18</p> <p><b>channels</b> [2] 171/3 203/2</p> <p><b>chaos</b> [1] 45/23</p> <p><b>chaotic</b> [1] 46/4</p> <p><b>characterisation</b> [6] 10/25 156/12 156/24 160/12 161/3 212/2</p> <p><b>characterisations</b> [2] 211/9 211/21</p> <p><b>charge</b> [1] 183/7</p> <p><b>chat</b> [1] 44/20</p> <p><b>chatting</b> [2] 29/16 29/20</p> <p><b>check</b> [3] 41/6 66/5 167/9</p> <p><b>checked</b> [2] 47/1 62/24</p> <p><b>checks</b> [2] 106/16 106/22</p> <p><b>Chequers</b> [1] 149/22</p> <p><b>chief</b> [55] 2/17 35/18 35/20 36/1 45/17 45/19 49/21 53/25 61/14 64/14 95/12 101/15 105/1 105/14 108/20 108/21 109/3 110/8 110/12 110/15 110/17 111/4 111/5 111/6 114/22 119/25 120/7 120/8 120/13 120/13 135/8 136/15 138/1 149/15 150/4 150/4 152/23 155/12 155/18 155/18 155/24 157/4 157/15 162/3 166/2 166/13 167/18 167/23 184/2 184/5 187/5 195/19 196/22 201/14 206/18</p> <p><b>Chief Whip</b> [1] 162/3</p> <p><b>children</b> [15] 86/2 90/14 90/15 161/19 161/24 187/20 187/25 188/2 188/13 188/16 188/17 188/19 189/21 191/6 191/17</p> <p><b>children's</b> [3] 7/3 90/9 187/18</p> <p><b>choice</b> [1] 109/23</p> <p><b>choices</b> [1] 182/25</p> <p><b>choose</b> [1] 142/2</p> <p><b>chose</b> [1] 124/24</p> <p><b>Chris</b> [6] 38/16 54/22 95/11 119/3 124/11 148/9</p> <p><b>Chris Whitty</b> [4] 38/16 54/22 95/11 119/3</p> <p><b>Chris Whitty's</b> [1] 148/9</p> <p><b>chronological</b> [1] 68/19</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>C</b>	45/25 48/11	46/23 120/20 135/2	<b>competitive [1]</b> 90/25	<b>conditional [2]</b> 95/21
<b>chronologically [1]</b>	<b>closing [3]</b> 66/11	<b>commentators [2]</b>	<b>completely [9]</b> 22/3	100/18
48/17	73/8 159/10	206/3 207/20	26/2 39/22 54/2 64/11	<b>conditions [3]</b> 96/3
<b>circuit [16]</b> 8/8 10/18	<b>CMO [18]</b> 80/6 80/11	<b>comments [2]</b> 34/22	65/1 102/9 123/2	106/19 106/24
50/16 147/14 147/15	84/16 95/11 96/7	46/5	185/25	<b>conference [5]</b> 149/4
147/17 147/22 147/24	96/17 97/18 97/24	<b>commission [3]</b> 79/4	<b>completes [1]</b> 216/5	149/17 155/13 155/21
148/2 148/6 148/12	100/7 115/5 122/19	79/5 132/23	<b>complex [4]</b> 131/4	156/3
148/22 153/23 156/13	124/12 124/13 125/4	<b>commissioned [1]</b>	134/11 146/4 146/9	<b>conferences [6]</b> 38/6
156/20 156/25	149/3 153/19 154/1	13/22	<b>compliance [6]</b> 33/4	38/10 38/11 38/18
<b>circuit-breaker [4]</b>	206/19	<b>commissioning [1]</b>	49/23 49/25 54/24	54/14 68/10
147/24 148/2 153/23	<b>CMO's [1]</b> 153/10	64/2	212/18 213/2	<b>confidence [2]</b> 143/8
156/25	<b>co [1]</b> 10/4	<b>commitments [1]</b>	<b>complimented [1]</b>	172/2
<b>circuit-breakers [2]</b>	<b>co-ordinate [1]</b> 10/4	163/8	11/4	<b>confident [1]</b> 186/15
50/16 147/15	<b>COBR [6]</b> 13/25	<b>committee [9]</b> 8/15	<b>comply [3]</b> 32/25	<b>confine [1]</b> 167/7
<b>circulate [1]</b> 23/23	23/17 23/22 57/21	9/20 11/13 49/16	33/18 199/8	<b>confirm [1]</b> 70/4
<b>circulated [2]</b> 23/24	65/6 148/4	73/23 137/13 137/22	<b>complying [2]</b> 181/18	<b>confirmed [2]</b> 147/6
83/23	<b>COBRs [2]</b> 53/6	142/14 147/13	212/20	159/9
<b>circumstances [6]</b>	65/13	<b>committees [2]</b> 10/6	<b>comprehensive [2]</b>	<b>conflating [1]</b> 133/6
3/15 21/1 52/8 143/4	<b>codicil [1]</b> 127/23	30/4	190/6 192/7	<b>confronting [3]</b> 7/10
191/18 207/8	<b>cognisant [1]</b> 165/9	<b>common [1]</b> 111/14	<b>con [1]</b> 154/20	8/14 14/3
<b>circumvention [1]</b>	<b>collapse [6]</b> 52/24	<b>comms [3]</b> 34/1	<b>concept [2]</b> 64/13	<b>confusing [1]</b> 56/11
22/18	53/4 53/9 55/24 56/3	34/11 37/25	202/25	<b>Congress [1]</b> 208/18
<b>civil [2]</b> 4/2 29/14	68/17	<b>communicate [4]</b> 3/8	<b>conceptual [2]</b> 57/16	<b>conjunction [1]</b>
<b>claim [1]</b> 100/2	<b>colleagues [9]</b> 3/8	3/12 140/21 142/3	63/16	198/23
<b>clapping [1]</b> 196/20	9/23 11/8 12/15 26/21	<b>communicated [1]</b>	<b>concern [19]</b> 26/16	<b>consciousness [1]</b>
<b>Clare [2]</b> 138/6 145/3	27/5 27/9 60/2 138/11	134/3	66/22 68/17 76/20	60/21
<b>Clare Lombardelli [2]</b>	<b>collecting [1]</b> 93/6	<b>communicating [1]</b>	80/19 81/10 81/19	<b>consensus [9]</b>
138/6 145/3	<b>collection [1]</b> 99/15	76/3	82/2 83/3 89/12 90/21	131/17 131/19 132/4
<b>clarify [1]</b> 191/4	<b>collective [1]</b> 116/8	<b>communication [6]</b>	103/22 103/23 117/4	132/20 134/9 134/22
<b>clash [3]</b> 5/16 6/2	<b>collectively [2]</b> 6/21	3/24 29/7 32/21 33/1	126/16 162/9 167/4	150/23 151/10 152/18
6/24	123/19	33/16 34/6	178/15 180/14	<b>consequence [2]</b>
<b>clear [49]</b> 12/2 21/4	<b>combination [1]</b> 61/2	<b>communications [9]</b>	<b>concerned [17]</b> 9/10	76/12 84/21
27/3 31/9 32/5 36/16	<b>combined [1]</b> 94/8	4/8 5/10 32/22 33/12	40/8 54/9 64/3 70/12	<b>consequences [32]</b>
42/11 49/25 50/18	<b>come [28]</b> 3/22 5/1	38/19 45/18 76/25	76/22 76/23 89/17	6/6 8/3 8/12 8/20
51/5 51/17 54/22 58/9	16/23 24/25 32/5	132/18 187/23	92/13 92/14 94/18	10/22 14/9 15/23
58/13 72/8 75/5 80/9	32/11 32/12 36/6 42/7	<b>Communities [1]</b>	104/15 106/15 106/22	31/13 32/18 34/25
82/17 84/12 89/24	48/21 67/3 67/11	2/16	119/14 186/25 191/11	35/11 36/19 47/18
94/21 95/4 98/8 99/14	89/13 98/25 105/21	<b>community [1]</b> 69/14	<b>concerning [4]</b> 68/15	65/25 75/22 76/9 76/9
101/17 101/22 104/7	111/24 115/4 117/1	<b>companies [2]</b> 117/7	69/13 126/11 155/6	94/9 97/10 97/13
119/2 119/8 121/24	117/20 122/17 123/11	124/1	<b>concerns [28]</b> 36/23	102/15 103/1 112/13
124/6 130/22 131/5	125/6 136/3 136/10	<b>Company [1]</b> 177/3	53/10 68/22 71/25	113/19 117/9 134/16
132/10 134/6 134/6	168/13 174/11 210/4	<b>comparable [1]</b>	72/5 72/12 73/13	135/19 175/7 177/6
135/5 138/1 139/17	215/25	24/19	90/11 95/25 99/25	199/16 199/17 201/4
148/21 164/14 166/1	<b>comes [3]</b> 76/6 127/3	<b>comparative [2]</b> 91/1	104/2 119/22 121/9	<b>consequent [1]</b>
174/4 190/11 192/9	172/14	91/5	122/10 124/23 126/13	183/13
212/17 212/24 213/24	<b>comfortable [1]</b> 99/3	<b>compare [1]</b> 38/5	128/2 128/8 139/4	<b>consequential [2]</b>
215/2	<b>coming [19]</b> 7/22	<b>compared [1]</b> 58/22	139/8 170/23 170/24	46/12 148/7
<b>cleared [1]</b> 116/6	20/1 42/24 47/15	<b>comparison [2]</b>	178/10 178/14 178/25	<b>consequentials [2]</b>
<b>clearly [16]</b> 20/6	53/19 55/6 59/6 78/10	15/20 15/24	179/17 179/22 207/3	172/19 182/21
24/22 25/24 29/21	82/13 88/16 88/19	<b>comparisons [1]</b>	<b>concise [2]</b> 74/10	<b>conservative [2]</b> 2/25
44/1 61/8 66/25 76/24	89/16 92/5 100/22	108/13	83/5	61/8
78/25 80/2 109/15	114/18 123/17 147/21	<b>compelling [1]</b> 7/11	<b>concluded [2]</b> 85/21	<b>consider [11]</b> 36/10
127/4 133/20 157/22	151/2 189/25	<b>compensate [1]</b>	212/16	102/24 111/24 135/23
164/10 196/7	<b>command [1]</b> 143/7	167/6	<b>concludes [3]</b> 113/6	149/10 151/24 159/3
<b>clock [2]</b> 83/4 197/22	<b>commence [1]</b> 1/8	<b>compensation [7]</b>	175/5 215/21	159/4 159/12 204/21
<b>close [5]</b> 43/23 49/10	<b>commenced [2]</b>	164/8 164/22 165/2	<b>conclusion [2]</b> 2/22	216/11
67/17 73/1 105/24	104/16 104/16	166/18 193/22 194/2	168/13	<b>considerable [17]</b>
<b>closed [5]</b> 49/14	<b>commencement [3]</b>	194/7	<b>conclusions [4]</b>	16/17 17/13 18/12
54/23 73/21 92/3 95/1	119/21 120/22 170/17	<b>competence [2]</b>	75/16 112/2 112/24	122/1 123/24 142/18
<b>closely [4]</b> 12/14	<b>comment [8]</b> 23/8	134/25 170/11	216/12	143/11 144/2 176/8
17/25 18/6 141/9	79/25 94/12 135/17	<b>competencies [2]</b>	<b>conclusively [1]</b>	185/4 198/10 200/9
<b>closer [2]</b> 97/5 102/5	141/23 168/22 194/16	125/17 125/18	125/2	202/9 208/6 213/11
<b>closest [3]</b> 18/15	198/4	<b>competing [4]</b> 7/11	<b>condensed [1]</b>	213/21 213/23
	<b>commentary [3]</b>	7/18 9/17 89/25	142/15	<b>considerably [6]</b>

<b>C</b>				
<p><b>considerably... [6]</b> 14/25 15/16 49/12 184/14 188/15 189/12</p> <p><b>consideration [22]</b> 70/14 72/20 73/17 83/25 84/9 84/17 89/24 97/17 99/6 99/20 113/22 113/23 114/8 114/22 116/17 136/2 139/10 198/20 201/5 212/9 212/13 214/2</p> <p><b>considerations [14]</b> 5/17 5/19 24/13 26/13 52/22 102/8 112/8 135/7 137/18 141/2 143/7 148/25 197/5 197/25</p> <p><b>considered [14]</b> 1/19 6/21 7/6 8/20 36/9 75/18 114/7 120/14 131/10 160/22 166/8 167/11 168/20 193/25</p> <p><b>considering [6]</b> 22/10 23/18 35/12 78/12 93/9 98/20</p> <p><b>consisted [2]</b> 7/11 128/25</p> <p><b>consistent [14]</b> 6/19 7/7 8/17 27/7 40/18 44/12 50/18 50/21 51/5 97/2 102/11 103/18 155/16 157/17</p> <p><b>consistently [3]</b> 51/17 152/21 153/18</p> <p><b>constantly [2]</b> 30/20 81/18</p> <p><b>constitutional [9]</b> 35/7 172/13 172/22 174/8 180/17 180/20 180/24 182/10 185/23</p> <p><b>constitutionally [4]</b> 36/23 79/19 173/18 179/9</p> <p><b>constrained [1]</b> 178/1</p> <p><b>constraints [2]</b> 35/25 200/11</p> <p><b>construction [2]</b> 77/9 92/3</p> <p><b>constructive [2]</b> 2/11 81/4</p> <p><b>consult [4]</b> 115/5 125/12 170/9 170/13</p> <p><b>consultation [2]</b> 164/6 170/3</p> <p><b>consulted [3]</b> 124/14 124/18 169/16</p> <p><b>consumer [1]</b> 83/16</p> <p><b>consumption [5]</b> 81/22 81/24 82/1 82/10 116/12</p>	<p><b>contactless [2]</b> 115/16 118/13</p> <p><b>contain [3]</b> 53/21 63/21 143/19</p> <p><b>contained [3]</b> 76/15 113/9 171/8</p> <p><b>containing [1]</b> 109/1</p> <p><b>contains [3]</b> 74/20 85/11 112/23</p> <p><b>contemplate [1]</b> 137/21</p> <p><b>contemplated [1]</b> 98/22</p> <p><b>contemporaneous [1]</b> 139/4</p> <p><b>content [1]</b> 97/19</p> <p><b>contentious [1]</b> 161/15</p> <p><b>context [30]</b> 8/18 27/19 47/9 48/23 53/17 64/16 70/10 70/17 71/21 72/1 115/8 115/13 115/22 116/3 117/24 118/22 119/3 119/9 120/25 121/19 124/9 128/4 149/12 162/1 162/2 171/12 171/22 196/22 200/7 203/18</p> <p><b>context-dependent [1]</b> 47/9</p> <p><b>context-specific [1]</b> 8/18</p> <p><b>continue [1]</b> 87/2</p> <p><b>continued [6]</b> 16/14 21/9 77/12 103/21 108/4 208/6</p> <p><b>continuing [4]</b> 31/20 32/2 87/4 195/9</p> <p><b>continuum [1]</b> 109/17</p> <p><b>contract [1]</b> 193/11</p> <p><b>contracts [4]</b> 104/20 104/25 105/20 106/20</p> <p><b>contrast [1]</b> 58/2</p> <p><b>contributed [4]</b> 13/4 80/15 126/14 202/18</p> <p><b>contributing [2]</b> 204/24 205/2</p> <p><b>contribution [1]</b> 204/5</p> <p><b>contributor [1]</b> 167/2</p> <p><b>contributors [1]</b> 129/1</p> <p><b>control [3]</b> 104/23 152/23 167/4</p> <p><b>controlling [1]</b> 106/21</p> <p><b>controversial [3]</b> 9/15 35/15 36/5</p> <p><b>convene [1]</b> 108/6</p> <p><b>convened [2]</b> 108/19 108/21</p> <p><b>convenient [1]</b> 62/18</p>	<p><b>conversation [18]</b> 17/4 25/6 29/12 29/22 30/11 33/8 33/21 46/22 47/22 59/18 65/4 73/14 84/16 119/19 125/5 144/19 206/14 214/6</p> <p><b>conversations [35]</b> 4/1 4/14 26/4 26/9 26/11 27/1 28/9 28/12 30/2 30/18 60/24 61/10 81/2 95/6 129/24 165/22 166/12 167/15 167/22 167/25 168/3 174/2 178/17 178/19 179/6 181/23 183/20 183/25 194/13 209/14 210/11 210/18 210/20 211/14 214/8</p> <p><b>convey [1]</b> 40/13</p> <p><b>convinced [1]</b> 166/9</p> <p><b>cooked [2]</b> 130/15 130/21</p> <p><b>core [3]</b> 163/9 216/10 216/13</p> <p><b>core participants [2]</b> 216/10 216/13</p> <p><b>core participants' [1]</b> 163/9</p> <p><b>coronavirus [1]</b> 2/22</p> <p><b>corporate [1]</b> 138/1</p> <p><b>correct [8]</b> 3/1 3/16 3/17 13/21 37/4 68/20 74/1 178/24</p> <p><b>corrected [1]</b> 19/19</p> <p><b>correctly [2]</b> 30/9 85/9</p> <p><b>correlation [2]</b> 125/22 125/25</p> <p><b>correspondence [1]</b> 130/8</p> <p><b>cost [15]</b> 30/23 33/7 69/9 69/16 127/2 144/10 144/17 144/22 145/8 145/19 145/25 146/20 202/5 207/8 207/24</p> <p><b>cost-benefit [7]</b> 144/10 144/17 144/22 145/8 145/19 145/25 146/20</p> <p><b>costs [13]</b> 31/21 36/2 74/14 101/10 144/25 145/6 200/22 202/23 205/10 205/12 206/11 207/13 207/16</p> <p><b>could [78]</b> 1/8 7/20 8/23 9/23 10/7 12/12 12/18 16/3 19/24 21/1 21/4 28/15 30/12 33/20 33/21 34/23 35/25 38/23 48/13 53/13 55/17 55/19 56/2 56/11 56/16 59/2</p>	<p>59/11 59/25 60/18 61/20 64/25 65/23 77/1 77/7 77/15 78/1 78/5 79/3 84/8 85/1 90/1 90/13 100/18 102/20 102/24 104/24 104/25 105/22 106/1 107/2 108/12 109/18 109/22 111/16 116/1 118/4 120/5 121/22 132/10 133/2 134/4 137/15 137/18 143/23 144/8 146/22 147/2 161/13 181/25 183/23 184/16 186/24 192/16 195/9 201/25 209/10 210/1 210/1</p> <p><b>couldn't [7]</b> 23/1 37/7 71/1 118/4 162/4 183/24 184/17</p> <p><b>COUNSEL [3]</b> 1/7 193/15 217/5</p> <p><b>countenance [1]</b> 65/16</p> <p><b>counternarrative [1]</b> 116/22</p> <p><b>countervailing [2]</b> 137/18 142/2</p> <p><b>counterweight [1]</b> 140/15</p> <p><b>countries [8]</b> 77/11 81/13 91/2 91/7 92/3 108/14 117/12 122/4</p> <p><b>country [15]</b> 36/20 72/11 73/22 83/1 116/20 123/20 124/2 125/7 132/19 154/1 155/22 156/2 161/1 188/19 213/7</p> <p><b>country's [1]</b> 6/9</p> <p><b>couple [5]</b> 2/6 18/3 20/6 88/18 89/1</p> <p><b>course [81]</b> 1/18 1/19 2/23 5/12 8/21 9/9 16/11 17/15 18/4 20/21 20/22 22/21 25/23 26/6 26/7 26/15 26/17 27/17 27/19 27/20 28/9 28/11 35/14 35/14 36/5 41/1 42/8 42/22 44/22 48/5 52/3 52/6 52/12 52/25 56/15 57/11 57/20 60/25 61/23 65/13 67/17 70/4 71/22 72/2 72/4 73/20 74/14 78/3 84/8 91/7 97/22 97/23 98/20 99/22 109/11 111/17 112/14 114/9 114/19 119/8 122/23 124/15 129/20 132/23 132/25 134/8 142/12 143/3 143/8 145/6 145/7 148/9 152/13</p>	<p>154/18 156/10 186/5 188/10 192/3 193/2 194/6 216/8</p> <p><b>cover [2]</b> 105/10 106/9</p> <p><b>covered [2]</b> 75/12 209/6</p> <p><b>Covid [104]</b> 10/3 10/13 10/14 11/3 11/14 11/14 16/14 17/11 19/6 19/6 20/18 20/18 20/21 20/21 21/14 21/14 22/10 22/11 22/14 22/15 23/17 23/17 25/13 26/3 26/6 26/23 27/19 27/20 29/3 30/4 30/4 31/20 40/17 40/17 42/20 42/20 43/8 53/19 84/13 84/14 84/18 90/21 96/8 96/13 112/9 112/10 112/13 115/15 117/25 118/6 119/1 119/12 119/12 119/13 119/24 120/8 123/21 124/5 125/23 126/2 126/4 137/12 147/13 147/13 148/3 151/24 151/25 156/4 163/14 164/2 169/10 177/3 193/15 199/7 200/9 200/21 200/23 200/24 201/1 201/4 201/4 201/7 201/10 202/1 202/4 202/22 202/24 203/17 203/20 203/23 204/6 204/11 204/13 204/19 204/23 205/10 205/11 205/12 205/15 206/8 206/9 206/10 206/12 207/10</p> <p><b>Covid Taskforce [2]</b> 10/3 151/25</p> <p><b>COVID-19 [9]</b> 17/11 31/20 169/10 201/4 201/7 204/13 205/11 206/8 206/9</p> <p><b>Covid-19 Taskforce [1]</b> 200/24</p> <p><b>Covid-O [10]</b> 10/14 11/14 19/6 20/18 20/21 22/10 22/15 23/17 40/17 42/20</p> <p><b>Covid-Os [3]</b> 11/3 21/14 30/4</p> <p><b>Covid-related [1]</b> 29/3</p> <p><b>Covid-S [25]</b> 10/13 11/14 19/6 20/18 20/21 21/14 22/11 22/14 23/17 26/23 40/17 42/20 112/9 112/10 112/13 119/1</p>

<b>C</b>	160/8	8/4 9/22 15/22 17/2 18/20 25/14 27/4 30/19 37/1 37/9 37/10 37/12 37/17 37/23 40/8 41/12 42/2 44/5 44/11 46/12 46/19 46/23 47/3 47/17 47/17 50/19 51/6 51/20 51/20 51/23 55/7 55/25 57/7 57/25 60/11 62/7 63/2 63/7 63/10 65/9 65/11 65/18 67/22 67/23 68/14 68/20 72/1 73/11 78/9 78/10 81/8 87/9 91/11 94/10 100/4 109/10 112/7 113/12 113/20 113/21 119/4 126/17 128/4 131/19 131/23 134/2 135/2 135/20 135/22 136/8 137/6 137/22 139/13 141/20 158/22 159/1 211/19 212/5	44/12 45/6 45/7 47/10 47/16 47/23 47/25 50/13 51/6 51/19 52/14 55/19 55/21 60/12 61/25 62/3 62/6 63/1 64/6 64/8 65/18 67/17 67/20 68/2 70/10 70/12 72/5 72/7 72/12 73/24 74/5 74/19 75/23 79/2 84/11 95/24 102/13 110/20 111/15 112/11 113/16 113/18 116/8 134/17 143/4 146/24 149/3 157/7 158/2 158/2 158/8 158/23 159/18 170/12 172/7 173/3 175/7 175/8 187/3 188/8 195/15	<b>definitely [6]</b> 20/12 66/9 68/8 100/24 103/8 131/18 <b>definition [2]</b> 126/22 184/22 <b>definitively [1]</b> 139/1 <b>degree [8]</b> 15/19 41/10 45/23 61/6 62/8 110/19 131/19 173/5 <b>degrees [1]</b> 56/7 <b>delay [3]</b> 53/21 63/21 66/22 <b>delayed [7]</b> 95/23 96/1 100/19 103/19 164/17 206/23 207/2 <b>delaying [2]</b> 103/24 104/2 <b>delays [1]</b> 106/5 <b>deliberate [2]</b> 21/16 107/5 <b>deliberated [1]</b> 194/14 <b>deliberately [4]</b> 106/24 111/20 191/22 198/6 <b>deliberation [5]</b> 27/4 47/7 90/5 113/25 136/9 <b>deliberations [10]</b> 2/12 5/7 23/25 27/8 37/13 85/10 135/7 149/19 209/15 210/15 <b>deliberative [1]</b> 47/11 <b>delivered [3]</b> 116/1 209/2 212/4 <b>delivering [2]</b> 86/25 176/14 <b>delivery [1]</b> 215/7 <b>demonstrated [6]</b> 82/20 175/9 176/1 185/7 203/24 213/1 <b>demonstrates [4]</b> 96/2 102/16 125/2 157/18 <b>demonstrating [1]</b> 91/8 <b>depart [1]</b> 104/21 <b>department [25]</b> 14/7 14/16 20/8 24/22 24/23 32/10 63/19 63/20 76/23 80/17 105/22 106/9 107/2 121/11 128/9 130/5 130/10 138/24 143/1 143/1 166/5 166/6 166/13 167/3 215/3 <b>department's [1]</b> 13/7 <b>departments [12]</b> 10/5 18/1 18/2 18/5 19/25 80/16 81/2 108/7 132/11 141/5 141/13 167/23 <b>depend [1]</b> 8/14
<b>Covid-S...</b> [9] 119/12 119/12 119/13 119/24 120/8 147/13 148/3 151/24 156/4 <b>Covid-safe [1]</b> 117/25 <b>Covid-secure [2]</b> 118/6 123/21 <b>Covid-Ss [1]</b> 30/4 <b>create [1]</b> 142/1 <b>credible [1]</b> 215/13 <b>credibly [1]</b> 126/23 <b>Credit [2]</b> 176/11 213/16 <b>criminal [1]</b> 7/4 <b>criminally [1]</b> 46/3 <b>crisis [13]</b> 2/23 3/10 3/19 5/16 23/3 71/3 71/17 91/6 122/13 130/25 136/21 139/9 140/24 <b>criticism [1]</b> 193/17 <b>cross [3]</b> 40/2 154/22 166/15 <b>cross-purposes [1]</b> 40/2 <b>crucial [1]</b> 75/7 <b>crystal [3]</b> 134/6 134/6 135/5 <b>crystal clear [1]</b> 135/5 <b>CSA [3]</b> 97/18 125/4 149/3 <b>CST [4]</b> 107/4 166/8 167/10 187/8 <b>cumbersome [1]</b> 214/17 <b>Cummings [2]</b> 20/13 68/12 <b>cumulative [1]</b> 195/17 <b>currency [1]</b> 5/16 <b>current [1]</b> 208/5 <b>curve [5]</b> 52/23 54/8 56/25 64/12 65/2 <b>curves [2]</b> 56/12 56/14 <b>cuspid [1]</b> 78/9 <b>Customs [1]</b> 126/9 <b>cut [5]</b> 116/4 116/4 123/5 123/6 206/5 <b>cutting [2]</b> 193/25 197/20 <b>Cymru [1]</b> 169/10	<b>damaging [3]</b> 35/4 109/12 150/14 <b>danger [2]</b> 54/17 63/7 <b>DAs [2]</b> 178/18 184/1 <b>data [37]</b> 15/7 16/2 16/9 17/12 53/3 57/7 57/24 58/9 58/9 58/11 58/16 58/20 59/1 59/24 60/1 60/3 60/5 61/1 91/1 91/5 91/8 93/6 94/19 99/11 99/15 100/2 100/3 100/7 100/22 116/19 117/6 140/5 142/20 142/20 159/11 206/22 215/11 <b>date [12]</b> 62/2 69/3 92/23 96/14 121/12 155/23 165/18 166/7 177/16 177/17 177/21 180/3 <b>dated [12]</b> 13/12 17/9 27/12 31/22 38/25 43/11 78/8 86/21 87/1 87/21 97/21 126/10 <b>dates [4]</b> 59/11 59/12 59/13 119/16 <b>day [26]</b> 13/20 20/11 20/11 34/19 49/2 49/17 49/19 53/13 59/16 62/6 67/15 69/7 70/24 73/2 73/9 73/22 105/14 105/14 114/16 121/15 122/15 147/5 152/4 152/5 209/5 209/5 <b>day four [1]</b> 209/5 <b>day one [2]</b> 20/11 209/5 <b>days [14]</b> 15/1 16/25 19/11 20/16 56/25 59/10 67/6 67/9 71/23 72/2 92/12 93/3 99/7 175/13 <b>DCMS [1]</b> 108/8 <b>deal [12]</b> 3/14 9/6 55/11 61/24 63/6 63/15 65/17 76/3 104/9 137/17 151/22 195/1 <b>dealing [6]</b> 21/1 32/23 42/14 47/18 51/25 141/1 <b>deals [2]</b> 106/23 193/5 <b>dealt [4]</b> 21/2 166/19 179/2 192/25 <b>death [3]</b> 103/12 160/2 160/3 <b>deaths [3]</b> 52/25 78/20 147/22 <b>debate [80]</b> 4/7 5/23	112/18 158/1 158/5 <b>debates [15]</b> 18/13 18/15 25/13 26/15 27/7 38/7 45/21 46/7 63/11 63/12 92/18 132/17 137/4 186/7 195/12 <b>debating [5]</b> 28/2 47/21 48/11 63/15 122/17 <b>debt [1]</b> 68/23 <b>decade [1]</b> 143/15 <b>decades [1]</b> 46/18 <b>December [4]</b> 1/1 164/7 168/4 216/22 <b>December 2020 [1]</b> 164/7 <b>decide [4]</b> 97/12 109/25 140/20 176/19 <b>decided [10]</b> 60/13 97/13 107/20 130/14 130/20 134/13 158/10 159/15 164/22 179/6 <b>decides [2]</b> 133/1 172/17 <b>deciding [1]</b> 159/7 <b>decision [100]</b> 7/19 8/3 8/14 9/5 9/10 9/14 9/21 10/7 10/16 10/23 11/2 11/18 11/24 13/11 13/12 13/20 15/18 17/1 17/10 18/13 20/4 20/23 21/16 21/18 21/24 22/3 22/5 22/12 27/2 30/5 30/7 35/2 35/3 37/9 41/16 42/19 42/24 43/19 44/8		
<b>D</b>		112/18 158/1 158/5 18/13 20/4 20/23 21/18 21/24 22/5 27/2 41/16 45/6 51/6 51/19 60/12 65/18 68/2 70/10 72/7 84/11 95/24 143/4 158/2 187/3 188/8 195/15 <b>decisions [82]</b> 5/21 6/6 6/16 6/22 7/14 8/6 8/7 8/7 8/8 9/17 11/13 11/15 12/6 12/18 15/24 18/9 18/11 18/19 21/12 22/16 23/12 23/25 25/10 25/12 30/1 30/21 31/13 35/11 36/6 36/19 38/14 38/14 40/24 41/13 41/18 41/21 46/13 46/17 48/5 48/7 48/8 48/10 48/15 48/18 49/19 50/3 50/15 50/20 50/25 51/7 51/10 51/22 51/23 52/5 54/23 58/12 61/23 91/9 98/18 116/3 134/5 136/2 146/5 146/6 151/2 158/12 158/15 161/7 161/8 171/6 175/9 175/18 177/7 177/8 178/2 179/24 187/1 193/17 201/6 204/12 209/11 209/18 <b>deck [1]</b> 17/12 <b>declaration [1]</b> 1/13 <b>deemed [4]</b> 118/23 121/25 196/2 199/7 <b>deeply [2]</b> 2/1 133/10		



<b>D</b>	<b>DFT [1]</b> 18/1	145/23 149/17 150/25	<b>disagree [3]</b> 38/2	63/14 64/13 65/14
<b>depended [1]</b> 199/17	<b>DH [5]</b> 20/7 53/20	151/19 155/25 156/14	142/6 202/14	66/7 66/23 67/10
<b>dependent [2]</b> 47/9	141/15 166/10 167/11	156/19 157/1 157/8	<b>disagreed [1]</b> 159/3	67/14 67/14 68/6 68/7
47/10	<b>DHSC [5]</b> 104/21	157/9 157/22 183/11	<b>disagreement [1]</b>	68/7 70/16 74/11
<b>depending [1]</b> 41/18	104/23 106/18 164/7	189/18 194/9 205/18	57/2	75/16 77/4 77/7 77/15
<b>deployed [1]</b> 19/22	164/20	212/4 212/11 213/1	<b>disagreements [1]</b>	79/16 79/23 82/25
<b>Deputy [6]</b> 31/24	<b>Diamond [3]</b> 138/16	214/12 215/7	137/4	84/13 87/8 89/1 90/13
124/13 149/15 155/12	138/18 141/8	<b>Dido [1]</b> 210/25	<b>disappeared [1]</b>	94/3 94/5 95/9 95/16
155/24 157/14	<b>diaries [1]</b> 210/23	<b>difference [7]</b> 108/1	199/17	95/19 96/24 100/15
<b>Deputy CMO [1]</b>	<b>diary [1]</b> 161/21	108/11 141/14 178/18	<b>discouraged [1]</b> 82/1	102/2 110/11 112/19
124/13	<b>did [127]</b> 2/19 3/19	210/9 212/18 213/2	<b>discovered [1]</b> 85/18	113/24 114/24 115/22
<b>derived [1]</b> 151/19	4/9 5/25 7/1 8/4 8/5	<b>different [66]</b> 2/4	<b>discuss [3]</b> 9/19	120/24 120/25 121/5
<b>descends [1]</b> 17/16	8/9 11/10 14/7 16/15	7/22 9/23 11/5 11/23	21/15 124/8	121/9 122/8 122/25
<b>describe [7]</b> 5/14	18/18 18/21 19/14	11/23 12/24 15/21	<b>discussed [10]</b> 4/6	124/10 124/20 124/24
5/15 6/23 25/8 129/12	20/14 21/23 27/8	22/4 28/20 32/10	39/10 102/6 115/19	127/18 128/11 128/19
208/23 209/20	28/21 31/17 32/9	38/15 41/17 41/18	123/5 135/24 147/16	129/3 133/2 139/18
<b>described [12]</b> 18/8	35/15 37/6 37/6 39/14	41/22 42/13 42/18	152/2 157/23 170/16	139/19 139/25 140/2
19/24 20/7 23/4 25/7	39/15 39/25 42/11	42/23 43/1 46/20	<b>discussing [2]</b> 26/17	140/4 141/6 141/11
46/2 109/17 116/21	47/19 48/4 48/8 50/9	47/13 47/14 50/25	37/14	145/14 145/17 146/1
160/3 164/7 164/25	51/11 51/17 52/2 52/3	69/14 72/16 72/16	<b>discussion [16]</b> 9/22	146/2 146/4 146/7
209/18	54/7 56/18 57/4 62/8	95/3 101/2 105/23	38/12 42/2 43/16 51/1	146/7 146/20 158/6
<b>describes [1]</b> 193/10	63/13 65/17 66/3	108/17 110/25 112/4	51/20 51/23 78/14	160/11 169/23 171/1
<b>describing [1]</b> 117/3	67/16 68/20 71/24	113/15 114/18 118/21	79/8 136/8 137/8	172/10 175/21 179/7
<b>design [3]</b> 6/12 197/5	72/5 73/1 73/11 74/19	123/11 124/20 125/8	141/20 149/12 186/8	182/5 182/19 182/25
197/25	77/4 77/6 91/6 92/24	133/6 138/24 139/5	189/8 206/17	185/15 186/1 188/6
<b>designed [11]</b> 102/3	99/3 100/13 101/21	139/12 139/19 139/22	<b>discussions [9]</b>	191/7 191/25 192/3
115/7 115/21 116/16	101/25 108/6 111/16	140/17 142/5 145/14	32/16 37/18 39/13	192/4 194/19 195/10
118/22 121/19 126/8	114/19 115/4 117/8	145/15 145/15 146/11	40/7 184/7 189/3	197/8 197/8 199/19
127/17 132/4 200/7	119/10 120/1 125/11	149/8 150/18 172/25	189/7 194/15 209/12	201/18 202/2 203/16
209/8	125/17 129/6 129/24	180/1 182/24 189/10	<b>disease [1]</b> 54/3	205/8 207/7 209/24
<b>desk [1]</b> 166/15	132/12 134/20 135/12	195/16 198/18 202/10	<b>Diseases [1]</b> 108/17	211/17 212/20
<b>despite [3]</b> 167/22	135/15 136/14 136/21	202/11 203/2 203/8	<b>disparities [1]</b>	<b>document [13]</b> 13/18
185/14 211/7	137/21 139/7 140/1	208/2 209/20 214/20	196/24	17/8 17/9 28/19 31/22
<b>detail [9]</b> 17/16 43/13	141/15 142/18 143/13	214/22	<b>disproportionate [3]</b>	32/1 32/4 32/6 32/11
52/11 59/22 70/3 75/4	143/19 144/14 145/7	<b>differently [3]</b> 142/3	39/22 90/16 141/25	33/23 64/1 84/17
81/9 188/8 196/9	146/21 147/25 149/5	175/11 192/4	<b>disproportionately</b>	147/4
<b>detailed [5]</b> 15/15	150/1 150/9 152/15	<b>difficult [18]</b> 7/17	<b>[8]</b> 82/11 185/6	<b>documentation [1]</b>
55/25 142/8 152/14	158/17 159/3 161/2	8/13 12/6 20/19 20/24	186/18 188/24 190/8	57/20
198/13	162/6 162/8 162/18	72/22 78/18 89/12	192/9 197/12 213/25	<b>documented [2]</b>
<b>details [1]</b> 167/9	162/24 165/14 166/15	89/19 129/16 148/23	<b>dissenting [1]</b> 129/15	166/2 213/12
<b>determined [2]</b>	169/17 170/20 170/22	155/10 155/17 161/1	<b>dissuade [1]</b> 158/7	<b>documents [1]</b>
171/16 199/9	172/25 174/14 181/21	161/6 162/21 177/6	<b>distancing [8]</b> 14/5	167/20
<b>detriments [1]</b> 35/22	181/23 183/21 184/9	216/1	14/8 17/12 31/20 32/3	<b>does [5]</b> 14/15 32/11
<b>devastating [4]</b> 36/18	186/17 189/8 189/11	<b>difficulty [1]</b> 183/6	113/24 115/15 118/10	32/12 39/17 70/20
117/9 164/1 199/15	189/20 190/8 194/1	<b>digest [1]</b> 22/8	<b>distinguished [1]</b>	<b>doesn't [11]</b> 3/9
<b>develop [3]</b> 42/1 42/1	195/19 199/10 200/3	<b>dimensions [1]</b> 146/8	129/1	33/14 88/21 90/18
141/19	205/11 206/21 209/1	<b>direct [4]</b> 57/25 76/12	<b>distorted [1]</b> 136/7	120/18 126/5 142/1
<b>developed [7]</b> 10/8	210/3 210/12 211/17	203/17 204/4	<b>distorting [1]</b> 135/19	143/17 157/16 159/13
15/9 16/8 69/11 96/5	213/1 213/2 213/13	<b>directed [2]</b> 9/7 58/1	<b>distributed [1]</b> 209/7	174/9
99/1 146/15	213/25 215/10	<b>direction [1]</b> 147/23	<b>distributional [1]</b>	<b>doing [28]</b> 21/3 26/14
<b>development [4]</b>	<b>didn't [64]</b> 6/23 11/11	<b>directly [13]</b> 23/6	162/16	31/7 34/3 37/21 37/22
42/5 42/9 71/6 86/3	12/3 12/10 23/6 23/13	40/7 142/21 152/3	<b>ditto [1]</b> 141/13	52/11 65/5 91/8 98/13
<b>devolution [3]</b> 170/5	24/18 25/18 32/24	166/23 167/17 168/19	<b>diversity [1]</b> 151/1	105/19 112/13 117/11
170/14 185/24	33/17 37/14 44/17	177/20 193/3 193/16	<b>divide [1]</b> 18/18	117/16 124/2 128/19
<b>devolved [22]</b> 125/11	49/6 50/10 59/24 62/7	194/12 200/23 201/25	<b>divided [1]</b> 133/10	134/14 135/11 140/10
169/12 169/16 169/17	62/8 65/22 70/25	<b>director [5]</b> 45/18	<b>division [1]</b> 29/15	140/10 160/17 161/12
170/7 170/8 170/11	79/24 80/8 80/24	135/17 136/8 155/19	<b>do [123]</b> 3/9 3/19	170/10 170/20 214/17
171/15 171/17 171/20	80/25 82/6 92/10 97/9	187/22	4/10 4/21 7/10 7/20	214/21 214/25 215/14
172/14 173/1 174/17	97/9 98/25 103/3	<b>disability [1]</b> 201/23	9/3 20/25 29/6 32/7	<b>domain [3]</b> 93/4
174/24 177/9 177/25	103/4 103/8 114/2	<b>disabled [1]</b> 192/20	33/19 34/16 39/15	143/12 144/4
182/7 182/8 182/15	115/22 121/18 122/7	<b>disadvantage [1]</b>	39/24 41/23 41/24	<b>domains [3]</b> 7/23
185/16 186/4 187/4	122/9 122/11 122/12	90/25	42/13 43/23 44/15	36/2 37/22
<b>devoted [1]</b> 130/24	122/15 128/7 129/9	<b>disadvantaged [1]</b>	47/15 49/6 49/24 50/3	<b>domestic [1]</b> 150/18
	134/19 139/24 144/1	188/17	52/10 54/8 57/2 58/19	<b>dominated [1]</b> 65/9

<b>D</b>	197/22 205/3 205/21 <b>Downing [8]</b> 29/19 45/22 47/20 47/20 50/18 142/22 149/21 187/22 <b>Downing Street [8]</b> 29/19 45/22 47/20 47/20 50/18 142/22 149/21 187/22 <b>downplay [1]</b> 25/6 <b>drafted [1]</b> 164/6 <b>Drakeford [2]</b> 175/1 178/25 <b>Drakeford's [5]</b> 171/9 171/11 171/23 172/11 175/22 <b>dramatic [1]</b> 66/25 <b>driven [2]</b> 37/16 81/22 <b>driver [1]</b> 117/15 <b>driving [2]</b> 25/6 57/10 <b>drugs [1]</b> 146/8 <b>due [6]</b> 1/19 22/21 165/2 180/18 201/1 207/10 <b>duration [3]</b> 14/22 101/6 101/9 <b>during [31]</b> 3/19 19/9 23/10 25/13 42/25 42/25 49/3 49/4 72/2 76/13 76/21 85/19 130/24 136/21 137/12 139/8 139/16 141/9 143/13 145/7 171/6 172/4 184/6 186/9 187/20 187/25 188/16 188/21 189/22 190/9 196/25 <b>duty [2]</b> 116/4 123/6 <b>DWP [5]</b> 18/2 208/3 215/2 215/5 215/11 <b>dysfunction [3]</b> 22/19 22/22 23/5	87/24 88/14 90/14 92/12 96/7 97/15 125/4 129/13 144/18 163/23 165/18 173/9 175/24 179/5 180/15 184/11 201/12 <b>ease [1]</b> 8/7 <b>easements [4]</b> 39/6 39/11 40/9 50/16 <b>easily [1]</b> 56/11 <b>easy [4]</b> 7/14 20/20 38/14 215/24 <b>eat [26]</b> 98/20 114/14 114/17 114/24 115/7 115/12 115/21 119/11 119/16 119/21 120/2 120/12 121/10 122/15 123/10 123/12 126/1 126/9 126/12 161/24 169/14 191/7 197/3 199/2 199/22 200/6 <b>eating [1]</b> 123/18 <b>economic [115]</b> 5/18 5/18 5/20 6/6 6/9 6/12 7/5 8/20 8/25 13/7 15/19 15/23 16/20 17/14 17/17 18/1 25/4 26/6 26/13 29/4 31/14 31/21 32/3 32/19 34/25 35/9 35/10 35/22 35/25 36/3 36/9 36/18 37/8 43/7 46/15 48/20 48/23 73/16 74/7 74/21 75/1 78/23 79/7 79/13 79/20 81/21 84/6 84/10 85/16 90/4 90/7 92/21 93/17 94/14 102/14 108/1 111/6 111/24 112/8 112/13 112/19 113/10 113/19 116/3 116/11 117/22 123/2 123/8 123/15 126/21 136/4 136/10 137/10 138/1 138/9 139/13 139/20 140/12 140/17 141/17 143/6 144/3 145/19 152/3 160/8 177/6 185/4 185/14 186/13 186/15 187/1 191/19 200/22 201/20 202/8 202/14 203/4 203/6 203/22 204/6 204/9 204/14 204/16 204/18 205/10 205/12 206/1 206/2 207/7 207/17 207/18 207/20 207/24 207/24 208/7 <b>economic-related [1]</b> 29/4 <b>economically [4]</b> 14/10 25/15 102/21 109/12 <b>economics [4]</b> 6/24	101/4 114/5 138/14 <b>Economist [1]</b> 108/21 <b>economists [3]</b> 138/13 140/4 205/19 <b>economy [28]</b> 7/8 13/2 16/14 58/18 74/13 74/16 75/2 75/6 78/22 81/22 82/3 82/8 90/22 91/3 92/17 94/7 95/1 122/20 141/7 143/21 144/3 145/5 148/25 160/24 198/22 202/6 206/12 207/14 <b>economy.' [2]</b> 31/8 34/4 <b>edged [1]</b> 10/16 <b>edited [1]</b> 129/14 <b>Edmunds [2]</b> 35/23 149/24 <b>education [7]</b> 7/3 36/3 46/15 86/7 87/13 90/3 90/8 <b>Education Secretary</b> <b>[2]</b> 90/3 90/8 <b>educational [1]</b> 86/2 <b>effect [12]</b> 4/3 10/21 22/18 24/15 63/4 73/25 132/3 132/23 158/10 164/1 172/2 175/11 <b>effective [3]</b> 19/16 73/8 210/19 <b>effectively [3]</b> 18/15 21/6 193/23 <b>effectiveness [1]</b> 149/7 <b>effects [2]</b> 31/5 34/15 <b>efficiency [2]</b> 20/15 46/1 <b>efficiently [1]</b> 21/7 <b>efforts [1]</b> 53/13 <b>either [14]</b> 4/14 43/23 59/14 89/18 97/15 121/3 123/7 148/2 152/24 172/15 178/9 178/14 194/1 211/10 <b>elaborate [2]</b> 75/12 140/12 <b>elected [1]</b> 2/13 <b>element [3]</b> 8/24 93/19 120/10 <b>elephant [1]</b> 118/3 <b>elevation [1]</b> 135/21 <b>elicit [4]</b> 126/20 126/22 126/24 127/5 <b>Elizabeth [3]</b> 38/25 43/4 93/10 <b>Elizabeth Perelman</b> <b>[3]</b> 38/25 43/4 93/10 <b>eloquently [2]</b> 93/21 93/24 <b>else [7]</b> 70/2 82/25 115/6 116/5 143/2	143/21 188/25 <b>elsewhere [3]</b> 122/4 142/2 176/12 <b>email [27]</b> 38/24 39/14 39/14 43/3 44/17 64/2 78/6 78/11 79/24 80/1 80/7 81/1 86/11 86/24 87/16 87/20 92/23 93/10 93/13 98/24 99/7 99/23 101/24 103/3 103/21 109/13 138/11 <b>emails [3]</b> 103/5 103/8 142/11 <b>emergency [2]</b> 68/13 195/20 <b>emotional [1]</b> 60/24 <b>emphasis [1]</b> 152/22 <b>emphasise [2]</b> 22/20 216/7 <b>employ [1]</b> 127/21 <b>employed [5]</b> 82/11 89/5 184/12 190/3 213/20 <b>employees [1]</b> 83/9 <b>employers [1]</b> 195/4 <b>employment [2]</b> 15/11 213/19 <b>empower [1]</b> 135/13 <b>empowered [1]</b> 135/14 <b>empowerment [1]</b> 139/8 <b>enable [2]</b> 107/6 171/20 <b>enabled [1]</b> 182/25 <b>encourage [8]</b> 116/12 116/13 116/24 116/25 117/20 122/16 122/20 127/17 <b>encouraged [5]</b> 114/17 115/3 123/10 130/6 130/7 <b>encourages [1]</b> 78/21 <b>encouraging [1]</b> 117/24 <b>end [38]</b> 65/4 92/24 92/25 95/15 95/18 96/19 97/4 97/24 98/1 98/9 98/19 98/22 100/8 100/11 100/14 101/15 101/18 102/1 105/24 128/3 149/16 149/20 152/22 152/25 153/18 155/23 157/2 157/8 157/11 157/15 166/25 168/7 189/8 205/18 209/13 211/24 212/5 212/13 <b>ended [8]</b> 44/11 77/22 105/24 153/6 153/8 159/7 190/12 190/16
----------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>E</b>	<b>equalise [1]</b> 185/1	<b>eventuate [1]</b> 101/21	<b>evolved [2]</b> 38/5 38/7	141/4 141/13 141/15
<b>energy [1]</b> 129/2	<b>equalities [1]</b> 83/25	<b>ever [20]</b> 6/2 6/23	<b>exacerbated [1]</b>	146/17
<b>engage [3]</b> 8/4 143/5	<b>equality [2]</b> 84/1	21/19 31/6 34/2 46/18	199/2	<b>experts [5]</b> 15/12
161/9	200/3	103/5 106/3 133/2	<b>exact [9]</b> 78/25 82/17	53/22 198/15 198/24
<b>engaged [4]</b> 15/12	<b>equally [1]</b> 210/3	137/21 138/3 169/21	96/14 141/24 145/13	203/6
140/3 143/20 214/7	<b>equals [1]</b> 133/19	170/1 170/15 170/20	166/7 176/8 188/7	<b>explain [2]</b> 71/20
<b>engagement [2]</b>	<b>equate [1]</b> 92/14	174/11 191/12 206/14	189/7	90/13
184/1 206/17	<b>equivalent [2]</b> 113/2	212/24 215/24	<b>exactly [15]</b> 16/21	<b>explained [5]</b> 71/23
<b>engaging [1]</b> 42/18	136/5	<b>every [15]</b> 4/25 22/4	58/23 89/23 94/20	114/4 130/14 130/20
<b>engine [1]</b> 19/24	<b>error [3]</b> 100/2 100/5	29/12 29/22 30/11	119/18 127/11 134/23	169/15
<b>England [16]</b> 16/15	100/6	30/24 31/11 41/16	145/12 155/23 159/17	<b>explaining [1]</b> 72/19
71/11 71/15 140/8	<b>errors [2]</b> 99/8 99/14	81/16 125/7 143/1	160/18 165/18 169/1	<b>explains [1]</b> 205/1
143/19 172/18 172/22	<b>erstwhile [1]</b> 1/16	144/11 158/6 170/11	198/24 205/1	<b>explanation [3]</b>
173/4 175/12 175/15	<b>especially [1]</b> 191/25	209/23	<b>examined [1]</b> 107/21	174/21 203/1 204/1
175/19 182/24 185/21	<b>essence [2]</b> 91/1	<b>everybody [8]</b> 20/24	<b>examining [1]</b> 143/3	<b>explicit [3]</b> 54/5
198/15 198/23 203/4	193/25	37/10 51/9 61/6	<b>example [12]</b> 8/6	127/18 132/14
<b>Enjoy [1]</b> 123/23	<b>essential [19]</b> 13/6	129/18 129/18 199/7	18/1 38/6 50/15 77/9	<b>explore [1]</b> 178/21
<b>enormous [8]</b> 2/9	67/20 85/12 85/15	213/24	77/13 144/22 179/25	<b>explored [1]</b> 192/11
56/20 57/1 71/4 129/1	85/20 85/25 86/19	<b>everyone [11]</b> 7/14	181/7 185/19 205/13	<b>exponential [2]</b> 52/23
161/9 165/9 165/11	86/23 87/5 87/8 87/17	20/25 29/23 51/11	210/24	92/9
<b>enormously [1]</b> 35/4	87/24 88/1 88/15	76/7 76/7 76/8 117/13	<b>examples [1]</b> 121/8	<b>express [2]</b> 139/7
<b>enough [6]</b> 50/1 59/4	88/16 159/4 159/10	127/15 135/4 153/13	<b>exception [1]</b> 153/2	150/9
147/18 195/7 202/3	159/19 178/1	<b>everything [13]</b>	<b>exchanges [2]</b> 4/1	<b>expressed [9]</b> 72/17
202/21	<b>essentially [5]</b> 59/7	12/16 27/25 28/8	5/5	76/20 81/9 90/21 94/8
<b>enriching [1]</b> 188/15	71/14 76/22 77/22	37/15 42/12 57/3	<b>Exchequer [18]</b> 2/20	128/8 141/21 191/8
<b>ensue [1]</b> 53/1	150/11	57/12 75/17 82/25	2/21 5/12 5/13 5/25	191/16
<b>ensure [10]</b> 10/19	<b>established [5]</b> 24/6	129/6 143/2 199/19	6/3 8/10 26/8 31/10	<b>expressing [1]</b>
41/7 70/5 77/6 83/13	109/2 111/20 160/7	204/7	35/8 36/21 77/4	178/25
85/1 101/20 117/14	166/20	<b>evidence [97]</b> 1/8	104/14 156/5 158/18	<b>expressly [4]</b> 31/19
118/22 177/25	<b>estimated [2]</b> 145/6	1/23 2/10 3/4 4/3 5/6	162/3 175/6 189/2	32/2 119/11 121/11
<b>enter [3]</b> 71/7 104/25	200/24	5/13 7/19 9/13 11/7	<b>Exchequer's [4]</b> 6/8	<b>extant [1]</b> 139/3
106/20	<b>estimates [1]</b> 203/13	12/17 18/13 22/17	83/12 84/14 85/8	<b>extended [4]</b> 126/7
<b>entered [2]</b> 16/1	<b>et [5]</b> 42/20 93/8 93/8	22/20 24/23 28/20	<b>exclusively [4]</b> 9/7	175/17 176/12 216/14
110/20	167/15 167/15	35/16 37/20 40/18	9/8 130/23 207/22	<b>extension [4]</b> 126/10
<b>entering [1]</b> 163/25	<b>et cetera [5]</b> 42/20	42/2 42/10 45/16 63/6	<b>Excuse [1]</b> 128/14	126/12 126/17 128/5
<b>entire [7]</b> 5/16 73/22	93/8 93/8 167/15	66/24 71/17 73/16	<b>executive [1]</b> 195/19	<b>extensive [6]</b> 9/25
160/20 182/10 183/4	167/15	75/15 85/21 89/14	<b>exhibit [2]</b> 85/13	16/13 48/16 187/2
198/22 205/17	<b>ethical [1]</b> 35/24	96/16 96/17 105/10	171/10	206/17 209/15
<b>entirely [13]</b> 39/21	<b>ethnic [8]</b> 82/14	108/9 109/2 114/4	<b>exist [4]</b> 139/24	<b>extensively [6]</b> 15/12
41/21 42/13 45/11	83/10 116/15 196/18	114/12 114/12 117/6	140/6 141/14 141/15	37/14 140/3 143/18
80/8 118/21 124/7	197/6 197/14 198/1	120/17 124/10 125/1	<b>existence [1]</b> 22/14	158/1 158/5
142/24 150/25 153/11	200/1	125/22 125/24 126/4	<b>existing [6]</b> 49/22	<b>extent [13]</b> 51/13
154/16 196/24 210/11	<b>ethnicities [1]</b> 198/16	127/14 128/13 132/3	101/17 137/15 145/4	53/12 55/22 63/13
<b>entirety [1]</b> 131/6	<b>Europe [3]</b> 77/12	132/5 132/22 133/11	173/14 180/20	65/14 65/17 68/17
<b>entitled [6]</b> 79/18	125/7 153/2	137/25 138/4 144/7	<b>exists [2]</b> 140/19	72/2 72/11 80/15
110/5 110/7 111/14	<b>European [3]</b> 77/11	145/2 148/10 149/7	141/4	92/12 100/13 132/6
123/23 161/19	91/2 108/16	151/7 152/9 156/17	<b>exit [6]</b> 28/16 77/17	<b>external [7]</b> 15/12
<b>entity [1]</b> 176/5	<b>evaluate [1]</b> 144/24	159/2 159/9 159/21	94/18 98/25 206/16	16/10 16/16 16/17
<b>entrance [1]</b> 198/18	<b>even [22]</b> 27/6 49/20	162/12 162/23 163/19	206/20	132/18 140/3 141/7
<b>envelope [4]</b> 104/23	61/18 66/8 80/4 80/7	166/2 166/17 168/10	<b>exits [1]</b> 198/19	<b>extra [18]</b> 14/23
104/24 105/2 105/4	82/22 133/7 133/8	169/15 174/16 177/5	<b>expanding [1]</b> 105/6	123/21 141/19 165/15
<b>envisaged [1]</b> 41/4	143/10 144/5 144/8	181/11 185/6 185/10	<b>expect [7]</b> 4/2 11/25	165/16 172/20 173/1
<b>epidemiological [12]</b>	149/13 153/6 153/8	185/13 187/2 192/8	145/22 170/9 170/13	173/11 173/16 173/18
5/17 54/8 96/6 96/17	153/15 154/15 158/2	194/3 194/12 194/23	202/4 202/22	174/10 174/12 175/24
101/16 102/25 110/22	181/2 181/5 190/15	195/18 197/16 203/21	<b>expectant [1]</b> 190/24	179/7 182/14 185/2
137/14 149/11 155/16	214/22	203/24 204/17 211/7	<b>expected [1]</b> 124/18	190/16 209/10
155/21 156/1	<b>evening [1]</b> 29/16	211/10 211/16 212/15	<b>expense [1]</b> 107/6	<b>extract [1]</b> 161/20
<b>epidemiologically [6]</b>	<b>evenings [1]</b> 196/20	212/17 212/25 213/24	<b>experience [2]</b> 41/20	<b>extraordinary [1]</b>
102/1 150/15 153/22	<b>event [9]</b> 39/14 70/5	215/21 215/25 216/6	134/16	118/18
154/8 155/2 156/6	71/2 104/6 139/2	216/6 216/11	<b>experienced [1]</b> 52/2	<b>extreme [2]</b> 71/18
<b>epidemiologists [1]</b>	157/22 164/25 166/20	<b>evident [3]</b> 36/18	<b>expert [3]</b> 113/17	135/19
144/16	185/17	133/1 184/19	129/1 144/5	<b>extremely [5]</b> 20/24
<b>equal [1]</b> 112/7	<b>events [4]</b> 49/10	<b>evidential [1]</b> 150/23	<b>expertise [8]</b> 7/23	71/2 148/24 160/20
	66/11 123/3 143/13	<b>evolution [1]</b> 37/23	139/23 139/24 140/19	210/6

<b>E</b>	<b>fatality [2]</b> 60/5 60/9	<b>finance [3]</b> 184/3	<b>flag [2]</b> 119/8 119/9	153/17 156/4 180/13
<b>eye [1]</b> 102/25	<b>fate [2]</b> 130/14	184/4 187/7	<b>flatten [2]</b> 54/8 64/12	197/20
<b>eyes [1]</b> 136/5	130/19	<b>financial [18]</b> 6/9	<b>flex [1]</b> 61/18	<b>forgotten [1]</b> 83/13
<b>F</b>	<b>fatigue [1]</b> 63/10	71/3 163/17 168/16	<b>flexibilities [1]</b>	<b>form [4]</b> 18/18 29/7
<b>face [2]</b> 133/25	<b>favour [2]</b> 109/20	172/7 172/11 173/1	182/18	125/3 136/14
181/20	112/18	173/19 178/2 181/13	<b>flexibility [5]</b> 95/24	<b>formal [9]</b> 24/5 25/9
<b>face masks [1]</b>	<b>fear [7]</b> 68/15 81/17	181/25 182/10 184/1	171/21 173/1 173/19	25/12 26/23 30/1 30/2
133/25	116/19 154/23 197/18	194/3 208/18 208/25	178/3	138/2 169/22 170/2
<b>faced [1]</b> 12/6	205/16 205/19	209/22 210/25	<b>flexible [2]</b> 104/22	<b>formally [4]</b> 5/4 28/21
<b>facilitate [1]</b> 9/21	<b>feared [1]</b> 147/16	<b>financially [1]</b> 162/14	106/25	29/1 170/18
<b>facility [2]</b> 71/9 71/11	<b>fearful [1]</b> 81/12	<b>financing [1]</b> 71/19	<b>flexing [1]</b> 56/17	<b>format [1]</b> 42/20
<b>facing [2]</b> 34/21	<b>feast [1]</b> 109/22	<b>find [3]</b> 38/19 47/24	<b>flick [3]</b> 79/25 180/3	<b>formed [4]</b> 5/6 23/24
208/20	<b>feature [7]</b> 37/18	147/20	180/6	137/13 140/23
<b>fact [37]</b> 4/7 9/3 17/1	38/8 188/18 201/13	<b>fine [5]</b> 16/24 17/7	<b>flourish [1]</b> 129/17	<b>former [5]</b> 35/20
28/7 28/19 36/17 37/4	205/7 207/11 209/12	22/3 23/10 29/25	<b>flow [1]</b> 97/13	45/17 45/17 45/18
37/9 38/12 40/21 44/4	<b>February [4]</b> 2/19	<b>finely [3]</b> 148/24	<b>focus [13]</b> 14/25 33/3	187/22
45/13 46/19 56/1	13/3 64/3 206/17	149/2 157/23	38/3 128/12 128/16	<b>forming [1]</b> 38/20
64/21 67/21 76/6 78/8	<b>February 2020 [1]</b>	<b>finish [1]</b> 120/5	135/3 135/19 135/25	<b>forms [1]</b> 140/5
81/10 90/20 94/5	2/19	<b>firebreak [6]</b> 149/18	136/1 141/25 197/16	<b>formula [8]</b> 171/16
94/15 95/11 116/19	<b>fed [7]</b> 9/18 17/23	155/14 172/1 172/4	202/9 207/22	172/17 179/10 181/3
118/1 125/24 126/18	18/5 30/7 51/15	172/10 175/14	<b>focused [5]</b> 52/22	182/3 182/6 182/20
129/13 130/6 131/22	103/17 137/15	<b>firm [3]</b> 15/11 15/11	131/14 185/6 188/17	185/22
134/11 140/25 160/4	<b>Federation [1]</b>	82/17	188/22	<b>forth [3]</b> 3/16 50/17
164/18 179/5 201/2	196/18	<b>first [67]</b> 3/23 10/1	<b>focusing [1]</b> 86/14	166/5
202/10	<b>feed [8]</b> 8/19 8/25	13/11 15/18 16/2 17/4	<b>follow [4]</b> 53/23	<b>forthcoming [1]</b>
<b>factor [3]</b> 67/12	11/21 41/1 51/12	19/1 19/4 20/6 20/23	86/23 138/15 150/3	120/15
101/23 204/25	51/18 80/24 81/5	22/16 31/24 37/15	<b>followed [5]</b> 17/5	<b>fortnight [1]</b> 103/20
<b>factored [2]</b> 203/14	<b>feedback [1]</b> 127/25	43/5 48/14 48/18	49/2 50/10 62/4	<b>forum [4]</b> 9/22 45/8
203/15	<b>feeding [3]</b> 80/10	50/12 52/14 63/1 66/8	206/25	184/6 201/10
<b>factors [3]</b> 89/25	80/11 130/1	66/18 70/12 75/22	<b>following [15]</b> 2/24	<b>forums [4]</b> 11/25
204/8 204/15	<b>feel [3]</b> 11/10 23/13	76/19 76/22 86/13	15/3 29/14 39/9 51/6	30/6 40/15 122/10
<b>facts [1]</b> 52/8	206/19	88/22 91/24 92/1	62/5 62/13 68/3 74/11	<b>forward [9]</b> 2/10
<b>failed [2]</b> 68/24 70/19	<b>FEHMO [1]</b> 196/17	96/18 97/22 101/6	76/18 79/4 79/10	52/11 79/3 101/19
<b>failure [1]</b> 158/4	<b>fell [2]</b> 162/15 190/9	102/6 105/13 114/14	121/13 152/4 211/22	102/21 138/2 165/2
<b>fair [22]</b> 7/12 9/18	<b>felt [19]</b> 11/9 12/3	114/24 125/4 131/15	<b>follows [2]</b> 93/13	194/6 194/18
10/25 14/15 15/17	12/11 12/16 19/2	132/1 133/7 144/25	175/5	<b>forwarded [1]</b> 177/20
15/25 38/21 55/16	23/10 23/13 33/10	153/1 163/11 163/21	<b>food [7]</b> 161/19	<b>found [2]</b> 19/16
70/14 104/13 105/4	33/10 40/12 40/18	165/4 165/7 169/14	188/14 188/15 189/15	179/23
109/25 148/3 156/12	51/14 76/1 76/2 80/23	170/4 171/8 171/9	189/24 190/21 213/8	<b>Foundation [1]</b>
160/11 161/3 175/22	81/1 81/4 121/23	173/9 173/20 173/25	<b>footballer [1]</b> 161/17	162/13
194/19 209/23 211/9	158/15	177/10 177/14 178/8	<b>fora [2]</b> 21/12 124/25	<b>four [6]</b> 125/13
211/21 212/2	<b>female [1]</b> 83/9	178/10 178/15 179/3	<b>forced [1]</b> 143/5	133/19 175/10 177/23
<b>faith [3]</b> 58/5 131/7	<b>ferocious [1]</b> 48/11	179/11 180/3 183/6	<b>forecast [2]</b> 16/4	192/20 209/5
161/12	<b>few [9]</b> 1/22 3/21	193/21 209/1 209/2	143/15	<b>four nations [2]</b>
<b>fall [1]</b> 74/22	20/23 48/25 67/6	211/22 212/3	<b>forecaster [3]</b> 16/11	125/13 175/10
<b>familiar [7]</b> 32/4	71/22 108/10 131/12	<b>First Minister [6]</b>	93/1 143/16	<b>framework [1]</b> 187/6
53/21 101/7 180/12	175/13	171/9 177/10 177/14	<b>forecasting [4]</b> 16/13	<b>frankly [2]</b> 47/3
194/13 195/11 196/1	<b>few weeks [2]</b> 20/23	178/10 178/15 183/6	143/20 203/4 203/15	214/17
<b>families [6]</b> 117/10	48/25	<b>Firstly [4]</b> 44/3	<b>forecasts [1]</b> 56/6	<b>fraught [1]</b> 48/2
160/25 163/15 169/10	<b>fewer [1]</b> 77/23	159/25 181/22 208/23	<b>forefront [3]</b> 83/11	<b>free [8]</b> 161/16
193/16 213/19	<b>fiat [1]</b> 51/22	<b>fiscal [22]</b> 5/18 6/9	91/11 91/14	161/20 187/20 187/25
<b>family [5]</b> 2/2 27/1	<b>field [1]</b> 145/18	7/9 15/19 15/23 26/7	<b>foregone [2]</b> 31/21	188/11 189/12 189/21
29/17 165/10 199/18	<b>fifth [1]</b> 214/13	26/13 31/13 34/25	164/9	190/15
<b>far [12]</b> 6/25 23/21	<b>figure [1]</b> 21/21	35/10 37/8 74/15	<b>foremost [1]</b> 19/1	<b>freedom [1]</b> 173/12
34/23 47/2 56/10	<b>final [18]</b> 9/10 11/18	102/15 123/3 123/9	<b>forensic [1]</b> 3/4	<b>freeloaders [2]</b>
89/10 116/20 159/14	22/3 22/10 22/11	123/12 124/8 127/3	<b>foreseeable [1]</b>	161/25 191/7
167/16 191/11 203/25	42/19 42/24 43/19	127/8 143/12 145/18	196/24	<b>frequently [1]</b> 171/1
211/15	45/7 47/16 53/14	201/20	<b>foreseen [2]</b> 207/20	<b>fresh [1]</b> 190/25
<b>fashion [2]</b> 173/17	60/11 62/25 70/12	<b>fiscally [3]</b> 14/11	214/16	<b>Friday [3]</b> 39/2 39/11
180/24	87/6 102/13 110/10	14/13 25/15	<b>forever [1]</b> 190/11	44/2
<b>fast [2]</b> 94/9 144/1	159/24	<b>five [3]</b> 61/9 105/23	<b>forget [1]</b> 141/24	<b>Friday/Weekend [1]</b>
<b>faster [1]</b> 90/23	<b>finalised [1]</b> 164/8	206/21	<b>forgets [1]</b> 76/7	44/2
	<b>finally [4]</b> 57/18	<b>five-week [1]</b> 206/21	<b>forgive [9]</b> 40/1 59/19	<b>Friedman [5]</b> 192/14
	185/10 191/15 207/7	<b>fix [1]</b> 193/6	99/18 123/9 135/11	192/15 192/18 196/11

<p><b>F</b></p> <p><b>Friedman...</b> [1] 217/15</p> <p><b>friend</b> [2] 178/6 178/23</p> <p><b>friends</b> [1] 27/1</p> <p><b>front</b> [12] 24/9 62/14 68/14 79/20 88/4 91/12 96/14 114/20 114/21 151/24 171/25 176/8</p> <p><b>fruit</b> [1] 190/25</p> <p><b>full</b> [5] 1/9 36/25 37/11 51/6 89/20</p> <p><b>fulsome</b> [1] 51/1</p> <p><b>function</b> [2] 81/24 145/11</p> <p><b>functioning</b> [1] 69/23</p> <p><b>fund</b> [19] 68/18 70/23 71/13 71/15 72/6 76/5 164/14 164/22 166/20 167/11 167/16 175/6 176/6 189/8 189/11 194/7 194/21 209/7 213/14</p> <p><b>funded</b> [5] 172/21 175/24 188/14 189/23 190/18</p> <p><b>funding</b> [42] 68/22 105/2 106/10 123/24 165/11 166/8 167/10 168/11 171/5 171/15 171/18 172/14 172/20 173/7 173/16 173/24 174/4 174/6 174/19 174/22 174/24 176/17 177/11 179/4 179/8 179/9 179/10 179/25 179/25 180/11 180/16 182/14 183/12 183/13 185/18 186/4 187/9 188/11 189/1 195/1 195/2 208/6</p> <p><b>funds</b> [4] 165/16 175/15 175/17 195/20</p> <p><b>funnel</b> [1] 136/22</p> <p><b>funnelled</b> [1] 136/15</p> <p><b>furlough</b> [10] 6/13 116/5 125/16 176/7 185/19 190/2 193/21 194/1 194/7 205/21</p> <p><b>furloughed</b> [1] 93/7</p> <p><b>further</b> [16] 1/15 13/23 50/1 58/2 72/3 92/7 94/9 104/8 115/23 147/9 171/19 177/23 179/22 189/17 194/2 199/2</p> <p><b>future</b> [7] 2/8 16/4 75/10 145/25 146/15 186/22 192/11</p>	<p><b>G</b></p> <p><b>garden</b> [4] 26/1 26/24 28/10 29/17</p> <p><b>gave</b> [7] 97/10 105/21 114/12 129/1 136/17 173/2 175/23</p> <p><b>GCSA</b> [6] 96/18 97/25 100/8 124/13 136/16 153/20</p> <p><b>GDP</b> [2] 74/13 74/22</p> <p><b>gearbox</b> [2] 19/24 20/14</p> <p><b>general</b> [34] 5/24 8/1 8/18 11/12 12/8 12/11 12/15 19/13 24/2 27/25 30/18 44/5 51/21 52/16 53/19 54/10 58/7 58/25 80/22 81/20 94/13 100/8 105/12 127/1 127/14 134/24 147/11 150/13 152/18 166/20 167/11 174/24 178/16 186/8</p> <p><b>generalise</b> [3] 8/13 47/10 52/9</p> <p><b>generally</b> [20] 3/13 5/25 27/6 30/17 51/3 73/15 81/3 105/17 132/15 132/17 139/24 174/21 178/20 184/9 185/4 187/8 190/1 202/25 205/14 211/15</p> <p><b>generated</b> [1] 101/10</p> <p><b>generic</b> [1] 34/17</p> <p><b>generous</b> [6] 181/13 181/24 182/13 182/23 190/6 192/8</p> <p><b>generously</b> [1] 190/18</p> <p><b>genesis</b> [2] 55/10 64/2</p> <p><b>genuine</b> [2] 82/24 100/21</p> <p><b>genuinely</b> [4] 29/11 182/5 189/5 189/7</p> <p><b>get</b> [38] 10/21 12/17 24/7 25/1 28/13 38/10 42/19 44/7 48/17 52/3 53/18 58/17 64/24 68/19 76/14 77/18 83/15 86/22 89/13 90/18 92/8 92/16 101/12 106/1 116/20 150/18 151/9 160/24 160/25 162/24 177/16 183/8 193/19 209/10 210/25 211/1 211/4 211/6</p> <p><b>gets</b> [1] 47/13</p> <p><b>getting</b> [6] 54/16 69/22 117/25 131/16 151/8 201/14</p>	<p><b>gilt</b> [9] 16/22 17/2 69/8 69/22 70/14 70/20 72/5 73/13 73/18</p> <p><b>gilts</b> [1] 68/16</p> <p><b>give</b> [15] 8/22 14/15 78/2 105/9 106/9 129/20 172/25 173/18 174/12 181/7 186/24 187/2 205/13 215/25 216/14</p> <p><b>given</b> [39] 4/3 9/3 25/3 35/16 36/25 45/16 48/9 55/19 58/5 79/1 84/9 89/24 93/16 104/23 105/8 105/17 114/17 124/18 130/3 131/5 131/6 132/3 132/5 132/22 136/20 139/10 142/21 150/2 156/1 159/12 161/9 163/7 163/15 167/1 177/5 188/5 190/24 200/22 203/1</p> <p><b>giving</b> [7] 1/9 1/23 2/10 45/2 133/4 134/15 174/21</p> <p><b>glad</b> [3] 162/23 186/20 187/10</p> <p><b>global</b> [1] 69/13</p> <p><b>glory</b> [1] 27/18</p> <p><b>go</b> [27] 9/19 23/11 41/22 52/10 65/7 65/15 68/20 70/3 70/25 75/4 76/16 76/25 77/6 79/3 100/10 105/1 107/7 110/1 110/22 127/13 144/1 177/17 188/20 193/3 197/19 199/12 201/21</p> <p><b>goal</b> [1] 64/25</p> <p><b>goes</b> [4] 142/25 154/19 165/13 175/1</p> <p><b>going</b> [42] 13/9 16/5 35/3 41/6 42/9 49/6 49/7 53/8 54/9 56/24 59/21 61/3 61/16 66/7 67/24 68/9 70/11 71/12 74/9 79/8 83/4 92/17 94/10 99/19 101/19 101/20 102/21 122/24 125/8 147/23 152/19 153/6 153/8 163/8 163/17 163/19 164/10 166/4 171/7 193/23 212/22 213/7</p> <p><b>gold</b> [1] 93/16</p> <p><b>gone</b> [6] 48/20 116/24 118/19 122/14 153/15 208/13</p> <p><b>good</b> [32] 1/4 19/13 21/8 21/9 31/8 34/4 46/21 47/3 47/16</p>	<p>51/23 54/24 58/5 58/9 58/14 59/1 64/18 77/13 81/3 117/23 122/25 131/7 133/14 137/23 140/25 147/23 161/12 161/23 187/9 187/17 191/6 192/19 195/14</p> <p><b>gosh</b> [1] 12/9</p> <p><b>got</b> [13] 5/8 25/24 30/16 41/7 49/8 53/11 61/15 86/22 96/14 166/7 176/8 191/3 206/21</p> <p><b>Gove</b> [3] 31/25 178/10 178/14</p> <p><b>governance</b> [1] 22/19</p> <p><b>government</b> [125] 2/17 5/20 7/11 10/11 12/1 21/25 24/8 25/2 26/16 32/17 37/24 40/5 49/1 49/5 49/5 50/5 50/7 50/9 52/21 54/20 58/3 59/15 62/13 63/3 65/14 65/20 68/7 68/18 70/4 70/6 70/22 71/7 71/11 72/13 79/22 80/16 97/12 98/17 103/24 104/1 108/8 109/24 109/24 110/4 110/7 110/19 110/22 111/13 111/16 113/16 118/14 125/18 125/18 129/3 130/13 130/19 132/24 132/24 133/1 134/13 134/15 134/17 134/18 134/25 135/18 137/11 137/20 140/20 140/22 141/5 141/23 143/8 143/16 145/23 147/20 148/22 150/4 152/7 156/9 158/5 161/7 161/11 162/18 169/13 169/18 169/23 170/6 170/13 170/22 171/14 171/17 172/3 172/8 172/17 174/8 174/10 174/20 176/1 176/14 176/18 177/12 179/6 179/18 179/19 180/16 181/12 181/15 181/23 182/6 182/21 183/21 184/9 188/9 189/1 189/11 191/8 191/13 195/19 201/6 201/11 206/7 206/8 206/20 207/25 210/15</p> <p><b>government's</b> [21] 16/11 34/20 69/15 72/6 74/14 76/21 76/24 93/1 95/12 101/15 111/17 120/11</p>	<p>143/14 150/2 154/3 154/12 169/11 182/19 187/23 188/5 198/9</p> <p><b>governments</b> [2] 170/8 174/6</p> <p><b>govt</b> [1] 98/7</p> <p><b>Gowman</b> [5] 169/1 169/2 169/7 176/23 217/9</p> <p><b>grant</b> [1] 172/16</p> <p><b>grants</b> [3] 116/5 123/7 165/16</p> <p><b>granular</b> [1] 137/1</p> <p><b>granularity</b> [1] 14/23</p> <p><b>graphs</b> [2] 130/15 130/20</p> <p><b>grappled</b> [1] 16/6</p> <p><b>grappling</b> [4] 75/1 76/8 76/9 117/13</p> <p><b>grateful</b> [3] 1/14 129/5 161/1</p> <p><b>grave</b> [1] 53/10</p> <p><b>great</b> [10] 9/6 43/15 55/11 61/24 63/6 63/15 75/4 106/12 136/23 188/8</p> <p><b>greater</b> [9] 82/21 92/22 101/10 117/20 122/25 171/20 190/18 208/24 209/21</p> <p><b>greatest</b> [2] 5/14 26/16</p> <p><b>greatly</b> [1] 105/7</p> <p><b>grew</b> [1] 25/21</p> <p><b>ground</b> [1] 111/14</p> <p><b>group</b> [8] 21/15 22/2 31/23 31/24 40/16 41/24 108/6 108/19</p> <p><b>groups</b> [8] 3/14 16/10 23/18 78/23 84/10 197/12 200/21 211/1</p> <p><b>groupthink</b> [1] 151/9</p> <p><b>growing</b> [2] 92/6 203/19</p> <p><b>growth</b> [2] 52/23 92/16</p> <p><b>guarantee</b> [10] 171/18 173/8 173/24 176/17 179/4 180/11 183/10 183/17 186/2 187/9</p> <p><b>guess</b> [2] 150/7 184/19</p> <p><b>guidance</b> [17] 111/9 112/2 113/7 115/15 118/14 118/15 122/2 124/5 195/4 198/9 198/11 198/13 198/22 199/8 200/9 200/12 214/23</p> <p><b>guise</b> [1] 32/8</p> <p><b>Gupta</b> [1] 149/24</p> <p><b>Gupta's</b> [1] 150/10</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>G</b>	<b>Harris [1]</b> 169/1	<b>he'd [2]</b> 127/24 128/1	199/13 199/22 200/6	21/21 110/9 110/18
<b>guys [1]</b> 61/7	<b>has [55]</b> 1/12 3/21	<b>he'll [2]</b> 102/13	213/14 216/2	128/16 141/8 149/16
<b>H</b>	4/3 7/14 9/16 18/12	102/14	<b>helped [5]</b> 57/6	<b>hindsight [5]</b> 57/18
<b>had [229]</b>	34/20 35/16 35/19	<b>he's [2]</b> 92/10 151/2	160/24 160/25 162/14	133/13 157/14 158/3
<b>hadn't [8]</b> 21/2 24/6	43/19 45/14 45/16	<b>head [4]</b> 45/2 45/14	191/23	199/1
52/1 76/23 99/1 179/1	61/25 62/24 63/6 79/1	59/11 61/14	<b>helpful [12]</b> 53/17	<b>his [33]</b> 6/16 10/7
189/10 199/13	80/14 90/15 93/16	<b>health [67]</b> 5/17 6/24	85/15 91/15 112/20	18/15 18/17 18/20
<b>half [6]</b> 102/25	93/21 98/7 101/2	7/4 24/13 24/22 30/24	130/2 134/10 137/5	21/16 29/3 43/23 44/8
130/14 130/20 188/10	102/13 120/17 120/20	31/8 33/3 34/4 35/22	139/21 140/15 186/13	45/2 45/14 45/15
209/7 213/13	123/4 126/14 128/12	37/17 38/4 43/7 46/14	186/21 186/23	45/16 45/17 45/18
<b>half-explained [2]</b>	128/12 128/16 132/3	52/17 52/22 63/19	<b>helping [1]</b> 185/8	45/19 45/25 47/23
130/14 130/20	132/5 132/22 135/5	63/23 80/6 84/17	<b>Heneghan [2]</b> 149/25	47/24 48/9 48/11
<b>Hancock [8]</b> 31/25	135/9 139/17 141/5	84/20 95/25 101/8	150/10	79/13 86/17 120/17
114/11 127/24 152/9	141/9 143/16 144/16	101/8 101/16 105/22	<b>her [10]</b> 1/17 6/1 7/25	128/13 128/17 139/18
163/22 164/12 164/20	144/22 146/15 147/1	106/9 107/3 108/16	41/10 138/11 181/11	141/24 163/22 164/13
164/25	152/9 161/23 161/25	110/2 114/21 115/6	193/10 193/24 205/9	168/9 175/2 189/19
<b>hand [3]</b> 106/21	163/21 178/6 185/7	122/12 122/13 123/6	207/11	<b>historically [2]</b> 76/10
124/17 145/20	187/8 202/8 202/14	128/6 135/1 140/16	<b>Her Majesty's [5]</b>	197/1
<b>handle [2]</b> 31/5 34/14	208/1 208/4 212/15	143/2 144/12 146/6	1/17 6/1 7/25 205/9	<b>history [1]</b> 61/24
<b>happen [14]</b> 4/21	<b>have [242]</b>	148/25 152/3 154/21	207/11	<b>hit [1]</b> 148/6
16/4 26/21 27/8 37/14	<b>have been [1]</b> 148/15	160/5 166/5 166/7	<b>herd [7]</b> 57/14 57/15	<b>hitherto [1]</b> 53/7
58/2 60/12 61/3 75/2	<b>haven't [9]</b> 48/19	167/3 168/9 171/6	63/3 63/7 64/15 64/19	<b>HM [2]</b> 126/9 175/11
127/16 205/20 210/11	48/20 96/14 151/12	175/7 175/18 175/19	64/21	<b>HM Treasury [1]</b>
210/12 210/18	166/7 176/7 203/21	177/8 177/9 178/2	<b>herd immunity [6]</b>	175/11
<b>happened [25]</b> 3/21	205/3 205/9	179/24 183/7 195/16	57/14 57/15 63/3 63/7	<b>HMRC [1]</b> 125/25
4/22 4/25 20/9 37/13	<b>having [25]</b> 1/25 6/7	196/25 198/15 198/23	64/15 64/19	<b>HMT [34]</b> 7/25 12/24
37/15 40/15 48/19	19/23 28/12 29/17	199/15 203/17 206/18	<b>here [23]</b> 1/25 2/10	13/4 14/6 17/18 31/11
58/15 60/22 61/11	33/7 40/23 42/11	206/25 208/3	12/9 13/18 20/20 21/3	31/22 76/19 84/2 85/5
66/15 70/2 70/19 71/2	46/22 54/23 76/6	<b>healthcare [2]</b>	29/6 37/5 61/5 61/5	93/16 95/9 100/13
71/16 77/11 85/7	84/15 85/9 95/6	144/23 196/18	61/21 66/6 66/9 73/6	104/15 105/21 128/1
120/11 125/7 184/5	102/25 104/25 131/10	<b>healthy [3]</b> 22/7	102/8 102/15 103/7	132/8 132/11 138/3
186/6 186/8 195/3	135/6 141/1 166/16	151/6 190/23	111/7 153/7 195/12	138/6 138/19 140/8
210/21	168/1 196/6 199/18	<b>Healthy Start [1]</b>	196/7 204/25 215/25	142/14 142/18 142/22
<b>happening [29]</b> 15/7	211/16 216/3	190/23	<b>here's [2]</b> 56/12	143/12 144/4 144/7
26/4 30/1 30/2 30/3	<b>he [94]</b> 6/7 6/15 7/20	<b>hear [9]</b> 9/23 11/6	56/13	145/18 148/5 164/14
32/16 38/7 48/1 56/6	7/21 9/2 9/16 10/7	11/23 42/23 43/1	<b>heroic [1]</b> 53/12	164/21 165/24 193/25
58/18 58/24 59/6	11/3 11/6 11/14 11/19	133/18 150/17 150/21	<b>heroic [1]</b> 53/12	<b>HMT's [2]</b> 8/2 35/1
60/23 69/24 75/6	11/22 12/18 19/4	216/12	<b>high [15]</b> 44/1 50/1	<b>holiday [6]</b> 161/19
77/22 94/15 94/25	27/22 27/24 28/15	<b>heard [8]</b> 47/1 114/13	75/11 76/10 99/10	188/13 188/16 189/14
94/25 137/1 144/20	32/9 32/9 35/11 40/4	137/25 158/9 163/21	99/16 104/13 126/1	189/24 190/21
166/12 167/16 168/1	40/22 40/24 41/21	185/13 193/14 195/18	126/3 140/10 154/8	<b>holidays [4]</b> 161/16
168/3 181/4 193/8	41/23 43/21 44/22	<b>hearing [6]</b> 42/10	204/13 205/11 206/8	187/21 188/1 189/22
199/20 211/14	45/1 45/19 48/8 48/10	42/18 72/15 104/12	211/12	<b>home [17]</b> 60/14 62/4
<b>happens [3]</b> 42/16	54/4 64/18 67/16	151/5 216/21	<b>higher [4]</b> 76/11	76/21 77/1 77/3 77/21
184/1 184/3	72/15 72/21 73/19	<b>heart [2]</b> 109/8	112/16 126/4 212/18	163/17 163/24 167/2
<b>happy [6]</b> 8/22 75/11	92/7 92/10 92/10	109/10	<b>highest [1]</b> 185/14	167/6 167/7 181/17
96/15 140/12 169/24	92/14 92/19 93/9	<b>heat [1]</b> 161/10	<b>highlighted [1]</b> 74/21	181/19 182/1 183/24
169/25	93/25 97/13 98/8	<b>heavily [1]</b> 22/14	<b>highly [6]</b> 7/11	184/16 184/22
<b>hard [24]</b> 10/16 16/7	109/6 110/21 111/21	<b>heavy [1]</b> 98/6	124/14 128/25 131/4	<b>homes [6]</b> 95/2
20/25 23/7 47/10 52/9	113/11 114/12 114/13	<b>held [1]</b> 41/10	161/8 213/9	163/25 164/5 167/14
57/24 61/19 76/14	120/1 120/18 128/1	<b>Helen [1]</b> 193/1	<b>him [44]</b> 7/20 8/4	192/23 194/25
79/24 108/25 146/2	128/3 128/12 128/14	<b>Helen Whately [1]</b>	8/22 9/19 11/2 11/22	<b>homework [2]</b> 93/20
146/5 148/7 160/14	128/16 128/17 135/18	193/1	12/17 14/3 17/5 22/7	143/17
160/20 168/22 172/6	138/19 138/20 138/22	<b>help [37]</b> 2/11 59/12	24/9 26/12 27/16	<b>honest [3]</b> 45/5 56/21
182/5 182/9 185/24	139/17 141/8 141/9	77/3 98/21 114/14	27/24 28/7 28/12	169/21
192/5 194/15 209/9	148/10 149/17 151/9	114/17 114/24 115/7	28/14 28/21 28/23	<b>hope [1]</b> 171/24
<b>hardship [2]</b> 209/7	152/9 153/4 153/14	115/12 115/21 119/11	32/8 40/22 40/25 44/7	<b>hoping [1]</b> 126/25
213/14	154/7 154/11 154/15	119/16 119/21 120/2	45/21 64/24 72/18	<b>horizon [1]</b> 84/14
<b>hare [1]</b> 151/14	155/13 155/14 155/25	120/12 121/10 122/5	72/19 72/21 73/16	<b>hospital [5]</b> 60/19
<b>harm [3]</b> 31/14 37/8	157/16 159/2 159/7	122/15 122/20 123/10	73/18 92/18 92/20	61/3 99/11 100/1
160/8	159/7 161/18 161/25	126/1 126/10 126/12	94/2 128/18 128/19	147/9
<b>harms [1]</b> 149/8	164/7 164/18 166/3	127/17 146/13 162/23	138/23 138/25 151/3	<b>hospitalisation [4]</b>
	166/4 171/24 175/5	169/14 188/24 192/2	158/14 158/17 158/25	56/8 60/6 60/9 103/12
	175/22 189/16 210/24	194/19 197/3 199/2	159/2 164/2 166/19	<b>hospitality [40]</b> 82/10

<b>H</b>	<b>I actually [1]</b> 186/3	35/15 36/4 38/18 42/3	<b>I know [6]</b> 59/10 79/6	159/11 161/2 166/18
<b>hospitality... [39]</b>	<b>I agree [4]</b> 24/21 59/1	42/16 42/21 44/19	108/23 120/20 166/12	168/12 170/14 174/14
85/1 86/1 86/8 86/16	60/1 180/2	44/24 44/25 45/4	197/21	176/15 184/9 186/5
86/22 87/11 87/14	<b>I always [6]</b> 11/9	45/10 46/5 46/8 47/12	<b>I look [2]</b> 2/10 52/11	186/12 188/20 199/9
87/19 88/3 88/3 88/5	12/11 40/12 40/18	48/18 51/13 52/8	<b>I made [4]</b> 6/19 159/2	201/9 204/17 205/14
88/12 88/19 89/2	81/4 158/15	53/16 55/2 55/3 56/18	180/19 187/1	206/3 208/8 213/3
115/11 115/11 115/18	<b>I am [1]</b> 2/1	56/19 57/6 61/6 61/9	<b>I make [2]</b> 129/4	<b>I saw [7]</b> 6/3 12/12
116/4 116/6 116/9	<b>I and [1]</b> 162/18	61/13 63/17 64/10	131/9	12/13 18/2 18/2 65/3
116/12 116/15 118/6	<b>I appear [1]</b> 177/2	64/13 67/22 69/2 70/3	<b>I mean [38]</b> 12/12	203/24
118/14 118/19 118/21	<b>I appreciate [3]</b>	72/19 73/14 75/15	14/18 17/19 18/25	<b>I say [8]</b> 9/13 16/8
119/6 119/10 121/25	177/19 215/23 215/25	77/15 84/15 84/22	21/19 24/11 25/18	27/21 57/6 135/21
122/21 123/5 123/16	<b>I ask [9]</b> 26/19 27/10	88/4 88/8 92/23 94/13	27/7 28/9 28/13 29/14	152/17 169/25 173/16
126/13 148/6 197/7	72/8 78/1 131/25	95/19 97/14 98/24	29/20 30/10 30/12	<b>I see [1]</b> 35/16
198/2 198/21 200/3	163/14 169/9 187/17	101/12 102/2 110/3	35/4 44/25 46/11 48/4	<b>I sent [2]</b> 85/11 114/3
200/10	189/20	121/4 121/24 132/14	48/4 48/13 50/22	<b>I shall [3]</b> 107/13
<b>hospitals [3]</b> 58/24	<b>I assume [1]</b> 111/7	138/20 138/20 138/24	60/15 90/13 96/10	163/3 216/17
95/2 155/22	<b>I attending [1]</b>	139/17 139/25 141/16	98/24 99/13 100/17	<b>I should [2]</b> 5/8 43/11
<b>hours [2]</b> 164/9	150/21	147/1 150/16 151/4	102/23 104/5 142/24	<b>I simply [1]</b> 113/20
193/11	<b>I became [1]</b> 25/20	151/11 155/15 155/15	146/6 146/6 152/17	<b>I squeeze [1]</b> 104/8
<b>household [2]</b> 14/3	<b>I believe [2]</b> 120/24	158/3 161/2 162/1	152/18 170/5 202/7	<b>I started [1]</b> 208/5
49/9	184/5	162/8 165/21 167/25	204/17 205/14	<b>I strongly [1]</b> 99/1
<b>households [9]</b> 84/6	<b>I believed [1]</b> 122/7	168/18 169/2 169/21	<b>I mention [1]</b> 179/3	<b>I suppose [1]</b> 150/22
114/18 115/4 117/20	<b>I can [18]</b> 9/1 23/21	169/22 170/1 170/15	<b>I mentioned [1]</b>	<b>I talk [1]</b> 85/15
122/17 123/11 124/20	32/21 48/23 51/11	170/19 170/20 172/13	144/20	<b>I tend [1]</b> 141/22
162/17 199/25	97/6 104/5 114/2	175/23 181/7 183/25	<b>I might [2]</b> 44/20	<b>I think [285]</b>
<b>housing [2]</b> 2/16	157/10 166/16 167/16	199/6 201/9 201/13	75/24	<b>I thought [10]</b> 8/23
213/17	169/3 169/5 181/7	202/14 204/4 206/14	<b>I misinterpreted [1]</b>	19/7 19/15 21/22
<b>how [67]</b> 2/1 3/7 5/14	194/11 195/15 198/19	215/13	143/25	28/22 32/9 97/15
5/15 7/10 11/6 11/19	199/20	<b>I doubt [2]</b> 58/21	<b>I move [1]</b> 213/5	180/2 191/24 197/14
11/22 18/8 22/23 23/2	<b>I can't [19]</b> 32/12	215/24	<b>I need [1]</b> 45/15	<b>I took [1]</b> 212/2
25/8 25/15 30/7 31/4	32/12 53/15 53/15	<b>I emphasise [1]</b>	<b>I needed [2]</b> 12/16	<b>I touch [1]</b> 201/8
32/24 34/14 36/13	56/4 56/21 58/21	22/20	103/7	<b>I touched [3]</b> 41/15
39/18 40/24 47/19	62/10 94/12 134/23	<b>I ever [1]</b> 6/2	<b>I never [1]</b> 80/23	185/5 197/10
55/7 55/14 56/16	149/22 165/18 178/12	<b>I feel [1]</b> 11/10	<b>I only [1]</b> 9/18	<b>I understand [5]</b> 37/5
61/16 78/18 81/1 84/8	178/18 188/7 189/3	<b>I felt [5]</b> 12/16 19/2	<b>I participated [2]</b>	114/6 139/13 141/15
87/6 87/8 89/23 91/2	189/23 195/12 196/7	23/13 40/12 81/4	11/8 19/10	198/14
91/2 92/14 92/19 95/9	<b>I cared [2]</b> 86/1 90/9	<b>I forget [1]</b> 141/24	<b>I probably [1]</b> 131/13	<b>I very [1]</b> 129/4
108/12 113/3 117/14	<b>I certainly [1]</b> 11/9	<b>I found [1]</b> 19/16	<b>I propose [1]</b> 79/10	<b>I vividly [1]</b> 53/24
129/12 129/16 131/20	<b>I check [1]</b> 167/9	<b>I gave [1]</b> 175/23	<b>I put [2]</b> 159/6 188/11	<b>I want [5]</b> 37/4 40/6
134/21 135/3 140/20	<b>I could [5]</b> 8/23 12/12	<b>I generally [1]</b> 81/3	<b>I raise [1]</b> 121/18	162/5 187/19 199/19
141/20 141/22 143/6	35/25 61/20 120/5	<b>I genuinely [2]</b> 182/5	<b>I rarely [1]</b> 103/5	<b>I wanted [1]</b> 80/24
145/4 146/7 148/5	<b>I definitely [1]</b> 103/8	189/5	<b>I reach [1]</b> 216/11	<b>I was [43]</b> 12/14
161/3 164/7 164/25	<b>I delivered [2]</b> 209/2	<b>I guess [2]</b> 150/7	<b>I read [1]</b> 112/4	12/15 19/1 23/13
170/13 174/21 174/24	212/4	184/19	<b>I recall [4]</b> 84/15 85/6	23/22 25/17 29/17
176/19 183/4 183/5	<b>I develop [1]</b> 42/1	<b>I had [10]</b> 17/4 19/2	85/9 169/24	32/17 33/13 33/19
186/22 195/24 198/15	<b>I did [8]</b> 7/1 28/21	28/9 40/18 40/22 41/1	<b>I received [1]</b> 69/5	33/23 56/18 63/17
198/20 205/2 205/6	35/15 51/17 108/6	63/24 136/23 136/25	<b>I recollect [3]</b> 72/23	69/3 69/21 71/21
205/11	143/13 162/8 210/3	158/16	72/24 138/23	84/20 85/9 94/13
<b>however [4]</b> 8/1	<b>I didn't [20]</b> 6/23	<b>I have [13]</b> 4/23 19/5	<b>I referred [1]</b> 198/9	94/18 95/6 101/22
43/21 164/12 172/5	11/11 12/10 23/6	33/5 66/5 107/10	<b>I remember [9]</b> 60/15	111/2 113/5 113/8
<b>huddle [3]</b> 43/18 44/4	23/13 25/18 44/17	128/11 128/18 128/19	64/14 66/12 67/2	122/10 131/16 143/24
45/1	59/24 79/24 80/8	163/15 166/24 177/13	89/10 96/7 139/15	145/1 148/1 151/3
<b>huge [4]</b> 36/18 74/3	80/24 80/25 103/3	197/2 216/6	152/23 211/16	156/13 156/19 160/14
188/1 201/12	114/2 121/18 122/7	<b>I haven't [5]</b> 96/14	<b>I represent [2]</b>	165/8 166/22 167/17
<b>hugely [3]</b> 28/2	156/14 157/8 157/9	166/7 176/7 203/21	196/17 199/4	168/18 168/21 174/21
109/12 145/24	189/18	205/3	<b>I said [46]</b> 4/25 5/1	187/8 201/14 210/8
<b>hundreds [3]</b> 74/22	<b>I do [11]</b> 32/7 39/24	<b>I hope [1]</b> 171/24	6/14 7/13 15/14 18/25	<b>I wasn't [12]</b> 25/17
122/1 129/2	64/13 67/10 68/6	<b>I introduced [1]</b>	20/5 28/10 33/24	101/3 105/13 108/22
<b>hungry [1]</b> 188/1	70/16 75/16 95/19	184/11	37/12 37/16 38/1	113/25 129/23 150/6
<b>I</b>	102/2 128/11 160/11	<b>I just [9]</b> 1/25 88/19	40/14 42/21 42/25	160/11 165/21 165/22
<b>I able [1]</b> 23/11	<b>I don't [100]</b> 3/20	103/3 110/1 138/5	51/19 54/21 62/11	180/11 194/12
<b>I act [1]</b> 192/19	4/14 4/19 6/2 9/15	182/2 188/20 191/4	76/14 80/7 85/23 99/5	<b>I went [2]</b> 137/5
	12/9 20/24 22/8 32/4	206/5	102/5 111/25 122/1	151/4
	32/9 33/24 35/15	<b>I knew [1]</b> 191/20	124/22 129/23 154/11	<b>I will [2]</b> 187/1 216/10

<b>I</b>	<b>I've [41]</b> 2/5 3/20 4/23 5/4 24/4 28/6 38/17 40/12 40/17 42/5 45/6 47/11 51/16 73/15 75/19 80/23 81/13 90/11 108/23 120/22 124/21 127/9 131/13 141/21 156/16 156/21 156/22 158/14 168/18 168/22 187/5 191/3 194/16 195/21 200/5 203/1 204/8 204/25 207/18 213/12 213/24	178/23 180/3 180/6 180/14 181/7 181/20 182/16 183/9 184/22 186/7 191/15 192/16 194/19 195/24 198/12 199/12 199/16 205/11 207/12 208/21 213/2 214/23 <b>IFG [2]</b> 136/7 160/21 <b>ignore [1]</b> 198/5 <b>il [1]</b> 74/23 <b>ill [1]</b> 32/1 <b>illustrated [1]</b> 175/13 <b>illustrates [1]</b> 119/18 <b>illustrative [1]</b> 146/20 <b>imagine [2]</b> 17/25 89/13 <b>IMF [1]</b> 143/22 <b>immediate [1]</b> 84/18 <b>immediately [7]</b> 33/10 49/17 65/20 76/1 85/25 86/6 168/1 <b>imminently [2]</b> 49/2 54/16 <b>immunity [7]</b> 57/14 57/15 63/3 63/7 64/15 64/19 64/21 <b>impact [63]</b> 6/6 7/3 7/5 14/10 14/13 16/3 16/13 17/15 18/7 24/18 37/20 38/15 55/8 55/20 55/23 57/25 67/24 68/1 71/24 72/5 74/4 74/7 74/13 74/15 74/23 75/2 75/10 76/5 79/7 83/25 84/1 85/20 85/22 86/2 86/6 90/6 94/14 97/17 99/2 100/5 103/11 108/1 109/16 118/2 125/20 126/6 126/18 155/21 159/10 159/13 159/14 165/9 181/16 183/23 200/3 203/14 203/17 203/18 204/10 204/11 204/14 205/15 214/4 <b>impacted [6]</b> 75/7 75/7 82/9 89/19 184/23 189/10 <b>impacts [26]</b> 6/22 7/2 15/1 15/6 15/11 16/8 32/19 33/3 33/8 33/9 36/6 46/16 74/21 76/1 80/6 82/24 84/17 84/18 84/20 92/21 143/18 144/3 149/10 149/11 158/15 203/7 <b>impaired [2]</b> 69/23 75/8 <b>imperative [1]</b> 92/15 <b>Imperial [3]</b> 67/3 67/10 101/5 <b>implausible [1]</b> 30/10	<b>implement [10]</b> 6/12 24/10 49/8 62/15 64/8 66/8 66/18 111/14 182/22 184/10 <b>implementation [7]</b> 49/13 59/15 63/4 66/22 98/23 124/24 164/16 <b>implemented [14]</b> 21/8 52/19 54/18 55/1 65/12 115/19 120/23 147/10 172/5 173/21 176/11 182/23 200/13 214/8 <b>implementing [3]</b> 54/11 102/24 214/19 <b>implications [3]</b> 35/11 82/6 127/4 <b>implying [1]</b> 31/2 <b>import [1]</b> 136/19 <b>importance [3]</b> 5/14 128/15 128/22 <b>important [35]</b> 2/7 4/10 7/6 13/10 20/3 28/2 28/3 38/2 48/7 48/16 67/25 70/17 71/20 75/20 75/25 82/9 82/16 96/4 97/8 110/1 111/19 112/7 113/21 114/8 120/5 129/14 135/10 139/21 171/12 171/22 183/1 197/15 207/10 216/8 216/9 <b>impose [6]</b> 10/17 10/17 60/13 62/3 98/11 134/19 <b>imposed [4]</b> 58/4 72/3 125/13 152/14 <b>imposing [1]</b> 35/21 <b>impossible [3]</b> 26/22 29/12 72/21 <b>impractical [1]</b> 29/21 <b>impression [4]</b> 45/20 51/3 51/7 52/16 <b>impropriety [1]</b> 40/3 <b>improve [4]</b> 21/9 33/4 56/16 186/22 <b>improved [9]</b> 14/25 15/15 19/19 20/12 20/22 58/14 58/22 59/2 140/2 <b>improvement [1]</b> 19/20 <b>improving [1]</b> 20/4 <b>inaccessible [1]</b> 214/18 <b>inactivity [15]</b> 201/24 202/8 202/15 203/22 204/6 204/9 204/14 204/16 204/19 205/2 206/1 207/17 207/19 207/25 208/7 <b>inappropriate [1]</b>	198/4 <b>inappropriately [1]</b> 159/25 <b>inaudible [1]</b> 59/5 <b>incentivise [1]</b> 167/6 <b>incidence [2]</b> 167/5 211/12 <b>include [1]</b> 159/15 <b>included [6]</b> 39/12 51/15 109/3 110/12 111/4 164/8 <b>including [14]</b> 58/19 66/10 84/16 106/5 108/7 115/15 118/9 118/16 143/1 174/15 193/16 204/23 206/2 210/2 <b>income [3]</b> 181/18 181/20 208/20 <b>incomes [8]</b> 82/13 89/6 185/8 188/23 191/22 192/10 213/7 214/1 <b>incompetent [1]</b> 46/3 <b>inconclusive [1]</b> 39/9 <b>incorporated [1]</b> 203/3 <b>increase [13]</b> 15/4 57/3 92/9 95/16 98/2 98/10 103/11 124/15 176/11 180/15 190/22 194/4 194/8 <b>increased [13]</b> 164/24 167/5 183/19 191/2 199/4 199/24 201/22 202/5 202/23 206/11 207/13 213/15 213/17 <b>increases [1]</b> 201/24 <b>increasing [1]</b> 172/18 <b>increasingly [1]</b> 54/15 <b>incredible [1]</b> 176/2 <b>incredibly [12]</b> 7/17 46/12 46/17 70/18 130/2 146/2 146/4 148/7 160/14 192/7 197/15 199/19 <b>incremental [1]</b> 182/8 <b>incrementally [1]</b> 54/17 <b>indeed [52]</b> 5/4 5/8 7/16 10/8 17/24 35/13 35/16 40/20 46/10 52/20 56/9 59/17 70/1 77/25 85/3 86/10 95/23 115/13 116/5 117/12 118/13 120/16 132/3 138/5 138/22 141/8 144/23 146/21 147/1 148/2 149/3 149/14 156/18 160/13
----------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------



<b>I</b>	91/15 130/1 141/19 142/19 142/20 143/11 144/3 202/3 202/22	163/21 181/8 181/11 186/12 186/24 187/23 196/23 217/5	102/14 104/22 104/25 106/17 106/20 107/7 109/18 109/22 110/20 118/19 135/6 135/10 136/1 137/5 140/24 151/8 152/19 153/7 153/8 153/15 154/2 157/9 172/1 182/7 182/7 182/8 192/17 193/2 199/4 202/12 203/3 203/15 207/12 208/7	89/17 91/4 94/23 99/11 99/24 100/23 104/10 104/12 104/15 107/2 114/23 115/2 117/14 117/21 118/1 119/9 120/16 121/9 123/13 124/17 125/8 126/16 130/24 132/22 137/10 143/3 160/7 161/15 161/15 161/22 178/5 179/1 179/19 181/6 183/22 184/15 188/6 192/25 208/19 211/25
<b>indeed...</b> [18] 161/5 168/25 174/17 176/3 176/9 176/11 179/13 179/16 180/7 180/10 180/22 182/12 182/17 190/17 190/22 208/21 212/19 212/25	<b>informed</b> [2] 68/6 206/24 <b>inherent</b> [2] 115/3 117/19 <b>inherently</b> [2] 132/21 151/10 <b>initial</b> [1] 187/24 <b>initially</b> [2] 189/1 189/4 <b>initiative</b> [1] 172/6 <b>initiatives</b> [1] 208/2 <b>innovation</b> [1] 187/10 <b>input</b> [11] 7/21 11/11 20/2 23/11 90/4 96/6 111/22 117/7 125/12 135/10 207/5	<b>Inquiry's</b> [1] 5/6 <b>inside</b> [3] 37/23 71/4 139/24 <b>insofar</b> [1] 104/14 <b>insolvency</b> [1] 15/11 <b>instance</b> [3] 3/23 10/1 48/1 <b>instead</b> [4] 189/23 194/2 194/8 195/3 <b>instinct</b> [1] 91/25 <b>institute</b> [5] 8/7 10/18 135/18 137/11 141/23 <b>instituted</b> [1] 113/14 <b>institution</b> [2] 4/4 137/22 <b>institutions</b> [1] 94/17 <b>instruct</b> [1] 145/7 <b>instructed</b> [2] 177/2 196/17 <b>integrate</b> [1] 146/16 <b>intense</b> [1] 150/20 <b>interactions</b> [3] 23/9 169/11 211/3 <b>interest</b> [3] 74/3 102/21 160/18 <b>interesting</b> [2] 44/23 92/4 <b>interests</b> [4] 7/12 7/18 9/17 83/13 <b>intergovernmental</b> [1] 175/4 <b>interlocutors</b> [1] 5/9 <b>internal</b> [1] 16/17 <b>internally</b> [1] 139/7 <b>international</b> [7] 81/11 82/18 91/1 92/4 108/13 108/15 192/8 <b>internationally</b> [3] 53/19 94/15 117/17 <b>interrupt</b> [3] 36/12 57/15 191/3 <b>intervention</b> [9] 13/16 30/24 66/1 72/25 79/5 122/5 126/20 128/1 144/12 <b>interventions</b> [14] 6/13 14/8 24/10 25/3 39/6 50/1 65/3 65/24 83/20 123/15 149/8 160/6 176/6 195/16 <b>intimate</b> [1] 196/9 <b>into</b> [67] 4/11 5/19 10/11 11/12 11/21 14/21 16/2 17/16 17/23 18/5 20/18 25/1 30/8 38/13 40/21 48/20 51/18 52/4 52/10 59/12 63/9 70/3 70/5 71/8 75/15 75/16 80/10 81/5 90/5 91/16 101/12 102/7 102/13	<b>introduce</b> [3] 111/12 211/17 213/3 <b>introduced</b> [13] 125/13 148/13 173/6 173/24 184/11 185/2 185/3 194/24 210/13 210/13 210/14 211/11 214/10 <b>introduction</b> [1] 153/19 <b>intuitive</b> [1] 42/7 <b>investing</b> [3] 57/4 94/16 207/25 <b>investment</b> [3] 69/13 143/22 202/10 <b>invited</b> [1] 151/3 <b>involved</b> [19] 21/18 23/18 42/6 97/6 105/13 108/22 111/2 113/8 115/20 120/13 165/22 166/14 166/23 167/18 168/19 168/21 193/17 194/12 196/8 <b>involvement</b> [3] 104/15 164/11 165/4 <b>involving</b> [1] 108/20 <b>Ipsos</b> [2] 82/19 82/20 <b>Ireland</b> [5] 172/20 174/6 176/4 176/10 179/8 <b>is</b> [379] <b>is:</b> [1] 86/22 <b>is: we've</b> [1] 86/22 <b>isn't</b> [5] 13/21 109/25 128/14 185/22 186/11 <b>isolate</b> [5] 181/14 182/1 209/17 211/7 211/13 <b>isolated</b> [2] 181/20 184/16 <b>isolating</b> [3] 89/18 185/3 210/9 <b>isolation</b> [16] 14/4 15/2 49/9 49/9 119/15 181/16 181/18 183/23 184/10 184/23 208/19 208/20 208/25 209/22 211/23 212/3 <b>isolators</b> [1] 209/6 <b>issue</b> [50] 3/5 7/4 34/1 37/7 45/13 57/13 63/9 65/7 67/25 76/16	<b>issued</b> [1] 198/11 <b>issues</b> [22] 5/18 7/10 25/15 29/3 29/4 40/7 47/21 57/16 63/16 69/4 76/17 78/17 95/4 95/5 100/21 103/13 106/3 106/7 132/25 137/14 137/15 196/6 <b>it</b> [685] <b>it's</b> [150] 2/6 2/8 4/10 4/21 8/13 9/5 9/12 9/18 16/24 17/4 19/11 20/19 21/2 21/4 21/8 21/20 22/20 23/7 26/22 27/17 29/5 29/11 29/21 29/21 30/10 32/5 32/5 32/10 33/15 34/8 34/11 35/3 35/15 36/4 36/18 38/16 39/22 40/4 42/11 42/15 42/21 46/11 47/3 47/10 47/12 47/16 51/16 51/19 52/9 53/9 54/1 58/9 61/18 67/5 70/15 70/16 71/11 71/20 74/2 75/5 75/19 75/24 78/6 78/8 79/24 80/8 80/9 81/15 83/19 83/21 83/21 86/11 86/14 87/12 88/11 88/21 90/10 91/13 92/25 96/15 98/4 99/14 99/20 104/9 105/6 109/18 110/18 111/17 112/16 116/16 118/3 119/23 120/5 122/19 122/24 124/15 128/21 129/16 129/25 130/18 132/6 132/8 136/17 136/23 138/5 139/21 140/19 141/3 142/8 142/17 142/24 145/21 146/2 146/19 148/3 153/4 153/5 155/15 161/11 168/18 168/21 169/1 169/24 171/11 171/24 172/18 173/6 173/7 175/23 182/9 183/16 184/19
<b>independent</b> [12] 16/11 16/13 93/1 117/11 135/13 140/7 140/9 143/14 143/16 144/5 144/24 162/12	<b>INDEX</b> [1] 216/23 <b>indicated</b> [1] 185/10 <b>indication</b> [1] 14/15 <b>indicative</b> [2] 141/10 170/3 <b>individual</b> [11] 3/14 32/6 52/5 104/20 105/20 106/23 118/17 118/17 124/8 189/3 214/19 <b>individuals</b> [4] 5/5 116/14 178/4 200/2 <b>indoor</b> [9] 114/18 115/11 115/18 116/8 118/6 119/5 119/10 123/16 200/10 <b>industry</b> [8] 77/9 116/6 117/6 117/18 118/14 197/11 198/12 198/21 <b>ineffective</b> [1] 196/3 <b>inefficiency</b> [2] 45/24 47/5 <b>ineligible</b> [1] 208/22 <b>inequalities</b> [2] 197/1 199/3 <b>inequality</b> [4] 184/15 184/17 184/20 185/1 <b>inevitably</b> [1] 56/3 <b>infection</b> [9] 56/7 60/5 126/6 126/14 126/18 147/4 149/1 167/4 199/5 <b>infections</b> [1] 167/3 <b>inferentially</b> [1] 108/23 <b>influence</b> [1] 44/8 <b>influenced</b> [2] 68/6 72/12 <b>info</b> [1] 39/7 <b>inform</b> [1] 205/12 <b>informal</b> [2] 25/13 138/10 <b>informally</b> [1] 25/10 <b>information</b> [28] 6/5 9/25 10/2 10/4 14/2 14/16 14/23 16/20 17/14 19/3 19/25 20/5 25/5 43/9 53/18 55/11 55/16 63/18 63/20	<b>INQ000114451</b> [1] 201/22 <b>INQ000182359</b> [1] 31/18 <b>INQ000217057</b> [1] 177/13 <b>INQ000232069</b> [2] 13/17 83/20 <b>INQ000232085</b> [1] 86/24 <b>INQ000232115</b> [1] 17/8 <b>INQ000232168</b> [1] 93/12 <b>INQ000232181</b> [1] 98/3 <b>INQ000235213</b> [1] 181/9 <b>INQ000235261</b> [1] 138/12 <b>INQ000236583</b> [1] 78/5 <b>INQ000236584</b> [1] 91/20 <b>INQ000236585</b> [2] 86/11 88/6 <b>INQ000236586</b> [1] 38/23 <b>INQ000236594</b> [1] 43/3 <b>INQ000236674</b> [1] 1/12 <b>INQ000273747</b> [1] 171/10 <b>INQ000273897</b> [1] 193/4 <b>INQ000280042</b> [1] 34/8 <b>INQUIRY</b> [27] 1/7 1/19 2/11 3/6 4/3 4/5 4/13 18/12 29/5 35/17 63/12 120/18 127/24 128/13 128/17 128/22 128/23 158/20 158/22	<b>introduced</b> [13] 125/13 148/13 173/6 173/24 184/11 185/2 185/3 194/24 210/13 210/13 210/14 211/11 214/10 <b>introduction</b> [1] 153/19 <b>intuitive</b> [1] 42/7 <b>investing</b> [3] 57/4 94/16 207/25 <b>investment</b> [3] 69/13 143/22 202/10 <b>invited</b> [1] 151/3 <b>involved</b> [19] 21/18 23/18 42/6 97/6 105/13 108/22 111/2 113/8 115/20 120/13 165/22 166/14 166/23 167/18 168/19 168/21 193/17 194/12 196/8 <b>involvement</b> [3] 104/15 164/11 165/4 <b>involving</b> [1] 108/20 <b>Ipsos</b> [2] 82/19 82/20 <b>Ireland</b> [5] 172/20 174/6 176/4 176/10 179/8 <b>is</b> [379] <b>is:</b> [1] 86/22 <b>is: we've</b> [1] 86/22 <b>isn't</b> [5] 13/21 109/25 128/14 185/22 186/11 <b>isolate</b> [5] 181/14 182/1 209/17 211/7 211/13 <b>isolated</b> [2] 181/20 184/16 <b>isolating</b> [3] 89/18 185/3 210/9 <b>isolation</b> [16] 14/4 15/2 49/9 49/9 119/15 181/16 181/18 183/23 184/10 184/23 208/19 208/20 208/25 209/22 211/23 212/3 <b>isolators</b> [1] 209/6 <b>issue</b> [50] 3/5 7/4 34/1 37/7 45/13 57/13 63/9 65/7 67/25 76/16	<b>it</b> [685] <b>it's</b> [150] 2/6 2/8 4/10 4/21 8/13 9/5 9/12 9/18 16/24 17/4 19/11 20/19 21/2 21/4 21/8 21/20 22/20 23/7 26/22 27/17 29/5 29/11 29/21 29/21 30/10 32/5 32/5 32/10 33/15 34/8 34/11 35/3 35/15 36/4 36/18 38/16 39/22 40/4 42/11 42/15 42/21 46/11 47/3 47/10 47/12 47/16 51/16 51/19 52/9 53/9 54/1 58/9 61/18 67/5 70/15 70/16 71/11 71/20 74/2 75/5 75/19 75/24 78/6 78/8 79/24 80/8 80/9 81/15 83/19 83/21 83/21 86/11 86/14 87/12 88/11 88/21 90/10 91/13 92/25 96/15 98/4 99/14 99/20 104/9 105/6 109/18 110/18 111/17 112/16 116/16 118/3 119/23 120/5 122/19 122/24 124/15 128/21 129/16 129/25 130/18 132/6 132/8 136/17 136/23 138/5 139/21 140/19 141/3 142/8 142/17 142/24 145/21 146/2 146/19 148/3 153/4 153/5 155/15 161/11 168/18 168/21 169/1 169/24 171/11 171/24 172/18 173/6 173/7 175/23 182/9 183/16 184/19

<b>I</b>	85/18 86/5 89/4 89/5 89/7 114/11 114/16 116/14 117/5 117/8 117/14 118/25 120/25 122/6 127/12 127/19 127/21 159/13 161/4 185/5 186/17 195/8 197/15 197/19 199/21	58/10 59/7 61/8 62/7 62/25 64/24 67/6 68/19 70/3 70/15 71/15 73/3 73/21 74/11 75/14 75/15 78/1 78/5 83/5 83/18 88/18 88/19 91/4 99/3 99/18 99/21 100/16 103/3 103/5 105/11 110/1 110/24 112/5 120/5 122/24 123/12 124/7 127/8 127/10 130/22 131/25 132/15 132/16 134/19 136/13 138/5 139/14 139/17 141/19 142/2 144/4 144/15 144/19 144/20 146/3 146/4 146/24 155/11 164/12 168/10 173/10 174/1 174/4 174/15 176/10 177/16 180/6 181/2 182/2 184/22 188/15 188/20 189/19 191/4 192/15 193/18 193/19 194/18 194/18 195/4 195/6 196/4 196/7 198/3 198/4 198/21 205/6 206/5 210/20 211/2 212/9 216/7	37/23 60/24 135/21 141/24 194/7 212/12 <b>kindly [1]</b> 160/21 <b>kinds [1]</b> 149/14 <b>King's [1]</b> 193/15 <b>King's Counsel [1]</b> 193/15 <b>Kingdom [4]</b> 90/25 123/14 176/4 186/19 <b>knew [5]</b> 60/7 60/8 152/9 162/21 191/20 <b>know [108]</b> 10/23 18/24 20/11 21/2 23/6 25/19 25/21 25/24 25/25 26/2 27/3 27/10 28/18 32/4 32/6 32/24 33/1 33/6 33/20 33/24 36/1 38/16 41/8 42/4 42/25 44/19 44/22 47/5 47/6 47/8 48/4 48/7 48/8 48/24 49/14 51/13 51/13 52/10 53/16 53/24 54/1 54/2 55/22 56/16 57/1 58/16 58/19 58/23 59/5 59/8 59/10 60/15 61/13 62/10 63/17 64/13 67/9 72/11 75/5 75/6 76/4 76/7 76/10 77/20 79/6 79/16 85/16 96/5 97/4 100/16 101/25 103/7 104/11 108/23 114/9 120/20 128/7 128/12 129/16 131/12 136/3 136/4 138/20 138/20 144/17 144/19 145/15 151/8 152/22 159/16 165/7 166/12 169/2 172/15 174/11 183/25 185/12 185/25 186/14 188/7 188/9 194/20 197/21 201/9 201/16 205/8 206/21 215/9 <b>knowing [1]</b> 137/5 <b>knowledge [4]</b> 8/24 63/22 134/16 165/23 <b>known [8]</b> 2/13 46/4 129/19 142/15 195/9 197/1 201/12 203/19 <b>knows [1]</b> 36/20	176/22 187/12 196/10 198/7 200/14 208/11 208/14 215/19 215/21 216/19 <b>laid [2]</b> 158/12 207/2 <b>land [1]</b> 43/14 <b>lane [1]</b> 61/22 <b>language [3]</b> 69/10 84/19 134/23 <b>large [2]</b> 9/8 94/24 <b>largely [6]</b> 24/7 24/8 25/2 37/16 56/23 165/13 <b>larger [1]</b> 172/21 <b>last [9]</b> 10/20 10/21 44/7 45/21 47/1 65/4 89/3 106/3 189/16 <b>lastly [2]</b> 106/15 208/13 <b>late [2]</b> 96/21 149/15 <b>later [24]</b> 10/3 15/21 47/24 48/21 50/15 50/23 54/6 54/6 56/11 66/8 66/19 76/13 85/18 85/19 87/14 94/23 97/23 104/12 136/4 164/20 179/1 189/18 194/17 209/12 <b>latterly [1]</b> 128/9 <b>law [2]</b> 164/5 196/17 <b>lay [1]</b> 28/22 <b>lead [8]</b> 1/7 20/7 24/23 54/6 56/3 63/8 63/19 217/5 <b>leader [1]</b> 2/25 <b>leading [6]</b> 11/17 22/2 24/23 45/9 64/4 209/16 <b>leak [1]</b> 27/25 <b>leant [1]</b> 109/20 <b>learn [1]</b> 2/7 <b>learned [5]</b> 59/3 178/6 178/23 185/12 186/10 <b>least [17]</b> 15/6 15/25 18/3 22/13 25/14 31/1 37/2 37/21 55/20 65/11 68/13 68/17 102/25 116/20 162/19 191/15 215/4 <b>leave [7]</b> 27/15 27/23 28/4 47/19 47/20 136/13 215/18 <b>led [10]</b> 44/11 45/22 53/20 63/9 69/21 105/14 107/4 126/15 204/9 204/16 <b>Lee [2]</b> 187/22 188/6 <b>Lee Cain [2]</b> 187/22 188/6 <b>legally [1]</b> 77/7 <b>legislation [1]</b> 215/5 <b>leisure [1]</b> 82/11 <b>lend [1]</b> 29/6	
<b>it's... [18]</b> 185/24 190/11 190/13 191/20 192/5 193/4 194/15 194/19 195/12 201/21 208/8 209/23 210/10 210/17 210/19 211/18 216/1 216/8 <b>Italy [3]</b> 60/18 60/19 153/2 <b>item [3]</b> 120/6 128/13 128/17 <b>iterate [2]</b> 16/15 52/2 <b>iteration [2]</b> 52/7 173/5 <b>iterative [3]</b> 11/17 21/24 45/9 <b>its [31]</b> 2/12 10/19 27/18 50/11 64/2 77/10 94/8 98/22 100/5 101/6 101/9 112/1 112/23 117/22 119/21 124/24 133/5 143/17 148/7 150/4 154/25 156/15 156/25 161/13 166/9 180/16 186/16 192/7 197/5 197/25 204/22 <b>itself [25]</b> 30/5 30/5 33/25 45/10 53/13 68/18 70/23 72/7 84/14 89/9 97/21 100/11 109/21 125/10 133/16 133/17 133/23 134/1 134/7 142/22 143/10 147/18 147/21 179/23 205/18	<b>jog [1]</b> 111/1 <b>Johnson [4]</b> 4/4 177/16 178/9 178/14 <b>Joint [1]</b> 94/16 <b>jointly [1]</b> 112/3 <b>Jonathan [1]</b> 124/12 <b>Jonathan Van-Tam [1]</b> 124/12 <b>Josephs [1]</b> 1/18 <b>journalist [2]</b> 31/1 131/1 <b>journalistic [1]</b> 129/17 <b>judge [2]</b> 149/7 178/1 <b>judged [1]</b> 191/25 <b>July [26]</b> 2/18 2/21 86/17 87/19 88/5 88/13 95/15 114/10 114/13 114/16 119/12 119/13 119/24 120/6 121/14 122/13 128/7 171/19 173/6 173/25 178/22 178/24 179/3 179/3 179/5 210/24 <b>July 2020 [2]</b> 178/22 178/24 <b>July 2021 [1]</b> 171/19 <b>June [36]</b> 19/19 38/25 86/18 87/24 88/14 89/2 95/9 95/18 96/1 96/16 96/21 97/23 97/24 97/24 98/19 98/22 99/6 99/13 100/9 100/14 101/15 103/20 107/20 108/19 109/14 112/10 114/10 119/2 138/7 152/22 153/18 161/22 163/23 189/18 189/20 189/22 <b>June 2020 [1]</b> 163/23 <b>June 2021 [2]</b> 189/18 189/22 <b>junior [1]</b> 2/15 <b>just [134]</b> 1/25 3/3 6/12 6/17 6/20 6/24 8/10 16/16 16/25 21/10 24/8 25/5 26/2 26/6 26/21 26/23 27/8 28/14 29/5 29/21 30/13 32/19 33/3 33/11 34/5 38/3 38/9 38/17 39/7 41/6 41/12 41/18 45/1 45/2 46/24 49/17 50/4 50/24 51/3 51/25 54/5 56/22	189/19 191/4 192/15 193/18 193/19 194/18 194/18 195/4 195/6 196/4 196/7 198/3 198/4 198/21 205/6 206/5 210/20 211/2 212/9 216/7 <b>justice [5]</b> 7/4 82/15 163/15 169/10 197/15 <b>justification [1]</b> 154/24 <b>justified [4]</b> 153/22 154/2 154/11 156/1 <b>justify [1]</b> 155/17	<b>J</b> <b>Jacobs [4]</b> 208/13 208/16 215/17 217/21 <b>January [8]</b> 2/15 164/21 167/1 167/8 167/10 167/22 168/4 194/22 <b>January 2018 [1]</b> 2/15 <b>January 2020 [1]</b> 194/22 <b>January 2021 [2]</b> 167/1 167/22 <b>Javid [1]</b> 2/20 <b>JBC [1]</b> 124/4 <b>job [19]</b> 7/17 10/3 11/9 35/14 39/24 41/19 72/21 73/16 89/8 134/24 139/25 140/10 145/17 158/14 177/6 199/12 199/16 199/18 211/18 <b>jobs [34]</b> 6/12 75/7 81/23 82/4 82/7 82/15 82/24 85/16 85/17	<b>K</b> <b>KC [12]</b> 163/12 177/1 187/16 192/18 196/15 200/19 217/7 217/11 217/13 217/15 217/17 217/19 <b>keen [2]</b> 84/21 178/21 <b>keep [6]</b> 74/10 99/3 102/3 127/21 144/1 192/16 <b>keeping [2]</b> 206/12 207/14 <b>Keith [15]</b> 1/3 1/24 6/18 46/7 71/8 75/24 87/11 107/17 131/2 133/17 140/14 144/18 189/16 191/5 216/5 <b>kept [3]</b> 78/4 106/21 213/7 <b>key [11]</b> 23/20 24/2 59/13 59/13 69/4 163/24 167/4 168/7 168/12 196/4 211/23 <b>killed [1]</b> 138/13 <b>kind [8]</b> 16/24 34/19	<b>L</b> <b>labour [13]</b> 15/1 74/17 74/24 90/6 90/16 181/15 183/22 194/9 194/22 201/24 203/9 205/15 205/19 <b>lack [8]</b> 19/18 46/1 131/19 165/2 168/16 170/3 172/11 178/2 <b>lady [18]</b> 1/4 22/21 62/18 128/21 129/7 163/13 168/24 169/8

<b>L</b>	191/4	<b>London [9]</b> 59/18 70/11 72/10 72/23 73/3 73/7 73/12 73/20 73/21	<b>low [7]</b> 126/2 162/15 193/13 199/3 199/16 211/1 214/11	<b>makers [1]</b> 98/8
<b>length [1]</b> 48/12	<b>limits [1]</b> 131/7	<b>lone [1]</b> 93/25	<b>lower [4]</b> 89/6 116/14 197/12 213/7	<b>makes [6]</b> 33/25 83/10 88/8 108/24 114/7 138/1
<b>lent [1]</b> 59/25	<b>line [4]</b> 33/10 53/14 56/12 183/14	<b>loneliness [1]</b> 212/21	<b>lowest [7]</b> 82/13 185/8 188/22 191/22 192/10 208/19 214/1	<b>making [55]</b> 4/19 6/4 6/20 6/23 9/10 9/21 11/2 11/18 12/4 18/13 20/4 20/23 21/18 21/24 22/5 27/2 32/18 33/19 33/23 41/16 45/6 51/6 51/19 60/12 65/18 68/2 70/10 72/7 84/11 92/15 94/13 95/24 99/10 101/17 113/16 132/16 133/3 134/5 136/2 143/4 145/1 152/25 158/2 162/10 168/6 168/11 170/2 170/11 178/1 179/24 182/24 187/3 188/8 195/15 204/3
<b>Leslie [1]</b> 196/16	<b>lines [2]</b> 145/21 191/6	<b>long [37]</b> 4/21 46/16 74/16 75/2 84/13 84/14 90/11 123/3 129/9 148/18 151/7 198/10 200/21 200/23 201/1 201/4 201/4 201/10 202/1 202/4 202/22 202/24 203/17 203/17 203/20 203/23 204/6 204/11 204/19 204/23 205/10 205/12 206/10 206/12 207/10 207/10 208/5	<b>lucky [1]</b> 160/15	<b>Manchester [1]</b> 101/5
<b>Leslie Thomas [1]</b> 196/16	<b>links [1]</b> 203/21	<b>Long Covid [21]</b> 84/13 84/14 200/21 200/23 201/1 201/4 202/1 202/4 202/22 202/24 203/17 203/20 203/23 204/6 204/19 204/23 205/10 205/12 206/10 206/12 207/10 207/10 208/5	<b>lunch [2]</b> 29/17 107/11	<b>manage [1]</b> 94/17
<b>less [5]</b> 84/5 108/14 131/13 132/19 184/23	<b>liquidity [1]</b> 70/5	<b>long-standing [1]</b> 90/11	<b>MacDougall [1]</b> 130/5	<b>mandated [1]</b> 193/23
<b>lessons [4]</b> 2/7 59/3 185/12 186/10	<b>list [1]</b> 41/3	<b>long-standing [1]</b> 123/3	<b>made [67]</b> 6/16 6/19 11/13 11/24 15/18 19/16 21/6 21/12 23/13 23/25 24/18 25/11 25/12 28/22 30/1 30/6 30/7 30/25 33/6 36/16 36/21 46/7 50/20 51/7 51/22 52/17 54/23 59/16 98/8 98/17 98/18 102/12 108/3 109/5 109/13 112/10 112/15 113/13 116/8 118/5 120/19 123/17 124/3 132/10 133/14 135/5 135/17 142/15 144/13 147/4 147/24 147/24 153/20 154/7 155/20 159/2 174/19 176/15 178/9 178/14 179/21 180/19 187/1 190/19 195/17 199/23 209/3	<b>mandatory [2]</b> 60/13 62/3
<b>let [2]</b> 194/18 197/19	<b>listened [1]</b> 158/9	<b>long-term [6]</b> 46/16 74/16 75/2 201/4 203/17 207/10	<b>madness [1]</b> 115/1	<b>manifest [1]</b> 205/18
<b>let's [7]</b> 12/19 48/17 76/16 81/16 88/6 146/1 198/25	<b>little [4]</b> 78/2 83/5 92/7 143/23	<b>longer [3]</b> 148/14 168/7 168/13	<b>main [1]</b> 159/18	<b>many [43]</b> 7/1 7/2 7/18 10/4 12/10 18/8 29/1 29/1 35/17 35/24 42/5 48/5 48/5 48/5 48/14 48/14 55/14 61/9 61/16 72/21 76/1 82/7 89/17 108/4 117/8 123/15 133/9 135/7 140/9 143/7 143/13 144/4 146/5 146/6 161/6 176/10 208/24 209/21 210/20 211/20 212/16 212/19 214/18
<b>letter [17]</b> 85/11 86/3 86/9 86/24 86/25 89/4 90/10 109/1 114/3 177/14 177/20 178/12 178/13 179/14 180/4 180/5 180/12	<b>live [1]</b> 28/11	<b>look [33]</b> 2/10 12/19 13/14 14/6 14/12 17/6 17/8 20/19 28/24 31/18 41/2 52/11 56/12 56/15 56/15 59/1 66/6 67/7 78/5 81/9 83/18 88/6 88/7 91/4 98/3 99/10 144/7 147/2 169/4 170/1 179/15 214/21 215/12	<b>maintains [1]</b> 187/6	<b>March [33]</b> 13/3 13/12 13/19 20/8 20/17 22/17 23/20 23/21 24/12 48/2 48/25 49/11 49/20 52/14 52/22 62/3 63/14 64/1 64/9 66/5 66/14 68/12 76/19 104/17 105/3 125/5 144/19 200/25 201/1 209/3 209/12 211/23 212/4
<b>level [16]</b> 15/10 15/11 19/11 22/19 43/13 75/11 99/4 104/13 118/18 137/20 140/11 148/12 154/4 154/13 172/21 184/4	<b>lives [2]</b> 77/3 82/24	<b>looked [2]</b> 57/19 99/25	<b>Majesty's [5]</b> 1/17 6/1 7/25 205/9 207/11	<b>March 2020 [3]</b> 104/17 200/25 211/23
<b>levels [6]</b> 74/23 74/25 75/10 126/2 193/13 210/9	<b>living [2]</b> 25/22 26/25	<b>looking [9]</b> 59/21 105/8 110/25 131/11 157/3 181/1 181/1 194/5 194/18	<b>major [5]</b> 25/12 69/19 75/22 83/11 108/10	<b>March 2021 [1]</b> 201/1
<b>level [16]</b> 15/10 15/11 19/11 22/19 43/13 75/11 99/4 104/13 118/18 137/20 140/11 148/12 154/4 154/13 172/21 184/4	<b>Liz [1]</b> 2/25	<b>lose [3]</b> 99/18 134/10 181/17	<b>majority [4]</b> 52/19 52/20 94/7 193/12	<b>Marcus [2]</b> 161/17 187/24
<b>levels [6]</b> 74/23 74/25 75/10 126/2 193/13 210/9	<b>Liz Truss [1]</b> 2/25	<b>loss [1]</b> 181/20	<b>make [53]</b> 5/8 6/7 7/18 9/16 10/7 10/12 12/18 20/10 21/16 22/11 29/5 33/6 35/2 35/3 35/8 36/8 40/24 41/17 43/14 47/8 48/4 58/12 63/12 65/22 88/21 102/9 102/13 108/10 115/24 119/2 125/21 129/4 131/9 146/24 151/2 158/14 161/18 170/7 170/8 177/8 180/19 192/16 195/12 198/16 199/13 206/22 209/9 210/8 210/18 212/12 212/18 213/1 215/6	<b>Marcus Rashford [1]</b> 161/17
<b>life [9]</b> 27/1 32/20 33/9 36/3 37/22 83/16 85/2 101/13 190/13	<b>local [24]</b> 2/17 108/8 126/1 126/3 126/15 152/15 152/20 152/23 153/14 154/3 154/12 165/13 165/15 195/22 209/8 213/14 213/17 214/15 214/18 214/22 215/7 215/8 215/10 215/14	<b>lost [4]</b> 2/2 15/2 77/2 77/14	<b>maker [2]</b> 9/5 9/14	<b>Marcus Rashford's [1]</b> 187/24
<b>lifted [1]</b> 78/19	<b>localised [2]</b> 153/3 153/6	<b>lot [11]</b> 2/6 27/15 27/23 28/7 56/5 60/17 68/9 89/15 120/20 135/2 144/6		<b>mark [2]</b> 143/17
<b>lifting [3]</b> 115/8 115/22 200/7	<b>lock [2]</b> 35/3 55/20	<b>lots [6]</b> 23/19 28/19 36/6 72/15 72/16 157/24		
<b>light [5]</b> 73/13 91/9 115/2 140/23 161/11	<b>lockdown [56]</b> 8/6 10/17 13/11 13/20 15/18 15/24 16/2 17/1 17/10 17/15 22/16 24/18 31/5 31/13 34/15 36/19 37/9 37/15 48/18 50/13 52/14 63/1 72/4 74/4 74/19 75/22 76/18 76/22 78/10 82/10 92/2 101/6 101/9 134/19 144/25 148/15 150/12 150/13 153/9 153/15 153/23 154/15 156/11 156/18 157/7 157/9 158/8 158/11 158/19 159/5 159/16 172/5 202/4 202/21 212/10 213/9	<b>loved [1]</b> 2/2		
<b>like [42]</b> 3/3 6/13 15/22 16/10 18/1 18/10 24/19 35/6 40/24 46/18 58/15 74/17 76/11 81/25 98/13 98/15 103/10 108/15 111/21 116/4 117/12 117/13 117/18 125/16 133/20 134/19 136/4 136/6 146/17 168/2 174/9 176/7 178/8 181/22 190/25 192/3 192/4 206/19 206/23 211/18 211/20 215/6	<b>lockdowns [7]</b> 5/22 35/1 35/21 37/21 126/15 146/1 156/23			
<b>liked [4]</b> 11/19 22/6 58/12 138/14	<b>locked [1]</b> 70/11			
<b>likelihood [1]</b> 152/12	<b>locking [2]</b> 72/10 73/12			
<b>likely [13]</b> 8/3 14/10 24/17 55/21 68/1 101/9 101/10 116/20 124/14 127/16 145/6 156/7 181/20	<b>logistical [1]</b> 35/25			
<b>likes [1]</b> 46/17	<b>logistics [1]</b> 3/12			
<b>limit [2]</b> 65/15 201/6	<b>Lombardelli [2]</b> 138/6 145/3			
<b>limited [2]</b> 118/10	<b>Lombardy [3]</b> 60/17 60/22 60/22			

<p><b>M</b>  <b>mark...</b> [1] 171/9  <b>market</b> [14] 68/15  68/16 70/13 70/14  72/6 73/13 74/24 90/6  90/16 123/7 201/24  203/9 205/15 205/19  <b>market-sensitive</b> [1]  123/7  <b>marketplace</b> [1]  68/24  <b>markets</b> [7] 16/22  17/2 69/11 69/11  69/22 70/24 73/19  <b>marking</b> [1] 93/19  <b>masks</b> [1] 133/25  <b>mass</b> [3] 49/10 66/10  212/12  <b>massively</b> [1] 150/14  <b>material</b> [10] 1/15 3/5  10/15 12/20 66/24  117/17 117/18 145/5  160/1 216/9  <b>materials</b> [2] 194/17  196/6  <b>matter</b> [21] 4/7 30/8  56/24 69/17 74/3  82/15 91/23 104/11  109/24 110/18 123/13  124/16 128/14 128/21  164/5 177/9 177/11  189/4 191/4 197/14  199/8  <b>mattered</b> [1] 9/5  <b>matters</b> [8] 18/9  22/20 26/15 30/7  128/21 145/19 170/7  170/8  <b>maximum</b> [2] 61/17  160/5  <b>may</b> [67] 2/14 4/5 4/9  11/17 20/17 30/15  32/6 33/9 42/24 50/12  53/17 61/10 77/17  81/1 81/10 81/10  84/15 84/19 85/10  85/15 85/23 86/9  86/19 86/20 86/21  87/1 87/21 88/15 89/2  89/4 90/20 92/24  93/11 95/20 96/5 96/7  96/14 97/8 97/15  97/21 98/15 100/7  103/16 105/9 105/9  115/10 115/12 118/7  119/22 123/18 136/18  136/18 137/6 142/5  154/22 157/11 157/20  160/10 174/12 178/13  185/25 186/1 187/11  189/19 193/18 200/8  206/23  <b>May 2015</b> [1] 2/14</p>	<p><b>May 2021</b> [2] 4/5 4/9  <b>May/June</b> [1] 89/2  <b>maybe</b> [4] 49/25  64/17 112/20 155/19  <b>McLean</b> [1] 149/24  <b>me</b> [66] 1/25 4/20  23/7 23/10 27/8 28/6  28/16 28/23 32/10  40/1 44/23 45/2 46/6  59/3 59/12 59/19  61/19 69/22 70/15  70/18 71/5 79/24 82/3  88/4 96/14 98/25  99/18 99/21 105/6  106/4 107/23 110/19  113/11 121/3 123/9  124/21 128/14 128/19  129/24 130/3 135/11  137/3 137/5 137/24  138/15 139/15 144/21  150/25 151/3 153/17  156/4 159/3 160/19  168/22 169/21 170/9  170/18 176/8 180/13  189/20 194/15 194/18  197/20 197/22 212/24  216/3  <b>meals</b> [9] 161/16  161/20 187/20 187/25  188/11 189/12 189/21  190/15 190/17  <b>mean</b> [57] 12/12  14/18 17/19 18/25  21/19 24/11 25/18  26/20 27/7 28/9 28/13  29/14 29/20 30/10  30/12 33/14 35/4  44/25 46/11 48/4 48/4  48/13 48/15 48/19  50/22 50/24 60/15  61/20 64/5 67/22 88/9  88/9 90/13 96/10  98/24 99/13 99/18  100/17 101/12 102/23  104/5 127/11 129/25  142/1 142/24 142/25  144/14 146/6 146/6  152/17 152/18 155/6  170/5 190/3 202/7  204/17 205/14  <b>means</b> [8] 70/22 71/9  77/5 86/18 88/14  90/17 112/22 215/12  <b>meant</b> [11] 41/12  43/9 99/8 99/15  126/19 127/6 129/12  150/3 172/6 201/4  206/8  <b>measure</b> [1] 211/23  <b>measures</b> [33] 4/11  14/9 16/3 49/22 54/18  55/1 58/4 63/5 63/9  64/8 65/11 65/17  67/16 72/3 95/14</p>	<p>96/10 96/18 97/7  97/17 97/25 98/7  98/11 103/16 103/20  123/9 124/8 147/9  153/11 175/14 176/10  197/5 197/24 198/17  <b>mechanics</b> [1]  168/11  <b>mechanism</b> [2]  164/23 167/6  <b>mechanisms</b> [3]  11/22 166/19 203/9  <b>media</b> [1] 34/16  <b>medic</b> [1] 61/13  <b>medical</b> [32] 49/21  61/14 108/20 109/3  110/8 110/12 110/15  110/17 111/5 111/23  113/9 114/22 116/7  119/25 120/7 120/14  136/16 149/13 149/15  150/4 152/19 152/23  155/12 155/18 155/19  155/19 155/24 157/4  157/15 201/15 206/24  207/5  <b>medicine</b> [1] 101/4  <b>meet</b> [3] 39/18 39/23  44/7  <b>meeting</b> [70] 8/15  11/18 13/2 13/19  13/22 22/2 22/3 22/11  23/22 26/23 39/9 40/3  40/22 42/19 44/21  53/5 57/21 57/22 62/1  62/2 62/5 62/11 64/22  66/5 66/11 67/2 72/24  73/3 73/14 78/14  81/10 93/13 94/1 94/6  94/12 96/9 96/12  96/13 97/18 106/6  112/9 112/9 112/10  112/15 114/13 119/1  119/12 119/12 119/13  121/12 128/7 138/6  138/8 147/14 148/3  149/21 150/1 150/6  150/9 150/16 150/21  151/4 151/4 153/25  154/7 161/21 161/23  164/2 189/17 191/7  <b>meetings</b> [42] 3/12  3/15 9/24 11/4 18/16  18/16 22/2 22/9 23/18  29/1 30/5 39/3 40/16  40/16 40/23 41/24  53/7 54/13 59/14  60/12 62/12 64/16  65/6 65/6 68/11 83/24  119/24 120/11 120/15  121/2 121/6 121/7  121/8 121/11 121/12  129/2 137/5 142/10  148/4 151/24 154/6</p>	<p>156/4  <b>member</b> [2] 2/13  130/5  <b>members</b> [3] 1/16  2/2 83/9  <b>memo</b> [1] 138/21  <b>memory</b> [3] 16/25  66/5 111/1  <b>Menon</b> [4] 187/14  187/16 192/13 217/13  <b>Menon's</b> [1] 187/15  <b>mental</b> [1] 7/4  <b>mention</b> [3] 120/2  144/21 179/3  <b>mentioned</b> [8] 52/5  68/8 119/24 121/6  141/8 144/20 150/19  178/22  <b>mentions</b> [1] 80/2  <b>merely</b> [1] 151/16  <b>merit</b> [1] 50/25  <b>meritorious</b> [1]  116/17  <b>merits</b> [2] 157/1  172/9  <b>message</b> [5] 38/2  38/3 38/20 123/22  124/6  <b>messages</b> [4] 3/10  3/22 5/1 5/9  <b>messaging</b> [6] 76/21  77/1 77/3 77/5 77/14  77/18  <b>met</b> [4] 29/3 39/10  51/15 149/23  <b>method</b> [1] 115/1  <b>metre</b> [22] 28/17  28/17 107/18 107/19  108/1 108/2 108/3  109/7 109/9 109/11  109/16 109/19 109/21  110/10 110/13 110/13  110/23 110/23 111/10  119/4 122/18 122/19  <b>metres</b> [3] 108/14  111/9 119/4  <b>Metzer</b> [4] 200/16  200/19 208/12 217/19  <b>Metzer's</b> [1] 200/17  <b>micro</b> [2] 115/24  144/6  <b>microeconomic</b> [1]  15/10  <b>microphone</b> [1]  192/17  <b>mid</b> [4] 67/9 86/19  88/15 147/6  <b>mid-August</b> [1] 147/6  <b>mid-teens</b> [1] 67/9  <b>middle</b> [2] 16/12  99/23  <b>might</b> [38] 4/15 8/3  25/25 29/16 41/14  41/23 42/3 42/6 44/20</p>	<p>44/23 45/1 45/2 45/8  45/13 55/8 56/10 63/8  66/23 68/17 68/18  74/11 75/24 80/20  92/2 93/19 105/11  106/18 126/18 139/20  140/15 147/9 147/20  148/15 148/18 158/2  173/3 179/24 180/1  <b>MIGs</b> [1] 10/13  <b>milk</b> [1] 190/25  <b>million</b> [6] 105/3  127/12 194/21 200/24  200/25 213/18  <b>millions</b> [8] 46/13  85/17 117/4 130/14  130/20 160/23 186/16  197/11  <b>mind</b> [11] 34/24 42/3  48/9 50/11 70/15  78/25 83/5 110/8  116/17 122/16 171/22  <b>minded</b> [1] 43/22  <b>minds</b> [1] 50/4  <b>minimal</b> [4] 85/20  85/22 86/6 159/10  <b>minimising</b> [1] 31/21  <b>minister</b> [196] 1/5  1/9 2/15 2/23 6/4 6/15  6/18 6/21 8/2 8/15  8/21 9/2 9/4 9/4 9/7  9/11 9/13 9/22 10/6  10/17 10/20 10/22  11/1 11/6 11/19 12/6  12/12 12/21 12/25  13/5 13/20 14/17  15/20 18/9 18/14  18/17 18/20 19/3 19/8  20/1 21/16 21/21 22/4  22/6 22/23 23/12 24/8  25/10 25/19 26/18  27/14 27/22 28/3  28/10 29/2 29/8 29/18  30/19 30/20 31/12  31/25 32/1 35/9 36/10  39/1 39/4 39/10 39/11  39/19 39/23 39/24  40/3 40/4 40/14 40/19  41/16 41/20 42/23  43/12 43/18 44/5 44/6  44/21 45/14 46/18  47/8 47/13 47/21 49/1  49/6 49/13 49/18 51/9  51/16 55/10 57/19  62/25 67/15 68/15  68/21 69/3 70/8 70/13  71/23 71/25 72/14  72/18 73/2 73/9 73/11  78/3 79/9 79/12 79/21  80/12 80/25 83/6  85/11 88/24 90/3  91/12 91/19 92/13  93/14 93/18 97/12  102/12 104/11 107/18</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>M</b>	<b>missed [1]</b> 119/19	<b>mooted [1]</b> 72/9	110/10 163/24 175/1	75/24 87/11 107/17
<b>minister... [67]</b>	<b>misunderstanding [2]</b> 54/4 212/22	<b>moral [2]</b> 146/8 188/3	192/22 197/13	131/2 133/17 140/14
108/18 108/19 109/2	<b>Mitchell [5]</b> 176/24	<b>more [85]</b> 6/17 12/12	<b>MP [1]</b> 2/20	144/18 189/16 191/5
109/6 110/14 111/20	176/25 177/1 187/13	15/8 16/9 19/10 21/6	<b>Mr [121]</b> 1/3 1/6 1/11	216/5
113/10 114/3 120/17	217/11	25/24 27/6 37/18	1/17 1/24 2/13 3/3 4/4	<b>Mr Mark Drakeford's [1]</b> 171/9
121/4 122/11 136/16	<b>mitigants [2]</b> 109/18	37/19 38/11 48/13	6/18 10/15 20/13	<b>Mr Menon [2]</b> 187/14
136/18 136/25 139/16	109/22	54/17 54/17 58/5 58/7	22/13 31/25 31/25	192/13
143/5 146/23 149/22	<b>mitigation [1]</b> 111/10	59/22 64/3 65/23	31/25 34/9 36/16 44/3	<b>Mr Menon's [1]</b>
150/17 151/1 151/9	<b>mitigations [4]</b>	66/16 73/15 77/11	46/7 47/19 48/8 53/2	187/15
152/2 152/6 158/7	110/14 111/11 113/1	81/12 83/5 89/6 100/2	68/12 68/13 71/8 74/9	<b>Mr Metzger [2]</b> 200/16
158/10 158/13 158/17	113/4	100/6 116/24 123/10	75/14 75/24 76/19	208/12
159/6 159/15 161/16	<b>mix [2]</b> 89/21 89/22	124/19 131/22 131/23	87/11 90/21 92/13	<b>Mr Raab [1]</b> 31/25
162/25 166/3 169/9	<b>Mm [1]</b> 44/23	132/15 132/17 134/2	96/16 97/9 105/11	<b>Mr Sunak [49]</b> 1/11
170/21 171/9 176/20	<b>model [9]</b> 19/18	134/11 134/14 135/3	107/17 110/21 113/13	2/13 3/3 10/15 22/13
177/2 177/10 177/14	19/21 20/10 78/24	136/25 137/6 137/6	114/11 117/17 121/7	34/9 36/16 44/3 47/19
177/15 178/10 178/15	97/9 138/10 138/13	138/10 139/9 139/23	123/9 127/23 127/24	53/2 74/9 75/14 76/19
180/13 180/22 183/6	139/10 145/4	140/14 140/19 143/20	128/24 131/2 132/1	90/21 92/13 96/16
183/7 187/15 192/16	<b>modelled [9]</b> 16/7	144/8 145/11 151/3	132/8 133/17 136/11	97/9 105/11 110/21
192/19 193/1 193/3	19/7 96/7 97/7 97/16	153/3 153/22 174/21	139/9 140/14 144/18	113/13 117/17 121/7
193/5 193/18 193/19	99/2 102/3 103/17	178/20 181/13 181/19	145/18 151/14 152/9	123/9 127/23 128/24
194/6 196/14 196/16	115/19	181/24 182/13 182/17	157/6 163/14 163/22	132/1 136/11 139/9
197/20 198/5 200/17	<b>modellers [1]</b> 100/1	182/20 182/22 184/9	164/12 164/20 164/25	145/18 151/14 157/6
201/18 203/16 205/13	<b>modelling [12]</b> 15/5	185/4 186/1 188/24	165/5 169/2 171/9	163/14 165/5 169/2
206/5 208/10 208/15	16/9 54/18 61/2 67/3	189/14 190/1 190/5	171/11 171/23 172/11	173/20 175/21 181/11
215/23	67/10 77/19 79/1 80/5	190/12 190/13 190/16	173/20 175/1 175/21	187/17 190/20 191/3
<b>Minister Whately [1]</b>	139/23 141/6 143/20	190/18 192/4 193/7	175/22 178/9 178/10	192/12 194/5 198/3
193/5	<b>models [2]</b> 15/10	196/4 202/25 203/25	178/14 178/14 178/25	200/20 207/7 209/18
<b>Minister's [4]</b> 7/17	101/13	205/14 206/9 206/11	181/11 183/2 187/14	210/6 211/22 213/5
81/5 91/25 163/8	<b>module [7]</b> 1/12	209/25 209/25 211/15	187/15 187/16 187/17	<b>Mr Thomas [4]</b>
<b>Ministerial [3]</b> 13/19	105/8 105/10 186/25	212/8 214/2	189/16 190/20 191/3	196/12 196/13 198/3
43/21 62/4	192/12 216/6 216/17	<b>morning [3]</b> 1/4	191/5 192/12 192/13	198/6
<b>ministers [20]</b> 4/6	<b>Module 2 [2]</b> 216/6	52/15 177/5	192/14 192/15 192/18	<b>Mr Warner [1]</b> 132/8
7/22 11/5 29/13 29/15	216/17	<b>Morris [5]</b> 163/11	194/5 196/11 196/12	<b>Mr York-Smith [1]</b>
29/22 30/12 31/4	<b>moment [15]</b> 7/24	163/12 168/25 193/14	196/13 198/3 198/3	1/17
31/23 34/14 37/6	10/20 12/19 45/3 55/6	217/7	198/6 200/15 200/16	<b>Ms [18]</b> 1/18 163/11
40/23 41/24 51/14	58/20 62/18 67/5 95/6	<b>mortality [1]</b> 52/25	200/17 200/19 200/20	163/12 168/25 169/1
90/23 164/22 165/24	125/9 136/10 149/9	<b>most [45]</b> 2/18 11/15	207/7 208/12 208/13	169/1 169/2 169/7
165/25 184/4 187/7	174/5 174/15 201/16	18/8 48/7 49/3 61/23	208/16 208/17 209/18	176/23 176/24 176/25
<b>ministers' [1]</b> 184/3	<b>momentous [4]</b> 18/9	69/10 73/8 80/16	210/6 210/23 211/22	177/1 178/25 187/13
<b>Ministry [1]</b> 2/16	48/8 48/15 61/23	80/22 82/9 82/12 96/4	213/5 215/17 216/5	193/14 217/7 217/9
<b>minorities [2]</b> 82/14	<b>moments [6]</b> 23/20	119/5 131/23 148/19	217/3 217/13 217/15	217/11
197/14	24/2 28/14 69/5 120/1	156/15 162/11 162/14	217/19 217/21	<b>Ms Gowman [3]</b>
<b>minority [6]</b> 83/10	121/2	162/15 162/18 162/24	<b>Mr Cain [1]</b> 68/13	169/1 169/2 176/23
116/15 196/18 197/6	<b>Monday [10]</b> 1/1	171/14 175/8 184/1	<b>Mr Cummings [2]</b>	<b>Ms Harris [1]</b> 169/1
198/1 200/1	13/25 41/6 53/6 55/7	185/7 185/9 186/6	20/13 68/12	<b>Ms Josephs [1]</b> 1/18
<b>minute [2]</b> 70/16	57/21 57/21 58/3 62/3	186/18 188/17 188/24	<b>Mr Drakeford [2]</b>	<b>Ms Mitchell [3]</b>
157/4	134/19	190/6 190/8 191/23	175/1 178/25	176/24 176/25 187/13
<b>minuted [1]</b> 30/3	<b>Mondays [1]</b> 59/12	191/24 192/2 203/5	<b>Mr Drakeford's [4]</b>	<b>Ms Morris [3]</b> 163/11
<b>minutes [29]</b> 23/23	<b>money [18]</b> 71/1	205/16 207/20 211/18	171/11 171/23 172/11	168/25 193/14
23/24 54/1 64/16	71/13 127/2 127/21	213/11 213/15 213/18	175/22	<b>Ms Sturgeon [1]</b>
64/18 64/22 67/5 96/8	172/3 173/2 173/13	213/25 215/9	<b>Mr Friedman [3]</b>	178/25
97/19 99/8 99/13	173/13 173/17 174/10	<b>mothers [1]</b> 190/24	192/14 192/15 196/11	<b>much [42]</b> 1/20 15/8
106/7 119/1 119/25	175/24 176/15 176/19	<b>motivated [1]</b> 160/17	<b>Mr Gove [3]</b> 31/25	15/21 15/22 30/24
120/9 121/5 129/14	182/17 182/17 182/25	<b>motivation [1]</b>	178/10 178/14	34/21 36/13 38/11
132/4 134/22 136/19	195/24 210/17	126/19	<b>Mr Hancock [8]</b>	49/2 55/7 58/22 60/20
142/14 152/21 153/4	<b>monitoring [3]</b> 13/1	<b>movable [1]</b> 109/22	31/25 114/11 127/24	82/21 83/14 86/2
153/9 153/17 153/25	56/5 58/17	<b>move [9]</b> 69/8 69/10	152/9 163/22 164/12	87/13 90/9 91/13
154/13 157/3 157/8	<b>month [8]</b> 66/9	69/11 105/17 109/7	164/20 164/25	92/22 108/24 113/3
<b>misestimated [1]</b>	119/20 119/21 119/22	110/13 143/24 198/25	<b>Mr Jacobs [2]</b> 208/13	116/2 123/22 129/4
205/15	120/21 149/18 170/17	213/5	215/17	129/16 134/4 135/3
<b>misguided [1]</b> 175/8	175/3	<b>movement [7]</b> 164/4	<b>Mr Johnson [3]</b> 4/4	144/11 162/2 168/22
<b>misinterpreted [1]</b>	<b>months [4]</b> 14/22	165/1 167/2 167/14	178/9 178/14	168/25 176/12 179/1
143/25	20/6 88/8 211/22	194/10 194/24 195/8	<b>Mr Keith [15]</b> 1/3	188/22 191/19 194/11
		<b>moving [6]</b> 24/7	1/24 6/18 46/7 71/8	

<b>M</b>	213/5 213/12 214/1 214/13 215/19 215/21 216/19 <b>my Lady [16]</b> 1/4 22/21 62/18 128/21 163/13 168/24 169/8 176/22 196/10 198/7 200/14 208/11 208/14 215/19 215/21 216/19 <b>myself [1]</b> 51/11	211/8 213/15 <b>needing [1]</b> 60/22 <b>needs [2]</b> 83/8 175/20 <b>negotiate [1]</b> 152/7 <b>negotiated [1]</b> 106/18 <b>negotiations [2]</b> 152/15 155/8 <b>neighbours [3]</b> 26/22 26/24 28/11 <b>neither [1]</b> 44/16 <b>neutrally [1]</b> 22/24 <b>never [19]</b> 12/3 30/25 41/8 80/23 88/20 110/21 121/10 122/25 134/18 137/24 138/2 142/22 144/12 146/25 148/1 173/6 174/13 191/5 191/11 <b>nevertheless [2]</b> 118/2 126/7 <b>new [10]</b> 54/18 92/5 94/17 105/19 125/23 126/2 140/5 167/10 190/24 191/1 <b>news [1]</b> 58/15 <b>next [10]</b> 14/22 41/2 41/3 79/10 146/17 152/5 185/17 186/2 187/11 213/5 <b>NHS [37]</b> 52/24 53/4 53/9 53/13 53/24 54/7 54/16 55/3 55/6 55/8 55/17 55/18 55/21 55/23 56/1 56/3 56/12 56/21 57/18 57/25 58/2 58/19 60/2 60/8 60/13 60/25 61/4 61/14 62/16 65/5 99/25 100/5 102/10 155/20 165/10 195/19 195/20 <b>Nicola [2]</b> 177/15 181/9 <b>Nicola Sturgeon [2]</b> 177/15 181/9 <b>night [1]</b> 152/4 <b>Nightingales [2]</b> 56/17 57/4 <b>no [112]</b> 3/20 4/14 4/18 11/10 17/22 21/20 25/10 31/4 31/7 33/25 34/3 34/14 34/23 36/16 36/21 39/11 39/16 40/1 40/2 43/19 44/18 46/5 46/10 46/17 46/23 47/6 48/18 55/5 61/7 63/24 67/11 71/23 80/13 87/10 92/3 92/15 93/16 93/23 94/4 97/1 99/21 99/21 100/2 100/6 102/23	104/7 104/7 105/25 106/3 106/6 107/2 108/5 110/15 113/13 115/1 115/1 117/25 118/5 121/8 123/9 125/2 125/25 126/19 128/11 128/18 133/6 134/13 136/3 139/5 139/7 145/3 145/5 147/9 150/11 151/20 155/9 155/15 158/24 159/1 159/1 160/22 161/14 167/5 168/7 168/13 169/1 169/5 169/5 170/5 172/13 175/23 186/12 187/1 191/10 191/14 193/17 194/22 194/24 195/2 195/3 196/9 199/6 201/16 203/13 204/20 204/23 205/8 205/14 210/8 211/10 212/2 212/17 <b>No 10 [1]</b> 31/4 <b>no one [3]</b> 93/16 201/16 212/17 <b>No10 [1]</b> 41/6 <b>nobody [1]</b> 4/9 <b>non [22]</b> 13/6 15/9 39/6 67/20 79/5 85/12 85/15 85/20 85/25 86/19 86/23 87/5 87/8 87/17 87/24 88/1 88/15 88/16 141/2 159/4 159/10 159/19 <b>non-essential [18]</b> 13/6 67/20 85/12 85/15 85/20 85/25 86/19 86/23 87/5 87/8 87/17 87/24 88/1 88/15 88/16 159/4 159/10 159/19 <b>non-pharmaceutical [2]</b> 39/6 79/5 <b>non-scientific [1]</b> 141/2 <b>non-traditional [1]</b> 15/9 <b>none [6]</b> 7/13 120/15 121/1 124/24 139/2 215/12 <b>nor [6]</b> 3/9 116/7 128/19 138/2 139/18 139/18 <b>normal [18]</b> 21/25 26/2 39/22 42/14 82/5 105/20 107/5 107/6 116/21 123/2 124/7 125/19 142/24 171/3 175/25 190/12 190/13 209/5 <b>normally [2]</b> 174/9 182/14 <b>Northern [5]</b> 172/20	174/6 176/4 176/10 179/8 <b>Northern Ireland [5]</b> 172/20 174/6 176/4 176/10 179/8 <b>nosocomial [2]</b> 94/24 100/23 <b>not [269]</b> <b>notable [1]</b> 9/5 <b>note [3]</b> 16/21 31/19 91/21 <b>noted [3]</b> 98/6 98/12 164/21 <b>noteworthy [1]</b> 81/8 <b>nothing [8]</b> 22/7 43/23 119/16 148/21 151/11 208/21 212/20 214/25 <b>noting [1]</b> 113/2 <b>notion [1]</b> 211/6 <b>notwithstanding [2]</b> 139/3 179/16 <b>November [7]</b> 114/12 153/9 157/7 157/9 158/8 201/20 202/20 <b>November 2020 [3]</b> 158/8 201/20 202/20 <b>now [59]</b> 3/18 5/11 11/17 19/21 20/20 21/17 35/16 39/24 42/11 47/5 52/6 58/14 58/16 66/10 66/13 67/14 69/2 76/8 85/23 86/18 87/22 88/1 88/14 98/7 105/12 121/21 124/2 125/20 133/10 135/2 140/17 140/22 143/16 146/12 147/2 156/16 156/17 157/2 157/13 157/22 162/12 163/1 165/12 165/20 172/9 174/13 177/19 178/5 188/18 189/18 192/3 193/5 193/14 194/5 195/6 202/9 208/4 214/5 214/21 <b>NPI [4]</b> 39/6 39/11 40/9 79/4 <b>NPIs [10]</b> 37/21 43/19 62/14 78/19 79/7 115/8 115/14 115/22 200/7 207/12 <b>nuance [3]</b> 77/2 134/3 137/3 <b>number [49]</b> 4/16 10/11 14/14 21/18 22/17 22/22 23/1 23/2 23/5 23/7 23/9 34/18 37/3 37/6 41/12 47/20 52/25 55/14 60/4 60/4 61/17 65/6 78/19 93/6 108/11 111/4 115/6 123/1 132/7 132/11
----------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

N				
<b>number...</b> [19] 138/9 142/9 142/11 146/23 147/22 151/23 160/3 163/18 176/9 187/18 193/6 200/20 201/3 204/8 204/15 206/4 207/9 209/14 210/22 <b>Number 10</b> [20] 4/16 22/22 23/2 23/5 23/7 23/9 34/18 37/3 37/6 41/12 47/20 111/4 115/6 123/1 132/7 132/11 142/9 142/11 160/3 209/14 <b>Number 11</b> [1] 23/1 <b>numbers</b> [6] 99/15 117/21 123/11 129/21 176/8 203/19 <b>nurseries</b> [1] 86/8 <b>nurses</b> [1] 61/18	185/3 186/12 186/21 186/25 188/16 189/9 194/17 195/11 195/22 207/24 <b>occasion</b> [2] 3/11 182/20 <b>occasions</b> [1] 171/20 <b>occupancy</b> [2] 112/16 118/11 <b>occupant</b> [1] 23/1 <b>occupy</b> [1] 63/13 <b>occur</b> [1] 203/2 <b>occurred</b> [1] 110/24 <b>October</b> [33] 2/24 38/18 43/11 48/3 147/3 149/16 149/16 152/2 152/11 152/14 152/24 153/18 153/24 153/25 154/6 154/7 154/11 154/13 155/13 155/23 157/2 157/4 157/6 157/11 157/16 172/1 173/10 173/20 174/1 175/3 175/25 179/12 180/15 <b>October 2020</b> [1] 175/3 <b>odd</b> [1] 150/25 <b>OECD</b> [1] 143/22 <b>off</b> [25] 19/22 21/17 31/7 31/19 32/2 34/3 35/2 36/17 37/1 46/25 47/7 61/16 63/22 82/13 84/5 99/16 115/9 133/5 146/4 162/20 197/13 200/8 200/12 206/12 207/14 <b>off,'</b> [1] 31/3 <b>offer</b> [1] 8/23 <b>office</b> [30] 3/24 4/19 5/3 12/25 13/5 17/11 17/20 20/13 20/16 22/22 23/5 23/7 23/9 43/22 78/13 79/15 79/17 80/2 80/10 80/14 80/20 81/3 90/6 123/23 138/18 139/18 142/11 145/12 145/22 146/10 <b>Officer</b> [23] 49/21 61/14 108/20 109/3 110/9 110/12 110/15 111/5 111/23 114/22 119/25 120/7 120/14 136/16 149/15 150/4 152/24 155/12 155/19 155/24 157/4 157/15 201/15 <b>Officer's</b> [1] 110/17 <b>official</b> [3] 95/9 132/9 138/3 <b>officially</b> [1] 4/2 <b>officials</b> [15] 4/5 4/8 4/15 4/16 13/4 29/2	29/3 30/3 80/17 81/1 132/7 137/21 152/5 160/2 168/9 <b>offs</b> [1] 146/6 <b>often</b> [9] 10/1 38/2 47/19 76/14 83/24 129/14 130/3 146/8 193/13 <b>oh</b> [4] 16/24 31/7 34/3 59/23 <b>okay</b> [6] 59/23 107/24 114/1 132/2 133/19 168/5 <b>old</b> [1] 127/17 <b>older</b> [1] 90/19 <b>on</b> [431] <b>once</b> [10] 16/1 44/21 71/3 71/17 82/2 82/22 93/25 122/14 153/6 153/8 <b>one</b> [84] 4/2 6/19 8/16 11/24 11/25 13/14 18/22 20/9 20/11 28/15 41/9 50/3 58/7 61/23 63/21 64/16 66/8 73/7 87/13 87/18 93/16 95/21 95/23 100/19 103/16 103/19 104/8 108/10 113/15 115/16 117/3 118/11 123/13 126/16 126/16 127/23 128/13 128/17 131/15 133/11 133/23 135/10 136/1 138/8 139/23 144/15 145/20 146/17 150/19 154/20 156/9 158/3 160/23 161/15 163/16 163/24 165/13 166/4 167/7 168/15 175/8 176/10 182/20 187/6 189/10 190/6 193/7 197/3 197/8 201/16 201/19 203/9 203/14 204/1 204/15 204/21 206/24 207/2 207/23 209/5 209/20 210/20 212/17 216/7 <b>one's</b> [1] 93/19 <b>one-way</b> [2] 115/16 118/11 <b>ones</b> [4] 2/2 36/9 63/19 166/14 <b>ongoing</b> [1] 208/4 <b>online</b> [1] 92/5 <b>only</b> [24] 3/13 7/20 7/21 9/16 9/18 22/20 43/24 47/7 51/11 65/23 76/6 76/25 80/22 86/8 90/1 90/4 105/7 115/12 136/1 147/20 153/22 175/17 213/13 214/25 <b>only'</b> [1] 39/7	<b>onus</b> [1] 121/20 <b>onwards</b> [1] 16/18 <b>open</b> [28] 38/11 44/11 71/14 77/5 82/2 86/16 86/18 86/23 87/22 88/1 88/12 88/14 89/20 90/14 92/8 95/1 108/11 108/12 116/8 122/1 122/20 135/25 136/8 156/9 164/23 200/10 206/13 207/14 <b>opened</b> [10] 82/23 85/3 85/24 87/8 90/1 90/22 115/10 118/7 118/7 118/8 <b>opening</b> [17] 13/6 28/18 87/4 91/3 94/6 94/8 95/14 112/19 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 126/13 199/9 199/10 <b>openings</b> [1] 118/6 <b>operate</b> [1] 115/21 <b>operated</b> [4] 115/13 182/13 200/11 209/4 <b>operating</b> [6] 48/24 71/21 82/2 96/24 140/8 199/14 <b>operation</b> [2] 70/21 209/3 <b>operational</b> [3] 45/24 47/5 196/5 <b>operationally</b> [1] 46/3 <b>operations</b> [1] 19/15 <b>opinion</b> [3] 8/22 10/20 151/2 <b>opinions</b> [2] 9/1 212/16 <b>opportunities</b> [3] 12/10 25/25 92/5 <b>opportunity</b> [22] 11/10 11/11 12/4 12/7 12/11 19/2 31/11 36/10 40/13 40/19 41/1 51/8 79/12 80/24 81/5 121/3 122/9 124/22 158/6 158/16 170/23 170/25 <b>oppose</b> [5] 147/14 157/8 157/9 158/8 189/21 <b>opposed</b> [8] 9/7 156/11 156/13 156/20 156/23 156/25 160/5 189/1 <b>opposing</b> [1] 148/22 <b>opposite</b> [1] 195/14 <b>opposition</b> [1] 164/18 <b>opt</b> [1] 170/2 <b>optimistic</b> [1] 116/22 <b>optimum</b> [1] 140/24	<b>opting</b> [1] 169/18 <b>option</b> [1] 169/18 <b>options</b> [7] 13/23 14/3 14/14 73/7 138/9 164/24 166/6 <b>or</b> [229] <b>or weeks</b> [1] 56/25 <b>oral</b> [6] 75/15 148/9 215/21 216/5 216/6 216/16 <b>order</b> [13] 10/12 12/17 58/12 60/14 62/4 70/22 87/7 118/24 126/20 126/21 127/11 132/9 182/14 <b>ordering</b> [1] 115/16 <b>ordinarily</b> [2] 116/6 170/12 <b>ordinary</b> [3] 69/9 71/10 125/15 <b>ordinate</b> [1] 10/4 <b>Organisation</b> [2] 108/16 110/2 <b>organisations</b> [7] 108/15 140/7 141/11 165/10 187/18 192/20 196/19 <b>organise</b> [1] 11/20 <b>organised</b> [1] 150/7 <b>organising</b> [1] 150/6 <b>original</b> [1] 85/4 <b>originally</b> [1] 49/9 <b>Os</b> [3] 11/3 21/14 30/4 <b>other</b> [88] 5/5 5/9 9/9 12/14 14/14 15/10 16/15 16/20 21/10 21/10 23/8 25/24 26/5 26/22 27/9 29/4 31/21 32/19 32/19 33/8 33/9 33/17 35/22 35/24 36/2 36/6 37/22 37/22 38/12 39/11 40/23 51/14 57/5 57/16 66/19 69/20 72/19 77/11 79/22 80/15 81/2 81/12 84/10 84/17 84/20 90/23 91/2 91/7 92/3 98/13 98/15 99/5 108/6 108/13 115/14 116/3 117/12 121/11 125/7 125/13 125/14 125/16 125/24 126/3 134/7 135/4 135/7 136/6 137/17 140/9 141/1 141/11 141/13 143/7 144/4 144/23 157/3 163/8 167/14 188/8 192/23 194/25 196/1 197/7 210/3 212/14 212/19 215/1 <b>others</b> [13] 4/6 28/18 53/5 75/14 122/8

<p><b>O</b></p> <p><b>others... [8]</b> 122/11 139/7 140/8 148/2 201/15 203/5 209/14 211/20</p> <p><b>otherwise [4]</b> 103/1 126/24 172/10 195/10</p> <p><b>ought [2]</b> 12/17 83/14</p> <p><b>our [37]</b> 2/19 11/25 26/9 31/8 34/4 43/14 50/4 58/23 63/22 65/3 69/9 69/12 69/16 78/4 81/23 82/25 87/1 87/2 92/3 106/8 109/1 116/19 122/23 127/25 144/18 152/18 162/13 162/20 170/14 182/10 185/23 188/19 188/21 191/22 191/25 192/1 206/17</p> <p><b>ourselves [2]</b> 71/13 152/13</p> <p><b>out [100]</b> 3/7 12/22 13/18 14/7 21/21 23/14 28/23 39/15 41/22 47/14 47/24 54/18 54/25 57/14 58/1 64/13 67/3 67/11 74/5 74/12 74/18 75/21 76/4 77/23 78/10 79/13 84/3 89/23 92/5 93/5 95/10 95/22 98/4 98/21 98/21 111/11 114/14 114/14 114/17 114/17 114/24 114/24 115/7 115/7 115/12 115/12 115/21 115/21 119/11 119/11 119/16 119/16 119/21 119/21 120/2 120/2 120/12 120/12 121/10 121/10 122/15 122/15 123/10 123/10 126/1 126/1 126/9 126/10 126/12 126/12 129/14 133/17 137/2 144/7 147/21 151/10 157/13 164/6 169/14 169/14 169/18 170/2 171/12 171/13 189/9 189/25 197/3 197/3 198/6 199/2 199/2 199/22 199/22 200/6 200/6 207/2 207/21 211/4 211/10 215/16</p> <p><b>outbreak [1]</b> 153/1</p> <p><b>outbreaks [1]</b> 153/4</p> <p><b>outcome [3]</b> 8/6 61/5 64/19</p> <p><b>outcomes [3]</b> 131/5 133/5 196/25</p> <p><b>outdoors [1]</b> 77/10</p> <p><b>outline [1]</b> 43/16</p>	<p><b>outlined [1]</b> 120/22</p> <p><b>outlook [1]</b> 201/20</p> <p><b>outs [1]</b> 39/16</p> <p><b>outside [6]</b> 26/22 115/6 123/1 130/15 130/21 150/22</p> <p><b>outside [1]</b> 69/12</p> <p><b>over [63]</b> 2/6 3/20 10/9 12/8 14/12 14/22 15/16 16/10 19/19 21/9 25/1 25/21 25/23 37/17 38/5 41/22 42/4 42/8 42/9 42/22 43/20 44/2 47/14 48/1 48/5 52/12 58/14 59/3 61/7 61/21 61/21 67/1 71/22 75/4 75/6 76/2 82/5 100/17 107/1 124/16 129/2 131/6 131/13 133/11 134/1 135/1 135/3 136/14 140/2 143/15 145/13 145/17 148/13 159/7 176/25 186/5 187/15 188/10 196/13 200/17 203/13 205/23 211/19</p> <p><b>overall [14]</b> 24/20 34/21 53/16 64/10 77/3 92/10 115/17 116/1 124/1 159/17 185/23 188/21 188/21 199/10</p> <p><b>overarching [3]</b> 75/22 106/21 106/24</p> <p><b>overcompliance [1]</b> 76/20</p> <p><b>overdone [1]</b> 92/2</p> <p><b>overdraft [2]</b> 71/10 71/14</p> <p><b>overestimating [2]</b> 94/22 99/9</p> <p><b>overreaction [1]</b> 150/14</p> <p><b>overtopped [1]</b> 53/11</p> <p><b>overwhelm [1]</b> 54/7</p> <p><b>overwhelmed [9]</b> 53/11 53/24 54/17 55/3 55/15 56/24 60/20 65/5 102/10</p> <p><b>own [17]</b> 12/13 13/7 91/9 93/20 114/6 121/7 128/6 133/5 143/17 150/4 154/25 156/25 172/16 174/17 182/16 204/22 214/19</p>	<p>101/25 102/19 116/1 119/5 164/9 168/17</p> <p><b>package A [1]</b> 50/16</p> <p><b>packages [1]</b> 190/7</p> <p><b>page [35]</b> 12/23 13/9 13/9 14/1 14/6 27/17 30/15 30/17 34/8 34/8 38/23 41/2 43/3 43/5 43/20 74/6 79/3 83/20 83/22 86/13 86/14 86/25 88/10 88/11 91/24 92/8 93/15 99/23 130/18 171/10 177/16 177/18 180/3 201/22 217/2</p> <p><b>page 1 [3]</b> 38/23 43/3 177/16</p> <p><b>page 116 [1]</b> 201/22</p> <p><b>page 2 [5]</b> 41/2 86/14 86/25 93/15 177/18</p> <p><b>page 22 [1]</b> 13/9</p> <p><b>page 23 [1]</b> 12/23</p> <p><b>page 26 [2]</b> 83/20 83/22</p> <p><b>page 3 [3]</b> 30/15 30/17 34/8</p> <p><b>page 4 [1]</b> 79/3</p> <p><b>page 40 [1]</b> 171/10</p> <p><b>page 5 [1]</b> 14/6</p> <p><b>page 53 [1]</b> 74/6</p> <p><b>page 6 [1]</b> 130/18</p> <p><b>page 8 [1]</b> 27/17</p> <p><b>page up [1]</b> 88/10</p> <p><b>pages [7]</b> 14/12 17/13 118/13 118/15 122/2 198/10 198/11</p> <p><b>pages 5 [1]</b> 17/13</p> <p><b>pages to [1]</b> 14/12</p> <p><b>paid [4]</b> 116/14 197/12 199/3 199/16</p> <p><b>pandemic [53]</b> 2/3 2/4 2/23 5/23 6/11 8/17 15/3 15/14 38/21 40/8 74/7 76/5 76/13 83/12 128/25 130/25 131/6 145/3 145/4 145/7 162/10 165/8 165/19 171/6 171/21 172/24 175/9 176/2 177/7 178/17 183/6 184/6 184/11 185/13 185/14 185/17 186/5 188/11 188/18 188/22 189/11 189/25 190/12 190/15 190/19 191/18 191/20 196/25 201/25 202/8 203/7 210/3 214/5</p> <p><b>panel [16]</b> 108/20 109/3 110/9 110/11 110/15 110/16 111/2 111/3 111/21 112/3 112/5 113/6 113/8 113/13 113/25 114/7</p>	<p><b>panel's [1]</b> 112/23</p> <p><b>panned [1]</b> 89/23</p> <p><b>paper [11]</b> 13/3 17/11 27/15 27/23 28/4 47/1 78/12 79/6 79/11 125/24 146/21</p> <p><b>papers [5]</b> 13/10 14/2 65/25 73/7 83/23</p> <p><b>paperwork [1]</b> 158/21</p> <p><b>paragraph [16]</b> 13/8 13/9 84/3 84/12 86/25 87/1 112/21 112/25 113/5 164/13 164/19 171/23 175/2 175/4 193/10 201/19</p> <p><b>paragraph 136 [1]</b> 171/23</p> <p><b>paragraph 138 [1]</b> 175/2</p> <p><b>paragraph 139 [1]</b> 175/4</p> <p><b>paragraph 17 [2]</b> 86/25 87/1</p> <p><b>paragraph 229 [1]</b> 193/10</p> <p><b>paragraph 257 [1]</b> 112/21</p> <p><b>paragraph 491 [1]</b> 164/13</p> <p><b>paragraph 72 [1]</b> 13/9</p> <p><b>paragraph 75 [1]</b> 13/8</p> <p><b>paragraph 82 [1]</b> 84/3</p> <p><b>paragraph 83 [1]</b> 84/12</p> <p><b>paragraphs [5]</b> 74/6 74/12 171/7 181/10 193/24</p> <p><b>paragraphs 102 [1]</b> 181/10</p> <p><b>paragraphs 182 [1]</b> 74/6</p> <p><b>paragraphs 236 [1]</b> 193/24</p> <p><b>parallel [3]</b> 137/13 137/16 141/1</p> <p><b>parameters [1]</b> 154/25</p> <p><b>parents [3]</b> 89/16 90/17 191/16</p> <p><b>parlance [1]</b> 71/10</p> <p><b>Parliament [1]</b> 2/14</p> <p><b>part [43]</b> 5/6 8/9 9/8 11/15 11/20 23/24 25/14 25/14 37/11 38/20 40/24 40/25 51/17 55/20 79/22 81/4 82/14 83/8 83/11 89/21 89/22 112/7 114/16 115/10 115/12 115/25 116/18 117/1</p>	<p>118/7 123/18 127/7 137/22 142/10 152/8 159/5 176/4 184/11 193/11 197/13 200/8 204/7 216/7 216/8</p> <p><b>part-time [4]</b> 82/14 83/8 193/11 197/13</p> <p><b>participants [2]</b> 216/10 216/13</p> <p><b>participants' [1]</b> 163/9</p> <p><b>participate [3]</b> 12/16 23/14 170/19</p> <p><b>participated [3]</b> 11/8 19/10 201/10</p> <p><b>participating [2]</b> 8/16 85/10</p> <p><b>particular [45]</b> 7/8 8/5 8/9 13/2 14/8 14/14 28/22 36/8 39/20 43/6 45/3 56/19 57/4 61/12 62/11 66/1 76/17 89/11 91/10 94/6 94/12 95/14 97/12 112/10 134/17 135/25 153/3 165/8 165/20 169/12 171/7 174/15 178/15 178/20 179/19 179/22 180/12 181/14 191/21 195/20 201/13 206/15 207/17 212/5 216/1</p> <p><b>particularly [41]</b> 9/15 13/10 15/10 17/25 20/8 20/16 22/15 25/19 36/5 37/14 37/19 40/21 42/14 44/25 45/4 48/2 49/11 58/8 63/24 77/16 82/16 85/17 85/24 86/7 86/22 87/10 89/5 117/5 140/18 141/3 146/13 148/1 150/20 161/15 162/21 163/9 199/25 201/12 204/12 208/2 209/8</p> <p><b>partnered [1]</b> 123/25</p> <p><b>partners [3]</b> 168/7 168/12 196/4</p> <p><b>parts [1]</b> 185/21</p> <p><b>party [3]</b> 2/25 3/13 112/14</p> <p><b>pass [1]</b> 174/11</p> <p><b>passed [1]</b> 61/25</p> <p><b>passionate [1]</b> 46/20</p> <p><b>past [3]</b> 2/6 3/21 67/6</p> <p><b>pathway [1]</b> 163/24</p> <p><b>Patrick [9]</b> 38/16 45/23 95/13 124/11 130/7 138/17 161/21 161/22 196/23</p> <p><b>Patrick Vallance [3]</b> 38/16 95/13 124/11</p> <p><b>Patrick's [1]</b> 210/22</p>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------



<p><b>P</b></p> <p><b>pattern [1]</b> 153/2</p> <p><b>patterns [1]</b> 198/18</p> <p><b>pause [2]</b> 131/25 138/5</p> <p><b>pay [10]</b> 69/16 70/23 76/6 76/17 81/23 161/24 191/6 193/13 208/21 209/4</p> <p><b>paying [1]</b> 211/6</p> <p><b>payment [3]</b> 194/23 209/17 210/14</p> <p><b>payments [6]</b> 118/13 184/10 185/2 211/12 212/18 215/6</p> <p><b>peak [2]</b> 54/6 64/12</p> <p><b>peers [1]</b> 69/12</p> <p><b>pejorative [1]</b> 67/23</p> <p><b>pejoratively [1]</b> 160/2</p> <p><b>people [120]</b> 7/1 11/24 21/3 21/15 21/18 23/4 23/18 23/19 27/25 32/25 33/18 34/16 38/1 42/10 42/19 46/13 46/19 47/14 52/1 59/7 60/17 60/18 61/9 61/17 70/25 75/24 77/6 77/20 77/21 77/23 81/12 81/20 82/4 82/12 82/13 82/21 85/18 89/4 89/5 93/6 99/2 106/1 116/13 116/24 116/24 116/25 117/5 117/10 117/15 118/25 119/19 119/22 121/3 121/20 123/10 123/17 124/8 124/19 127/12 127/13 127/16 127/20 127/21 129/9 132/5 133/18 134/4 135/13 139/20 140/4 142/5 142/6 143/20 146/13 148/19 151/6 151/7 151/8 156/16 156/17 157/19 158/3 160/14 160/16 160/19 161/24 162/19 172/4 176/3 176/9 176/13 176/14 181/16 181/19 185/2 191/6 192/3 193/7 193/9 196/20 197/11 197/13 197/13 197/19 199/12 199/16 201/3 202/11 205/16 208/7 209/17 210/9 210/25 211/7 211/12 212/16 212/19 213/15 214/13 215/10</p> <p><b>people's [12]</b> 36/3 60/21 75/8 81/22 82/7 82/24 159/13 160/24 185/5 186/17 192/20</p>	<p>199/11</p> <p><b>per [1]</b> 24/22</p> <p><b>perceived [1]</b> 141/22</p> <p><b>perception [2]</b> 21/11 131/18</p> <p><b>Perelman [3]</b> 38/25 43/4 93/10</p> <p><b>perfect [6]</b> 21/20 47/6 58/20 97/14 214/25 215/12</p> <p><b>performance [1]</b> 130/24</p> <p><b>perhaps [26]</b> 9/8 15/17 28/16 36/23 37/3 41/11 47/21 74/10 77/1 77/8 79/19 86/14 90/22 93/2 93/19 95/19 96/4 112/7 131/19 134/3 144/8 147/17 148/11 148/12 152/4 196/1</p> <p><b>peril [1]</b> 53/10</p> <p><b>period [34]</b> 3/10 12/9 12/13 22/15 23/10 23/15 23/16 24/3 24/12 24/24 25/18 25/23 38/7 48/2 49/3 49/4 50/2 52/7 53/17 56/11 58/8 65/19 139/16 141/10 143/14 148/14 160/20 166/25 173/10 190/9 200/25 205/17 211/25 213/6</p> <p><b>periods [3]</b> 50/23 119/15 206/22</p> <p><b>permanent [8]</b> 111/3 127/3 130/10 188/12 188/18 189/14 190/16 191/2</p> <p><b>permanent secretary [2]</b> 111/3 130/10</p> <p><b>permissibly [1]</b> 77/7</p> <p><b>permission [1]</b> 163/16</p> <p><b>perpetual [1]</b> 92/18</p> <p><b>person [7]</b> 32/7 41/19 45/21 129/10 138/20 150/8 166/1</p> <p><b>personal [2]</b> 210/23 211/3</p> <p><b>personality [1]</b> 41/19</p> <p><b>personally [4]</b> 42/5 140/18 189/21 210/5</p> <p><b>persons [1]</b> 207/9</p> <p><b>perspective [7]</b> 71/19 81/21 90/4 90/7 90/12 104/13 186/14</p> <p><b>persuaded [3]</b> 140/18 141/3 148/1</p> <p><b>pertained [1]</b> 6/11</p> <p><b>pharmaceutical [2]</b> 39/6 79/5</p> <p><b>phase [1]</b> 20/7</p> <p><b>phone [4]</b> 3/8 3/20</p>	<p>4/24 129/21</p> <p><b>phones [1]</b> 4/22</p> <p><b>phrase [1]</b> 149/3</p> <p><b>phrased [1]</b> 134/21</p> <p><b>pick [2]</b> 209/8 210/1</p> <p><b>picture [4]</b> 68/19 155/16 156/1 157/18</p> <p><b>piece [3]</b> 46/25 48/16 91/15</p> <p><b>pikestaff [1]</b> 60/7</p> <p><b>pillar [2]</b> 169/4 208/15</p> <p><b>pillars [1]</b> 169/6</p> <p><b>pilot [2]</b> 211/11 213/4</p> <p><b>place [61]</b> 4/11 10/11 18/21 20/18 28/15 50/2 50/14 50/19 57/22 62/7 62/8 68/14 70/5 81/8 101/25 102/19 104/22 105/19 106/17 109/18 109/23 114/9 115/14 115/17 121/17 123/22 129/22 140/24 146/11 152/15 155/6 162/10 162/22 165/12 167/22 167/23 168/16 170/4 177/25 179/5 179/21 183/10 183/17 185/16 185/20 186/16 187/10 188/2 188/12 188/19 190/7 190/16 192/2 192/6 200/10 207/2 208/6 209/6 213/11 213/13 213/23</p> <p><b>placed [3]</b> 15/20 180/5 215/9</p> <p><b>placements [1]</b> 192/23</p> <p><b>places [3]</b> 21/14 98/15 186/6</p> <p><b>placing [3]</b> 68/23 90/24 199/3</p> <p><b>plain [14]</b> 5/8 12/4 60/7 75/19 83/10 108/3 109/13 112/11 114/7 125/21 136/17 147/4 153/20 154/7</p> <p><b>plainly [3]</b> 79/18 104/15 162/4</p> <p><b>plan [28]</b> 39/10 40/11 77/17 78/9 84/15 84/19 87/2 92/11 95/20 96/5 98/25 103/16 103/19 106/6 114/11 114/16 114/20 115/10 115/12 116/16 116/18 120/11 122/19 123/18 164/16 199/10 200/8 207/2</p> <p><b>planned [1]</b> 70/25</p> <p><b>planning [6]</b> 119/14 120/6 122/14 185/14 199/22 206/7</p>	<p><b>plans [2]</b> 102/24 103/10</p> <p><b>planted [1]</b> 129/8</p> <p><b>plants [1]</b> 213/8</p> <p><b>plausible [3]</b> 30/13 204/7 204/24</p> <p><b>play [1]</b> 87/7</p> <p><b>played [1]</b> 37/11</p> <p><b>playing [1]</b> 204/7</p> <p><b>please [23]</b> 1/8 3/3 12/23 18/10 38/23 43/20 44/3 76/16 78/1 79/3 107/23 108/24 115/1 127/23 147/2 159/24 162/5 163/2 177/13 191/4 197/4 198/4 206/6</p> <p><b>plenty [1]</b> 121/2</p> <p><b>plot [1]</b> 56/11</p> <p><b>plural [1]</b> 63/5</p> <p><b>plus [5]</b> 109/7 109/9 110/10 110/13 133/19</p> <p><b>pm [14]</b> 13/22 14/2 57/21 62/1 62/2 62/22 79/14 91/23 107/14 107/16 163/4 163/6 196/21 216/20</p> <p><b>point [82]</b> 7/7 11/10 11/12 16/5 16/18 24/6 25/19 26/3 29/10 32/14 32/18 32/20 33/20 33/23 37/16 46/7 54/24 59/4 64/17 64/25 69/17 77/16 82/2 82/9 84/20 86/15 88/25 89/14 92/1 92/21 94/18 95/23 99/24 102/12 102/15 108/13 111/19 112/16 112/24 113/15 114/2 114/5 118/5 119/18 120/21 123/16 127/22 129/4 129/25 131/9 131/15 132/1 132/16 133/15 135/3 135/20 139/5 141/18 144/2 144/6 145/1 146/10 152/25 153/13 154/19 155/11 155/20 159/2 159/9 159/11 159/18 166/21 168/6 168/16 180/17 180/19 183/10 183/12 189/23 195/5 212/8 214/1</p> <p><b>pointed [4]</b> 25/4 133/17 137/2 213/24</p> <p><b>points [17]</b> 6/19 23/22 28/22 41/23 42/23 43/25 46/20 93/22 93/24 94/13 108/10 110/2 123/17 142/5 171/12 171/22 178/17</p> <p><b>points.....with [1]</b></p>	<p>43/15</p> <p><b>policies [3]</b> 15/2 84/2 182/22</p> <p><b>policy [53]</b> 6/9 7/9 26/12 34/6 42/1 42/1 42/8 75/25 88/24 98/8 109/23 110/4 110/5 110/20 111/13 111/15 113/14 115/24 116/9 116/11 117/1 117/23 118/22 120/19 120/23 122/5 122/21 123/3 124/16 125/15 126/21 130/13 130/19 132/17 133/5 133/8 134/17 149/18 156/8 166/9 170/7 170/8 194/14 195/11 195/13 196/2 201/6 202/9 204/12 210/1 211/19 211/20 212/14</p> <p><b>policymakers [11]</b> 7/6 35/21 35/24 38/13 98/14 102/7 134/10 135/6 136/1 149/9 204/21</p> <p><b>political [1]</b> 188/3</p> <p><b>politicised [1]</b> 161/8</p> <p><b>polling [5]</b> 81/11 82/16 82/17 82/18 117/7</p> <p><b>poor [1]</b> 61/5</p> <p><b>poorer [4]</b> 187/20 187/25 189/21 191/17</p> <p><b>poorest [1]</b> 162/17</p> <p><b>popped [1]</b> 87/18</p> <p><b>population [1]</b> 65/16</p> <p><b>posited [1]</b> 137/12</p> <p><b>posited: [1]</b> 138/9</p> <p><b>posited: an [1]</b> 138/9</p> <p><b>position [52]</b> 5/24 5/25 8/9 14/6 19/1 33/15 33/19 35/1 35/1 41/11 44/10 44/13 50/14 50/14 50/18 55/4 56/2 56/19 60/6 60/7 60/8 77/2 78/16 80/17 83/17 83/19 85/4 85/8 87/6 87/15 100/7 101/14 104/14 105/5 110/17 122/24 133/3 147/21 148/23 150/2 150/11 153/23 156/8 156/13 156/24 157/6 158/18 161/13 175/19 193/18 210/23 211/9</p> <p><b>positions [2]</b> 91/10 194/1</p> <p><b>possibility [4]</b> 72/10 105/11 137/12 148/14</p> <p><b>possible [13]</b> 6/5 44/20 44/22 83/14 83/15 85/2 109/19</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>P</b>	65/13 112/14	25/10 25/19 26/18	40/14 40/19 41/16	23/17 23/22 29/10
<b>possible... [6]</b> 113/4 126/11 144/7 153/5 160/23 177/22	<b>presentation [1]</b> 17/19	27/14 27/22 28/3	41/20 42/23 43/12	34/18 38/21 50/25
<b>possibly [1]</b> 161/13	<b>presented [12]</b> 53/16	28/10 29/2 29/8 29/18	43/18 44/5 44/6 44/21	61/19 61/20 63/17
<b>post [1]</b> 188/18	56/21 57/7 61/1 84/14	30/19 30/20 31/12	45/14 46/18 47/8	69/17 72/14 90/2
<b>post-pandemic [1]</b> 188/18	114/10 131/17 131/20	31/25 32/1 35/9 36/10	47/13 47/21 49/1 49/6	91/13 92/20 93/15
<b>potential [8]</b> 31/12	131/22 132/20 137/7	39/1 39/4 39/10 39/19	49/13 49/18 51/9	94/21 99/7 105/6
67/24 95/16 98/1	148/5	39/23 39/24 40/3 40/4	51/16 55/10 57/19	131/13 132/19 133/14
98/10 112/15 199/24	<b>presenting [1]</b> 63/20	40/14 40/19 41/16	62/25 67/15 68/15	136/23 143/19 172/4
207/16	<b>preserve [1]</b> 116/13	41/20 42/23 43/12	68/21 69/3 70/8 70/13	201/15 204/16
<b>potentially [3]</b> 22/1	<b>press [12]</b> 38/6 38/9	43/18 43/21 44/5 44/6	71/23 71/25 72/14	<b>problem [9]</b> 47/12
100/25 202/17	38/11 38/17 54/13	44/21 45/14 46/18	73/2 73/9 73/11 78/3	69/1 69/19 70/7 70/7
<b>pound [1]</b> 213/13	68/10 98/6 149/4	47/8 47/13 47/21 49/1	79/9 79/21 80/25 83/6	184/18 193/5 194/10
<b>pounds [3]</b> 165/15	149/16 155/13 155/20	49/6 49/13 49/18 51/9	85/11 88/24 90/3	204/1
188/10 209/7	156/3	51/16 55/10 57/19	91/12 91/19 92/13	<b>problems [1]</b> 127/25
<b>poverty [2]</b> 162/15	<b>pressed [1]</b> 181/12	62/4 62/25 67/15	93/14 93/18 97/12	<b>problems' [1]</b> 28/1
190/9	<b>presumably [4]</b> 10/6	68/15 68/21 69/3 70/8	102/12 104/11 107/18	<b>procedures [1]</b> 25/9
<b>powers [5]</b> 172/16	25/13 56/23 150/3	70/13 71/23 71/25	108/18 108/19 109/2	<b>proceed [1]</b> 166/10
173/15 173/15 174/18	<b>pretend [1]</b> 146/22	72/14 72/17 73/2 73/9	109/6 110/14 111/20	<b>process [47]</b> 9/25
174/22	<b>pretty [6]</b> 30/24 49/2	73/11 78/3 79/9 79/11	113/10 114/3 120/17	10/8 10/9 11/12 11/17
<b>Powis [1]</b> 156/3	61/5 87/13 93/4	79/21 80/12 80/25	121/4 122/11 136/16	13/4 19/9 21/24 22/5
<b>PPE [10]</b> 104/10	<b>prevailant [1]</b> 203/5	81/5 83/6 85/11 88/24	136/18 136/25 139/16	41/16 41/17 41/25
104/12 104/15 104/20	<b>prevalence [7]</b> 92/16	90/3 91/12 91/19	143/5 146/23 149/22	42/2 42/9 42/18 42/22
104/25 106/1 106/6	100/9 101/20 103/11	91/25 92/13 93/14	150/17 151/1 151/9	43/1 45/9 47/12 62/23
106/10 106/20 107/3	204/13 205/11 206/8	93/18 97/12 102/12	152/2 152/6 158/7	68/2 72/7 78/13 79/15
<b>PPS [1]</b> 120/16	<b>prevent [3]</b> 53/23	104/11 107/18 108/18	158/10 158/13 158/17	79/17 80/2 80/10
<b>practical [4]</b> 26/23	192/22 199/20	108/19 109/2 109/6	159/6 161/16 162/25	80/13 80/14 96/2
30/13 198/19 215/4	<b>prevented [1]</b> 156/18	110/14 111/20 113/10	169/9 170/21 176/20	100/20 104/22 106/5
<b>practice [2]</b> 122/2	<b>prevention [1]</b> 167/4	114/3 120/17 121/4	177/2 177/15 180/13	106/12 106/16 108/22
123/4	<b>previous [13]</b> 22/6	122/11 136/16 136/18	180/22 183/7 187/15	135/10 136/14 143/5
<b>pre [1]</b> 145/4	32/8 36/1 39/24 41/20	136/25 139/16 143/5	192/16 192/19 193/3	151/6 152/8 158/2
<b>pre-existing [1]</b> 145/4	58/5 65/3 72/14	146/23 149/22 150/17	193/18 194/6 196/14	158/4 165/5 195/15
<b>precise [11]</b> 16/8	103/23 116/25 138/23	151/1 151/9 152/2	196/16 198/5 201/18	210/16 216/7
61/10 69/2 113/3	194/12 213/12	152/6 158/7 158/10	203/16 205/13 206/5	<b>processes [5]</b> 18/14
121/6 143/10 144/17	<b>previously [15]</b> 4/25	158/13 158/17 159/6	208/10 215/23	42/5 45/7 107/5 187/3
203/21 205/4 206/14	32/15 37/13 45/6	159/14 161/16 162/25	<b>Prime Minister's [4]</b> 7/17 81/5 91/25 163/8	<b>processing [1]</b> 213/8
207/15	54/20 80/23 87/10	163/8 169/9 170/21	<b>Prime Ministerial [2]</b> 43/21 62/4	<b>procured [1]</b> 15/9
<b>precisely [18]</b> 44/19	87/18 92/21 116/24	176/20 177/2 177/15	<b>primer [1]</b> 174/23	<b>procuring [1]</b> 107/3
56/22 57/6 58/21	118/20 180/20 188/20	180/13 180/22 183/7	<b>principal [10]</b> 38/24	<b>produce [3]</b> 65/25
62/10 63/17 102/2	200/12 207/18	187/15 192/16 192/19	39/8 41/4 78/6 86/12	110/5 212/17
119/23 132/9 167/13	<b>price [1]</b> 69/15	193/3 193/18 194/6	87/21 91/21 98/4	<b>produced [5]</b> 17/11
172/25 173/4 175/24	<b>primacy [1]</b> 24/13	196/14 196/16 197/20	102/17 109/14	17/18 17/20 31/22
183/11 183/16 191/20	<b>primarily [5]</b> 3/24	198/5 200/17 201/18	<b>principally [1]</b> 140/7	146/21
197/10 203/22	8/25 107/4 125/24	203/16 205/13 206/5	<b>principle [1]</b> 154/19	<b>produces [2]</b> 34/18
<b>precision [1]</b> 16/7	165/22	208/10 208/15 215/23	<b>prior [3]</b> 166/25	34/19
<b>predicated [2]</b> 22/14	<b>primary [11]</b> 6/10	<b>Prime Minister [174]</b> 1/5 1/9 2/23 6/4 6/15	185/12 185/13	<b>products [1]</b> 13/1
77/19	8/18 31/16 90/15	6/21 8/2 8/15 9/2 9/4	<b>prioritised [1]</b> 195/25	<b>profession [1]</b> 193/9
<b>predicted [3]</b> 56/13	117/4 117/15 126/19	9/4 9/7 9/11 9/13 9/22	<b>priority [1]</b> 72/24	<b>professional [1]</b> 131/8
74/22 125/4	167/2 167/19 212/25	10/6 10/17 10/20	<b>private [15]</b> 3/24 5/3	<b>Professor [14]</b> 35/23
<b>predominant [3]</b> 25/14 205/16 205/19	215/5	10/22 11/1 11/6 11/19	28/7 38/24 39/8 41/4	95/11 95/12 119/2
<b>predominantly [2]</b> 26/12 168/3	<b>Prime [190]</b> 1/5 1/9	12/6 12/12 12/21	54/12 54/12 78/6	124/11 124/11 124/12
<b>preface [1]</b> 1/23	2/23 6/4 6/15 6/21	12/25 13/5 13/20	86/12 87/21 91/21	148/9 149/24 149/25
<b>prefer [1]</b> 194/8	7/17 8/2 8/15 8/21 9/2	14/17 15/20 18/9	98/4 102/17 109/14	150/10 150/10 196/15
<b>preference [1]</b> 43/23	9/4 9/4 9/7 9/11 9/13	18/14 18/17 18/20	<b>private office [2]</b> 3/24 5/3	217/17
<b>prepared [3]</b> 2/8	9/22 10/6 10/17 10/20	19/3 19/8 20/1 21/16	<b>private' [1]</b> 27/16	<b>Professor Chris</b>
98/11 125/24	10/22 11/1 11/6 11/19	21/21 22/4 22/6 22/23	<b>private,' [1]</b> 27/24	<b>Whitty [1]</b> 124/11
<b>preparing [1]</b> 145/8	12/6 12/12 12/21	23/12 24/8 25/10	<b>privately [2]</b> 45/19	<b>Professor Edmunds</b>
<b>present [3]</b> 20/2	12/25 13/5 13/19	25/19 26/18 27/14	46/2	<b>[1]</b> 35/23
	13/20 14/17 15/20	27/22 28/3 28/10 29/2	<b>privy [1]</b> 113/25	<b>Professor Gupta [1]</b> 149/24
	18/9 18/14 18/17	29/8 29/18 30/19	<b>pro [1]</b> 160/3	<b>Professor Gupta's</b>
	18/20 19/3 19/8 20/1	30/20 31/12 31/25	<b>probably [30]</b> 4/21	<b>[1]</b> 150/10
	21/16 21/21 22/4 22/6	32/1 35/9 36/10 39/1	8/13 12/12 21/19	<b>Professor Heneghan</b>
	22/23 23/12 24/8	39/4 39/10 39/19		<b>[2]</b> 149/25 150/10
		39/23 39/24 40/3		

<b>P</b>	165/14 172/3 178/3 179/7 182/14 188/15 195/19	<b>pushed [2]</b> 85/3 210/25	163/14 163/16 163/20 168/24 169/7 169/9 169/11 176/21 177/1 178/7 179/23 187/11 187/16 187/17 192/18 193/15 196/15 197/2 200/19 200/20 208/16 208/17 217/5 217/7 217/9 217/11 217/13 217/15 217/17 217/19 217/21	<b>rarely [2]</b> 3/7 103/5 <b>Rashford [1]</b> 161/17 <b>Rashford's [1]</b> 187/24 <b>rate [4]</b> 60/6 99/9 101/20 126/14 <b>rates [7]</b> 60/5 60/9 69/8 126/6 126/18 212/19 213/2 <b>rather [9]</b> 4/18 17/22 37/6 67/24 103/21 105/19 183/8 189/2 209/5 <b>ratio [1]</b> 61/17 <b>rational [2]</b> 153/12 154/16 <b>rationale [2]</b> 140/13 141/17 <b>rationales [2]</b> 139/19 139/22 <b>ratios [3]</b> 56/17 57/5 102/11 <b>re [21]</b> 13/6 28/18 82/2 82/23 90/22 91/3 95/14 98/11 107/21 115/10 115/18 116/8 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/1 122/6 199/9 199/10 200/10
<b>Professor Sir [6]</b> 95/11 95/12 119/2 124/11 124/12 148/9	<b>provided [18]</b> 1/11 9/6 10/19 13/10 14/16 17/14 25/5 28/21 31/23 76/12 95/10 142/8 171/17 172/8 173/17 195/21 210/13 214/9	<b>put [59]</b> 4/11 10/5 10/11 12/20 13/25 20/18 22/24 24/9 35/6 46/25 48/25 49/15 50/2 62/14 69/9 70/4 93/22 93/24 97/6 104/22 105/19 106/17 109/18 109/22 114/20 115/17 123/21 133/3 138/2 140/24 143/12 159/6 162/22 163/18 165/11 168/15 171/7 177/24 179/4 179/21 181/8 183/10 183/17 185/16 185/20 186/15 187/10 188/11 190/7 190/16 192/6 193/18 198/14 200/9 201/10 206/16 207/5 209/6 213/13	<b>quick [3]</b> 13/14 78/14 83/18 <b>quickly [5]</b> 24/1 24/7 37/16 59/6 144/20 <b>quite [20]</b> 4/21 16/13 19/7 22/7 24/1 31/9 35/6 36/22 47/2 66/25 89/15 89/24 134/21 142/17 156/7 160/6 185/24 188/14 189/11 209/15 <b>quote [4]</b> 28/6 32/14 36/1 157/2 <b>quoted [1]</b> 81/15 <b>quotes [1]</b> 34/1 <b>quoting [4]</b> 111/7 111/25 112/5 113/5	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10
<b>professors [2]</b> 101/4 149/24	<b>providers [1]</b> 167/13 <b>provides [1]</b> 171/14 <b>providing [5]</b> 1/20 8/11 135/11 186/3 214/10 <b>provision [4]</b> 1/14 3/5 188/13 190/17 <b>provisions [1]</b> 185/15 <b>psychology [1]</b> 151/8 <b>public [54]</b> 5/17 6/14 6/24 24/13 27/15 27/23 30/8 30/24 34/21 36/14 37/17 38/3 52/17 52/22 54/13 57/23 74/3 75/20 75/25 76/23 81/23 93/4 101/8 101/16 102/21 121/14 122/13 122/21 135/1 135/18 140/16 143/9 143/12 144/4 144/12 148/25 155/24 160/5 160/18 161/9 161/10 161/10 171/5 175/7 175/18 175/19 178/2 179/24 179/25 188/3 195/16 198/14 198/23 206/18	<b>putting [4]</b> 8/1 117/22 117/23 133/9	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>Professors Edmunds [1]</b> 149/24	<b>public's [2]</b> 34/24 136/5 <b>public-facing [1]</b> 34/21 <b>publications [1]</b> 13/7 <b>publish [1]</b> 142/18 <b>published [13]</b> 16/12 64/1 93/2 110/9 114/10 142/15 142/22 143/11 143/18 144/6 144/8 162/16 198/23 <b>pubs [1]</b> 43/23 <b>pure [1]</b> 7/5 <b>purely [2]</b> 90/7 159/19 <b>purported [1]</b> 210/10 <b>purpose [2]</b> 89/8 127/19 <b>purposefully [1]</b> 84/9 <b>purposes [6]</b> 1/12 2/19 40/2 129/22 154/22 181/8 <b>pursue [1]</b> 137/23 <b>pursued [1]</b> 147/19 <b>push [2]</b> 64/12 96/10	<b>Q</b>	<b>R</b>	
<b>profitably [1]</b> 108/12	<b>psychology [1]</b> 151/8	<b>QALY [5]</b> 101/5 101/6 144/20 146/8 146/21	<b>R rate [1]</b> 101/20 <b>Raab [1]</b> 31/25 <b>raged [2]</b> 5/23 46/8 <b>raging [1]</b> 45/22 <b>raise [12]</b> 37/7 71/1 119/10 119/22 121/18 122/9 124/22 132/24 170/23 171/2 173/16 182/17 <b>raised [28]</b> 29/5 36/22 36/24 70/7 100/1 103/22 103/23 105/23 106/4 120/7 120/16 121/3 121/5 121/7 121/9 121/10 121/21 123/1 137/24 139/2 139/15 139/18 169/21 171/2 179/1 180/14 183/22 189/17 <b>raising [5]</b> 100/8 128/18 172/16 173/15 174/18 <b>raison [1]</b> 35/5 <b>raison d'être [1]</b> 35/5 <b>ran [2]</b> 123/23 129/20 <b>range [16]</b> 7/2 40/15 102/8 102/11 115/14 132/10 134/7 149/10 150/17 150/22 150/23 151/5 151/18 162/22 204/18 208/2 <b>rapidly [2]</b> 106/13 147/5 <b>rare [1]</b> 71/2	
<b>programme [5]</b> 188/14 189/12 189/15 189/24 190/22	<b>provision [4]</b> 1/14 3/5 188/13 190/17	<b>Quad [1]</b> 31/23	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>progress [4]</b> 10/13 124/3 204/3 214/4	<b>provisions [1]</b> 185/15	<b>quadrilateral [2]</b> 184/3 187/6	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>progressed [1]</b> 15/14	<b>psychology [1]</b> 151/8	<b>quality [4]</b> 14/23 20/4 58/10 101/13	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>progression [1]</b> 58/17	<b>public [54]</b> 5/17 6/14 6/24 24/13 27/15 27/23 30/8 30/24 34/21 36/14 37/17 38/3 52/17 52/22 54/13 57/23 74/3 75/20 75/25 76/23 81/23 93/4 101/8 101/16 102/21 121/14 122/13 122/21 135/1 135/18 140/16 143/9 143/12 144/4 144/12 148/25 155/24 160/5 160/18 161/9 161/10 161/10 171/5 175/7 175/18 175/19 178/2 179/24 179/25 188/3 195/16 198/14 198/23 206/18	<b>quandary [1]</b> 179/22	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>prohibit [1]</b> 164/4	<b>public-facing [1]</b> 34/21	<b>quantification [1]</b> 207/15	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>projected [1]</b> 56/25	<b>public's [2]</b> 34/24 136/5	<b>quantify [1]</b> 146/5	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>prolific [2]</b> 3/23 5/2	<b>public-facing [1]</b> 34/21	<b>quantifying [2]</b> 146/7 204/5	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>promote [3]</b> 8/5 8/9 116/21	<b>publications [1]</b> 13/7	<b>quantitative [1]</b> 113/3	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>promoted [1]</b> 7/25	<b>public-facing [1]</b> 34/21	<b>quantum [1]</b> 171/15	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>promoting [1]</b> 160/7	<b>publications [1]</b> 13/7	<b>quarter [1]</b> 100/25	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>promulgation [1]</b> 128/8	<b>publish [1]</b> 142/18	<b>question [45]</b> 8/1 8/11 11/5 11/19 34/5 36/12 36/13 37/5 40/25 42/7 51/16 55/10 57/18 60/10 72/14 90/2 93/23 96/23 100/13 112/8 112/17 125/20 131/1 134/13 136/13 139/12 148/10 151/2 155/9 165/4 166/24 167/1 170/22 175/21 178/8 183/20 189/19 197/8 197/23 197/23 198/2 198/5 202/7 209/19 213/5	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>prone [2]</b> 67/25 133/23	<b>published [13]</b> 16/12 64/1 93/2 110/9 114/10 142/15 142/22 143/11 143/18 144/6 144/8 162/16 198/23	<b>questioning [1]</b> 163/10	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>pronouncement [1]</b> 195/13	<b>pubs [1]</b> 43/23	<b>questions [39]</b> 1/7 31/5 34/15 44/3 62/25 103/10 159/24 163/12	<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>proof [2]</b> 153/7 211/17	<b>pure [1]</b> 7/5		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>proper [3]</b> 27/4 51/8 212/8	<b>purely [2]</b> 90/7 159/19		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>properly [8]</b> 36/22 37/1 37/2 51/8 100/24 106/15 160/6 198/20	<b>purported [1]</b> 210/10		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>proposal [9]</b> 43/10 43/22 86/21 138/2 147/15 166/8 167/11 194/8 196/2	<b>purpose [2]</b> 89/8 127/19		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>proposals [4]</b> 164/5 164/8 166/18 193/6	<b>purposefully [1]</b> 84/9		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>propose [1]</b> 79/10	<b>purposes [6]</b> 1/12 2/19 40/2 129/22 154/22 181/8		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>proposed [7]</b> 96/19 100/14 102/20 164/15 164/25 192/21 194/3	<b>purposefully [1]</b> 84/9		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>proposition [6]</b> 53/4 74/11 105/12 126/5 147/12 192/6	<b>purposes [6]</b> 1/12 2/19 40/2 129/22 154/22 181/8		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>propositions [3]</b> 44/15 163/18 210/15	<b>purpued [1]</b> 147/19		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>prospect [1]</b> 119/6	<b>push [2]</b> 64/12 96/10		<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>protect [2]</b> 197/18 199/11			<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>protected [3]</b> 162/18 186/16 198/17			<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>protecting [3]</b> 62/16 117/4 193/9			<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>proud [1]</b> 186/20			<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 115/10 <b>re-opening [12]</b> 13/6 28/18 91/3 95/14 115/18 118/19 119/6 121/1 121/20 122/6 199/9 199/10	
<b>provide [16]</b> 6/15 9/1 9/21 14/24 19/2 40/13 40/19 73/16 134/24			<b>re-examined [1]</b> 107/21 <b>re-impose [1]</b> 98/11 <b>re-open [4]</b> 82/2 116/8 122/1 200/10 <b>re-opened [3]</b> 82/23 90/22 1	

<b>R</b>	<b>recipients [3]</b> 43/4 78/7 86/12	86/13 91/24 93/2 94/3 94/5 130/16 138/17 198/6	201/25	<b>reprehensible [1]</b> 191/17
<b>real... [4]</b> 89/12 93/6 101/19 197/18	<b>recognise [1]</b> 113/21	<b>referenced [2]</b> 18/3 165/24	<b>relates [2]</b> 169/14 171/5	<b>represent [2]</b> 196/17 199/4
<b>real-time [2]</b> 15/8 93/6	<b>recognised [3]</b> 109/21 173/4 202/2	<b>references [3]</b> 78/16 147/8 210/22	<b>relating [3]</b> 3/10 6/5 35/10	<b>representations [1]</b> 120/18
<b>realise [2]</b> 129/9 129/24	<b>recognition [1]</b> 109/10	<b>referred [13]</b> 6/2 20/13 50/12 63/2 81/14 91/1 95/10 117/18 153/17 160/9 198/9 201/22 202/1	<b>relation [18]</b> 8/6 14/7 50/15 60/3 60/5 68/21 78/17 84/1 97/20 98/18 157/7 177/5 179/18 179/19 179/22 181/24 183/21 203/17	<b>request [1]</b> 104/21 <b>requested [1]</b> 9/2 <b>requests [1]</b> 132/24 <b>require [1]</b> 179/24 <b>required [9]</b> 47/17 150/15 152/14 164/9 181/14 182/1 185/20 185/21 215/4
<b>realised [1]</b> 163/23	<b>recollect [6]</b> 33/24 72/23 72/24 138/23 162/6 162/8	<b>referring [11]</b> 4/16 25/18 32/14 33/13 39/17 59/10 71/8 80/9 91/22 167/21 167/21	<b>relationship [5]</b> 25/21 40/5 136/24 182/3 204/4	<b>requirement [3]</b> 30/23 144/11 150/12
<b>realistically [1]</b> 210/5	<b>recollection [28]</b> 18/25 19/13 19/17 21/13 23/15 23/20 24/2 24/11 24/24 25/2 48/24 50/2 51/21 53/3 65/19 89/14 97/14 100/16 100/17 103/15 110/25 111/19 128/18 139/18 165/21 166/16 186/9 206/15	<b>refers [10]</b> 31/19 34/18 36/15 44/19 45/12 80/19 92/9 99/24 104/10 161/21	<b>relative [3]</b> 57/24 60/11 69/12	<b>requirements [2]</b> 105/18 184/24
<b>reality [4]</b> 21/25 26/24 31/10 56/1	<b>recollections [3]</b> 53/16 64/14 150/16	<b>reflect [4]</b> 133/18 150/1 153/10 195/6	<b>relax [1]</b> 98/7	<b>requires [2]</b> 95/2 101/1
<b>really [9]</b> 11/5 21/13 58/1 60/12 72/15 82/9 141/17 145/16 151/3	<b>recommend [1]</b> 65/23	<b>reflected [3]</b> 131/13 158/21 185/11	<b>relay [2]</b> 52/15 137/3	<b>requiring [2]</b> 181/16 183/23
<b>reason [9]</b> 55/9 63/24 69/7 132/14 140/11 140/18 179/3 207/17 212/25	<b>recommendation [9]</b> 4/20 109/6 110/10 110/13 111/25 112/3 113/11 113/14 151/25	<b>reflection [5]</b> 12/8 59/1 133/14 135/22 146/14	<b>relayed [4]</b> 95/17 142/9 142/9 142/10	<b>reserved [2]</b> 170/7 182/7
<b>reasonable [15]</b> 33/5 33/15 33/19 38/1 122/4 142/6 151/1 157/10 157/12 157/19 157/24 159/12 190/3 190/13 210/11	<b>recommendations [5]</b> 52/16 65/21 112/6 133/4 133/8	<b>reflections [8]</b> 58/7 131/11 133/2 141/21 142/6 142/14 185/12 193/20	<b>released [1]</b> 175/16	<b>resignation [1]</b> 2/24
<b>reasonably [1]</b> 85/2	<b>recommended [5]</b> 72/25 108/17 110/16 117/11 122/3	<b>refused [1]</b> 175/6	<b>relevant [15]</b> 4/12 16/21 19/3 72/20 73/17 77/16 99/6 99/20 137/3 201/5 204/12 212/9 212/9 213/6 213/9	<b>resistance [2]</b> 89/15 187/24
<b>reasons [13]</b> 89/25 117/23 120/22 122/22 158/19 158/20 168/15 203/11 204/18 206/4 207/20 212/19 214/15	<b>record [18]</b> 5/4 27/25 28/8 30/8 62/11 69/4 78/3 97/19 99/8 104/1 125/1 128/11 128/19 139/14 159/1 159/5 164/12 193/4	<b>regard [13]</b> 24/10 25/3 28/16 72/23 73/20 85/23 103/24 131/11 165/20 184/25 187/4 192/1 204/14	<b>relevantly [1]</b> 2/18	<b>resistant [1]</b> 210/6
<b>reassure [1]</b> 75/14	<b>recorded [14]</b> 4/1 5/3 29/8 29/13 29/23 30/9 30/12 54/1 67/5 96/8 106/7 153/5 154/1 159/21	<b>regarding [2]</b> 199/23 208/18	<b>remain [1]</b> 108/4	<b>Resolution [1]</b> 162/13
<b>recall [59]</b> 4/14 4/19 4/21 32/7 39/15 45/1 47/25 53/2 53/15 53/24 56/4 56/22 57/7 62/10 63/11 63/14 67/8 67/18 67/22 69/2 72/19 73/14 84/13 84/15 85/6 85/9 87/6 87/8 94/3 94/13 95/9 95/17 95/19 96/24 98/24 99/1 107/21 114/15 119/3 120/18 121/4 149/22 149/23 161/16 169/22 169/24 170/1 170/15 170/20 178/12 178/13 183/25 189/3 189/7 191/7 191/12 198/19 201/13 204/4	<b>records [1]</b> 28/13	<b>Regardless [1]</b> 57/2	<b>remained [3]</b> 2/21 109/11 162/15	<b>resolve [2]</b> 92/19 110/19
<b>recap [1]</b> 93/4	<b>recovery [1]</b> 78/9	<b>region [1]</b> 60/19	<b>remains [3]</b> 123/16 148/14 154/1	<b>resolved [2]</b> 87/9 112/18
<b>recapped [1]</b> 92/20	<b>reduce [3]</b> 113/1 146/22 153/21	<b>regional [3]</b> 157/11 157/18 157/20	<b>remarks [2]</b> 118/5 155/12	<b>respect [6]</b> 2/9 65/22 125/8 140/22 172/11 173/3
<b>receive [1]</b> 80/12	<b>reduced [2]</b> 113/4 118/10	<b>Register [1]</b> 185/15	<b>remember [39]</b> 23/21 55/2 56/10 56/19 58/21 59/13 60/15 60/16 61/6 61/10 62/10 64/13 64/14 66/12 67/2 67/10 82/17 84/22 89/10 96/7 102/2 102/2 102/6 104/5 110/11 134/23 138/24 139/15 143/15 152/23 165/18 167/25 178/18 188/7 189/6 189/23 190/4 196/19 211/16	<b>respectfully [1]</b> 74/9
<b>received [12]</b> 18/12 63/4 63/6 65/15 69/5 84/1 127/24 150/24 177/19 182/21 188/23 215/3	<b>reduces [1]</b> 98/12	<b>regular [2]</b> 13/1 103/8	<b>remind [1]</b> 152/13	<b>respectively [1]</b> 124/12
<b>receiver [1]</b> 63/18	<b>reducing [2]</b> 208/1 212/22	<b>regularly [2]</b> 183/19 184/5	<b>removed [1]</b> 190/1	<b>respond [2]</b> 32/25 171/21
<b>receiving [5]</b> 52/21 94/19 169/22 174/6 201/14	<b>reduction [5]</b> 107/18 110/17 110/23 119/4 122/18	<b>regulation [1]</b> 164/16	<b>repeatedly [1]</b> 91/7	<b>responded [2]</b> 132/23 132/25
<b>reception [1]</b> 87/3	<b>refer [8]</b> 4/15 7/10 13/2 30/17 45/13 84/13 91/6 135/16	<b>regulations [8]</b> 164/3 165/1 168/15 168/20 192/21 193/23 194/24 195/3	<b>replaced [2]</b> 189/13 189/13	<b>responding [3]</b> 23/2 50/5 104/1
	<b>reference [19]</b> 33/25 41/2 41/9 44/4 44/9 64/21 78/23 79/1 79/16 79/23 83/24	<b>reject [2]</b> 36/24 194/6	<b>reports [2]</b> 201/21 202/2	<b>response [13]</b> 20/8 24/24 53/20 76/5 81/20 95/3 101/2 126/22 126/25 127/6 127/7 148/10 175/18

<b>R</b>	30/14 38/22 39/17 42/8 42/12 42/20 44/25 46/11 47/11 48/15 49/24 51/19 54/3 54/10 54/15 56/4 57/9 57/10 60/18 60/25 61/20 62/14 68/5 73/19 77/8 77/18 80/4 80/11 81/7 83/2 84/24 87/17 89/21 90/20 91/14 91/17 95/8 102/4 103/6 104/4 104/16 104/17 104/18 107/10 118/20 120/24 120/24 122/8 122/24 125/20 127/11 130/12 137/9 142/1 142/18 146/11 149/18 151/21 152/20 154/14 155/5 155/15 157/13 159/20 173/23 184/11 188/2 188/6 191/24 192/15 195/13 196/8 196/13 205/5 208/13 210/5 210/18 211/18	200/4 <b>riskier [7]</b> 95/15 96/19 98/1 98/9 100/11 101/18 102/1 <b>riskiest [1]</b> 120/10 <b>risks [5]</b> 102/22 112/12 113/23 120/15 122/23 <b>risky [1]</b> 119/5 <b>road [1]</b> 94/10 <b>roadmap [12]</b> 8/7 77/17 81/9 87/1 92/13 96/23 97/20 98/19 118/7 206/16 206/20 206/23 <b>roadmaps [2]</b> 28/16 50/15 <b>robust [1]</b> 51/6 <b>robustness [2]</b> 53/3 100/21 <b>role [11]</b> 5/11 6/3 6/8 6/11 8/10 8/25 26/7 27/20 138/23 186/14 193/2 <b>rolling [1]</b> 13/4 <b>room [5]</b> 18/16 19/24 43/14 94/7 118/3 <b>round [3]</b> 20/2 169/4 192/5 <b>route [2]</b> 147/18 153/22 <b>rule [19]</b> 8/18 12/11 12/15 107/19 107/19 107/20 108/1 108/2 108/3 109/11 109/16 109/17 109/19 109/21 110/23 119/4 122/19 127/1 147/11 <b>rules [1]</b> 212/23 <b>run [3]</b> 110/7 151/14 215/16 <b>running [3]</b> 72/1 212/11 215/15	66/21 66/24 67/4 73/1 73/21 85/19 94/22 95/10 96/7 96/17 97/10 97/16 98/4 99/7 99/13 99/14 109/12 109/14 109/17 112/9 114/20 115/5 128/25 129/8 129/9 129/14 129/18 129/19 129/19 129/20 130/8 130/16 131/6 131/12 131/20 131/23 132/7 132/20 132/23 132/25 133/2 134/12 134/18 135/4 135/5 135/20 135/21 135/24 136/4 136/6 136/10 136/13 136/15 136/18 136/24 137/1 137/6 137/10 137/13 137/16 137/17 138/9 138/14 139/4 139/13 139/20 140/12 140/16 140/17 141/4 141/14 141/17 141/22 142/3 142/4 142/13 149/6 150/24 152/21 153/17 159/9 160/16 <b>SAGE's [3]</b> 131/16 133/24 134/24 <b>said [149]</b> 3/9 3/11 3/22 4/23 4/25 5/1 6/14 6/17 7/13 14/19 15/14 18/25 20/5 24/4 24/21 27/13 28/6 28/10 31/1 32/17 33/20 33/24 35/19 35/19 35/20 35/23 36/2 37/12 37/16 37/25 38/1 38/5 38/17 40/12 40/14 42/21 42/25 44/23 51/19 52/15 53/23 54/12 54/21 55/24 57/12 62/11 62/16 64/18 66/6 66/17 66/21 67/4 67/13 73/15 75/17 76/14 80/7 80/23 81/18 85/19 85/23 87/10 87/12 87/16 88/12 88/18 91/2 92/4 98/8 98/25 99/5 102/5 107/4 110/21 111/25 112/2 112/5 114/11 115/25 119/5 122/1 123/20 124/21 124/22 125/1 126/10 127/10 128/1 128/3 128/12 128/14 128/16 129/8 129/23 133/10 134/18 135/9 136/25 141/9 144/16 148/10 149/6 149/17 152/9 153/4 154/11 154/11 154/15 155/14 158/14 159/7	159/11 161/2 161/23 162/4 162/5 162/13 164/12 166/18 168/10 168/12 168/18 168/22 170/14 174/14 174/16 176/15 182/2 184/9 185/2 186/5 186/12 187/5 188/20 191/5 191/11 191/12 194/16 199/9 201/9 203/8 204/17 205/14 206/3 206/19 207/18 208/8 211/2 213/3 <b>Sajid [1]</b> 2/20 <b>Sajid Javid [1]</b> 2/20 <b>same [51]</b> 16/21 16/24 22/10 25/22 26/25 27/2 29/18 30/15 39/24 39/25 41/25 49/2 49/17 49/19 50/13 50/14 59/16 67/4 67/11 73/2 73/9 73/22 90/20 93/10 99/23 114/15 114/23 116/3 117/4 117/13 121/14 122/18 129/4 130/12 131/9 141/11 142/12 142/25 155/20 156/3 158/13 160/16 160/18 164/19 175/21 175/23 180/19 189/17 200/6 211/19 215/11 <b>sand [1]</b> 20/14 <b>sat [4]</b> 45/21 110/9 116/9 124/8 <b>Saunders [1]</b> 196/17 <b>Saunders Law [1]</b> 196/17 <b>save [3]</b> 53/13 77/3 199/20 <b>saved [1]</b> 160/23 <b>saving [1]</b> 197/16 <b>saw [9]</b> 6/3 7/21 12/12 12/13 18/2 18/2 65/3 103/5 203/24 <b>say [97]</b> 1/22 4/9 9/12 9/13 9/18 9/18 10/21 11/20 12/5 14/18 14/23 15/17 16/8 16/18 19/4 20/17 20/20 21/3 21/11 23/8 23/17 25/5 26/9 26/11 26/20 27/15 27/21 27/23 28/6 30/16 30/22 31/24 32/12 34/5 35/7 36/5 37/18 38/21 43/11 49/6 51/9 57/6 61/19 61/20 62/2 64/18 74/15 77/13 78/8 78/10 81/14 81/16 84/25 88/25 90/3 91/13 91/14 92/24 93/16 95/20
<b>rest [5]</b> 43/13 72/11 115/20 181/4 183/9 <b>restaurant [3]</b> 117/24 118/11 118/17 <b>restaurants [6]</b> 114/19 116/13 116/25 117/24 123/12 123/20 <b>rested [2]</b> 55/20 177/11 <b>restraint [1]</b> 188/3 <b>restrict [2]</b> 165/1 167/13 <b>restrictions [5]</b> 74/8 98/15 118/9 152/7 177/23 <b>result [17]</b> 2/5 43/15 44/24 75/5 181/18 188/23 190/10 190/19 199/7 200/2 201/23 201/24 202/4 202/22 203/7 206/10 210/14 <b>resulting [1]</b> 200/23 <b>retail [21]</b> 13/6 67/20 82/11 85/1 85/12 85/16 85/20 86/1 86/5 87/5 87/8 87/12 87/19 88/23 89/1 89/3 89/6 98/16 159/5 159/11 159/19 <b>retain [3]</b> 3/9 4/6 4/10 <b>reticence [2]</b> 82/21 165/6 <b>reticent [1]</b> 164/14 <b>return [14]</b> 78/21 82/4 82/22 87/2 90/17 98/14 107/13 119/16 124/2 127/16 163/3 183/20 187/19 216/17 <b>returned [3]</b> 117/15 190/12 190/13 <b>returning [3]</b> 82/5 120/9 200/2 <b>Revenue [1]</b> 126/9 <b>reverse [2]</b> 204/2 208/7 <b>review [15]</b> 17/12 108/20 110/9 110/11 110/15 110/16 111/1 111/3 111/13 111/13 113/13 114/9 194/16 198/13 206/22 <b>reviewed [5]</b> 42/12 166/16 168/2 196/6 211/16 <b>reviewing [1]</b> 42/2 <b>revisit [2]</b> 120/19 158/3 <b>revolved [2]</b> 55/7 62/6 <b>Richmond [1]</b> 2/14 <b>right [84]</b> 7/13 9/12 21/7 21/21 24/4 25/7	<b>rightly [10]</b> 19/22 20/17 32/17 41/21 78/8 84/25 102/17 113/12 188/23 192/9 <b>rights [1]</b> 187/18 <b>rigorous [1]</b> 27/4 <b>rigour [1]</b> 107/7 <b>ringfenced [1]</b> 176/18 <b>ringing [1]</b> 102/18 <b>rise [14]</b> 161/9 202/7 202/14 202/24 203/21 204/6 204/9 204/16 204/18 205/2 205/20 205/25 206/1 207/18 <b>risen [1]</b> 147/6 <b>RISHI [6]</b> 1/6 1/10 27/11 211/1 211/3 217/3 <b>Rishi Sunak [1]</b> 1/10 <b>rising [5]</b> 78/20 126/14 149/1 207/9 207/17 <b>risk [48]</b> 41/13 44/1 84/10 90/24 92/9 92/16 94/8 100/9 100/15 101/23 102/14 103/10 110/6 110/6 110/18 110/20 110/22 111/10 111/12 112/8 112/16 112/17 113/1 113/3 113/17 113/19 114/8 114/8 114/23 115/2 117/9 117/21 118/17 119/14 120/1 121/18 121/21 122/7 128/9 147/19 154/8 185/15 185/15 195/9 199/5 199/11 199/24	<b>S</b> <b>S structure [1]</b> 21/23 <b>safe [16]</b> 115/8 115/22 117/25 118/19 118/24 120/25 121/20 121/25 122/6 123/20 124/2 127/18 195/7 199/6 199/7 200/7 <b>safeguard [7]</b> 82/16 83/16 118/24 120/25 122/5 127/12 127/19 <b>safeguarded [1]</b> 117/14 <b>safely [3]</b> 116/1 123/24 200/10 <b>SAGE [97]</b> 20/3 23/24 24/10 24/25 35/18 40/8 49/1 49/4 49/12 49/21 54/20 59/7 65/6 65/21 65/22		

S				
<p><b>say...</b> [37] 96/5 100/6 105/13 106/3 107/6 114/24 122/19 129/7 130/12 133/4 133/22 133/22 135/8 135/12 135/21 144/10 145/21 145/23 148/3 148/20 152/17 158/17 160/18 162/6 162/8 165/7 169/25 171/13 171/16 173/16 175/2 191/18 194/2 209/1 209/23 210/5 213/5</p> <p><b>saying</b> [27] 2/1 23/4 34/1 38/17 45/1 50/17 53/25 56/24 60/1 61/4 61/7 88/25 96/9 113/6 149/14 154/1 154/19 155/25 157/5 157/15 162/9 164/23 170/18 174/10 179/20 188/25 195/24</p> <p><b>saying:</b> [1] 71/12</p> <p><b>saying: we're</b> [1] 71/12</p> <p><b>says</b> [23] 27/13 27/21 27/24 28/5 31/4 34/12 39/8 41/5 73/8 78/11 87/21 88/3 88/3 92/7 92/10 93/14 111/7 112/25 138/11 166/7 171/24 177/21 216/5</p> <p><b>scale</b> [5] 74/7 192/7 212/8 214/3 214/6</p> <p><b>scarring</b> [12] 74/15 75/1 202/5 202/18 202/23 202/25 203/2 203/6 203/11 203/14 204/10 204/15</p> <p><b>scenario</b> [1] 93/2</p> <p><b>scenarios</b> [1] 119/15</p> <p><b>scenes</b> [3] 60/17 60/19 60/21</p> <p><b>sceptical</b> [1] 210/8</p> <p><b>scheme</b> [58] 6/13 98/20 114/14 114/15 114/17 115/3 117/19 119/11 121/13 122/15 122/16 123/10 124/19 124/23 125/10 125/12 125/16 125/23 126/7 126/12 127/25 128/8 150/13 164/15 164/22 169/15 169/19 170/2 170/16 170/19 176/7 184/10 184/12 193/21 193/22 194/2 194/4 194/7 197/3 199/2 199/23 200/11 205/21 209/4 210/7 210/10 210/12 211/11 211/11</p>	<p>211/14 211/17 211/24 212/7 213/20 214/8 214/10 214/16 214/19</p> <p><b>schemes</b> [3] 162/14 185/18 215/8</p> <p><b>Scholar</b> [2] 130/9 130/9</p> <p><b>school</b> [10] 87/3 90/15 161/20 187/20 187/25 188/11 189/12 189/21 190/15 191/17</p> <p><b>schools</b> [34] 49/10 49/14 54/23 66/11 67/18 73/1 73/8 73/21 85/4 85/23 86/7 86/18 86/23 87/7 87/11 87/19 87/24 88/2 88/14 88/16 89/1 89/10 89/13 89/16 89/20 89/25 98/13 98/14 101/22 119/6 119/15 120/1 120/10 133/25</p> <p><b>schoolteachers</b> [1] 89/18</p> <p><b>science</b> [13] 109/15 109/20 111/22 131/3 133/16 133/18 133/19 133/21 134/1 134/6 134/7 142/4 150/3</p> <p><b>scientific</b> [37] 35/19 35/20 36/1 45/19 50/6 50/6 53/22 53/25 56/7 61/2 62/13 63/23 64/15 77/19 95/12 96/6 96/16 109/16 111/4 111/23 113/9 113/17 120/8 120/13 128/24 133/8 133/11 135/8 137/15 141/2 149/13 150/5 151/18 152/19 154/21 196/22 206/18</p> <p><b>scientists</b> [15] 35/17 50/10 68/4 96/22 100/19 103/17 104/2 115/20 115/25 133/21 134/14 135/14 139/8 150/18 150/22</p> <p><b>Scotland</b> [6] 172/20 176/3 176/9 177/10 179/8 179/23</p> <p><b>Scottish</b> [9] 174/5 177/3 179/18 180/16 181/12 181/15 181/23 182/19 183/21</p> <p><b>Scottish Government</b> [6] 179/18 180/16 181/12 181/15 181/23 183/21</p> <p><b>Scottish Government's</b> [1] 182/19</p> <p><b>screen</b> [3] 162/1</p>	<p>171/25 180/5</p> <p><b>screens</b> [2] 118/12 198/17</p> <p><b>screwed</b> [1] 135/14</p> <p><b>script</b> [6] 31/6 31/7 34/2 34/3 34/17 34/20</p> <p><b>scroll</b> [1] 84/3</p> <p><b>scrutinise</b> [2] 43/10 211/18</p> <p><b>scrutiny</b> [3] 61/6 105/21 107/7</p> <p><b>second</b> [27] 15/24 19/5 54/6 54/6 81/8 86/14 88/10 88/11 96/4 97/22 108/12 125/3 133/16 140/6 148/15 153/5 153/7 153/8 156/18 163/22 164/13 167/1 170/21 171/5 173/8 202/3 202/21</p> <p><b>seconded</b> [2] 146/12 146/12</p> <p><b>secondly</b> [2] 44/9 131/24</p> <p><b>secretariat</b> [1] 129/19</p> <p><b>secretaries</b> [2] 45/17 108/7</p> <p><b>secretary</b> [34] 2/17 38/24 39/8 41/5 64/3 78/7 86/12 87/21 90/3 90/8 91/22 98/5 102/17 105/1 105/15 108/22 109/5 109/14 111/3 114/21 115/5 122/12 123/6 128/6 130/10 152/5 166/2 166/13 167/18 167/24 168/9 184/2 184/5 187/5</p> <p><b>sector</b> [17] 6/10 83/10 83/16 85/3 89/15 116/12 116/15 122/21 123/5 126/14 127/8 127/13 148/6 198/2 198/9 198/22 200/3</p> <p><b>sectors</b> [13] 80/5 82/1 82/8 82/10 85/1 86/18 87/22 88/1 88/14 95/1 178/3 197/7 197/7</p> <p><b>secure</b> [6] 115/15 118/6 123/21 124/5 199/8 200/9</p> <p><b>security</b> [1] 173/2</p> <p><b>see</b> [43] 7/24 10/12 11/7 13/8 13/15 13/18 14/1 14/6 14/13 14/21 15/1 15/14 17/12 17/16 17/19 25/9 26/22 27/18 35/16 38/9 39/14 39/15</p>	<p>39/16 41/2 43/5 53/12 56/15 58/4 75/24 79/4 80/1 80/7 89/3 90/10 91/25 92/23 103/4 103/8 146/24 147/12 152/21 169/2 169/24</p> <p><b>seeing</b> [5] 98/24 155/17 155/22 157/18 197/17</p> <p><b>seek</b> [3] 151/1 151/15 152/7</p> <p><b>seeded</b> [2] 82/20 153/11</p> <p><b>seemingly</b> [1] 45/25</p> <p><b>seems</b> [3] 178/24 204/6 204/24</p> <p><b>seen</b> [15] 23/2 77/11 124/21 153/3 156/16 160/5 202/7 203/21 203/22 204/8 204/10 205/1 205/3 205/3 205/9</p> <p><b>self</b> [29] 36/18 49/9 119/15 133/1 181/14 181/16 181/18 181/20 182/1 183/23 184/10 184/12 184/16 184/19 184/23 185/3 190/3 208/19 208/20 208/25 209/6 209/17 209/22 210/9 211/13 211/23 212/3 213/19 213/20</p> <p><b>self-employed</b> [3] 184/12 190/3 213/20</p> <p><b>self-evident</b> [3] 36/18 133/1 184/19</p> <p><b>self-isolate</b> [4] 181/14 182/1 209/17 211/13</p> <p><b>self-isolated</b> [2] 181/20 184/16</p> <p><b>self-isolating</b> [2] 185/3 210/9</p> <p><b>self-isolation</b> [13] 49/9 119/15 181/16 181/18 183/23 184/10 184/23 208/19 208/20 208/25 209/22 211/23 212/3</p> <p><b>self-isolators</b> [1] 209/6</p> <p><b>seminar</b> [1] 138/7</p> <p><b>send</b> [2] 3/19 96/15</p> <p><b>senior</b> [2] 6/18 80/16</p> <p><b>sense</b> [14] 19/16 28/22 33/1 34/17 39/22 45/2 52/18 67/23 85/19 88/8 88/21 92/22 94/1 178/16</p> <p><b>sensible</b> [2] 122/5 153/14</p> <p><b>sensitive</b> [1] 123/7</p> <p><b>sent</b> [3] 85/11 90/10</p>	<p>114/3</p> <p><b>sentiment</b> [2] 191/9 191/16</p> <p><b>separate</b> [7] 36/12 36/13 99/17 139/21 140/13 141/18 168/19</p> <p><b>separately</b> [2] 57/16 181/6</p> <p><b>separation</b> [1] 19/14</p> <p><b>September</b> [28] 38/18 64/19 98/14 119/7 119/15 147/3 147/4 147/7 147/14 148/4 148/12 149/20 149/21 152/25 156/14 164/3 177/17 177/21 180/8 209/16 210/13 211/5 211/13 211/15 211/24 213/3 214/8 214/10</p> <p><b>September 2020</b> [1] 64/19</p> <p><b>September/October</b> [1] 147/3</p> <p><b>sequencing</b> [2] 86/9 180/2</p> <p><b>series</b> [3] 22/1 22/9 23/16</p> <p><b>serious</b> [2] 71/2 99/25</p> <p><b>servants</b> [2] 4/2 29/14</p> <p><b>service</b> [3] 81/24 115/16 129/2</p> <p><b>services</b> [3] 6/10 6/14 195/16</p> <p><b>session</b> [2] 65/4 102/7</p> <p><b>set</b> [27] 3/7 3/14 9/21 11/14 12/22 14/7 27/5 28/15 28/23 73/6 74/5 74/12 74/18 75/21 79/13 95/22 100/17 103/15 111/11 118/9 118/21 171/12 171/13 175/14 209/15 212/7 214/7</p> <p><b>sets</b> [1] 165/22</p> <p><b>setting</b> [3] 11/1 14/4 193/7</p> <p><b>settings</b> [2] 167/14 194/25</p> <p><b>settlement</b> [9] 170/6 170/14 172/13 172/22 174/9 180/21 180/24 182/11 185/24</p> <p><b>settlements</b> [1] 174/22</p> <p><b>seven</b> [1] 147/5</p> <p><b>seven-day</b> [1] 147/5</p> <p><b>severity</b> [1] 101/9</p> <p><b>shall</b> [5] 98/3 107/13 163/1 163/3 216/17</p> <p><b>shape</b> [3] 54/9 65/2</p>

<b>S</b>	<b>shut</b> [5] 23/13 67/21 82/1 93/7 159/4	161/21 161/22 196/23 210/22	6/6 8/24 18/3 27/24 28/8 28/24 32/18 33/22 41/23 41/24 62/25 69/20 69/23 72/8 75/21 80/15 84/18 90/23 99/9 118/25 125/21 125/25 126/3 126/13 128/15 129/24 130/2 131/10 132/22 134/6 138/14 141/21 150/18 151/6 160/2 160/22 166/17 166/20 167/10 173/5 194/2 195/1 195/24 196/22 198/19 207/3 209/13 210/4	17/16 17/17 106/16
<b>shape...</b> [1] 125/3	<b>shutting</b> [1] 159/8	<b>Sir Patrick</b> [1] 161/22	<b>somebody</b> [3] 130/8 161/23 188/25	<b>sorts</b> [3] 18/11 106/19 145/9
<b>share</b> [2] 28/10 79/11	<b>sick</b> [3] 61/16 208/21 209/4	<b>Sir Patrick Vallance</b> [3] 130/7 138/17 196/23	<b>somehow</b> [1] 21/11	<b>sought</b> [2] 138/3 193/6
<b>shared</b> [5] 9/25 12/24 13/1 46/5 130/2	<b>sickness</b> [1] 207/10	<b>Sir Patrick Vallance's</b> [2] 45/23 161/21	<b>someone</b> [9] 42/17 46/25 47/1 130/1 132/14 137/2 146/15 204/5 209/24	<b>sounds</b> [1] 168/2
<b>sharing</b> [4] 10/2 10/2 20/5 26/24	<b>side</b> [3] 31/5 34/15 38/4	<b>Sir Patrick's</b> [1] 210/22	<b>something</b> [67] 8/23 16/6 19/7 21/1 22/25 26/1 28/6 29/16 29/20 30/16 32/23 37/12 42/3 42/15 67/9 70/2 71/9 80/21 84/20 91/10 93/9 94/22 98/21 101/22 103/6 106/17 108/14 108/17 112/17 117/8 117/11 117/12 121/22 126/23 127/5 135/23 136/6 136/23 137/24 138/10 139/14 139/25 144/15 145/22 146/16 156/15 166/22 167/17 168/8 168/18 168/21 169/20 169/24 171/1 172/25 174/7 179/7 183/13 186/20 189/14 196/8 199/13 202/18 203/3 205/1 206/20 207/19	<b>source</b> [2] 16/9 92/17
<b>sharp</b> [1] 147/7	<b>side-effects</b> [2] 31/5 34/15	<b>Sir Tom Scholar</b> [1] 130/9	<b>so</b> [268]	<b>sources</b> [1] 15/9
<b>she</b> [7] 39/17 87/21 93/14 103/1 138/5 138/11 181/12	<b>sidelined</b> [1] 18/22	<b>sit</b> [7] 12/9 20/20 21/3 114/2 195/12 196/7 204/25	<b>social</b> [23] 14/4 14/8 17/11 31/20 32/3 35/22 74/7 82/15 89/8 113/24 115/15 118/9 165/10 165/12 165/20 166/21 167/12 193/1 193/19 195/23 197/15 211/3 213/9	<b>space</b> [2] 98/13 208/3
<b>she'd</b> [1] 193/21	<b>sides</b> [3] 113/12 208/24 209/21	<b>sitings</b> [2] 25/25 49/7	<b>social care</b> [9] 165/10 165/12 165/20 166/21 167/12 193/1 193/19 195/23 213/9	<b>spaces</b> [1] 114/19
<b>sheet</b> [1] 176/5	<b>sight</b> [1] 134/11	<b>situation</b> [7] 16/22 52/1 73/18 77/8 81/25 190/14 194/5	<b>sooner</b> [3] 52/18 67/14 92/8	<b>Spain</b> [1] 153/3
<b>shelf</b> [2] 19/22 146/4	<b>sighted</b> [1] 166/14	<b>six</b> [2] 50/24 211/22	<b>sophistication</b> [1] 15/5	<b>speak</b> [4] 61/22 68/20 185/25 186/1
<b>shielding</b> [1] 14/4	<b>sign</b> [1] 210/16	<b>six months</b> [1] 211/22	<b>sorry</b> [21] 2/1 36/12 37/5 57/15 59/10 59/20 71/20 83/21 101/12 107/12 108/23 130/17 143/23 143/24 143/24 169/6 197/8 197/20 206/5 206/6 215/15	<b>speaking</b> [1] 69/3
<b>shielding/social</b> [1] 14/4	<b>signage</b> [1] 118/12	<b>slide</b> [1] 92/4	<b>sort</b> [5] 14/15 17/16 17/17 47/18 106/16	<b>speaks</b> [1] 185/23
<b>shift</b> [2] 118/12 198/18	<b>signal</b> [1] 143/25	<b>slides</b> [1] 18/4	<b>sort of</b> [4] 14/15	<b>spearheaded</b> [1] 161/17
<b>shock'</b> [1] 84/7	<b>signed</b> [6] 1/13 46/25 63/22 115/9 200/8 200/12	<b>slight</b> [1] 137/3		<b>specific</b> [27] 8/18 48/13 55/2 65/22 66/16 73/14 112/24 114/4 120/17 133/3 133/4 133/8 144/5 159/18 166/18 178/12 178/13 178/16 183/25 184/15 194/10 196/2 197/4 197/23 197/24 197/24 204/5
<b>shopping</b> [1] 212/22	<b>signed off</b> [5] 46/25 63/22 115/9 200/8 200/12	<b>slightly</b> [8] 62/23 77/14 95/2 141/25 192/4 209/19 214/19 214/22		<b>specifically</b> [22] 34/12 45/12 53/15 56/4 72/23 79/4 84/15 84/23 96/20 115/8 120/14 156/20 158/17 166/21 166/24 169/17 181/2 191/23 197/4 202/1 203/16 213/14
<b>short</b> [14] 37/20 62/21 75/3 107/15 132/4 163/5 163/18 163/20 166/15 193/25 195/1 197/2 197/21 215/15	<b>significance</b> [5] 3/25 25/11 29/9 29/11 100/4	<b>slim</b> [1] 125/21		114/4 120/17 133/3 133/4 133/8 144/5 159/18 166/18 178/12 178/13 178/16 183/25 184/15 194/10 196/2 197/4 197/23 197/24 197/24 204/5
<b>shortages</b> [1] 165/3	<b>significant</b> [20] 19/17 69/8 82/6 100/15 103/22 107/25 115/14 118/9 120/1 127/3 173/11 193/6 199/19 200/22 201/3 205/17 210/7 210/8 213/1 214/2	<b>slow</b> [3] 65/18 78/1 143/23		<b>spectator</b> [9] 27/11 32/15 33/13 81/13 116/22 129/7 135/12 144/9 145/20
<b>shorter</b> [1] 107/10	<b>significantly</b> [5] 15/4 15/21 118/10 126/5 213/17	<b>slower</b> [1] 62/23		<b>spectrum</b> [9] 95/15 96/20 97/5 98/1 98/9 100/12 101/18 102/1 151/18
<b>shorthand</b> [1] 39/3	<b>signs</b> [1] 69/23	<b>small</b> [2] 22/2 200/20		<b>speculate</b> [2] 194/15 196/7
<b>shortly</b> [6] 9/19 68/23 104/9 107/19 179/14 179/14	<b>similar</b> [7] 135/17 136/5 140/10 175/1 175/14 186/6 186/6	<b>smaller</b> [3] 40/16 41/24 43/17		<b>speed</b> [11] 15/18 21/17 47/7 49/12 90/23 96/23 105/25 106/12 107/3 108/23 108/24
<b>shot</b> [1] 4/22	<b>significantly</b> [5] 15/4 15/21 118/10 126/5 213/17	<b>Smith</b> [1] 1/17		<b>spend</b> [6] 104/24 105/22 165/16 173/13 176/19 209/25
<b>should</b> [43] 5/8 8/5 30/16 30/21 42/13 43/11 49/8 49/24 52/10 54/25 57/2 58/5 62/9 63/5 63/12 65/1 65/12 67/21 69/16 70/11 72/4 76/25 78/19 80/18 83/14 84/22 85/24 92/19 95/19 96/10 106/16 111/9 111/11 112/2 113/7 127/2 128/5 134/4 139/16 140/4 185/16 191/25 195/25	<b>signs</b> [1] 69/23	<b>so</b> [268]		<b>spending</b> [8] 70/16 104/23 166/4 172/18 182/6 182/8 188/3 201/23
<b>shouldn't</b> [4] 80/13 135/14 146/3 146/22	<b>similar</b> [7] 135/17 136/5 140/10 175/1 175/14 186/6 186/6	<b>social</b> [23] 14/4 14/8 17/11 31/20 32/3 35/22 74/7 82/15 89/8 113/24 115/15 118/9 165/10 165/12 165/20 166/21 167/12 193/1 193/19 195/23 197/15 211/3 213/9		<b>spent</b> [5] 63/15 188/9 190/4 195/18 210/19
<b>show</b> [2] 68/13 120/9	<b>simple</b> [3] 134/6 146/23 204/1	<b>societal</b> [5] 5/20 17/17 36/19 143/6 160/8		<b>sphere</b> [1] 134/25
<b>showed</b> [5] 18/4 107/25 116/19 157/8 181/15	<b>simpler</b> [3] 33/1 33/16 38/3	<b>society</b> [2] 46/16 82/12		<b>spheres</b> [1] 46/14
<b>showing</b> [6] 65/25 69/23 91/2 145/5 148/5 188/2	<b>simplicity</b> [4] 38/2 134/9 159/16 159/17	<b>socioeconomic</b> [5] 7/3 137/14 137/17 199/15 211/1		<b>spirit</b> [2] 2/8 2/11
<b>shown</b> [2] 19/12 55/3	<b>simplify</b> [1] 32/23	<b>sole</b> [1] 9/14		
<b>shows</b> [11] 10/15 39/12 42/17 95/23 100/20 159/1 159/2 159/6 160/1 162/12 162/23	<b>simplistic</b> [1] 133/22	<b>solely</b> [1] 9/11		
	<b>simply</b> [8] 34/1 58/3 113/20 122/24 145/10 153/21 205/6 215/6	<b>solutions</b> [1] 186/23		
	<b>since</b> [2] 4/24 202/8	<b>some</b> [51] 3/3 5/5 5/9		
	<b>single</b> [9] 29/12 29/22 30/11 120/10 131/17 138/10 138/13 209/23 210/1			
	<b>singular</b> [2] 131/22 134/2			
	<b>Sir</b> [15] 45/23 95/11 95/12 119/2 124/11 124/12 130/7 130/9 130/9 138/17 148/9			

<b>S</b>			
<b>split</b> [1] 154/1	<b>states</b> [1] 181/12	<b>stress</b> [3] 71/18 72/19 84/21	<b>suffering</b> [1] 207/9
<b>spoke</b> [1] 72/18	<b>stating</b> [1] 95/5	<b>strike</b> [1] 150/25	<b>suffice</b> [2] 132/12 153/21
<b>spoken</b> [2] 22/21 185/11	<b>Statistics</b> [1] 138/19	<b>stringent</b> [2] 65/23 153/23	<b>sufficient</b> [1] 54/25
<b>sponsoring</b> [1] 132/11	<b>statutory</b> [2] 208/21 209/4	<b>strong</b> [18] 18/24 21/13 24/11 24/24 48/24 50/2 64/14 65/19 71/17 81/24 96/11 103/15 122/21 150/16 152/17 152/17 153/13 165/21	<b>sufficiently</b> [2] 51/15 76/24
<b>spread</b> [1] 192/24	<b>stay</b> [4] 60/14 62/4 76/21 77/3	<b>strongly</b> [4] 52/17 99/1 121/23 211/2	<b>suggest</b> [8] 44/6 59/24 89/23 106/19 121/5 125/22 125/25 128/14
<b>spreading</b> [1] 147/5	<b>stay-at-home</b> [3] 60/14 62/4 76/21	<b>structural</b> [2] 197/1 199/3	<b>suggested</b> [12] 18/23 72/25 79/19 81/11 101/8 105/18 117/7 147/1 151/12 161/23 161/25 215/1
<b>spring</b> [1] 63/8	<b>steer</b> [2] 43/21 143/24	<b>structure</b> [9] 12/19 19/6 19/14 19/15 20/18 21/5 21/23 24/5 24/5	<b>suggesting</b> [2] 122/8 151/15
<b>squad</b> [1] 160/4	<b>stenographer</b> [2] 78/4 108/25	<b>structured</b> [1] 176/17	<b>suggestion</b> [6] 29/6 36/24 40/2 62/7 72/9 80/13
<b>squeeze</b> [1] 104/8	<b>step</b> [16] 20/3 58/3 73/12 79/10 96/1 96/22 97/21 97/22 97/22 97/23 103/19 103/25 103/25 103/25 186/7 206/22	<b>structures</b> [10] 9/20 11/2 11/14 21/6 25/12 27/3 27/5 141/19 142/2 187/3	<b>suggestions</b> [3] 65/23 186/13 186/21
<b>Ss</b> [2] 11/4 30/4	<b>step 1</b> [1] 97/21	<b>students</b> [1] 90/19	<b>suggests</b> [5] 44/10 67/24 103/21 204/8 204/17
<b>stacks</b> [1] 140/12	<b>step 2</b> [2] 96/1 103/25	<b>stuck</b> [1] 51/10	<b>suite</b> [1] 67/16
<b>staff</b> [11] 56/17 61/15 164/4 164/15 164/24 167/2 167/7 167/13 193/10 194/10 195/8	<b>step 3</b> [2] 96/22 103/25	<b>study</b> [1] 213/4	<b>summaries</b> [1] 130/3
<b>staffing</b> [1] 57/5	<b>Stephen</b> [2] 138/16 138/19	<b>stuff</b> [3] 27/15 27/23 28/7	<b>summarised</b> [1] 83/19
<b>stage</b> [8] 84/5 86/17 95/22 96/21 100/19 104/3 165/3 206/24	<b>Stephen Aldridge</b> [2] 138/16 138/19	<b>Sturgeon</b> [3] 177/15 178/25 181/9	<b>summarising</b> [1] 77/8
<b>stages</b> [1] 199/22	<b>steps</b> [3] 41/3 41/3 98/18	<b>style</b> [1] 41/19	<b>summary</b> [12] 7/12 14/2 17/12 74/20 75/11 104/14 105/4 109/25 112/1 112/5 112/23 137/7
<b>stamp</b> [2] 116/4 123/6	<b>Steve</b> [1] 156/3	<b>subject</b> [4] 38/25 83/7 91/23 132/21	<b>summer</b> [11] 86/16 88/12 89/2 123/24 187/20 188/1 189/22 206/7 209/13 212/6 212/13
<b>stand</b> [1] 90/11	<b>Steve Powis</b> [1] 156/3	<b>submission</b> [5] 126/9 126/11 164/20 169/22 170/2	<b>SUNAK</b> [59] 1/6 1/10 1/11 2/13 3/3 10/15 22/13 27/11 31/4 34/9 36/16 44/3 47/19 48/8 53/2 74/9 75/14 76/19 90/21 92/13 96/16 97/9 105/11 110/21 113/13 117/17 121/7 123/9 127/23 128/24 132/1 136/11 139/9 145/18 151/14 157/6 163/14 165/5 169/2 173/20 175/21 181/11 183/2 187/17 190/20 191/3 192/12 194/5 196/16 198/3 200/20 207/7 208/17 209/18 210/6 210/23 211/22 213/5 217/3
<b>standard</b> [5] 34/18 93/16 126/21 172/15 184/3	<b>still</b> [10] 34/19 78/20 147/22 157/12 157/20 167/4 167/5 179/17 207/21 213/22	<b>submissions</b> [4] 216/10 216/12 216/15 216/16	<b>sure</b> [48] 6/4 6/20 9/19 10/25 20/10 24/7 25/1 28/13 35/8 36/8 37/5 39/21 40/22 45/11 48/4 51/1 52/4 52/12 57/17 71/12 80/8 81/1 92/15 102/5 102/10 115/24 128/11 132/18 133/15 134/3 134/21 136/3 146/19 147/11 162/10 169/20 171/2 180/2 186/21 192/11 192/16 194/11 198/16 199/13 207/15 209/9 210/19 214/23
<b>standards</b> [1] 192/8	<b>stood</b> [1] 49/19	<b>submit</b> [1] 216/15	<b>surely</b> [2] 111/15 121/20
<b>standing</b> [1] 123/3	<b>stop</b> [4] 81/16 192/23 194/24 211/2	<b>submitted</b> [1] 35/17	<b>surge</b> [2] 53/12 55/17
<b>standpoint</b> [1] 188/4	<b>stopping</b> [1] 193/8	<b>subsequent</b> [6] 55/1 71/7 101/3 180/14 188/5 205/25	<b>surprised</b> [2] 57/24 60/10
<b>stark</b> [1] 93/4	<b>straightforward</b> [4] 46/25 146/19 146/25 204/2	<b>subsequently</b> [4] 135/5 144/16 179/11 212/15	<b>surprising</b> [1] 42/16
<b>start</b> [6] 2/1 3/3 22/13 145/8 188/2 190/23	<b>straightforwardly</b> [1] 209/19	<b>subset</b> [1] 203/10	<b>surveys</b> [1] 203/23
<b>started</b> [5] 37/19 95/19 105/2 206/7 208/5	<b>strategic</b> [1] 57/16	<b>substance</b> [2] 32/16 66/4	<b>survive</b> [2] 55/18 55/19
<b>starting</b> [3] 53/18 69/14 78/24	<b>strategy</b> [23] 19/15 32/21 32/22 33/1 33/12 33/17 34/11 37/25 39/9 53/21 53/23 54/2 63/21 64/10 64/11 78/21 96/9 96/12 96/13 102/8 147/2 147/3 147/13	<b>substantive</b> [1] 73/6	<b>susceptible</b> [1] 131/5
<b>state</b> [13] 25/11 64/3 81/14 108/7 111/9 114/21 115/5 122/12 123/6 128/6 168/9 190/14 211/4	<b>stream</b> [1] 100/3	<b>substantively</b> [1] 106/4	<b>sustainable</b> [1] 190/11
<b>stated</b> [4] 150/2 150/10 156/15 161/13	<b>Street</b> [8] 29/19 45/22 47/20 47/20 50/18 142/22 149/21 187/22	<b>such</b> [16] 3/15 5/21 48/1 48/11 65/17 113/23 137/22 162/12 164/9 184/8 185/19 191/8 191/16 198/17 199/4 214/5	<b>Sweden</b> [2] 149/25
<b>statement</b> [43] 1/11 1/15 1/20 3/7 5/15 12/22 12/23 25/8 52/15 74/2 74/6 74/20 75/13 75/21 76/15 76/18 83/10 83/19 83/21 96/15 104/10 111/1 112/21 114/6 121/8 129/5 131/9 163/22 164/13 171/8 171/9 171/11 171/13 171/14 171/23 171/24 175/2 181/9 192/25 193/10 193/25 201/8 201/19	<b>strength</b> [5] 24/19 39/12 39/20 40/6 176/6	<b>suffer</b> [1] 201/3	
<b>statements</b> [1] 1/17		<b>suffered</b> [1] 2/3	
		<b>sufferers</b> [1] 203/20	



<b>S</b>	115/9 119/25 135/18 144/18 160/16 185/20 190/20 195/21 <b>talking [9]</b> 25/17 34/10 34/22 64/15 80/17 149/19 155/23 197/17 198/6 <b>talks [3]</b> 80/5 84/19 86/3 <b>Tam [1]</b> 124/12 <b>tanks [2]</b> 117/11 122/3 <b>target [1]</b> 194/9 <b>tasked [1]</b> 177/10 <b>taskforce [15]</b> 10/3 11/3 19/18 19/23 20/10 20/20 21/5 24/5 145/12 145/13 145/17 146/10 146/13 151/25 200/24 <b>tax [7]</b> 74/25 75/10 76/10 76/16 172/16 173/14 174/18 <b>taxpayers' [1]</b> 210/17 <b>team [5]</b> 1/16 1/16 43/7 43/7 43/8 <b>teams [1]</b> 39/7 <b>technical [1]</b> 69/21 <b>teens [1]</b> 67/9 <b>Tegnell [1]</b> 149/25 <b>tell [12]</b> 34/24 69/22 122/12 124/1 138/25 144/1 157/10 167/17 195/15 197/4 204/25 205/6 <b>telling [4]</b> 61/15 68/7 71/25 92/2 <b>template [2]</b> 19/10 19/11 <b>temporarily [1]</b> 213/15 <b>temporary [7]</b> 126/8 126/20 126/23 126/24 127/2 127/5 190/1 <b>ten [2]</b> 93/3 146/13 <b>ten days [1]</b> 93/3 <b>tend [1]</b> 141/22 <b>tendency [1]</b> 45/20 <b>tens [1]</b> 46/13 <b>term [11]</b> 37/21 46/16 74/16 75/2 75/3 103/2 189/9 189/9 201/4 203/17 207/10 <b>terms [31]</b> 8/1 14/10 14/13 16/20 24/19 27/2 28/12 30/18 45/15 45/21 47/5 51/11 52/17 58/17 60/8 66/24 73/6 74/13 74/18 80/22 83/15 99/2 110/4 110/21 148/25 156/8 158/1 160/10 192/7 214/3 214/15	<b>terrible [1]</b> 94/9 <b>test [6]</b> 41/22 94/16 212/7 212/11 214/3 214/6 <b>tested [1]</b> 211/1 <b>testing [4]</b> 58/18 210/15 212/12 214/5 <b>tests [1]</b> 95/22 <b>text [1]</b> 3/9 <b>texts [1]</b> 3/8 <b>than [40]</b> 4/18 12/13 17/22 23/8 67/14 72/19 76/11 77/12 77/23 81/12 90/23 97/5 100/2 100/6 101/10 102/5 105/19 108/14 115/23 116/24 132/20 134/11 134/15 135/4 137/6 143/21 151/3 172/21 179/1 182/14 182/20 182/23 183/8 188/9 189/2 190/18 193/7 203/25 209/5 214/25 <b>thank [43]</b> 1/19 1/24 1/25 43/7 62/17 107/9 111/18 138/12 162/1 162/25 163/13 168/23 168/24 168/25 169/8 171/4 174/3 174/25 176/20 176/22 176/23 187/13 192/12 192/13 192/17 196/10 196/11 198/7 200/14 200/15 200/18 208/9 208/10 208/11 208/12 215/19 215/20 215/22 215/23 216/1 216/3 216/18 216/19 <b>thank you [34]</b> 1/24 1/25 62/17 107/9 111/18 138/12 162/25 163/13 168/23 168/24 169/8 171/4 174/3 174/25 176/20 176/22 176/23 187/13 192/12 192/13 192/17 196/10 196/11 198/7 200/14 200/15 208/10 208/11 208/12 215/19 216/1 216/3 216/18 216/19 <b>thankfully [1]</b> 205/18 <b>that [1511]</b> <b>that HMT [1]</b> 132/8 <b>that's [112]</b> 4/25 5/6 6/25 9/14 9/15 10/25 11/15 11/18 13/20 18/24 18/24 19/4 21/24 22/3 22/5 24/2 24/11 25/5 25/7 26/23 28/5 28/5 29/25 30/6 30/8 30/12 31/1 31/14 31/16 33/12 35/14 38/21 42/13 44/22	47/7 48/15 49/11 50/8 50/8 50/9 51/21 58/12 61/5 63/23 64/20 64/21 64/22 67/8 67/13 71/22 72/21 74/1 80/11 84/12 88/16 90/7 94/22 97/8 97/14 100/16 103/5 103/9 104/5 104/7 109/25 110/24 113/19 117/10 123/3 127/11 127/22 131/1 133/1 133/11 133/20 138/3 140/17 141/6 141/25 142/25 145/12 145/16 146/16 147/7 148/8 148/20 151/6 154/6 154/13 155/15 156/12 158/13 159/5 162/22 164/10 168/6 168/8 170/13 174/4 182/5 183/3 186/19 187/7 190/11 190/21 191/18 193/24 198/20 207/25 212/2 212/6 214/21 <b>their [52]</b> 7/23 49/23 50/5 51/9 67/6 68/10 81/2 82/24 83/3 83/13 83/16 86/2 90/17 91/8 91/9 93/2 101/6 103/18 110/12 111/12 113/11 114/22 117/10 118/15 125/11 129/10 129/21 129/21 131/7 132/10 134/15 135/7 137/7 141/10 150/18 161/4 161/24 168/10 170/10 172/15 172/15 172/16 173/14 174/17 182/16 191/6 199/14 199/18 199/20 212/20 214/19 215/9 <b>them [69]</b> 4/12 7/2 9/2 9/9 16/5 18/2 18/3 18/6 22/5 26/17 31/6 33/19 34/2 36/10 51/2 51/10 51/16 54/10 61/13 67/12 67/14 67/15 85/10 92/19 111/24 120/13 120/16 120/19 124/24 124/25 125/5 125/12 127/18 129/5 131/21 132/5 133/9 133/11 139/21 145/16 147/25 161/2 162/7 162/22 162/23 163/20 165/12 165/23 170/1 170/4 170/9 170/15 170/17 170/20 173/2 173/18 182/15 182/18 182/25 190/24 191/23 191/23 196/19 199/18 203/9 203/14 204/21 206/19 216/14	<b>themselves [15]</b> 4/8 16/12 61/16 67/4 85/19 89/18 94/22 133/10 133/21 135/25 149/6 157/15 161/8 167/7 215/3 <b>then [95]</b> 1/16 2/15 2/16 2/17 4/24 6/11 13/3 13/12 14/1 14/2 14/12 16/2 17/5 17/15 19/19 23/16 34/12 36/13 38/10 43/20 43/25 49/7 49/25 50/4 50/7 50/20 51/9 56/6 56/10 56/14 58/23 62/5 63/9 64/9 65/24 66/15 66/15 66/19 67/13 67/17 67/18 70/2 70/10 73/24 76/13 78/16 78/23 79/1 79/9 82/6 84/3 86/23 87/2 87/19 87/23 88/1 88/1 92/9 93/5 96/19 96/21 97/11 106/17 108/15 108/19 113/5 129/24 137/18 140/16 142/15 143/21 145/21 146/16 146/24 152/3 155/5 164/6 168/1 172/16 173/25 174/14 175/4 175/16 177/14 177/15 179/10 188/11 191/15 193/1 193/21 194/18 207/13 209/14 211/5 212/4 <b>there [322]</b> <b>there'd [1]</b> 28/11 <b>there's [36]</b> 21/17 21/19 22/8 25/24 31/7 34/3 36/12 36/13 40/1 42/4 45/4 80/13 84/18 85/10 86/24 93/10 99/23 106/6 112/24 131/10 135/2 140/13 141/18 151/5 151/7 151/10 168/6 184/2 193/17 204/13 204/18 205/8 207/24 208/6 214/23 215/24 <b>thereafter [2]</b> 88/3 100/15 <b>therefore [13]</b> 55/24 80/21 81/22 84/9 86/16 89/7 95/16 101/18 102/19 160/25 186/10 206/10 207/12 <b>these [76]</b> 7/14 10/22 16/3 21/12 22/20 23/19 25/9 25/13 28/2 33/22 38/6 38/12 38/14 39/13 39/16 40/15 46/11 46/12 46/16 47/4 54/11
----------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>T</b>	173/14 173/15 173/16 181/20 182/16 182/16 182/18 182/21 182/22 182/24 183/11 188/23 191/1 195/9 197/18 199/8 199/17 206/19 208/21 210/12 211/21 211/22 213/22 214/22 215/6	<b>third [3]</b> 15/24 97/23 177/22 <b>thirdly [1]</b> 108/15 <b>this [267]</b> <b>Thomas [8]</b> 196/12 196/13 196/15 196/16 198/3 198/6 200/15 217/17 <b>those [168]</b> 2/2 2/3 2/9 4/1 4/14 5/5 7/7 7/21 9/16 11/8 11/21 11/25 13/14 16/3 18/2 18/5 18/11 18/19 19/11 20/16 20/23 21/22 22/16 23/21 24/1 24/12 25/11 26/3 27/5 27/7 28/18 30/2 30/6 33/17 34/22 36/4 36/14 38/19 40/7 44/15 46/5 48/25 49/19 50/3 50/23 52/4 52/6 52/10 52/21 56/20 59/13 60/11 61/7 61/10 62/12 63/12 64/4 67/9 71/22 72/2 73/15 74/12 75/11 76/14 77/22 82/4 82/8 82/12 82/14 82/14 82/22 83/8 85/18 86/4 89/5 89/7 95/3 95/5 106/24 107/7 117/7 117/8 117/10 117/14 119/23 120/11 120/15 120/25 121/2 121/2 121/7 121/11 121/12 122/5 122/9 123/9 124/23 127/13 127/16 127/19 127/21 127/21 128/2 130/22 145/9 145/21 159/13 160/10 162/6 162/8 162/9 162/13 167/15 168/3 168/24 171/22 175/16 176/20 177/8 177/8 178/19 179/12 181/13 181/25 182/23 183/23 183/24 184/6 184/12 184/15 184/16 184/20 185/8 185/19 185/21 186/10 187/2 188/22 189/10 191/1 191/21 192/10 192/21 196/19 197/15 197/19 199/4 199/11 199/12 199/16 199/25 200/11 203/9 207/13 208/3 208/19 209/9 209/9 209/11 210/11 210/15 210/20 211/9 211/14 213/7 213/20 214/1 214/7 <b>those weeks [1]</b> 52/21 <b>though [9]</b> 32/14	46/7 56/21 136/13 141/18 170/4 179/13 179/16 190/15 <b>thought [21]</b> 2/5 8/23 19/7 19/15 21/22 28/22 32/9 67/14 81/3 97/1 97/2 97/4 97/15 120/23 153/14 159/15 160/17 160/23 180/2 191/24 197/14 <b>thoughts [5]</b> 28/15 40/13 43/2 80/18 162/20 <b>three [23]</b> 24/12 66/6 66/9 98/18 99/7 119/23 120/11 121/6 125/14 136/20 147/17 147/20 154/2 154/3 154/12 159/24 171/19 173/8 173/25 174/14 179/11 194/17 197/2 <b>three days [1]</b> 99/7 <b>three weeks [3]</b> 24/12 147/17 147/20 <b>three years [1]</b> 194/17 <b>through [35]</b> 2/2 3/25 9/24 11/3 11/13 15/2 18/7 20/17 29/15 40/16 41/25 48/2 56/16 74/16 97/10 122/14 136/15 137/15 142/9 142/10 160/24 160/25 161/1 163/25 165/13 171/3 172/15 174/7 176/2 176/12 179/10 190/21 208/3 212/14 213/9 <b>throughout [22]</b> 2/4 5/16 5/23 6/20 7/7 8/17 27/7 27/8 51/18 51/19 83/12 91/6 128/25 158/13 158/14 160/20 162/9 162/19 162/20 178/17 205/16 211/15 <b>Thursday [10]</b> 17/2 68/12 68/21 69/1 69/6 70/8 72/9 72/18 196/20 216/13 <b>thus [1]</b> 21/19 <b>ticking [1]</b> 83/4 <b>tier [9]</b> 10/18 148/12 151/22 152/1 152/8 152/13 153/19 154/9 154/24 <b>tiered [3]</b> 152/10 153/10 154/20 <b>tiering [1]</b> 154/16 <b>tiers [3]</b> 50/16 154/3 154/12 <b>tight [1]</b> 216/14 <b>til [1]</b> 62/19 <b>time [150]</b> 3/19 4/5	4/9 4/20 4/22 4/23 4/25 7/2 7/20 10/9 12/3 12/13 13/11 13/15 15/8 15/16 15/23 16/10 16/21 16/25 19/17 19/20 20/17 21/9 22/8 22/16 24/11 25/20 25/21 26/17 27/2 29/18 35/19 37/17 38/5 38/8 45/3 46/6 47/11 47/15 49/16 50/9 53/25 58/5 58/14 58/20 59/3 60/21 62/15 63/13 63/15 67/4 67/5 67/11 70/17 76/2 82/5 82/14 83/8 84/13 90/20 91/18 93/6 94/11 94/14 94/18 94/21 95/7 96/9 97/16 99/6 99/9 100/25 101/4 107/1 114/14 121/22 122/18 126/16 128/3 128/20 129/1 129/10 130/6 131/11 131/13 131/14 133/12 134/1 134/14 136/14 140/3 145/13 145/17 146/18 148/13 148/14 149/4 149/9 149/13 150/21 152/10 153/19 156/25 157/25 161/1 162/19 162/20 163/7 164/21 165/17 166/17 166/22 167/5 169/25 170/11 173/8 173/9 178/11 178/20 178/24 179/4 185/11 186/2 186/9 186/14 187/11 189/9 189/9 191/4 193/11 196/3 197/8 197/13 197/21 201/17 202/3 202/19 202/20 203/13 205/23 206/22 208/5 211/25 212/15 215/1 215/15 215/16 215/24 216/15 <b>timeliness [1]</b> 58/11 <b>times [13]</b> 3/20 4/24 61/9 105/23 109/19 136/20 173/8 173/25 174/14 179/11 186/6 188/16 204/13 <b>timescales [1]</b> 178/21 <b>timetable [2]</b> 78/25 216/14 <b>timing [12]</b> 54/19 59/15 63/9 65/9 66/2 66/4 66/16 66/17 66/22 68/9 69/2 79/2 <b>titled [1]</b> 126/9 <b>titles [1]</b> 141/18 <b>today [11]</b> 1/21 1/25
----------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>T</b>	118/15 146/6 198/12 206/12 207/14 <b>trade-off [6]</b> 31/7 32/2 34/3 37/1 206/12 207/14 <b>trade-off,' [1]</b> 31/3 <b>trade-offs [1]</b> 146/6 <b>Trades [1]</b> 208/18 <b>Trades Union [1]</b> 208/18 <b>traditional [1]</b> 15/9 <b>trail [3]</b> 27/15 27/23 28/4 <b>trailing [1]</b> 98/6 <b>trajectory [1]</b> 147/8 <b>translate [1]</b> 59/11 <b>translates [2]</b> 182/7 182/8 <b>transmission [25]</b> 94/19 94/24 94/25 99/10 100/9 100/24 101/1 103/12 112/12 112/17 113/19 114/23 115/3 117/21 118/3 119/9 119/14 122/23 124/15 128/10 133/24 199/24 201/7 203/2 203/8 <b>transparent [1]</b> 142/12 <b>transport [2]</b> 108/8 213/8 <b>travel [1]</b> 28/18 <b>Treasury [94]</b> 1/17 2/18 4/18 6/1 7/25 10/1 10/19 13/15 15/4 17/22 17/22 18/4 32/1 32/9 32/11 32/13 36/22 43/5 69/21 71/5 78/7 78/18 85/3 86/21 90/5 90/13 91/6 95/18 98/19 102/16 102/19 102/24 103/10 104/13 104/19 104/21 105/1 105/2 106/15 108/2 114/20 115/4 118/1 119/10 127/1 129/10 130/8 137/11 137/25 138/4 138/12 138/25 139/11 139/24 140/1 141/5 141/9 142/8 145/8 145/23 146/12 147/12 147/16 160/1 160/3 160/5 160/9 160/15 160/19 162/16 164/10 166/3 166/17 167/24 168/2 170/18 175/11 175/12 175/12 175/16 184/2 187/5 195/5 196/4 201/9 202/5 202/23 205/9 206/2 208/24 209/1 209/21 209/24 210/6 <b>Treasury's [2]</b>	167/19 207/11 <b>treat [1]</b> 61/8 <b>treated [1]</b> 175/10 <b>trick [1]</b> 49/24 <b>tricky [3]</b> 75/25 94/1 132/21 <b>tried [5]</b> 27/14 27/22 70/24 81/16 156/19 <b>tries [1]</b> 47/14 <b>triggered [7]</b> 173/3 173/18 174/7 175/25 179/9 183/13 185/22 <b>triggers [1]</b> 172/19 <b>tripled [1]</b> 69/17 <b>true [1]</b> 140/1 <b>Truss [1]</b> 2/25 <b>truth [1]</b> 1/13 <b>try [13]</b> 10/21 74/9 77/5 77/6 82/16 83/4 108/24 145/15 153/14 184/25 194/18 199/13 202/11 <b>trying [9]</b> 20/25 21/1 77/17 83/15 94/1 105/10 157/21 191/3 197/22 <b>Tuesday [4]</b> 41/7 57/23 91/22 91/23 <b>turmoil [2]</b> 191/19 191/21 <b>turn [3]</b> 161/18 171/11 188/5 <b>turned [4]</b> 54/25 76/4 92/3 157/13 <b>turning [2]</b> 5/11 171/23 <b>twice [1]</b> 136/20 <b>two [32]</b> 13/14 18/23 21/22 24/12 25/23 29/12 29/22 30/11 44/3 48/5 66/19 73/15 76/17 86/19 87/25 88/8 88/15 88/21 95/20 119/25 133/6 133/19 133/19 139/22 147/17 147/20 163/20 166/18 171/7 171/12 180/8 208/20 <b>two weeks [3]</b> 24/12 180/8 208/20 <b>two years [2]</b> 25/23 48/5 <b>type [3]</b> 38/19 85/17 141/11 <b>types [5]</b> 26/3 38/15 38/19 56/17 95/5 <b>typical [3]</b> 29/15 29/18 118/11 <b>typically [2]</b> 19/16 39/16	<b>UK [41]</b> 60/23 69/11 69/15 77/13 82/21 125/18 125/18 130/13 130/19 143/20 151/13 163/15 169/11 170/6 170/13 171/14 171/17 172/2 172/8 172/14 172/17 174/8 174/19 175/10 175/12 175/16 176/1 176/5 176/10 176/14 176/15 177/12 179/6 181/4 182/6 182/21 183/9 184/9 185/21 186/1 191/12 <b>UK Government [3]</b> 130/19 182/6 184/9 <b>UK Government's [1]</b> 69/15 <b>UK's [1]</b> 152/25 <b>UK-wide [1]</b> 186/1 <b>UKHospitality [2]</b> 118/16 198/12 <b>ultimate [11]</b> 8/4 9/14 44/8 52/24 58/3 60/11 65/18 91/8 143/4 158/7 158/22 <b>ultimately [25]</b> 9/4 11/22 11/24 18/8 21/20 30/6 40/25 45/7 51/12 55/19 72/4 85/7 102/12 103/12 113/22 158/9 158/12 159/3 188/9 189/8 189/11 194/23 210/12 210/17 214/11 <b>unaddressed [1]</b> 212/1 <b>unanimous [1]</b> 124/13 <b>unanimously [1]</b> 45/25 <b>unattractively [1]</b> 159/25 <b>unaware [2]</b> 101/15 102/20 <b>uncertain [5]</b> 16/1 42/15 131/4 133/17 133/21 <b>uncoiled [1]</b> 63/8 <b>under [6]</b> 43/25 61/25 71/18 72/20 97/17 193/22 <b>underappreciated [3]</b> 133/13 205/25 206/1 <b>underlying [2]</b> 142/20 215/11 <b>underpinning [2]</b> 3/4 53/3 <b>undershot [1]</b> 77/23 <b>understaffing [1]</b> 195/2 <b>understand [18]</b> 1/22 37/5 48/9 55/9 71/24 74/2 74/4 75/20 84/22	100/14 114/6 134/5 139/13 141/15 155/9 155/9 189/19 198/14 <b>understandably [1]</b> 38/1 <b>understanding [12]</b> 18/10 37/20 41/10 53/7 55/8 71/21 83/7 136/24 137/1 196/5 207/16 214/13 <b>understands [1]</b> 158/20 <b>understood [7]</b> 70/13 76/24 95/4 100/24 132/19 134/12 201/16 <b>undertaken [1]</b> 63/5 <b>undoubtedly [1]</b> 53/8 <b>undue [2]</b> 128/12 128/16 <b>unemployment [4]</b> 74/25 162/15 205/17 205/20 <b>unequal [2]</b> 181/16 183/22 <b>unfortunately [1]</b> 51/25 <b>Union [1]</b> 208/18 <b>unique [1]</b> 143/4 <b>United [4]</b> 90/25 123/14 176/4 186/19 <b>United Kingdom [4]</b> 90/25 123/14 176/4 186/19 <b>universal [3]</b> 176/11 209/25 213/16 <b>Universal Credit [2]</b> 176/11 213/16 <b>unless [3]</b> 90/22 117/8 177/20 <b>unlike [2]</b> 141/4 215/7 <b>unlikely [2]</b> 127/15 181/17 <b>unlock [1]</b> 95/22 <b>unlocking [1]</b> 104/3 <b>unnecessary [2]</b> 92/15 151/14 <b>unpick [2]</b> 44/13 185/25 <b>unpicked [3]</b> 44/2 47/25 50/20 <b>unpicking [1]</b> 44/9 <b>unprecedented [10]</b> 23/2 32/24 42/15 71/16 172/24 173/7 173/17 176/6 179/7 180/23 <b>unpredictable [2]</b> 16/1 52/1 <b>unringfenced [1]</b> 165/15 <b>unsurprising [3]</b> 46/21 93/8 212/6 <b>unsurprisingly [3]</b>
	<b>U</b>			
	<b>U-turn [2]</b> 161/18 188/5			

**U**  
**unsurprisingly... [3]** 71/4 90/14 189/25  
**until [9]** 2/21 41/7 41/12 66/8 66/18 168/1 211/23 212/5 216/21  
**untoward [1]** 45/4  
**unviable [1]** 108/4  
**unwind [1]** 44/13  
**unwinding [1]** 44/9  
**unwinds [1]** 44/1  
**unwinds/is [1]** 44/1  
**unwound [1]** 47/25  
**up [61]** 3/14 4/12 9/21 11/1 11/14 11/17 11/22 17/5 22/2 27/6 35/24 44/21 45/9 49/19 49/20 61/4 64/4 71/14 77/22 79/4 87/18 88/10 89/4 94/6 94/8 100/10 100/25 105/24 108/23 108/24 111/24 112/19 112/20 122/20 125/23 126/2 126/3 126/4 126/13 130/15 130/21 138/15 140/12 144/1 153/6 153/8 156/2 159/7 161/22 162/1 176/18 177/13 180/5 181/8 209/8 212/7 212/11 212/13 214/7 214/11 214/14  
**update [1]** 13/2  
**updating [1]** 79/6  
**upfront [10]** 171/18 173/7 173/24 176/17 179/4 180/11 183/10 183/16 186/2 187/9  
**uplift [3]** 173/21 180/9 188/12  
**uplifted [5]** 171/19 173/8 173/25 174/14 179/11  
**uplifting [1]** 181/5  
**uplifts [1]** 179/12  
**upon [7]** 22/14 52/22 103/11 113/23 150/1 185/11 201/18  
**upper [1]** 131/7  
**uppermost [1]** 162/20  
**upshot [1]** 43/18  
**upward [1]** 147/8  
**urged [2]** 208/24 209/21  
**urgency [1]** 105/17  
**urging [1]** 209/24  
**us [11]** 1/9 25/21 26/4 43/14 68/11 71/15 77/3 94/17 111/15 179/17 197/4

**use [13]** 12/18 15/7 16/3 45/23 116/13 117/24 127/13 140/5 173/15 182/16 190/25 198/18 200/3  
**used [10]** 3/7 3/11 19/12 70/6 116/2 118/24 144/23 144/24 149/3 195/25  
**useful [1]** 91/15  
**useless [1]** 46/3  
**user [2]** 3/23 5/2  
**uses [1]** 164/18  
**using [2]** 134/23 162/7  
**usual [2]** 1/13 104/22  
**V**  
**vaccine [1]** 166/11  
**vacuum [1]** 140/9  
**Vallance [9]** 38/16 95/13 98/6 124/11 130/7 138/15 138/17 138/18 196/23  
**Vallance's [2]** 45/23 161/21  
**valuable [1]** 63/13  
**value [1]** 191/1  
**Van [1]** 124/12  
**Vanessa [1]** 130/5  
**Vanessa MacDougall [1]** 130/5  
**varied [3]** 155/21 156/1 157/17  
**variety [1]** 203/11  
**various [22]** 2/4 7/22 9/20 12/5 12/23 14/3 43/4 58/24 74/21 78/7 78/17 84/19 86/12 89/25 95/22 97/17 98/17 166/5 194/13 202/10 202/10 209/18  
**vast [2]** 5/20 52/20  
**VAT [2]** 116/4 123/5  
**veer [1]** 45/20  
**veering [1]** 41/11  
**vein [1]** 175/1  
**ventilated [2]** 37/2 91/12  
**verbal [1]** 136/17  
**verbally [1]** 130/4  
**versus [2]** 47/7 195/25  
**very [97]** 1/14 1/19 2/13 10/8 10/20 12/14 14/18 14/18 15/13 16/7 16/19 20/19 20/25 24/22 27/3 31/14 34/12 34/21 37/15 37/25 53/10 54/4 54/9 58/9 59/6 60/20 61/8 69/8 69/19 71/5 72/22 74/18 78/24 85/20 85/22

86/1 89/12 89/19 90/9 91/4 99/14 99/24 101/1 104/9 106/8 106/12 107/12 107/19 107/25 108/24 113/17 114/6 114/23 116/2 121/24 122/4 122/18 122/21 124/6 126/1 127/4 129/4 129/9 135/10 139/22 140/10 140/10 140/25 144/20 146/5 146/9 148/8 148/23 148/23 151/22 154/8 155/17 159/10 161/6 162/2 168/25 188/22 189/16 194/15 196/19 197/23 197/23 198/13 206/6 206/21 208/9 214/11 214/11 215/15 215/20 215/22 215/23  
**via [1]** 184/2  
**view [44]** 11/12 18/18 20/15 27/7 41/23 42/7 42/24 46/1 46/21 47/23 47/24 48/10 49/20 49/21 67/6 69/14 72/17 94/8 98/22 109/15 114/5 122/6 127/14 131/17 131/22 134/6 134/7 135/6 136/14 136/21 138/3 140/23 142/5 145/9 152/12 152/16 153/13 158/22 170/23 175/8 189/4 195/5 203/5 209/25  
**viewed [1]** 101/23  
**views [17]** 8/2 9/23 11/23 12/4 79/13 131/16 132/1 132/10 134/7 141/21 150/9 150/18 150/21 151/10 153/10 172/11 175/22  
**vigorous [1]** 46/11  
**violently [2]** 156/10 156/23  
**virtue [1]** 110/20  
**virus [9]** 58/18 65/1 81/12 102/9 124/3 126/4 163/25 192/24 201/25  
**visit [1]** 123/20  
**vital [2]** 40/5 65/9  
**vividly [4]** 53/24 66/12 67/18 175/13  
**viz [1]** 65/3  
**voice [7]** 39/13 39/19 40/6 80/19 93/25 158/9 192/17  
**voices [1]** 129/15  
**volumes [1]** 212/12  
**voluntary [2]** 195/4 195/7

**voucher [1]** 98/20  
**vouchers [4]** 161/19 190/23 190/23 191/1  
**vulnerabilities [2]** 197/6 198/1  
**vulnerable [21]** 82/12 83/8 84/6 84/10 89/6 117/5 118/25 148/8 162/11 162/14 185/7 186/19 188/13 188/19 190/8 192/2 197/12 213/12 213/18 214/1 215/9  
**W**  
**wait [1]** 183/11  
**waited [1]** 58/4  
**waiting [1]** 183/8  
**Wales [17]** 156/19 171/6 171/9 172/6 172/20 173/11 174/16 175/7 175/17 175/20 175/24 176/3 176/9 176/13 176/16 179/8 179/23  
**walks [3]** 32/20 33/9 37/22  
**wall [1]** 196/13  
**want [26]** 20/9 27/17 37/4 40/6 41/17 41/22 42/23 70/3 72/11 82/22 82/25 88/19 101/12 110/3 126/23 161/25 162/5 173/16 174/10 174/12 183/9 187/19 191/7 192/21 197/8 199/19  
**wanted [20]** 1/22 2/1 11/6 11/23 32/22 33/18 43/6 51/12 54/7 80/24 106/11 107/3 107/4 116/23 159/7 170/18 171/2 182/2 182/16 182/17  
**wanting [1]** 150/17  
**wanton [1]** 118/8  
**wants [2]** 140/20 151/9  
**War [1]** 74/23  
**warn [1]** 95/13  
**Warner [2]** 132/8 138/15  
**warning [5]** 34/25 67/22 95/17 97/25 205/10  
**warranted [2]** 157/17 158/19  
**wary [1]** 127/1  
**was [1006]**  
**wasn't [51]** 6/23 25/17 31/3 37/1 37/2 42/12 44/11 50/1 50/3 50/8 57/1 57/1 58/10 89/23 93/9 96/16

101/3 103/22 105/13 108/22 113/25 123/12 125/16 127/7 129/23 129/23 130/16 133/20 134/5 136/5 143/10 144/6 144/17 150/6 157/17 160/11 165/21 165/22 166/22 167/17 167/21 168/10 180/11 194/12 204/1 212/1 212/9 212/24 213/6 213/10 215/3  
**watch [1]** 38/9  
**water [1]** 61/24  
**watered [4]** 79/14 79/17 79/21 80/20  
**wave [3]** 125/3 153/1 153/5  
**way [52]** 1/13 1/23 5/18 7/1 7/24 8/14 11/12 11/25 12/18 12/19 18/22 25/7 29/23 30/12 33/4 33/15 41/25 42/13 44/21 50/13 55/17 80/11 90/17 97/6 102/23 105/19 115/16 116/3 118/8 118/11 118/20 125/2 125/12 125/19 127/18 131/21 135/15 142/12 143/1 143/7 144/17 146/16 160/16 176/16 182/6 182/13 186/18 200/17 210/19 210/23 214/17 214/20  
**ways [5]** 2/4 12/24 71/9 72/22 202/11  
**we [276]**  
**we'd [10]** 29/19 54/23 77/10 82/25 105/7 115/9 115/19 153/15 174/13 201/15  
**we'll [17]** 12/22 13/14 16/23 17/6 17/8 24/7 25/1 28/13 48/17 48/21 52/3 62/19 74/5 83/18 125/6 136/3 210/4  
**we're [16]** 1/14 12/2 40/1 48/23 59/21 71/12 71/12 74/25 99/19 125/8 130/22 148/21 149/19 157/18 159/14 174/4  
**we've [17]** 5/8 28/20 37/13 53/11 61/15 81/25 86/22 102/6 135/24 160/6 170/16 185/13 185/19 193/14 202/7 204/10 205/3  
**weak [1]** 149/9  
**Wednesday [3]** 216/13 216/17 216/22

<p><b>W</b></p> <p><b>week [8]</b> 58/5 66/14 69/18 93/3 136/20 136/20 206/21 216/1</p> <p><b>weekend [5]</b> 26/1 29/19 44/2 57/20 67/1</p> <p><b>weekly [1]</b> 13/1</p> <p><b>weeks [17]</b> 14/21 15/4 20/23 24/12 24/12 25/1 48/25 52/21 56/25 63/14 64/4 88/18 89/1 147/17 147/20 180/8 208/20</p> <p><b>weigh [1]</b> 35/24</p> <p><b>weighed [1]</b> 141/20</p> <p><b>weird [1]</b> 26/25</p> <p><b>welfare [4]</b> 82/13 176/13 197/13 215/8</p> <p><b>well [94]</b> 2/13 6/2 7/5 9/9 9/12 9/24 15/13 19/7 19/19 22/24 23/23 25/19 26/5 27/9 27/10 28/5 29/4 29/10 32/6 32/7 32/20 34/7 35/9 40/10 40/23 42/6 42/11 42/24 43/9 45/8 46/23 48/7 49/14 54/15 56/15 58/8 61/4 61/10 61/19 61/20 65/22 66/21 76/6 81/14 84/5 87/20 88/25 88/25 89/8 95/3 99/11 102/12 105/7 106/8 106/19 110/25 111/23 118/5 128/21 129/5 129/23 132/9 134/22 142/17 152/17 153/25 155/5 155/11 161/10 162/19 165/7 167/9 168/14 174/12 174/16 174/23 183/5 186/3 186/25 187/8 187/8 188/7 191/20 192/11 194/18 195/23 196/6 197/10 201/16 201/18 206/21 209/1 215/9 215/24</p> <p><b>well-off [1]</b> 84/5</p> <p><b>wellbeing [1]</b> 36/3</p> <p><b>Welsh [9]</b> 169/13 169/18 169/23 170/22 172/1 174/5 175/14 176/18 179/19</p> <p><b>Welsh Government [6]</b> 169/13 169/18 169/23 170/22 176/18 179/19</p> <p><b>went [11]</b> 18/14 25/22 30/19 51/24 52/3 100/17 113/10 137/5 151/4 164/6 212/14</p>	<p><b>were [320]</b></p> <p><b>were weeks [1]</b> 14/21</p> <p><b>weren't [11]</b> 21/3 27/11 50/20 51/22 70/6 95/3 142/14 148/2 168/12 211/21 212/20</p> <p><b>what [189]</b> 2/16 5/24 5/25 6/17 8/5 8/20 10/23 14/9 14/13 14/21 15/14 16/4 17/15 17/19 18/25 21/21 21/25 24/10 24/11 26/7 26/13 27/11 29/5 29/25 30/6 30/16 30/20 31/1 31/16 33/12 33/18 34/11 34/18 34/22 35/14 36/14 37/21 38/5 42/8 44/19 45/12 47/10 50/9 50/9 52/10 53/7 53/12 53/22 54/7 55/8 55/17 55/20 55/22 56/6 56/15 57/10 58/1 58/23 60/7 60/8 60/12 60/17 60/22 61/3 62/2 62/15 63/12 63/13 63/23 65/13 65/17 65/25 66/15 66/15 67/8 68/6 69/24 70/19 70/20 70/22 71/8 71/22 71/24 72/5 72/11 73/11 74/19 75/5 76/4 77/4 77/11 77/21 78/25 79/16 79/22 80/8 80/15 80/18 80/24 81/19 81/19 84/13 85/7 85/21 87/16 88/18 90/12 91/7 91/8 91/8 92/12 92/22 94/3 94/14 95/19 96/12 97/10 97/13 100/5 100/13 106/16 108/6 109/9 109/16 110/3 110/24 112/4 113/20 113/23 116/18 116/21 117/16 119/19 126/22 133/20 134/16 135/16 136/19 137/1 139/3 140/14 144/14 145/5 145/13 145/16 147/8 147/15 152/12 157/6 157/10 158/25 159/5 160/17 161/2 162/18 165/4 165/5 165/18 168/22 172/19 176/1 176/6 177/21 177/24 178/1 179/17 179/20 181/1 181/4 181/22 183/8 183/20 185/15 186/8 188/20 189/4 189/23</p>	<p>190/22 194/16 195/13 196/7 197/4 197/24 199/10 199/23 204/16 205/1 205/25 212/25</p> <p><b>what's [1]</b> 58/18</p> <p><b>Whately [3]</b> 193/1 193/5 193/9</p> <p><b>whatever [8]</b> 8/3 10/22 12/5 97/13 100/7 100/14 102/20 159/16</p> <p><b>WhatsApp [5]</b> 3/12 3/13 3/23 4/8 5/2</p> <p><b>WhatsApps [4]</b> 3/18 4/7 4/11 68/12</p> <p><b>whatsoever [2]</b> 34/23 46/24</p> <p><b>when [59]</b> 9/2 10/15 12/3 16/4 18/11 23/12 25/17 25/20 28/21 30/1 38/6 38/10 42/14 47/17 48/9 49/5 49/8 49/11 52/4 59/14 62/2 67/13 68/7 69/3 70/24 72/18 76/3 76/7 77/16 78/2 80/4 85/9 90/1 91/11 103/23 106/20 109/18 114/12 121/18 121/22 131/22 136/2 137/5 156/19 157/14 161/22 166/10 172/17 175/13 185/20 185/22 187/8 190/14 190/25 195/8 204/13 211/24 212/6 212/13</p> <p><b>whenever [1]</b> 161/12</p> <p><b>where [47]</b> 5/4 8/21 9/22 11/15 12/10 18/11 19/1 21/14 28/22 29/1 29/16 41/6 45/2 45/14 45/14 52/7 53/13 57/13 64/18 65/7 66/6 66/21 67/3 77/6 81/25 83/18 94/1 94/24 99/19 100/22 112/25 122/10 122/10 130/17 137/3 137/4 144/19 149/22 149/22 153/2 155/13 157/4 164/10 170/6 193/9 207/8 208/13</p> <p><b>whereby [1]</b> 172/14</p> <p><b>whether [42]</b> 8/8 10/16 37/4 38/16 40/15 46/14 46/14 46/15 46/15 46/16 53/10 55/15 55/18 55/18 56/1 58/4 65/11 70/11 72/4 73/12 103/10 128/4 128/22 135/23 136/7 136/21 137/23 140/23 140/25 151/16 155/1 159/4 159/12 162/5 162/6</p>	<p>166/10 169/20 181/2 181/24 190/2 190/2 213/21</p> <p><b>which [209]</b> 1/12 1/18 5/19 5/23 7/24 9/25 12/20 12/24 13/4 14/16 15/5 15/18 17/16 18/21 19/18 20/17 23/18 24/17 25/1 26/15 27/12 29/6 31/19 32/17 36/14 36/24 37/10 38/23 40/7 41/3 41/12 41/17 43/1 43/14 44/10 44/11 44/13 45/16 45/22 46/17 48/7 48/10 48/21 50/20 50/25 51/5 51/10 51/14 52/1 52/16 53/17 53/21 54/3 54/7 54/19 56/2 56/18 57/22 58/1 59/25 60/3 62/9 63/8 63/9 64/11 65/16 66/16 67/2 67/11 68/18 69/7 70/10 71/9 71/10 71/16 72/1 72/2 74/25 75/7 76/17 77/10 78/17 80/4 80/21 81/13 85/15 87/7 87/11 91/15 93/13 93/14 95/2 95/10 95/23 96/18 96/21 96/21 96/23 97/21 97/21 97/22 99/24 100/10 101/1 101/7 101/23 102/23 103/13 103/17 103/21 104/24 104/25 109/3 109/6 110/6 110/19 111/13 111/15 112/4 112/14 114/3 114/3 114/4 114/19 115/10 115/17 115/25 116/1 116/11 117/25 118/10 119/1 119/13 121/8 124/16 124/17 125/3 128/25 130/1 130/3 132/6 132/25 135/1 136/15 137/17 138/24 139/9 139/13 140/13 140/14 141/16 141/22 142/15 142/21 143/6 143/7 143/13 145/14 149/7 150/3 150/11 151/19 152/8 152/13 154/20 155/10 155/11 156/5 159/2 160/1 161/7 161/8 163/25 164/8 164/9 165/11 166/1 170/8 173/9 173/9 173/11 174/1 176/7 176/13 179/7 180/23 183/20 184/6 185/5</p>	<p>186/14 188/14 190/23 191/8 198/9 198/10 198/12 200/23 201/25 202/25 203/10 204/1 205/17 206/3 206/8 210/9 212/8 212/20 213/16 214/9</p> <p><b>whichever [1]</b> 103/24</p> <p><b>while [5]</b> 78/19 133/1 134/12 202/9 208/1</p> <p><b>whilst [10]</b> 31/25 104/19 106/22 109/12 109/14 124/15 125/21 131/3 147/22 210/4</p> <p><b>whip [2]</b> 124/17 162/3</p> <p><b>Whitty [6]</b> 38/16 54/22 95/11 98/8 119/3 124/11</p> <p><b>Whitty's [1]</b> 148/9</p> <p><b>who [61]</b> 2/2 2/3 9/5 16/10 20/13 30/7 32/5 32/7 45/21 63/19 77/20 77/21 82/12 89/5 90/8 95/9 106/1 117/5 121/20 128/6 129/18 129/19 130/1 130/5 136/18 143/19 146/21 150/22 160/19 160/19 161/19 162/17 162/19 177/8 178/6 181/17 181/19 181/25 183/23 183/24 184/12 184/16 184/16 184/16 185/2 189/1 191/21 193/15 193/22 195/22 197/11 198/15 198/23 199/4 207/9 208/4 209/9 213/7 213/15 213/20 215/8</p> <p><b>whoever [2]</b> 29/13 150/7</p> <p><b>whole [10]</b> 36/20 58/7 91/6 102/7 123/14 127/22 149/10 175/9 183/11 208/2</p> <p><b>whose [1]</b> 10/3</p> <p><b>why [40]</b> 24/17 26/17 28/2 48/15 72/21 76/7 87/6 89/25 90/7 114/19 114/24 115/2 117/10 119/10 119/17 120/22 120/23 121/18 122/12 122/15 126/7 130/23 135/12 139/9 139/20 141/16 145/23 150/1 150/21 151/17 159/17 162/22 165/11 167/5 169/19 194/6 196/2 196/3 204/1 207/25</p> <p><b>wide [2]</b> 154/20 186/1</p> <p><b>widely [1]</b> 160/22</p>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<b>W</b>	<b>work [58]</b> 10/12 11/2 16/17 19/12 21/6 23/6 26/10 26/11 26/21 27/2 32/9 43/8 48/16 54/5 58/6 76/25 77/1 77/6 77/21 77/23 83/8 89/6 90/17 111/2 118/12 118/18 134/19 148/13 152/11 152/15 154/9 155/4 156/7 156/19 157/1 157/12 157/20 165/2 168/12 174/9 174/22 181/17 181/19 181/25 183/24 184/16 184/22 193/24 194/23 198/17 200/2 202/12 208/4 208/4 208/4 208/7 212/21 213/22	<b>worth [8]</b> 70/15 105/6 110/8 157/20 159/8 168/6 213/16 213/19	136/12 138/8 142/17 142/25 143/3 148/1 149/2 154/5 154/18 154/23 156/22 165/25 167/25 173/22 173/24 174/21 179/16 180/8 182/4 184/13 197/9 202/13 202/16 202/19 202/20 203/12 205/22 205/24 207/1 207/4 214/13	14/16 18/10 22/13 25/8 26/7 27/20 29/2 29/6 35/1 35/4 38/24 39/8 39/18 39/19 40/6 41/4 42/3 50/13 51/3 51/7 52/15 52/16 53/2 53/2 58/25 59/4 59/12 59/25 60/2 64/17 68/21 71/25 72/5 73/13 74/2 74/5 74/10 75/15 75/21 76/18 76/22 78/2 78/6 78/16 78/24 80/17 80/17 80/18 80/19 81/19 83/10 83/19 83/21 84/10 86/11 86/25 87/21 88/24 90/21 91/21 96/24 98/4 101/14 102/17 103/13 104/10 109/14 114/6 114/11 116/21 118/5 120/4 121/7 121/10 128/6 128/9 130/5 130/10 130/24 132/1 133/2 137/21 139/3 139/7 143/24 145/9 152/12 155/9 157/6 158/9 158/22 164/11 165/4 166/15 169/15 170/23 171/13 171/13 174/16 178/23 185/10 185/11 189/4 189/19 192/15 192/16 193/14 193/19 194/3 197/3 198/6 199/2 201/5 201/19 205/12 210/23 211/9 216/2
<b>wider [4]</b> 43/16 63/10 79/8 132/10	<b>work-related [2]</b> 26/10 26/11	<b>would [233]</b>	<b>yet [3]</b> 48/20 93/13 136/2	<b>youself [10]</b> 18/18 29/2 31/11 31/24 36/21 44/5 79/19 106/18 150/20 186/23
<b>wife [1]</b> 12/13	<b>worked [16]</b> 17/25 19/6 32/8 54/20 106/8 117/5 141/9 160/19 160/20 186/3 186/20 187/8 187/8 193/7 193/11 197/11	<b>wouldn't [29]</b> 5/1 8/16 9/18 21/3 26/2 26/9 35/6 39/16 40/21 54/5 56/2 61/12 83/5 103/1 116/6 123/4 124/7 124/16 125/15 142/7 147/18 152/11 156/17 170/9 170/12 197/18 197/21 199/12 214/24	<b>York [1]</b> 1/17	<b>zero [2]</b> 20/11 193/11
<b>will [46]</b> 1/18 4/1 7/24 9/19 10/23 14/6 15/15 22/4 28/17 28/24 41/17 41/18 47/9 47/9 48/22 51/1 52/12 52/13 53/11 53/20 58/22 59/19 65/16 71/14 71/15 75/18 79/3 80/14 86/23 98/7 111/12 118/2 136/10 141/13 146/24 153/5 166/9 174/11 186/12 186/21 187/1 192/11 206/9 211/8 214/22 216/10	<b>workforce [6]</b> 148/8 165/10 166/21 167/12 181/21 193/12	<b>wound [2]</b> 44/21 205/21	<b>Yorkshire [1]</b> 2/14	
<b>winning [1]</b> 113/22	<b>workers [9]</b> 163/17 163/23 165/1 192/22 193/22 194/4 197/6 198/1 199/3	<b>write [7]</b> 28/14 28/21 44/17 79/24 80/8 80/25 103/3	<b>you [642]</b>	
<b>winter [4]</b> 120/1 147/2 147/3 192/22	<b>workers' [1]</b> 164/9	<b>writes [1]</b> 210/24	<b>you know [55]</b> 18/24 20/11 21/2 23/6 25/21 25/25 26/2 27/3 28/18 33/1 33/6 33/20 36/1 42/4 42/25 47/5 47/6 49/14 51/13 52/10 54/1 54/2 56/16 57/1 58/19 59/8 60/15 61/13 62/10 63/17 64/13 67/9 75/6 76/10 77/20 96/5 97/4 100/16 131/12 136/3 136/4 138/20 144/17 145/15 151/8 152/22 165/7 172/15 183/25 185/25 186/14 188/7 201/9 201/16 206/21	
<b>wish [2]</b> 66/23 78/24	<b>workforces [1]</b> 198/16	<b>writing [2]</b> 75/17 103/1	<b>you'd [3]</b> 67/12 88/18 122/17	
<b>wished [2]</b> 12/5 173/13	<b>working [24]</b> 12/14 18/6 22/24 58/1 77/20 79/6 82/14 96/2 96/3 99/16 100/20 127/12 136/22 138/23 138/25 160/14 161/24 167/7 191/6 193/12 195/3 197/13 210/17 213/8	<b>written [8]</b> 1/15 27/24 28/8 28/8 28/13 181/11 216/9 216/15	<b>you'll [15]</b> 1/23 14/21 15/14 17/19 63/10 67/18 69/4 85/12 101/7 105/9 107/21 114/15 119/3 149/23 161/16	
<b>withdrew [1]</b> 216/4	<b>workings [1]</b> 40/5	<b>wrong [15]</b> 22/7 22/9 33/14 42/4 44/25 52/9 61/19 81/17 147/23 148/22 151/5 151/11 151/15 158/23 164/23	<b>you're [19]</b> 24/4 28/11 34/11 42/14 47/17 54/15 56/4 59/10 60/25 61/19 66/7 76/3 77/8 117/3 135/13 155/23 167/20 191/11 195/24	
<b>within [24]</b> 25/12 41/12 78/18 104/24 104/24 115/13 115/21 116/9 118/21 124/9 131/20 131/23 132/20 137/6 141/4 141/15 154/25 170/10 171/8 171/13 175/13 199/24 200/11 200/11	<b>workplace [5]</b> 194/20 201/1 202/24 203/18 207/8	<b>wrong.' [1]</b> 81/18	<b>you've [32]</b> 18/8 24/21 25/7 30/16 50/12 52/5 57/19 68/8 74/18 75/17 83/18 89/13 93/23 116/21 127/10 130/2 134/22 137/25 153/17 169/15 170/21 171/12 174/16 177/5 178/5 178/21 179/17 185/11 190/20 195/18 209/18 215/16	
<b>without [8]</b> 79/14 79/21 102/24 104/25 127/19 170/9 172/7 202/7	<b>workplaces [1]</b> 199/6	<b>wrote [4]</b> 32/7 86/9 108/18 109/1	<b>young [1]</b> 83/9	
<b>witness [18]</b> 1/4 1/11 74/20 75/12 75/21 83/21 96/15 111/1 112/21 114/6 121/8 129/5 131/9 171/8 171/13 201/8 201/19 216/4	<b>works [9]</b> 12/1 22/5 141/7 170/14 172/23 174/24 182/14 183/4 183/5	<b>Y</b>	<b>your [134]</b> 1/8 1/9 1/16 3/4 3/7 3/8 4/10 5/9 5/13 5/14 8/2 8/10 12/4 12/22 13/7 14/7	
<b>witnesses [3]</b> 18/23 22/17 22/21	<b>World War II [1]</b> 74/23	<b>yeah [13]</b> 12/8 24/16 24/21 28/25 64/7 68/25 70/9 88/4 99/13 135/16 148/17 155/7 178/12		
<b>wizard [1]</b> 145/18	<b>worried [1]</b> 54/11	<b>year [6]</b> 54/7 116/25 130/13 189/18 213/16 213/19		
<b>women [4]</b> 82/13 116/14 193/12 197/14	<b>worry [1]</b> 75/17	<b>years [12]</b> 2/6 3/21 4/24 25/23 48/5 74/22 85/25 86/7 87/3 87/3 90/14 194/17		
<b>won't [3]</b> 75/4 93/4 177/19	<b>worrying [2]</b> 70/18 71/5	<b>yes [87]</b> 1/25 3/2 3/17 4/17 4/18 7/13 10/10 14/18 20/22 25/17 26/9 26/20 31/16 34/7 34/10 39/5 55/13 64/1 65/8 65/10 66/14 67/9 67/19 69/2 69/7 70/15 70/22 73/5 73/24 74/20 80/3 85/14 86/14 87/15 88/11 88/18 91/16 92/12 92/25 96/2 98/24 99/20 103/15 104/18 105/6 105/16 106/14 106/24 108/4 109/4 109/10 110/1 123/15 129/4 130/11 131/9		
<b>wondered [1]</b> 151/17	<b>worse [2]</b> 46/22 47/2			
<b>wondering [1]</b> 178/23				
<b>word [5]</b> 10/21 23/4 44/7 128/6 164/18				
<b>words [13]</b> 1/22 34/13 34/13 45/24 49/23 68/10 128/17 130/22 136/7 141/24 162/6 162/8 162/9				