

Wednesday, 31 January 2024

1
2 (9.59 am)
3 LADY HALLETT: Mr Dawson.
4 MR DAWSON: Good morning, my Lady. Today's witness is the
5 Right Honourable Nicola Sturgeon MSP.
6 MS NICOLA STURGEON (affirmed)
7 Questions from LEAD COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY for MODULE 2A
8 MR DAWSON: You are Nicola Sturgeon?
9 A. I am.
10 Q. You very helpfully provided two statements to this
11 module of the Inquiry as well as a number of other prior
12 statements. The statements you provided to this module
13 are under reference INQ000339033. This is a statement
14 dated 6 November 2023. Is that your statement?
15 A. It is.
16 Q. Have you signed the statement?
17 A. I have.
18 Q. Do the contents of the statement remain true and
19 accurate as at today's date?
20 A. Yes.
21 Q. You also provided a further statement to us under
22 reference INQ000273980. This was a further statement
23 dated 16 November 2023. Is that your further statement?
24 A. Yes.
25 Q. Have you signed that?

1

1 informal methods of communication in order to discuss
2 matters connected to the pandemic.
3 In your statement dated 16 November, that's
4 INQ000273980, at paragraph 48, you say:
5 "Throughout the pandemic, I sought to be open,
6 transparent and accountable in respect of all decisions
7 being taken. While acknowledging some of the issues
8 presented by the sheer pace and magnitude of what we
9 were facing in early 2020, I set out in my Module 2A
10 statement the high degree of formality around Scottish
11 Government decision-making -- decisions were informed,
12 shaped and taken mainly through 'deep dive' sessions,
13 'Gold' discussions and Cabinet meetings. I feel that
14 the nature of the communication that has emerged from
15 the UK government has created an impression that we were
16 all communicating in such a way. That was not the
17 case -- certainly not as far as communications I was
18 party to are concerned. The culture within the Scottish
19 Government during the period in question was serious,
20 formal, purposeful and collegiate.
21 "During the pandemic, I did not make extensive use
22 of informal messaging and certainly did not use it to
23 reach decisions."

24 Is it still your position today that you and the
25 Scottish Government were open, transparent and

3

1 A. Yes.
2 Q. Do the contents of that statement remain true and
3 accurate as at today's date?
4 A. Yes, I provided some further information to the Inquiry
5 last week which would usefully be read alongside that
6 statement, but yes.
7 Q. Thank you. Some additional documentation rather than
8 changing the text of the statement, I think?
9 A. Indeed.
10 Q. Thank you.
11 You were the First Minister of Scotland between
12 20 November 2014 and 28 March 2023?
13 A. I was.
14 Q. You held office as First Minister throughout the period
15 from January 2020 to April 2022?
16 A. I did.
17 Q. That is of course the period of time with which this
18 module is primarily concerned. As First Minister during
19 that period, you were head of the Scottish Government
20 and so had overall responsibility for Scotland's
21 pandemic response, and for engagement with the
22 UK Government and other devolved administrations?
23 A. I did.
24 Q. Could I ask you some questions, please, about the way in
25 which you and others within the Scottish Government used

2

1 accountable in your actions, not just in your words, at
2 all times throughout the pandemic response in Scotland?
3 A. Yes, that is still my position. Openness and
4 transparency with the Scottish public was very important
5 to me from the outset of the pandemic. I communicated
6 to the public on a daily basis for a lengthy period of
7 time. We will not have got every decision right, and we
8 will have made misjudgments and there will be,
9 undoubtedly, instances put to me today where, on
10 reflection, I will think that we could have been more
11 transparent than we were, but given the nature of the
12 emergency that we were confronted with, building
13 a relationship of trust with the public was important,
14 and in my view then and in my view now that had to be
15 built on a spirit of openness.
16 Q. Openness and transparency are fundamental concepts in
17 the way in which the Scottish Government seeks to
18 represent the people of Scotland; isn't that right?
19 A. Absolutely.
20 Q. One can see, as we've seen it in a number of documents
21 relate -- more general documents but also ones
22 specifically related to the pandemic response,
23 for example the National Performance Framework, one sees
24 those concepts repeated, I think, in that document. Is
25 that correct?

4

1 A. That is correct.

2 Q. And indeed in documents which we have looked at which
3 set out the approach which the Scottish Government
4 wished to take to the way in which it was dealing with
5 the challenges of the pandemic, again one sees the
6 concepts of openness, transparency, accountability at
7 the very core. Is that correct?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. And as far as a role, a very important role that you
10 played was concerned, the public communications
11 strategy, again these concepts were very much the
12 bedrock, I think, of the way in which you tried to
13 communicate messages, information, decisions to the
14 public in Scotland?

15 A. That is what I sought to do.

16 Q. You say in the passage we've looked at that you did not
17 use informal communications to reach decisions. What
18 did you mean by that?

19 A. Informal communications were not in any sense
20 an extensive or a meaningful part of how I conducted
21 government business in any way, but certainly not to
22 reach decisions, and I would say that in relation not
23 just to Covid but to government generally.

24 The number of individuals with whom I would have any
25 informal communication, through, I'm talking here about

5

1 recorded on the Scottish Government system, if there was
2 anything of that nature.

3 Q. We've heard others refer to recording salient
4 information on the corporate record. Is that what
5 you're talking about?

6 A. Yes, so if there were -- and this would be rare in my
7 case because of what I've said, I did not do government
8 business through informal messaging, in relation to
9 Covid or any other matter. But if there were salient
10 points of substance, I would ask myself: is that
11 reflected, recorded in the Scottish Government's record?
12 Either because I had put it in or it was referring to
13 something that was already on the record, if somebody
14 was -- as I used as an illustration a moment ago --
15 flagging up something that was coming to me through the
16 system. You know, another example, in my exchanges with
17 Humza Yousaf, he would, for a period when vaccination
18 was such a focus of all of our efforts, he would send me
19 on a daily basis the vaccination uptake figures, which
20 would, within a very short space of time, come to me
21 formally and be published.

22 So I would check whether there was anything that
23 required to be recorded on the Scottish Government
24 system, and I am absolutely firmly of the view that
25 there is nothing, and the Inquiry has seen some of these

7

1 text messages or WhatsApp --

2 Q. Yes.

3 A. -- would be very limited. In the case of WhatsApp,
4 probably no more than a handful of people. I was never
5 a member of any WhatsApp groups. And I think the two
6 people that I would have had the most extensive
7 communication with would have been my former chief of
8 staff, Liz Lloyd, and Humza Yousaf. I believe the
9 Inquiry has some messages between me and those
10 individuals, which I hadn't retained but they had. And
11 I think they will give a sense of the nature of that
12 communication.

13 The communication of that nature was not used by me
14 for anything other than routine exchanges, logistics,
15 passing on information. The exchanges with the
16 individuals I've referred to will be littered with
17 things like, you know, "There's a note coming to you
18 through the system, I'm giving you a heads-up about
19 that"; that's the -- the nature of the communication.

20 I understand the Inquiry may want to explore some
21 elements of that, and I will of course answer questions
22 about specifics, but that is the overall nature of that
23 communication, extremely limited. And I operated on the
24 basis that I would ensure that anything in
25 communications of that description were otherwise

6

1 messages, in any informal messaging that I would have
2 been party to that could not have been seen and
3 understood through the formal systems, and indeed
4 through the public communications that I was engaging in
5 on a daily basis, where I went through in great
6 detail -- some people perhaps thought too much detail
7 sometimes -- the issues that we were confronted with and
8 dealing with on a daily basis.

9 Q. Just to be clear, to reconcile two parts of your
10 evidence there, you said you didn't use these informal
11 messaging systems, but I think you suggested that there
12 would rarely be occasions when you would have to
13 transpose things onto the corporate record, which
14 suggests that you at least rarely used them.

15 A. Sorry, just to be very clear, I -- I have not said and
16 I'm not saying today that I never used informal means of
17 communication. What I am saying is that I did so very
18 rarely, and not -- even more rarely to discuss issues of
19 substance or anything that could be described as
20 decision-making.

21 I'm sure we'll come on to the formal ways in which
22 the Scottish Government took decisions later on, but
23 there was a high degree of formality around the
24 decision-making of the Scottish Government.

25 Q. Thank you.

8

1 You mentioned a moment ago that there would be
 2 routine exchanges undertaken via these media. Do you
 3 accept, based on at least the communications we have
 4 seen, that you did undertake discussions around what
 5 decisions might be taken through these media?
 6 **A.** There would be an element of reflecting on the decisions
 7 that we were having to make, but I was doing that openly
 8 in daily briefings with the public, so I would not be
 9 reflecting in any way where I was, I suppose, engaging
 10 in some secret course of discussion that I wouldn't be
 11 sharing openly during that. So yes, there would be --
 12 and I think there have been some exchanges discussed at
 13 the Inquiry in previous evidence sessions where,
 14 you know, I am saying about a particular decision "I'm
 15 not sure in my own mind, you know, what the right way to
 16 go is", but that would be something that I was trying to
 17 formulate in my mind before a formal Cabinet discussion,
 18 where Cabinet would take the decision, and, you know,
 19 that is the extent of that.
 20 Other exchanges would literally be, I think in the
 21 exchanges between myself and Humza Yousaf, things like
 22 Mr Yousaf saying to me "I've just taken part in
 23 a four nations call, the note of the read-out will be on
 24 its way to you, if you want me to give you a call to,
 25 you know, brief you on that before you get it, I'll do

9

1 may be that I'm shown some today where I do have to
 2 accept this, but that I would accept that the interested
 3 member of the Scottish public couldn't see the -- not
 4 just the decisions that were being arrived at in the
 5 Scottish Government but the reasoning and the evidence
 6 behind those decisions from the public record.
 7 I -- as I've referenced already, and is well known,
 8 so I won't labour the point, almost every day during the
 9 pandemic I would openly share with the public the state
 10 of the pandemic, the difficult choices that was posing
 11 for the government, what we were considering in reaching
 12 these decisions, what it meant for what we were asking
 13 the public to do. So there was a very open form of
 14 communication, and I -- I'm not sure I have seen
 15 anything that I would say the Scottish public just
 16 wouldn't have had any idea that we were talking about
 17 that or considering that.
 18 **Q.** It might be a matter for the Scottish public to judge --
 19 **A.** Of course.
 20 **Q.** -- based on all of the information that was relevant to
 21 these matters, whether they felt that they had seen all
 22 of the information that they needed to be able to draw
 23 conclusions about the appropriateness, timeliness of
 24 your decisions?
 25 **A.** Of course. No, let me be absolutely clear, I accept

11

1 that". So that is the nature of the communication that
 2 I would routinely -- and I again would say it would be
 3 limited -- that I would routinely have.

4 **Q.** Thank you.

5 We heard evidence, as you may be aware, from one of
 6 the directors-general within the civil service in
 7 Scotland, Ms Lesley Fraser. She was responsible for the
 8 compilation of a number of different Scottish Government
 9 policies around information and document retention, and
 10 she accepted in her evidence that the primary aim of
 11 those policies across Scottish Government was to try to
 12 make sure that a reasonable amount of information was
 13 retained in order to be able to give any interested
 14 Scottish citizen the material from which, amongst other
 15 things, they could deduce how decisions had been taken.

16 Do you accept that the messages that you -- that we
 17 have seen from others contain information that
 18 an interested Scottish citizen would like to see in
 19 order to understand how decisions were taken in the
 20 pandemic?

21 **A.** I -- forgive me, Mr Dawson, if I perhaps haven't seen
 22 all of the exchanges.

23 **Q.** Of course.

24 **A.** But I am not sure I have seen exchanges that have been
 25 discussed at the Inquiry where I would accept, and it

10

1 that, and of course it's for the Inquiry to judge
 2 whether that is the case. I'm simply sharing my views.
 3 But again, and I repeat this, because I do think it is
 4 significant and material, the means of communication,
 5 the method and the frequency of communication that the
 6 Scottish Government was engaging in meant that, on
 7 a daily basis, it was almost at an open conversation
 8 with the public, which we thought was important to
 9 encourage compliance with what the public were being
 10 asked to do. So, you know, these are public statements,
 11 and the question and answers after it would go through
 12 not just the decisions we'd arrived at but we would go
 13 through the considerations, the balances we were trying
 14 to strike, the -- you know, the pretty invidious nature
 15 of some of the choices that we were all being faced with
 16 then.

17 **Q.** You referred in the passage from your statement that we
 18 went to to the fact that it had emerged publicly through
 19 the procedures of this Inquiry that a lot of this
 20 informal communication had been done within the
 21 UK Government by WhatsApp in particular but by other
 22 means as well, and you suggested that you felt:

23 "... that the nature of the communication that has
 24 emerged from the UK government has created an impression
 25 that we were all communicating in such a way."

12

1 We have fortuitously, by way of example, seen very
2 extensive exchanges between the now First Minister and
3 Professor Leitch discussing their attitude to important
4 moments within the pandemic, important decisions they
5 needed to take, important advice they required,
6 ultimately, to give to you in Cabinet and other fora.

7 It appears from that, and indeed the other messages
8 which have now come to light, that informal messaging,
9 in particular WhatsApp, was a frequent part of the way
10 in which the Scottish Government conducted its business
11 in Covid.

12 Were you unaware of the fact that that was the case
13 as First Minister during the course of the pandemic?

14 **A.** The exchanges you refer to I would have had no knowledge
15 of and had no sight of before seeing them in the course
16 of this Inquiry.

17 If you're asking me, Mr Dawson, did I not know that
18 anybody in the Scottish Government was using WhatsApp,
19 of course that's not the case. WhatsApp had become, in
20 my view, probably too common a means of communication,
21 but I think the exchanges you're talking about would --
22 certainly from what I have seen, would not suggest that
23 government decisions were being taken through WhatsApp.
24 WhatsApp was a means of communication that people were
25 using to exchange information on occasion, sometimes to

13

1 whether conducted through WhatsApp other otherwise?
2 **A.** Of course that is the case, and in saying that I'm not
3 trying to suggest that people were not thinking deeply.
4 The form of -- and I think every human being probably
5 can recognise what I'm saying -- the form of
6 communication can influence the phraseology or the way
7 in which things are worded, and informal communication
8 I think lends itself to very short, sharp exchanges that
9 would be very different if you were making a speech or
10 putting something in a formal paper for decision-making.

11 Can I say very clearly, when I was First Minister
12 I would not have expected any of my ministers or any of
13 my officials to have been conducting substantive
14 government discussions and certainly not taking
15 government decisions through WhatsApp or other informal
16 means of messaging.

17 **Q.** Thank you.

18 On 27 May of 2020, as we covered with Mr Swinney
19 yesterday, in the Scottish Parliament, in response to
20 a question about whether you would order a public
21 inquiry into the Covid-19 outbreak in care homes in
22 Scotland, you replied as follows:

23 "Of course there will be a public inquiry into this
24 whole crisis and every aspect of this crisis, and that
25 will undoubtedly include what happened in care homes."

15

1 share views about things, and using language and -- or,
2 rather, ways of describing things that perhaps wouldn't
3 have been done in different forms of communication.

4 One of the reasons -- and if I thought this before
5 Covid and this Inquiry, I certainly think it even more
6 strongly now -- one of the reasons why I don't believe
7 that WhatsApp, for example, should be used for
8 government communication and decision-making is that,
9 you know, when I make a public statement, or when I made
10 public statements as First Minister in this context,
11 I would think very, very carefully about the words
12 I used to try to minimise, as far as is ever possible,
13 the scope for what I was saying to be misinterpreted.
14 When people send messages on WhatsApp, they don't
15 think -- including me, you don't think that deeply about
16 how you're phrasing things, and therefore messages, when
17 they are looked back at later on, can be open to
18 different interpretations, because people haven't really
19 thought about the words they're using or the phraseology
20 that they're using. And I think that certainly would be
21 true of some of the exchanges that the Inquiry has been
22 looking at.

23 **Q.** Would you as First Minister not have thought it to be
24 important that ministers and senior officials would
25 think deeply about the conduct of government business,

14

1 So at that stage you knew that there would be
2 a public inquiry in the future into the Scottish
3 Government's response to the pandemic generally?

4 **A.** I always assumed there would be a public inquiry.

5 **Q.** In fact, of course, as we know, you effectively had the
6 power to order --

7 **A.** Indeed --

8 **Q.** -- and you did --

9 **A.** -- and, as it turned out, in Scotland we have more than
10 one Inquiry. So yes, I did.

11 **Q.** Yes.

12 On 3 August 2021, Lesley Fraser, who I mentioned
13 a moment ago, and another civil servant whom you'll
14 know, Mr Kenneth Thomson, sent a "Do not destroy" email
15 to Scottish Government officials with the subject
16 "Covid-19 independent inquiry record retention",
17 explaining the importance of retaining relevant material
18 to the work of the Inquiry.

19 Do you recall receiving that email?

20 **A.** I do not. As far as I am aware I did not receive that.

21 **Q.** You recall, I would imagine, in a general sense that
22 such a notification was sent out?

23 **A.** I would say this: that I don't think I would have
24 required to see that to know that matters that were
25 relevant to matters of substance, salient, relevant to

16

1 the Inquiry should be retained and that I had a duty, as
 2 all ministers and officials would have had a duty, to
 3 ensure that anything that they were exchanging in
 4 informal mentioning, if they were not retaining those
 5 messages in line with the policies that were in place,
 6 then there would be a clear record of anything on the
 7 Scottish Government systems.

8 **Q.** You said on 24 August 2021 at a Covid media briefing
 9 given by you that the Scottish Government had started
 10 the process of setting up the Scottish Covid Inquiry
 11 which we mentioned a moment ago. You stated:

12 "I believe that a full public inquiry has a very
 13 important role to play, both in scrutinising the
 14 decisions we took -- and indeed continue to take -- in
 15 the course of the pandemic, and also in identifying and
 16 learning lessons for the future."

17 Do you agree that in order to scrutinise decisions
 18 and learn lessons, a public inquiry would need to see
 19 not just the decisions themselves but the discussions
 20 that led to the decisions being made or not made,
 21 including discussion of information and advice?

22 **A.** Yes, I do agree with that, and what I would add to
 23 that -- and let me say this is obviously a matter for
 24 the Inquiry to judge -- in terms of any informal
 25 communications I had, which, as I have already said,

17

1 comprehensive summaries of the points made in the
 2 discussion around the Cabinet table.

3 Now, I -- obviously that is not all that the Inquiry
 4 has at its disposal, but if it was all that this Inquiry
 5 had, that would be a comprehensive and very detailed
 6 account of every decision that the Scottish Government
 7 took in the course of the pandemic.

8 **Q.** As at May, at least, I think you've indicated already
 9 you were fully cognisant of the fact there would be
 10 a public inquiry; yes?

11 **A.** Yes.

12 **Q.** And in August 2021 you announced that there would be
 13 one?

14 **A.** Yes.

15 **Q.** You knew at the time when you made the statement
 16 announcing the Scottish Covid Inquiry that material
 17 which you had used to exchange messages, informal
 18 communications, would assist in the very important aims
 19 of the Inquiry, scrutinising the decisions that you
 20 took?

21 **A.** Yes.

22 **Q.** And you knew at that point that those messages had been
 23 destroyed?

24 **A.** I had -- I knew, yes, that I had operated in line with
 25 a policy -- that I had operated in line with, and advice

19

1 were limited both in terms of the number of people and
 2 the extent of the communication, there would be nothing
 3 in those communications that was not available to either
 4 the Inquiry or the public through the record of the
 5 Scottish Government or, indeed, in the very detailed
 6 public statements that were being made every day.

7 I -- and I want to assure the Inquiry of that, that
 8 I take and took very seriously the duty that was on the
 9 shoulders of me as First Minister and of the Scottish
 10 Government collectively to make sure that this Inquiry
 11 and the corresponding Scottish Inquiry would have at its
 12 disposal all of the evidence and material that would
 13 allow it to assess the decisions and the underpinning
 14 reasoning and evidence for those decisions.

15 Over the course of the pandemic and -- forgive me if
 16 I'm getting ahead of your line of questioning. We will
 17 no doubt talk about Cabinet papers and minutes. Over
 18 the course of the pandemic, I think there would have
 19 been in the region of 100 Cabinet meetings. For each of
 20 those there would be detailed papers, detailed minutes,
 21 that would not just record the decisions that Cabinet
 22 reached but that would look at the different options we
 23 assessed and discussed that would narrate the evidence
 24 and the reasoning behind the decisions we arrived at,
 25 and in Cabinet minutes would also have lengthy and

18

1 that I had had from the outset of my time as
 2 a minister -- to ensure that conversations with others
 3 in government, with any impact or relationship to
 4 government business, shouldn't be kept on a phone that
 5 could be lost or stolen, but properly recorded. And
 6 I was very cognisant of, and had been from the start of
 7 the pandemic, so not just at the points in time that you
 8 are referring to, from the start of the pandemic, of my
 9 duty to ensure that anything of salience, relevance,
 10 substance to the decision-making of the government would
 11 be properly recorded through the Scottish Government
 12 record.

13 **Q.** Thank you.

14 You were asked a question by a journalist from
 15 Channel 4, where he asked you at that very press
 16 conference in August 2021:

17 "Scottish Government has a patchy record of
 18 disclosing evidence when asked to do so. Can you
 19 guarantee to the bereaved families that you will
 20 disclose emails, WhatsApps, private emails if you've
 21 been using them. Whatever. That nothing will be off
 22 limits in this inquiry?"

23 You responded:

24 "I think if you understand statutory public
 25 inquiries you would know that even if I wasn't prepared

20

1 to give that assurance, which for the avoidance of doubt
2 I am, then I wouldn't have the ability."

3 He asked specific questions about informal means of
4 communication, including WhatsApps, but you knew by that
5 stage that your WhatsApps had been destroyed?

6 **A.** But I also knew that anything of any relevance or
7 substance from any of that material would be properly
8 recorded in the Scottish Government system, and indeed
9 would have been communicated, in all likelihood by me,
10 through the daily media briefings that I gave.

11 The importance, in my view, is making sure that
12 the Inquiry has at its disposal all of the evidence
13 underpinning the decisions as well as the decisions we
14 were arriving at. I operated, from, you know, 2007,
15 based on advice, the policy that messages, business
16 relating to government should not be kept on a phone
17 that could be lost or stolen and insecure in that way,
18 but properly recorded through the system.

19 I would want to again underline that in my case that
20 communication was extremely limited, and I do not --
21 you know, would not relate to matters of substantive
22 government decision-making.

23 **Q.** But that wasn't the question you were asked. You were
24 asked the question as to whether you would disclose
25 "emails, WhatsApps, private emails if you've been using

21

1 the benefit of the learning, the things that my
2 government did right and the things that my government
3 did not -- that were not right or, with hindsight, that
4 we wish we had done differently.

5 I cannot say strongly enough how important that is
6 to me. These decisions were of a magnitude beyond what
7 I had ever experienced, and that is true of
8 decision-makers everywhere, and the impact of them
9 I think about literally every day, and I want this
10 Inquiry and the Scottish Inquiry to scrutinise those
11 decisions so that we can learn and future governments
12 can learn appropriate lessons from them.

13 **Q.** In case there's any doubt on the matter, Ms Sturgeon,
14 when I delivered the opening statement in this module,
15 we were keen to try to make it clear that our position
16 with regard to those decisions was that they were
17 extremely difficult decisions, and I think there can be
18 no doubt about that.

19 As regards your production of documents, however,
20 you did not produce to us any WhatsApp messages or any
21 other informal communications with your first statement
22 dated 6 November 2023, despite the request that you do
23 so.

24 **A.** I, at the time, for the reasons I have set out, I did
25 not hold WhatsApp messages or text messages at that

23

1 them. Whatever". He didn't ask you the question as to
2 whether the material that was contained within the
3 discussions exchanged by those media was recorded on the
4 corporate record, he asked whether the emails,
5 WhatsApps, private emails, whatever, would be disclosed,
6 and you gave an assurance that they would be.

7 **A.** And I, you know, as will have been the case in many
8 occasions over the course of not just the Covid pandemic
9 but in my many years in politics answering questions,
10 when you're answering questions you're trying to answer
11 the substance of the question, and when you look back at
12 the literal terms of the answer, it can be put to you in
13 that way. So I accept that and I apologise if that
14 answer was not as clear, but I also want to be very
15 clear and give the Inquiry a personal assurance that
16 I am certain that the Inquiry has at its disposal
17 anything and everything germane to my decision-making
18 during the process and the time period of the pandemic,
19 and the factors underpinning those decisions. That has
20 always been important to me, and it remains important to
21 me.

22 But more importantly than that, it's essential to
23 the scrutiny of the decisions that -- I will carry the
24 impact of these decisions with me forever and I want to
25 make sure that those who come after me in politics have

22

1 point. And I -- as I have said, because I had gone
2 through a process of making sure anything of relevance,
3 which would have been very, very limited, I could assure
4 myself would be available through the public record and
5 the Scottish Government record, when I was asked to
6 double check, when the Inquiry sent another request for
7 a statement, I discovered an isolated text message with
8 one individual, the then Deputy First Minister of
9 Northern Ireland, which I provided to the Inquiry.

10 And I also found -- and again I apologise to
11 the Inquiry, because I hadn't at the time thought to
12 look in this place, because it would not be a normal
13 means of communication, but I, when I was racking my
14 brains to see where I could find anything that might be
15 relevant, I looked at the DM function of Twitter and
16 found there some messages with Professor Devi Sridhar
17 and also some very limited messages with
18 Professor Jason Leitch, which I then provided to
19 the Inquiry.

20 I also sought and was provided through the
21 government with messages between me and Liz Lloyd and
22 Humza Yousaf which I was aware the Inquiry would have
23 from them, but nevertheless, because I then held them,
24 passed them to the Inquiry.

25 There is one exchange in the Twitter DM messages

24

1 with Jason Leitch that I think gives an indication of my
 2 approach to informal messaging, where -- he is raising
 3 something with me, and I think it is the last message in
 4 this exchange -- I in terms say to him: if you want to
 5 talk about matters like this, come and see me properly,
 6 this is not the place to do it. And that was my
 7 attitude to that kind of messaging.

8 **Q.** So should we take that to be an instruction to
 9 Professor Leitch that if he wanted to carry out such
 10 conversations where he was discussing important matters
 11 related to the pandemic with you, you wanted to be clear
 12 to him that that was a matter which was not appropriate
 13 for these media, it should be done more formally,
 14 in-person discussions was your practice?

15 **A.** Absolutely, and that was -- I made it clear to him that
 16 that was my practice. I think the exchange was related
 17 to hospital capacity and ventilation facilities in
 18 hospitals, at an early, a relatively early stage of the
 19 pandemic.

20 **Q.** Yes. Of course Professor Leitch, we know, conducted
 21 extensive discussions related to important decisions in
 22 the pandemic with others, including the current
 23 First Minister.

24 **A.** I -- as I know you will appreciate, I have only seen
 25 exchanges that have been explored at previous evidence

25

1 every day for an extended period of time, as were these
 2 other individuals.

3 **Q.** I think Ms Freeman did say it was seven days a week you
 4 were --

5 **A.** For a period, seven days a week, yes.

6 **Q.** Yes. Were the salient points of those verbal
 7 discussions committed to the corporate record?

8 **A.** Yeah, so my private office were also -- or not my entire
 9 private office but key individuals in my private office,
 10 and they would have a rota, there would be somebody from
 11 my private office in the building with me, so salient
 12 points would be recorded, as appropriate, and fed
 13 through the system.

14 I think perhaps if I may, there's two further points
 15 to be made there. If I, as First Minister, am having
 16 a discussion with anybody that then requires action to
 17 be taken, if that's not inputted to the system, action
 18 won't be taken. That is how conversations turn into
 19 actions that are necessary.

20 The second point is just to reflect, particularly in
 21 the very early stages of the pandemic, and in the early
 22 stages of -- well, certainly through March and into
 23 April 2020, there was a frenetic pace of
 24 decision-making, and we were taking decisions at very
 25 short notice. We were -- the situation was changing

27

1 sessions, so I cannot talk in any way about the totality
 2 of those messages. I have not seen, to the best of my
 3 knowledge, anything that would suggest he was engaging
 4 in decision-making. There are exchanges, conversational
 5 exchanges. It's -- you know, many of these exchanges
 6 that I have seen, and from other governments as well,
 7 I think on WhatsApp, would be the kind of exchange that,
 8 had people not been working remotely and been in the
 9 same building, as I actually was, with key advisers
 10 throughout the pandemic, these are the kind of
 11 conversations that would have happened verbally,
 12 face-to-face, and end up being translated to WhatsApp
 13 because of the nature of people's working environments.

14 **Q.** Given the fact that you were in St Andrew's House
 15 I think quite a lot of the time, as we heard from
 16 Ms Freeman, as she was, there were a large number of
 17 those verbal conversations between you and others, like
 18 Ms Freeman, who were based predominantly there during
 19 the pandemic, isn't that right?

20 **A.** Yes, I mean, the majority of the conversations that
 21 I would be having with certainly Ms Freeman and the
 22 Chief Medical Officer at the time and, you know, other
 23 senior advisers would be face-to-face in
 24 St Andrew's House. I was in St Andrew's House from very
 25 early in the morning till very late at night almost

26

1 several times a day and we were all working at pace.
 2 You know, I would have conversations in the morning that
 3 by the afternoon the situation had changed and so the
 4 nature of those conversations would be different. And
 5 I think it's -- you know, three, four years on, it is
 6 difficult sometimes to appreciate just how frenetic the
 7 pace of activity was at that time.

8 **Q.** The fact that you were working at pace, though, doesn't
 9 alter the obligation to make sure that salient points of
 10 conversations and messaging are on the corporate record?

11 **A.** Oh, no, absolutely, but, for example, I remember on
 12 23 March 2020, the day that we entered what became known
 13 as lockdown, having conversations -- because the advice
 14 that was coming at that point was that we required very
 15 strict measures to suppress the virus at that stage, the
 16 measures that had been introduced previously weren't
 17 bringing the R number down sufficiently -- I remember
 18 having conversations with Ms Freeman, the Chief Medical
 19 Officer at the time, we then of course went into COBR,
 20 and those decisions were formalised through the COBR
 21 meeting, and they'd be recorded that way.

22 So I suppose what I'm saying is the ways in which
 23 these conversations would become decisions and then be
 24 recorded was perhaps different in the environment we
 25 were in at that point than would be the case in normal

28

1 times and normal government business.
 2 **Q.** Whereas with these verbal conversations it won't be
 3 possible for us to work out whether the salient points
 4 of those had been transcribed to the corporate record,
 5 because although we have the corporate record we don't
 6 know what the conversations were, in contradistinction
 7 we do now have some messages so we could compare the
 8 corporate record to those messages and work out for
 9 ourselves whether the salient points had been
 10 transcribed.

11 **A.** Yeah, I'm absolutely sure that you would be able to take
 12 messages and go to the corporate record, go to the
 13 public statements that were made at the time and see all
 14 of that reflected. It may not be the case that in every
 15 instance you will see, you know, a conversation
 16 between -- on this date and the reference on the
 17 corporate record tying those up absolutely, but I am
 18 absolutely certain that the salient points that we were
 19 discussing then would be reflected on the corporate and
 20 indeed on the public record.

21 These were -- by their very nature, these were
 22 decisions that could not be kept secret, even if we had
 23 wanted to, which we didn't, because these were
 24 designations that were asking the public to do things
 25 or, more regularly, not to do things that had to be

29

1 decisions. And that's what I sought to do, sometimes
 2 effectively, perhaps sometimes not so effectively, on
 3 a daily basis. So there was -- we were not having
 4 discussions that weren't then being communicated to the
 5 public openly.

6 In the nature of not just government but life
 7 generally, you know, it is not possible to record -- and
 8 I'm not even sure it is desirable to good governance, if
 9 I may say that -- to record every single word that is
 10 uttered in a conversation in government. There needs to
 11 be in government, and I think this is in the interests
 12 of good governance, the ability for ministers with each
 13 other or ministers with advisers to -- to have an open,
 14 you know, thinking-out-loud discussion before getting to
 15 the point of a proposal, let alone a decision.

16 But salient points about why we were taking
 17 decisions and what those decisions were, absolutely --
 18 to go back to, I think, the question you initially put
 19 to me, Mr Dawson -- absolutely I firmly am of the view
 20 that they will all be discernible from the corporate
 21 government record and indeed, over and above that, the
 22 public record.

23 **Q.** We subsequently learned from your second statement that
 24 you had used means of various informal means of
 25 communication for some messaging with Mr Yousaf,

31

1 communicated, they were also decisions that had,
 2 you know, very significant impacts for the private
 3 sector, for the public sector, for society as a whole,
 4 they had to be recorded in a way that they could be
 5 actioned and communicated clearly, quickly and
 6 effectively.

7 **Q.** That may apply to the decisions themselves, that they
 8 couldn't be kept secret because obviously ultimately the
 9 public found out about them, the restrictions and
 10 everything, however the discussions relating to the
 11 decisions and how they had been reached could, it would
 12 appear, be kept secret?

13 **A.** Well, again, I would like to give an assurance to
 14 the Inquiry that, contrary to any -- to there being any
 15 desire on the part of me or my government to keep things
 16 secret, I would suggest that the opposite was the case
 17 during the pandemic. We went to great lengths to
 18 communicate not just the decisions -- I took a view very
 19 early on in the pandemic, it's for others to judge
 20 whether it was right or wrong, that if we were to
 21 achieve a level of compliance with the restrictions that
 22 we were placing the country under, then it was important
 23 that the public didn't just know what we were asking
 24 them to do but why we were asking they were to do it and
 25 what the reasoning was that had taken us to those

30

1 Ms Lloyd, Mr Swinney, Ms Freeman, Dr Calderwood,
 2 Dr Smith, Professor Leitch, Ken Thomson, Leslie Evans,
 3 Professor Sridhar, the First Minister of Wales,
 4 Mark Drakeford, and the former deputy First Minister of
 5 Northern Ireland, Michelle O'Neill; is that correct?

6 **A.** Yes.

7 **Q.** You produced no messages with any of these individuals
 8 with your first statement; is that correct?

9 **A.** Yes. But as I also say in the statement, those messages
 10 would have been extremely limited. If I take
 11 John Swinney, for example, it has never been our
 12 practice, not just during the pandemic but generally, to
 13 text -- I don't think I've ever WhatsApped John Swinney,
 14 and certainly if I have it would be the exception,
 15 absolutely the exception. But text messages would be
 16 very occasional, and the nature of the text messages
 17 that I would have with John Swinney would be "Are you
 18 free to speak?" or "Can I pop in to see you?" It's just
 19 never been in the nature of it.

20 With some of the others, Catherine Calderwood was
 21 one of those who was in St Andrew's House with me -- the
 22 number of people in the Scottish Government, however
 23 many thousands of people that work in the Scottish
 24 Government, that I hold a mobile phone number for, is
 25 extremely limited. It was not my method of

32

1 communication. With Mark Drakeford and
2 Michelle O'Neill, these are, you know, discussions with
3 other government leaders that would have been recorded
4 through the normal systems.

5 So I again want to be very clear that it was not my
6 practice to not just not take decisions through informal
7 messaging but have substantial or lengthy or detailed
8 discussions about government decisions through these
9 means. It's not my style, it's not my practice, it's
10 never been my practice, not least because I don't think
11 it is a good or effective or helpful way of reaching
12 decisions -- not just taking decisions but it's not
13 a helpful process in reaching decisions either.

14 **Q.** WhatsApp messages between yourself and Mr Yousaf and
15 Ms Lloyd were produced by you with your second
16 statement. Where did you get them?

17 **A.** They were provided to me through the Scottish
18 Government.

19 **Q.** You obviously didn't have those on your own devices
20 because you had deleted them, hadn't you?

21 **A.** I didn't retain them, in line with the procedure I've
22 already talked about.

23 **Q.** Are you creating a distinction between --

24 **A.** No -- no --

25 **Q.** You had deleted them, had you not?

33

1 would be providing them to the Inquiry.

2 **Q.** So there was contact between you and her related to the
3 messages?

4 **A.** I -- simply as a courtesy, to let her know, yes.

5 **Q.** Could I have a look, please, at INQ000287766.

6 We're both being admonished, Ms Sturgeon, for
7 speaking too quickly for the stenographer, so if we can
8 both try to speak a little more slowly, that would be
9 very much appreciated.

10 These are some extracts from messages between
11 yourself and Ms Lloyd. I'm starting with the one on
12 27 October 2020, 7.10. So just reading through them, it
13 says:

14 "I'm having a bit of a crisis [this is you speaking]
15 of decision making in hospitality, not helped by fact
16 I haven't slept. The public health argument says stick
17 with 6pm/no alcohol for level 3. But I suspect industry
18 will go mad -- and I worry we could derail debate (tho
19 I suspect that won't happen -- and we could commit to
20 listening and changing if we felt necessary)."

21 To which Ms Lloyd replies:

22 "My instinct is 6pm. That's the same as central
23 belt now but some more places open. They have offered
24 further mitigation -- so we work with them on delivering
25 those extra mitigations and review at that point."

35

1 **A.** I think -- deletion, I think, forgive me, sounds as if
2 it was a sort of, you know, not bothering to check
3 whether any information was being retained. I was very
4 thorough in -- not just in the pandemic but in all my
5 work in government to ensure that things were
6 appropriately recorded. But in line with the advice I'd
7 always been given, since my first day in government
8 probably, was not to retain conversations like that on
9 a phone that could be lost or stolen and therefore not
10 secure.

11 **Q.** But did you delete them?

12 **A.** Yes.

13 **Q.** And as far as the other messages are concerned that you
14 couldn't produce yourself between you and all these
15 others, you deleted all of those as well?

16 **A.** In the manner that I've -- and after the process that
17 I have set out, yes.

18 **Q.** You also produced some direct Twitter messages, that
19 you've already mentioned, with Professor Leitch and
20 Professor Sridhar. Professor Sridhar also produced
21 those messages to us, although slightly later than you,
22 at the beginning of December. Did you have any
23 discussions with her about the production of those
24 messages?

25 **A.** I think I let her know that I had found messages and

34

1 She then follows up:

2 "The only alternative would be 8pm but no alcohol.
3 Restaurants would not like you for that."

4 To which you say:

5 "It's the same as non central belt -- places can
6 open but only for food/non alcohol. 8pm would be better
7 I guess but not sure we can make much of a public health
8 argument for 8pm/alcohol at level 2 and 8pm/no alcohol
9 at 3??"

10 Ms Lloyd replies:

11 "That's why I would stick with 6pm. But if you want
12 to compromise it would be about giving people regulated
13 places to be in the winter, rather than unregulated
14 homes -- but no alcohol because it changes behaviour.
15 The difference from now would basically be it's colder
16 and it's darker so people will less likely to be
17 outside."

18 You say:

19 "Ok we should prob stick with 6 -- it's all so
20 random. But I think we need to be prepared for a bit of
21 a backlash. I've also queried whether we really need
22 the last entry times and, if we do, if we should give on
23 9.30/10.30. As it stands, there's nothing we can point
24 to to say we've listened to industry."

25 Ms Lloyd replies:

36

1 "Level 2 8pm is listening to them."
 2 Then she follows up:
 3 "And the whole allowing restaurants and pubs to stay
 4 open."
 5 You say:
 6 "I suppose."
 7 And then she says:
 8 "there's quite a lot really. I mean they'll still
 9 be grumpy. But there is."
 10 "There it is", I think it's meant to say.
 11 This is an example of a messaging exchange that
 12 would be relevant to someone who would be interested in
 13 knowing how decisions in this regard had been arrived
 14 at?
 15 **A.** Yes, but I -- in many respects I think this exchange
 16 illustrates the answers I've been giving you.
 17 For context, and I'll be corrected if I'm wrong, but
 18 I think this is 7.20 on the morning of 27 October 2020.
 19 I think I was on my way to a Cabinet meeting, I would be
 20 in the car, from Glasgow. These would be decisions that
 21 Cabinet was about to arrive at and I am simply talking
 22 about the things that I would then go into Cabinet and
 23 we would talk about and then would be recorded through
 24 the Cabinet minutes, and the decisions that we took.
 25 I was probably later that day standing on a public

37

1 look at them four -- almost four years later and -- and
 2 they're open to different interpretations.
 3 That message exchange that you read out started with
 4 me -- you know, perhaps this is the kind of thing
 5 I would prefer not to be on the public record, having
 6 a crisis of decision-making, you know, it is perhaps not
 7 what I wanted people to know, and that I hadn't slept.
 8 I, at 27 October 2020, wouldn't have had a day off in --
 9 since, you know, much, much earlier that year, before
 10 March, and had been working -- I'm not saying that for
 11 sympathy, that was my job and my duty -- and there were
 12 moments in that where the decisions that we were taking
 13 felt almost impossible, that whatever we did we would
 14 cause difficulty and harm to somebody somewhere. And so
 15 a phrase like "it's all so random", that probably simply
 16 reflects how I felt at 7.20 that morning when I hadn't
 17 had much sleep, but by the time I got to Cabinet I'm
 18 sure that I would have collected my thoughts and that we
 19 then had a proper discussion and reached a decision that
 20 was properly recorded with a good and robust process
 21 around it.
 22 **Q.** This is a discussion related to an important decision
 23 made during the course of the management of the
 24 pandemic?
 25 **A.** That would have then been discussed at Cabinet and

39

1 platform talking about some of the decisions that we'd
 2 face, the options that we had and why we had arrived at
 3 the decision that we have arrived at. There's --
 4 I can't see it right now, there's a reference in there
 5 to "I [have] ... queried". That's a reference, that is
 6 something I had obviously fed in as a question to the
 7 advisers who would have been preparing the Cabinet --
 8 the Cabinet minute -- papers.
 9 So in a sense, I look at this and I don't consider
 10 that there is anything in that wouldn't be reflected
 11 through the decision-making and the evidence of the
 12 decision-making of the government. And undoubtedly
 13 hospitality and the impact of hospitality, the different
 14 time limits, that was all very, very much to the fore in
 15 public discussion at the time, and I am certain that
 16 I would have been talking openly about some of these
 17 choices and the fine balances of the very difficult
 18 decisions that we were having to take.
 19 **Q.** Will we find on the corporate record or some other
 20 public record that your position was "we should prob
 21 stick with 6 -- it's all so random"?
 22 **A.** That's -- the message exchange, Mr Dawson, starts
 23 with -- and again, I -- I said earlier on, the reason
 24 I don't think WhatsApp messages should be used to have
 25 substantial government discussions is because we can

38

1 recorded through -- you've seen all the minutes of the
 2 Cabinet, but the minutes of the -- of all Cabinet
 3 meetings, they don't just record the decision we arrive
 4 at, they will record if there's a paper giving different
 5 options, they will record that, and they record
 6 a summary, a précis of the discussion and the points
 7 made in these discussions.
 8 **Q.** Does that record record that your position was: "As it
 9 stands there's nothing we can point to to say we've
 10 listened to industry"?
 11 **A.** I would reg -- so I don't have the Cabinet minute from
 12 that date in front of me, but I absolutely am certain
 13 that around this point in particular I will have spoken
 14 not just in Cabinet meetings but publicly about the need
 15 to listen to industry, to listen to different groups in
 16 Scottish society, as we arrived at the decisions.
 17 We were trying to take decisions that none of us
 18 wanted to be taking and we were trying to reach those
 19 decisions in a way that we thought struck the right
 20 balance. I'm sure we'll come on to talk later on about
 21 the four harms approach that the Scottish Government
 22 took, and in that we were listening as much as we could
 23 to different viewpoints; we were not always able to take
 24 account of those viewpoints because of the nature of the
 25 decisions.

40

1 So, you know, I am absolutely certain that it would
2 have been not news to anybody that we were struggling
3 with the impact on industry of some of these decisions
4 and that we were at pains to show that we -- as far as
5 we could, given the nature of the decisions that we were
6 taking, we were listening to reasonable points that were
7 being made.

8 **Q.** Do you think that an interested member of Scottish
9 society or indeed this Inquiry should take no interest
10 at all in the process by which this decision is made and
11 this discussion's role in it, including the fact that
12 you say "it's all so random ... there's nothing we can
13 point to to say we've listed to industry", Ms Lloyd's
14 response, Ms Lloyd's involvement in the discussion,
15 either generally or in relation to this specific issue?
16 **A.** No, I'm not saying the Inquiry should have no interest
17 in that. On the contrary, I think the Inquiry does have
18 an interest in this, and I think the wider Scottish
19 public would. What I'm saying is I do not accept that
20 it would have been unknown to the public at the time
21 that these were the issues we were grappling with.
22 Every day I was taking the public through the different
23 issues that we were grappling with, the balances we were
24 trying to strike, the trade-offs that we were having to
25 make and the different viewpoints that we were trying,

41

1 discoverable under FOI. Know where the 'clear chat'
2 button is ..."

3 To which Nicola Steedman replies:

4 "Yes -- absolutely..."

5 Jason Leitch points out:

6 "DG level input there...."

7 Mr Thomson saying:

8 "Plausible deniability are my middle names. Now
9 clear it again."

10 Jason Leitch says:

11 "Done."

12 Nicola Steedman:

13 "Me too."

14 And someone called Donna Bell:

15 "And me."

16 Were you aware in your capacity as First Minister
17 that these sort of exchanges took place and that
18 a senior member of the civil service considered
19 "plausible deniability" to be his middle name?

20 **A.** I -- as you said at the outset of the question, I was
21 not a member of this group, so -- some of these
22 exchanges were explored in evidence sessions last
23 week -- I had never seen these messages before.

24 Did I know that there would be WhatsApp groups where
25 officials were exchanging information? I'm not sure

43

1 as best we could, to balance. So, you know, in a sense
2 this is an example of an exchange that -- you know, we
3 look at it now in a WhatsApp but I don't consider that
4 there is anything in that exchange that would not have
5 been known, that was either on the record and -- through
6 the Cabinet minutes or in public statements, that these
7 were exactly the kind of issues we were trying to reach
8 considered and balanced judgements on.

9 **Q.** Thank you.

10 Could I take you to another document, please.

11 This is INQ000268017.

12 This is another exchange -- this is not a group that
13 features you but it's another piece of evidence that
14 we've seen, and I'd be interested in understanding your
15 reflection on some of the content of the exchange. This
16 is -- in your capacity as the former First Minister and
17 First Minister at the time.

18 This is in a WhatsApp group chat called "Covid
19 outbreak group". These messages were provided to
20 the Inquiry by Dr Jim McMenamin of Public Health
21 Scotland, who did not delete his messages and not -- by
22 the Scottish Government or its officials, and the
23 exchange at 27 August 2020 you will recognise no doubt
24 the individuals involved, Ken Thomson says:

25 "Just to remind you (seriously), this is

42

1 that I was particularly conscious of it, but I would
2 have -- had I been asked to stop and consider that,
3 I would have said "Well, I would assume so", given the
4 nature of how people were working. I would absolutely
5 expect all officials in the Scottish Government to
6 retain, in line with Scottish Government policies,
7 information relevant to our decision-making.

8 I look at that exchange and what I don't see is an
9 exchange about, you know, the decisions we're taking.

10 I see a light-hearted discussion between officials.

11 Ken Thomson I know has been before you and has given his
12 interpretation of that, so, you know, he can answer and
13 has answered for himself. I would read that as him
14 reminding people of the need to be professional on
15 WhatsApp even when discussing light-hearted things.

16 The other thing I would say about all of these
17 individuals on the screen before me is that they are
18 all, in my knowledge and experience -- and with some of
19 them, particularly Ken Thomson, this is extensive
20 experience -- they are public servants of the utmost
21 integrity, and at this point and throughout the pandemic
22 they were public servants who were working in
23 a committed and a dedicated fashion in terms of the
24 hours and they were working -- the pressure under which
25 they were working -- above and beyond probably the call

44

1 of duty.

2 Ken Thomson is somebody I've worked with throughout
3 my time in the Scottish Government and he is a civil
4 servant, as I say, of the utmost integrity and the
5 utmost professionalism.

6 **Q.** This group was called "Covid outbreak group", obviously
7 connected to the Covid pandemic; yes?

8 **A.** If that --

9 **Q.** One assumes --

10 **A.** -- is what you're telling me, yes.

11 **Q.** One assumes -- yes, that is the name of it. One
12 assumes, therefore, it's to do with -- "Covid outbreak
13 break", to do with Covid and therefore relevant to the
14 pandemic.

15 What Mr Thomson does here is that, despite
16 recognising that material in this chat is discoverable
17 under Freedom of Information legislation, is to tell
18 other individuals in the group that they should clear it
19 or delete it. Is that not correct?

20 **A.** That is what is in front of me, yes.

21 **Q.** Could I just go a little bit further down, please,
22 just -- I'm just tracing the messages down to 16.17, so
23 very shortly after the exchange that we've had.

24 At 16.17, so this is just a couple of minutes after,
25 further down -- you can see in the background other --

45

1 a limit to how far I can go in trying to interpret what
2 he meant by that. In looking at the exchange, my
3 interpretation of it, which may or may not be correct,
4 is that he is reminding the others on the -- in the chat
5 that the kind of things they are talking they probably
6 shouldn't be on a chat like this. You know, somebody
7 says "I was ... nippy teenager in 1986", for example,
8 that's the nature of that.

9 Again, all I can repeat about Ken Thomson is that he
10 is a civil servant, in my experience, who took the
11 responsibilities around recording and making sure that
12 the government record was complete extremely seriously.
13 He's one of the civil servants in my experience that was
14 not just most experienced in that but that was most
15 assiduous in that side of things. So I can't answer for
16 him, I can speak about my experience of him, and I can
17 give an interpretation based on the context of that,
18 that that was meant to be a light-hearted comment. But
19 that is only my interpretation.

20 Forgive me, the other thing I would say, I, like
21 many people, given -- and I can reflect back to this
22 time, our discussions in government were very serious,
23 there are times when they were extremely sombre, there
24 were days when they were very, very dark, given the
25 nature of what we were dealing with, and because the

47

1 what happens in between -- there is something which
2 Jason Leitch says at 16.17 which is redacted and then
3 Ken Thomson says:

4 "The information you requested is not held
5 centrally."

6 Is that a phrase you recognise?

7 **A.** Of course it is, yes.

8 **Q.** Is that a phrase which often appears in Freedom of
9 Information requests when documentation is requested
10 from the Scottish Government?

11 **A.** Yes.

12 **Q.** Is it a phrase which indicates, as a result of
13 a request, the Scottish Government is not in a position
14 to be able to provide the information it might
15 otherwise, because it doesn't actually hold the
16 information at a central repository?

17 **A.** Yes.

18 **Q.** Does it look to you that this is Ken Thomson suggesting
19 that that response is an excuse often trotted out by the
20 Scottish Government in response to Freedom of
21 Information requests?

22 **A.** I absolutely accept that is an interpretation that could
23 be put on it. I -- these are not my words --

24 **Q.** Of course.

25 **A.** -- this is not an exchange I'm involved in, so there is

46

1 public as a whole were going through unimaginable trauma
2 at the time, many of them still living with that trauma,
3 reading, now, light-hearted exchanges I think can be
4 very difficult because it gives an impression that
5 people were not taking the situation seriously. That
6 could not be further from the truth. I think what you
7 have there are public servants who were working
8 incredibly hard to take the best decisions, to support
9 ministers to take the best decisions to keep people
10 safe, who were, you know, perhaps, as is human nature,
11 occasionally engaging in light-hearted comment to
12 probably try to get themselves through the day. That's
13 my interpretation of what's before me but I appreciate
14 others may arrive at a different one.

15 **Q.** If it were ultimately to be determined that there was
16 a culture of plausible deniability, a culture of
17 deleting messages that would be recoverable under FOI
18 requests, a culture of suggesting, in order to get out
19 of FOI requests, that documents are not held centrally,
20 these would be abhorrent revelations, would they not?

21 **A.** Absolutely. And to be very clear, that is not the
22 culture that I believe existed in the Scottish
23 Government during my time as First Minister, or indeed
24 in my time as Deputy First Minister.

25 **Q.** And if those things were deemed to be the reality of

48

1 your time, the culture in your time as First Minister,
2 that would be a serious breach of the bond of trust
3 between the government and the Scottish public which we
4 discussed as being very much at the cornerstone of your
5 whole approach --

6 **A.** If -- if that was the case, and let me repeat it's not
7 my view that it was, then yes, what you're putting to me
8 would be true.

9 I would again, and you will take me through, no
10 doubt, lots of documentation later, but that single
11 page, and I'm sure there will be other pages of WhatsApp
12 messages that you could put in front of me, I would
13 counterpose to the -- you know, in the region of
14 100 Cabinet papers and minutes that properly, seriously
15 recorded the decision-making and the underpinning
16 rationale for the decision-making of the government.
17 The bond of trust between any government and the public
18 at any time is of paramount importance, but this was
19 particularly the case during the extraordinary and
20 unprecedented situation we faced in the pandemic, and it
21 was something I felt to my core every single day of
22 that.

23 **Q.** We saw in messages that we looked at in some detail with
24 Professor Sridhar that you had suggested to her that she
25 might contact you via either your SNP email address or

49

1 I had a thirst to understand as much as possible and
2 I simply wanted her -- she was somebody who had been
3 appearing in the media a lot, I was periodically asked
4 about views that she had been expressing in the media,
5 and I wanted to have an understanding, a deeper
6 understanding of what they were. But if I'd been in any
7 way trying to direct her to a private email address,
8 I doubt if I would have put my government email address
9 in there as well.

10 And of course the context of what we were talking
11 about was I think a paper that she was sharing with the
12 wider advisory group. At no point did Professor Sridhar
13 send me anything that was, you know, for my eyes only,
14 that wasn't either publicly available information or
15 information that was being shared with the advisory
16 group she was a member of.

17 **Q.** I think we have seen some emails now that were very
18 recently produced to us by the Scottish Government
19 between yourself and Professor Sridhar which do,
20 I think, as the direct message exchanges suggest,
21 indicate that she was forwarding on to you policy
22 papers, which I think your position is that those would
23 otherwise have been made available to you; is that
24 right? Have I got that right?

25 **A.** Yes, these were -- she was a member -- and the Inquiry

51

1 your government email address. Was the suggestion that
2 she might use your SNP email address an appropriate
3 thing to have done in the conduct of your government
4 business?

5 **A.** In reflection, perhaps I shouldn't have done that, but
6 if I had been trying to direct her to a personal email,
7 SNP or otherwise, to keep something off the government
8 system, then I would suggest I wouldn't also have given
9 her my government email address. I wasn't -- and
10 obviously the Inquiry has looked at that message --
11 I wasn't pushing her in one direction or the other.
12 What I was saying -- this was I think, from memory, in
13 June 2020 or thereabouts, still a very, very tough
14 critical phase of the pandemic. Effectively what I was
15 saying to her is: if there are things you think I should
16 know, don't stand on ceremony, I'd rather know.

17 And at that point I was, as I think any responsible
18 decision-maker should have been, I was trying to deepen
19 my knowledge, I was trying to learn as much as I could
20 about the virus and how to combat the virus. I was
21 desperate to understand different perspectives, I was
22 desperate to understand as much as I could from the
23 experiences and the responses of other countries.

24 Now, let me be very clear, the bulk of that was
25 coming to me through Scottish Government advisers, but

50

1 is aware of this -- she was a member of the Scottish
2 Government COVID-19 Advisory Group, and these were
3 papers she was preparing for the group. What the group
4 did with them or what weight it gave to them, that would
5 be for the group to answer, but these were not things
6 that she was sending -- preparing for me and sending to
7 me alone, they were simply copies of things that were in
8 wider circulation.

9 **Q.** It would, one assumes, be in accordance with the normal
10 practice of the group that the group would decide
11 whether that needed to be sent to you, rather than
12 Professor Sridhar, isn't that right?

13 **A.** Possibly, yes, but at that point, and if this -- if this
14 was the wrong approach to take, Mr Dawson, I apologise.
15 At that point, in dealing with an unprecedented
16 situation and a pandemic, I wanted to understand as much
17 as I could, I wanted my decisions to be as informed as
18 possible. I read -- perhaps one of the reasons why in
19 the early exchange I was saying I hadn't slept much,
20 I read extensively from public sources of articles and
21 research studies online. I was trying to understand as
22 much as possible and as quickly as possible. And I took
23 the view if somebody could help me with that, if
24 somebody could send me something that I would otherwise
25 see but I might see -- I'm not even sure, with my

52

1 apologies to her, that I would have necessarily read
 2 everything she sent me because I might already have seen
 3 it or I would perhaps not think it was particularly
 4 relevant, but I had a desire to have as much information
 5 in order to deepen my understanding of the situation we
 6 were facing as I could. And while there are things we
 7 may talk about today where I think if I was to go back
 8 and have my time again I would take a different
 9 decision, I hope I wouldn't take a different decision on
 10 that; it was important to me to be as informed and as
 11 educated as I possibly could be.

12 **Q.** You used a personal phone for the conduct of government
 13 business while First Minister; is that correct?

14 **A.** Yes, I did.

15 **Q.** You never used a government-issued phone; is that right?

16 We've heard evidence from a variety of ministers that
 17 they seemed to use phones from a variety of different
 18 sources, some Scottish Government, some personal, some
 19 Scottish Parliament issued phones.

20 Is it appropriate in your view, as the former
 21 First Minister, that ministers are conducting business
 22 on phones that are not government-issued phones?

23 **A.** It was never suggested to me at any time during my
 24 period as First Minister that it was not appropriate.

25 The reason I used a personal phone was that I didn't

53

1 office staff could no longer work --

2 **Q.** Sorry to interrupt, Ms Sturgeon, just to be clear, we
 3 are obviously keen on understanding whether they were
 4 used for your business related to the Covid pandemic in
 5 the conduct of your role as First Minister.

6 **A.** They were not used by me at all --

7 **Q.** If they were used for some other purpose, we have no
 8 interest --

9 **A.** They were the phones that my constituency office
 10 landline were diverted to in the homes of my
 11 constituency office staff. I have never, to the best of
 12 my knowledge, seen, held and certainly not used any of
 13 these phones.

14 **MR DAWSON:** Thank you for clarifying that.

15 My Lady, as I'm about to move on to a different
 16 topic, if that's an appropriate moment.

17 **LADY HALLETT:** Certainly.

18 I suspect we may be getting messages that the
 19 stenographer is struggling. I appreciate it's very
 20 difficult to change one's pattern of speech, but maybe
 21 if you paused before asking the next question,
 22 Mr Dawson, so the stenographer can catch up.

23 **MR DAWSON:** I'll try my very best, my Lady, yes.

24 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you. 11.30.

25 (11.12 am)

55

1 want to have multiple devices. A government phone
 2 I wouldn't have been able to do constituency business or
 3 party or personal matters, and, you know, on
 4 a constituency one I couldn't do -- you get the picture
 5 here. So I wanted to have one device. It was never
 6 suggested to me that was inappropriate and I don't
 7 believe it was inappropriate. I think any phone,
 8 whether it is personal, parliament, government, is
 9 vulnerable to being, you know, left on a train or lost
 10 somehow, which goes back to points I made earlier on
 11 about the practice and the policy around how information
 12 is retained in government.

13 **Q.** We have been made aware of an article which appeared in
 14 the press just yesterday suggesting that your expenses
 15 claims indicated that on 19 March you purchased a phone
 16 and a number of SIM top-ups and the article also
 17 suggests that you purchased a second prepaid phone
 18 between 2020 and 2021, because it's based on your
 19 expenses claims, I think, and the amounts are there.

20 Why did you -- did you purchase those phones and why
 21 did you?

22 **A.** They were purchased certainly through my expenses on my
 23 authority, I didn't personally purchase them. They were
 24 also not for use by me. Many MSPs, I believe, did the
 25 same when the pandemic started, and my constituency

54

1 (A short break)

2 (11.30 am)

3 **LADY HALLETT:** Mr Dawson.

4 **MR DAWSON:** Thank you, my Lady.

5 Ms Sturgeon, we're moving on to a topic which you
 6 have anticipated I wished to ask you some questions
 7 about, which is the decision-making processes within
 8 Scottish Government during the course of the pandemic.

9 We've heard a number of other witnesses give us some
 10 evidence about the various structures that were involved
 11 in and around decision-making. It is the case, is it
 12 not, that the Scottish Cabinet is meant to be the main
 13 decision-making forum within the Scottish Government?

14 **A.** The Scottish Cabinet is the main decision-making forum
 15 within the Scottish Government.

16 **Q.** Where important decisions are concentrated in the hands
 17 of a few people as opposed to the whole Cabinet, the
 18 proper function of the Cabinet would be usurped; isn't
 19 that correct?

20 **A.** If that had been the situation, that would be true, but
 21 that is not the situation, and indeed I am absolutely
 22 firmly of the view that any reading of the Cabinet
 23 papers and the minutes of Cabinet meetings would make
 24 very clear that that was not the case. The Cabinet was
 25 where our substantive discussions happened and decisions

56

1 were taken after full and frank discussion involving all
 2 of the members of the Cabinet.
 3 **Q.** Thank you.
 4 Could I go to INQ000334792, please.
 5 This is an exchange that we've been to before,
 6 Ms Sturgeon, and I think you should have seen it
 7 already. I wasn't planning on reading it all out, but
 8 it is an exchange between the now First Minister, then
 9 Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care, and
 10 Professor Leitch from December 2021 in which he is
 11 describing, against a background of a discussion between
 12 them, about the possibility that at that time there
 13 might require to be further measures taken to stem the
 14 Omicron wave which had just hit Scotland.
 15 Is that broad context, in terms of where we were in
 16 the pandemic, correct?
 17 **A.** Looking at the date there, then that's --
 18 **Q.** Yes.
 19 **A.** -- exactly where we were --
 20 **Q.** Thank you. So they had been discussing that and
 21 Mr Yousaf said that:
 22 "I took a hell of a bullet at Cabinet (!) But might
 23 be able to strengthen the measures, even if its just
 24 slightly. We think we can find £100m within the
 25 portfolio ..."

57

1 I understand it from the evidence that we've heard from
 2 Mr Yousaf and indeed Ms Forbes, is that there were
 3 discussions around the possibility of having further
 4 measures but there were issues pertaining to whether or
 5 not there would be funding to support business if there
 6 were a further lockdown or further restrictions and that
 7 at the Cabinet meeting Mr Yousaf, Cabinet Secretary for
 8 Health and Social Care, had suggested, somewhat out of
 9 the blue I think Ms Forbes told us, that he -- despite
 10 efforts made to try to find funding to assist for that
 11 purpose, he had managed to find within his budget
 12 £100 million which wasn't previously known about.
 13 Is that correct? Please correct me if I've got that
 14 wrong.
 15 **A.** I think it is broadly correct. If I may, I can go
 16 into --
 17 **Q.** What I'm really interested is the possibility -- well,
 18 is the suggestion that I will make to you: that this is
 19 indicative of a culture in which you did not take kindly
 20 to people bringing up at Cabinet meetings things that
 21 you had not already had brought to your attention and on
 22 which you had not already made a decision?
 23 **A.** No, that is absolutely not the case. There was no such
 24 culture within the government I led. I think, if I may,
 25 in order to answer that question properly --

59

1 And then there is a discussion where he again says:
 2 "Don't know if it'll happen this last minute and FM
 3 not remotely happy its at this last stage but let's see
 4 if it strengthens a package of measures that are far too
 5 weak as things stand."
 6 Professor Leitch says:
 7 "I was listening. I almost intervened to deflect
 8 for you. She was ridiculous. Absolutely ridiculous."
 9 And he agrees with the principle, and Mr Yousaf
 10 says:
 11 "Ack that's just the way it is. Her ranting at me
 12 isn't the problem, i can take it its whether the quantum
 13 at this stage helps us strengthen [the] package. Though
 14 feel free to defend me at a later stage.
 15 "Today's numbers lower than expected. Suspect some
 16 [people] are not testing given xmas round the corner."
 17 So this is an exchange in which they are discussing
 18 a Cabinet meeting, the reference to "she" is you,
 19 I think?
 20 **A.** I assume so.
 21 **Q.** Yes. Do you recall this period, just broadly, and we'll
 22 get into some of the details --
 23 **A.** I recall the period -- not just broadly, I recall it in
 24 detail, I recall the Cabinet meeting --
 25 **Q.** Yes, yes, excellent. I think what the context is, if

58

1 **Q.** Of course.
 2 **A.** -- I need to set out the circumstances --
 3 **Q.** Absolutely.
 4 **A.** -- of that Cabinet meeting.
 5 I had in advance of that Cabinet meeting asked
 6 Ms Forbes, as the Finance Secretary, to undertake
 7 an exercise across government to ascertain -- we were
 8 finding it difficult with the UK Government in the
 9 financial discussions at that point -- to ascertain if
 10 there was money we could re-direct, free up, make
 11 available from within the Scottish Government budget to
 12 give additional support to businesses should we require
 13 to impose additional restrictions.
 14 Ms Forbes had done that exercise, she had done it
 15 rigorously and robustly, and she had reported at Cabinet
 16 that the outcome of this, having gone round all of the
 17 portfolios, was that there wasn't really any money of
 18 any significant scale to have.
 19 At which point Mr Yousaf -- and let me say Mr Yousaf
 20 was doing this for the best of intentions, I'm not
 21 questioning his motives -- said, "Well, actually", and
 22 I'm paraphrasing here obviously, "I can make
 23 £100 million available".
 24 In that moment I felt he was doing a real disservice
 25 to the Finance Secretary because she had just reported

60

1 that she had done a job and it had resulted in no money
2 being available and then he, you know, seemed to take
3 the feet from her in that.

4 I supported and believe it's important that there
5 were robust discussions round the Cabinet table, there
6 were robust discussions round the Cabinet table, but
7 I expected all my ministers to operate on a basis of
8 mutual respect and of making sure that they were
9 operating collegiately and in that moment I didn't think
10 that was the case and I was not -- I was not
11 particularly happy about it, I have to concede that.

12 I think that was probably exacerbated by the fact
13 that, and I can't recall the date -- you perhaps will be
14 able to show it to me -- I think sometime maybe a couple
15 of weeks before that Mr Yousaf had indicated to me on
16 WhatsApp that he might be able to find some money in
17 this order, and my response to him was "speak to Kate",
18 and at that meeting it appeared that he hadn't done so.
19 So that was the context. And I perhaps was also
20 sceptical given -- given the pressures on the National
21 Health Service at that point that it would be sensible
22 to take £100 million from dealing with the acute
23 pressures on the health service to fund business
24 support, that that is a more of a substantive issue. So
25 that is the context of that.

61

1 will, you know, moan about the First Minister or the
2 Prime Minister to each other. Maybe I used to do it in
3 a previous job in the Scottish Government as well. So
4 that is normal. But I expected Cabinet discussions --
5 and Cabinet discussions were full, robust, detailed --
6 I expected all Cabinet secretaries to come to those
7 discussions able to argue their point, put their point
8 of view across, and then for us to come to a position at
9 the end of that. That's how Cabinet government works.

10 It was absolutely not the case -- and, you know,
11 I've referenced Cabinet minutes before, and you have
12 seen all the Cabinet minutes in relation to Covid, but
13 this would be true of Cabinet minutes generally, there
14 is usually, I don't know, two, three pages in a Cabinet
15 minute that in detail summarises the discussion, the
16 points that were raised. It doesn't attribute those
17 points to individuals, that's not how Cabinets are
18 minuted, but it goes into detail about the points
19 raised. So you can look across all of these minutes and
20 see the nature and the detail of the discussion that has
21 been had. And that is how I operated within government,
22 and it's how I would have expected all my
23 Cabinet secretaries to operate.

24 **Q.** You can't see these views in the Cabinet minutes.

25 **A.** Possibly not, but that --

63

1 I -- you know, as First Minister I, you know, and
2 I make no apology for this, I always tried to lead from
3 the front, I always took a "the buck stops with me"
4 attitude, I always took Cabinet meetings extremely
5 seriously, made sure I was briefed and had done all the
6 preparation and reading, and I expected similar from my
7 Cabinet secretaries, and I think that is how good
8 government should work. So that's the context of that.
9 That was not a regular occurrence at Cabinet. It was
10 a very particular set of circumstances that -- as it
11 happens, I'm not sure that that exchange doesn't
12 slightly overstate it, but I do concede that I expressed
13 some displeasure at the process by which the offer had
14 come to the table. And it was more on behalf of
15 Ms Forbes, because I thought it did a disservice to her
16 and the very professional job that she had done.

17 **Q.** We've heard Ms Forbes on this very subject, so we know
18 what her position in that regard is. Do these messages
19 show, Ms Sturgeon, that, whilst Cabinet secretaries
20 might complain in private, as in these -- as we've just
21 seen, they would ultimately be expected to fall back in
22 line behind your view on matters?

23 **A.** No, absolutely not. I suspect in every government
24 everywhere across the world, and I would imagine that
25 the Scottish Government was no different, that ministers

62

1 **Q.** I think certainly not. Sorry.

2 **A.** You would see -- you would see, for example, the
3 discussion about money. You would see the discussion
4 about the fact that there had been an exercise to try to
5 find additional resources.

6 **Q.** Could I ask you to go, please, to INQ000214734, please.
7 Bottom of page 6, if we just go to the first page,
8 please, can we do that, just to see what it is.

9 These are conclusions, as we've come to understand
10 they're called, minutes of the Cabinet meeting held on
11 22 June 2021. Does that appear correct?

12 **A.** Yes.

13 **Q.** If we could go to page 7, please, just again to try to
14 contextualise this, our understanding is that this is
15 around the time either at or shortly before cases
16 started to rise again as a result of the Delta wave
17 hitting Scotland. Would that be broadly your
18 recollection?

19 **A.** Of that time period, yes.

20 **Q.** Thank you.

21 I'm looking at the decisions taken under
22 subparagraph (p) and (q).

23 Maybe over the page. Yes, thank you.

24 These are the matters decided by Cabinet. It says:

25 "For the purposes of COVID-19 decision-making during

64

1 the summer recess, to delegate to the First Minister
2 decisions that were broadly consistent with the
3 *Strategic Framework* and timetable, noting that the
4 First Minister would be supported as required by the
5 Gold Group structure of key Ministers, including
6 Mr Swinney, Mr Yousaf, Ms Forbes, and any other
7 Ministers with an interest, with input from [name
8 redacted] chief advisers and senior lead officials;
9 and ..."

10 Under (q), over the page:

11 "In the event that the First Minister and Gold Group
12 were to reach a decision that differed materially from
13 the *Strategic Framework*, that Cabinet should be advised
14 through correspondence and, if the First Minister
15 requested it, at a meeting of the Cabinet (which she
16 could convene at any time should circumstances
17 require)."

18 Is the reference there to the "Gold Group" a group
19 which is sometimes called "gold" or "gold command"?

20 **A.** It is indeed, and it's an example, and I mean this in
21 the nicest possible way, of the civil service often
22 attaching names, grand names to meetings that are
23 otherwise routine.

24 **Q.** Yes. Our understanding, Ms Sturgeon, is that this was
25 a group which, please correct me if I've got this wrong,

65

1 and actually I think the rest of that paragraph makes
2 that quite clear, that had the gold group wanted to
3 propose a decision, that would have had to have gone
4 through a proper Cabinet process. And just to be clear,
5 Cabinet correspondence, I think in the UK Government as
6 well as the Scottish Government, is -- it's not the
7 preferred way of reaching Cabinet decisions but it is
8 a way in which Cabinet decisions can be reached short of
9 a meeting. I don't think that happened in this case,
10 but ... so that -- that paragraph there makes very clear
11 that the previous paragraph, which is not before me
12 right now --

13 **Q.** If we can just put up the previous one back up, please,
14 thank you.

15 **A.** Again, yeah, it's making -- so this was in the summer
16 of 2021. People are aware of how far into the pandemic
17 that was. I suspect this was an attempt to give
18 ministers some time off over the summer period.
19 Everybody had obviously been working, in some periods,
20 round the clock on this. But it's very clear there,
21 I am not being given, through a delegation,
22 a carte blanche to take decisions I want to take. It is
23 talking there about decisions -- any decisions that are
24 "broadly consistent with the *Strategic Framework* and
25 timetable". So we had already set out at that point the

67

1 but our understanding is that it was a group which
2 tended to meet -- it didn't always have the same people
3 in it, it was almost certainly always you, I think it
4 was always you, but it would tend to meet in the days
5 before a Cabinet meeting, which would, if regularly
6 scheduled, take place on a Tuesday; is that right? So
7 sometimes over the weekend, for example, I think we've
8 seen.

9 **A.** Yes, so Cabinets routinely met on a Tuesday, I'm sure
10 there were periods during Covid when we met on other
11 days, but routinely a --

12 **Q.** Yes.

13 **A.** -- Tuesday. The gold group -- you know, which, was
14 a name I didn't ascribe to it, it came to be known as
15 that -- was initially an opportunity for me and for
16 other ministers as appropriate to, you know, interrogate
17 the data, to ask questions of advisers and, before we
18 even got to the point of shaping the proposals that
19 would go to Cabinet for decision, to, you know, start to
20 in our own minds firm up the direction we thought we
21 were going in.

22 I should be very clear that the gold group, gold
23 command, whatever terminology we want to use, was not
24 a decision-making or a formal governance body. You
25 know, the gold group would not have reached a decision,

66

1 milestones that we wanted to reach. And, as sometimes
2 was the case, Cabinet would delegate to me, so Cabinet
3 would say "We want to do this, assuming the data on such
4 and such a date supports it", and when we got that data
5 I would make a judgement: "Well, does the data support
6 it?" And so formally I would have delegated power to
7 make the final decision, but the process of
8 decision-making was through Cabinet. I think that makes
9 that clear.

10 **Q.** Might I suggest to you, Ms Sturgeon, that contrary to
11 your interpretation, this in fact gives you an
12 incredibly wide discretion as to what you might wish to
13 do in the management of the pandemic, saying that all
14 you need to do is to make decisions -- and it is making
15 decisions -- which were "broadly consistent with the
16 *Strategic Framework* and timetable"; that would mean you
17 could do virtually anything?

18 **A.** With respect, I would challenge that and say that that
19 is not the case. The strategic framework -- by its
20 nature, strategic frameworks are broad and high-level,
21 but the timetable was very detailed. To depart from
22 that -- I would not have had latitude to depart from
23 that. Departing from that would have required me to go
24 through a decision-making process, and I did not have
25 carte blanche, wide latitude to take decisions and nor

68

1 should I have had. Incidentally, nor would I have
2 wanted to, given the seriousness of what we were dealing
3 with. I'm not sure anybody would have chosen to take
4 solely onto their own shoulders the decisions that were
5 falling to be made, although I always accepted that the
6 final accountability and responsibility, as
7 First Minister, lay with me.

8 So I respectfully don't think the characterisation
9 of that is accurate at all. And I think if you were to
10 look at Cabinet -- forgive me, there was a Cabinet
11 minute discussed with Mr Swinney yesterday, I think from
12 19 December 2020, where conclusions were put to him,
13 similar to that: you know, decisions are delegated to
14 the First Minister. Looking at only those conclusions
15 would have given the impression that is being given now.
16 But when you look at the minute in its entirety, the
17 previous two pages of that narrate the Cabinet
18 discussion, make very clear that Cabinet agreed with the
19 decisions that were being proposed, and that there had
20 been a full and comprehensive discussion.

21 So yes, when you take -- when we look at paragraphs
22 like that in isolation, I accept that that gives
23 a certain impression that is -- that I would say is not
24 accurate, but also would not be the impression given if
25 these minutes are read in their entirety.

69

1 Q. We can judge that ourselves, as you said earlier --

2 A. Absolutely.

3 Q. -- from the Cabinet conclusions --

4 A. Absolutely, yes.

5 Q. The gold or gold command meetings, accepting that you
6 don't like the term, that seems to be what we were at
7 least colloquially referred to as. They are somewhat
8 mysterious to us in the sense that they weren't minuted,
9 were they?

10 A. There were not minutes taken of them in the way that you
11 have Cabinet minutes, that is certainly the case,
12 because they were not decision-making meetings in the
13 way Cabinet meetings were. However -- and I believe --
14 forgive me if I'm misinformed here, I believe the
15 Inquiry has papers that went with and around those
16 meetings, slide packs that would inform the discussion,
17 agendas of the issues we were going to discuss, and
18 where there had been actions out of these meetings,
19 usually to do further work to inform decisions, then
20 notes of action points, and I've certainly -- the
21 committee -- the Inquiry, apologies, had asked me to
22 review some of that, so I've reviewed that paperwork and
23 I know that that is there. But in many of these
24 meetings, the purpose of them was -- you know, Cabinet
25 had choices and options, but no Cabinet on any issue

71

1 Q. You mentioned in your explanation, your helpful
2 explanation, that the process would be that there would
3 be a discussion to ascertain whether Cabinet agreed with
4 the decisions that were proposed. Does that not lead to
5 the conclusion that decisions had already been reached
6 and that Cabinet was, in effect, a decision-ratifying
7 rather than a decision-making body?

8 A. No, that's not the case, because in many of these
9 instances there was not one proposal put forward,
10 Cabinet would have a range of different options. One
11 Cabinet -- we may come on to talk to later on -- at
12 a later stage to this, as we go into the latter part,
13 into Christmas of 2021, when Omicron has been
14 identified, that Cabinet has, and I'm using this just as
15 an example, but there will be many others, it has three
16 options: you know, effectively stick with the measures
17 we have in place just now, enhance them in some way or
18 have a circuit-breaker. Cabinet has a full discussion
19 and then it reaches a decision. So it was not always
20 the case that Cabinet simply had a proposal put to it
21 that it could take or leave, Cabinet would have a range
22 of options. The exchange that we talked about before
23 the break between Liz Lloyd and I is reflective of that,
24 there were options that Cabinet would have been chewing
25 over and coming to a balanced view of.

70

1 anywhere, you know, sits with a blank sheet of paper.

2 So there is a process of shaping the options that will
3 then become the decisions that Cabinet takes, and these
4 meetings were often to try to shape those options. So
5 in a sense the output of those meetings, and I use this
6 term loosely, the minutes of those meetings are the
7 Cabinet papers that then go to Cabinet for decision,
8 because that is what comes from these meetings into the
9 Cabinet papers that then inform and shape the decisions
10 Cabinet reaches.

11 Q. We've certainly had access to certain action points.
12 They don't relate to every gold meeting. We've
13 struggled rather to work out even when the gold meetings
14 took place. We have to look at other documents to tell
15 us when they might have happened.

16 We have seen action points, not in relation to all
17 of the meetings that appear to have happened. The
18 action points appear very much to be, effectively, the
19 conclusion of the meeting, rather than any discussion as
20 to how those conclusions were reached. Therefore, is it
21 fair to say that the documentation to which you've
22 referred does not tell us the salient points that were
23 discussed in the conduct of government business at those
24 meetings?

25 A. So I think -- yes, I think that would be fair. And

72

1 there is undoubtedly a learning point for government
2 here, and it's not any longer for me but I'm sure the
3 Scottish Government will be reflecting on this, I think
4 around, you know, the impression that can be created
5 when you give, you know, grand names to fairly routine
6 things, and I've already made that point, but, more
7 substantively, to make sure that there is a clearer
8 record of these discursive -- non-decision-making
9 meetings, that are discursive and there for the purpose
10 of shaping the decisions that have to be taken by
11 Cabinet.

12 So yes, I would accept that can -- you know, to
13 somebody outside the process, it would be helpful if
14 that was clearer. I can look at Cabinet papers, not
15 minutes but Cabinet papers, putting the proposals for
16 decision or the options for decision to Cabinet, and
17 I know that, you know, that effectively reflects the
18 discussion that we would have had in these meetings,
19 because that was how we shaped the options and decisions
20 that were coming to Cabinet.

21 **Q.** Is there a theme developing in the areas we've already
22 looked at, Ms Sturgeon, that the Scottish Government
23 does not like light to be shined on the way in which
24 discussions leading to decisions have taken place?

25 **A.** No, I would very, very strongly refute that. And,

73

1 **A.** -- would have been the case when he was Health
2 Secretary, yes.

3 **Q.** And often attended by Ms Lloyd?

4 **A.** There would have been a special adviser in them and
5 officials there and somebody from my private office.

6 **Q.** If their position at this Inquiry were that the gold
7 meetings were a decision-making body, would they be
8 wrong about that?

9 **A.** Yes, the gold meetings were not, Cabinet was the
10 decision-making body.

11 **Q.** How was the list of attendees decided? I think you said
12 that Mr Yousaf would attend and (unclear) perhaps,
13 wasn't there?

14 **A.** It would depend on the nature of the decision that we
15 were about, as Cabinet, to consider. So that would vary
16 depending on the state -- you know, the stage of the
17 pandemic and the state of things that we were dealing
18 with at the time. So sometimes that would be very
19 health-focused. Particularly later, as we go into 2021,
20 when finance to support our public health decisions was
21 becoming more of an issue, that would include finance.
22 You know, I was, again at the committee's request,
23 reviewing -- the Inquiry, my apologies -- reviewing some
24 of these papers over the course of yesterday. So,
25 for example, at late 2020, there were meetings that

75

1 you know, this is a point I've made a number of times
2 already this morning, and forgive me for repeating it,
3 but I do think it is extremely important. You know,
4 I have, in preparation for coming here today and some of
5 these the committee's drawn my attention to, I have
6 looked at all of the Cabinet papers and minutes over
7 that whole period. It runs to, you know, thousands of
8 pages. And that paperwork doesn't simply record the
9 decision that was reached, it records the options that
10 Cabinet considered, the pros and cons of each of these
11 options, the reasoning and the evidence that underpinned
12 both the presentation of the options and the decision
13 that was reached. And then the Cabinet minutes, often
14 over several pages, records a very detailed summary of
15 the discussion around the Cabinet table. And I do
16 believe that not only gives a comprehensive record of
17 the decisions that the Scottish Cabinet reached in
18 relation to Covid, but also the thought processes, the
19 reasoning, the rationale, and the factors that were
20 considered in the process of reaching these decisions.

21 **Q.** The gold meetings, as we're calling them, were often
22 attended by Mr Yousaf; is that right?

23 **A.** I don't have the attendance list in front of me, but
24 yes --

25 **Q.** Broadly --

74

1 Ms Forbes, as I think she said yesterday, wasn't at, but
2 her office was copied into the notice of the meeting and
3 the papers. The Economy Secretary, Fiona Hyslop at the
4 time, was at these meetings. Later in 2021 when finance
5 was much more of an issue, Ms Forbes would be in
6 attendance and perhaps another minister might not be.
7 These were discursive opportunities for us to throw
8 around issue -- well, firstly, to look at the state of
9 the pandemic, the data, what we were dealing with, the
10 choices and the decisions that we were having to take,
11 what the implications of those decisions were, what
12 factors we had to take account of, in order that all of
13 the proper work could be done to then shape and inform
14 the decisions that Cabinet would take.

15 **Q.** To be clear about Ms Forbes' evidence, her position was
16 that she did not attend any meetings in 2020, in fact
17 she didn't even know of the existence of the gold group
18 in 2020.

19 **A.** I obviously cannot say what information was shared with
20 her at that time about these meetings with the
21 private office, but having reviewed some of these papers
22 last night, and I will, you know, apologise and be
23 corrected if I read this wrongly, her office was copied
24 into the papers and the notification of meetings at the
25 end of 2020.

76

- 1 **Q.** But she didn't attend in 2020?
- 2 **A.** She wasn't in attendance in 2020, I don't think it would
3 be true to say that her office didn't know about these
4 meetings. Had she felt -- had she known, and obviously
5 from her evidence yesterday she didn't know, but had she
6 and had wanted to attend, there would have been nothing
7 to stop her attending. But in those meetings at the end
8 of 2020 I believe that the Economy Secretary was
9 present, because at that point, as we've reflected
10 earlier on, issues around hospitality, the impact and
11 the burden on businesses was one of the issues that we
12 were frequently discussing and reflecting on.
- 13 **Q.** These meetings presented discursive opportunities, as
14 you've described them, at which Ms Forbes, the
15 Cabinet Secretary for Finance, did not participate; is
16 that correct?
- 17 **A.** She did not participate in all of the meetings, no, but
18 then --
- 19 **Q.** She didn't participate in any of the meetings in --
- 20 **A.** I -- I think there were probably only -- I think there
21 were only few meetings in the latter part of 2020,
22 I don't have the list in front of me right now, but
23 I believe that these meetings, these gold meetings,
24 started in, you know, perhaps September/October 2020, so
25 I don't think there were very many meetings in 2020.

77

1 during the pandemic was to do the best we could to keep
2 the country as safe as possible. Sometimes we would
3 have succeeded in that, other times we didn't, and
4 I carry the regret for the occasions that we didn't all
5 the time, and always will do. But the motivation was
6 just to try to take the best possible decisions we
7 could.

- 8 **Q.** Could we go to INQ000346141, please.
- 9 This is some notes taken by Ms Lloyd, you may
10 recognise the handwriting, from 28 September 2020, and
11 in these notes she says:
- 12 "Gold Command."
- 13 And she refers to -- the next page, I think I want
14 to look at, if that's okay?
- 15 Yes, just the passage at the top, which is obviously
16 in that context:
- 17 "navigate economy -- avoid blunt instrument.
18 "FH No finances --
19 "FM -> starting point -- how do we reduce impact
20 [of] spread [with] minimal [economic] impact.
21 "Political tactics -- calling for things we can't do
22 to force UK."
23 This is a gold command meeting that Ms Forbes was
24 not at; is that your understanding?

- 25 **A.** Yes, "FH" will be Fiona Hyslop, who is the --

79

1 She wouldn't -- from her evidence yesterday she wasn't
2 there, she was at meetings in 2021. There was no --
3 this was a -- as I think you're demonstrating in your
4 questioning, it was a reasonably fluid group, in order
5 that we were -- we had the right people round the table
6 to sort of throw around the issues that we were
7 discussing in order to inform decisions at Cabinet. Of
8 course Ms Forbes, with all other Cabinet secretaries,
9 would have been at Cabinet when the actual decisions
10 came to be taken and would have been and did make their
11 views known and contribute fully to those discussions
12 and take part in the decisions.

- 13 **Q.** As she wasn't there, she obviously wasn't one of the
14 right people to have round the table; is that right?
- 15 **A.** No, that is -- well, she was there when we got into
16 2021 --
- 17 **Q.** From 20 --
- 18 **A.** -- when finance became more of an issue. That is not --
19 that is not the basis on which I operated at any time
20 over my period as First Minister and certainly not
21 during the pandemic. All I was interested in was having
22 around the table the people that we needed to inform the
23 decisions that we were taking. And when those decisions
24 fell to be taken, all of the Cabinet were there.
25 I -- you know, my only motivation at any point

78

- 1 **Q.** Yes, Ms Hyslop was, that's my understanding as well.
- 2 This is a meeting in which there is a discussion
3 about important financial matters relating to how we
4 would reduce the financial impact of possible
5 restrictions that were being contemplated at that time;
6 is that correct?
- 7 **A.** That certainly is how it appears from what is in
8 front --
- 9 **Q.** Again, to contextualise this, just to make sure we're
10 literally on the same page, but my understanding of this
11 period is that this is a period when cases have risen.
12 You made an announcement on 7 September that you would
13 have to slow down the easing of the lockdown. There
14 were -- there was advice being given in this month by
15 SAGE and others within the Scottish Government as well
16 that there may need to be a circuit-breaker. And
17 I think what -- the context of this discussion, just so
18 we're understanding each other, is that there was
19 consideration of what the economic situation would be if
20 we had another lockdown, in particular whether there
21 would be funding for business and for furlough and that
22 sort of thing. Is that, again, broadly your
23 understanding of this period?

- 24 **A.** Yes.
- 25 **Q.** We discussed this, I think, with Ms Lloyd, in particular

80

1 the part where she talks about "Political tactics --
 2 calling for things we can't do to force UK". What was
 3 the reference there, do you recall?
 4 **A.** Well, this was during a period as we are -- sort of
 5 September through the autumn of 2020, which culminated
 6 in the second lockdown in England, enhanced measures in
 7 Scotland but not full lockdown, and it was at that
 8 point -- it became much more of an issue as we went into
 9 2021, but this was at the point where this issue, which
 10 I spoke about very often at the time and which no doubt
 11 we'll speak about later today, was starting to come to
 12 the fore, of a disjoint between the ability of the
 13 Scottish Government and the responsibility of the
 14 Scottish Government to take public health decisions but
 15 our inability to borrow the money or raise the money to
 16 compensate businesses or individuals for the impact of
 17 those decisions. When such decisions were taken by the
 18 UK Government for England, they could provide the
 19 financial support. And this was a frustration that was
 20 expressed by us regularly and also by the
 21 First Ministers of Wales and the First Minister and
 22 Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland. That is a --
 23 again these are not my words, they're not my notes, but
 24 we often -- not often, that would be putting it too
 25 strongly, but this was the start at which we were

81

1 financial aspect of this, up until now, where -- I mean,
 2 this was -- to be blunt, this was about making sure --
 3 the Scottish Government seeking to make sure that if we
 4 had to apply tougher restrictions or impose another
 5 lockdown, Scottish workers would get their wages paid,
 6 Scottish businesses would be compensated for that in the
 7 same way that the UK Government would be able to make
 8 possible for individuals and businesses in England,
 9 and -- and that's what that is -- I believe that is what
 10 that is referring to.

11 **Q.** Ms Forbes told us that prior to and around this time she
 12 had been involved in considerable discussions with the
 13 chief secretary to the Treasury around this and other
 14 financial issues. This was a discussion in which she
 15 should have participated, is it not?

16 **A.** It may have been. If what is being put to me, and
 17 forgive me for -- if I'm reading into things that are
 18 not there, but if what is being put to me is that
 19 Ms Forbes was somehow being excluded from discussions
 20 that she should have been party to, then that is
 21 absolutely not the case. Ms Forbes was an extremely
 22 highly valued member of my Cabinet, an extremely
 23 competent and professional member of my Cabinet. You
 24 know, any discussions she would have been having with
 25 the chief secretary to the Treasury would have been

83

1 experiencing a situation where we were not managing to
 2 persuade the UK Government privately and therefore we
 3 were having to contemplate airing some of these issues
 4 publicly.

5 **Q.** I think that did happen, Ms Sturgeon, I think you made
 6 an announcement in this regard?

7 **A.** Yes.

8 **Q.** About what the situation -- on, in fact, 1 November,
 9 just a few days after this, which then on the very same
 10 day led the then Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, to
 11 respond saying that furlough would be available in the
 12 event of a further Scottish and indeed Welsh or
 13 Northern Irish lockdown?

14 **A.** I don't think we ever -- in fact I'm not sure to this
 15 day we ever got the actual pinned down detail of what
 16 that meant, whether it would be 80% furlough for as long
 17 as a Scottish lockdown lasted or whether it was just
 18 a sweeping statement to --

19 **Q.** To be clear, this isn't, in fact, it was slightly later,
 20 it was the --

21 **A.** This was earlier than that.

22 **Q.** Yes, this was --

23 **A.** I'm just trying to illustrate what this was. It was
 24 a time when these frustrations were beginning to
 25 surface, which hadn't been there in -- in terms of the

82

1 properly reported to me and through the government.
 2 There, you know, were many different meetings at many
 3 different levels within the Scottish Government at which
 4 different ministers and Cabinet secretaries and
 5 officials would have participated. Fiona Hyslop -- and
 6 we at that time had a Finance Secretary and
 7 an Economy Secretary -- she was there that day clearly
 8 to represent the broader business financial interests,
 9 and I'm sure -- again, you'll be able to check whether
 10 I'm right on wrong on this by reference to the public --
 11 the corporate record is that if there had been issues
 12 raised there that required answers or considerations
 13 around financial impacts, then Ms Forbes' office would
 14 have been contacted and she would have been part of
 15 wider discussions.

16 I did not operate on any issue, at any point of the
 17 Covid pandemic, in a way that sought to exclude people
 18 from decision-making. I tried to lead from the front,
 19 I tried to shoulder my fair share, sometimes
 20 deliberately more than my fair share of the burden of
 21 decision-making, given the severity and the difficulty
 22 of the decisions that were being made. I thought that
 23 was appropriate for a First Minister. Unlike
 24 Cabinet secretaries, who have their own portfolios,
 25 I also had a responsibility to see the whole picture.

84

1 But I tried to use the best resources I had available,
2 ministerially and in the civil service, for the Scottish
3 Government in the whole to reach the best decisions.
4 And, you know, I absolutely accept that it's the case
5 that we can look at a single note of a single meeting
6 and look at, well, a particular person wasn't at that,
7 and -- and reflect now, I -- so I am sitting here
8 thinking "Yeah, I don't know why she wasn't there that
9 day", and probably she should have been, but that was
10 not, you know, some deliberate attempt to exclude her.
11 On the contrary, she was crucial to the pandemic
12 response in many ways.

13 **Q.** Well, we have her evidence on that matter.

14 We've looked at another exchange between Mr Yousaf
15 and Professor Leitch actually around the time that
16 Mr Yousaf took the role, after the election, of
17 Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care, in which
18 they start to discuss the exposure of Mr Yousaf to all
19 the information that he needed to take on board to try
20 to make decisions in his new role.

21 Professor Leitch refers -- they discuss the
22 possibility or the imminent "deep dive" meeting that's
23 about to take place at which they're both going to
24 attend, and Professor Leitch suggests as regards that
25 meeting that:

85

1 of whom just wanted to be in the room to hear what was
2 said and didn't need to be there.

3 I didn't have a great deal of patience with that.
4 I wanted the right people, by that I don't mean
5 people -- whether I liked them or not, I meant with the
6 right expertise and ability to and experience to and
7 knowledge to offer round the table. So that's,
8 I suspect, again Professor Leitch would have to answer
9 what he meant there, I suspect that's a reference to
10 that thing that was said about me in the Scottish
11 Government, that I didn't like casts of unnecessary
12 thousands in meetings.

13 I absolutely wanted the people who were critical to
14 making decisions around the table when either decisions
15 were being discussed and shaped and certainly when they
16 were being taken, and "She actually wants none of us" --
17 you know, don't get me wrong, there are days during the
18 pandemic I would gladly not have had to see, you know,
19 Jason or Gregor or Humza or -- or all of these people,
20 this was an incredibly stressful period for all of us,
21 but I wanted all of the people with the right expertise
22 in the room so that we could take the best decisions we
23 possibly could.

24 **Q.** The word "shenanigans" has the words "as always"?

25 **A.** I think I have set out what I think that means. I think

87

1 "There was some FM 'keep it small' shenanigans as
2 always. She actually wants none of us."

3 Is that an accurate reflection of the way in which
4 you managed the pandemic in Scotland?

5 **A.** No, it's not, and it couldn't be further from that.

6 Perhaps you have to know Jason Leitch as well as I do to
7 fully appreciate his, you know, sometimes turn of
8 phrase. I should say, I have got the highest opinion of
9 Professor Leitch and he was crucial, in a very, very
10 positive way, to our handling of the pandemic.

11 This probably refers to, if it's not -- and this
12 wasn't particular to the pandemic, it was probably
13 particular to my First Ministership overall, a bit of
14 a sort of, I don't know how to describe it, almost joke
15 within the government. When you -- in government there
16 is a tendency, and again I say this respectfully, I've
17 got the highest regard for the civil service, and deep
18 gratitude to the civil service for everything they do
19 and particularly did during Covid, but when you have
20 a -- any meeting involving ministers, particularly the
21 First Minister and the Deputy First Minister, there
22 is -- a tendency kicks in: everybody wants to be in the
23 room, whether they, strictly speaking, need to be there
24 or not. And you could end up with meetings where there
25 would be literally a cast of thousands of people, many

86

1 it probably shows Professor Leitch was not
2 discriminating in the comments -- who he chose to make
3 comments about in these discussions.

4 **Q.** You gave some previous evidence, when you helpfully
5 appeared in Module 1, about your experience, ministerial
6 experience, having been Health Secretary, Deputy First
7 Minister and First Minister, and you told the Inquiry
8 about the fact that you had in fact had, I think in your
9 role as health minister, experience of dealing with
10 a pandemic before, as you had dealt with Scotland's
11 response to and position in the 2009 H1N1 swine flu
12 crisis; is that correct?

13 **A.** That is correct.

14 **Q.** Although her Ladyship is still to make determinations on
15 the matter, it was suggested by a number of witnesses in
16 Module 2 that the then Prime Minister, Mr Johnson, was
17 the wrong Prime Minister for this crisis. Did you share
18 that view?

19 **A.** Yes.

20 Again, I'm risking, here, going further than
21 I should and being reprimanded for sounding political.
22 I'm not meaning to be. I suppose I'm trying to put that
23 into context where I don't think I'm betraying any
24 secrets here when I thought Boris Johnson was the wrong
25 person to be Prime Minister, full stop. So I think that

88

1 answer has to be seen within that context.

2 **Q.** Did you consider yourself, against that background and
3 your considerable ministerial experience, to be
4 precisely the right First Minister for the job?

5 **A.** No, that's not how I would have thought of it at all.
6 I was the First Minister when the pandemic struck.
7 There's a large part of me wishes that I hadn't been,
8 but I was, and I wanted to be the best First Minister
9 I could be during that period. It's for others to judge
10 the extent to which I succeeded.

11 **Q.** Did you -- it's undeniable that you had the previous
12 experience of the H1N1 crisis, that's simply a fact, and
13 that you had considerable experience in dealing with
14 health matters, in particular as you had been
15 Cabinet Secretary for Health.
16 I'd be interested to know, Ms Sturgeon, whether, in
17 the juxtaposition between that simple state of affairs
18 and your opinions, shared by some others, of Mr Johnson,
19 that you saw a political opportunity in the fact that
20 you were well equipped, in your mind, to deal with the
21 response and he was not.

22 **A.** No. The answer I gave you a moment ago about
23 Boris Johnson, I don't remember thinking that in the
24 moment. I've made the political comment about my views
25 of Boris Johnson generally. In those early days of the

89

1 pandemic were made by you?

2 **A.** No. And again I would say any reading of the Cabinet
3 documents I think would show that that is not the case.
4 Decisions were made by my Cabinet.
5 Did I, in those discussions leading to decisions,
6 have views? Of course I did. I would -- reflected
7 earlier on, I was trying to inform myself, to educate
8 myself, I had a role in Cabinet that, to a certain
9 extent, the Deputy First Minister had as well, to see
10 the whole picture and not just particular portfolio
11 impacts, but the decisions were taken collectively by
12 Cabinet and I absolutely maintain that that is what the
13 Cabinet documentation shows.
14 You asked me if, at the start of that, given that
15 overwhelming responsibility, did I take a firm grip of
16 leadership, and I hope I did. I had never experienced,
17 and most people at that time had never experienced --
18 I had been Health Secretary during swine flu, thankfully
19 turned out not to be anything as severe as Covid --
20 I had never experienced this before. And I had a sense
21 of responsibility that, as First Minister, I had to lead
22 from the front, that I had to take the decisions
23 collegiately but ultimately have an attitude that said
24 that the buck stopped with me, that I was accountable.
25 So we'll talk about decisions, and have done today

91

1 pandemic, my view was, and my experience was, that we
2 were all trying our best in almost impossible
3 circumstances.
4 To the next bit of your question, did I see
5 an opportunity, I didn't see an opportunity of any
6 description in Covid. I saw a threat, a risk,
7 a catastrophe. My memories of the early part of 2020,
8 in terms of how I was feeling and thinking and the
9 emotions that I was experiencing, was, first, fear at
10 what might be about to unfold and confront the country.
11 At times -- and I think, you know, you've seen snippets
12 of perhaps, you know, the sort of human side of being
13 a leader and a politician in these moments -- at times
14 in those early days I felt overwhelmed by the scale of
15 what we were dealing with. And perhaps more than
16 anything, I felt an overwhelming responsibility to do
17 the best I could.
18 And that's ... so the idea that in those horrendous
19 days, weeks, I was thinking of a political opportunity,
20 I find -- well, it's just it wasn't true.

21 **Q.** Was it the case, Ms Sturgeon, that the overwhelming
22 responsibility that you've described feeling manifested
23 itself in you taking a very firm grip over
24 decision-making, difficult decision-making, such that
25 ultimately decisions about the management of the

90

1 and will do no doubt later on, that are decisions that
2 were probably not taken by me but by my
3 Cabinet secretaries or ministers. There is no part of
4 me that will ever say "Well, that wasn't anything to do
5 with me". I was ultimately accountable and responsible,
6 and that's the only way it could have been, and I tried
7 to do that to the best of my ability.

8 **Q.** You've mentioned, Ms Sturgeon, on a number of occasions
9 the very initial stages of the pandemic, and that's what
10 I'd like to turn to next, just to link it into a matter
11 that in fact you've just been discussing.
12 We've heard some contradictory evidence about the
13 extent to which those who were involved, from
14 a scientific perspective, in the 2009 swine flu crisis,
15 at the time when information was emerging about the new
16 threat, took that experience to be something of
17 a comfort based on the fact that, as you've said, it
18 didn't turn out to be as bad as it might well have been
19 in Scotland; and from others that used that experience
20 really in almost completely the opposite way, to lead to
21 the conclusion that the threat was incredibly great.
22 Based on your previous political experience of that
23 and knowledge, which you've told us about in Module 1,
24 to what extent were you able to draw on that experience,
25 and in particular what advice do you recall having in

92

1 the first couple of months, January/February time, about
2 whether that experience should be something from which
3 one should take comfort or something from which one
4 should, in fact, sense considerable alarm?

5 **A.** If I may, there is different parts within that.

6 **Q.** Yes.

7 **A.** So if I can try to address --

8 **Q.** Thank you.

9 **A.** -- all of them.

10 I don't think there was any advice in that early
11 period that said in terms, you know, "Don't worry, it
12 will just be like swine flu", versus, you know, "We
13 should be thinking that because it was mild, swine flu,
14 it will be the opposite". I don't think there was
15 advice in those terms.

16 During January and into February 2020, I think
17 I received the first briefing -- forgive me if I'm not
18 getting my dates absolutely correct here -- I think
19 I received the first briefing about swine flu(sic)
20 around 17 January. I convened the first meeting of the
21 Scottish Government's resilience committee, the Scottish
22 Government equivalent of COBR, I think, on 29th -- 28 or
23 29 January. So from January onwards there was
24 a distinct and, almost on a daily basis, growing
25 understanding and apprehension that this was going to be

93

1 want to do differently. I think there were assumptions
2 made, for example, around the public's willingness to
3 comply with restrictions and how long that would last
4 that were made by decision-makers, myself included, that
5 turned out to be wrong, I think, that perhaps influenced
6 some of those early decisions more than a memory of
7 swine flu did.

8 **Q.** Thank you.

9 As I say, we have conflicting evidence about what
10 scientists thought about that. We heard evidence from
11 Professor Nick Phin who spoke -- who was not actually at
12 Health Protection Scotland, as it was, at that time, but
13 spoke on behalf of that body and Public Health Scotland
14 in the evidence we heard. He in his evidence was one of
15 the witnesses who sought to draw on the H1N1 experience
16 as something of a comfort, given the way it had turned
17 out. Was HPS a body from which you were getting advice
18 about the threats at this time?

19 **A.** Yes. So I referred to the early briefings. They would
20 either come from HPS or informed by HPS through whatever
21 channel in the Scottish Government. H -- looking back
22 at swine flu, HPS back then was a body -- I was
23 Health Secretary, I was familiar with it anyway, but
24 worked closely with Jim McMenamin, who I know you heard
25 evidence from as well, working extremely closely with

95

1 extremely serious. Some time in February, early
2 February -- and I'd remember this vividly because it was
3 part of that sense of fear and responsibility I spoke
4 about, seeing, you know, reasonable worst-case scenario
5 projections that were terrifying in terms of what could
6 have happened.

7 In terms of -- going back to swine flu and my own
8 view, this is a question I've asked myself often: did
9 the experience of swine flu even subliminally influence
10 my attitude in the early days to Covid? It was
11 definitely there. I learned things in relation to
12 swine flu: the communication approach, the daily
13 briefings. The then Chief Medical Officer
14 Sir Harry Burns and I did a similar approach in
15 swine flu, so I'd learned about the importance of clear,
16 regular communication, and I was able to draw on that.

17 I don't think -- I don't think I had any sense that
18 because swine flu had turned out to be, to use a loose
19 term, a false alarm, the same was likely to happen with
20 Covid. In fact, I think that -- because that was in my
21 mind, I think I was guarding against that in those early
22 days. But it is a complex question with perhaps no
23 simple answer. I think there are others things, which
24 no doubt we will come on to, in those early days or in
25 those early weeks that if I had my time again I would

94

1 him, and somebody else I have the highest regard for,
2 his expertise and commitment to these issues.

3 So HPS was -- obviously Public Health Scotland was
4 established at the start of the pandemic, but HPS was
5 a valuable and valued source of advice to me and to the
6 government more widely.

7 **Q.** We know that HPS stood up its National Incident
8 Management Team on 13 January, so we understand that
9 that was a body that was providing advice at that time
10 to the government. Is that correct as far as you
11 recall?

12 **A.** Yes, so I think 17 January was the first time a briefing
13 came to me.

14 **Q.** Yes.

15 **A.** But that would have been informed by --

16 **Q.** Yes.

17 **A.** -- the -- I think at that early stage it was -- and
18 I think it is reflected in the early advice, it was
19 something of an intelligence gathering operation from
20 what was happening principally in Wuhan in China and
21 anything else that was being seen across the world. But
22 that would have been the source of the advice that was
23 coming to me.

24 **Q.** You were also, quite naturally, receiving advice from
25 Dr Calderwood over this period, is that correct?

96

1 **A.** Yes.

2 **Q.** Were you aware of a series of emails exchanged in late
3 January from 21 January which were sent by
4 Professor Mark Woolhouse, a consultant epidemiologist at
5 Edinburgh University, to Dr Calderwood, and the contents
6 of those emails?

7 **A.** No, I wasn't aware of them at the time, either of their
8 existence or of their content. I should say my direct
9 contact with Dr Calderwood in this context would
10 probably have started at around the time of the first
11 SGoRR, Scottish Government resilience meeting, at the
12 end of January. So I wasn't aware of the existence or
13 the content of those emails, but having now had the
14 opportunity to read them, certainly as we went from
15 January into February the tenor and, you know, the
16 general content of those emails was certainly
17 percolating through in the information that was coming
18 to government ministers. So I don't read them now and
19 say I had no idea that this was perhaps -- you know, not
20 in all of the detail of that but in the general sense.

21 **Q.** So would Professor Woolhouse -- the general tenor of
22 Professor Woolhouse -- obviously Professor Woolhouse is
23 very much in the camp of -- based on particular
24 experience, in particular his experience in dealing with
25 the swine flu crisis, and the emerging information, he

97

1 indicating ought to be taken at that stage in order to
2 try to deal with the threat which he had identified,
3 these include the requirement for an integrated
4 surveillance system, various different types of
5 surveillance including genomic sequencing, isolation,
6 infection control, contact tracing, public messaging and
7 social distancing.

8 **A.** These are -- and I -- you know, I'm not sitting here,
9 notwithstanding having been a minister through two
10 pandemics, to claim to be an expert on these technical
11 matters, but all of these are things that were built up
12 and developed in Scotland. It will be a matter of,
13 you know, judgement for the Inquiry as to whether all of
14 these happened as quickly as they could or should have
15 happened and, you know, we can go into any of these
16 individual aspects in more detail if you wish me to.

17 But if I take -- so we had -- and I remember this
18 well from my time as Health Secretary -- we had a system
19 of surveillance, the sentinel surveillance system, which
20 was based on sample testing of respiratory infections
21 across certain GP practices. Some -- not initially in
22 January or February but later that was scaled up to
23 cover I think more than a million of the Scottish
24 population. We very quickly established from having no
25 ability to carry out Covid tests in Scotland, I think by

99

1 was very much in the camp of hitting the serious alarm
2 button at that stage. Do you say that was percolating
3 through?

4 **A.** Yes, in the sense that as we went through the latter
5 part of January into February, I think -- you know,
6 Cabinet first discussed this on, if I'm remembering the
7 date correctly here, on 4 February.

8 Now, just to give a sort of accurate picture here,
9 the concern was increasing and mounting as we went
10 through late January, into February, and certainly as we
11 got to the end of February into March it was ever
12 higher, but, you know, we had a sense, a very strong
13 sense from the latter part of January that this was
14 something to be very worried about.

15 **Q.** The -- we have been through the emails from
16 Professor Woolhouse and with Dr Calderwood on a number
17 of occasions to look at the detail, and I think you've
18 seen those, as you've --

19 **A.** I have.

20 **Q.** -- indicated. I don't intend to go to the details, but
21 what I'm interested in is ascertaining what your
22 understanding was of the practical steps which
23 Professor Woolhouse, over and above his detailed
24 epidemiological analysis of things like the R0 and that
25 sort of thing, the practical steps that he was

98

1 10 February we had established Covid test processing
2 facilities in Edinburgh and Glasgow. I think at that
3 early stage positive tests still had to go to Colindale
4 in London for confirmation, but we -- so over a very
5 short period of time we had established from no testing
6 capacity to having that, and then that scaled up ever
7 more.

8 Genomic testing, you know, again -- you know, again
9 an issue we might or might not come on to talk about,
10 the Nike conference, there was genomic study done around
11 the lineage of -- of Covid in that. There was a very
12 substantial study done later on involving genomic
13 sequencing of the importation of Covid to Scotland.

14 So whether we did it quickly enough will be for
15 others to judge, but certainly as we go into the later
16 part of 2020 these capacities are there in Scotland and
17 have been developed and possibly in some cases still
18 developing.

19 Social distancing, of course, you know, came later
20 through the early COBR decisions. We, you know, started
21 to give advice, I think, some time in March about people
22 being careful about contacts and -- but the formal COBR
23 decisions around isolation and distancing came later on
24 in March.

25 **Q.** When Ms Freeman gave evidence to the Inquiry, she was of

100

1 the view that Scotland's public health service lacked in
2 staff, facilities and kit to introduce a testing system
3 of the kind that was being introduced and that the
4 capacity of tests remained at only 350 per day until
5 April.

6 Does this, in your view, based on your involvement
7 and recollection, indicate a lack of urgency in
8 Scotland's response?

9 **A.** So specifically on testing, I would say I don't think it
10 reflected a lack of urgency, I think it reflected -- it
11 reflected the capacity we had in place, and therefore
12 and that determined the speed at which we could scale
13 from the very limited capacity to the much greater
14 capacity we had.

15 So if you take testing, for example, the testing
16 facilities that were available -- pre-pandemic,
17 diagnostic testing facilities tended to be, not just for
18 Covid but generally, in small-scale, multiple
19 small-scale labs. While there were, you know, expert
20 staff working in these, there was a need to recruit,
21 which is not easy to do with people of the expertise we
22 needed. There was also at that point, and there are
23 different conclusions that can be drawn from this,
24 I appreciate, but at that point there was intense supply
25 chain pressure on, you know, swabs and reagents for

101

1 have to reflect on with foresight, is the level of
2 testing and contact tracing infrastructure that is kept
3 in place outside pandemic periods. It is very costly to
4 do that, but we certainly -- we certainly suffered from
5 not having a greater baseline capacity at the start
6 of 2020 than we had, and we scaled up as quickly as we
7 could.

8 My own view -- I am no longer in a position of
9 responsibility around this -- my own view is there
10 should be a greater baseline capacity infrastructure in
11 future. But that comes with costs and it comes with
12 opportunity costs and there are obviously issues that
13 governments have to grapple with in that.

14 **Q.** The maintenance of that baseline capacity may well be
15 costly, Ms Sturgeon, but I rather suspect that the
16 pandemic itself has shown that --

17 **A.** Absolutely.

18 **Q.** -- it is even more costly not to?

19 **A.** So let me be clear, yes, and I want to be clear that
20 I was not suggesting that the financial cost should,
21 you know, take priority over the human cost. There were
22 many costs of the Covid pandemic, the human one was the
23 worst of all. So I absolutely agree with that. But --
24 and Scotland and the UK was not alone in this
25 internationally, some countries had or appeared to have

103

1 testing.

2 So I don't think it was a sense of a lack of
3 urgency, but it -- by necessity, there was a certain
4 limit to how quickly we could go from where we were at
5 the start of the pandemic in testing to where we wanted
6 to do. It took time to put the larger scale labs. That
7 said, the Glasgow Lighthouse lab, which was done through
8 the UK Lighthouse system, I think was open by some time
9 in April.

10 So things moved relatively quickly. Were they as
11 quick as I would have wanted? Even at the time and
12 certainly with hindsight, no. But there were practical
13 constraints that we were -- that we were dealing with at
14 that point.

15 **Q.** Had your H1N1 experience of 2009 taught you that early
16 decisive action to contain a viral pandemic would be
17 necessary and that it would require a testing and
18 tracing capacity?

19 **A.** Yes. And because of what we've already talked about,
20 swine flu and the way it developed, or didn't develop,
21 the limited testing and contact tracing that we had in
22 place at that time was much more capable of dealing with
23 the scale of the threat. So yes, it did teach me that.

24 I think there is, and it's certainly a point I have
25 reflected on with hindsight, and I think governments now

102

1 a greater baseline capacity of testing. You know,
2 I should also say for the -- for completeness at this
3 stage, although you'll stop me if it's an area you're
4 going to come on to, testing had limitations. It is
5 absolutely the case that I think it would have been
6 desirable to have been able to do more testing at
7 an earlier stage, but, particularly in people without
8 symptoms, there was not a degree of confidence then, I'm
9 not sure what the degree of confidence is now, that the
10 tests would pick up the virus in everybody. So we talk
11 about testing, I think it is really important that we
12 understand how central testing is. My personal view is
13 we've also, in doing that, got to be careful we don't
14 blind ourselves to the limitations of testing.

15 **Q.** Although there might be limitations related to false
16 negativity in testing, you would have found, would you
17 not, that you would have got more positive tests than
18 the actual situation of not carrying out tests at all?

19 **A.** Oh, self-evidently, yes. The point I'm making is that
20 if -- I'm at risk of sounding as if I'm arguing against
21 the importance of testing and I am not. But some of the
22 clinical -- which were expressed in some of our
23 decision-making around putting too much reliance on
24 testing is because of the potential for false negatives.
25 So if somebody does a test one day, it's negative, and

104

1 then they think "Well, I don't have to worry about
2 social distancing or face covering or all of the other
3 protections", then that could, at least hypothetically,
4 have a negative effect. So I think that's more what
5 I was talking about.

6 I am not arguing against the importance of testing,
7 nor am I suggesting that it would not have been
8 advantageous for Scotland in a whole range of ways to
9 have had greater testing capacity at an earlier stage of
10 the pandemic.

11 **Q.** One other aspect of the plan, the practical plan that
12 Professor Woolhouse suggested taps into an area that
13 you've already mentioned. He suggested that there would
14 be a need -- it would be extremely important, in fact,
15 in his correspondence -- that there be public messaging,
16 and of course that was something later on that
17 a strategy was developed for.

18 Were you aware at around this time that there had
19 been a recommendation by a consultant epidemiologist
20 that public messaging, keeping the public informed even
21 at this early stage, was a very important part of the
22 strategy, rather than simply later?

23 **A.** No, I wasn't aware of the content of those emails, so
24 I wouldn't have been aware that that had been a specific
25 recommendation. Although the regular, which became

105

1 that time to the Scottish public with any degree of
2 detail. Is it correct, in the first instance, that it
3 was on Dr Calderwood's advice that those matters were
4 not communicated at that time?

5 **A.** I mean, there were different considerations in each.
6 Understandably these have been grouped together, they
7 all stand individually and I would have to go --

8 **Q.** -- but simple question was --

9 **A.** -- so in the case of Nike and the rugby, yes, I took
10 advice from Dr Calderwood and discussed that advice with
11 her. I don't think her advice -- whatever I might think
12 now with hindsight, but if I was to go back, would
13 I take the same judgement? I may take a different
14 judgement but I don't think her advice was unreasonable.

15 If I can take Nike perhaps as the instance to
16 illustrate this with, the Nike was an event that the
17 Scottish Government hadn't known about before it
18 happened or until after it had happened, so it wasn't an
19 event that we had been asked to approve or not approve
20 going ahead. When the first -- in the first few cases
21 that were associated with that conference, there was
22 an incident management team put in place led by Health
23 Protection Scotland. It wasn't genomic sequencing that
24 traced individuals, that came later, to trace the
25 sublineage and could show what happened or didn't happen

107

1 daily, public messaging in the form of the daily
2 briefings didn't start until March, some time in
3 March 2020, and I -- you know, I'd have to check exactly
4 what the dates were here, I -- I recall --
5 understandably, given that this was becoming a dominant
6 global story, I recall certainly in advance of that more
7 regularly being asked questions about it in interviews,
8 so the public messaging was something that we were aware
9 of and were starting to seek to do, although not in that
10 formal, very structured sense that you refer to which
11 kicked in later.

12 **Q.** We've seen some evidence related to various matters
13 around this period, really up to the first lockdown,
14 where there are matters that are not communicated to the
15 public, and that appears to be broadly on the advice of
16 Dr Calderwood. I'm thinking in particular around the
17 emergence of the threat and the matters raised by
18 Professor Woolhouse, the threats from the Nike
19 conference and the genomic efforts to try to trace
20 individuals who had been infected as a result of that,
21 the identity of the first person in Scotland to die from
22 Covid in the middle of March, concerns that had been
23 expressed around the rugby international which took
24 place at Murrayfield between Scotland and France on
25 8 March. None of these matters were communicated at

106

1 with the spread of the infection, but there was an
2 incident management team that kicked in do contact
3 tracing, to do everything, and we now know they were
4 very successful in halting any further spread from the
5 I think 38 primary and secondary cases that were
6 identified with that conference.

7 The issue --

8 **Q.** It's the public --

9 **A.** -- became whether we put into the public domain at that
10 time that the I think it was the second case had been
11 associated with that conference. That was a fine
12 judgement. This was a conference I think I heard in
13 evidence last week that there was a couple of hundred
14 people at that conference. There wasn't, there were
15 71 people at that conference. Only ten of them were
16 from Scotland. And there was a concern that was put to
17 me in the advice from Dr Calderwood that to say that the
18 case was somebody from that conference would have risked
19 identifying that person because of the small numbers
20 involved.

21 I got that advice, I think I spoke to Dr Calderwood,
22 and I accepted that advice. I don't think it was
23 unreasonable. I heard Dr Smith say to the Inquiry, and
24 I thought this was a reasonable way of putting it, that
25 a different clinician might have had a different risk

108

1 appetite for patient confidentiality and given different
2 advice. That's not to say that Dr Calderwood's advice
3 was wrong or unreasonable, but a different clinician
4 might have given different advice and a different
5 politician might have decided not to accept that advice,
6 and the same politician, going back again, might have
7 decided not to accept it because, even although I don't
8 think -- when that did surface I don't think it did
9 undermine confidence in public messaging, I can see now
10 that it had the potential to do that and I would not
11 have wanted to take that risk. We of course know that
12 it didn't lead to any further spread.

13 The final point I want to make about this is this
14 was in early March. On every given day there were
15 judgements falling to be made, decisions falling to be
16 made, often very fine judgements that could have gone
17 one way or the other, and we were taking these in this
18 unprecedented situation, trying to reach the best
19 decisions we could. I hope the majority of these
20 decisions were the right ones. Some of them undoubtedly
21 we would have fallen on the wrong side of that
22 judgement, and perhaps, with hindsight, this is one of
23 those, but that doesn't mean it was a decision reached
24 with a motivation of secrecy. There would have been no
25 reason other than the patient confidentiality for the

109

1 and how that was going to unfold. The decisions that
2 were taken on all of these things were not taken with
3 the intention of being secretive or keeping information
4 away from the public, they were taken on the basis of,
5 in the case of Nike, considerations of patient
6 confidentiality. That I accept. Other clinicians,
7 other politicians may have taken a different view on,
8 but they were the genuine considerations that were being
9 taken into account.

10 In the case of the rugby going ahead, that was --
11 HPS gave advice that came to me through Dr Calderwood at
12 the time that, taking it all into account, the fact that
13 it was open air, the fact that there were likely to be
14 supporters that if they weren't going to the match would
15 go into pubs instead because they would all come to
16 Edinburgh, that it was relatively safer for the match to
17 go ahead. These were the decisions we were weighing and
18 arriving at every day. Was every one of these decisions
19 with hindsight the correct one? Absolutely not. But
20 they were being taken in good faith for the best
21 possible reasons and in the best possible way to try to
22 keep people as safe as possible and be as open as
23 possible along the way in that process.

24 **Q.** Were the decisions wrong with hindsight?

25 **A.** Would I take -- on Nike, because I saw the potential,

111

1 Scottish Government not to have said that this was
2 associated with a Nike conference. The reason the
3 decision was reached was on the basis of patient
4 confidentiality. It may have been a judgement we should
5 have taken in the other direction but that was in the
6 nature of what we were dealing with at the time.

7 **Q.** I've put the Nike conference and the lack of publication
8 of it in the context of a number of other things for
9 a reason, which is: would you agree, if it were to be
10 concluded that over this period, despite the clear
11 indication that had been given by Professor Woolhouse of
12 the need for clear public messaging over this period,
13 that the Scottish Government adopted an approach of
14 secrecy, such that it released very little if any
15 information about the threat to the people?

16 **A.** No I wouldn't agree with that at all. I think,
17 you know, if we get -- if we're talking about the time
18 period the Nike decision was made, which is around the
19 same time period decisions were being made around the
20 Murrayfield rugby match, there was copious amounts of
21 information I think on the day that I got and accepted
22 advice around the rugby match. We had just published
23 the four nations strategy document, we were putting lots
24 of information out there about how we perceived the risk
25 and what we thought the steps that had to be taken were

110

1 I don't think this was the reality, I don't think this
2 risk materialised, but I saw the potential for the Nike
3 conference to emerge later through a media disclosure,
4 to undermine confidence. With hindsight I would have
5 I think gone the other way on that. I think the rugby
6 at that point is a more difficult one to call. I --
7 again with all the benefit of hindsight, yes, I --
8 within a few days of course I was absolutely
9 recommending that mass events should not be going ahead.
10 But this was public health advice that was being given
11 to me by, you know, respected experts and I accept --
12 and I take responsibility for accepting it, and yes,
13 I -- on some of these would I go a different way now?
14 Does that mean they were right versus wrong? These were
15 matters of judgement. They were balanced decisions we
16 were seeking to make for the best possible reasons. We
17 absolutely didn't get all of them right.

18 **Q.** Was the first person to die from Covid in Scotland
19 a French national who had been at the rugby?

20 **A.** He was, yes.

21 **MR DAWSON:** No further questions at the moment, my Lady.
22 If that's a convenient time?

23 **LADY HALLETT:** Certainly, I shall return at 1.45.

24 (12.47 pm)

25

(The short adjournment)

112

1 (1.44 pm)

2 **MR DAWSON:** Thank you, my Lady.
3 Ms Sturgeon, before the break we were discussing
4 some of the early decision-making on the part of the
5 Scottish Government relating to the emergence of the
6 pandemic. We talked about advice being provided by
7 Dr Calderwood and others.

8 In that period, do you recall whether you received
9 advice from the then Deputy Chief Medical Officer,
10 Professor Smith?

11 **A.** He was part of the process of giving advice, so during
12 that period the then Deputy Chief Medical Officer was
13 mainly, I don't think this was exclusively but mainly,
14 the Scottish Government's observer at SAGE, for example.
15 So he would be the conduit of read-outs, feedback from
16 SAGE. They would come to me in written form, but he was
17 frequently there in person around the table when I was
18 discussing the matters with Dr Calderwood.

19 **Q.** Thank you.

20 We've also obviously heard evidence from
21 Professor Leitch, who we've talked about already, the
22 National Clinical Director. Was he providing advice as
23 well at that time?

24 **A.** Undoubtedly he would have been but it wasn't -- as far
25 as I recall, I don't think it would have been coming to

113

1 amongst other things, vaccines. We've obviously seen
2 and discussed some of the evidence that emerged from
3 individuals in the background, certainly, in Scotland,
4 Professor Woolhouse in particular. Professor Woolhouse
5 was also able, in his advice, to draw on discussions he
6 had had with other experts such as Neil Ferguson and
7 others who he mentions.

8 Was it your, did you have a concern over this period
9 that the people from whom you were getting advice were
10 not sufficiently expert to deal with the threat?

11 **A.** No, I didn't. The advice I got from all of these
12 individuals, not just initially but, you know, in the
13 case of two of them, over the course of the pandemic
14 I had a high degree of confidence and trust in, and
15 I think that confidence and trust was justified.

16 I was also aware that they were not simply giving
17 advice to me as individuals, you know, operating solely,
18 they were drawing on other sources, Health Protection
19 Scotland, other experts, in various aspects of this.

20 And of course when we get into March 2020, the
21 Scottish Government Covid-19 advisory committee is
22 established, which has a range of experts,
23 Professor Woolhouse was of course a member of that, and
24 I remember -- the membership of that again was not
25 selected by me, it was advised to me by Dr Calderwood at

115

1 me directly from Professor Leitch. But I am sure he
2 would have been part of the process of that advice being
3 in-gathered from different clinicians and different
4 experts to put to me.

5 **Q.** The three principal government medical advisers,
6 Dr Calderwood, Professor Smith and Professor Leitch,
7 came from an obstetrics and gynaecological background,
8 a general practice background and a dentistry
9 background; is that correct?

10 **A.** Yes.

11 **Q.** None of them were trained in virology, epidemiology or
12 respiratory medicine; is that your understanding?

13 **A.** As far as I am aware, I know that they have varying
14 degrees of experience in public health, Professor Leitch
15 in particular has qualifications in public health. I --
16 forgive me, I'm not saying this in any way to say these
17 appointments are -- the First Minister is not involved
18 in the appointment of these, so I wouldn't have been
19 involved in the appointment process for any of these
20 individuals.

21 **Q.** We've seen in this module and others that advice was
22 provided to the UK Government by Professor Chris Whitty,
23 who was an expert in infectious diseases, public health,
24 Sir Patrick Vallance, who had a background in clinical
25 pharmacology and had worked in industry dealing with,

114

1 the time, and I do recall that she specifically said
2 that she thought it was important to have him on there
3 because she wanted to ensure that there was a diversity
4 of views coming through that, that we didn't want to
5 have people -- obviously we were guarding against
6 anything that could be described as groupthink or simply
7 people that had one particular perspective.

8 **Q.** But that body didn't exist, it wasn't set up until the
9 end of March and became operational in early April; is
10 that right?

11 **A.** I -- again, you will have the dates in front of me,
12 I don't have the dates in front of me. I think it met
13 for the first time in late March and it was set up --
14 established by Dr Calderwood at my request for specific
15 reasons that I'm happy to cover if you wish me to. But
16 before then, you know, again, SAGE was an important
17 source of advice, and although there were frustrations
18 I had with the SAGE process that led me to ask
19 Dr Calderwood to establish the advisory group, I had
20 great confidence in the scientific advice coming through
21 SAGE.

22 So we -- at no point did I feel that I was not
23 getting good advice, it was an uncertain time, the
24 knowledge of the virus was developing, there was,
25 you know, significant doubts and uncertainties around

116

1 different aspects of how it transmitted, which became
 2 less uncertain over time, but I had confidence in the
 3 advice I was getting and I have great respect for and,
 4 indeed, real gratitude for the work that Dr Calderwood,
 5 Dr Smith and Professor Leitch did in that period and, in
 6 the case of the latter two, subsequently to that.

7 **Q.** We've seen some evidence to suggest that Dr Calderwood
 8 didn't appear to have very much of a plan as regards the
 9 testing aspect of the pandemic response. Was that your
 10 experience of dealing with her over this --

11 **A.** Forgive me, I didn't hear whether you said did or did
 12 not.

13 **Q.** The evidence is that she did not have --

14 **A.** I wouldn't agree with that, nor would it necessarily
 15 have been, on testing, solely for the Chief Medical
 16 Officer to have that plan.

17 We -- I think I said earlier on, we went from
 18 a period in late January to having no capacity
 19 whatsoever in Scotland to process Covid tests to by the
 20 6th -- 10 February, I think, if I'm getting that date
 21 correctly, to have facilities established in two labs.
 22 And in the weeks subsequent to that, capacity rolled out
 23 to every health board in Scotland. So there was a plan.
 24 I think there are very legitimate questions which we
 25 covered this morning about whether the pre-existing

117

1 to her resignation?

2 **A.** On the evening of the 4th, the Saturday night. She
 3 resigned on the Sunday, if that's 5 April. I struggle
 4 sometimes with the precise dates.

5 On the Saturday evening I got a call from one of my
 6 special advisers who advised me that they had taken
 7 a call from a Sunday newspaper with the story that then
 8 emerged in that -- on that day.

9 **Q.** Were attempts made within the Scottish Government to
 10 retain Dr Calderwood despite that report?

11 **A.** So I would -- as I do for all aspects of the Covid
 12 response, but particularly this one, I take absolute
 13 responsibility. I -- in the immediate moment, and
 14 remember we're in the very early stages of
 15 an unprecedented situation, I was -- I had two
 16 considerations in my mind, and I'll end by saying what
 17 I think I got wrong in this.

18 Firstly, I immediately understood that there would
 19 be significant public anger about this, and that that
 20 would have to be addressed, and that Dr Calderwood would
 21 have to very clearly apologise and be very clear that
 22 she had made a mistake and that the rules applied to her
 23 as they did to anybody else.

24 The other consideration was that we were at this
 25 relatively early but still very pivotal stage in the

119

1 infrastructure we had in place allowed that plan to
 2 develop at sufficient pace. But I would contend the
 3 Chief Scientist for Health, David Crossman, was also
 4 closely involved in and brought great expertise to the
 5 role of developing our testing capacity and the use of
 6 testing, which of course was as important as the
 7 capacity that we had.

8 **Q.** Would it be fair to say that Dr Calderwood was one of
 9 the main architects of what there was of a Scottish
 10 Government strategy in the period from January to March?

11 **A.** Strategy for testing or strategy for overall --

12 **Q.** Overall --

13 **A.** She was -- she was a critical part of that. She was the
 14 main conduit of clinical advice to me. But that advice
 15 was coming from different sources. And she was part of
 16 the collective Scottish Government team that was
 17 responsible for both devising and implementing the plan
 18 to respond to the pandemic. I don't think it would be
 19 accurate to say that was her sole responsibility. And
 20 while, you know, different people would interpret
 21 phrases in different ways, "the architect" I'm
 22 respectfully not sure would properly describe it either.

23 **Q.** She resigned on 5 April.

24 **A.** Yes.

25 **Q.** When did you become aware of the circumstances which led

118

1 pandemic. From a period of decision-making that,
 2 you know, was very fast paced, that we had to, you know,
 3 respond very quickly to things, we had begun to settle
 4 into -- I'm talking internally in government
 5 decision-making -- more of a rhythm of how we were doing
 6 things, of, you know, the advice and the decisions that
 7 that would then lead to, and Dr Calderwood was a very
 8 key part of that, she was a conduit of clinical advice
 9 to me, I had high trust in her and she was a key part of
 10 the communication effort as well. And therefore I was
 11 mindful of how disruptive it would be to suddenly, in
 12 those circumstances, lose a Chief Medical Officer. And
 13 so I initially thought I wanted to try to achieve two
 14 things: address the public anger and make sure there was
 15 no doubt at all that she had made a very serious error;
 16 but retain what I thought was very valuable expertise
 17 and advice in government.

18 I think as the Sunday progressed, I began to realise
 19 I couldn't achieve both of those things and that if
 20 I continued to try to achieve the latter of those
 21 I would seriously compromise trust in the government's
 22 message, and that the internal ways of working, that was
 23 something for the government to deal with, and I had to
 24 prioritise the confidence in public messaging. So that
 25 led on the Sunday evening to me having a conversation

120

1 with Dr Calderwood that led to her resigning.
 2 I should say, and I want to say this on the record,
 3 she had already reach that conclusion herself and made
 4 no attempt then to avoid her resignation, and I think it
 5 is to her credit that she, at that point, was very clear
 6 with me that the public -- the confidence in the public
 7 messaging had to take priority. And I do think -- it
 8 perhaps stands contrast to other incidents, but I think
 9 that is to her credit. But it was a very difficult
 10 episode in what was, overall, an incredibly difficult
 11 period.
 12 **Q.** We've seen some correspondence over that weekend -- as
 13 you describe she eventually resigned late on the Sunday,
 14 the 5th -- that tend to suggest there was a process over
 15 that day whereby there was an evolving realisation,
 16 I think, that she would end up having to resign. Are
 17 you saying, Ms Sturgeon, that your initial reaction was
 18 to try to keep her but that became impossible?
 19 **A.** Yeah, I think I thought wrongly, as it turned out, and
 20 I quickly realised this was not possible to achieve both
 21 of those objectives, to make sure we didn't have the
 22 public confidence in our messaging undermined and keep
 23 the Chief Medical Officer in post in the midst of
 24 a pandemic. You know, and I perhaps tried to give equal
 25 weight to those considerations but, over the course of
 121

1 is not surprising. It was a -- in the midst of a really
 2 tough, difficult time for everybody. This was
 3 an episode that -- you know, I hadn't known
 4 Dr Calderwood or worked with her for as long as others
 5 had, it was -- you know, it was upsetting, the whole
 6 circumstance. And so, yes, I can see that perhaps the
 7 process that unfolded over that Sunday of trying to
 8 achieve both of those things may have -- may have given
 9 an impression to other advisers that I thought the loss
 10 of her would be so catastrophic that they felt that
 11 I didn't value their advice or their input. That wasn't
 12 the case. I can perhaps see why they might have thought
 13 that, but that wasn't the case, I highly value the
 14 contribution of all of the individuals who were advising
 15 me.
 16 **Q.** Did that experience to any extent undermine the ongoing
 17 relationships with the team that remained in place, with
 18 you?
 19 **A.** Certainly not in my experience, and I don't --
 20 I genuinely don't think that was the case. We very
 21 quickly, you know, moved to an adapted way of working,
 22 Dr Smith became the, at that time, acting Chief Medical
 23 Officer and, you know, later became Chief Medical
 24 Officer in his own right. And, you know, yes, there
 25 were difficulties over the next few days, we had to
 123

1 that Sunday, I realised that was not possible and if
 2 I continued to try to achieve the latter, the outcome of
 3 that would be the undermining of confidence. And that
 4 quickly led to the situation that unfolded on the Sunday
 5 evening. But, as I say, Dr Calderwood had already,
 6 I think, herself, come to that same conclusion.
 7 **Q.** So ultimately did you tell her to resign or did you
 8 agree that she should?
 9 **A.** In point of fact, I said earlier on that the Chief
 10 Medical Officer is not a First Ministerial appointment.
 11 I probably technically couldn't have, you know, made her
 12 resign. But that wasn't necessary. By the time I spoke
 13 to her on the phone on the Sunday evening I was clear it
 14 was an inevitable outcome and she was clear it was
 15 an inevitable outcome, so the conversation really became
 16 that that was what was going to happen.
 17 **Q.** We've also seen some internal correspondence involving
 18 Professor Smith and others that tended to suggest that
 19 the way in which the resignation had been handled had
 20 undermined their position and they felt that it had
 21 undermined the confidence that they felt was in them to
 22 be able to continue in that role. Was that something of
 23 which you were aware?
 24 **A.** I wasn't aware of it at the time. Looking back on it,
 25 and having now seen that correspondence, I suppose that
 122

1 adapt to the loss of somebody who had been very central
 2 to our response going forward. But I don't think it
 3 damaged relationships at all.
 4 I think something else I read into that
 5 correspondence was that there had been a sense of --
 6 because Dr Calderwood, with me, had been the key
 7 clinical communicator, had Dr Calderwood not resigned
 8 that weekend we were already -- we'd decided to try to
 9 establish a very firm point of, you know, contact
 10 between the public and the government, but, you know,
 11 that position of her doing the daily briefings with me
 12 every day would not have been sustainable because it
 13 would have taken up, you know, too much of the time
 14 she -- so we were already planning to move to
 15 a situation, which we did, anyway, where the clinicians
 16 would share that responsibility.
 17 **Q.** I might -- on that particular aspect of that
 18 correspondence, it might be read slightly differently,
 19 I think, to suggest that the remaining medical and
 20 clinical advisory team, if we can put it that way, were
 21 of the view that too much reliance had been placed on
 22 Dr Calderwood as an individual and not on the team more
 23 widely and indeed other sources of expert advice.
 24 Was that -- if that is the correct interpretation of
 25 that documentation, is that a fair representation of the
 124

1 way in which advice was taken from medical sources by
2 the government?
3 **A.** I don't think so. I can absolutely see why that would
4 be an interpretation that could be put on that, and it
5 may indeed be what the author of that correspondence
6 meant by it. Dr Calderwood was the principal conduit of
7 advice to me. She was not the sole author of that
8 advice.

9 I said earlier on I interacted regularly with
10 Dr Smith in the period before Dr Calderwood resigned, so
11 it wasn't as if he wasn't a key part of the response; he
12 was, and a very valued part of the response.

13 And, you know, you asked me earlier on about my
14 experience as Health Secretary when we confronted --
15 were confronted by swine flu, and I had, albeit as
16 Health Secretary at the time, although if swine flu had
17 developed differently no doubt the First Minister would
18 have adopted this role, but I developed at that point
19 a very key working relationship with the Chief Medical
20 Officer, who at that time was Sir Harry Burns. And so,
21 again, that was part of my -- the lesson I had taken
22 from that: the importance of that relationship, of
23 having a clear conduit for advice was important, but
24 of course she wasn't giving me advice that she was the
25 sole author of, she was drawing on multiple other

125

1 **A.** I -- on both of those, it had the potential to do both
2 of those things. I don't believe it did either. Had
3 Dr Calderwood not resigned on that Sunday evening,
4 I believe, in terms of confidence in the public
5 messaging, it may well have had that impact. I would
6 suggest that the evidence, through public attitudes and
7 public polling after that, suggests that it didn't have
8 that effect. I think her resignation stemmed the
9 potential for that.

10 And on the first, it did have a disruptive effect,
11 but it was one that we were able to overcome reasonably
12 quickly, and establish ways of working, and, you know,
13 I think Dr -- I know Dr Smith stepped up and did a very
14 good job in those circumstances. So I absolutely accept
15 the potential for both of those things to happen;
16 I wouldn't necessarily agree that either of them were
17 the outcome.

18 **Q.** Thank you.

19 Sorry to jump around a little in the timeline, I'm
20 going to go a little bit earlier than that, beginning of
21 April. On 12 February 2020 there was a ministerial
22 tabletop exercise called Exercise Nimbus which took
23 place involving representatives of the UK Government,
24 Scottish Government, Welsh Government and Northern Irish
25 Executive. Was this something you were aware of at the

127

1 sources and giving it to me.

2 **Q.** But in translating, if you like, those sources of
3 information to you and her being the person that you
4 were speaking to, there was a risk, was there not, that
5 in that translation the right information might not be
6 getting to you?

7 **A.** There was -- as I said -- there's -- if I've given
8 an impression -- so, you know, Dr Smith would not always
9 be, but, you know, equally, not infrequently be in the
10 room at the same time. It wasn't that she was the only
11 person that I was speaking to. You know, frequently in
12 the very early days, she would take part, as Dr Smith
13 did later, in four -- the calls between the four UK CMOs
14 and come straight off that call and give me information
15 that she had got from the other three CMOs. So it was
16 a -- it was a situation where she may have been the
17 principal conduit of information to me, she wasn't the
18 only person in the room during these discussion, and
19 I was absolutely aware that she was bringing to me
20 information that came from different sources.

21 **Q.** Her resignation was, was it not, Ms Sturgeon,
22 a cataclysmic event for the ability of the Scottish
23 Government to react appropriately to the threat and also
24 had an enormous effect on public confidence in the
25 government's strategy?

126

1 time?

2 **A.** I undoubtedly would have been aware of it at a certain
3 level at the time, but I don't think it was something at
4 that point that was particularly high up my awareness
5 scale, if I can put it that way.

6 **Q.** You didn't attend it?

7 **A.** I didn't attend it -- unless you're about to tell me
8 that I did and I --

9 **Q.** You didn't --

10 **A.** -- pretty certain I didn't attend it.

11 **Q.** Ms Freeman also did not attend it. Is that your
12 understanding?

13 **A.** That I -- yes, that is my understanding.

14 **Q.** It was attended by Mr Fitzpatrick, who was a minister in
15 the health area as well. Should either you or
16 Ms Freeman have attended such an event, which was, we
17 heard from Ms Freeman, an event which sought to update
18 pandemic planning in order to apply more specifically to
19 the circumstances of the emerging threat?

20 **A.** I think -- forgive me, I haven't in advance of today
21 reviewed Operation Nimbus. I hadn't been aware you
22 wanted to question me on this. So I would have to go
23 and review the detail of that to give you -- and I'm
24 happy to do so if you wish me to -- to give you
25 an answer about whether, with hindsight, on reflection,

128

1 I think I should have been at it. Personally I suspect
2 my answer to that would probably be no. You know,
3 having a minister, Mr Fitzpatrick, involved in that
4 would not be, in any sense, abnormal in these
5 circumstances, and, you know, he would have fed back
6 through the normal -- the normal processes in government
7 what the findings and conclusions and any
8 recommendations from that would have been. There would
9 have been, I'm absolutely certain, senior officials in
10 attendance at it as well. I think --

11 **Q.** And Dr Calderwood was at it as well, to be fair.

12 **A.** If Dr Calderwood was at it, then that makes part of my
13 point. I think -- and again, you know, we may come on
14 to other aspects of this -- I think in government in
15 normal times but particularly in the times we were in,
16 not everybody can be at everything, and just because
17 a particular minister or a particular civil servant is
18 not present at a particular meeting doesn't mean that
19 that minister is not engaged in the outcome or the
20 deliberations around that meeting.

21 **Q.** But it's a matter of priority between conflicting
22 commitments, one imagines?

23 **A.** Most days in government, yes, that is absolutely the
24 case, that there will always be an element of
25 prioritisation.

129

1 simply isn't."

2 The next day he indicates that, despite attempts to
3 encourage them, still "no still engagement".

4 "They then spent 20 [minutes] talking about internal
5 SG comms. Completely amazed!"

6 And even by 5 March he notes:

7 "I attended Directors meeting ... Laid it out
8 thickly but few believe this is going to be serious."

9 Is that, as far as you're concerned, and as far as
10 you were aware at the time from your position,
11 an accurate understanding of the state of preparedness
12 and urgency amongst directors in the Scottish
13 Government, in particular the observation that it
14 appeared that the UK Government's operation was
15 sufficiently further advanced?

16 **A.** I couldn't comment in any detail on the UK Government's
17 operation at that point, and perhaps I should limit
18 myself to commenting on the government I was responsible
19 for. It -- that wouldn't be my understanding or
20 experience. That said, and I didn't know about these
21 views at the time, Derek Grieve is a civil servant that
22 I have worked with in various capacities over my time in
23 government. Again, you know, he is a civil servant of
24 the utmost professionalism, integrity and expertise, so
25 I would take seriously what he says. I would make two,

131

1 **Q.** Would this event not have been, in the circumstances
2 given the evidence we've heard about the extent of
3 the --

4 **A.** Possibly.

5 **Q.** -- threat, something which should have been prioritised
6 more than it appears to have been?

7 **A.** It -- possibly. Just -- I'm not -- genuinely not trying
8 to avoid answering the question. I've not in advance of
9 this reviewed Operation Nimbus so I don't want to --
10 without having done so, I don't want to be more
11 definitive than I'm being. It may well be that what
12 you're putting to me I would answer "yes" to and I'm
13 happy to give some written evidence to the Inquiry on
14 this point if that would be helpful.

15 **Q.** Thank you, Ms Sturgeon.

16 We have seen in a notebook from an individual named
17 Mr Derek Grieve, the deputy director for health
18 protection division, within the directorate of
19 population health, a number of entries ranging from
20 26 February to 5 March which read as follows.

21 On 26 February it says that he attended the COBR (M)
22 meeting with the Cabinet Secretary, Ms Freeman. He
23 noted that:

24 "It's clear all [departments] in UK [Government] are
25 fully engaged [and] mobilised in a way that the SG

130

1 I suppose -- in acknowledging that I can't directly
2 comment on a meeting I wasn't at and a note that
3 I didn't write, beyond saying that was not my experience
4 at the time.

5 I think there's two other things I would say. In
6 preparing for today, it struck me that at a Cabinet on,
7 I think, 10 March 2020, I make some quite extensive
8 comments about the fact that this is going to be
9 a whole-government, whole-society challenge and not just
10 a health, I'm paraphrasing, so clearly at that point it
11 was something I was certainly stressing, that -- that it
12 had to be something everybody saw as their business and
13 their priority.

14 The other comment I would make, which possibly is
15 not fair to ascribe, and I'm not trying to ascribe it to
16 David Grieve, but I remember at the start of swine flu,
17 as Health Secretary, that -- a sense when you're in
18 a crisis that is very much initially focused on health,
19 it is absolutely all you're thinking about, and even
20 people who are thinking about it a lot but maybe not as
21 much as you, there is a sense of frustration that
22 they're not as seized of it as you might be. And
23 of course swine flu thankfully didn't progress beyond it
24 being largely a health challenge in the way that Covid
25 did.

132

1 My recollection, my experience, my understanding is
2 that there was certainly an increasing, over that
3 period, realisation of how serious this was in the
4 Scottish Government, but there was a realisation that
5 this was something that was serious and that was going
6 to affect everybody and every section of our society.

7 **Q.** Can we go to INQ000238705, please.

8 These are the minutes of a Cabinet meeting held the
9 day before the entries that I've started to read out
10 from Mr Grieve's notes.

11 On 25 February 2020 you're noted as being in
12 attendance. Can we go to paragraph 44, please. It says
13 under "Any Other Business":

14 "Novel Coronavirus ...

15 "44. The First Minister informed Cabinet that,
16 later that day, she would be chairing a further
17 Ministerial meeting in the Scottish Government
18 Resilience Room to discuss Scotland's response to the
19 global outbreak of the novel coronavirus, COVID-19 ...
20 about which there would be a fuller discussion at the
21 following week's meeting of the Cabinet. It would be
22 particularly important to ensure that messages to the
23 general public were as informative as possible and
24 couched in appropriate language."

25 Was it appropriate, given the information we've
133

1 information, and there would then be a fuller, more
2 fully informed Cabinet discussion in the week after
3 that.

4 This was also not the first discussion that Cabinet
5 had had about Covid. I think the first discussion was
6 on 4 February, and so there would have been extensive
7 Cabinet discussions along the way, and, you know, that
8 would -- is an indication to fuller discussion, as it
9 were, ongoing across government.

10 **Q.** There's no note of any discussion relating to procuring
11 or building a testing capacity, is there?

12 **A.** Because that one note doesn't describe it, it doesn't --
13 so this is 25 February. By the time this note is
14 written we have already taken the first steps to build
15 testing capacity. Our testing capacity at the end of
16 January, zero, by 10 February, two weeks before this
17 note, we had established testing facilities in Glasgow
18 and Edinburgh. I think we very quickly after that
19 established a facility in Tayside, in Dundee, as well.
20 I don't know whether that would have been before or
21 slightly after this note. So clearly, evidently from
22 the reality of what was happening, there was work to
23 build up testing under way by the time this note was
24 written.

25 **Q.** There's no note of any discussion of the current state
135

1 looked at, emerging from Professor Woolhouse in
2 particular, that as at 25 February novel coronavirus was
3 being dealt with under "Any Other Business", with no
4 substantive discussion of what might be done to prevent
5 its spread?

6 **A.** I think if that had been all that that was, that that
7 note was communicating, I would agree with you. But
8 I was communicating the fact that later that day I was
9 chairing a meeting of the Scottish Government Resilience
10 Room, that was -- forgive me, what date was --

11 **Q.** 25 February.

12 **A.** I started chairing those meeting in 28, 29 -- 29 I think
13 of January, with one exception, when I'd been visiting
14 flooded areas elsewhere and the Deputy First Minister
15 chaired, I chaired all of these meetings.

16 This was a period where there was significant work
17 ongoing. There was, either the following week or the
18 week after that, at Cabinet there was a very substantive
19 paper submitted and led by Jeane Freeman. So I would
20 suggest that that was giving, if that had said there is
21 a -- you know, there's a global outbreak of the novel
22 coronavirus, you know, we'll keep Cabinet informed and
23 there was no action behind it, I would accept that. But
24 that, in Scottish Government terms, is very significant
25 action that is clearly in train as a result of that
134

1 of building testing capacity, though, is there?

2 **A.** I would -- no, that note suggests there wasn't, but that
3 doesn't mean that that work wasn't under way. The
4 Health Secretary would have been leading that work. The
5 Scottish Government resilience meeting that I was
6 chairing later that day undoubtedly would have touched
7 on that -- that work, and we know from -- we know from
8 what was happening, had already happened, that that work
9 was under way and was progressing. As I said earlier
10 on, the question of whether it was progressing quickly
11 enough is another discussion, but it was undoubtedly
12 progressing.

13 **Q.** There's no note of any discussion or information being
14 shared about procuring personal protective equipment, is
15 there?

16 **A.** Again, that does not mean that work wasn't under way.
17 We had, I think -- in fact I think, again, I don't --
18 I can't bring it up, perhaps you can bring it up, but
19 I think one of the first Cabinet meetings -- no, sorry,
20 one of the first briefings I received in January 2020
21 told me about the first release of face masks from the
22 national stockpile, so clearly, again, just because this
23 note doesn't say that these issues were discussed at
24 this particular Cabinet meeting, the evidence, both in
25 documentation but in reality of what was happening, was
136

1 that this work was under way.

2 **Q.** The earliest predictions in January from
3 Professor Woolhouse had involved a prediction of
4 a pandemic fuelled by mild cases with mortality amongst
5 the vulnerable. Scotland was known at this stage to
6 have an elderly and vulnerable population, that there
7 were recognised health inequalities amongst those with
8 protected characteristics and in lower socioeconomic
9 groups. Isn't that exactly why a project should be put
10 in place, to introduce Public Health Scotland to address
11 those issues?

12 **A.** Could you repeat that question? Sorry.

13 **Q.** Certainly. I'm pointing out that the earliest
14 predictions in January 2020 from Professor Woolhouse had
15 involved a prediction of a pandemic fuelled by mild
16 cases with predicted mortality amongst the vulnerable.
17 Scotland had an elderly and vulnerable population with
18 recognised health inequalities amongst those with
19 protected characteristics and in lower socioeconomic
20 groups.

21 I asked you: this was why Public Health Scotland, by
22 this stage, was in the process of being set up, to deal
23 with those very problems; isn't that right?

24 **A.** Sorry, it was the very final part of the question that
25 I hadn't quite caught.

137

1 encapsulated there doesn't mean that wasn't happening --

2 **Q.** What steps were being taken to protect the vulnerable
3 part of Scotland's population?

4 **A.** All of the work we were doing to understand Covid, to
5 make sure we were preparing and scaling up facilities
6 like testing, making sure that we were in a position to
7 supply PPE -- and I know there were, you know, many
8 concerns raised about all of these things, I'm not
9 suggesting all of that worked perfectly. All of that
10 was designed to protect, as far as it was possible to do
11 in the face of a pandemic, the entire population and,
12 within that, those who we were beginning to understand
13 were going to be more vulnerable to a virus of this
14 nature. It was part and parcel of all of the work we
15 were doing.

16 **Q.** At this stage the Scottish Government was asleep at the
17 wheel, wasn't it, Ms Sturgeon?

18 **A.** No.

19 **Q.** Could I ask you some questions, please, about the COBR
20 meeting which took place on 12 March 2020. We went
21 through some evidence in this regard with Mr Gove. It's
22 a meeting which was chaired by Mr Johnson.

23 If we could go to INQ000056221, please. Could we go
24 to page 8. Thank you.

25 You may recall, Ms Sturgeon, that there was some

139

1 Yeah, one of many reasons why Public Health Scotland
2 was being set up. Public Health Scotland was due --
3 before Covid arrived with us, Public Health Scotland was
4 due to be formally established, I think on 1 April 2020,
5 and that was a long-standing programme of work.

6 I think it's important to say that it is not the
7 case that the Scottish Government only started dealing
8 with these issues when Public Health Scotland was
9 established, the Scottish Government, through many of
10 its pre-existing bodies and processes, were, you know,
11 acutely and intensely focused on health inequalities and
12 the needs of older people. Public Health Scotland was
13 established because it was thought that having a body of
14 that nature, particularly one that brought the health
15 service and local government more closely together,
16 would be better able to do that amongst other things.

17 **Q.** There's no discussion here, no mention here of any
18 discussion or any information being provided about any
19 steps to try to protect that vulnerable part of
20 Scotland's population?

21 **A.** I know from the work that was under way in the
22 government at that time that all of these issues were
23 being progressed, all of these issues were being worked
24 on. I -- you know, I suspect that, you know, because
25 not -- I know that -- because not all of that is

138

1 discussion around this stage as regards Scotland's
2 emerging position, that it was interested in seeking to
3 cancel mass gatherings, which did subsequently happen.
4 At paragraph 15 it says:

5 "Continuing the CHAIR said that the GCSA should use
6 the announcement to set out what stage two would be, and
7 begin socialising options three and four to protect the
8 most vulnerable. That the general public would not be
9 asked to do options two, three, or four immediately, but
10 that these policies would come in the next few weeks.
11 He respected the Scottish Government's decision to
12 cancel mass gathering to manage pressure on emergency
13 responders, noting that as the epidemic progresses this
14 approach may need to be taken by the whole UK to protect
15 public services. However it was crucial for the
16 government to stick to the SAGE advice and as far as
17 possible, the Four Nations should try to stick together
18 as one United Kingdom."

19 At page 10 there is a list of actions where it
20 states:

21 "CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICERS for all Four Nations,
22 DEPARTMENT FOR HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE and DEPARTMENT FOR
23 DIGITAL, CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT to prepare advice for
24 consideration by COBR on approach to mass gatherings."

25 Then the decision reached underneath at number 3 --

140

1 sorry, at number 5:

2 "COBR will keep under review the policy towards mass
3 gatherings, with particular reference to their impact on
4 public and emergency services."

5 We can see from the first page of this document that
6 this meeting, chaired by Mr Johnson, took place at
7 1.15 pm. Do you read that, as I do, to the effect that
8 there was an agreement that COBR would keep the issue of
9 cancelling mass gatherings under review and that further
10 advice in that regard would be provided by, amongst
11 others, the chief medical officers for all four nations?

12 **A.** I accept the reading that you have put on the minute.
13 I was at the meeting --

14 **Q.** Yes --

15 **A.** -- there was no doubt in that meeting that the Scottish
16 Government was going to confirm a decision to advise
17 that -- that day, it was later, before we had legal
18 powers to enforce it, but that we were going to advise
19 the cancellation of gatherings of over 500 people.

20 You rightly point to the time of that meeting, 1.15.
21 Just before that meeting I had taken part in the weekly
22 session of First Minister's Questions in the Scottish
23 Parliament, and I advised Parliament that that is what
24 the Scottish Government was minded to do. We would
25 obviously listen to other views at COBR, but this was

141

1 And thirdly, I thought there was emerging a serious
2 disjoint in the messaging of governments that we were
3 seeking to communicate that this was a very serious
4 threat but yet saying it was okay for them to continue
5 to go and gather together in big crowded events. And if
6 people saw that it was okay to do that, would they be
7 less likely to follow the other advice we were giving
8 them in the day-to-day business of their lives? Before
9 lunch you asked me about the rugby match at Murrayfield
10 and, you know, I think there is, as you put to me,
11 an argument that should not have gone ahead. So that
12 was my position, I set it out at COBR and I indicated
13 that the government would confirm that decision.

14 Jeane Freeman went back to the Scottish Parliament
15 that afternoon to announce -- to confirm what I had said
16 at First Minister's Questions, and I was -- I announced
17 the decision that the Scottish Government had taken.
18 And I would assert very strongly then, and I would now,
19 that, having taken that decision, we were perfectly
20 within our rights to take that decision, and I was
21 perfectly, not just within my rights to announce it, it
22 was important that I announced it, alongside, which we
23 may come on to, the other important decisions that were
24 taken at COBR that day, that it was essential the public
25 were given quick and effective information about.

143

1 a Scottish Government decision to take. I was in no
2 doubt in that meeting that that is the decision the
3 Scottish Government was going to take.

4 By this time I was increasingly concerned that we
5 were not moving fast enough to deal with the rate of
6 transmission of Covid. I heard it referred to, I think
7 perhaps by Mr Gove in evidence to you, that I jumped the
8 gun on mass gatherings. I would counter it. I think by
9 this point none of us were jumping the gun, we were
10 arguably all going more slowly than we should have been.
11 I think the public was ahead of governments at this
12 point in the action they thought was appropriate.

13 My view on mass gatherings, which I set out to COBR,
14 was that for three reasons I thought it important to
15 take this action at this time.

16 Firstly, that while the medical advice was that open
17 air events were relatively less risky than others, there
18 was no -- it was not the case that there was no risk of
19 transmission. And I thought at that stage, given the
20 state of the pandemic, we had to do whatever we could to
21 reduce the risk of transmission.

22 Secondly, I was increasingly concerned at that point
23 about the pressure on emergency services having to
24 police large events when they were dealing with other
25 pressures associated with Covid.

142

1 **Q.** Are the minutes wrong then?

2 **A.** If what you're saying -- if what the reading of that
3 minute is -- forgive me. If your reading of that minute
4 is putting a question to me that says I somehow breached
5 good faith in that I did something that was against the
6 agreement in COBR, there was no doubt in that COBR
7 meeting -- I mean, I think the -- it's not in the pages
8 in front of me just now -- where it says the
9 Prime Minister respected the Scottish Government's
10 decision, or words to --

11 **Q.** I think it was the passage that I referred to earlier at
12 page 8, yes.

13 **A.** Yeah, which -- yeah, he respected the Scottish
14 Government's decision. I mean, it's clear that he
15 understood we had taken a decision.

16 **Q.** Well, to be fair, Ms Sturgeon, if one reads that passage
17 in isolation without looking at the subsequent actions
18 one might conclude that, but one obviously needs to see
19 what's reached by the end of the meeting in the actions,
20 which involved further advice being taken on the issue.

21 **A.** All I can say is I was in that meeting, I recall it very
22 clearly, and there was no doubt that that was the
23 decision that I communicated. I tried to persuade the
24 other governments to follow suit. As it happens, they
25 all did, I think, follow suit, within two or three days,

144

1 because the situation was developing at pace, and in
2 a not good direction. I -- I believe the Scottish
3 Government was right to take that decision then. And if
4 I have a regret about that decision, it's not that
5 I took it that day, it's that I didn't take it days
6 earlier.

7 **Q.** Including in relation to the rugby international at --

8 **A.** I've -- I tried to reflect in my answers earlier, the --
9 I suppose what I'm trying to reflect here is how -- how
10 difficult those decisions were and how -- to describe
11 now, looking back with hindsight, something as,
12 you know, in very binary terms, right and wrong, is not
13 always fair in the nature of the decisions we were
14 taking at the time, but it is one of the decisions that,
15 yes, if I look back on, and could take -- you know, have
16 my time again, may go the other way. But that was --
17 that match was the weekend before that, so certainly,
18 yes, I think that was -- yes, if I have a regret it is
19 not that I took the decision too early, it's that we
20 took it too late.

21 **Q.** You did announce at 3.20 pm that day that mass
22 gatherings of more than 500 people would be banned in
23 Scotland; is that right?

24 **A.** If you tell me that's the time I did it, roughly, yes.

25 **Q.** You also provided other updates from the COBR meeting
145

1 not decisions that were meant to be kept secret. It
2 wasn't just important they were communicated, it was
3 important that they were communicated quickly. So
4 I would -- I would put it that it wasn't that
5 I communicated these things too quickly, perhaps the
6 UK Government were communicating them too slowly, and
7 perhaps not doing so with the urgency that at that point
8 was required.

9 **Q.** Did you tell the UK Government of your intention to make
10 the announcement at 3.20 pm?

11 **A.** It would have been -- I'm certain would have been known.
12 I don't know whether I specifically said. Again,
13 I don't mean this to sound in any way politically
14 adversarial. You know, I have a duty to communicate,
15 this was advice we were giving the public, how were the
16 public meant to know what we were asking them to do if
17 I didn't tell them -- in Scotland, if I didn't tell them
18 and the rest of the UK other leaders didn't tell them?

19 My expectation and what I do remember, my
20 expectation was that by the time I made -- Boris Johnson
21 would have already spoken out of that COBR meeting. The
22 media, the public on that day I remember were desperate
23 for information. I guess I was surprised that I spoke
24 before him, not because I went too quickly, because
25 I was surprised that by the time I did it he hadn't.
147

1 such as the decision not immediately to close schools.
2 You made these announcements before Mr Johnson was due
3 to speak to the public about the outcomes from the COBR
4 meeting later. What were the reasons for the timing of
5 your announcement of these matters?

6 **A.** Well, I'll give you the reasons for the timing very
7 clearly in a second, but perhaps just to be clear, and
8 I don't mean this in a political sense or in any way
9 seeking to be adversarial, my responsibility as
10 First Minister was to the Scottish people, not to
11 Boris Johnson. I tried and he tried, I'm sure, we all
12 tried to work as collegiately as possible, but my
13 responsibility was to the Scottish people.

14 Why did I announce those -- the very nature of the
15 decisions we were taking -- we were in a pandemic of
16 a rapidly transmitting virus. The nature of the
17 decisions we were taking meant that they had to be
18 communicated quickly and clearly to the public. At this
19 particular point, 12 March, my strong sense was that the
20 public were anxious for their governments to act, to do
21 more, to be much more on the front foot. We were -- in
22 that meeting as well as the discussion about mass
23 gatherings we had decided at that meeting to advise
24 isolation of symptomatic cases. That was really
25 important in trying to stem transmission. These were
146

1 **Q.** These obligations of which you speak are not mutually
2 exclusive, are they? One can have an obligation to the
3 Scottish people, which of course you had, but you can
4 also have an obligation to try to do what one can to
5 maximise the efficiency of four nations working, which
6 was the policy at that time. So therefore would it not
7 have been possible to discharge both of those
8 obligations at the same time?

9 **A.** Absolutely, and I always tried to do it. There was only
10 one occasion that I recall in a COBR meeting where the
11 timing of respective communications was discussed, and
12 that's that was on Monday 23 March, the day we went into
13 lockdown, and in that COBR meeting there was
14 a discussion about the Prime Minister communicating
15 first. And I agreed and honoured the agreement that
16 I would wait until he finished -- this was in the
17 evening I think -- before I did so.

18 At no other point was there, you know, "Who is going
19 to do it first?" or "You shouldn't do it before I do".
20 I fully -- I left that COBR meeting thinking it
21 important to communicate the decisions that had been
22 taken to the Scottish people, because it involved the
23 Scottish people doing things and not doing things in
24 order to try to -- we were in a race against a virus --
25 in order to try to stem transmission of a virus.
148

1 I fully expected the Prime Minister to do exactly the
2 same. I think it would have been wrong and negligent to
3 wait for ages before telling people what that COBR
4 meeting had decided.

5 **Q.** Did you consider that you had a duty of confidentiality
6 as regards the matters discussed at the meeting?

7 **A.** I did not breach confidentiality. I am not bound by
8 confidentiality in the UK Government sense, but nothing
9 in -- this was a -- these were Scottish Government
10 decisions, the fact that we were all agreeing them in
11 a four nations context did not change the fact they were
12 decisions within the power and responsibility of the
13 Scottish Government. I was not breaching
14 confidentiality.

15 And I would go further than that and suggest that,
16 given the situation we were dealing with, the whole
17 notion of confidentiality is a bit absurd. This was
18 a virus that was spreading rapidly at this point. We
19 were taking decisions that were about trying to stem the
20 spread of that virus, and the only way those decisions
21 could have the desired effect was if the public knew
22 about them, and if the public knew about them quickly.
23 Therefore, in my view, the responsibility on all of
24 us -- I can't speak for Boris Johnson, but the
25 responsibility on all of us was to get out there and

149

1 acquiescing in decisions that we thought were wrong and
2 not in the interests of keeping people as safe as
3 possible. But I never -- I had many -- and I know
4 Michael Gove spoke about this on Monday, I think, he was
5 here, and we worked -- I would pay tribute to
6 Michael Gove in particular on these matters. We had
7 very -- didn't always agree, but we had very
8 constructive discussions. I always sought to work as
9 collaboratively as possible within the four nations
10 framework but I couldn't allow that to usurp my duty as
11 leader of a government, with particular
12 responsibilities, to take the decisions we thought were
13 best in the circumstances.

14 **Q.** It would be necessary in order to try to promote the
15 likely success of four nations working to work with
16 respect for the other participants in that process. Do
17 you think that's a correct principle?

18 **A.** I do.

19 **Q.** You said a moment ago that you considered
20 the UK Government's expectation that these discussions
21 would be conducted confidentially to be absurd. Does
22 that suggest any respect on your side?

23 **A.** I don't think it suggests any disrespect. I was making
24 a point about the nature and status of decisions being
25 taken in the face of a spreading virus and making the

151

1 tell the people of Scotland -- tell people across the UK
2 what we were asking them to do and not to do in order
3 to -- if we'd operated on the basis of these decisions
4 being confidential, then I think self-evidently that
5 would have been a very, very mistaken position to be in.

6 **Q.** There was a commitment at the stage by the Scottish
7 Government to seek to promote four nations working in
8 light of the fact that the virus was no respecter of
9 man-made boundaries or responsibilities. Is that right?
10 **A.** I had a strong commitment to four nations working. Even
11 when our -- the detail of our approaches started to
12 diverge, I didn't ever form a view that four nations
13 working wasn't important. My understanding of
14 four nations working is we aligned our approaches where
15 we could, and where we were, for legitimate reasons,
16 taking different approaches, we tried to nevertheless
17 work together, understand each other's position and
18 co-ordinate where we could.

19 But I -- you know, I had a duty as First Minister of
20 Scotland to the people of Scotland. If I had simply, in
21 order to keep a notion of four nations working -- that
22 I know some people hold to, which is that it should mean
23 we all do exactly the same at all times and that should
24 be decided by the UK Government, I would have ended up,
25 and the Scottish Government would have ended up

150

1 point that, by their very nature, these can't be
2 confidential decisions because otherwise the public
3 doesn't know about them and therefore can't implement
4 them. And that's the point I was making.

5 I always tried to be respectful in, you know, all my
6 dealings with the UK Government. There were, not just
7 in Covid but on many things, you know, moments and
8 issues of tension, where no doubt they found me
9 difficult to work with, at times I would find them
10 difficult to work with, but I always tried to be
11 respectful and be constructive in those interactions.

12 **Q.** Mr Gove gave evidence to the fact that what had happened
13 on that day caused considerable irritation, at least on
14 the part of a number of individuals including the
15 Prime Minister, on the basis that there was a perception
16 that you had not behaved respectfully and breached
17 confidentiality. Was that a phenomenon of which you
18 were aware at that time?

19 **A.** It wasn't particularly, I suppose I can see why that
20 would have been the case. I ... at that point the last
21 thing in my mind was -- I wasn't setting out to irritate
22 anybody, but equally I wasn't -- you know, I had reached
23 a view, the Scottish Government had reached a view, that
24 to try to stem transmissions of the virus, we should
25 advise the cancellation of mass gatherings. COBR had

152

1 taken a decision that was asking people with symptoms of
 2 Covid to isolate and not leave their homes. I took the
 3 view that it was vital to communicate these decisions
 4 and to communicate them quickly and effectively.
 5 I wasn't doing it to irritate anybody, and I'm sorry if
 6 that was the effect, but my overriding -- you know,
 7 I got lots of things wrong in the whole process of this,
 8 I don't suggest otherwise for a second, but my
 9 overriding motivation and priority was to try to reach
 10 the best decisions, communicate those decisions so that
 11 the public could comply with those decisions and we
 12 could collectively try to stem spread of a virus that
 13 was already doing significant harm.

14 **Q.** The phenomenon of you making announcements about matters
 15 before the UK Government would go on to become something
 16 of an issue between the governments. Were you aware of
 17 that?

18 **A.** Yes, I was. I didn't think then and I don't think now
 19 it was fair or rational.

20 Fairly early on, I can't remember exactly when, my
 21 detailing briefings became set at a time of day, I think
 22 12.15, slightly later in the day, when I gave statements
 23 to Parliament, because that was determined by
 24 Parliamentary sitting times. So my public announcements
 25 were at a fixed point in the day. The UK Government

153

1 focused here on areas of disagreement or divergence.
 2 There was a huge amount of good joint working and
 3 alignment and, you know, the different governments
 4 working together effectively. But where I thought the
 5 UK Government was taking a decision for England that was
 6 not the right one, I would have been negligent in my
 7 responsibilities just to go along with that in order to
 8 avoid, bizarrely, irritating people.

9 I suppose another point in this is, it's been
 10 described -- it's often described as if the
 11 UK Government's position on these things was the
 12 orthodox one and any of the devolved administrations
 13 that diverged were stepping out of that orthodox
 14 position. That wasn't -- that's not, I think, the right
 15 way of looking -- often in these issues where the
 16 Scottish Government was diverge -- in the language
 17 the UK Government would use -- diverging from their
 18 four nations preferred road, we were joined in that by
 19 Wales and Northern Ireland. So, so often Wales,
 20 Scotland and Northern Ireland were in exactly the same
 21 position but the UK Government, as was their right, had
 22 decided to take a different position. In effect, they
 23 often became the outlier in four nations
 24 decision-making, not Scotland.

25 **Q.** Surely that can't have been the UK Government's

155

1 decided to have theirs, and I'm not making any
 2 criticism, but they decided to have theirs at 5 pm or
 3 thereabouts. That was their choice. If they had wanted
 4 to speak before me every day, they had the choice of
 5 doing that earlier. I was simply trying to communicate
 6 decisions to the public that we were relying on the
 7 public to comply with. I was trying to do that openly,
 8 I was trying to do that as clearly and as effectively as
 9 I could. At no point in my thinking was I trying to
 10 steal a march on anybody else or trying to get ahead of
 11 it. I was simply trying to -- I was simply trying to do
 12 my job to the best of my ability.

13 **Q.** Your job, however, as we've identified, involved
 14 a responsibility to the Scottish people, of course, but
 15 also a responsibility to try to promote four nations
 16 working. Why was it that those two obligations were not
 17 able to co-exist?

18 **A.** I don't believe it is the case that they didn't
 19 co-exist, but in order for me -- I have to choose my
 20 words carefully here.

21 In order for me not to, to use the phrase that's
 22 been put to me, irritate Boris Johnson, I think I would
 23 just have had to adopt a position of doing whatever
 24 Boris Johnson wanted me to do. Now, as First Minister,
 25 if I thought the -- as -- look, you know, we were

154

1 position, Ms Sturgeon, because in the schedules to
 2 the Coronavirus Act 2020 the UK Parliament had granted
 3 power to Scotland -- we'll avoid the word "diverge" --
 4 to differ, to take a different path.

5 **A.** I'm not sure I understand the question you're putting to
 6 me.

7 **Q.** You were suggesting a moment ago that the UK Government
 8 thought that the way this should work is that their
 9 position should be the orthodox one and there should be
 10 some limitation on Scotland's ability to take
 11 a different path. The legislation made it clear that
 12 the UK Parliament had granted that power?

13 **A.** No, indeed.

14 **Q.** So that cannot possibly be the UK Government's position.

15 **A.** What I'm saying is often -- some of the comments you're
 16 putting to me about me being or others being irritated
 17 at things I did --

18 **Q.** Those aren't my words --

19 **A.** No, no, forgive me, Mr Dawson, I know they're not your
 20 words. But that gave the impression that while the
 21 legislation was exactly as you've set out, when the
 22 reality of that manifested itself in different
 23 decisions, then somehow that was an irritation. It was
 24 not intended to be an irritation, we were all trying to
 25 do our best based on the epidemiology, on the

156

1 demographic and health profile of our countries, to try
2 to take the best decisions we could.

3 I simply make the observation -- you know, the
4 first, I suppose, significant policy divergence was in
5 early May, over the Stay at Home advice, when the
6 UK Government decided to move to Stay Alert. It's often
7 been suggested that that was the point at which the
8 Scotland diverged from four nations decisions. In
9 actual fact, at that point Scotland, Wales and
10 Northern Ireland stuck with Stay at Home and
11 the UK Government for England moved to Stay Alert. I'm
12 just making the point that when things are described as
13 the Scotland moved outside of four nations
14 decision-making, we took the decisions we thought were
15 best but often we were in the same position as two of
16 the other four governments that made up the
17 four nations.

18 **Q.** On the subject of the legislation, was it your
19 understanding or had you received advice about whether
20 the Scottish Government considered that the Scottish
21 Parliament had power to impose restrictions before the
22 enactment of the Coronavirus Act 2020 which came into
23 force on 26 March?

24 **A.** No, I was aware and we were always very clear that until
25 that came into -- that Act came into force on 26 March,
157

1 been talking about, mass gatherings. We also took the
2 decision to recommend the closure of schools slightly --
3 I think -- as it happened. Others followed suit again
4 fairly quickly but at that point I was of the view we
5 had to start moving more quickly and started to
6 demonstrate that through the examples I've spoken about.

7 I, one of the -- before I say this, I can't say and
8 I don't know that anybody can say with certainty what
9 difference it would have made in the overall trajectory
10 of the pandemic and the outcomes of the pandemic, but of
11 the many regrets I have, probably chief of those is that
12 we didn't lock down a week, two weeks earlier than we
13 did.

14 **Q.** You are a staunch supporter of Scottish independence?

15 **A.** I believe that the record will show that to be true,
16 yes.

17 **Q.** Yes. It runs through you to your very core, does it
18 not?

19 **A.** It does.

20 **Q.** Is it possible, do you think, for you to take decisions
21 on any matter without seeing them through the prism of
22 Scottish independence and your burning desire to achieve
23 it?

24 **A.** Yes, I know for a fact it is, and if I ever doubted that
25 before Covid, although I had other examples of doing
159

1 25/26 March, as you say -- you know, take mass
2 gatherings, until that point it was advice that we were
3 giving, it was not enforceable until that point. And
4 similarly I think with the initial Stay at Home advice,
5 for a period of a day or two that was advice until the
6 legislation came into force.

7 **Q.** So the position, as you understood it before the
8 enactment of the Act, was that the Scottish Government
9 and the Scottish Parliament did not have the power to
10 impose restrictions, hence those decisions were issued
11 on an advisory basis?

12 **A.** Yeah, we wouldn't have had the power to enforce
13 restrictions. We of course had the power to advise
14 people to do certain things --

15 **Q.** Which is what you did over that period.

16 Did Scotland, the Scottish Government push for
17 an earlier lockdown?

18 **A.** Well, the Scottish Government started -- so, no is the
19 answer to -- the simple answer to that, in the sense
20 that we weren't pushing -- the advice to have a lockdown
21 really only crystallised through COBR on 23 March. So
22 no. But, as I think we have just been reflecting on in
23 the context of mass gatherings, the Scottish Government
24 was starting to move or argue that we should be moving
25 more quickly. One example of that is the one we have
158

1 that in the job of being First Minister, and
2 Health Secretary before that, I ... I have been in
3 politics for 30 years, I have been a lifelong campaigner
4 for independence. I don't think in my entire life have
5 I ever thought less about politics generally and
6 independence in particular than I did during the course
7 of the pandemic, and particularly in those early stages
8 of the pandemic. People will judge, you know, for
9 better or worse, the decisions my government took.
10 I want to say to people, and give this Inquiry
11 an assurance, that none of those decisions were
12 influenced in any way by political considerations or by
13 trying to gain an advantage for the cause of
14 independence. I was motivated solely by trying to do
15 the best we could to keep people as safe as possible.
16 And we did that to some extent but not to -- and perhaps
17 we never could have done it -- to the extent I would
18 have wished we could have done. And I carry the regret
19 for the loss of life, the loss of opportunity, you know,
20 the loss of education of our young people, I carry the
21 regret of that with me every single day. But in all of
22 the mistakes I made, that I will concede, some I may
23 argue weren't mistakes, I will absolutely assert very
24 strongly that I did not take decisions for political
25 reasons and I certainly did not take decisions
160

1 influenced in some way by considerations around the
2 constitutional argument.
3 I -- on 18 March 2020, my constitution secretary,
4 Mike Russell at the time, wrote to Michael Gove saying
5 that we were suspending all work on an independence
6 referendum. That didn't recommence -- apart from
7 reactive work in a particular very focused thing in --
8 before the Scottish election in 2021, that didn't
9 recommence until much later in 2021. The government
10 I led focused entirely on trying to do the best we could
11 through Covid.

12 **Q.** It's a matter of instinct, for you, isn't it, to seek to
13 promote the cause of Scottish independence?
14 **A.** Yes, it is but perhaps ... when you suddenly find
15 yourself of being in the position of a leader of
16 a government in the face of a global pandemic, you
17 suddenly find that the instincts you thought you had are
18 not the instincts that come to the fore.

19 My only instinct in the early part of 2020, and this
20 remained the case, was to try to take the best decisions
21 I could and for my government to take the best decisions
22 we could to steer the country through Covid.

23 And I hope that people observing the Scottish
24 Government, observing how I went about things during
25 that period, whatever they think about me, my politics,

161

1 Could we look, please, at INQ000214408.
2 Page 13, paragraph 56(e). This is the 30 June
3 Cabinet minutes. An agreement is reached at the end of
4 this Cabinet meeting that it was:

5 "Agreed that consideration should be given to
6 restarting work on independence and a referendum, with
7 the arguments reflecting the experience of the
8 coronavirus crisis and developments on EU Exit."

9 The Cabinet agreed on that date, did they not, to
10 seek to promote the cause of Scottish independence by
11 politicising the pandemic?

12 **A.** No, I respectfully don't think that is a fair or
13 accurate reading of that paragraph. I remember the
14 meeting. There was no particular discussion -- this was
15 a Brexit paper. Again, you know, we were having to
16 consider issues around Brexit. We had no choice in that
17 matter, this was a Brexit paper. I don't -- there was
18 no particular discussion around that recommendation as
19 far as I recall.

20 We agreed that consideration should be given to
21 restarting work. In matter of fact, work did not
22 restart. It was not consideration that led to that
23 happening. And that is -- that is the fact of the
24 matter. We agreed to consider something.

25 I certainly am not aware of being part of any real

163

1 my government, I hope that any reasonable person will
2 have seen that.

3 **Q.** It's a matter of instinct to seek division between the
4 Scottish Government and the UK Government to achieve --

5 **A.** No, it's not.

6 **Q.** -- and promote the cause of Scottish independence, isn't
7 it?

8 **A.** No, it's not.

9 **Q.** As you said, the position as at the beginning of the
10 pandemic, I think you said 18 March, was that Mr Russell
11 had written in fact to Mr Gove to indicate that
12 campaigning for a second independence referendum would
13 be suspended; is that correct?

14 **A.** Yes, I think we also requested at that time that the
15 UK Government did likewise around the constitutional
16 project of Brexit, and that was declined. The
17 UK Government never suspended any of its work on Brexit.
18 One of the reactive things that the Scottish Government
19 officials had to do during Covid was respond to
20 consultation on the Internal Market Act, for example.

21 **Q.** It was the transition period for Brexit, wasn't it, in
22 2020, so work was required on that?

23 **A.** I think that is perhaps a matter of opinion rather than
24 fact.

25 **Q.** Okay.

162

1 consideration because, in my mind, there was no prospect
2 of starting work on independence at that time. But in
3 any event it didn't happen.

4 **Q.** Why would there have been any mention of this at all,
5 given Mr Russell's announcement?

6 **A.** I think it's very -- it would have been very difficult
7 in the context of a debate or a paper on Brexit perhaps
8 for that not to have -- so that would have arisen in the
9 context -- this was not a Covid paper that this
10 conclusion was attached to, this was a paper on EU exit,
11 it was a paper on Brexit.

12 **Q.** The words say what they say, Ms Sturgeon:

13 "... consideration should be given to restarting
14 work on independence and a referendum, with the
15 arguments reflecting the experience of the coronavirus
16 crisis ..."

17 **A.** I appreciate the words say what they say, I'm not
18 arguing with that, but the facts also say what they say,
19 which is that whatever consideration may or may not have
20 been given, I certainly wasn't part of it at that point,
21 and if somebody, you know, had come to me after that and
22 said, "Right, okay, should we consider this and restart
23 work?", I'd have said "Absolutely not". The facts are
24 that no work did restart on independence at that point.

25 **Q.** You've told me earlier in other contexts that Cabinet

164

1 minutes are really the highest source of authority as to
 2 what was actually happening. Not in this case
 3 apparently?
 4 **A.** Well, I'm not saying they don't reflect an outcome of
 5 Cabinet I'm saying that that didn't happen. So we
 6 didn't restart work. Whether or not Cabinet had -- you
 7 know, somebody in the course of a Cabinet meeting had
 8 said "We should agree consideration of this", the fact
 9 is it didn't happen.
 10 **Q.** A few hours after this meeting on the same date as these
 11 Cabinet minutes you appeared on your regular coronavirus
 12 briefing and said:
 13 "Frankly, anybody who is trotting political or
 14 constitutional arguments is in the wrong place
 15 completely and has found themselves completely lost."
 16 Is there not a hypocrisy between saying publicly
 17 that anyone who is making constitutional arguments
 18 during the pandemic is in the wrong place and completely
 19 lost and there having been a decision in Cabinet hours
 20 before that there should be consideration of restarting
 21 work on the campaign for independence reflecting the
 22 experience of the coronavirus crisis?
 23 **A.** That had not been a significant part of the discussion.
 24 It was clearly a comment that was made, otherwise it
 25 wouldn't appear in the conclusions like that, but I did

165

1 **A.** But agreed that consideration should be given. What
 2 I meant is if somebody had come to me afterwards and
 3 said "We've done this process of consideration and we
 4 now think we should restart work on independence",
 5 I would have said I don't want to do that and I would
 6 have said to Cabinet "Let's not do that because its not
 7 the right time to do that". But I think more
 8 materially, that didn't happen. Nobody came to me and
 9 said -- you know, if that said "Agreed to restart work
 10 on independence", that would mean something much more
 11 than that does. There was not a process of
 12 consideration that then saw somebody come to me with
 13 a proposal to restart work on independence.
 14 And I'm sorry, my Lady, I'm genuinely sorry if it
 15 sounds as if I'm dancing on the head of a pin here,
 16 I don't mean to, but the key point here is that we did
 17 not restart work on independence at that point, or
 18 anywhere near that point.
 19 **MR DAWSON:** If it were to be decided on the basis of the
 20 evidence before this Inquiry that that -- that there was
 21 a politicisation of the pandemic and that you had used
 22 the pandemic as a means of pursuing your goal of
 23 Scottish independence, that would be a considerable
 24 betrayal of the Scottish people, would it not?
 25 **A.** With respect, I don't believe that conclusion would

167

1 not leave that Cabinet thinking we were about to restart
 2 work on independence, and I would have made my views
 3 clear that that was not going to happen if that had been
 4 the case. We didn't restart work on independence. We
 5 didn't -- you know, we had to -- over the course of the
 6 pandemic we had to respond to a court case that had been
 7 taken about a judicial review that had been taken,
 8 you know, governments have to answer PQs or FOIs, we had
 9 to respond to some Brexit -- but we didn't -- all of
 10 the -- the team that had been working pre-Covid on
 11 independence and an independence referendum had at the
 12 start of Covid been redeployed into Covid work.
 13 **LADY HALLETT:** Ms Sturgeon, that's not a comment. The
 14 minutes read "Agreed", that means Cabinet agreed,
 15 doesn't it? So are you saying you would have overruled
 16 Cabinet?
 17 **A.** If, after that -- so let me be clear what I mean. That
 18 there was clearly some comment made in that Cabinet
 19 meeting that said "Oh, maybe we should think about
 20 restarting work on independence" -- remember this was at
 21 a point where we had -- we were in -- going into the
 22 summer 2020, where cases were falling and --
 23 **LADY HALLETT:** No, no, just please focus on the point. It's
 24 agreed. It's not a comment, it's an agreement by
 25 Cabinet.

166

1 fairly be reached, because it's not what I did, and
 2 I don't believe there is evidence to suggest --
 3 **Q.** You've given your position, Ms Sturgeon, as to whether
 4 you did it or not. My question was, if it were to be
 5 decided that that's not right that would be
 6 a considerable betrayal of the Scottish people, would it
 7 not?
 8 **A.** If I had at any point decided to politicise a global
 9 pandemic that was robbing people of their lives and
 10 livelihoods and educational opportunities and had
 11 decided in the face of that to prioritise campaigning
 12 for independence, then yes, it absolutely would have
 13 been as you described. Which is precisely why I didn't
 14 do it and wouldn't have done it.
 15 **MR DAWSON:** If that's a convenient moment, my Lady.
 16 **LADY HALLETT:** Certainly.
 17 I shall return at 3.15.
 18 **(3.00 pm)**
 19 **(A short break)**
 20 **(3.15 pm)**
 21 **LADY HALLETT:** I think I've beaten most of the public
 22 gallery, so if we just wait a second.
 23 **MR DAWSON:** Of course.
 24 **(Pause)**
 25 **LADY HALLETT:** Yes, Mr Dawson.

168

1 **MR DAWSON:** Thank you, my Lady.
 2 Ms Sturgeon, moving on to a different topic, that of
 3 border controls. We heard evidence earlier in the
 4 module from a Mr Halliday, who was the
 5 Chief Statistician to the Scottish Government, that the
 6 UK Government and Scottish Government would make
 7 decisions about restrictions of people coming into the
 8 country and going out of the country as regards visiting
 9 others or coming in based on largely the same data about
 10 the threat of an individual country. I think he said
 11 that the data would often come through the
 12 Foreign Office, which would have contacts in the
 13 countries to try and work out what the threat was.

14 Is that your understanding, broadly, of the evidence
 15 base upon which decisions was taken, although of course
 16 a different analysis of it might have been undertaken?

17 **A.** Yes, that's broadly my understanding. I think as the
 18 matter progressed, the Joint Biosecurity Centre became
 19 central to the provision of that data.

20 **Q.** Yes. It's fair to say, is it not, that there were,
 21 although not necessarily huge differences between the
 22 Scottish position as regards which countries people come
 23 in or go out to, there were periods where they weren't
 24 quite the same as the UK Government? For example, on
 25 3 July the UK Government published a list of

169

1 control that for Scotland?

2 **A.** Yes, I think borders are one of these areas where the
 3 interface between devolved and reserved responsibilities
 4 is particularly complex. So the Scottish Government
 5 I think under the Public Health Act 2008, section 94
 6 I think to be precise, has the ability to put
 7 limitations or restrictions on people coming into the
 8 country for public health grounds. So that's the
 9 statutory position. I think practically we rely on
 10 Border Force, which was a reserved organisation, to
 11 deliver that in a practical sense.

12 There is then obviously the case that, as we
 13 encountered later on, if there were differences between
 14 the two, one of the things that made it difficult for
 15 the Scottish Government, whether or not we thought it
 16 was desirable to take a different position, is if we may
 17 have had a different set of rules at, say, Glasgow
 18 Airport but people, if they wanted to avoid those
 19 restrictions, could fly into London and travel up by
 20 rail or road. So it was an area where the differences
 21 in power and responsibility were often complicated by
 22 just the practical realities.

23 **Q.** Yes, I think we've seen some documentation that suggests
 24 that that particular issue, going to Glasgow via
 25 Manchester or something like that, was an issue early on

171

1 59 countries for which quarantine restrictions would not
 2 longer apply to travellers arriving in England from
 3 10 July, however at that time quarantine requirements
 4 remained unchanged in Scotland.

5 **A.** Yes, that -- that would be my broad recollection of
 6 that. Generally I think on international travel,
 7 rightly or wrongly, there was more alignment --

8 **Q.** Yes.

9 **A.** -- than divergence. I think when the air travel started
 10 to be opened up in the summer of 2020, the regulations
 11 took effect in June 2020, the key difference at that
 12 time was that there was for a short, relatively short
 13 period of time, Spain was one of the countries that the
 14 UK Government had opened up a -- what was called at the
 15 time a travel corridor with them for a short period of
 16 time, Scotland didn't do that, we delayed doing that for
 17 a period. I think it was then -- Spain was then taken
 18 off that by all countries later on.

19 **Q.** Yes. It may not be entirely surprising there wasn't huge
 20 difference, if we're avoiding the word "divergence",
 21 because it was based on the same data, although the
 22 essential point I'm trying to make is that the Scottish
 23 Government had -- in terms of its devolved public health
 24 responsibilities and indeed responsibilities which had
 25 been given to it under the 2020 Act, it had the power to

170

1 when travel was a big part of the decision-making, and
 2 then it came back later on under Mr Yousof's period as
 3 Cabinet Secretary for Health.

4 Could we have a look, please, at INQ000292564.

5 This is an exchange of emails which shows -- we're
 6 going to page 6, please.

7 So the page at the top I think indicates that the
 8 position here as at 20 July is that the Deputy First
 9 Minister was requesting a call to discuss international
 10 travel and that there were a number of people who were
 11 involved in that.

12 Page 6, please. The previous page, please. Sorry,
 13 Ms Sturgeon.

14 **(Pause)**

15 Yes, this is, we can see here that it's an email
 16 from the Deputy First Minister, Mr Swinney, to a number
 17 of people, including yourself. Is that right?

18 **A.** Erm ...

19 **Q.** Are we on the same page here? Yes.

20 19 July, Deputy First Minister and Cabinet Secretary
 21 for Education and Skills, to -- and there's a number of
 22 people listed there, one of whom is First Minister, and
 23 a number of others, some of whom actually we've heard
 24 from, Audrey MacDougall, Roger Halliday, et cetera.

25 And this is an email in which -- some details around

172

1 the discussion which the Deputy First Minister had been
2 interested in having on international travel, where it
3 says:

4 "Ken

5 "I'm extremely concerned about this. Spain is now
6 being held to a much higher level of scrutiny and
7 performance than other countries. If it is added to the
8 exemptions list, ministers will have to explain why not
9 when it has an estimated point prevalence rate of 0.015
10 (compared to 0.33 when the decision not include was
11 already taken) -- 0.015 is verging on Green. And there
12 is visible action from the Spanish authorities to do
13 whatever it takes to suppress outbreaks (compare and
14 contrast with outbreaks in England). It won't matter
15 how much ministers might justify it on health grounds,
16 the Spanish Government will conclude it is entirely
17 political; they won't forget; there is a real
18 possibility they will never approve EU membership for an
19 independent Scotland as a result."

20 This is an email copied to you. To what extent were
21 concerns about the possibility in the future that Spain
22 would block an application for EU membership by
23 an independent Scotland a factor in the decision-making
24 around the Spanish travel corridor?

25 A. They weren't. For me -- this email is copied to me,
173

1 A. I -- it wasn't part of my consideration. I certainly,
2 to the best of my knowledge, didn't have any discussion
3 of that nature. I didn't write that email, I can't
4 speak for other people as to why that was written in
5 that way. What I can tell the Inquiry, sitting here
6 today answering questions, is that's not the basis on
7 which the discussion took -- not the way in which the
8 decision was taken. These were finely balanced
9 decisions on public health ground that often -- in fact
10 not often, always clinical advisers would be inputting
11 their own opinions to as well.

12 Q. Go to page 4, please. This is an email chain. Yes, and
13 an email from Ken Thomson to a number of people that
14 says there:

15 "Colleagues --

16 "You were (mostly) on the call with FM and other
17 Ministers just now. The FM agreed to a pause, in which
18 we are to give her advice on the implications for the
19 borders review of the non care home COVID cases
20 currently being investigated.

21 "We have to do this rapidly, obviously. I'm
22 proposing to write the outline of advice to Ministers,
23 and to ask Scott, Rachel, Gregor and Derek to comment
24 and contribute to that."

25 Is the position then that there was a -- on 20 July,
175

1 I assume I would have seen it at the time, but
2 I remember very well the decision-making around this.
3 I think it was around 10 July that travel corridors were
4 introduced and we had significant doubts about adding
5 Spain to that because the prevalence of the virus at
6 that time was higher in Spain than it was in Scotland,
7 but that was moving, and over the next couple of weeks
8 I think, if my memory is serving me correctly, that
9 changed, the prevalence was reducing in Scotland and
10 actually was -- in Spain, and rising in Scotland.

11 These are decisions that were taken for public
12 health reasons. They were, you know, difficult
13 decisions, they were often very finely balanced
14 decisions and, you know, if that concern had been the
15 one driving the decisions then, you know, presumably at
16 great criticism, not least from our own airport sector
17 at the time, we wouldn't have kept Spain off the travel
18 corridors in the first place.

19 Q. Why is it though there is discussion, if matters are
20 being addressed solely on public health grounds, about
21 the possibility that the Spanish Government may conclude
22 that there is a political aspect to things that they
23 will not forget and that they may vote subsequently
24 against EU membership for an independent Scotland? Why
25 is that even part of the discussions?
174

1 shortly after this, quarantine requirements for Spain
2 were lifted?

3 A. I don't have that date in front of me but I know it was
4 a relatively short space of time between the Scottish
5 Government not lifting them and lifting them, but again,
6 if memory serves me correctly, we then very quickly
7 reapplied them. I think all of the countries in the UK
8 re --

9 Q. That's correct as I understand it --

10 A. -- which I --

11 Q. -- on 20 July I think what happened is that you agreed
12 with other ministers that there should be a pause to the
13 restriction that -- those were reimposed from 26 July.

14 A. The relative prevalence was changing at that point. We
15 had reached a point where we thought on public health
16 ground that it was -- that it was appropriate to add
17 Spain to the travel corridors and then the data
18 obviously changed that position.

19 Q. Did the consideration regarding the political
20 implications connected to Spain mentioned in the
21 previous email feature on the call that's been referred
22 to?

23 A. Not that I can recall. So that is not my recollection.

24 Q. But you were the one that made the decision to pause the
25 restrictions despite the fact that there was concerns
176

1 about the data upon which such a public health decision
2 might be made?

3 **A.** Well, at that point the data had reached a position
4 where we felt we could make that decision. I mean,
5 I would suggest that had the consideration that appears
6 in the previous email that was shown to me been guiding
7 the decisions around this, we would not have taken the
8 decision, which was extremely controversial at the time,
9 and attracted criticism, I think, from many people,
10 including very hefty criticism from airports in Scotland
11 and the airport in -- in this city. We would not have
12 done that in the first place. The fact that we were, in
13 the face of that controversy, prepared to take
14 a decision that was to continue to apply restrictions to
15 Spain at a time when other parts of the UK were not
16 doing that, would I hope suggest that these were
17 decisions being driven by data and public health
18 considerations.

19 **Q.** But the decision on 20 July was that quarantine
20 requirements for Spain should be lifted, but then they
21 were reimposed on the 26th?

22 **A.** And the data -- I mean, I don't know whether it's
23 possible to, you know, put it on the screen what the
24 changing data around that time would have been.
25 I remember that period, the data was changing at that --

177

1 **A.** No, actually, with respect, I read that differently to
2 that. What I think Dr Smith is saying here, although he
3 would have to tell you what he meant, is that while we
4 were seeing evidence of multiple large outbreaks in
5 different areas of Spain, and that was what had driven
6 our concern about having restrictions on Spain lifted,
7 the point prevalence data was actually showing something
8 different: it was showing a change that was suggesting
9 that cases were coming down at that point.

10 And my -- not just my reading of this, my
11 recollection of the discussions at the time is that what
12 that is saying is that, notwithstanding these very high
13 profile outbreaks, the overall data for Spain shows that
14 the risk is reducing, which was what was driving our
15 decision around 20 July to lift restrictions, before
16 that data, I think, started to go in the wrong direction
17 in Spain again.

18 **Q.** So despite concerns about the robustness of the data in
19 the face of evidence of multiple large outbreaks, you
20 did open up the travel corridor to Spain, albeit only
21 for a short period?

22 **A.** With respect, I do think the interpretation of this
23 that's been put to me is not what this is saying, and
24 I remember some of the discussions at the time, is that
25 the data, the point prevalence data was no longer

179

1 this is July 2020. We were -- sadly it was relatively
2 short lived but we had reached a low point in cases in
3 Scotland at that point. Spain had been particularly
4 high. That was the reason for our initial decision.
5 Spain had taken, I think, further steps to suppress the
6 virus, it was coming down there, I can't -- I'm not sure
7 whether at this point cases would -- there was even the
8 indication yet of cases starting to rise in Scotland.
9 These were decisions that involved changing data. Data
10 that was often changing on a daily basis.

11 **Q.** Could we look at page 2, please. In this regard, again,
12 Dr Smith says that:

13 "[He] asked for a view on the robustness of this
14 data for Spain -- there's been a remarkable change in
15 the point prevalence from the set considered previously
16 that is difficult to reconcile with the public facing
17 evidence of multiple large outbreaks in different areas
18 of the country."

19 And he asks whether:

20 "Can anyone offer an assessment of this?"

21 Now, the evidence there for -- on a public health
22 basis would tend to suggest that there had been multiple
23 large outbreaks which would not be consistent with the
24 decision taken the next day to lift the quarantine; is
25 that correct?

178

1 backing up the ongoing restrictions, that despite there
2 appearing to be outbreaks, they were outbreaks in
3 particular parts of the country and the overall point
4 prevalence data was showing that the risk from the virus
5 in Spain was reducing.

6 And actually I do consider that this and the
7 discussions that lay behind this were actually what was
8 driving, not that this was contrary to the decision we
9 took at that point but that was part of what was driving
10 that decision at that point.

11 **Q.** But surely it doesn't make a lot of sense, if there are
12 issues about the robustness of the data, to change the
13 position? I mean, in any event we know that you had to
14 change it back a few days later?

15 **A.** Mr Dawson, there was issues about the robustness of data
16 at every step of the management of --

17 **Q.** But would you not take a more precautionary approach if
18 the changes in the data didn't seem to add up?

19 **A.** We were under a lot of pressure from airports at that
20 point, we were under a lot of criticism for being
21 an outlier in -- at that point, I think -- can --
22 I think we were at that point an outlier, and the data,
23 the point prevalence data was showing that we were no
24 longer able to justify the position we were taking of
25 more onerous restrictions on Spain. And that was --

180

1 that was the position. The data was particularly around
2 comparisons between different countries, was changing
3 all the time, it was necessary to assess not just the
4 overall data but the -- what lay behind that data.

5 If it's -- what's being put to me here is that this
6 was a politically-driven decision, certainly on my part
7 it was absolutely not. And I come back to this,
8 decisions that were taken by my government in this
9 period, I hope many of them were right, I think some of
10 the outcomes in a relative sense suggest that that would
11 be the case, some of them were undoubtedly wrong, but
12 speaking for myself none of them were driven by
13 extraneous political considerations.

14 **Q.** Could I go to INQ000274143, please.

15 You will recall that Mr Johnson visited Scotland on
16 23 July 2020, Ms Sturgeon.

17 **A.** I do.

18 **Q.** Yes, and this is a tweet by you where you say:

19 "I welcome the PM to Scotland today. One of the key
20 arguments for independence is the ability of Scotland to
21 take our own decisions, rather than having our future
22 decide by politicians we didn't vote for, taking us down
23 a path we haven't chosen. His presence highlights
24 that."

25 This is a political tweet relating to your support
181

1 exception to that. If they did --

2 **Q.** So you think that this was?

3 **A.** I think Boris Johnson, not coming to Scotland per se,
4 but coming to Scotland with the narrative that they put
5 around that was an exception to what I've said, that
6 I think generally they didn't try to politicise the
7 pandemic. And other than this occasion, the occasions
8 where I thought they did, it was more around, you know,
9 Brexit and the vaccine roll-out being possible because
10 of Brexit.

11 So it's not a general accusation I would've levelled
12 at them. I think this was an exception. I listened to
13 parts of Michael Gove's evidence earlier in the week,
14 and now realise that there may have been discussions at
15 UK Government level that led to this that I wasn't aware
16 of at the time.

17 So this was a response. Was it as mature a response
18 as, with reflection, I might've wished for? Perhaps
19 not. But it wasn't ... it wasn't me deciding suddenly
20 to start talking about independence apropos of nothing;
21 it was a response to the Prime Minister's visit, and in
22 particular the narrative of his visit.

23 **Q.** Again, Ms Sturgeon, in fairness I was also going to
24 refer you to the paper that we took Mr Gove to, the
25 "State of the Union" paper which he delivered to the
183

1 for the cause of independence in July 2020, isn't it?

2 **A.** It is. But it's also a response to the Prime Minister
3 at the time coming to Scotland and very overtly
4 describing that visit as a mission to save the Union.
5 I think he had first-person pieces in at least one
6 newspaper ahead of that.

7 Now, on reflection, should I have risen to the bait
8 and posted that tweet? Probably not. But I would never
9 even have been in that space at all but for the pretext
10 of the Prime Minister's visit.

11 I was also -- because he was coming to Scotland,
12 because of the narrative that the UK Government had put
13 around his visit, I was inevitably being asked about it
14 in my briefings and interviews. But, yeah, perhaps
15 I should have been the bigger person and not reacted in
16 that way with that tweet.

17 **Q.** I had intended, of course, to put to you also the
18 context, which is that on his visit, and I think in the
19 newspapers before, Mr Johnson had spoken about the
20 "might" and "merit" of the Union, and therefore your
21 interpretation of that is that he was seeking to
22 politicise the situation; is that right?

23 **A.** I think I say in my written statement, I -- to be fair,
24 I don't think, generally, the UK Government tried to
25 politicise the pandemic. I think this was a rare
182

1 UK Cabinet on 21 July, two days before the visit in
2 which he described the risk to the Union as the greatest
3 challenge for the UK Government to confront, and said
4 that protecting and strengthening the Union had to be
5 the cornerstone of all that the UK Government did. So
6 I put to him that that put some context -- which
7 of course you were not aware of at the time -- to the
8 visit.

9 But your position, as I understand it, was that
10 "I may have politicised the pandemic, but he did it
11 first"?

12 **A.** No, I don't think I did politicise the pandemic at all.
13 I responded to a particular narrative of his with
14 a tweet, and undoubtedly some answers to media
15 questions, and the answers to media questions were
16 unavoidable because I took lots of questions every day
17 from journalists. The tweet, yeah, and perhaps
18 I shouldn't have, but I don't think a tweet adds up to
19 politicising the pandemic. Perhaps I was just trying to
20 defend the position against the claims that were being
21 made.

22 **Q.** Perhaps, though, the accumulation of evidence which
23 we've looked at might suggest that there was an attempt
24 on your part to politicise the pandemic?

25 **A.** I would strongly argue the reverse, and, with respect,
184

1 if the evidence that's been put to me today is the
2 evidence of that, I would say it demonstrates nothing of
3 the sort.

4 **Q.** In the period after the election, did you attempt to
5 revive the campaign for a second independence
6 referendum?

7 **A.** I think the work that -- on a second independence
8 referendum did not restart in government until much
9 later in 20 --

10 **Q.** There was an announcement in --

11

12 **A.** -- 21.

13 **Q.** -- which you made in September --

14 **A.** September --

15 **Q.** -- 2021.

16 **A.** -- which is some six months or more after the Scottish
17 election.

18 **Q.** What I'm interested in exploring is whether in fact
19 there was within the Scottish Government an attempt to
20 seek to do so before that.

21 We went with Mr Thomson to an entry in his diary
22 from a period in May 2021, shortly after the election,
23 in which, amongst some reflections about his position
24 and his future role within the Scottish Government, he
25 wrote the words "Indy ... back".

185

1 Government in the summer of 2020?

2 **A.** There was a maximum suppression strategy. I think the
3 phraseology that was used in -- was in, if not our first
4 strategic framework, then later iterations of that, was
5 "suppress to the lowest possible level and keep it
6 there". It is undoubtedly the case that we would have
7 colloquially used terms like "zero Covid" and
8 "elimination" -- although emphatically not
9 "eradication", which was a very different concept -- to
10 describe that strategy in shorthand.

11 Basically what we and I was -- and I, on many
12 occasions, explained this at briefings and in response
13 to questions. At no point was my belief that we would
14 get Covid to a level where it was eliminated and went
15 away; that would take a vaccine. But in the days before
16 a vaccine and before, you know, effective treatments,
17 when Covid -- the direct harm of Covid was so severe, we
18 needed to suppress it as far as possible, both to
19 protect life but also to create the conditions where we
20 could start to safely open up the economy and society,
21 and that the best way of achieving maximum suppression
22 was to try to drive it as low or as close to zero as
23 possible, and that was the position of the Scottish
24 Government certainly throughout the summer of 2020.
25 That strategic objective changed later, I think, around

187

1 Does that not suggest that it was a policy of the
2 Scottish Government at that time to try to seek
3 independence again, despite the fact that you made no
4 announcement to that effect until September?

5 **A.** As a matter of fact, it was not the case that work on
6 independence restarted at that point. We were still in,
7 you know, a very challenging situation with Covid
8 through the summer of 2021, so I heard Ken Thomson's
9 answer to what that meant, that he was looking ahead to
10 things that might be on the horizon for civil servants
11 and the varying degrees of challenges they might be
12 facing. As a matter of fact, independence work did not
13 restart at that point. So at the risk of contradicting
14 somebody I've got the highest regard for, at that point
15 Indy was not "back".

16 **Q.** I'd like to ask you some questions about the zero Covid
17 or elimination strategy, which we've touched on already.
18 You say in your statement:

19 "I was of the view that 'Zero Covid' in the period
20 before a vaccine was available was an aim worth striving
21 for. I knew that our circumstances -- particularly if
22 the rest of the UK was not following suit -- meant it
23 was unlikely to be completely achievable for any
24 sustained period of time."

25 Was there a zero Covid policy in the Scottish

186

1 about the spring, early summer of 2021, when we got to
2 the position where growing and significant numbers of
3 the population were vaccinated.

4 **Q.** On 14 April 2020, the Scottish Covid Advisory Group
5 provided a formal advice entitled "Lockdown Review", in
6 which the government was advised that it was the group's
7 advice that in the context of there being no vaccine or
8 specific drug treatments available to prevent or treat
9 Covid-19 and, to quote:

10 "We do not believe that it will be possible for the
11 foreseeable future to eradicate the SARS-CoV-2 virus
12 (henceforth 'virus'). We need to find ways of living
13 with the virus as best as possible, which includes
14 protecting the NHS and social care capacity, to care for
15 citizens."

16 Around this time, what planning did the Scottish
17 Government have about the prospect, the requirement that
18 had been advised by the Covid Advisory Group that there
19 would need to be found ways of living with the virus?

20 **A.** We were already actively planning for that. In fact off
21 the back of the kind of advice that was coming through,
22 we published in late April 2020 our strategic framework
23 for decision-making, there were other publications with
24 more detail in that, through me, and then of course
25 I think on the 28th or later in May, round about that

188

1 time, we published the route map for exiting lockdown
2 which set out different phases of lifting the
3 restrictions, and therefore opening up and starting to
4 live with the virus while keeping it for -- to use
5 an expression for shorthand, as under control as we
6 could.

7 The word "eradication" appears in that advice.
8 I just want to stress, it was never -- eradication and
9 elimination mean very different things. In preparation
10 for today, I came across the way I articulated the
11 elimination strategy in a briefing, I think, in
12 June 2020 where I say explicitly: elimination is not
13 eradication, it is about getting the virus to the lowest
14 levels you can, which doesn't mean it has gone away and
15 doesn't mean it won't rise again, but it gives us more
16 confidence that we can keep it under control with
17 surveillance testing and contact tracing, and with
18 targeted measures as opposed to blanket lockdowns.

19 That's what was meant by it. It was a way of -- all
20 through this we got it, including from the Covid
21 Advisory Group and certainly from SAGE, as we came out
22 of lockdown we had to come out of it in a way that
23 avoided the R number going above 1 again, and people
24 will recall references across all the governments at the
25 time to how much headroom we had, and therefore we had
189

1 it won't rise again. You're taking measures to try to
2 keep it at a level as close to no cases as possible, but
3 it doesn't mean that if you lift those measures it won't
4 start to transmit again.

5 So in epidemiological terms, I'm not an expert on
6 this --

7 **LADY HALLETT:** Nor am I, but it sounds as if --

8 **A.** -- other people can explain it better than me.

9 **LADY HALLETT:** -- people are playing fast and loose with the
10 language.

11 **A.** Well, I was trying, obviously not as successfully as
12 I hoped to -- I read out a quote there from a briefing
13 in June 2020 where I'm obviously being asked these very
14 questions, and I start by saying "elimination is not
15 eradication". I didn't -- I didn't come to that
16 conclusion myself, that was the --

17 **LADY HALLETT:** That was the expert advice?

18 **A.** -- the expert advice that was being given to me.

19 **LADY HALLETT:** Right.

20 **MR DAWSON:** Language in this regard is of course important,
21 Ms Sturgeon, isn't it?

22 **A.** Very much so, and I always tried to be as precise as
23 I could in my language, hence explanations like that.
24 I am not suggesting for a second I always succeeded.

25 **Q.** Because the language of "zero Covid" and "elimination"
191

1 to open up in a phased way, and that's what we were
2 trying to do: open up, learn to live with the virus, but
3 keep it under control so that it didn't take off again
4 and start overwhelming us in the way that it had in
5 previous -- in the early stages.

6 That was a very difficult balance to strike, it
7 involved lots of judgements about what could open, what
8 had to stay closed, what the phasing of that was, but
9 that's what we were trying to achieve.

10 **LADY HALLETT:** Can I just check that we've got the note
11 correct, because it's what I understood you to say.

12 Did you say elimination and eradication are
13 different things?

14 **A.** Yes.

15 **LADY HALLETT:** Aren't they the same thing?

16 **A.** No, in a -- in the sort of epidemiological, I think --
17 you will find comments from Gregor Smith and comments
18 he's made, I came across one in a committee in the
19 Scottish Parliament that we both appeared at.

20 Eradication effectively means you get to a point
21 where a disease has gone away and it's not a risk any
22 more. With Covid, that was likely and understood likely
23 to only come with vaccines.

24 Elimination was effectively -- you know, as I put it
25 there, it doesn't mean it's gone away, it doesn't mean
190

1 or "eradication" permeated the public's understanding of
2 what the objective was, didn't it?

3 **A.** In that we were trying to get to a point where we were
4 suppressing the virus as much as possible --

5 **Q.** The word "suppression" wasn't the word that was
6 generally used by the Scottish Government at this time,
7 was it?

8 **A.** I believe -- and it's my opinion, and others will take
9 a different view -- I think the level of understanding
10 of the public at that time was very sophisticated, and
11 I think there was an understanding of what was being
12 talked about, what was meant. Language is really
13 important but sometimes -- you know, one of the things
14 I think I was perhaps criticised for on the day of
15 lockdown was calling it "an effective lockdown", when
16 the Prime Minister at the time didn't use the term
17 "lockdown". I took the view that we needed to
18 communicate with people in language that they were using
19 themselves, that they could understand, that we could
20 then make sure was defined.

21 So I think there was an understanding of what was
22 meant by that: that we couldn't make Covid go away,
23 you know, but we could keep it at levels that wouldn't
24 overwhelm us, get contact tracing and surveillance and
25 testing back so that it was allowing us, as for much of
192

1 2020 from -- you know, through the autumn of 2020,
2 before the Alpha variant came, we managed to do, through
3 particular outbreaks, outbreak control, then the levels
4 system that we used for a period.

5 We were having a degree, not complete but a degree
6 of success in that, and that was only possible because
7 we had got over the summer the virus to a sufficiently
8 low level to allow those approaches to be successful.

9 **Q.** The language is important, Ms Sturgeon, because the
10 language of "elimination" or "eradication" rather than
11 "maximum suppression", which is a phrase you were using
12 just now, gave people the impression that Covid was
13 over, didn't it?

14 **A.** I genuinely and very firmly don't believe that was the
15 impression at any point in Scotland over that period.
16 Just to be clear, I never used the term "eradication",
17 I went -- I was at pains, when asked about it, to be
18 clear I wasn't talking about eradication. But I don't
19 believe that was the view in Scotland over any part --

20 **Q.** Ms Sturgeon, you know perfectly well that people jumped
21 on planes to Spain and this caused the second wave.

22 **A.** Well, we've just been talking about how we tried to,
23 you know, deal in a way that was cautious around travel
24 to other countries, including Spain. Some people went
25 on holiday that summer. I don't -- I think many people

193

1 education of children.

2 I ... I ... the thing I find, I guess -- forgive me,
3 I appreciate I'm here to answer your questions, I'm
4 not ... I accept that there will be genuine and serious
5 scrutiny about the contents of decisions that were
6 taken, and some of those decisions I wish I'd taken, my
7 government had taken differently; some I think were
8 right. My motives in this were only ever about trying
9 to do the right thing to minimise the overall harm that
10 the virus was doing. The toll it took in Scotland, as
11 in other parts of the UK, was far too high, so I didn't
12 do that as successfully as I wish I was -- had been able
13 to. But perhaps in some ways the measures we took had
14 some impact.

15 Professor Sir Ian Diamond, the UK Statistician's
16 evidence to this Inquiry looking at the, you know, quite
17 significant lower deaths in terms of Covid-19 on
18 an age-standardised basis in Scotland and in other parts
19 of the UK, still far too high.

20 We were always trying to protect people and to
21 minimise harm in all of its forms, and the nature and
22 the content and the substance of those decisions deserve
23 to be scrutinised as closely as possible. It
24 genuinely -- I take it very, very, you know, personally
25 when people question the very motives, because I know

195

1 didn't. I think many people tried -- many people
2 wouldn't have gone on holiday at all, many people who
3 did stayed in Scotland and holidayed at home. Some
4 people would have gone overseas. I genuinely don't
5 believe that was because people thought -- the majority
6 of people thought Covid had gone away. I stood up every
7 day and reminded people, Covid hadn't gone away and
8 wasn't going to suddenly and magically go away, and
9 I think that was there was a very high degree of
10 understanding.

11 And I've talked earlier on about, you know,
12 criticism perhaps -- and I don't mean this as
13 a criticism of them, some of our sternest critics over
14 this period were the airport sector, who felt that my
15 messaging in Scotland was actually making it -- was
16 discouraging people from going on foreign holidays at
17 a time when they thought they were being encouraged in
18 perhaps other parts of the UK.

19 **Q.** You wanted to have the reputation, did you not, of the
20 person who had driven Covid out of Scotland?

21 **A.** I'd never thought I was capable of driving Covid out of
22 Scotland. I hoped that the decisions my government
23 would take would keep Covid at the lowest possible level
24 so that it took the lives of fewer people, you know,
25 minimised the disruption to people's livelihood and the

194

1 that the motives were absolutely in good faith and for
2 the best reasons.

3 **Q.** Your desire to be the person that drove Covid out of
4 Scotland was the reason why you entered into direct
5 Twitter messaging with Professor Sridhar, whom
6 Professor Morris, the chair of the Covid group, has told
7 us was in a minority of one in being the only person on
8 that group who thought that Covid could be driven out of
9 Scotland at that time.

10 **A.** I don't think that is a fair representation of her view,
11 but I'm not here to speak for her. Can I just say
12 I didn't -- this wasn't about my reputation as the
13 person who drove Covid out of Scotland. I desperately
14 wanted to minimise the harm of Covid in Scotland. I was
15 not under any illusions about the reality of the
16 situation we faced. I reached out to Professor Sridhar,
17 I think for two main reasons: one was that she was
18 a member of the advisory group, but she was also
19 somebody -- I think to her great credit -- who was
20 seeking to communicate through the media messages that
21 she thought was important, regularly. As a result of
22 that I was periodically being asked for my response to
23 views she'd expressed and I wanted to, you know, have --
24 make sure I understood where she was coming from.

25 She was also, I knew, very plugged into the

196

1 responses in different countries, I think she had
 2 connections into the WHO, the government of New York at
 3 the time and other countries, and I was at that stage --
 4 I just wanted to understand as much as I could about the
 5 pandemic, about other countries' approaches. It was
 6 part of a process of me just trying to make sure
 7 I wasn't missing anything, I wasn't overlooking
 8 anything, and that while I wasn't trying to elevate one
 9 voice over others, I was wanting to make sure that if
 10 she was a minority voice, that I wasn't losing
 11 a different perspective, that I was able to hear -- that
 12 it wasn't being lost in the consensus, that I was able
 13 to hear the diversity of views.

14 And again, you know, the motives were only --
 15 whatever mistakes and misjudgements I might have made,
 16 the motives were only about trying to equip myself as
 17 well as I could to do the job that I had -- I was in the
 18 position of having to do.

19 **Q.** Your messages with her demonstrate a co-ordination of
 20 your two, the two of yours media strategy; what you were
 21 trying to equip yourself with was the view of
 22 a scientist who would support your view that elimination
 23 was possible, even although she was in a minority of one
 24 on your Covid Advisory Group.

25 **A.** I don't believe that the messages -- well, whatever the
 197

1 My motives were never anything other than just trying to
 2 do the best I could in a situation that at times, I'm
 3 sure for every decision-maker, felt as close to
 4 impossible as I've ever experienced.

5 **Q.** The focus on the elimination strategy took the Scottish
 6 Government's eye off the need to prepare for a second
 7 wave which experts would have told you was inevitable,
 8 did it not?

9 **A.** We knew a second wave was almost inevit -- as close to
 10 inevitable as anything was, though it didn't --

11 **Q.** -- preparation was done for it?

12 **A.** That I don't -- I don't accept that that is the case.
 13 We, through the autumn of 2020, we went from lockdown to
 14 an opening up of the country through the roadmap -- the
 15 route map, rather, that we'd set out at the end of May.
 16 We got to a point where we couldn't go to the final
 17 phase of that because of the epidemiology at the time.
 18 We then had a period where, instead of reimposing
 19 measures, we were able to deal with outbreaks. We had
 20 some very localised outbreaks, we dealt with them
 21 through specific measures, and then the levels system
 22 was applied.

23 And actually, contrary to we didn't do anything to
 24 prepare for a second wave, we had continued to build up
 25 the testing and contact tracing capacity there that was
 199

1 impression the messages might give, I know there was no
 2 co-ordination of media strategy. My media strategy was
 3 fairly obvious and well established. She was speaking
 4 in the media, generally, there was alignment. I wanted
 5 to -- the Scottish Government to be suppressing Covid as
 6 much as possible and whether, you know, she believed
 7 that that could go further than others believed it could
 8 and that I believed it could, generally the thrust of
 9 those messages was in vein with what the advice to me
 10 was and to the messages we were communicating to the
 11 public.

12 **Q.** She frequently runs what she intends to say in the press
 13 and in press interviews by you, in order to ensure that
 14 your positions are aligned.

15 **A.** The volume of Professor Sridhar's media output would
 16 suggest that if she ever did that, it was on a very
 17 small number of occasions, and -- but also in terms
 18 of -- I would very, very frequently in the question and
 19 answers that followed my daily briefings, be asked about
 20 her views. So some of what you're reading in messages
 21 about and putting to me as co-ordination was simply,
 22 you know, flagging up things she'd said in order that
 23 I knew what it was when I was asked about it.

24 I ... yeah, come back to a point I keep making: my
 25 decisions and judgements can and should be scrutinised.
 198

1 a necessary part of trying to mitigate and minimise
 2 a second wave and deal with that as it happened.

3 As it happened, the second -- we didn't go into
 4 a second lockdown in November 2020 in Scotland, the
 5 second lockdown in Scotland came when the Alpha variant
 6 came along.

7 So I don't accept that we were -- our eye was off
 8 the ball. I think we were taking difficult decisions,
 9 reaching difficult balances in the best way we possibly
 10 could, and I think the evidence overall is that while
 11 our response was far from, you know, far from avoiding
 12 all of the horrible, horrendous harm that was done,
 13 I would say an assessment of the outcomes overall
 14 suggest that while our approach was far from perfect, it
 15 actually managed to mitigate some harm that perhaps
 16 wasn't mitigated in some other places.

17 **Q.** In his statement to this module, Professor Mark
 18 Woolhouse states at paragraph 345 that the start of the
 19 vaccine roll-out -- the vaccine campaign which you'll
 20 remember, Ms Sturgeon, started towards the end of 2020
 21 and into 2021 -- created a false impression that the
 22 pandemic would soon be over, and described it as
 23 overoptimistic.

24 Professor Sridhar, when we looked at your direct
 25 messages with her, when I asked her why the messages had
 200

1 stopped at the end of 2020, gave the answer that:
 2 "When the vaccine arrived, input of the nature that
 3 I had been provided with regard to fighting the virus
 4 was no longer necessary."
 5 Was it your view and that of the Scottish Government
 6 that the pandemic would soon be over as a result of the
 7 arrival of the vaccine?
 8 **A.** No. The pandemic is -- we're no longer in a pandemic,
 9 but people are dying from Covid every week as we speak.
 10 Last year I think 2,000 people died of Covid. Covid has
 11 not gone away. Arguably Covid will never go away, and
 12 I have never believed otherwise. In fact I, at points,
 13 faced criticism for almost suggesting the alternative,
 14 I was criticised at points for being the voice of doom
 15 around Covid.
 16 What happened with the vaccine was that we entered
 17 a different phase, we entered a phase where, unlike the
 18 situation until that point, we had -- we haven't talked
 19 yet, I don't know whether we will, about the Scottish
 20 Government's four harms approach -- we had no way of
 21 mitigating harm 1, which was the direct health impact of
 22 Covid. So we had to, albeit trying to minimise harm
 23 overall, we had to have a particular focus on reducing
 24 harm 1, and harm 2 to some extent as well. When the
 25 vaccine came along, we had a way of mitigating harm 1
 201

1 the Euros in Glasgow, which was eventually allowed to go
 2 ahead.
 3 The exchange says -- at 11.45, Professor Leitch
 4 says:
 5 "And still it goes on...FM wants more advice. Her
 6 instinct says cancel fanzone. Her office will write
 7 back (which Ken is writing) to ask for more and then Ken
 8 will gather legal etc to reply."
 9 Mr Yousaf says:
 10 "Yeah she messaged me this morning. Wants more
 11 detail from GCC around costs involved if we cancel."
 12 Then there's some discussion around how much it
 13 would cost, £6 million is mentioned, and then at 11.53
 14 Mr Yousaf says:
 15 "£6 [million] seems cheap for 31 days...wonder if
 16 that factors in costs the food and beverage suppliers
 17 would have expected to make over the course of the [fan
 18 zone] (may look for compensation).
 19 "Either way. If FM needs to cancel needs to be done
 20 soon. She could hold the line and see how we get on and
 21 what the scenes on Monday look like. If people behave
 22 then that might settle her nerves."
 23 Professor Leitch:
 24 "Yep. I think that's costs not profit."
 25 And he says:
 203

1 without restrictions, which allowed us then to rebalance
 2 towards harms 3 and 4.
 3 So we entered a very different phase of the pandemic
 4 because of the impact of vaccination, and that's why
 5 across all of the four nations we put such a great
 6 emphasis on, as fast as possible, a roll-out of the
 7 vaccination campaign.
 8 **Q.** Could I ask you to have a look, please, at INQ000334792.
 9 Returning to that exchange between Mr Yousaf and
 10 Professor Leitch, this time on 10 June 2021, pages 12 to
 11 13.
 12 **A.** Forgive me, I'm not seeing it.
 13 **Q.** Sorry, yes, we'll just get it up. I apologise.
 14 **(Pause)**
 15 So again this is an exchange in June of 2021, you
 16 may recall, Ms Sturgeon, that one of -- we looked at
 17 this with the current First Minister -- one of the
 18 characteristics of the fight against the virus in 2021
 19 was that there were a number of large events which ran
 20 the risk of spreading the virus, and decisions needed to
 21 be taken around whether those should be allowed to go
 22 ahead or not.
 23 This was a discussion in particular around the
 24 decision-making with regard to the possibility of
 25 cancelling a fan zone which had been put together for
 202

1 "She needs to do it before or at FMQs if at all."
 2 Then Mr Yousaf says:
 3 "I'll tell you what, from knowing her for
 4 15 [years], it is not often her [instincts] are wrong."
 5 Both Professor Leitch and Mr Yousaf, the then
 6 Cabinet Secretary for Health and Social Care, seem to be
 7 describing the ultimate decision taken in connection
 8 with the possible cancellation of this event as a matter
 9 which will be governed by your instincts.
 10 That's how you made decisions during the course of
 11 the pandemic, wasn't it, Ms Sturgeon?
 12 **A.** I think had the fan zone been cancelled, that is
 13 certainly an accusation that, based on this exchange,
 14 could have been made at me; but the fan zone wasn't
 15 cancelled, therefore my instinct didn't govern the
 16 decision.
 17 That was my instinct, I was -- you know, the Euros,
 18 delayed by a year, were happening. The fan zone did
 19 make me very nervous about people coming together in
 20 that way, given what we were dealing with. That was my
 21 instinct. I asked for further advice and consideration.
 22 That advice came back, and I was persuaded on the basis
 23 of the advice that my instinct was not what we should go
 24 with, we should go with the advice, and that is -- that
 25 is the position.
 204

1 I -- you know, you have -- in managing a situation
2 like this, you have instincts about what's sensible and
3 what's not sensible in a whole host of things. Had
4 I only made decisions purely on the basis of that, then
5 that would've been deeply misguided, but I didn't.

6 I had an instinct, I probed the question, I asked
7 for advice through proper channels, I considered that
8 advice carefully and, on the basis of that, agreed that
9 it should go ahead and, as it turns out, I think it was
10 the right decision to allow it to go ahead, because it
11 was -- it did not -- the risks that I had been worried
12 about did not materialise.

13 **Q.** Would you agree with the proposition, Ms Sturgeon, that
14 the Scottish Government's pandemic strategy was run on
15 your instincts?

16 **A.** No.

17 **Q.** Decisions were ultimately made not by Cabinet but by you
18 and a small band of trusted advisers?

19 **A.** As I've said earlier on, I think the evidence before
20 the Inquiry of the Cabinet papers and the Cabinet
21 minutes show that that is not the case.

22 I was the First Minister, I had a responsibility to
23 lead, to try to see the whole picture, when
24 Cabinet secretaries, rightly and properly, are focused
25 on their own portfolio interests. In any leadership

205

1 didn't unfold at that level -- my instincts became
2 something completely different. In that moment, my only
3 instinct and the instinct I brought to the management of
4 the pandemic was: how do I lead a government that makes
5 the best possible decisions in horrific circumstances to
6 try to minimise the harm that this virus is going to do?

7 And people will make their own judgements about me,
8 about my government, about my decisions, but for as long
9 as I live I will carry the impact of these decisions,
10 I will carry regret at the decisions and judgements
11 I got wrong, but I will always know in my heart and in
12 my soul that my instincts and my motivation was nothing
13 other than trying to do the best in the face of this
14 pandemic.

15 **Q.** It was your instinct to seek to create a difference
16 between your approach and that of the UK Government,
17 despite the obvious need in the face of the virus for
18 a collaborative strategy, wasn't it?

19 **A.** No, it wasn't. It was my instinct to do everything
20 I thought was necessary and appropriate to minimise harm
21 to the people of Scotland. That was my instinct, and
22 where that necessitated being different to the
23 UK Government, it was more important to me that we did
24 what we thought in Scotland was right, than it was in
25 aligning with decisions we thought were wrong and would

207

1 position, you have instincts you learn to trust, or also
2 to know when not to trust your instincts.

3 But as this exchange -- again I would say if this
4 exchange had ended with, "Her instinct is to cancel the
5 fan zone", and at 12 o'clock at First Minister's
6 Questions I'd stood up and announced the cancellation of
7 the fan zone, that would prove, I think, the proposition
8 you're putting to me, but it didn't. I had an instinct,
9 I tested it with the experts, I asked for advice,
10 I considered that advice and, on the basis of that
11 advice, decided the opposite of what my instinct had
12 started out telling me.

13 **Q.** Part of your instinct is based on a desire to seek to
14 advance the cause of Scottish independence, isn't it?

15 **A.** Not in the management of the pandemic. I've -- I don't
16 think it's any -- I don't think I'm breaking any news
17 today to say that I have spent a lifetime campaigning
18 for independence, I will no doubt continue to campaign
19 for independence. I know I will. But when in
20 a position of leadership and decision-making you are
21 confronted with a global pandemic and, as I remember
22 sitting one night in probably February 2020 in
23 Bute House, with a set of reasonable worst-case scenario
24 figures in front of me and a figure for the potential
25 number of deaths that might unfold -- which thankfully

206

1 potentially increase harm rather than minimise harm.

2 I ... I feel to my core that the number of lives
3 lost to this pandemic were far too high. We were never
4 going to be able to get through a pandemic with no loss
5 of life. I think it was far too high. I think the
6 other impacts were far too high and, you know, every
7 death is a tragedy that I regret and that people in this
8 room and outside across the country are living with the
9 grief and trauma of. So we didn't do as well as I wish
10 we were able to.

11 I think I quoted the evidence to the Inquiry from
12 Sir Ian Diamond: on the age-standardised mortality
13 measure, the one that he says is legitimate, the deaths
14 in Scotland were significantly lower than in other parts
15 of the UK. Far, far too high. But that says to me that
16 even if it was only at the margins, our decision-making
17 managed to minimise the harm to some extent, and that
18 was my duty.

19 **Q.** It was your instinct to seek to move away from existing
20 structures which had been designed to try to manage
21 procedures in this type of situation like COBR and SAGE
22 and to form your own?

23 **A.** I would have -- if I can address SAGE and COBR.

24 It wasn't my decision when COBR met, how often it
25 met. I wish COBR had continued to meet. The

208

1 Prime Minister at the time decided not to have COBR
2 meetings. I wasn't able to convene COBR meetings at my
3 own hand, and so I am not responsible for the frequency
4 of COBR meetings.

5 SAGE, I thought SAGE did a very good job during the
6 pandemic. At the outset of the pandemic I thought the
7 quality of advice coming from SAGE was very high. I had
8 two concerns about it, or about having that as the sole
9 source of advice. One was, understandably -- this is
10 not a criticism -- its advice was not necessarily
11 tailored to the demographics, the health profile, the
12 epidemiology in Scotland; and, secondly, I had no
13 ability -- I didn't even know at the start of the
14 pandemic who was on SAGE -- I had no ability as
15 a First Minister to speak directly to people in SAGE, to
16 ask them questions to deepen my understanding. So
17 I asked for an advisory group to be established in
18 Scotland, not to replace SAGE but to help fill those
19 gaps. SAGE and the advisory group, through -- and put
20 on record my deep thanks to Andrew Morris who chaired
21 the advisory group -- it established reciprocity, so
22 Andrew became a member of SAGE, papers were shared. It
23 was not seeking to replace SAGE, it was augmenting and
24 supplementing SAGE, so that I felt the functions that
25 SAGE wasn't able to perform for the Scottish Government
209

1 government to the extent that the virus allowed us to.
2 We changed and adapted them in line with how the virus
3 was operating. I valued -- I was reviewing some of the
4 minutes of the Covid Advisory Group last night in
5 preparation for today, and the minutes frequently have
6 the Scottish Government officials reporting about how
7 highly I valued the advice of the group and them saying
8 how much they valued the opportunities through the
9 deep dives for us to speak together and for me to ask
10 them questions and for them to be able to help.

11 I was assisted, I did not know best, that's why
12 I sought to take advice from as broad a range of people
13 as I could; that's why I reached out to people like
14 Professor Sridhar; it's why I read everything I could
15 get my hands on. I did not know best, and I was
16 assisted at every step by, you know, first class
17 clinical and medical and scientific advisers, by senior
18 civil servants, principally in the Scottish Government
19 but let me put on record that that was the case on the
20 part of many people in the UK Government, people like
21 Chris Whitty and Patrick Vallance, Jonathan Van-Tam,
22 people who were, you know, hugely helpful to me and to
23 the Scottish Government and advisers, and I would not
24 have been able to get through the task I had without
25 their advice and expertise that I benefitted from on
211

1 were delivered in that way.

2 **Q.** It was your instinct to be seen to be following
3 a different path from the UK Government, and to seek to
4 get your word in in public first, wasn't it?

5 **A.** No.

6 **Q.** It was your instinct to keep decision-making secret and
7 ultimate -- as regards the way that decisions were
8 ultimately reached, the process by which they were made,
9 recorded and retained?

10 **A.** No. I, I think, delivered more than 250 public
11 addresses over the course of the pandemic where
12 I answered -- people will judge the quality of my
13 answers in the way that they want -- but answered
14 questions. I didn't take one or two questions,
15 I answered every question that came to me. I sought at
16 every stage to be open, to be transparent, to level with
17 the public about the complexity of this, the
18 difficulties, the almost impossible balances we were
19 trying to strike and what we were taking into account in
20 coming to the decisions we were coming to.

21 **Q.** It was your instinct to think that you knew best,
22 rendering the published strategies of the government and
23 the apparent advisory structures around you nothing more
24 than, to use Mark Woolhouse's words, rhetoric?

25 **A.** Absolutely not. We implemented the strategies of the
210

1 a daily basis.

2 **Q.** It was your instinct to seek to portray yourself as open
3 and honest with the public but at the same time to keep
4 from them important elements of the management, such as
5 the Nike conference, care home deaths, and the advice
6 around the rugby which allowed Covid into Scotland in
7 the first place?

8 **A.** I'm not sure that that last statement would be
9 established by facts, but I stand to be corrected. The
10 Public Health Scotland genomic survey that -- study that
11 was done later in 2020 that looked at the different ways
12 in which Covid came into Scotland, I don't think it
13 would be reasonable to draw from that the statement that
14 the rugby brought the virus into Scotland, but I stand
15 to be corrected on that if I am wrong.

16 I've tried to be as -- I've tried to explain as
17 fully as I can the decision-making around Nike, the
18 reasons for that, the legitimate reasons for that, but
19 how I think it is reasonable that people think that was
20 the wrong judgement.

21 I keep saying there are thousands upon thousands
22 upon thousands of pages of Cabinet papers and Cabinet
23 minutes that set out -- if that was all that was
24 available on the record -- sets out a comprehensive,
25 full and detailed explanation of the decisions we
212

1 reached, the choices we faced, and the reasons that
2 drove our decision-making.

3 **Q.** The people of Scotland deserved better than a pandemic
4 strategy run on your instincts, did they not,
5 Ms Sturgeon?

6 **A.** They did indeed, which is why they didn't get a pandemic
7 run on my instincts.

8 **Q.** We started these evidential hearings a couple of weeks
9 ago with oral evidence from Mrs Jane Morrison,
10 a representative of the Scottish Covid Bereaved group
11 whose wife died of Covid acquired in a hospital in
12 October 2020. Mrs Morrison and her group had sought
13 answers about matters of significant concern to them and
14 about the pandemic in a meeting with you in March 2021.
15 They did not get them. In the statement of the Scottish
16 Covid Bereaved to the Inquiry, the remaining
17 representatives of many who died, these words appear:
18 "hubris does not stop a pandemic".

19 The story of Covid in Scotland is the story of the
20 hubris of Nicola Sturgeon, is it not?

21 **A.** No. I do not believe that to be the case. I am in the
22 fortunate position of not having personally lost anyone
23 to Covid. I wish with every fibre of my being that the
24 decisions my government had been able to take could have
25 reduced the number of people in Scotland who did lose
213

1 that asymptomatic transmission was not possible. My
2 Private Office replied on my behalf and at my request
3 with the following query: '[First Minister] read
4 information online in the last 24 hours -- [including]
5 references to an article in yesterday's Lancet --
6 suggesting the opposite of this ie that people may be
7 infectious before being symptomatic. What is the very
8 certain statement in [paragraph] 14 based on?'
9 I received further advice from [Public Health Scotland]
10 on 25 January ... This included the following extracts:
11 '... it is likely that person to person transmission,
12 when it does occur, mostly involves transmission of
13 virus from people with symptoms' and '... infected
14 people with symptoms (eg, someone who is coughing) are
15 much more likely to spread virus around than someone who
16 is infected but free of symptoms.' The evidence and
17 advice on asymptomatic transmission remained uncertain
18 until around April/May 2020 after which there seemed to
19 be more of an acceptance that asymptomatic transmission
20 was an issue."

21 So my question, Ms Sturgeon, is therefore: why then,
22 if by that date you knew that asymptomatic transfer was
23 possible, would you consider that releasing people from
24 hospital to care homes but only testing if they had
25 symptoms was any protection at all? And on the basis of
215

1 someone to Covid, and I am deeply sorry to each and
2 every bereaved person and each and every person who
3 suffered in other ways. I did my best, my government
4 did our best, and people will judge that. But I know
5 that every day I tried my best, and those working with
6 me tried our best to steer this country through the
7 Covid pandemic in the best way they could.

8 **MR DAWSON:** Thank you, Ms Sturgeon. I have no further
9 questions.

10 There are some questions from Scottish Covid
11 Bereaved.

12 **LADY HALLETT:** I think Mr McCaffery has some questions.

13 Questions from MR McCAFFERY

14 **MR McCAFFERY:** Obligated, my Lady.

15 Ms Sturgeon, I'm instructed by Aamer Anwar & Company
16 on behalf of the Scottish Covid Bereaved.

17 With reference to your statement, which is found at
18 INQ000339033, and your evidence this morning that you
19 wished to deepen your knowledge about the virus, I'd
20 like to take you to paragraph 149, subparagraph (b) of
21 that statement, and this relates to you enquiring as to
22 the possibility of asymptomatic transmission.

23 You will see there that it says:

24 "Whether Covid-19 could be spread person to person
25 asymptotically: the initial advice I received ... was
214

1 this advice received from Public Health Scotland that
2 asymptomatic transmission was a possibility, why was it
3 maintained that there was any uncertainty about this
4 issue, and would it not therefore have been prudent to
5 have erred on the side of safety?

6 **A.** Thank you. If I can very briefly -- as you can see from
7 my evidence there and the extracts from advice and my
8 responses to that advice, there -- if I can summarise,
9 I think, as it can be seen there, the issue of
10 uncertainty was not so much a binary one of: was there
11 or was there not the possibility of asymptomatic
12 transmission? The uncertainty was the extent to which
13 that was a serious issue, and certainly the advice that
14 came to me, and I think the advice from the WHO until
15 certainly into the spring, perhaps early summer of 2020,
16 was that there was uncertainty and disagreement about
17 whether it was a very small risk or a much more
18 substantial risk, and that was uncertain.

19 However, notwithstanding uncertainty around
20 asymptomatic transmission, what there also was -- and
21 certainly in advice that came to the Scottish
22 Government -- was an uncertainty about the reliability
23 of testing in people who either were asymptomatic or
24 presymptomatic.

25 So there was a concern, and it wasn't a suggestion
216

1 that testing was not important, but there was
 2 a concern -- and this was a concern that was still being
 3 expressed to the Scottish Government when, in April,
 4 when the Cabinet Secretary changed the position to
 5 testing of all admissions from care homes -- from
 6 hospitals to care homes, there was a concern that
 7 testing on its own could give rise to false assurance;
 8 somebody who tested negative may still have the virus if
 9 they were asymptomatic.

10 That is why the early advice around care homes
 11 focused very much on isolation and keeping people
 12 separate, and notwithstanding the limited availability
 13 of the testing at the time there was a concern that
 14 testing on its own would not be sufficient to guard
 15 against those risks.

16 I -- you know, on care homes in particular, I think
 17 there are very serious issues for all of us to reflect
 18 on here. Testing is undoubtedly a significant part of
 19 that, discharges from hospitals in particular are a very
 20 serious part of that, and I'm not shying away from that,
 21 but I also think there are other issues around
 22 care homes -- and all of which the Scottish Government
 23 has to take responsibility for -- that we mustn't lose
 24 sight of in a focus only on testing.

25 The report that Public Health Scotland did later in
 217

1 I'm talking here about late February into March 2020 --
 2 the objective was, where somebody didn't have the need,
 3 medical need to be in hospital, it was better for them
 4 to be discharged. I mean, that is generally true at all
 5 times, but we were watching on television, in countries
 6 like Italy, hospitals filling up with Covid patients.

7 So, yes, we wanted to make sure we had available
 8 capacity in our hospitals to deal with people who needed
 9 hospital treatment, but there was also a concern that
 10 hospitals would not have been safe in terms of the virus
 11 for vulnerable people who didn't need to be in hospital.

12 I do not think we got everything right around
 13 care homes, and I deeply regret that, but I also know
 14 that we -- it wasn't the case that we didn't think about
 15 the best way to try to protect people in care homes.

16 The guidance, there were undoubtedly flaws and
 17 deficiencies in that guidance, but the advice at that
 18 time was that isolation, keeping people as separate as
 19 possible, was the best way to protect people in
 20 care homes. Now, clearly that didn't have the effect
 21 that we wanted it to.

22 I am -- of all of the important issues around this
 23 pandemic, the situation in care homes is one of the most
 24 important to properly scrutinise and understand. I am,
 25 I suppose, simply saying that I think testing is

219

1 2020 about discharges from hospital showed that almost
 2 all care homes in Scotland over that period from March
 3 through to May had discharges from hospital, but only
 4 a third of those care homes had an outbreak of Covid or
 5 had residents who died from Covid.

6 So that suggests that, yes, discharges and the
 7 circumstances of discharges must be looked at seriously,
 8 but that would suggest -- and the number of deaths were
 9 very heavily concentrated in relatively small numbers of
 10 care homes.

11 So there are other issues I think that we need to
 12 probe very, very seriously around the structure and the
 13 size of the care home sector, the resources and the
 14 regulation in care homes. These are all profoundly
 15 important issues. Testing is a significant and
 16 important part of that, but my view is that there are
 17 other aspects of that that we must also make sure we
 18 consider in the course of a fuller examination around
 19 the situation in care homes.

20 **Q.** Well, that just comes back to the latter part of the
 21 question, that with all that uncertainty and the lack of
 22 capacity on testing, would it not have been prudent to
 23 err on the side of safety and not discharge to
 24 care homes?

25 **A.** When we were in the early part of the pandemic -- and
 218

1 an important part of that, but I think for me it raises
 2 a lot of other issues about care homes, the care home
 3 sector, how we -- the ways in which we sought to protect
 4 people and the effectiveness of that, and I think it is
 5 in the interests -- and it's a duty to those who are
 6 bereaved, who have lost people in care homes, that we do
 7 understand that in the fullest possible way.

8 **Q.** Thank you.

9 Can I maybe just ask you to try and keep your
 10 responses as short as possible. Obviously we're limited
 11 in time and we want to get through as many questions as
 12 we can.

13 Moving on to document reference INQ000370312 -- and
 14 that should come up on screen -- at page 4 of that
 15 document.

16 Didn't your enquiries at the end of January -- when
 17 Public Health Scotland explained that asymptomatic
 18 transfer could occur, in response to your question about
 19 it -- mean that you did indeed know about asymptomatic
 20 transfer at the relevant time? So the phrase quoted
 21 there that we see on screen, "and we didn't know what we
 22 know now about asymptomatic transmission", was in fact
 23 incorrect?

24 **A.** No, perhaps it's not as fully expressed there as I've
 25 had the opportunity to do to you today. If you go back

220

1 to the statement you showed me a moment ago, it was
2 actually me who first queried a briefing saying "I think
3 it is right to say that asymptomatic transmission cannot
4 happen". So it wasn't that we didn't know asymptomatic
5 transmission couldn't happen, but we didn't know at the
6 outset what we came to know, that it was potentially
7 a significant driver.

8 The response that came back to me from Health
9 Protection Scotland, as it was then, still was saying
10 they thought it was overwhelmingly likely that it was
11 people with symptoms who would transmit. So we didn't
12 know everything we came to know about asymptomatic
13 transmission when I made that statement, but that's not
14 the same thing as saying we didn't know anything about
15 it.

16 **Q.** Were you aware of any recommendations made by
17 Scottish Care in March 2020 in relation to the need for
18 robust clinical assessment and testing of residents
19 entering care homes both from the community and acute
20 NHS settings and, if so, how did this affect your
21 decision-making?

22 **A.** I was aware of comments and recommendations that
23 Scottish Care and other organisations and bodies were
24 making. I don't know whether I was aware of the
25 specific ones you're quoting to me there. We sought to
221

1 and, if so, how did this affect your decision-making
2 process?

3 **A.** In my experience and recollection, the issue of
4 care home visiting was one of the most difficult,
5 because I was aware of the increasing distress and
6 trauma both to care home residents and to their loved
7 ones of restrictions on visiting, and that was an issue
8 on which we were always trying to strike a balance
9 between opening up and allowing much more flexibility in
10 terms of visiting but trying to guard against infection
11 being in homes.

12 I don't think we got that right, possibly at all,
13 but it was not because we didn't care, it was not
14 because we didn't try to get that right. And I have had
15 in the past, I have at the moment relatives in
16 care homes myself, I understand or I can -- I think
17 I can understand how awful that would have been for any
18 family with a loved one in a care home at that time.

19 **Q.** And when the United Kingdom Government changed its
20 policy in relation to care home testing on
21 15 April 2020, why did that not cause the Scottish
22 Government to consider its position or review it?

23 **A.** We were considering and reviewing our position at that
24 time. I think I'm getting the date right, that on
25 21 April Jeane Freeman announced a range of different
223

1 factor all of that into our decision-making. We
2 extended testing to care homes and to a range of other
3 settings, as we built up testing capacity. When --
4 however, we didn't think that it was ever safe to rely
5 only on testing, for the reasons that even if we accept
6 asymptomatic transmission happens, there is and was
7 doubt about the reliability of tests to detect the virus
8 in people who were asymptomatic or presymptomatic.

9 When I was preparing for today's session, on the
10 day -- I think 21 April -- when Jeane Freeman made the
11 statement in Parliament extending testing to all
12 admissions from hospital to care homes, the advice that
13 was still coming to us at that point was sceptical about
14 testing and a concern that it would take away a focus on
15 isolation and other infection prevention and control
16 means; and so we factored all of this into our
17 decision-making and on this, as on other things, tried
18 to make the best decisions that we could in the
19 circumstances we were in at the time.

20 **Q.** Were you aware of recommendations made in April 2020 to
21 the Scottish Government in relation to the restriction
22 on visiting care homes being increasingly
23 disproportionate and failing to meet the pastoral needs
24 and care of individuals -- care needs of individuals,
25 and the traumatic effect this was having on families,
222

1 things including care home testing, so our position was
2 under regular -- a constant ongoing review and
3 assessment at that time.

4 **Q.** It is clear from the necessity of setting up the
5 nosocomial review group in May 2020 that the Scottish
6 Government realised that hospital-acquired infection was
7 a particular risk. Can you explain why it was decided
8 to set up this body early in the pandemic?

9 **A.** Because we understood, both from the emerging experience
10 in Covid but also from wider experience around hospital
11 infection, the particular risks of nosocomial infection
12 in hospitals and we were seeking to make sure that, on
13 an ongoing basis, there was expert advice and
14 consideration given to how those risks could be reduced
15 in hospitals.

16 **Q.** Just going back to your statement -- which I needn't
17 take you to again, we looked at it at the beginning of
18 questioning -- in paragraph 455 you refer to:

19 "... the advice at that time was that the
20 limitations of PCR testing for asymptomatic and
21 pre-symptomatic cases may result in false assurance and
22 therefore the focus should be on infection prevention
23 and control measures."

24 Further, the fact that there was limited
25 availability of testing capacity in March 2020 and the
224

1 World Health Organisation guidance at the time was clear
2 that testing all hospital discharges was not the best
3 use of available capacity while it was still being
4 expanded, and yet very frail people with complex needs
5 were being moved in circumstances where you were aware
6 of the problems of asymptomatic transfer, presymptomatic
7 transfer and the problems of false assurance.

8 Why, therefore, was it considered in all these
9 circumstances safer to move them at all, and would you
10 have taken the same decision again, knowing what you
11 know now? If not, what would you have done differently
12 and why?

13 **A.** I would desperately try to find ways of managing the
14 situation of elderly people in hospital who had --
15 didn't have a medical need to be in hospital differently
16 that would have, if not prevented -- because in the face
17 of what we were dealing with, I'm not sure prevention
18 absolutely would ever have been possible -- but to
19 mitigate and minimise beyond what happened in reality.

20 I would do everything in my power, and I wish
21 I could turn the clock back and do different things that
22 would have reduced the loss of life in care homes. But
23 it wouldn't have changed a situation where leaving
24 people in hospitals would not have been an option that
25 was without risk. We had -- there was nosocomial

225

1 comprehensively, but I don't think that in and of itself
2 would have removed the risks of care home admission, and
3 that's why I'm saying I think there are other --
4 a variety of other issues that also need to be properly
5 considered in terms of the circumstances of discharge to
6 care homes. But I don't -- I don't think I can sit here
7 and say that keeping people in hospital would have been
8 without risks, or certainly that, at that time, would
9 not have seemed to me to be the situation.

10 **Q.** One final question, Ms Sturgeon.

11 Were there any discussions about what would happen
12 if the criminal trial of the former First Minister
13 Alex Salmond was still ongoing at the time of lockdown,
14 and did the fact that it was have any effect of the
15 timing of the lockdown being put in place in Scotland?

16 **A.** No.

17 **MR McCaffery:** Thank you, my Lady, those are my questions.

18 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Mr McCaffery.

19 That completes the evidence for today?

20 **MR DAWSON:** Yes, thank you, my Lady.

21 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much, Ms Sturgeon. I don't
22 know if I can guarantee that we won't be calling upon
23 you again, but I know we've already called upon you
24 twice, but it's probably unlikely, but thank you anyway
25 for your help today.

227

1 infection in hospital, there were Covid patients in
2 hospital. We didn't, thankfully, face the overwhelming
3 of hospitals in the way that had been seen in other
4 countries at the start of the pandemic. But hospitals
5 would not have been a risk free environment for
6 vulnerable people either, and that's the -- that's the
7 context in which these decisions had to be made, and
8 I desperately wish we could have had the ability to do
9 things in a way that didn't result in the outcome that
10 did materialise.

11 **Q.** And wouldn't the retention of those patients in hospital
12 have been the best place to meet their medical needs,
13 rather than discharging them to care homes where they
14 were putting other vulnerable people in harm's way?

15 **A.** Anybody who had a medical need to be in hospital should
16 have been in hospital. We were talking about discharge
17 of people who didn't have a medical need to be in
18 hospital, and discharge to their own home or to
19 a care home was considered to be -- was considered to be
20 better than keeping them in a hospital environment that
21 in itself would not have been without risk of Covid
22 transmission. That was the advice at the time. These
23 were the judgements that were made at the time. And,
24 yes, I think it would have been -- I would -- I wish we
25 had been able to introduce testing earlier, more

226

1 **(The witness withdrew)**

2 **LADY HALLETT:** I notice some members of the public gallery
3 are distressed. Please don't forget there is support
4 available if you need it.

5 Very well, 10 o'clock tomorrow, please.

6 **MR DAWSON:** Thank you, my Lady.

7 **(4.40 pm)**

8 **(The hearing adjourned until 10 am**
9 **on Thursday, 1 February 2024)**

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

228

	INDEX	
		PAGE
1		
2		
3	MS NICOLA STURGEON (affirmed)	1
4		
5	Questions from LEAD COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY ... 1	
6	for MODULE 2A	
7		
8	Questions from MR McCAFFERY	214
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		

LADY HALLETT: [20] 1/3 55/17 55/24 56/3 112/23 166/13 166/23 168/16 168/21 168/25 190/10 190/15 191/7 191/9 191/17 191/19 214/12 227/18 227/21 228/2 MR DAWSON: [15] 1/4 1/8 55/14 55/23 56/4 112/21 113/2 167/19 168/15 168/23 169/1 191/20 214/8 227/20 228/6 MR McCaffery: [2] 214/14 227/17	11.45 [1] 203/3 11.53 [1] 203/13 12 [2] 202/10 206/5 12 February 2020 [1] 127/21 12 March [1] 146/19 12 March 2020 [1] 139/20 12.15 [1] 153/22 12.47 pm [1] 112/24 13 [2] 163/2 202/11 13 January [1] 96/8 14 [1] 215/8 14 April 2020 [1] 188/4 149 [1] 214/20 15 [2] 140/4 204/4 15 April 2020 [1] 223/21 16 November [1] 3/3 16 November 2023 [1] 1/23 16.17 [3] 45/22 45/24 46/2 17 January [2] 93/20 96/12 18 March [1] 162/10 18 March 2020 [1] 161/3 19 [10] 15/21 16/16 52/2 64/25 115/21 133/19 172/20 188/9 195/17 214/24 19 December 2020 [1] 69/12 19 March [1] 54/15 1986 [1] 47/7	156/2 157/22 161/3 161/19 162/22 166/22 170/10 170/11 170/25 178/1 181/16 182/1 187/1 187/24 188/4 188/22 189/12 191/13 193/1 193/1 199/13 200/4 200/20 201/1 206/22 212/11 213/12 215/18 216/15 218/1 219/1 221/17 222/20 223/21 224/5 224/25 2021 [25] 16/12 17/8 19/12 20/16 54/18 57/10 64/11 67/16 70/13 75/19 76/4 78/2 78/16 81/9 161/8 161/9 185/15 185/22 186/8 188/1 200/21 202/10 202/15 202/18 213/14 2022 [1] 2/15 2023 [4] 1/14 1/23 2/12 23/22 2024 [2] 1/1 228/9 21 [1] 185/12 21 April [2] 222/10 223/25 21 January [1] 97/3 21 July [1] 184/1 22 June 2021 [1] 64/11 23 July 2020 [1] 181/16 23 March [2] 148/12 158/21 23 March 2020 [1] 28/12 24 August 2021 [1] 17/8 24 hours [1] 215/4 25 February [3] 134/2 134/11 135/13 25 February 2020 [1] 133/11 25 January [1] 215/10 25/26 March [1] 158/1 250 [1] 210/10 26 February [2] 130/20 130/21 26 July [1] 176/13 26 March [2] 157/23 157/25 26th [1] 177/21 27 August 2020 [1] 42/23 27 May [1] 15/18 27 October 2020 [3] 35/12 37/18 39/8 28 [2] 93/22 134/12 28 March 2023 [1] 2/12	28 September 2020 [1] 79/10 28th [1] 188/25 29 [2] 134/12 134/12 29 January [1] 93/23 29th [1] 93/22 2A [3] 1/7 3/9 229/6 3 3 August 2021 [1] 16/12 3 July [1] 169/25 3.00 pm [1] 168/18 3.15 [1] 168/17 3.15 pm [1] 168/20 3.20 pm [2] 145/21 147/10 30 June [1] 163/2 30 years [1] 160/3 31 [1] 203/15 31 January 2024 [1] 1/1 345 [1] 200/18 350 [1] 101/4 38 [1] 108/5 4 4 February [2] 98/7 135/6 4.40 pm [1] 228/7 44 [2] 133/12 133/15 455 [1] 224/18 48 [1] 3/4 4th [1] 119/2 5 5 April [2] 118/23 119/3 5 March [2] 130/20 131/6 5 pm [1] 154/2 500 [1] 145/22 500 people [1] 141/19 56 [1] 163/2 59 countries [1] 170/1 5th [1] 121/14 6 6 million [1] 203/13 6 November 2023 [2] 1/14 23/22 6pm [2] 35/22 36/11 6pm/no [1] 35/17 6th [1] 117/20 7 7 September [1] 80/12 7.10 [1] 35/12 7.20 [2] 37/18 39/16 71 people [1] 108/15	8 8 March [1] 106/25 80 [1] 82/16 8pm [3] 36/2 36/6 37/1 8pm/alcohol [1] 36/8 8pm/no [1] 36/8 9 9.30/10.30 [1] 36/23 9.59 am [1] 1/2 94 [1] 171/5 A Aamer [1] 214/15 Aamer Anwar [1] 214/15 abhorrent [1] 48/20 ability [14] 21/2 31/12 81/12 87/6 92/7 99/25 126/22 154/12 156/10 171/6 181/20 209/13 209/14 226/8 able [33] 10/13 11/22 29/11 40/23 46/14 54/2 57/23 61/14 61/16 63/7 83/7 84/9 92/24 94/16 104/6 115/5 122/22 127/11 138/16 154/17 180/24 195/12 197/11 197/12 199/19 208/4 208/10 209/2 209/25 211/10 211/24 213/24 226/25 abnormal [1] 129/4 about [210] 2/24 5/25 6/18 6/22 7/5 9/14 11/16 11/23 13/21 14/1 14/11 14/15 14/19 14/25 15/20 18/17 21/3 23/9 23/18 25/5 26/1 30/9 31/16 33/8 33/22 34/23 36/12 37/21 37/22 37/23 38/1 38/16 40/14 40/20 44/9 44/16 47/9 47/16 50/20 51/4 51/11 53/7 54/11 55/15 56/7 56/10 57/12 59/12 61/11 63/1 63/18 64/3 64/4 67/23 70/22 75/8 75/15 76/15 76/20 77/3 80/3 81/1 81/10 81/11 82/8 83/2 85/23 87/10 88/3 88/5 88/8 89/22 89/24 90/10 90/25 91/25 92/12 92/15 92/23 93/1 93/19 94/4 94/15 95/9 95/10 95/18 98/14 100/9 100/21 100/22 102/19 104/11 105/1
---	---	--	--	--

<p>A</p> <p>about... [117] 105/5 106/7 107/17 109/13 110/15 110/17 110/24 113/6 113/21 117/25 119/19 125/13 128/7 128/25 130/2 131/4 131/20 132/8 132/19 132/20 133/20 135/5 136/14 136/21 138/18 139/8 139/19 142/23 143/9 143/25 145/4 146/3 146/22 148/14 149/19 149/22 149/22 151/4 151/24 152/3 153/14 156/16 157/19 159/1 159/6 160/5 161/24 161/25 166/1 166/7 166/19 169/7 169/9 173/5 173/21 174/4 174/20 177/1 179/6 179/18 180/12 180/15 182/13 182/19 183/20 185/23 186/16 188/1 188/17 188/25 189/13 190/7 192/12 193/17 193/18 193/22 194/11 195/5 195/8 196/12 196/15 197/4 197/5 197/16 198/19 198/21 198/23 201/19 204/19 205/2 205/12 207/7 207/8 207/8 209/8 209/8 210/17 211/6 213/13 213/14 214/19 216/3 216/16 216/22 218/1 219/1 219/14 220/2 220/18 220/19 220/22 221/12 221/14 222/7 222/13 226/16 227/11</p> <p>above [4] 31/21 44/25 98/23 189/23</p> <p>absolute [1] 119/12</p> <p>absolutely [50] 4/19 7/24 11/25 25/15 28/11 29/11 29/17 29/18 31/17 31/19 32/15 40/12 41/1 43/4 44/4 46/22 48/21 56/21 58/8 59/23 60/3 62/23 63/10 71/2 71/4 83/21 85/4 87/13 91/12 93/18 103/17 103/23 104/5 111/19 112/8 112/17 125/3 126/19 127/14 129/9 129/23 132/19 148/9 160/23 164/23 168/12 181/7 196/1 210/25 225/18</p> <p>absurd [2] 149/17 151/21</p>	<p>accept [23] 9/3 10/16 10/25 11/2 11/2 11/25 22/13 41/19 46/22 69/22 73/12 85/4 109/5 109/7 111/6 112/11 127/14 134/23 141/12 195/4 199/12 200/7 222/5</p> <p>acceptance [1] 215/19</p> <p>accepted [4] 10/10 69/5 108/22 110/21</p> <p>accepting [2] 71/5 112/12</p> <p>access [1] 72/11</p> <p>accordance [1] 52/9</p> <p>account [6] 19/6 40/24 76/12 111/9 111/12 210/19</p> <p>accountability [2] 5/6 69/6</p> <p>accountable [4] 3/6 4/1 91/24 92/5</p> <p>accumulation [1] 184/22</p> <p>accurate [9] 1/19 2/3 69/9 69/24 86/3 98/8 118/19 131/11 163/13</p> <p>accusation [2] 183/11 204/13</p> <p>achievable [1] 186/23</p> <p>achieve [10] 30/21 120/13 120/19 120/20 121/20 122/2 123/8 159/22 162/4 190/9</p> <p>achieving [1] 187/21</p> <p>Ack [1] 58/11</p> <p>acknowledging [2] 3/7 132/1</p> <p>acquiescing [1] 151/1</p> <p>acquired [2] 213/11 224/6</p> <p>across [14] 10/11 60/7 62/24 63/8 63/19 96/21 99/21 135/9 150/1 189/10 189/24 190/18 202/5 208/8</p> <p>act [8] 146/20 156/2 157/22 157/25 158/8 162/20 170/25 171/5</p> <p>acting [1] 123/22</p> <p>action [12] 27/16 27/17 71/20 72/11 72/16 72/18 102/16 134/23 134/25 142/12 142/15 173/12</p> <p>actioned [1] 30/5</p> <p>actions [6] 4/1 27/19 71/18 140/19 144/17 144/19</p> <p>actively [1] 188/20</p> <p>activity [1] 28/7</p>	<p>actual [4] 78/9 82/15 104/18 157/9</p> <p>actually [19] 26/9 46/15 60/21 67/1 85/15 86/2 87/16 95/11 165/2 172/23 174/10 179/1 179/7 180/6 180/7 194/15 199/23 200/15 221/2</p> <p>acute [2] 61/22 221/19</p> <p>acutely [1] 138/11</p> <p>adapt [1] 124/1</p> <p>adapted [2] 123/21 211/2</p> <p>add [3] 17/22 176/16 180/18</p> <p>added [1] 173/7</p> <p>adding [1] 174/4</p> <p>additional [4] 2/7 60/12 60/13 64/5</p> <p>address [10] 49/25 50/1 50/2 50/9 51/7 51/8 93/7 120/14 137/10 208/23</p> <p>addressed [2] 119/20 174/20</p> <p>addresses [1] 210/11</p> <p>adds [1] 184/18</p> <p>adjourned [1] 228/8</p> <p>adjournment [1] 112/25</p> <p>administrations [2] 2/22 155/12</p> <p>admission [1] 227/2</p> <p>admissions [2] 217/5 222/12</p> <p>admonished [1] 35/6</p> <p>adopt [1] 154/23</p> <p>adopted [2] 110/13 125/18</p> <p>advance [5] 60/5 106/6 128/20 130/8 206/14</p> <p>advanced [1] 131/15</p> <p>advantage [1] 160/13</p> <p>advantageous [1] 105/8</p> <p>adversarial [2] 146/9 147/14</p> <p>advice [113] 13/5 17/21 19/25 21/15 28/13 34/6 80/14 92/25 93/10 93/15 95/17 96/5 96/9 96/18 96/22 96/24 100/21 106/15 107/3 107/10 107/10 107/11 107/14 108/17 108/21 108/22 109/2 109/2 109/4 109/5 110/22 111/11 112/10 113/6 113/9 113/11 113/22 114/2 114/21 115/5 115/9</p>	<p>115/11 115/17 116/17 116/20 116/23 117/3 118/14 118/14 120/6 120/8 120/17 123/11 124/23 125/1 125/7 125/8 125/23 125/24 140/16 140/23 141/10 142/16 143/7 144/20 147/15 157/5 157/19 158/2 158/4 158/5 158/20 175/18 175/22 188/5 188/7 188/21 189/7 191/17 191/18 198/9 203/5 204/21 204/22 204/23 204/24 205/7 205/8 206/9 206/10 206/11 209/7 209/9 209/10 211/7 211/12 211/25 212/5 214/25 215/9 215/17 216/1 216/7 216/8 216/13 216/14 216/21 217/10 219/17 222/12 224/13 224/19 226/22</p> <p>advise [5] 141/16 141/18 146/23 152/25 158/13</p> <p>advised [6] 65/13 115/25 119/6 141/23 188/6 188/18</p> <p>adviser [1] 75/4</p> <p>advisers [14] 26/9 26/23 31/13 38/7 50/25 65/8 66/17 114/5 119/6 123/9 175/10 205/18 211/17 211/23</p> <p>advising [1] 123/14</p> <p>advisory [17] 51/12 51/15 52/2 115/21 116/19 124/20 158/11 188/4 188/18 189/21 196/18 197/24 209/17 209/19 209/21 210/23 211/4</p> <p>affairs [1] 89/17</p> <p>affect [3] 133/6 221/20 223/1</p> <p>affirmed [2] 1/6 229/3</p> <p>after [22] 12/11 22/25 34/16 45/23 45/24 57/1 82/9 85/16 107/18 127/7 134/18 135/2 135/18 135/21 164/21 165/10 166/17 176/1 185/4 185/16 185/22 215/18</p> <p>afternoon [2] 28/3 143/15</p> <p>afterwards [1] 167/2</p> <p>again [60] 5/5 5/11 10/2 12/3 21/19 24/10 30/13 33/5 38/23 43/9</p>	<p>47/9 49/9 53/8 58/1 64/13 64/16 67/15 75/22 80/9 80/22 81/23 84/9 86/16 87/8 88/20 91/2 94/25 100/8 100/8 109/6 112/7 115/24 116/11 116/16 125/21 129/13 131/23 136/16 136/17 136/22 145/16 147/12 159/3 163/15 176/5 178/11 179/17 183/23 186/3 189/15 189/23 190/3 191/1 191/4 197/14 202/15 206/3 224/17 225/10 227/23</p> <p>against [13] 57/11 89/2 94/21 104/20 105/6 116/5 144/5 148/24 174/24 184/20 202/18 217/15 223/10</p> <p>age [2] 195/18 208/12</p> <p>age-standardised [1] 208/12</p> <p>agendas [1] 71/17</p> <p>ages [1] 149/3</p> <p>ago [9] 7/14 9/1 16/13 17/11 89/22 151/19 156/7 213/9 221/1</p> <p>agree [12] 17/17 17/22 103/23 110/9 110/16 117/14 122/8 127/16 134/7 151/7 165/8 205/13</p> <p>agreed [15] 69/18 70/3 148/15 163/5 163/9 163/20 163/24 166/14 166/14 166/24 167/1 167/9 175/17 176/11 205/8</p> <p>agreeing [1] 149/10</p> <p>agreement [5] 141/8 144/6 148/15 163/3 166/24</p> <p>agrees [1] 58/9</p> <p>ahead [14] 18/16 107/20 111/10 111/17 112/9 142/11 143/11 154/10 182/6 186/9 202/22 203/2 205/9 205/10</p> <p>aim [2] 10/10 186/20</p> <p>aims [1] 19/18</p> <p>air [3] 111/13 142/17 170/9</p> <p>airing [1] 82/3</p> <p>airport [4] 171/18 174/16 177/11 194/14</p> <p>airports [2] 177/10 180/19</p> <p>alarm [3] 93/4 94/19 98/1</p>
---	---	---	--	---

A	202/1 202/21 203/1 211/1 212/6	191/22 191/24 195/20 207/11 223/8	answers [9] 12/11 37/16 84/12 145/8 184/14 184/15 198/19 210/13 213/13	24/10 52/14 76/22 119/21 202/13
albeit [3] 125/15 179/20 201/22	allowing [3] 37/3 192/25 223/9	am [38] 1/2 1/9 7/24 8/17 9/14 10/24 16/20 21/2 22/16 27/15 29/17 31/19 37/21 38/15 40/12 41/1 55/25 56/2 56/21 67/21 85/7 103/8 104/21 105/6 105/7 114/1 114/13 149/7 163/25 191/7 191/24 209/3 212/15 213/21 214/1 219/22 219/24 228/8	anticipated [1] 56/6 Anwar [1] 214/15 anxious [1] 146/20 any [102] 5/19 5/21 5/24 6/5 7/9 8/1 9/9 10/13 11/16 15/12 15/12 17/24 20/3 21/6 21/7 23/13 23/20 23/20 26/1 30/14 30/14 32/7 34/3 34/22 49/17 49/18 50/17 51/6 53/23 54/7 55/12 56/22 60/17 60/18 65/6 65/16 67/23 71/25 72/19 73/2 76/16 77/19 78/19 78/25 83/24 84/16 84/16 86/20 88/23 90/5 91/2 93/10 94/17 99/15 107/1 108/4 109/12 110/14 114/16 114/19 123/16 129/4 129/7 131/16 133/13 134/3 135/10 135/25 136/13 138/17 138/18 138/18 146/8 147/13 151/22 151/23 154/1 155/12 159/21 160/12 162/1 162/17 163/25 164/3 164/4 168/8 175/2 180/13 186/23 190/21 193/15 193/19 196/15 205/25 206/16 206/16 215/25 216/3 221/16 223/17 227/11 227/14	apology [1] 62/2 apparent [1] 210/23 apparently [1] 165/3 appear [7] 30/12 64/11 72/17 72/18 117/8 165/25 213/17 appeared [7] 54/13 61/18 88/5 103/25 131/14 165/11 190/19 appearing [2] 51/3 180/2 appears [7] 13/7 46/8 80/7 106/15 130/6 177/5 189/7 appetite [1] 109/1 application [1] 173/22 applied [2] 119/22 199/22 apply [5] 30/7 83/4 128/18 170/2 177/14 appointment [3] 114/18 114/19 122/10 appointments [1] 114/17 appreciate [8] 25/24 28/6 48/13 55/19 86/7 101/24 164/17 195/3 appreciated [1] 35/9 apprehension [1] 93/25 approach [14] 5/3 25/2 40/21 49/5 52/14 94/12 94/14 110/13 140/14 140/24 180/17 200/14 201/20 207/16 approaches [5] 150/11 150/14 150/16 193/8 197/5 appropriate [14] 23/12 25/12 27/12 50/2 53/20 53/24 55/16 66/16 84/23 133/24 133/25 142/12 176/16 207/20 appropriately [2] 34/6 126/23 appropriateness [1] 11/23 approve [3] 107/19 107/19 173/18 April [17] 2/15 27/23 101/5 102/9 116/9 118/23 119/3 127/21 138/4 188/4 188/22 215/18 217/3 222/10 222/20 223/21 223/25 April 2020 [3] 27/23 188/22 222/20 April 2022 [1] 2/15 April/May 2020 [1] 215/18
alcohol [6] 35/17 36/2 36/6 36/8 36/8 36/14	almost [15] 11/8 12/7 26/25 39/1 39/13 58/7 66/3 86/14 90/2 92/20 93/24 199/9 201/13 210/18 218/1	amount [2] 10/12 155/2	anybody [11] 13/18 27/16 41/2 69/3 119/23 152/22 153/5 154/10 159/8 165/13 226/15	
Alert [2] 157/6 157/11	alone [3] 31/15 52/7 103/24	amounts [2] 54/19 110/20	anyone [3] 165/17 178/20 213/22	
Alex [1] 227/13	along [5] 111/23 135/7 155/7 200/6 201/25	analysis [2] 98/24 169/16	anything [29] 6/14 6/24 7/2 7/22 8/19 11/15 17/3 17/6 20/9 21/6 22/17 24/2 24/14 26/3 38/10 42/4 51/13 68/17 90/16 91/19 92/4 96/21 116/6 197/7 197/8 199/1 199/10 199/23 221/14	
Alex Salmond [1] 227/13	alongside [2] 2/5 143/22	Andrew [2] 209/20 209/22	anyway [3] 95/23 124/15 227/24	
aligned [2] 150/14 198/14	Alpha [2] 193/2 200/5	Andrew Morris [1] 209/20	anywhere [2] 72/1 167/18	
aligning [1] 207/25	already [30] 7/13 11/7 17/25 19/8 33/22 34/19 53/2 57/7 59/21 59/22 67/25 70/5 73/6 73/21 74/2 102/19 105/13 113/21 121/3 122/5 124/8 124/14 135/14 136/8 147/21 153/13 173/11 186/17 188/20 227/23	Andrew's [4] 26/14 26/24 26/24 32/21	apart [1] 161/6	
alignment [3] 155/3 170/7 198/4	also [57] 1/21 4/21 17/15 18/25 21/6 22/14 24/10 24/17 24/20 27/8 30/1 32/9 34/18 34/20 36/21 50/8 54/16 54/24 61/19 69/24 74/18 81/20 84/25 96/24 101/22 104/2 104/13 113/20 115/5 115/16 118/3 122/17 126/23 128/11 135/4 145/25 148/4 154/15 159/1 162/14 164/18 182/2 182/11 182/17 183/23 187/19 196/18 196/25 198/17 206/1 216/20 217/21 218/17 219/9 219/13 224/10 227/4	anger [2] 119/19 120/14	apologies [3] 53/1 71/21 75/23	
all [137] 3/6 3/16 4/2 7/18 10/22 11/20 11/21 12/15 12/25 17/2 18/12 19/3 19/4 21/9 21/12 28/1 29/13 31/20 34/4 34/14 34/15 36/19 38/14 38/21 39/15 40/1 40/2 41/10 41/12 44/5 44/16 44/18 47/9 55/6 57/1 57/7 60/16 61/7 62/5 63/6 63/12 63/19 63/22 68/13 69/9 72/16 74/6 76/12 77/17 78/8 78/21 78/24 79/4 85/18 87/19 87/20 87/21 89/5 90/2 93/9 97/20 99/11 99/13 103/23 104/18 105/2 107/7 110/16 111/2 111/12 111/15 112/7 112/17 115/11 119/11 120/15 123/14 124/3 130/24 132/19 134/6 134/15 138/22 138/23 138/25 139/4 139/8 139/9 139/9 139/14 140/21 141/11 142/10 144/21 144/25 146/11 149/10 149/23 149/25 150/23 150/23 152/5 156/24 160/21 161/5 164/4 166/9 170/18 176/7 181/3 182/9 184/5 184/12 189/19 189/24 194/2 195/21 200/12 202/5 204/1 212/23 215/25 217/5 217/17 217/22 218/2 218/14 218/21 219/4 219/22 222/1 222/11 222/16 223/12 225/2 225/8 225/9	alter [1] 28/9	answered [4] 44/13 210/12 210/13 210/15	apologise [6] 22/13	
allow [4] 18/13 151/10 193/8 205/10	although [18] 29/5 34/21 69/5 88/14 104/3 104/15 105/25 106/9 109/7 116/17 125/16 159/25 169/15 169/21 170/21 179/2 187/8 197/23	announced [5] 19/12 143/16 143/22 206/6 223/25	apologise [6] 22/13	
allowed [6] 118/1	always [30] 16/4 22/20 34/7 40/23 62/2 62/3 62/4 66/2 66/3 66/4 69/5 70/19 79/5 86/2 87/24 126/8 129/24 145/13 148/9 151/7 151/8 152/5 152/10 157/24 175/10	announcement [8] 80/12 82/6 140/6 146/5 147/10 164/5 185/10 186/4		
		announcements [3] 146/2 153/14 153/24		
		announcing [1] 19/16		
		another [12] 7/16 16/13 24/6 42/10 42/12 42/13 76/6 80/20 83/4 85/14 136/11 155/9		
		answer [21] 6/21 22/10 22/12 22/14 44/12 47/15 52/5 59/25 87/8 89/1 89/22 94/23 128/25 129/2 130/12 158/19 158/19 166/8 186/9 195/3 201/1		

A
apropos [1] 183/20
architect [1] 118/21
architects [1] 118/9
are [102] 1/8 1/13
 3/18 4/16 12/10 14/17
 15/7 20/8 26/4 26/10
 27/19 28/10 32/17
 33/2 33/23 34/13
 35/10 43/8 44/17
 44/20 46/23 47/5
 47/23 48/7 48/19
 50/15 53/6 53/21
 53/22 54/19 55/3
 56/16 58/4 58/16
 58/17 63/17 64/9
 64/24 65/22 67/16
 67/23 68/20 69/13
 69/25 71/7 72/6 73/9
 81/4 81/23 83/17
 87/17 92/1 94/23 99/8
 99/11 100/16 101/22
 103/12 106/14 106/14
 114/17 117/24 121/16
 130/24 132/20 133/8
 144/1 148/1 148/2
 157/12 159/14 161/17
 164/23 165/1 166/15
 171/2 172/19 174/11
 174/19 175/18 180/11
 190/12 191/9 198/14
 201/9 204/4 205/24
 206/20 208/8 212/21
 214/10 215/14 217/17
 217/19 217/21 218/11
 218/14 218/16 220/5
 227/3 227/17 228/3
area [4] 104/3 105/12
 128/15 171/20
areas [6] 73/21
 134/14 155/1 171/2
 178/17 179/5
aren't [2] 156/18
 190/15
arguably [2] 142/10
 201/11
argue [4] 63/7 158/24
 160/23 184/25
arguing [3] 104/20
 105/6 164/18
argument [4] 35/16
 36/8 143/11 161/2
arguments [5] 163/7
 164/15 165/14 165/17
 181/20
arisen [1] 164/8
around [79] 3/10
 8/23 9/4 10/9 19/2
 39/21 40/13 47/11
 54/11 56/11 59/3
 64/15 71/15 73/4
 74/15 76/8 77/10 78/6
 78/22 83/11 83/13

84/13 85/15 87/14
 93/20 95/2 97/10
 100/10 100/23 103/9
 104/23 105/18 106/13
 106/16 106/23 110/18
 110/19 110/22 113/17
 116/25 127/19 129/20
 140/1 161/1 162/15
 163/16 163/18 172/25
 173/24 174/2 174/3
 177/7 177/24 179/15
 181/1 182/13 183/5
 183/8 187/25 188/16
 193/23 201/15 202/21
 202/23 203/11 203/12
 210/23 212/6 212/17
 215/15 215/18 216/19
 217/10 217/21 218/12
 218/18 219/12 219/22
 224/10
arrival [1] 201/7
arrive [3] 37/21 40/3
 48/14
arrived [9] 11/4
 12/12 18/24 37/13
 38/2 38/3 40/16 138/3
 201/2
arriving [3] 21/14
 111/18 170/2
article [3] 54/13
 54/16 215/5
articles [1] 52/20
articulated [1]
 189/10
as [388]
As I said [1] 136/9
ascertain [3] 60/7
 60/9 70/3
ascertaining [1]
 98/21
ascribe [3] 66/14
 132/15 132/15
ask [15] 2/24 7/10
 22/1 56/6 64/6 66/17
 116/18 139/19 175/23
 186/16 202/8 203/7
 209/16 211/9 220/9
asked [33] 12/10
 20/14 20/15 20/18
 21/3 21/23 21/24 22/4
 24/5 44/2 51/3 60/5
 71/21 91/14 94/8
 106/7 107/19 125/13
 137/21 140/9 143/9
 178/13 182/13 191/13
 193/17 196/22 198/19
 198/23 200/25 204/21
 205/6 206/9 209/17
asking [9] 11/12
 13/17 29/24 30/23
 30/24 55/21 147/16
 150/2 153/1
asks [1] 178/19
asleep [1] 139/16

aspect [6] 15/24 83/1
 105/11 117/9 124/17
 174/22
aspects [6] 99/16
 115/19 117/1 119/11
 129/14 218/17
assert [2] 143/18
 160/23
assess [2] 18/13
 181/3
assessed [1] 18/23
assessment [4]
 178/20 200/13 221/18
 224/3
assiduous [1] 47/15
assist [2] 19/18
 59/10
assisted [2] 211/11
 211/16
associated [4]
 107/21 108/11 110/2
 142/25
assume [3] 44/3
 58/20 174/1
assumed [1] 16/4
assumes [4] 45/9
 45/11 45/12 52/9
assuming [1] 68/3
assumptions [1]
 95/1
assurance [8] 21/1
 22/6 22/15 30/13
 160/11 217/7 224/21
 225/7
assure [2] 18/7 24/3
asymptomatic [20]
 214/22 215/1 215/17
 215/19 215/22 216/2
 216/11 216/20 216/23
 217/9 220/17 220/19
 220/22 221/3 221/4
 221/12 222/6 222/8
 224/20 225/6
asymptotically [1]
 214/25
at [435]
attached [1] 164/10
attaching [1] 65/22
attempt [6] 67/17
 85/10 121/4 184/23
 185/4 185/19
attempts [2] 119/9
 131/2
attend [9] 75/12
 76/16 77/1 77/6 85/24
 128/6 128/7 128/10
 128/11
attendance [5] 74/23
 76/6 77/2 129/10
 133/12
attended [6] 74/22
 75/3 128/14 128/16
 130/21 131/7
attendees [1] 75/11

attending [1] 77/7
attention [2] 59/21
 74/5
attitude [5] 13/3 25/7
 62/4 91/23 94/10
attitudes [1] 127/6
attracted [1] 177/9
attribution [1] 63/16
Audrey [1] 172/24
Audrey MacDougall [1] 172/24
augmenting [1]
 209/23
August [5] 16/12
 17/8 19/12 20/16
 42/23
August 2021 [2]
 19/12 20/16
author [3] 125/5
 125/7 125/25
authorities [1]
 173/12
authority [2] 54/23
 165/1
autumn [3] 81/5
 193/1 199/13
availability [2]
 217/12 224/25
available [16] 18/3
 24/4 51/14 51/23
 60/11 60/23 61/2
 82/11 85/1 101/16
 186/20 188/8 212/24
 219/7 225/3 228/4
avoid [6] 79/17 121/4
 130/8 155/8 156/3
 171/18
avoidance [1] 21/1
avoided [1] 189/23
avoiding [2] 170/20
 200/11
aware [36] 10/5
 16/20 24/22 43/16
 52/1 54/13 67/16 97/2
 97/7 97/12 105/18
 105/23 105/24 106/8
 114/13 115/16 118/25
 122/23 122/24 126/19
 127/25 128/2 128/21
 131/10 152/18 153/16
 157/24 163/25 183/15
 184/7 221/16 221/22
 221/24 222/20 223/5
 225/5
awareness [1] 128/4
away [14] 111/4
 187/15 189/14 190/21
 190/25 192/22 194/6
 194/7 194/8 201/11
 201/11 208/19 217/20
 222/14
awful [1] 223/17

B
back [33] 14/17
 22/11 31/18 47/21
 53/7 54/10 62/21
 67/13 94/7 95/21
 95/22 107/12 109/6
 122/24 129/5 143/14
 145/11 145/15 172/2
 180/14 181/7 185/25
 186/15 188/21 192/25
 198/24 203/7 204/22
 218/20 220/25 221/8
 224/16 225/21
background [8]
 45/25 57/11 89/2
 114/7 114/8 114/9
 114/24 115/3
backing [1] 180/1
backlash [1] 36/21
bad [1] 92/18
bait [1] 182/7
balance [4] 40/20
 42/1 190/6 223/8
balanced [5] 42/8
 70/25 112/15 174/13
 175/8
balances [5] 12/13
 38/17 41/23 200/9
 210/18
ball [1] 200/8
band [1] 205/18
banned [1] 145/22
base [1] 169/15
based [17] 9/3 11/20
 21/15 26/18 47/17
 54/18 92/17 92/22
 97/23 99/20 101/6
 156/25 169/9 170/21
 204/13 206/13 215/8
baseline [4] 103/5
 103/10 103/14 104/1
basically [2] 36/15
 187/11
basis [27] 4/6 6/24
 7/19 8/5 8/8 12/7 31/3
 61/7 78/19 93/24
 110/3 111/4 150/3
 152/15 158/11 167/19
 175/6 178/10 178/22
 195/18 204/22 205/4
 205/8 206/10 212/1
 215/25 224/13
be [390]
beaten [1] 168/21
became [16] 28/12
 78/18 81/8 105/25
 108/9 116/9 117/1
 121/18 122/15 123/22
 123/23 153/21 155/23
 169/18 207/1 209/22
because [79] 7/7
 7/12 12/3 14/18 24/1
 24/11 24/12 24/23

B	114/2 114/18 117/15 122/19 124/1 124/5 124/6 124/12 124/21 126/16 128/2 128/21 129/1 129/8 129/9 130/1 130/5 130/6 134/6 134/13 135/6 135/20 136/4 142/10 147/11 147/11 148/7 148/21 149/2 150/5 152/20 154/22 155/6 155/9 155/25 157/7 158/22 159/1 160/2 160/3 164/4 164/6 164/20 165/19 165/23 166/3 166/6 166/7 166/10 166/12 168/13 169/16 170/25 173/1 174/14 176/21 177/6 177/24 178/3 178/14 178/22 179/23 182/9 182/15 183/14 185/1 188/18 193/22 195/12 201/3 202/25 204/12 204/14 205/5 205/11 208/20 211/24 213/24 216/4 218/22 219/10 223/17 225/18 225/24 226/3 226/5 226/12 226/16 226/21 226/24 226/25 227/7	181/4 being [89] 3/7 11/4 12/9 12/15 13/23 15/4 17/20 18/6 26/12 30/14 31/4 34/3 35/6 41/7 49/4 51/15 54/9 61/2 67/21 69/15 69/19 80/5 80/14 83/16 83/18 83/19 84/22 87/15 87/16 88/21 90/12 96/21 100/22 101/3 106/7 110/19 111/3 111/8 111/20 112/10 113/6 114/2 126/3 130/11 132/24 133/11 134/3 136/13 137/22 138/2 138/18 138/23 138/23 139/2 144/20 150/4 151/24 156/16 156/16 160/1 161/15 163/25 173/6 174/20 175/20 177/17 180/20 181/5 182/13 183/9 184/20 188/7 191/13 191/18 192/11 194/17 196/7 196/22 197/12 201/14 207/22 213/23 215/7 217/2 222/22 223/11 225/3 225/5 227/15 belief [1] 187/13 believe [28] 6/8 14/6 17/12 48/22 54/7 54/24 61/4 71/13 71/14 74/16 77/8 77/23 83/9 127/2 127/4 131/8 145/2 154/18 159/15 167/25 168/2 188/10 192/8 193/14 193/19 194/5 197/25 213/21 believed [4] 198/6 198/7 198/8 201/12 Bell [1] 43/14 belt [2] 35/23 36/5 benefit [2] 23/1 112/7 benefitted [1] 211/25 bereaved [7] 20/19 213/10 213/16 214/2 214/11 214/16 220/6 best [51] 26/2 42/1 48/8 48/9 55/11 55/23 60/20 79/1 79/6 85/1 85/3 87/22 89/8 90/2 90/17 92/7 109/18 111/20 111/21 112/16 151/13 153/10 154/12 156/25 157/2 157/15 160/15 161/10 161/20 161/21 175/2 187/21 188/13 196/2 199/2 200/9 207/5 207/13 210/21 211/11 211/15 214/3 214/4 214/5	214/6 214/7 219/15 219/19 222/18 225/2 226/12 betrayal [2] 167/24 168/6 betraying [1] 88/23 better [7] 36/6 138/16 160/9 191/8 213/3 219/3 226/20 between [39] 2/11 6/9 9/21 13/2 24/21 26/17 29/16 33/14 33/23 34/14 35/2 35/10 44/10 46/1 49/3 49/17 51/19 54/18 57/8 57/11 70/23 81/12 85/14 89/17 106/24 124/10 126/13 129/21 153/16 162/3 165/16 169/21 171/3 171/13 176/4 181/2 202/9 207/16 223/9 beverage [1] 203/16 beyond [5] 23/6 44/25 132/3 132/23 225/19 big [2] 143/5 172/1 bigger [1] 182/15 binary [2] 145/12 216/10 Biosecurity [1] 169/18 bit [7] 35/14 36/20 45/21 86/13 90/4 127/20 149/17 bizarrely [1] 155/8 blanche [2] 67/22 68/25 blank [1] 72/1 blanket [1] 189/18 blind [1] 104/14 block [1] 173/22 blue [1] 59/9 blunt [2] 79/17 83/2 board [2] 85/19 117/23 bodies [2] 138/10 221/23 body [11] 66/24 70/7 75/7 75/10 95/13 95/17 95/22 96/9 116/8 138/13 224/8 bond [2] 49/2 49/17 border [2] 169/3 171/10 Border Force [1] 171/10 borders [2] 171/2 175/19 Boris [10] 82/10 88/24 89/23 89/25 146/11 147/20 149/24 154/22 154/24 183/3 Boris Johnson [10]	82/10 88/24 89/23 89/25 146/11 147/20 149/24 154/22 154/24 183/3 borrow [1] 81/15 both [21] 17/13 18/1 35/6 35/8 74/12 85/23 118/17 120/19 121/20 123/8 127/1 127/1 127/15 136/24 148/7 187/18 190/19 204/5 221/19 223/6 224/9 bothering [1] 34/2 Bottom [1] 64/7 bound [1] 149/7 boundaries [1] 150/9 brains [1] 24/14 breach [2] 49/2 149/7 breached [2] 144/4 152/16 breaching [1] 149/13 break [5] 45/13 56/1 70/23 113/3 168/19 breaker [2] 70/18 80/16 breaking [1] 206/16 Brexit [11] 162/16 162/17 162/21 163/15 163/16 163/17 164/7 164/11 166/9 183/9 183/10 brief [1] 9/25 briefed [1] 62/5 briefing [8] 17/8 93/17 93/19 96/12 165/12 189/11 191/12 221/2 briefings [11] 9/8 21/10 94/13 95/19 106/2 124/11 136/20 153/21 182/14 187/12 198/19 briefly [1] 216/6 bring [2] 136/18 136/18 bringing [3] 28/17 59/20 126/19 broad [4] 57/15 68/20 170/5 211/12 broader [1] 84/8 broadly [12] 58/21 58/23 59/15 64/17 65/2 67/24 68/15 74/25 80/22 106/15 169/14 169/17 brought [5] 59/21 118/4 138/14 207/3 212/14 buck [2] 62/3 91/24 budget [2] 59/11 60/11 build [3] 135/14 135/23 199/24 building [5] 4/12 26/9
----------	--	--	---	--

B	91/2 91/4 91/8 91/12 91/13 92/3 98/6 130/22 132/6 133/8 133/15 133/21 134/18 134/22 135/2 135/4 135/7 136/19 136/24 163/3 163/4 163/9 164/25 165/5 165/6 165/7 165/11 165/19 166/1 166/14 166/16 166/18 166/25 167/6 172/3 172/20 184/1 204/6 205/17 205/20 205/20 205/24 212/22 212/22 217/4	185/5 200/19 202/7 206/18 campaigner [1] 160/3 campaigning [3] 162/12 168/11 206/17 can [85] 4/20 14/17 15/5 15/6 15/11 20/18 22/12 23/11 23/12 23/17 32/18 35/7 36/5 36/7 36/23 38/25 40/9 41/12 44/12 45/25 47/1 47/9 47/16 47/16 47/21 48/3 55/22 57/24 58/12 59/15 60/22 63/19 64/8 67/8 67/13 71/1 73/4 73/12 73/14 85/5 93/7 99/15 101/23 107/15 109/9 123/6 123/12 124/20 125/3 128/5 129/16 133/7 133/12 136/18 141/5 144/21 148/2 148/3 148/4 152/19 159/8 172/15 175/5 176/23 178/20 180/21 189/14 189/16 190/10 191/8 196/11 198/25 208/23 212/17 216/6 216/6 216/8 216/9 220/9 220/12 223/16 223/17 224/7 227/6 227/22	219/8 222/3 224/25 225/3 car [1] 37/20 care [51] 15/21 15/25 57/9 59/8 85/17 140/22 175/19 188/14 188/14 204/6 212/5 215/24 217/5 217/6 217/10 217/16 217/22 218/2 218/4 218/10 218/13 218/14 218/19 218/24 219/13 219/15 219/20 219/23 220/2 220/2 220/6 221/17 221/19 221/23 222/2 222/12 222/22 222/24 222/24 223/4 223/6 223/13 223/16 223/18 223/20 224/1 225/22 226/13 226/19 227/2 227/6 care home [8] 175/19 212/5 218/13 220/2 223/4 223/6 223/20 227/2 care homes [28] 15/21 15/25 215/24 217/5 217/6 217/10 217/16 217/22 218/2 218/4 218/10 218/14 218/19 218/24 219/13 219/15 219/20 219/23 220/2 220/6 221/19 222/2 222/12 222/22 223/16 225/22 226/13 227/6 careful [2] 100/22 104/13 carefully [3] 14/11 154/20 205/8 carry [8] 22/23 25/9 79/4 99/25 160/18 160/20 207/9 207/10 carrying [1] 104/18 carte [2] 67/22 68/25 carte blanche [1] 68/25 case [62] 3/17 6/3 7/7 12/2 13/12 13/19 15/2 21/19 22/7 23/13 28/25 29/14 30/16 49/6 49/19 56/11 56/24 59/23 61/10 63/10 67/9 68/2 68/19 70/8 70/20 71/11 75/1 83/21 85/4 90/21 91/3 94/4 104/5 107/9 108/10 108/18 111/5 111/10 115/13 117/6 123/12 123/13 123/20 129/24 138/7 142/18 152/20 154/18 161/20 165/2 166/4 166/6 171/12 181/11 186/5	187/6 199/12 205/21 206/23 211/19 213/21 219/14 cases [16] 64/15 80/11 100/17 107/20 108/5 137/4 137/16 146/24 166/22 175/19 178/2 178/7 178/8 179/9 191/2 224/21 cast [1] 86/25 casts [1] 87/11 cataclysmic [1] 126/22 catastrophe [1] 90/7 catastrophic [1] 123/10 catch [1] 55/22 Catherine [1] 32/20 Catherine Calderwood [1] 32/20 caught [1] 137/25 cause [8] 39/14 160/13 161/13 162/6 163/10 182/1 206/14 223/21 caused [2] 152/13 193/21 cautious [1] 193/23 central [6] 35/22 36/5 46/16 104/12 124/1 169/19 centrally [2] 46/5 48/19 Centre [1] 169/18 ceremony [1] 50/16 certain [16] 22/16 29/18 38/15 40/12 41/1 69/23 72/11 91/8 99/21 102/3 128/2 128/10 129/9 147/11 158/14 215/8 certainly [50] 3/17 3/22 5/21 13/22 14/5 14/20 15/14 26/21 27/22 32/14 54/22 55/12 55/17 64/1 66/3 71/11 71/20 72/11 78/20 80/7 87/15 97/14 97/16 98/10 100/15 102/12 102/24 103/4 103/4 106/6 112/23 115/3 123/19 132/11 133/2 137/13 145/17 160/25 163/25 164/20 168/16 175/1 181/6 187/24 189/21 204/13 216/13 216/15 216/21 227/8 certainty [1] 159/8 cetera [1] 172/24 chain [2] 101/25 175/12 chair [2] 140/5 196/6
C	261/2 261/3 261/4 261/5 261/6 261/7 261/8 261/9 261/10 261/11 261/12 261/13 261/14 261/15 261/16 261/17 261/18 261/19 261/20 261/21 261/22 261/23 261/24 261/25 261/26 261/27 261/28 261/29 261/30 261/31 261/32 261/33 261/34 261/35 261/36 261/37 261/38 261/39 261/40 261/41 261/42 261/43 261/44 261/45 261/46 261/47 261/48 261/49 261/50 261/51 261/52 261/53 261/54 261/55 261/56 261/57 261/58 261/59 261/60 261/61 261/62 261/63 261/64 261/65 261/66 261/67 261/68 261/69 261/70 261/71 261/72 261/73 261/74 261/75 261/76 261/77 261/78 261/79 261/80 261/81 261/82 261/83 261/84 261/85 261/86 261/87 261/88 261/89 261/90 261/91 261/92 261/93 261/94 261/95 261/96 261/97 261/98 261/99 261/100	261/2 261/3 261/4 261/5 261/6 261/7 261/8 261/9 261/10 261/11 261/12 261/13 261/14 261/15 261/16 261/17 261/18 261/19 261/20 261/21 261/22 261/23 261/24 261/25 261/26 261/27 261/28 261/29 261/30 261/31 261/32 261/33 261/34 261/35 261/36 261/37 261/38 261/39 261/40 261/41 261/42 261/43 261/44 261/45 261/46 261/47 261/48 261/49 261/50 261/51 261/52 261/53 261/54 261/55 261/56 261/57 261/58 261/59 261/60 261/61 261/62 261/63 261/64 261/65 261/66 261/67 261/68 261/69 261/70 261/71 261/72 261/73 261/74 261/75 261/76 261/77 261/78 261/79 261/80 261/81 261/82 261/83 261/84 261/85 261/86 261/87 261/88 261/89 261/90 261/91 261/92 261/93 261/94 261/95 261/96 261/97 261/98 261/99 261/100	261/2 261/3 261/4 261/5 261/6 261/7 261/8 261/9 261/10 261/11 261/12 261/13 261/14 261/15 261/16 261/17 261/18 261/19 261/20 261/21 261/22 261/23 261/24 261/25 261/26 261/27 261/28 261/29 261/30 261/31 261/32 261/33 261/34 261/35 261/36 261/37 261/38 261/39 261/40 261/41 261/42 261/43 261/44 261/45 261/46 261/47 261/48 261/49 261/50 261/51 261/52 261/53 261/54 261/55 261/56 261/57 261/58 261/59 261/60 261/61 261/62 261/63 261/64 261/65 261/66 261/67 261/68 261/69 261/70 261/71 261/72 261/73 261/74 261/75 261/76 261/77 261/78 261/79 261/80 261/81 261/82 261/83 261/84 261/85 261/86 261/87 261/88 261/89 261/90 261/91 261/92 261/93 261/94 261/95 261/96 261/97 261/98 261/99 261/100	261/2 261/3 261/4 261/5 261/6 261/7 261/8 261/9 261/10 261/11 261/12 261/13 261/14 261/15 261/16 261/17 261/18 261/19 261/20 261/21 261/22 261/23 261/24 261/25 261/26 261/27 261/28 261/29 261/30 261/31 261/32 261/33 261/34 261/35 261/36 261/37 261/38 261/39 261/40 261/41 261/42 261/43 261/44 261/45 261/46 261/47 261/48 261/49 261/50 261/51 261/52 261/53 261/54 261/55 261/56 261/57 261/58 261/59 261/60 261/61 261/62 261/63 261/64 261/65 261/66 261/67 261/68 261/69 261/70 261/71 261/72 261/73 261/74 261/75 261/76 261/77 261/78 261/79 261/80 261/81 261/82 261/83 261/84 261/85 261/86 261/87 261/88 261/89 261/90 261/91 261/92 261/93 261/94 261/95 261/96 261/97 261/98 261/99 261/100
Cabinet [162] 3/13 9/17 9/18 13/6 18/17 18/19 18/21 18/25 19/2 37/19 37/21 37/22 37/24 38/7 38/8 39/17 39/25 40/2 40/2 40/11 40/14 42/6 49/14 56/12 56/14 56/17 56/18 56/22 56/23 56/24 57/2 57/9 57/22 58/18 58/24 59/7 59/7 59/20 60/4 60/5 60/15 61/5 61/6 62/4 62/7 62/9 62/19 63/4 63/5 63/6 63/9 63/11 63/12 63/13 63/14 63/23 63/24 64/10 64/24 65/13 65/15 66/5 66/19 67/4 67/5 67/7 67/8 68/2 68/2 68/8 69/10 69/10 69/17 69/18 70/3 70/6 70/10 70/11 70/14 70/18 70/20 70/21 70/24 71/3 71/11 71/13 71/24 71/25 72/3 72/7 72/7 72/9 72/10 73/11 73/14 73/15 73/16 73/20 74/6 74/10 74/13 74/15 74/17 75/9 75/15 76/14 77/15 78/7 78/8 78/9 78/24 83/22 83/23 84/4 84/24 85/17 89/15	261/2 261/3 261/4 261/5 261/6 261/7 261/8 261/9 261/10 261/11 261/12 261/13 261/14 261/15 261/16 261/17 261/18 261/19 261/20 261/21 261/22 261/23 261/24 261/25 261/26 261/27 261/28 261/29 261/30 261/31 261/32 261/33 261/34 261/35 261/36 261/37 261/38 261/39 261/40 261/41 261/42 261/43 261/44 261/45 261/46 261/47 261/48 261/49 261/50 261/51 261/52 261/53 261/54 261/55 261/56 261/57 261/58 261/59 261/60 261/61 261/62 261/63 261/64 261/65 261/66 261/67 261/68 261/69 261/70 261/71 261/72 261/73 261/74 261/75 261/76 261/77 261/78 261/79 261/80 261/81 261/82 261/83 261/84 261/85 261/86 261/87 261/88 261/89 261/90 261/91 261/92 261/93 261/94 261/95 261/96 261/97 261/98 261/99 261/100	261/2 261/3 261/4 261/5 261/6 261/7 261/8 261/9 261/10 261/11 261/12 261/13 261/14 261/15 261/16 261/17 261/18 261/19 261/20 261/21 261/22 261/23 261/24 261/25 261/26 261/27 261/28 261/29 261/30 261/31 261/32 261/33 261/34 261/35 261/36 261/37 261/38 261/39 261/40 261/41 261/42 261/43 261/44 261/45 261/46 261/47 261/48 261/49 261/50 261/51 261/52 261/53 261/54 261/55 261/56 261/57 261/58 261/59 261/60 261/61 261/62 261/63 261/64 261/65 261/66 261/67 261/68 261/69 261/70 261/71 261/72 261/73 261/74 261/75 261/76 261/77 261/78 261/79 261/80 261/81 261/82 261/83 261/84 261/85 261/86 261/87 261/88 261/89 261/90 261/91 261/92 261/93 261/94 261/95 261/96 261/97 261/98 261/99 261/100	261/2 261/3 261/4 261/5 261/6 261/7 261/8 261/9 261/10 261/11 261/12 261/13 261/14 261/15 261/16 261/17 261/18 261/19 261/20 261/21 261/22 261/23 261/24 261/25 261/26 261/27 261/28 261/29 261/30 261/31 261/32 261/33 261/34 261/35 261/36 261/37 261/38 261/39 261/40 261/41 261/42 261/43 261/44 261/45 261/46 261/47 261/48 261/49 261/50 261/51 261/52 261/53 261/54 261/55 261/56 261/57 261/58 261/59 261/60 261/61 261/62 261/63 261/64 261/65 261/66 261/67 261/68 261/69 261/70 261/71 261/72 261/73 261/74 261/75 261/76 261/77 261/78 261/79 261/80 261/81 261/82 261/83 261/84 261/85 261/86 261/87 261/88 261/89 261/90 261/91 261/92 261/93 261/94 261/95 261/96 261/97 261/98 261/99 261/100	

C	Chris [2] 114/22 211/21	close [5] 146/1 187/22 191/2 199/3 199/9	103/11 103/11 218/20	6/25 8/4 9/3 17/25 18/3 19/18 23/21 148/11
chaired [5] 134/15 134/15 139/22 141/6 209/20	Chris Whitty [1] 211/21	closed [1] 190/8	comfort [3] 92/17 93/3 95/16	communicator [1] 124/7
chairing [4] 133/16 134/9 134/12 136/6	Christmas [1] 70/13	closely [5] 95/24 95/25 118/4 138/15 195/23	coming [29] 6/17 7/15 28/14 50/25 70/25 73/20 74/4 96/23 97/17 113/25 116/4 116/20 118/15 169/7 169/9 171/7 178/6 179/9 182/3 182/11 183/3 183/4 188/21 196/24 204/19 209/7 210/20 210/20 222/13	community [1] 221/19
challenge [4] 68/18 132/9 132/24 184/3	circuit [2] 70/18 80/16	closure [1] 159/2	command [5] 65/19 66/23 71/5 79/12 79/23	Company [1] 214/15
challenges [2] 5/5 186/11	circumstance [1] 123/6	CMOs [2] 126/13 126/15	comment [11] 47/18 48/11 89/24 131/16 132/2 132/14 165/24 166/13 166/18 166/24 175/23	compare [2] 29/7 173/13
challenging [1] 186/7	circumstances [18] 60/2 62/10 65/16 90/3 118/25 120/12 127/14 128/19 129/5 130/1 151/13 186/21 207/5 218/7 222/19 225/5 225/9 227/5	co [6] 150/18 154/17 154/19 197/19 198/2 198/21	comment [11] 47/18 48/11 89/24 131/16 132/2 132/14 165/24 166/13 166/18 166/24 175/23	compared [1] 173/10
change [6] 55/20 149/11 178/14 179/8 180/12 180/14	citizen [2] 10/14 10/18	co-exist [2] 154/17 154/19	commit [1] 35/19	comparisons [1] 181/2
changed [8] 28/3 174/9 176/18 187/25 211/2 217/4 223/19 225/23	citizens [1] 188/15	co-ordinate [1] 150/18	commitment [3] 96/2 150/6 150/10	compensate [1] 81/16
changes [2] 36/14 180/18	city [1] 177/11	co-ordination [2] 198/2 198/21	commitments [1] 129/22	compensated [1] 83/6
changing [9] 2/8 27/25 35/20 176/14 177/24 177/25 178/9 178/10 181/2	civil [15] 10/6 16/13 43/18 45/3 47/10 47/13 65/21 85/2 86/17 86/18 129/17 131/21 131/23 186/10 211/18	COBR [32] 28/19 28/20 93/22 100/20 100/22 130/21 139/19 140/24 141/2 141/8 141/25 142/13 143/12 143/24 144/6 144/6 145/25 146/3 147/21 148/10 148/13 148/20 149/3 152/25 158/21 208/21 208/23 208/24 208/25 209/1 209/2 209/4	comments [7] 88/2 88/3 132/8 156/15 190/17 190/17 221/22	completely [7] 92/20 131/5 165/15 165/15 165/18 186/23 207/2
channel [2] 20/15 95/21	claim [1] 99/10	colder [1] 36/15	committed [2] 27/7 44/23	completeness [1] 104/2
Channel 4 [1] 20/15	claims [3] 54/15 54/19 184/20	Colindale [1] 100/3	committee [4] 71/21 93/21 115/21 190/18	completes [1] 227/19
channels [1] 205/7	clarifying [1] 55/14	collaborative [1] 207/18	committee's [2] 74/5 75/22	complex [3] 94/22 171/4 225/4
characterisation [1] 69/8	class [1] 211/16	collaboratively [1] 151/9	common [1] 13/20	complexity [1] 210/17
characteristics [3] 137/8 137/19 202/18	clear [46] 8/9 8/15 11/25 17/6 22/14 22/15 23/15 25/11 25/15 33/5 43/9 45/18 48/21 50/24 55/2 56/24 66/22 67/2 67/4 67/10 67/20 68/9 69/18 76/15 82/19 94/15 103/19 103/19 110/10 110/12 119/21 121/5 122/13 122/14 125/23 130/24 144/14 146/7 156/11 157/24 166/3 166/17 193/16 193/18 224/4 225/1	colleagues [1] 175/15	comms [1] 131/5	compliance [2] 12/9 30/21
chat [4] 42/18 45/16 47/4 47/6	clearer [2] 73/7 73/14	collected [1] 39/18	communicate [11] 5/13 30/18 143/3 147/14 148/21 153/3 153/4 153/10 154/5 192/18 196/20	complicated [1] 171/21
chat' [1] 43/1	clearly [15] 15/11 30/5 84/7 119/21 132/10 134/25 135/21 136/22 144/22 146/7 146/18 154/8 165/24 166/18 219/20	collegiate [1] 3/20	communicated [13] 4/5 21/9 30/1 30/5 31/4 106/14 106/25 107/4 144/23 146/18 147/2 147/3 147/5	comply [3] 95/3 153/11 154/7
cheap [1] 203/15	clinical [10] 104/22 113/22 114/24 118/14 120/8 124/7 124/20 175/10 211/17 221/18	collegiately [3] 61/9 91/23 146/12	communicating [7] 3/16 12/25 134/7 134/8 147/6 148/14 198/10	comprehensive [5] 19/1 19/5 69/20 74/16 212/24
check [6] 7/22 24/6 34/2 84/9 106/3 190/10	clinician [2] 108/25 109/3	colloquially [2] 71/7 187/7	communication [30] 3/1 3/14 5/25 6/7 6/12 6/13 6/19 6/23 8/17 10/1 11/14 12/4 12/5 12/20 12/23 13/20 13/24 14/3 14/8 15/6 15/7 18/2 21/4 21/20 24/13 31/25 33/1 94/12 94/16 120/10	comprehensively [1] 227/1
chewing [1] 70/24	clinicians [3] 111/6 114/3 124/15	combat [1] 50/20	communications [12] 3/17 5/10 5/17 5/19	compromise [2] 36/12 120/21
chief [21] 6/7 26/22 28/18 65/8 83/13 83/25 94/13 113/9 113/12 117/15 118/3 120/12 121/23 122/9 123/22 123/23 125/19 140/21 141/11 159/11 169/5	clock [2] 67/20 225/21	come [35] 7/20 8/21 13/8 22/25 25/5 40/20 62/14 63/6 63/8 64/9 70/11 81/11 94/24 95/20 100/9 104/4 111/15 113/16 122/6 126/14 129/13 140/10 143/23 161/18 164/21 167/2 167/12 169/11 169/22 181/7 189/22 190/23 191/15 198/24 220/14	comms [1] 131/5	concede [3] 61/11 62/12 160/22
Chief Scientist [1] 118/3		comes [4] 72/8	common [1] 13/20	concentrated [2] 56/16 218/9
Chief Statistician [1] 169/5			committed [2] 27/7 44/23	concept [1] 187/9
children [1] 195/1			committee [4] 71/21 93/21 115/21 190/18	concepts [4] 4/16 4/24 5/6 5/11
China [1] 96/20			committee's [2] 74/5 75/22	concern [13] 98/9 108/16 115/8 174/14 179/6 213/13 216/25 217/2 217/2 217/6 217/13 219/9 222/14
choice [3] 154/3 154/4 163/16			common [1] 13/20	concerned [8] 2/18 3/18 5/10 34/13 131/9 142/4 142/22 173/5
choices [6] 11/10 12/15 38/17 71/25 76/10 213/1			comms [1] 131/5	concerns [6] 106/22 139/8 173/21 176/25
choose [1] 154/19			communicate [11] 5/13 30/18 143/3 147/14 148/21 153/3 153/4 153/10 154/5 192/18 196/20	
chose [1] 88/2			communicated [13] 4/5 21/9 30/1 30/5 31/4 106/14 106/25 107/4 144/23 146/18 147/2 147/3 147/5	
chosen [2] 69/3 181/23			communicating [7] 3/16 12/25 134/7 134/8 147/6 148/14 198/10	

<p>C</p> <p>concerns... [2] 179/18 209/8</p> <p>conclude [3] 144/18 173/16 174/21</p> <p>concluded [1] 110/10</p> <p>conclusion [8] 70/5 72/19 92/21 121/3 122/6 164/10 167/25 191/16</p> <p>conclusions [9] 11/23 64/9 69/12 69/14 71/3 72/20 101/23 129/7 165/25</p> <p>conditions [1] 187/19</p> <p>conduct [5] 14/25 50/3 53/12 55/5 72/23</p> <p>conducted [5] 5/20 13/10 15/1 25/20 151/21</p> <p>conducting [2] 15/13 53/21</p> <p>conduit [6] 113/15 118/14 120/8 125/6 125/23 126/17</p> <p>conference [14] 20/16 100/10 106/19 107/21 108/6 108/11 108/12 108/14 108/15 108/18 110/2 110/7 112/3 212/5</p> <p>confidence [16] 104/8 104/9 109/9 112/4 115/14 115/15 116/20 117/2 120/24 121/6 121/22 122/3 122/21 126/24 127/4 189/16</p> <p>confidential [2] 150/4 152/2</p> <p>confidentiality [10] 109/1 109/25 110/4 111/6 149/5 149/7 149/8 149/14 149/17 152/17</p> <p>confidentially [1] 151/21</p> <p>confirm [3] 141/16 143/13 143/15</p> <p>confirmation [1] 100/4</p> <p>conflicting [2] 95/9 129/21</p> <p>confront [2] 90/10 184/3</p> <p>confronted [5] 4/12 8/7 125/14 125/15 206/21</p> <p>connected [3] 3/2 45/7 176/20</p> <p>connection [1] 204/7</p> <p>connections [1]</p>	<p>197/2</p> <p>cons [1] 74/10</p> <p>conscious [1] 44/1</p> <p>consensus [1] 197/12</p> <p>consider [13] 38/9 42/3 44/2 75/15 89/2 149/5 163/16 163/24 164/22 180/6 215/23 218/18 223/22</p> <p>considerable [7] 83/12 89/3 89/13 93/4 152/13 167/23 168/6</p> <p>consideration [19] 80/19 119/24 140/24 163/5 163/20 163/22 164/1 164/13 164/19 165/8 165/20 167/1 167/3 167/12 175/1 176/19 177/5 204/21 224/14</p> <p>considerations [11] 12/13 84/12 107/5 111/5 111/8 119/16 121/25 160/12 161/1 177/18 181/13</p> <p>considered [13] 42/8 43/18 74/10 74/20 151/19 157/20 178/15 205/7 206/10 225/8 226/19 226/19 227/5</p> <p>considering [3] 11/11 11/17 223/23</p> <p>consistent [4] 65/2 67/24 68/15 178/23</p> <p>constant [1] 224/2</p> <p>constituency [5] 54/2 54/4 54/25 55/9 55/11</p> <p>constitution [1] 161/3</p> <p>constitutional [4] 161/2 162/15 165/14 165/17</p> <p>constraints [1] 102/13</p> <p>constructive [2] 151/8 152/11</p> <p>consultant [2] 97/4 105/19</p> <p>consultation [1] 162/20</p> <p>contact [11] 35/2 49/25 97/9 99/6 102/21 103/2 108/2 124/9 189/17 192/24 199/25</p> <p>contacted [1] 84/14</p> <p>contacts [2] 100/22 169/12</p> <p>contain [2] 10/17 102/16</p> <p>contained [1] 22/2</p> <p>contemplate [1] 82/3</p>	<p>contemplated [1] 80/5</p> <p>contend [1] 118/2</p> <p>content [6] 42/15 97/8 97/13 97/16 105/23 195/22</p> <p>contents [4] 1/18 2/2 97/5 195/5</p> <p>context [23] 14/10 37/17 47/17 51/10 57/15 58/25 61/19 61/25 62/8 79/16 80/17 88/23 89/1 97/9 110/8 149/11 158/23 164/7 164/9 182/18 184/6 188/7 226/7</p> <p>contexts [1] 164/25</p> <p>contextualise [2] 64/14 80/9</p> <p>continue [5] 17/14 122/22 143/4 177/14 206/18</p> <p>continued [4] 120/20 122/2 199/24 208/25</p> <p>Continuing [1] 140/5</p> <p>contradicting [1] 186/13</p> <p>contradictory [1] 92/12</p> <p>contradistinction [1] 29/6</p> <p>contrary [6] 30/14 41/17 68/10 85/11 180/8 199/23</p> <p>contrast [2] 121/8 173/14</p> <p>contribute [2] 78/11 175/24</p> <p>contribution [1] 123/14</p> <p>control [8] 99/6 171/1 189/5 189/16 190/3 193/3 222/15 224/23</p> <p>controls [1] 169/3</p> <p>controversial [1] 177/8</p> <p>controversy [1] 177/13</p> <p>convene [2] 65/16 209/2</p> <p>convened [1] 93/20</p> <p>convenient [2] 112/22 168/15</p> <p>conversation [5] 12/7 29/15 31/10 120/25 122/15</p> <p>conversational [1] 26/4</p> <p>conversations [15] 20/2 25/10 26/11 26/17 26/20 27/18 28/2 28/4 28/10 28/13 28/18 28/23 29/2 29/6</p>	<p>34/8</p> <p>copied [4] 76/2 76/23 173/20 173/25</p> <p>copies [1] 52/7</p> <p>copious [1] 110/20</p> <p>core [4] 5/7 49/21 159/17 208/2</p> <p>corner [1] 58/16</p> <p>cornerstone [2] 49/4 184/5</p> <p>coronavirus [10] 133/14 133/19 134/2 134/22 156/2 157/22 163/8 164/15 165/11 165/22</p> <p>Coronavirus Act [1] 157/22</p> <p>corporate [14] 7/4 8/13 22/4 27/7 28/10 29/4 29/5 29/8 29/12 29/17 29/19 31/20 38/19 84/11</p> <p>correct [31] 4/25 5/1 5/7 32/5 32/8 45/19 47/3 53/13 56/19 57/16 59/13 59/13 59/15 64/11 65/25 77/16 80/6 88/12 88/13 93/18 96/10 96/25 107/2 111/19 114/9 124/24 151/17 162/13 176/9 178/25 190/11</p> <p>corrected [4] 37/17 76/23 212/9 212/15</p> <p>correctly [4] 98/7 117/21 174/8 176/6</p> <p>correspondence [9] 65/14 67/5 105/15 121/12 122/17 122/25 124/5 124/18 125/5</p> <p>corresponding [1] 18/11</p> <p>corridor [3] 170/15 173/24 179/20</p> <p>corridors [3] 174/3 174/18 176/17</p> <p>cost [3] 103/20 103/21 203/13</p> <p>costly [3] 103/3 103/15 103/18</p> <p>costs [6] 103/11 103/12 103/22 203/11 203/16 203/24</p> <p>couched [1] 133/24</p> <p>coughing [1] 215/14</p> <p>could [116] 2/24 4/10 8/2 8/19 10/15 20/5 21/17 24/3 24/14 29/7 29/22 30/4 30/11 34/9 35/5 35/18 35/19 40/22 41/5 42/1 42/10 45/21 46/22 48/6 49/12 50/19 50/22</p>	<p>52/17 52/23 52/24 53/6 53/11 55/1 57/4 60/10 64/6 64/13 65/16 68/17 70/21 76/13 79/1 79/7 79/8 81/18 86/24 87/22 87/23 89/9 90/17 92/6 94/5 99/14 101/12 102/4 103/7 105/3 107/25 109/16 109/19 116/6 125/4 137/12 139/19 139/23 139/23 142/20 145/15 149/21 150/15 150/18 153/11 153/12 154/9 157/2 160/15 160/17 160/18 161/10 161/21 161/22 163/1 171/19 172/4 177/4 178/11 181/14 187/20 189/6 190/7 191/23 192/19 192/19 192/23 196/8 197/4 197/17 198/7 198/7 198/8 199/2 200/10 202/8 203/20 204/14 211/13 211/14 213/24 214/7 214/24 217/7 220/18 222/18 224/14 225/21 226/8</p> <p>couldn't [12] 11/3 30/8 34/14 54/4 86/5 120/19 122/11 131/16 151/10 192/22 199/16 221/5</p> <p>COUNSEL [2] 1/7 229/5</p> <p>counter [1] 142/8</p> <p>counterpose [1] 49/13</p> <p>countries [16] 50/23 103/25 157/1 169/13 169/22 170/1 170/13 170/18 173/7 176/7 181/2 193/24 197/1 197/3 219/5 226/4</p> <p>countries' [1] 197/5</p> <p>country [13] 30/22 79/2 90/10 161/22 169/8 169/8 169/10 171/8 178/18 180/3 199/14 208/8 214/6</p> <p>couple [6] 45/24 61/14 93/1 108/13 174/7 213/8</p> <p>course [56] 2/17 6/21 9/10 10/23 11/19 11/25 12/1 13/13 13/15 13/19 15/2 15/23 16/5 17/15 18/15 18/18 19/7 22/8 25/20 28/19 39/23 46/7 46/24 51/10 56/8 60/1 75/24 78/8 91/6 100/19 105/16 109/11</p>
---	--	---	--	--

C	creating [1] 33/23	116/11 116/12 119/4	75/11 109/5 109/7	173/23 174/2 188/23
course... [24] 112/8	credit [3] 121/5 121/9	David [2] 118/3	124/8 146/23 149/4	202/24 206/20 208/16
115/13 115/20 115/23	196/19	132/16	150/24 154/1 154/2	210/6 212/17 213/2
118/6 121/25 125/24	criminal [1] 227/12	David Crossman [1]	155/22 157/6 167/19	221/21 222/1 222/17
132/23 148/3 154/14	crisis [13] 15/24	118/3	168/5 168/8 168/11	223/1
158/13 160/6 165/7	15/24 35/14 39/6	Dawson [11] 1/3	206/11 209/1 224/7	decisions [201] 3/6
166/5 168/23 169/15	88/12 88/17 89/12	10/21 13/17 31/19	deciding [1] 183/19	3/11 3/23 5/13 5/17
182/17 184/7 188/24	92/14 97/25 132/18	38/22 52/14 55/22	decision [127] 3/11	5/22 8/22 9/5 9/6
191/20 203/17 204/10	163/8 164/16 165/22	56/3 156/19 168/25	4/7 8/20 8/24 9/14	10/15 10/19 11/4 11/6
210/11 218/18	critical [3] 50/14	180/15	9/18 14/8 15/10 19/6	11/12 11/24 12/12
court [1] 166/6	87/13 118/13	day [50] 11/8 18/6	20/10 21/22 22/17	13/4 13/23 15/15
courtesy [1] 35/4	criticised [2] 192/14	23/9 27/1 28/1 28/12	23/8 26/4 27/24 31/15	17/14 17/17 17/19
CoV [1] 188/11	201/14	34/7 37/25 39/8 41/22	35/15 38/3 38/11	17/20 18/13 18/14
cover [2] 99/23	criticism [9] 154/2	48/12 49/21 82/10	38/12 39/6 39/19	18/21 18/24 19/19
116/15	174/16 177/9 177/10	82/15 84/7 85/9 101/4	39/22 40/3 41/10 44/7	21/13 21/13 22/19
covered [2] 15/18	180/20 194/12 194/13	104/25 109/14 110/21	49/15 49/16 50/18	22/23 22/24 23/6
117/25	201/13 209/10	111/18 119/8 121/15	53/9 53/9 56/7 56/11	23/11 23/16 23/17
covering [1] 105/2	critics [1] 194/13	124/12 131/2 133/9	56/13 56/14 59/22	25/21 27/24 28/20
Covid [109] 5/23 7/9	Crossman [1] 118/3	133/16 134/8 136/6	64/25 65/12 66/19	28/23 29/22 30/1 30/7
13/11 14/5 15/21	crowded [1] 143/5	141/17 143/8 143/8	66/24 66/25 67/3 68/7	30/11 30/18 31/1
16/16 17/8 17/10	crucial [3] 85/11 86/9	143/24 145/5 145/21	68/8 68/24 70/6 70/7	31/17 31/17 33/6 33/8
19/16 22/8 42/18 45/6	140/15	147/22 148/12 152/13	70/19 71/12 72/7 73/8	33/12 33/12 33/13
45/7 45/12 45/13 52/2	crystallised [1]	153/21 153/22 153/25	73/16 73/16 74/9	37/13 37/20 37/24
55/4 63/12 64/25	158/21	154/4 158/5 160/21	74/12 75/7 75/10	38/1 38/18 39/12
66/10 74/18 84/17	culminated [1] 81/5	178/24 184/16 192/14	75/14 84/18 84/21	40/16 40/17 40/19
86/19 90/6 91/19	culture [9] 3/18	194/7 214/5 222/10	90/24 90/24 95/4	40/25 41/3 41/5 44/9
94/10 94/20 99/25	48/16 48/16 48/18	days [22] 27/3 27/5	104/23 109/23 110/3	48/8 48/9 52/17 56/16
100/1 100/11 100/13	48/22 49/1 59/19	47/24 66/4 66/11 82/9	110/18 113/4 120/1	56/25 64/21 65/2 67/7
101/18 103/22 106/22	59/24 140/23	87/17 89/25 90/14	120/5 140/11 140/25	67/8 67/22 67/23
112/18 115/21 117/19	current [3] 25/22	90/19 94/10 94/22	141/16 142/1 142/2	67/23 68/14 68/15
119/11 132/24 133/19	135/25 202/17	94/24 112/8 123/25	143/13 143/17 143/19	68/25 69/4 69/13
135/5 138/3 139/4	currently [1] 175/20	126/12 129/23 144/25	143/20 144/10 144/14	69/19 70/4 70/5 71/19
142/6 142/25 152/7	D	145/5 180/14 184/1	144/15 144/23 145/3	72/3 72/9 73/10 73/19
153/2 159/25 161/11	daily [16] 4/6 7/19	187/15	145/4 145/19 146/1	73/24 74/17 74/20
161/22 162/19 164/9	8/5 8/8 9/8 12/7 21/10	days...wonder [1]	153/1 155/5 155/24	75/20 76/10 76/11
166/10 166/12 166/12	31/3 93/24 94/12	203/15	157/14 159/2 165/19	76/14 78/7 78/9 78/12
175/19 186/7 186/16	106/1 106/1 124/11	deal [11] 87/3 89/20	172/1 173/10 173/23	78/23 78/23 79/6
186/25 187/7 187/14	178/10 198/19 212/1	99/2 115/10 120/23	174/2 175/8 176/24	81/14 81/17 81/17
187/17 187/17 188/4	damaged [1] 124/3	137/22 142/5 193/23	177/1 177/4 177/8	84/22 85/3 85/20
188/9 188/18 189/20	dancing [1] 167/15	199/19 200/2 219/8	177/14 177/19 178/4	87/14 87/14 87/22
190/22 191/25 192/22	dark [1] 47/24	dealing [22] 5/4 8/8	178/24 179/15 180/8	90/25 91/4 91/5 91/11
193/12 194/6 194/7	darker [1] 36/16	47/25 52/15 61/22	180/10 181/6 188/23	91/22 91/25 92/1 95/6
194/20 194/21 194/23	data [34] 66/17 68/3	69/2 75/17 76/9 88/9	199/3 202/24 204/7	100/20 100/23 109/15
195/17 196/3 196/6	68/4 68/5 76/9 169/9	89/13 90/15 97/24	204/16 205/10 206/20	109/19 109/20 110/19
196/8 196/13 196/14	169/11 169/19 170/21	102/13 102/22 110/6	208/16 208/24 210/6	111/1 111/17 111/18
197/24 198/5 201/9	176/17 177/1 177/3	114/25 117/10 138/7	212/17 213/2 221/21	111/24 112/15 120/6
201/10 201/10 201/11	177/17 177/22 177/24	142/24 149/16 204/20	222/1 222/17 223/1	143/23 145/10 145/13
201/15 201/22 211/4	177/25 178/9 178/9	225/17	225/10	145/14 146/15 146/17
212/6 212/12 213/10	178/14 179/7 179/13	dealings [1] 152/6	decision-maker [2]	147/1 148/21 149/10
213/11 213/16 213/19	179/16 179/18 179/25	dealt [3] 88/10 134/3	50/18 199/3	149/12 149/19 149/20
213/23 214/1 214/7	179/25 180/4 180/12	199/20	decision-makers [2]	150/3 151/1 151/12
214/10 214/16 214/24	180/15 180/18 180/22	death [1] 208/7	23/8 95/4	151/24 152/2 153/3
218/4 218/5 219/6	180/23 181/1 181/4	deaths [5] 195/17	decision-making [48]	153/10 153/10 153/11
224/10 226/1 226/21	181/4	206/25 208/13 212/5	3/11 8/20 8/24 14/8	154/6 156/23 157/2
Covid' [1] 186/19	date [15] 1/19 2/3	218/8	15/10 20/10 21/22	157/8 157/14 158/10
Covid-19 [9] 15/21	29/16 40/12 57/17	debate [2] 35/18	22/17 26/4 27/24	159/20 160/9 160/11
16/16 52/2 64/25	61/13 68/4 98/7	164/7	38/11 38/12 39/6 44/7	160/24 160/25 161/20
115/21 133/19 188/9	117/20 134/10 163/9	December [3] 34/22	49/15 49/16 56/7	161/21 169/7 169/15
195/17 214/24	165/10 176/3 215/22	57/10 69/12	56/11 56/13 56/14	174/11 174/13 174/14
create [2] 187/19	223/24	December 2021 [1]	64/25 68/8 71/12	174/15 175/9 177/7
207/15	dated [4] 1/14 1/23	57/10	75/10 84/18 84/21	177/17 178/9 181/8
created [4] 3/15	3/3 23/22	decide [2] 52/10	90/24 90/24 104/23	181/21 194/22 195/5
12/24 73/4 200/21	dates [5] 93/18 106/4	181/22	113/4 120/1 120/5	195/6 195/22 198/25
		decided [19] 64/24	155/24 157/14 172/1	200/8 202/20 204/10

<p>D</p> <p>decisions... [13] 205/4 205/17 207/5 207/8 207/9 207/10 207/25 210/7 210/20 212/25 213/24 222/18 226/7</p> <p>decisive [1] 102/16</p> <p>declined [1] 162/16</p> <p>dedicated [1] 44/23</p> <p>deduce [1] 10/15</p> <p>deemed [1] 48/25</p> <p>deep [4] 85/22 86/17 209/20 211/9</p> <p>deep dive [1] 85/22</p> <p>deep dives [1] 211/9</p> <p>deepen [4] 50/18 53/5 209/16 214/19</p> <p>deeper [1] 51/5</p> <p>deeply [6] 14/15 14/25 15/3 205/5 214/1 219/13</p> <p>defend [2] 58/14 184/20</p> <p>deficiencies [1] 219/17</p> <p>defined [1] 192/20</p> <p>definitely [1] 94/11</p> <p>definitive [1] 130/11</p> <p>deflect [1] 58/7</p> <p>degree [9] 3/10 8/23 104/8 104/9 107/1 115/14 193/5 193/5 194/9</p> <p>degrees [2] 114/14 186/11</p> <p>delayed [2] 170/16 204/18</p> <p>delegate [2] 65/1 68/2</p> <p>delegated [2] 68/6 69/13</p> <p>delegation [1] 67/21</p> <p>delete [3] 34/11 42/21 45/19</p> <p>deleted [3] 33/20 33/25 34/15</p> <p>deleting [1] 48/17</p> <p>deletion [1] 34/1</p> <p>deliberate [1] 85/10</p> <p>deliberately [1] 84/20</p> <p>deliberations [1] 129/20</p> <p>deliver [1] 171/11</p> <p>delivered [4] 23/14 183/25 210/1 210/10</p> <p>delivering [1] 35/24</p> <p>Delta [1] 64/16</p> <p>demographic [1] 157/1</p> <p>demographics [1] 209/11</p> <p>demonstrate [2]</p>	<p>159/6 197/19</p> <p>demonstrates [1] 185/2</p> <p>demonstrating [1] 78/3</p> <p>deniability [3] 43/8 43/19 48/16</p> <p>dentistry [1] 114/8</p> <p>depart [2] 68/21 68/22</p> <p>Departing [1] 68/23</p> <p>DEPARTMENT [2] 140/22 140/22</p> <p>departments [1] 130/24</p> <p>depend [1] 75/14</p> <p>depending [1] 75/16</p> <p>deputy [15] 24/8 32/4 48/24 81/22 86/21 88/6 91/9 113/9 113/12 130/17 134/14 172/8 172/16 172/20 173/1</p> <p>derail [1] 35/18</p> <p>Derek [3] 130/17 131/21 175/23</p> <p>Derek Grieve [1] 131/21</p> <p>describe [6] 86/14 118/22 121/13 135/12 145/10 187/10</p> <p>describe she [1] 121/13</p> <p>described [10] 8/19 77/14 90/22 116/6 155/10 155/10 157/12 168/13 184/2 200/22</p> <p>describing [4] 14/2 57/11 182/4 204/7</p> <p>description [2] 6/25 90/6</p> <p>deserve [1] 195/22</p> <p>deserved [1] 213/3</p> <p>designations [1] 29/24</p> <p>designed [2] 139/10 208/20</p> <p>desirable [3] 31/8 104/6 171/16</p> <p>desire [5] 30/15 53/4 159/22 196/3 206/13</p> <p>desired [1] 149/21</p> <p>desperate [3] 50/21 50/22 147/22</p> <p>desperately [3] 196/13 225/13 226/8</p> <p>despite [11] 23/22 45/15 59/9 110/10 119/10 131/2 176/25 179/18 180/1 186/3 207/17</p> <p>destroy [1] 16/14</p> <p>destroyed [2] 19/23 21/5</p>	<p>detail [17] 8/6 8/6 49/23 58/24 63/15 63/18 63/20 82/15 97/20 98/17 99/16 107/2 128/23 131/16 150/11 188/24 203/11</p> <p>detailed [10] 18/5 18/20 18/20 19/5 33/7 63/5 68/21 74/14 98/23 212/25</p> <p>detailing [1] 153/21</p> <p>details [3] 58/22 98/20 172/25</p> <p>detect [1] 222/7</p> <p>determinations [1] 88/14</p> <p>determined [3] 48/15 101/12 153/23</p> <p>develop [2] 102/20 118/2</p> <p>developed [6] 99/12 100/17 102/20 105/17 125/17 125/18</p> <p>developing [5] 73/21 100/18 116/24 118/5 145/1</p> <p>developments [1] 163/8</p> <p>Devi [1] 24/16</p> <p>device [1] 54/5</p> <p>devices [2] 33/19 54/1</p> <p>devising [1] 118/17</p> <p>devolved [4] 2/22 155/12 170/23 171/3</p> <p>DG [1] 43/6</p> <p>diagnostic [1] 101/17</p> <p>Diamond [2] 195/15 208/12</p> <p>diary [1] 185/21</p> <p>did [140] 2/16 2/23 3/21 3/22 5/16 5/18 7/7 8/17 9/4 13/17 16/8 16/10 16/20 23/2 23/3 23/20 23/24 27/3 33/16 34/11 34/22 39/13 42/21 43/24 51/12 52/4 53/14 54/20 54/20 54/21 54/24 59/19 62/15 68/24 76/16 77/15 77/17 78/10 82/5 84/16 86/19 88/17 89/2 89/11 90/4 91/5 91/6 91/15 91/16 94/8 94/14 95/7 100/14 102/23 109/8 109/8 115/8 116/22 117/5 117/11 117/11 117/13 118/25 119/23 122/7 122/7 123/16 124/15 126/13 127/2 127/10 127/13 128/8 128/11 132/25 140/3 144/5</p>	<p>144/25 145/21 145/24 146/14 147/9 147/25 148/17 149/5 149/7 149/11 156/17 158/9 158/15 158/16 159/13 160/6 160/16 160/24 160/25 162/15 163/9 163/21 164/24 165/25 167/16 168/1 168/4 176/19 179/20 183/1 183/8 184/5 184/10 184/12 185/4 185/8 186/12 188/16 190/12 194/3 194/19 198/16 199/8 204/18 205/11 205/12 207/23 209/5 211/11 211/15 213/4 213/6 213/15 213/25 214/3 214/4 217/25 220/19 221/20 223/1 223/21 226/10 227/14</p> <p>didn't [106] 8/10 22/1 29/23 30/23 33/19 33/21 53/25 54/23 61/9 66/2 66/14 76/17 77/1 77/3 77/5 77/19 79/3 79/4 87/2 87/3 87/11 90/5 92/18 102/20 106/2 107/25 109/12 112/17 115/11 116/4 116/8 117/8 117/11 121/21 123/11 127/7 128/6 128/7 128/9 128/10 131/20 132/3 132/23 145/5 147/17 147/17 147/18 150/12 151/7 153/18 154/18 159/12 161/6 161/8 164/3 165/5 165/6 165/9 166/4 166/5 166/9 167/8 168/13 170/16 175/2 175/3 180/18 181/22 183/6 190/3 191/15 191/15 192/2 192/16 193/13 194/1 195/11 196/12 199/10 199/23 200/3 204/15 205/5 206/8 207/1 208/9 209/13 210/14 213/6 219/2 219/11 219/14 219/20 220/16 220/21 221/4 221/5 221/11 221/14 222/4 223/13 223/14 225/15 226/2 226/9 226/17</p> <p>die [2] 106/21 112/18</p> <p>died [4] 201/10 213/11 213/17 218/5</p> <p>differ [1] 156/4</p> <p>differed [1] 65/12</p> <p>difference [5] 36/15 159/9 170/11 170/20 207/15</p>	<p>differences [3] 169/21 171/13 171/20</p> <p>different [74] 10/8 14/3 14/18 15/9 18/22 28/4 28/24 38/13 39/2 40/4 40/15 40/23 41/22 41/25 48/14 50/21 53/8 53/9 53/17 55/15 62/25 70/10 84/2 84/3 84/4 93/5 99/4 101/23 107/5 107/13 108/25 108/25 109/1 109/3 109/4 109/4 111/7 112/13 114/3 114/3 117/1 118/15 118/20 118/21 126/20 150/16 155/3 155/22 156/4 156/11 156/22 169/2 169/16 171/16 171/17 178/17 179/5 179/8 181/2 187/9 189/2 189/9 190/13 192/9 197/1 197/11 201/17 202/3 207/2 207/22 210/3 212/11 223/25 225/21</p> <p>differently [8] 23/4 95/1 124/18 125/17 179/1 195/7 225/11 225/15</p> <p>difficult [23] 11/10 23/17 28/6 38/17 48/4 55/20 60/8 90/24 112/6 121/9 121/10 123/2 145/10 152/9 152/10 164/6 171/14 174/12 178/16 190/6 200/8 200/9 223/4</p> <p>difficulties [2] 123/25 210/18</p> <p>difficulty [2] 39/14 84/21</p> <p>DIGITAL [1] 140/23</p> <p>direct [10] 34/18 50/6 51/7 51/20 60/10 97/8 187/17 196/4 200/24 201/21</p> <p>direction [5] 50/11 66/20 110/5 145/2 179/16</p> <p>directly [3] 114/1 132/1 209/15</p> <p>director [2] 113/22 130/17</p> <p>directorate [1] 130/18</p> <p>directors [3] 10/6 131/7 131/12</p> <p>directors-general [1] 10/6</p> <p>disagreement [2] 155/1 216/16</p> <p>discernible [1] 31/20</p> <p>discharge [5] 148/7</p>
---	--	---	---	---

D	34/23 38/25 40/7 47/22 56/25 59/3 60/9 61/5 61/6 63/4 63/5 63/7 73/24 78/11 83/12 83/19 83/24 84/15 88/3 91/5 115/5 135/7 151/8 151/20 174/25 179/11 179/24 180/7 183/14 227/11	92/1 92/4 92/7 92/25 95/1 98/2 101/21 102/6 103/4 104/6 106/9 108/2 108/3 109/10 113/8 116/1 119/11 121/7 127/1 128/24 138/16 139/10 140/9 141/7 141/7 141/24 142/20 143/6 146/20 147/16 147/19 148/4 148/9 148/19 148/19 148/19 149/1 150/2 150/2 150/23 151/16 151/18 154/7 154/8 154/11 154/24 156/25 158/14 159/20 160/14 161/10 162/19 167/5 167/6 167/7 168/14 170/16 173/12 175/21 179/22 180/6 181/17 185/20 188/10 190/2 193/2 195/9 195/12 197/17 197/18 199/2 199/23 204/1 207/4 207/6 207/13 207/19 208/9 213/21 219/12 220/6 220/25 225/20 225/21 226/8	29/5 32/13 33/10 38/9 38/24 40/3 40/11 42/3 44/8 50/16 54/6 58/2 63/14 67/9 69/8 71/6 72/12 74/23 77/2 77/22 77/25 82/14 85/8 86/14 87/4 87/17 88/23 89/23 93/10 93/11 93/14 94/17 94/17 97/18 98/20 101/9 102/2 104/13 105/1 107/11 107/14 108/22 109/7 109/8 112/1 112/1 113/13 113/25 116/12 118/18 123/19 123/20 124/2 125/3 127/2 128/3 130/9 130/10 135/20 136/17 146/8 147/12 147/13 151/23 153/8 153/18 154/18 159/8 160/4 163/12 163/17 165/4 167/5 167/16 167/25 168/2 176/3 177/22 182/24 184/12 184/18 193/14 193/18 193/25 194/4 194/12 196/10 197/25 199/12 199/12 200/7 201/19 206/15 206/16 212/12 221/24 223/12 227/1 227/6 227/6 227/21 228/3	42/20 96/25 97/5 97/9 98/16 106/16 107/3 107/10 108/17 108/21 108/23 109/2 111/11 113/7 113/18 114/6 115/25 116/14 116/19 117/4 117/5 117/7 118/8 119/10 119/20 120/7 121/1 122/5 123/4 123/22 124/6 124/7 124/22 125/6 125/10 125/10 126/8 126/12 127/3 127/13 127/13 129/11 129/12 178/12 179/2
discharge... [4] 218/23 226/16 226/18 227/5	disease [1] 190/21	29/5 32/13 33/10 38/9 38/24 40/3 40/11 42/3 44/8 50/16 54/6 58/2 63/14 67/9 69/8 71/6 72/12 74/23 77/2 77/22 77/25 82/14 85/8 86/14 87/4 87/17 88/23 89/23 93/10 93/11 93/14 94/17 94/17 97/18 98/20 101/9 102/2 104/13 105/1 107/11 107/14 108/22 109/7 109/8 112/1 112/1 113/13 113/25 116/12 118/18 123/19 123/20 124/2 125/3 127/2 128/3 130/9 130/10 135/20 136/17 146/8 147/12 147/13 151/23 153/8 153/18 154/18 159/8 160/4 163/12 163/17 165/4 167/5 167/16 167/25 168/2 176/3 177/22 182/24 184/12 184/18 193/14 193/18 193/25 194/4 194/12 196/10 197/25 199/12 199/12 200/7 201/19 206/15 206/16 212/12 221/24 223/12 227/1 227/6 227/6 227/21 228/3	Dr Calderwood [33] 32/1 96/25 97/5 97/9 98/16 106/16 107/10 108/17 108/21 111/11 113/7 113/18 114/6 115/25 116/14 116/19 117/4 117/7 118/8 119/10 119/20 120/7 121/1 122/5 123/4 124/6 124/7 124/22 125/6 125/10 127/3 129/11 129/12	
discharged [1] 219/4	diseases [1] 114/23	done [30] 12/20 14/3 23/4 25/13 43/11 50/3 50/5 60/14 60/14 61/1 61/18 62/5 62/16 76/13 91/25 100/10 100/12 102/7 130/10 134/4 160/17 160/18 167/3 168/14 177/12 199/11 200/12 203/19 212/11 225/11	Dr Calderwood's [2] 107/3 109/2	
discharges [6] 217/19 218/1 218/3 218/6 218/7 225/2	disjoint [2] 81/12 143/2	documents [7] 4/20 4/21 5/2 23/19 48/19 72/14 91/3	Dr Jim McMenamin [1] 42/20	
discharging [1] 226/13	displeasure [1] 62/13	documentation [8] 2/7 46/9 49/10 72/21 91/13 124/25 136/25 171/23	Dr Smith [10] 32/2 108/23 117/5 123/22 125/10 126/8 126/12 127/13 178/12 179/2	
disclose [2] 20/20 21/24	disposal [4] 18/12 19/4 21/12 22/16	docs [20] 40/8 41/17 45/15 46/18 64/11 68/5 70/4 72/22 73/23 101/6 104/25 112/14 136/16 151/21 159/17 159/19 167/11 186/1 213/18 215/12	Drakeford [2] 32/4 33/1	
disclosed [1] 22/5	disproportionate [1] 222/23	does [20] 40/8 41/17 45/15 46/18 64/11 68/5 70/4 72/22 73/23 101/6 104/25 112/14 136/16 151/21 159/17 159/19 167/11 186/1 213/18 215/12	draw [6] 11/22 92/24 94/16 95/15 115/5 212/13	
disclosing [1] 20/18	disrespect [1] 151/23	doesn't [20] 28/8 46/15 62/11 63/16 74/8 109/23 129/18 135/12 135/12 136/3 136/23 139/1 152/3 166/15 180/11 189/14 189/15 190/25 190/25 191/3	drawing [2] 115/18 125/25	
disclosure [1] 112/3	disruptive [2] 120/11 127/10	doing [19] 9/7 60/20 60/24 104/13 120/5 124/11 139/4 139/15 147/7 148/23 148/23 153/5 153/13 154/5 154/23 159/25 170/16 177/16 195/10	drawn [2] 74/5 101/23	
discouraging [1] 194/16	disservice [2] 60/24 62/15	doom [1] 201/14	drive [1] 187/22	
discoverable [2] 43/1 45/16	distancing [4] 99/7 100/19 100/23 105/2	double [1] 24/6	driven [6] 177/17 179/5 181/6 181/12 194/20 196/8	
discovered [1] 24/7	distinct [1] 93/24	double check [1] 24/6	driver [1] 221/7	
discretion [1] 68/12	distinction [1] 33/23	doubt [19] 18/17 21/1 23/13 23/18 42/23 49/10 51/8 81/10 92/1 94/24 120/15 125/17 141/15 142/2 144/6 144/22 152/8 206/18 222/7	driving [5] 174/15 179/14 180/8 180/9 194/21	
discriminating [1] 88/2	distress [1] 223/5	doubted [1] 159/24	drove [3] 196/3 196/13 213/2	
discursive [4] 73/8 73/9 76/7 77/13	distressed [1] 228/3	doubts [2] 116/25 174/4	drug [1] 188/8	
discuss [7] 3/1 8/18 71/17 85/18 85/21 133/18 172/9	dive [1] 85/22	down [10] 28/17 45/21 45/22 45/25 80/13 82/15 159/12 178/6 179/9 181/22	drying [1] 201/9	
discussed [15] 9/12 10/25 18/23 39/25 49/4 69/11 72/23 80/25 87/15 98/6 107/10 115/2 136/23 148/11 149/6	dive' [1] 3/12	Dr [47] 32/1 32/2	due [3] 138/2 138/4 146/2	
discussing [11] 13/3 25/10 29/19 44/15 57/20 58/17 77/12 78/7 92/11 113/3 113/18	diverge [3] 150/12 155/16 156/3		Dundee [1] 135/19	
discussion [55] 9/10 9/17 17/21 19/2 27/16 31/14 38/15 39/19 39/22 40/6 41/14 44/10 57/1 57/11 58/1 63/15 63/20 64/3 64/3 69/18 69/20 70/3 70/18 71/16 72/19 73/18 74/15 80/2 80/17 83/14 126/18 133/20 134/4 135/2 135/4 135/5 135/8 135/10 135/25 136/11 136/13 138/17 138/18 140/1 146/22 148/14 163/14 163/18 165/23 173/1 174/19 175/2 175/7 202/23 203/12	diverged [2] 155/13 157/8		during [33] 2/18 3/19 3/21 9/11 11/8 13/13 22/18 26/18 30/17 32/12 39/23 48/23 49/19 53/23 56/8	
discussion's [1] 41/11	divergence [4] 155/1 157/4 170/9 170/20			
discussions [42] 3/13 9/4 15/14 17/19 22/3 25/14 25/21 27/7 30/10 31/4 33/2 33/8	diverging [1] 155/17			
	diversity [2] 116/3 197/13			
	diverted [1] 55/10			
	dives [1] 211/9			
	division [2] 130/18 162/3			
	DM [2] 24/15 24/25			
	do [140] 1/18 2/2 5/15 7/7 9/2 9/25 10/16 11/1 11/13 12/3 12/10 16/14 16/19 16/20 17/17 17/22 20/18 21/20 23/22 25/6 29/7 29/24 29/25 30/24 30/24 31/1 36/22 41/8 41/19 45/12 45/13 51/19 54/2 54/4 58/21 62/12 62/18 63/2 64/8 68/3 68/13 68/14 68/17 71/19 74/3 74/15 79/1 79/5 79/19 79/21 81/2 81/3 86/6 86/18 90/16			

D	168/10	140/12 141/4 142/23	environment [3] 28/24 226/5 226/20	122/13 127/3 148/17
during... [18] 64/25 66/10 78/21 79/1 81/4 86/19 87/17 89/9 91/18 93/16 113/11 126/18 160/6 161/24 162/19 165/18 204/10 209/5	effect [14] 70/6 105/4 126/24 127/8 127/10 141/7 149/21 153/6 155/22 170/11 186/4 219/20 222/25 227/14	emerging [7] 92/15 97/25 128/19 134/1 140/2 143/1 224/9	environments [1] 26/13	event [11] 65/11 82/12 107/16 107/19 126/22 128/16 128/17 130/1 164/3 180/13 204/8
duty [12] 17/1 17/2 18/8 20/9 39/11 45/1 147/14 149/5 150/19 151/10 208/18 220/5	effective [4] 33/11 143/25 187/16 192/15	emotions [1] 90/9	epidemic [1] 140/13	events [5] 112/9 142/17 142/24 143/5 202/19
E	effectively [13] 16/5 30/6 31/2 31/2 50/14 70/16 72/18 73/17 153/4 154/8 155/4 190/20 190/24	emphasis [1] 202/6	epidemiological [3] 98/24 190/16 191/5	eventually [2] 121/13 203/1
each [9] 18/19 31/12 63/2 74/10 80/18 107/5 150/17 214/1 214/2	effectiveness [1] 220/4	emphatically [1] 187/8	epidemiologist [2] 97/4 105/19	ever [16] 14/12 23/7 32/13 82/14 82/15 92/4 98/11 100/6 150/12 159/24 160/5 195/8 198/16 199/4 222/4 225/18
earlier [27] 38/23 39/9 54/10 71/1 77/10 82/21 91/7 104/7 105/9 117/17 122/9 125/9 125/13 127/20 136/9 144/11 145/6 145/8 154/5 158/17 159/12 164/25 169/3 183/13 194/11 205/19 226/25	effort [1] 120/10	enactment [2] 157/22 158/8	epidemiology [4] 114/11 156/25 199/17 209/12	every [35] 4/7 11/8 15/4 15/24 18/6 19/6 23/9 27/1 29/14 31/9 41/22 49/21 62/23 72/12 109/14 111/18 111/18 117/23 124/12 133/6 154/4 160/21 180/16 184/16 194/6 199/3 201/9 208/6 210/15 210/16 211/16 213/23 214/2 214/2 214/5
earliest [2] 137/2 137/13	efforts [3] 7/18 59/10 106/19	encapsulated [1] 139/1	episode [2] 121/10 123/3	everybody [7] 67/19 86/22 104/10 123/2 129/16 132/12 133/6
early [43] 3/9 25/18 25/18 26/25 27/21 27/21 30/19 52/19 89/25 90/7 90/14 93/10 94/1 94/10 94/21 94/24 94/25 95/6 95/19 96/17 96/18 100/3 100/20 102/15 105/21 109/14 113/4 116/9 119/14 119/25 126/12 145/19 153/20 157/5 160/7 161/19 171/25 188/1 190/5 216/15 217/10 218/25 224/8	elderly [3] 137/6 137/17 225/14	encountered [1] 171/13	equip [2] 197/16 197/21	everything [11] 22/17 30/10 53/2 86/18 108/3 129/16 207/19 211/14 219/12 221/12 225/20
earliest [2] 137/2 137/13	election [5] 85/16 161/8 185/4 185/17 185/22	ended [3] 150/24 150/25 206/4	equipment [1] 136/14	everywhere [2] 23/8 62/24
early [43] 3/9 25/18 25/18 26/25 27/21 27/21 30/19 52/19 89/25 90/7 90/14 93/10 94/1 94/10 94/21 94/24 94/25 95/6 95/19 96/17 96/18 100/3 100/20 102/15 105/21 109/14 113/4 116/9 119/14 119/25 126/12 145/19 153/20 157/5 160/7 161/19 171/25 188/1 190/5 216/15 217/10 218/25 224/8	eliminate [1] 187/14	enforce [2] 141/18 158/12	Erin [1] 172/18	evidence [64] 8/10 9/13 10/5 10/10 11/5 18/12 18/14 18/23 20/18 21/12 25/25 38/11 42/13 43/22 53/16 56/10 59/1 74/11 76/15 77/5 78/1 85/13 88/4 92/12 95/9 95/10 95/14 95/14 95/25 100/25 106/12 108/13 113/20 115/2 117/7 117/13 127/6 130/2 130/13 136/24 139/21 142/7 152/12 167/20 168/2 169/3 169/14 178/17 178/21 179/4 179/19 183/13 184/22 185/1 185/2 195/16 200/10 205/19 208/11 213/9 214/18 215/16 216/7 227/19
earliest [2] 137/2 137/13	elimination [12] 186/17 187/8 189/9 189/11 189/12 190/12 190/24 191/14 191/25 193/10 197/22 199/5	enforceable [1] 158/3	error [1] 120/15	evolving [1] 121/15
early [43] 3/9 25/18 25/18 26/25 27/21 27/21 30/19 52/19 89/25 90/7 90/14 93/10 94/1 94/10 94/21 94/24 94/25 95/6 95/19 96/17 96/18 100/3 100/20 102/15 105/21 109/14 113/4 116/9 119/14 119/25 126/12 145/19 153/20 157/5 160/7 161/19 171/25 188/1 190/5 216/15 217/10 218/25 224/8	else [5] 96/1 96/21 119/23 124/4 154/10	engaged [2] 129/19 130/25	err [1] 218/23	
easing [1] 80/13	element [2] 9/6 129/24	engagement [2] 2/21 131/3	erred [1] 216/5	
easy [1] 101/21	elements [2] 6/21 212/4	engaging [5] 8/4 9/9 12/6 26/3 48/11	error [1] 120/15	
economic [2] 79/20 80/19	elevate [1] 197/8	England [7] 81/6 81/18 83/8 155/5 157/11 170/2 173/14	essential [3] 22/22 143/24 170/22	
economy [5] 76/3 77/8 79/17 84/7 187/20	eliminated [1] 187/14	enhance [1] 70/17	establish [3] 116/19 124/9 127/12	
Economy Secretary [2] 76/3 77/8	elimination [12] 186/17 187/8 189/9 189/11 189/12 190/12 190/24 191/14 191/25 193/10 197/22 199/5	enhanced [1] 81/6	established [16] 96/4 99/24 100/1 100/5 115/22 116/14 117/21 135/17 135/19 138/4 138/9 138/13 198/3 209/17 209/21 212/9	
Edinburgh [4] 97/5 100/2 111/16 135/18	else [5] 96/1 96/21 119/23 124/4 154/10	enormous [1] 126/24	et [1] 172/24	
Edinburgh University [1] 97/5	elsewhere [1] 134/14	enough [4] 23/5 100/14 136/11 142/5	etc [1] 203/8	
educate [1] 91/7	email [18] 16/14 16/19 49/25 50/1 50/2 50/6 50/9 51/7 51/8 172/15 172/25 173/20 173/25 175/3 175/12 175/13 176/21 177/6	enquiries [1] 220/16	EU [5] 163/8 164/10 173/18 173/22 174/24	
educated [1] 53/11	email [18] 16/14 16/19 49/25 50/1 50/2 50/6 50/9 51/7 51/8 172/15 172/25 173/20 173/25 175/3 175/12 175/13 176/21 177/6	enquiring [1] 214/21	EU Exit [2] 163/8 164/10	
education [3] 160/20 172/21 195/1	emerge [1] 112/3	ensure [8] 6/24 17/3 20/2 20/9 34/5 116/3 133/22 198/13	Euro [2] 203/1 204/17	
educational [1]	emerged [5] 3/14 12/18 12/24 115/2 119/8	entered [5] 28/12 196/4 201/16 201/17 202/3	Evans [1] 32/2	
	emergence [2] 106/17 113/5	entering [1] 221/19	even [26] 8/18 14/5 20/25 29/22 31/8 44/15 52/25 57/23 66/18 72/13 76/17 94/9 102/11 103/18 105/20 109/7 131/6 132/19 150/10 174/25 178/7 182/9 197/23 208/16 209/13 222/5	
	emergency [4] 4/12	entire [3] 27/8 139/11 160/4	evening [7] 119/2 119/5 120/25 122/5	
		entirely [3] 161/10 170/19 173/16		
		entirety [2] 69/16 69/25		
		entitled [1] 188/5		
		entries [2] 130/19 133/9		
		entry [2] 36/22 185/21		

E	97/8 97/12	expressing [1] 51/4	186/12 188/20 201/12	feedback [1] 113/15
exacerbated [1]	existing [3] 117/25	expression [1] 189/5	220/22 224/24 227/14	feel [4] 3/13 58/14
61/12	138/10 208/19	extended [2] 27/1	factor [2] 173/23	116/22 208/2
exactly [9] 42/7	exit [2] 163/8 164/10	222/2	222/1	feeling [2] 90/8 90/22
57/19 106/3 137/9	exiting [1] 189/1	extending [1] 222/11	factored [1] 222/16	feet [1] 61/3
149/1 150/23 153/20	expanded [1] 225/4	extensive [8] 3/21	factors [4] 22/19	fell [1] 78/24
155/20 156/21	expect [1] 44/5	5/20 6/6 13/2 25/21	74/19 76/12 203/16	felt [17] 11/21 12/22
examination [1]	expectation [3]	44/19 132/7 135/6	facts [3] 164/18	35/20 39/13 39/16
218/18	147/19 147/20 151/20	extensively [1] 52/20	164/23 212/9	49/21 60/24 77/4
example [20] 4/23	expected [10] 15/12	extent [15] 9/19 18/2	failing [1] 222/23	90/14 90/16 122/20
7/16 13/1 14/7 28/11	58/15 61/7 62/6 62/21	89/10 91/9 92/13	fair [15] 72/21 72/25	122/21 123/10 177/4
32/11 37/11 42/2 47/7	63/4 63/6 63/22 149/1	92/24 123/16 130/2	84/19 84/20 118/8	194/14 199/3 209/24
64/2 65/20 66/7 70/15	203/17	160/16 160/17 173/20	124/25 129/11 132/15	Ferguson [1] 115/6
75/25 95/2 101/15	expenses [3] 54/14	201/24 208/17 211/1	144/16 145/13 153/19	few [10] 56/17 77/21
113/14 158/25 162/20	54/19 54/22	216/12	163/12 169/20 182/23	82/9 107/20 112/8
169/24	experience [37]	extra [1] 35/25	196/10	123/25 131/8 140/10
examples [2] 159/6	44/18 44/20 47/10	extracts [3] 35/10	fairly [5] 73/5 153/20	165/10 180/14
159/25	47/13 47/16 87/6 88/5	215/10 216/7	159/4 168/1 198/3	few weeks [1]
excellent [1] 58/25	88/6 88/9 89/3 89/12	extraneous [1]	fairness [1] 183/23	140/10
exception [6] 32/14	89/13 90/1 92/16	181/13	faith [3] 111/20 144/5	fewer [1] 194/24
32/15 134/13 183/1	92/19 92/22 92/24	extraordinary [1]	196/1	FH [2] 79/18 79/25
183/5 183/12	93/2 94/9 95/15 97/24	49/19	fall [1] 62/21	fibre [1] 213/23
exchange [34] 13/25	97/24 102/15 114/14	extremely [16] 6/23	fallen [1] 109/21	fight [1] 202/18
19/17 24/25 25/4	117/10 123/16 123/19	21/20 23/17 32/10	falling [4] 69/5	fighting [1] 201/3
25/16 26/7 37/11	125/14 131/20 132/3	32/25 47/12 47/23	109/15 109/15 166/22	figure [1] 206/24
37/15 38/22 39/3 42/2	133/1 163/7 164/15	62/4 74/3 83/21 83/22	false [7] 94/19	figures [2] 7/19
42/4 42/12 42/15	165/22 223/3 224/9	94/1 95/25 105/14	104/15 104/24 200/21	206/24
42/23 44/8 44/9 45/23	224/10	173/5 177/8	217/7 224/21 225/7	fill [1] 209/18
46/25 47/2 52/19 57/5	experienced [6] 23/7	eye [2] 199/6 200/7	familiar [1] 95/23	filling [1] 219/6
57/8 58/17 62/11	47/14 91/16 91/17	eyes [1] 51/13	families [2] 20/19	final [6] 68/7 69/6
70/22 85/14 172/5	91/20 199/4	F	222/25	109/13 137/24 199/16
202/9 202/15 203/3	experiences [1]	face [17] 26/12 26/12	family [1] 223/18	227/10
204/13 206/3 206/4	50/23	26/23 26/23 38/2	fan [7] 202/25 203/17	finance [8] 60/6
exchanged [2] 22/3	experiencing [2]	105/2 136/21 139/11	204/12 204/14 204/18	60/25 75/20 75/21
97/2	82/1 90/9	151/25 161/16 168/11	206/5 206/7	76/4 77/15 78/18 84/6
exchanges [22] 6/14	expert [9] 99/10	177/13 179/19 207/13	fanzone [1] 203/6	Finance Secretary [2]
6/15 7/16 9/2 9/12	101/19 114/23 115/10	207/17 225/16 226/2	far [28] 3/17 5/9	60/6 60/25
9/20 9/21 10/22 10/24	124/23 191/5 191/17	face masks [1]	14/12 16/20 34/13	finances [1] 79/18
13/2 13/14 13/21	191/18 224/13	136/21	41/4 47/1 58/4 67/16	financial [9] 60/9
14/21 15/8 25/25 26/4	expertise [8] 87/6	faced [5] 12/15 49/20	96/10 113/24 114/13	80/3 80/4 81/19 83/1
26/5 26/5 43/17 43/22	87/21 96/2 101/21	196/16 201/13 213/1	131/9 131/9 139/10	83/14 84/8 84/13
48/3 51/20	118/4 120/16 131/24	211/25	140/16 163/19 187/18	103/20
exchanging [2] 17/3	experts [7] 112/11	facilities [8] 25/17	195/11 195/19 200/11	find [15] 24/14 38/19
43/25	114/4 115/6 115/19	100/2 101/2 101/16	200/11 200/14 208/3	57/24 59/10 59/11
exclude [2] 84/17	115/22 199/7 206/9	101/17 117/21 135/17	208/5 208/6 208/15	61/16 64/5 90/20
85/10	explain [4] 173/8	139/5	208/15	152/9 161/14 161/17
excluded [1] 83/19	191/8 212/16 224/7	facility [1] 135/19	fashion [1] 44/23	188/12 190/17 195/2
exclusive [1] 148/2	explained [2] 187/12	facing [4] 3/9 53/6	fast [4] 120/2 142/5	225/13
exclusively [1]	220/17	178/16 186/12	191/9 202/6	finding [1] 60/8
113/13	explaining [1] 16/17	fact [53] 12/18 13/12	fear [2] 90/9 94/3	findings [1] 129/7
excuse [1] 46/19	explains [1] 16/17	16/5 19/9 26/14 28/8	feature [1] 176/21	fine [3] 38/17 108/11
Executive [1] 127/25	explanation [3] 70/1	35/15 41/11 61/12	features [1] 42/13	109/16
exemptions [1]	70/2 212/25	64/4 68/11 76/16 82/8	February [24] 93/1	finely [2] 174/13
173/8	explanations [1]	82/14 82/19 88/8 88/8	93/16 94/1 94/2 97/15	175/8
exercise [5] 60/7	191/23	89/12 89/19 92/11	98/5 98/7 98/10 98/11	finished [1] 148/16
60/14 64/4 127/22	explicitly [1] 189/12	92/17 93/4 94/20	99/22 100/1 117/20	Fiona [3] 76/3 79/25
Exercise Nimbus [1]	explore [1] 6/20	105/14 111/12 111/13	127/21 130/20 130/21	84/5
127/22	explored [2] 25/25	122/9 132/8 134/8	133/11 134/2 134/11	Fiona Hyslop [3]
exist [3] 116/8	43/22	136/17 149/10 149/11	135/6 135/13 135/16	76/3 79/25 84/5
154/17 154/19	exploring [1] 185/18	150/8 152/12 157/9	206/22 219/1 228/9	firm [4] 66/20 90/23
existed [1] 48/22	exposure [1] 85/18	159/24 162/11 162/24	February 2020 [2]	91/15 124/9
existence [3] 76/17	expressed [7] 62/12	163/21 163/23 165/8	93/16 206/22	firmly [4] 7/24 31/19
	81/20 104/22 106/23	175/9 176/25 177/12	fed [3] 27/12 38/6	56/22 193/14
	196/23 217/3 220/24	185/18 186/3 186/5	129/5	first [109] 2/11 2/14

F	flagging [2] 7/15 198/22	18/15 34/1 47/20 69/10 71/14 74/2 83/17 93/17 114/16 117/11 128/20 134/10 144/3 156/19 195/2 202/12	free [5] 32/18 58/14 60/10 215/16 226/5	G
first... [107] 2/18 13/2 13/13 14/10 14/23 15/11 18/9 23/21 24/8 25/23 27/15 32/3 32/4 32/8 34/7 42/16 42/17 43/16 48/23 48/24 49/1 53/13 53/21 53/24 55/5 57/8 62/1 63/1 64/7 65/1 65/4 65/11 65/14 69/7 69/14 78/20 81/21 81/21 81/22 84/23 86/13 86/21 86/21 88/6 88/7 89/4 89/6 89/8 90/9 91/9 91/21 93/1 93/17 93/19 93/20 96/12 97/10 98/6 106/13 106/21 107/2 107/20 107/20 112/18 114/17 116/13 122/10 125/17 127/10 133/15 134/14 135/4 135/5 135/14 136/19 136/20 136/21 141/5 141/22 143/16 146/10 148/15 148/19 150/19 154/24 157/4 160/1 172/8 172/16 172/20 172/22 173/1 174/18 177/12 182/5 184/11 187/3 202/17 205/22 206/5 209/15 210/4 211/16 212/7 215/3 221/2 227/12	flaws [1] 219/16	8/21 9/17 15/10 66/24 100/22 106/10 188/5	French [1] 112/19	gain [1] 160/13
first Minister [47] 2/11 2/14 2/18 13/2 13/13 14/10 14/23 15/11 18/9 24/8 25/23 27/15 32/3 42/16 42/17 43/16 48/23 49/1 53/13 53/21 53/24 62/1 63/1 65/1 65/4 65/11 69/7 69/14 78/20 81/21 86/21 88/7 89/4 89/6 89/8 91/21 114/17 125/17 133/15 146/10 150/19 154/24 160/1 202/17 205/22 215/3 227/12	flexibility [1] 223/9	formalised [1] 28/20	frenetic [2] 27/23 28/6	gallery [2] 168/22 228/2
First Minister's [2] 141/22 143/16	flooded [1] 134/14	formality [2] 3/10 8/23	frequency [2] 12/5 209/3	gaps [1] 209/19
First Ministers [1] 81/21	flu [19] 88/11 91/18 92/14 93/12 93/13 93/19 94/7 94/9 94/12 94/15 94/18 95/7 95/22 97/25 102/20 125/15 125/16 132/16 132/23	formally [4] 7/21 25/13 68/6 138/4	frequent [1] 13/9	gather [2] 143/5 203/8
First Ministership [1] 86/13	fluid [1] 78/4	former [5] 6/7 32/4 42/16 53/20 227/12	frequently [6] 77/12 113/17 126/11 198/12 198/18 211/5	gathered [1] 114/3
first-person [1] 182/5	fly [1] 171/19	forms [2] 14/3 195/21	front [15] 40/12 45/20 49/12 62/3 74/23 77/22 80/8 84/18 91/22 116/11 116/12 144/8 146/21 176/3 206/24	gathering [2] 96/19 140/12
firstly [3] 76/8 119/18 142/16	FM [6] 58/2 79/19 86/1 175/16 175/17 203/19	formulate [1] 9/17	frustration [2] 81/19 132/21	gatherings [13] 140/3 140/24 141/3 141/9 141/19 142/8 142/13 145/22 146/23 152/25 158/2 158/23 159/1
Fitzpatrick [2] 128/14 129/3	FMQs [1] 204/1	fortuitously [1] 13/1	frustrations [2] 82/24 116/17	gave [12] 21/10 22/6 52/4 88/4 89/22 100/25 111/11 152/12 153/22 156/20 193/12 201/1
fixed [1] 153/25	focus [7] 7/18 166/23 199/5 201/23 217/24 222/14 224/22	fortunate [1] 213/22	fuelled [2] 137/4 137/15	GCC [1] 203/11
	focused [8] 75/19 132/18 138/11 155/1 161/7 161/10 205/24 217/11	forum [2] 56/13 56/14	full [8] 17/12 57/1 63/5 69/20 70/18 81/7 88/25 212/25	GCSA [1] 140/5
	FOI [3] 43/1 48/17 48/19	forward [2] 70/9 124/2	fuller [4] 133/20 135/1 135/8 218/18	general [10] 4/21 10/6 16/21 97/16 97/20 97/21 114/8 133/23 140/8 183/11
	FOIs [1] 166/8	forwarding [1] 51/21	fullest [1] 220/7	generally [16] 5/23 16/3 31/7 32/12 41/15 63/13 89/25 101/18 160/5 170/6 182/24 183/6 192/6 198/4 198/8 219/4
	follow [3] 143/7 144/24 144/25	found [9] 24/10 24/16 30/9 34/25 104/16 152/8 165/15 188/19 214/17	fully [9] 19/9 78/11 86/7 130/25 135/2 148/20 149/1 212/17 220/24	genomic [7] 99/5 100/8 100/10 100/12 106/19 107/23 212/10
	followed [2] 159/3 198/19	four [31] 9/23 28/5 39/1 39/1 40/21 110/23 126/13 126/13 140/7 140/9 140/17 140/21 141/11 148/5 149/11 150/7 150/10 150/12 150/14 150/21 151/9 151/15 154/15 155/18 155/23 157/8 157/13 157/16 157/17 201/20 202/5	function [2] 24/15 56/18	genuine [2] 111/8 195/4
	following [6] 133/21 134/17 186/22 210/2 215/3 215/10	four nations [18] 110/23 140/21 141/11 148/5 150/7 150/10 150/12 150/14 150/21 151/9 151/15 154/15 155/18 155/23 157/8 157/13 157/17 202/5	functions [1] 209/24	genuinely [6] 123/20 130/7 167/14 193/14 194/4 195/24
	follows [4] 15/22 36/1 37/2 130/20	four years [2] 28/5 39/1	fund [1] 61/23	germane [1] 22/17
	food [2] 36/6 203/16	frail [1] 225/4	fundamental [1] 4/16	get [27] 9/25 33/16 48/12 48/18 54/4 58/22 83/5 87/17 110/17 112/17 115/20 149/25 154/10 187/14 190/20 192/3 192/24 202/13 203/20 208/4 210/4 211/15 211/24 213/6 213/15 220/11 223/14
	food/non [1] 36/6	framework [9] 4/23 65/3 65/13 67/24 68/16 68/19 151/10 187/4 188/22	funding [3] 59/5 59/10 80/21	getting [12] 18/16 31/14 55/18 93/18 95/17 115/9 116/23 117/3 117/20 126/6 189/13 223/24
	foot [1] 146/21	frameworks [1] 68/20	furlough [3] 80/21 82/11 82/16	give [25] 6/11 9/24 10/13 13/6 21/1 22/15 30/13 36/22 47/17 56/9 60/12 67/17 73/5 98/8 100/21 121/24 126/14 128/23 128/24
	fora [1] 13/6	France [1] 106/24	further [31] 1/21 1/22 1/23 2/4 27/14 35/24 45/21 45/25 48/6 57/13 59/3 59/6 59/6 71/19 82/12 86/5 88/20 108/4 109/12 112/21 131/15 133/16 141/9 144/20 149/15 178/5 198/7 204/21 214/8 215/9 224/24	
	Forbes [15] 59/2 59/9 60/6 60/14 62/15 62/17 65/6 76/1 76/5 77/14 78/8 79/23 83/11 83/19 83/21	frank [1] 57/1	future [8] 16/2 17/16 23/11 103/11 173/21 181/21 185/24 188/11	
	Forbes' [2] 76/15 84/13	Frankly [1] 165/13		
	force [6] 79/22 81/2 157/23 157/25 158/6 171/10	Fraser [2] 10/7 16/12		
	fore [3] 38/14 81/12 161/18			
	foreign [2] 169/12 194/16			
	Foreign Office [1] 169/12			
	foreseeable [1] 188/11			
	foresight [1] 103/1			
	forever [1] 22/24			
	forget [3] 173/17 174/23 228/3			
	forgive [17] 10/21			

G	122/16 124/2 127/20 131/8 132/8 133/5 139/13 141/16 141/18 142/3 142/10 148/18 166/3 166/21 169/8 171/24 172/6 183/23 189/23 194/8 194/16 207/6 208/4 224/16 gold [21] 65/5 65/11 65/18 65/19 65/19 66/13 66/22 66/22 66/25 67/2 71/5 71/5 72/12 72/13 74/21 75/6 75/9 76/17 77/23 79/12 79/23 gone [14] 24/1 60/16 67/3 109/16 112/5 143/11 189/14 190/21 190/25 194/2 194/4 194/6 194/7 201/11 good [14] 1/4 31/8 31/12 33/11 39/20 62/7 111/20 116/23 127/14 144/5 145/2 155/2 196/1 209/5 got [30] 4/7 39/17 51/24 59/13 65/25 66/18 68/4 78/15 82/15 86/8 86/17 98/11 104/13 104/17 108/21 110/21 115/11 119/5 119/17 126/15 153/7 186/14 188/1 189/20 190/10 193/7 199/16 207/11 219/12 223/12 Gove [8] 139/21 142/7 151/4 151/6 152/12 161/4 162/11 183/24 Gove's [1] 183/13 govern [1] 204/15 governance [3] 31/8 31/12 66/24 governed [1] 204/9 government [265] government's [18] 7/11 16/3 93/21 113/14 120/21 126/25 131/14 131/16 140/11 144/9 144/14 151/20 155/11 155/25 156/14 199/6 201/20 205/14 government-issued [1] 53/22 governments [13] 23/11 26/6 102/25 103/13 142/11 143/2 144/24 146/20 153/16 155/3 157/16 166/8 189/24 GP [1] 99/21 grand [2] 65/22 73/5 granted [2] 156/2	156/12 grapple [1] 103/13 grappling [2] 41/21 41/23 gratitude [2] 86/18 117/4 great [10] 8/5 30/17 87/3 92/21 116/20 117/3 118/4 174/16 196/19 202/5 greater [5] 101/13 103/5 103/10 104/1 105/9 greatest [1] 184/2 Green [1] 173/11 Gregor [3] 87/19 175/23 190/17 Gregor Smith [1] 190/17 grief [1] 208/9 Grieve [3] 130/17 131/21 132/16 Grieve's [1] 133/10 grip [2] 90/23 91/15 ground [2] 175/9 176/16 grounds [3] 171/8 173/15 174/20 group [43] 42/12 42/18 42/19 43/21 45/6 45/6 45/18 51/12 51/16 52/2 52/3 52/3 52/5 52/10 52/10 65/5 65/11 65/18 65/18 65/25 66/1 66/13 66/22 66/25 67/2 76/17 78/4 116/19 188/4 188/18 189/21 196/6 196/8 196/18 197/24 209/17 209/19 209/21 211/4 211/7 213/10 213/12 224/5 group's [1] 188/6 grouped [1] 107/6 groups [5] 6/5 40/15 43/24 137/9 137/20 grouphink [1] 116/6 growing [2] 93/24 188/2 grumpy [1] 37/9 guarantee [2] 20/19 227/22 guard [2] 217/14 223/10 guarding [2] 94/21 116/5 guess [3] 36/7 147/23 195/2 guidance [3] 219/16 219/17 225/1 guiding [1] 177/6 gun [2] 142/8 142/9 gynaecological [1] 114/7	H H1N1 [4] 88/11 89/12 95/15 102/15 had [346] hadn't [15] 6/10 24/11 33/20 39/7 39/16 52/19 61/18 82/25 89/7 107/17 123/3 128/21 137/25 147/25 194/7 Halliday [2] 169/4 172/24 halting [1] 108/4 hand [1] 209/3 handful [1] 6/4 handled [1] 122/19 handling [1] 86/10 hands [2] 56/16 211/15 handwriting [1] 79/10 happen [16] 35/19 58/2 82/5 94/19 107/25 122/16 127/15 140/3 164/3 165/5 165/9 166/3 167/8 221/4 221/5 227/11 happened [20] 15/25 26/11 56/25 67/9 72/15 72/17 94/6 99/14 99/15 107/18 107/18 107/25 136/8 152/12 159/3 176/11 200/2 200/3 201/16 225/19 happening [8] 96/20 135/22 136/8 136/25 139/1 163/23 165/2 204/18 happens [4] 46/1 62/11 144/24 222/6 happy [5] 58/3 61/11 116/15 128/24 130/13 hard [1] 48/8 harm [18] 39/14 153/13 187/17 195/9 195/21 196/14 200/12 200/15 201/21 201/22 201/24 201/24 201/25 207/6 207/20 208/1 208/1 208/17 harm 1 [3] 201/21 201/24 201/25 harm 2 [1] 201/24 harm's [1] 226/14 harms [3] 40/21 201/20 202/2 harms 3 [1] 202/2 Harry [2] 94/14 125/20 has [38] 3/14 3/15 6/9 7/25 12/23 12/24 14/21 17/12 19/4	20/17 21/12 22/16 22/19 32/11 44/11 44/11 44/13 50/10 63/20 70/13 70/14 70/15 70/18 71/15 87/24 89/1 103/16 114/15 115/22 165/15 171/6 173/9 189/14 190/21 196/6 201/10 214/12 217/23 have [385] haven't [6] 10/21 14/18 35/16 128/20 181/23 201/18 having [44] 9/7 26/21 27/15 28/13 28/18 31/3 35/14 38/18 39/5 41/24 59/3 60/16 76/10 76/21 78/21 82/3 83/24 88/6 92/25 97/13 99/9 99/24 100/6 103/5 117/18 120/25 121/16 122/25 125/23 129/3 130/10 138/13 142/23 143/19 163/15 165/19 173/2 179/6 181/21 193/5 197/18 209/8 213/22 222/25 he [75] 7/17 7/18 20/15 21/3 22/1 22/4 25/2 25/9 25/10 26/3 44/12 45/3 47/2 47/4 47/9 57/10 58/1 58/9 59/9 59/11 60/24 61/2 61/16 61/18 75/1 85/19 86/9 87/9 88/2 89/21 95/14 97/25 98/25 99/2 105/13 112/20 113/11 113/15 113/16 113/22 113/24 114/1 115/5 115/7 125/11 125/11 129/5 130/21 130/22 131/2 131/6 131/23 131/25 140/11 144/13 144/14 146/11 147/25 148/16 151/4 169/10 178/13 178/19 179/2 179/3 182/5 182/11 182/21 183/25 184/2 184/10 185/24 186/9 203/25 208/13 he's [2] 47/13 190/18 head [2] 2/19 167/15 headroom [1] 189/25 heads [1] 6/18 health [77] 35/16 36/7 42/20 57/9 59/8 61/21 61/23 75/1 75/19 75/20 81/14 85/17 88/6 88/9 89/14 89/15 91/18 95/12 95/13 95/23 96/3
----------	--	--	---	---

H				
health... [56] 99/18 101/1 107/22 112/10 114/14 114/15 114/23 115/18 117/23 118/3 125/14 125/16 128/15 130/17 130/19 132/10 132/17 132/18 132/24 136/4 137/7 137/10 137/18 137/21 138/1 138/2 138/3 138/8 138/11 138/12 138/14 140/22 157/1 160/2 170/23 171/5 171/8 172/3 173/15 174/12 174/20 175/9 176/15 177/1 177/17 178/21 201/21 204/6 209/11 212/10 215/9 216/1 217/25 220/17 221/8 225/1	50/6 50/9 50/11 50/15 51/2 51/7 53/1 58/11 61/3 62/15 62/18 76/2 76/15 76/20 76/23 77/3 77/5 77/7 78/1 85/10 85/13 88/14 107/11 107/11 107/14 117/10 118/19 119/1 119/22 120/9 121/1 121/4 121/5 121/9 121/18 122/7 122/11 122/13 123/4 123/10 124/11 126/3 126/21 127/8 175/18 196/10 196/11 196/19 197/19 198/20 200/25 200/25 203/5 203/6 203/22 204/3 204/4 206/4 213/12	her Ladyship [1] 88/14	how [60] 5/20 10/15 10/19 14/16 23/5 27/18 28/6 30/11 37/13 39/16 44/4 47/1 50/20 54/11 62/7 63/9 63/17 63/21 63/22 67/16 72/20 73/19 75/11 79/19 80/3 80/7 86/14 89/5 90/8 95/3 102/4 104/12 110/24 111/1 117/1 120/5 120/11 133/3 145/9 145/9 145/10 147/15 161/24 173/15 189/25 193/22 203/12 203/20 204/10 207/4 208/24 211/2 211/6 211/8 212/19 220/3 221/20 223/1 223/17 224/14	62/2 62/3 62/4 69/5 148/9 152/5 152/10 191/22 191/24 I am [26] 1/9 7/24 8/17 9/14 10/24 16/20 21/2 22/16 29/17 37/21 38/15 41/1 56/21 67/21 103/8 105/6 114/1 114/13 149/7 191/24 209/3 212/15 213/21 214/1 219/22 219/24 I announce [1] 146/14 I announced [2] 143/16 143/22 I answered [2] 210/12 210/15 I apologise [4] 22/13 24/10 52/14 202/13 I appreciate [5] 48/13 55/19 101/24 164/17 195/3 I articulated [1] 189/10
Health Secretary [9] 88/6 91/18 95/23 99/18 125/14 125/16 132/17 136/4 160/2	here [34] 5/25 45/15 54/5 60/22 71/14 73/2 74/4 85/7 88/20 88/24 93/18 98/7 98/8 99/8 106/4 138/17 138/17 145/9 151/5 154/20 155/1 167/15 167/16 172/8 172/15 172/19 175/5 179/2 181/5 195/3 196/11 217/18 219/1 227/6	hermes [1] 15/21 15/25 36/14 55/10 153/2 215/24 217/5 217/6 217/10 217/16 217/22 218/2 218/4 218/10 218/14 218/19 218/24 219/13 219/15 219/20 219/23 220/2 220/6 221/19 222/2 222/12 222/22 223/11 223/16 225/22 226/13 227/6	however [9] 23/19 30/10 32/22 71/13 140/15 154/13 170/3 216/19 222/4	I ask [4] 2/24 64/6 139/19 202/8 I asked [6] 137/21 200/25 204/21 205/6 206/9 209/17 I assume [2] 58/20 174/1 I attended [1] 131/7 I began [1] 120/18 I believe [13] 6/8 17/12 48/22 54/24 71/13 71/14 77/8 77/23 83/9 127/4 145/2 159/15 192/8 I believed [1] 198/8 I benefitted [1] 211/25
health-focused [1] 75/19	herself [2] 121/3 122/6	honest [1] 212/3 Honourable [1] 1/5 honoured [1] 148/15 hope [7] 53/9 91/16 109/19 161/23 162/1 177/16 181/9	HPS [8] 95/17 95/20 95/20 95/22 96/3 96/4 96/7 111/11	I articulated [1] 189/10
hear [4] 87/1 117/11 197/11 197/13	high [16] 3/10 8/23 68/20 115/14 120/9 128/4 178/4 179/12 194/9 195/11 195/19 208/3 208/5 208/6 208/15 209/7	hoped [2] 191/12 194/22	hubris [2] 213/18 213/20	I ask [4] 2/24 64/6 139/19 202/8 I asked [6] 137/21 200/25 204/21 205/6 206/9 209/17 I assume [2] 58/20 174/1 I attended [1] 131/7 I began [1] 120/18 I believe [13] 6/8 17/12 48/22 54/24 71/13 71/14 77/8 77/23 83/9 127/4 145/2 159/15 192/8 I believed [1] 198/8 I benefitted [1] 211/25
heard [20] 7/3 10/5 26/15 53/16 56/9 59/1 62/17 92/12 95/10 95/14 95/24 108/12 108/23 113/20 128/17 130/2 142/6 169/3 172/23 186/8	high-level [1] 68/20 higher [3] 98/12 173/6 174/6	hoped [2] 191/12 194/22	huge [3] 155/2 169/21 170/19	I articulated [1] 189/10
hearing [1] 228/8 hearings [1] 213/8 heart [1] 207/11 hearted [5] 44/10 44/15 47/18 48/3 48/11	high [16] 3/10 8/23 68/20 115/14 120/9 128/4 178/4 179/12 194/9 195/11 195/19 208/3 208/5 208/6 208/15 209/7	horizon [1] 186/10 horrendous [2] 90/18 200/12	hugely [1] 211/22 human [5] 15/4 48/10 90/12 103/21 103/22 Humza [5] 6/8 7/17 9/21 24/22 87/19 Humza Yousaf [4] 6/8 7/17 9/21 24/22	I articulated [1] 189/10
heavily [1] 218/9 hefty [1] 177/10 held [8] 2/14 24/23 46/4 48/19 55/12 64/10 133/8 173/6	high-level [1] 68/20 higher [3] 98/12 173/6 174/6	horrible [1] 200/12 horrific [1] 207/5 hospital [22] 25/17 213/11 215/24 218/1 218/3 219/3 219/9 219/11 222/12 224/6 224/10 225/2 225/14 225/15 226/1 226/2 226/11 226/15 226/16 226/18 226/20 227/7	hypocrisy [1] 165/16 hypothetically [1] 105/3	I articulated [1] 189/10
heavily [1] 218/9 hefty [1] 177/10 held [8] 2/14 24/23 46/4 48/19 55/12 64/10 133/8 173/6	highest [5] 86/8 86/17 96/1 165/1 186/14	horrible [1] 200/12 horrific [1] 207/5 hospital [22] 25/17 213/11 215/24 218/1 218/3 219/3 219/9 219/11 222/12 224/6 224/10 225/2 225/14 225/15 226/1 226/2 226/11 226/15 226/16 226/18 226/20 227/7	hypocrisy [1] 165/16 hypothetically [1] 105/3	I articulated [1] 189/10
hell [1] 57/22 help [4] 52/23 209/18 211/10 227/25 helped [1] 35/15 helpful [6] 33/11 33/13 70/1 73/13 130/14 211/22	high [16] 3/10 8/23 68/20 115/14 120/9 128/4 178/4 179/12 194/9 195/11 195/19 208/3 208/5 208/6 208/15 209/7	horrible [1] 200/12 horrific [1] 207/5 hospital [22] 25/17 213/11 215/24 218/1 218/3 219/3 219/9 219/11 222/12 224/6 224/10 225/2 225/14 225/15 226/1 226/2 226/11 226/15 226/16 226/18 226/20 227/7	hypocrisy [1] 165/16 hypothetically [1] 105/3	I articulated [1] 189/10
helpfully [2] 1/10 88/4	high [16] 3/10 8/23 68/20 115/14 120/9 128/4 178/4 179/12 194/9 195/11 195/19 208/3 208/5 208/6 208/15 209/7	horrible [1] 200/12 horrific [1] 207/5 hospital [22] 25/17 213/11 215/24 218/1 218/3 219/3 219/9 219/11 222/12 224/6 224/10 225/2 225/14 225/15 226/1 226/2 226/11 226/15 226/16 226/18 226/20 227/7	hypocrisy [1] 165/16 hypothetically [1] 105/3	I articulated [1] 189/10
helps [1] 58/13 hence [2] 158/10 191/23 henceforth [1] 188/12	high [16] 3/10 8/23 68/20 115/14 120/9 128/4 178/4 179/12 194/9 195/11 195/19 208/3 208/5 208/6 208/15 209/7	horrible [1] 200/12 horrific [1] 207/5 hospital [22] 25/17 213/11 215/24 218/1 218/3 219/3 219/9 219/11 222/12 224/6 224/10 225/2 225/14 225/15 226/1 226/2 226/11 226/15 226/16 226/18 226/20 227/7	hypocrisy [1] 165/16 hypothetically [1] 105/3	I articulated [1] 189/10
her [65] 10/10 34/23 34/25 35/2 35/4 49/24	high [16] 3/10 8/23 68/20 115/14 120/9 128/4 178/4 179/12 194/9 195/11 195/19 208/3 208/5 208/6 208/15 209/7	horrible [1] 200/12 horrific [1] 207/5 hospital [22] 25/17 213/11 215/24 218/1 218/3 219/3 219/9 219/11 222/12 224/6 224/10 225/2 225/14 225/15 226/1 226/2 226/11 226/15 226/16 226/18 226/20 227/7	hypocrisy [1] 165/16 hypothetically [1] 105/3	I articulated [1] 189/10

I	93/10 93/14 94/17 94/17 97/18 98/20 101/9 102/2 105/1 107/11 107/14 108/22 109/7 109/8 112/1 112/1 113/13 113/25 116/12 118/18 123/19 124/2 125/3 127/2 128/3 130/9 130/10 135/20 136/17 146/8 147/12 147/13 151/23 153/8 153/18 159/8 160/4 163/17 167/5 167/16 167/25 168/2 176/3 177/22 182/24 184/12 184/18 193/18 193/25 194/12 196/10 197/25 199/12 199/12 200/7 201/19 206/15 206/16 212/12 221/24 223/12 227/1 227/6 227/6 227/21	206/8 209/7 209/12 209/14 211/24 I hadn't [9] 6/10 24/11 39/7 39/16 52/19 89/7 123/3 128/21 137/25 I have [40] 1/17 8/15 10/24 11/14 13/22 17/25 23/24 24/1 25/24 26/2 26/6 32/14 34/17 35/5 55/11 61/11 69/1 69/1 74/4 74/5 86/8 87/25 96/1 98/19 102/24 117/3 131/22 145/4 145/18 147/14 154/19 159/11 160/2 160/3 182/7 201/12 206/17 214/8 223/14 223/15 I haven't [2] 35/16 128/20 I heard [4] 108/12 108/23 142/6 186/8 I highly [1] 123/13 I hold [1] 32/24 I hope [7] 53/9 91/16 109/19 161/23 162/1 177/16 181/9 I hoped [2] 191/12 194/22 I immediately [1] 119/18 I in [1] 25/4 I indicated [1] 143/12 I initially [1] 120/13 I interacted [1] 125/9 I is [1] 70/23 I jumped [1] 142/7 I just [5] 45/21 189/8 190/10 196/11 197/4 I keep [2] 198/24 212/21 I knew [4] 19/24 186/21 196/25 198/23 I know [17] 25/24 43/24 44/11 71/23 73/17 114/13 127/13 138/21 138/25 139/7 150/22 151/3 159/24 176/3 195/25 198/1 206/19 I lead [1] 207/4 I learned [1] 94/11 I led [2] 59/24 161/10 I left [1] 148/20 I let [1] 34/25 I liked [1] 87/5 I listened [1] 183/12 I live [1] 207/9 I look [3] 38/9 44/8 145/15 I looked [1] 24/15 I made [6] 14/9 25/15 54/10 147/20 160/22	221/13 I make [3] 14/9 62/2 132/7 I may [8] 27/14 31/9 59/15 59/24 93/5 107/13 160/22 184/10 I maybe [1] 220/9 I mean [9] 26/20 37/8 65/20 107/5 144/7 144/14 166/17 177/4 219/4 I meant [2] 87/5 167/2 I mentioned [1] 16/12 I might [5] 52/25 53/2 107/11 124/17 197/15 I might've [1] 183/18 I need [1] 60/2 I needn't [1] 224/16 I never [3] 8/16 151/3 193/16 I not [1] 13/17 I notice [1] 228/2 I obviously [1] 76/19 I only [1] 205/4 I operated [4] 6/23 21/14 63/21 78/19 I perhaps [3] 10/21 61/19 121/24 I pop [1] 32/18 I possibly [1] 53/11 I probably [1] 122/11 I probed [1] 205/6 I provided [2] 2/4 24/9 I put [2] 184/6 190/24 I quickly [1] 121/20 I quoted [1] 208/11 I rather [1] 103/15 I reached [2] 196/16 211/13 I read [7] 52/18 52/20 76/23 124/4 179/1 191/12 211/14 I realised [1] 122/1 I recall [6] 58/23 106/6 113/25 144/21 148/10 163/19 I received [5] 93/17 93/19 136/20 214/25 215/9 I referred [2] 95/19 144/11 I regret [1] 208/7 I remember [10] 28/11 28/17 99/17 115/24 147/22 163/13 174/2 177/25 179/24 206/21 I repeat [1] 12/3 I respectfully [2] 69/8 163/12 I responded [1]	184/13 I said [5] 38/23 117/17 122/9 125/9 126/7 I saw [3] 90/6 111/25 112/2 I say [8] 15/11 45/4 86/16 95/9 122/5 159/7 182/23 189/12 I see [2] 44/10 90/4 I set [3] 3/9 142/13 143/12 I shall [2] 112/23 168/17 I should [10] 50/15 66/22 86/8 88/21 97/8 104/2 121/2 129/1 131/17 182/15 I shouldn't [2] 50/5 184/18 I simply [2] 51/2 157/3 I somehow [1] 144/4 I sought [5] 3/5 5/15 31/1 210/15 211/12 I specifically [1] 147/12 I spoke [5] 81/10 94/3 108/21 122/12 147/23 I stand [2] 212/9 212/14 I started [1] 134/12 I stood [1] 194/6 I struggle [1] 119/3 I succeeded [1] 89/10 I suggest [1] 68/10 I suggesting [1] 105/7 I supported [1] 61/4 I suppose [11] 9/9 28/22 37/6 88/22 122/25 132/1 145/9 152/19 155/9 157/4 219/25 I suspect [8] 35/19 55/18 62/23 67/17 87/8 87/9 129/1 138/24 I take [10] 18/8 32/10 42/10 91/15 99/17 107/13 111/25 112/12 119/12 195/24 I tested [1] 206/9 I then [2] 24/18 24/23 I think [235] I thought [17] 14/4 62/15 84/22 88/24 108/24 120/16 121/19 123/9 142/14 142/19 143/1 154/25 155/4 183/8 207/20 209/5 209/6
----------	--	---	---	---

I	204/17 204/22 205/22 211/3 211/11 211/15 221/22 221/24 222/9 223/5 I wasn't [19] 20/25 50/9 50/11 57/7 97/7 97/12 105/23 122/24 132/2 152/21 152/22 153/5 183/15 193/18 197/7 197/7 197/8 197/10 209/2 I welcome [1] 181/19 I went [4] 8/5 147/24 161/24 193/17 I will [13] 4/10 6/21 22/23 40/13 59/18 76/22 160/22 160/23 206/18 206/19 207/9 207/10 207/11 I wish [7] 195/6 195/12 208/9 208/25 213/23 225/20 226/24 I wished [1] 56/6 I won't [1] 11/8 I would [108] 5/22 5/24 6/6 6/24 7/10 7/22 8/1 9/8 10/2 10/3 10/25 11/2 11/9 11/15 13/14 14/11 15/12 16/21 16/23 16/23 17/22 21/19 26/21 28/2 30/13 30/16 32/17 37/19 37/22 38/16 39/5 39/18 40/11 44/1 44/3 44/3 44/4 44/13 44/16 47/20 49/9 49/12 50/8 51/8 52/24 53/1 53/8 62/24 63/22 68/5 68/6 68/18 68/22 69/23 73/12 73/25 87/18 89/5 91/2 91/6 94/25 101/9 102/11 107/7 109/10 112/4 118/2 119/11 120/21 127/5 128/22 130/12 131/25 131/25 132/5 132/14 134/7 134/19 134/23 136/2 142/8 143/18 143/18 147/4 147/4 148/16 149/15 150/24 151/5 152/9 154/22 155/6 160/17 166/2 167/5 167/5 174/1 177/5 182/8 184/25 185/2 198/18 200/13 206/3 208/23 225/13 225/20 226/24 I would've [1] 183/11 I wouldn't [10] 9/10 21/2 50/8 53/9 54/2 105/24 110/16 114/18 117/14 127/16 I'd [16] 34/6 42/14	50/16 51/6 89/16 92/10 94/2 94/15 106/3 134/13 164/23 186/16 194/21 195/6 206/6 214/19 I'd never [1] 194/21 I'll [6] 9/25 37/17 55/23 119/16 146/6 204/3 I'm [105] 5/25 6/18 8/16 8/21 9/14 11/1 11/14 12/2 15/2 15/5 18/16 28/22 29/11 31/8 35/11 35/14 37/17 39/10 39/17 40/20 41/16 41/19 43/25 45/22 46/25 49/11 52/25 55/15 59/17 60/20 60/22 62/11 64/21 66/9 69/3 70/14 71/14 73/2 82/14 82/23 83/17 84/9 84/10 88/20 88/22 88/22 88/23 93/17 98/6 98/21 99/8 104/8 104/19 104/20 104/20 106/16 114/16 116/15 117/20 118/21 120/4 127/19 128/23 129/9 130/7 130/11 130/12 132/10 132/15 137/13 139/8 145/9 146/11 147/11 153/5 154/1 156/5 156/15 157/11 164/17 165/4 165/5 167/14 167/14 167/15 170/22 173/5 175/21 178/6 185/18 191/5 191/13 195/3 195/3 196/11 199/2 202/12 206/16 212/8 214/15 217/20 219/1 223/24 225/17 227/3 I've [36] 6/16 7/7 9/22 11/7 32/13 33/21 34/16 36/21 37/16 45/2 59/13 63/11 65/25 71/20 71/22 73/6 74/1 86/16 89/24 94/8 110/7 126/7 130/8 133/9 145/8 159/6 168/21 183/5 186/14 194/11 199/4 205/19 206/15 212/16 212/16 220/24 Ian [2] 195/15 208/12 Ian Diamond [1] 195/15 idea [3] 11/16 90/18 97/19 identified [4] 70/14 99/2 108/6 154/13 identifying [2] 17/15 108/19	identity [1] 106/21 ie [1] 215/6 if [197] 7/1 7/6 7/9 7/13 9/24 10/21 13/17 14/4 15/9 17/4 18/15 19/4 20/20 20/24 20/25 21/25 22/13 25/4 25/9 27/14 27/15 27/17 29/22 30/20 31/8 32/10 32/14 34/1 35/7 35/20 36/11 36/22 36/22 37/17 40/4 45/8 48/15 48/25 49/6 49/6 50/6 50/15 51/6 51/8 52/13 52/13 52/23 52/23 53/7 55/7 55/16 55/21 56/20 57/23 58/2 58/4 58/25 59/5 59/13 59/15 59/24 60/9 64/7 64/13 65/14 65/25 66/5 67/13 69/9 69/24 71/14 73/13 75/6 76/23 79/14 80/19 83/3 83/16 83/17 83/18 84/11 86/11 91/14 93/5 93/7 93/17 94/25 98/6 99/16 99/17 101/15 104/3 104/20 104/20 104/25 107/12 107/15 110/9 110/14 110/17 110/17 111/14 112/22 116/15 117/20 119/3 120/19 122/1 124/20 124/24 125/11 125/16 126/2 126/7 128/5 128/24 129/12 130/14 134/6 134/20 139/23 143/5 144/2 144/2 144/3 144/16 145/3 145/15 145/18 145/24 147/16 147/17 149/21 149/22 150/3 150/20 153/5 154/3 154/25 155/10 159/24 164/21 166/3 166/17 167/2 167/9 167/14 167/15 167/19 168/4 168/8 168/15 168/22 170/20 171/13 171/16 171/18 173/7 174/8 174/14 174/19 176/6 180/11 180/17 181/5 183/1 185/1 186/21 187/3 191/3 191/7 197/9 198/16 203/11 203/15 203/19 203/21 204/1 206/3 208/16 208/23 212/15 212/23 215/22 215/24 216/6 216/8 217/8 220/25 221/20 222/5 223/1 225/11 225/16 227/12 227/22 228/4	If that's [1] 112/22 illusions [1] 196/15 illustrate [2] 82/23 107/16 illustrates [1] 37/16 illustration [1] 7/14 imagine [2] 16/21 62/24 imagines [1] 129/22 immediate [1] 119/13 immediately [3] 119/18 140/9 146/1 imminent [1] 85/22 impact [16] 20/3 22/24 23/8 38/13 41/3 77/10 79/19 79/20 80/4 81/16 127/5 141/3 195/14 201/21 202/4 207/9 impacts [4] 30/2 84/13 91/11 208/6 implement [1] 152/3 implemented [1] 210/25 implementing [1] 118/17 implications [3] 76/11 175/18 176/20 importance [7] 16/17 21/11 49/18 94/15 104/21 105/6 125/22 important [51] 4/4 4/13 5/9 12/8 13/3 13/4 13/5 14/24 17/13 19/18 22/20 22/20 23/5 25/10 25/21 30/22 39/22 53/10 56/16 61/4 74/3 80/3 104/11 105/14 105/21 116/2 116/16 118/6 125/23 133/22 138/6 142/14 143/22 143/23 146/25 147/2 147/3 148/21 150/13 191/20 192/13 193/9 196/21 207/23 212/4 217/1 218/15 218/16 219/22 219/24 220/1 importantly [1] 22/22 importation [1] 100/13 impose [4] 60/13 83/4 157/21 158/10 impossible [5] 39/13 90/2 121/18 199/4 210/18 impression [14] 3/15 12/24 48/4 69/15 69/23 69/24 73/4 123/9 126/8 156/20 193/12 193/15 198/1 200/21 inability [1] 81/15 inappropriate [2]
----------	--	---	---	--

<p>I</p> <p>inappropriate... [2] 54/6 54/7</p> <p>incident [3] 96/7 107/22 108/2</p> <p>Incidentally [1] 69/1</p> <p>incidents [1] 121/8</p> <p>include [4] 15/25 75/21 99/3 173/10</p> <p>included [2] 95/4 215/10</p> <p>includes [1] 188/13</p> <p>including [15] 14/15 17/21 21/4 25/22 41/11 65/5 99/5 145/7 152/14 172/17 177/10 189/20 193/24 215/4 224/1</p> <p>incorrect [1] 220/23</p> <p>increase [1] 208/1</p> <p>increasing [3] 98/9 133/2 223/5</p> <p>increasingly [3] 142/4 142/22 222/22</p> <p>incredibly [5] 48/8 68/12 87/20 92/21 121/10</p> <p>indeed [23] 2/9 5/2 8/3 13/7 16/7 17/14 18/5 21/8 29/20 31/21 41/9 48/23 56/21 59/2 65/20 82/12 117/4 124/23 125/5 156/13 170/24 213/6 220/19</p> <p>independence [37] 159/14 159/22 160/4 160/6 160/14 161/5 161/13 162/6 162/12 163/6 163/10 164/2 164/14 164/24 165/21 166/2 166/4 166/11 166/11 166/20 167/4 167/10 167/13 167/17 167/23 168/12 181/20 182/1 183/20 185/5 185/7 186/3 186/6 186/12 206/14 206/18 206/19</p> <p>independent [4] 16/16 173/19 173/23 174/24</p> <p>INDEX [1] 228/10</p> <p>indicate [3] 51/21 101/7 162/11</p> <p>indicated [5] 19/8 54/15 61/15 98/20 143/12</p> <p>indicates [3] 46/12 131/2 172/7</p> <p>indicating [1] 99/1</p> <p>indication [4] 25/1 110/11 135/8 178/8</p> <p>indicative [1] 59/19</p>	<p>individual [5] 24/8 99/16 124/22 130/16 169/10</p> <p>individually [1] 107/7</p> <p>individuals [22] 5/24 6/10 6/16 27/2 27/9 32/7 42/24 44/17 45/18 63/17 81/16 83/8 106/20 107/24 114/20 115/3 115/12 115/17 123/14 152/14 222/24 222/24</p> <p>industry [7] 35/17 36/24 40/10 40/15 41/3 41/13 114/25</p> <p>Indy [2] 185/25 186/15</p> <p>inequalities [3] 137/7 137/18 138/11</p> <p>inevit [1] 199/9</p> <p>inevitable [4] 122/14 122/15 199/7 199/10</p> <p>inevitably [1] 182/13</p> <p>infected [3] 106/20 215/13 215/16</p> <p>infection [9] 99/6 108/1 222/15 223/10 224/6 224/11 224/11 224/22 226/1</p> <p>infections [1] 99/20</p> <p>infectious [2] 114/23 215/7</p> <p>influence [2] 15/6 94/9</p> <p>influenced [3] 95/5 160/12 161/1</p> <p>inform [7] 71/16 71/19 72/9 76/13 78/7 78/22 91/7</p> <p>informal [21] 3/1 3/22 5/17 5/19 5/25 7/8 8/1 8/10 8/16 12/20 13/8 15/7 15/15 17/4 17/24 19/17 21/3 23/21 25/2 31/24 33/6</p> <p>information [45] 2/4 5/13 6/15 7/4 10/9 10/12 10/17 11/20 11/22 13/25 17/21 34/3 43/25 44/7 45/17 46/4 46/9 46/14 46/16 46/21 51/14 51/15 53/4 54/11 76/19 85/19 92/15 97/17 97/25 110/15 110/21 110/24 111/3 126/3 126/5 126/14 126/17 126/20 133/25 135/1 136/13 138/18 143/25 147/23 215/4</p> <p>informative [1] 133/23</p> <p>informed [9] 3/11 52/17 53/10 95/20</p>	<p>96/15 105/20 133/15 134/22 135/2</p> <p>infrastructure [3] 103/2 103/10 118/1</p> <p>infrequently [1] 126/9</p> <p>initial [5] 92/9 121/17 158/4 178/4 214/25</p> <p>initially [6] 31/18 66/15 99/21 115/12 120/13 132/18</p> <p>input [4] 43/6 65/7 123/11 201/2</p> <p>inputted [1] 27/17</p> <p>inputting [1] 175/10</p> <p>INQ00056221 [1] 139/23</p> <p>INQ000214408 [1] 163/1</p> <p>INQ000214734 [1] 64/6</p> <p>INQ000238705 [1] 133/7</p> <p>INQ000268017 [1] 42/11</p> <p>INQ000273980 [2] 1/22 3/4</p> <p>INQ000274143 [1] 181/14</p> <p>INQ000287766 [1] 35/5</p> <p>INQ000292564 [1] 172/4</p> <p>INQ000334792 [2] 57/4 202/8</p> <p>INQ000339033 [2] 1/13 214/18</p> <p>INQ000346141 [1] 79/8</p> <p>INQ000370312 [1] 220/13</p> <p>inquiries [1] 20/25</p> <p>inquiry [71] 1/7 1/11 2/4 6/9 6/20 7/25 9/13 10/25 12/1 12/19 13/16 14/5 14/21 15/21 15/23 16/2 16/4 16/10 16/16 16/18 17/1 17/10 17/12 17/18 17/24 18/4 18/7 18/10 18/11 19/3 19/4 19/10 19/16 19/19 20/22 21/12 22/15 22/16 23/10 23/10 24/6 24/9 24/11 24/19 24/22 24/24 30/14 35/1 41/9 41/16 41/17 42/20 50/10 51/25 71/15 71/21 75/6 75/23 88/7 99/13 100/25 108/23 130/13 160/10 167/20 175/5 195/16 205/20 208/11 213/16 229/5</p>	<p>insecure [1] 21/17</p> <p>instance [3] 29/15 107/2 107/15</p> <p>instances [2] 4/9 70/9</p> <p>instead [2] 111/15 199/18</p> <p>instinct [24] 35/22 161/12 161/19 162/3 203/6 204/15 204/17 204/21 204/23 205/6 206/4 206/8 206/11 206/13 207/3 207/3 207/15 207/19 207/21 208/19 210/2 210/6 210/21 212/2</p> <p>instincts [12] 161/17 161/18 204/4 204/9 205/2 205/15 206/1 206/2 207/1 207/12 213/4 213/7</p> <p>instructed [1] 214/15</p> <p>instruction [1] 25/8</p> <p>instrument [1] 79/17</p> <p>integrated [1] 99/3</p> <p>integrity [3] 44/21 45/4 131/24</p> <p>intelligence [1] 96/19</p> <p>intend [1] 98/20</p> <p>intended [2] 156/24 182/17</p> <p>intends [1] 198/12</p> <p>intense [1] 101/24</p> <p>intensely [1] 138/11</p> <p>intention [2] 111/3 147/9</p> <p>intentions [1] 60/20</p> <p>interacted [1] 125/9</p> <p>interactions [1] 152/11</p> <p>interest [5] 41/9 41/16 41/18 55/8 65/7</p> <p>interested [13] 10/13 10/18 11/2 37/12 41/8 42/14 59/17 78/21 89/16 98/21 140/2 173/2 185/18</p> <p>interests [5] 31/11 84/8 151/2 205/25 220/5</p> <p>interface [1] 171/3</p> <p>internal [4] 120/22 122/17 131/4 162/20</p> <p>internally [1] 120/4</p> <p>international [5] 106/23 145/7 170/6 172/9 173/2</p> <p>internationally [1] 103/25</p> <p>interpret [2] 47/1 118/20</p> <p>interpretation [11] 44/12 46/22 47/3 47/17 47/19 48/13</p>	<p>68/11 124/24 125/4 179/22 182/21</p> <p>interpretations [2] 14/18 39/2</p> <p>interrogate [1] 66/16</p> <p>interrupt [1] 55/2</p> <p>intervened [1] 58/7</p> <p>interviews [3] 106/7 182/14 198/13</p> <p>into [60] 15/21 15/23 16/2 27/18 27/22 28/19 37/22 58/22 59/16 63/18 67/16 70/12 70/13 72/8 75/19 76/2 76/24 78/15 81/8 83/17 88/23 92/10 93/16 97/15 98/5 98/10 98/11 99/15 100/15 105/12 108/9 111/9 111/12 111/15 115/20 120/4 124/4 148/12 157/22 157/25 157/25 158/6 166/12 166/21 169/7 171/7 171/19 196/4 196/25 197/2 200/3 200/21 210/19 212/6 212/12 212/14 216/15 219/1 222/1 222/16</p> <p>introduce [3] 101/2 137/10 226/25</p> <p>introduced [3] 28/16 101/3 174/4</p> <p>investigated [1] 175/20</p> <p>invidious [1] 12/14</p> <p>involved [19] 42/24 46/25 56/10 83/12 92/13 108/20 114/17 114/19 118/4 129/3 137/3 137/15 144/20 148/22 154/13 172/11 178/9 190/7 203/11</p> <p>involvement [2] 41/14 101/6</p> <p>involves [1] 215/12</p> <p>involving [5] 57/1 86/20 100/12 122/17 127/23</p> <p>Ireland [6] 24/9 32/5 81/22 155/19 155/20 157/10</p> <p>Irish [2] 82/13 127/24</p> <p>irritate [3] 152/21 153/5 154/22</p> <p>irritated [1] 156/16</p> <p>irritating [1] 155/8</p> <p>irritation [3] 152/13 156/23 156/24</p> <p>is [432]</p> <p>isn't [14] 4/18 26/19 52/12 56/18 58/12 82/19 131/1 137/9</p>
--	---	--	--	--

<p>I</p> <p>isn't... [6] 137/23 161/12 162/6 182/1 191/21 206/14</p> <p>isolate [1] 153/2</p> <p>isolated [1] 24/7</p> <p>isolation [8] 69/22 99/5 100/23 144/17 146/24 217/11 219/18 222/15</p> <p>issue [23] 41/15 61/24 71/25 75/21 76/5 76/8 78/18 81/8 81/9 84/16 100/9 108/7 141/8 144/20 153/16 171/24 171/25 215/20 216/4 216/9 216/13 223/3 223/7</p> <p>issued [4] 53/15 53/19 53/22 158/10</p> <p>issues [33] 3/7 8/7 8/18 41/21 41/23 42/7 59/4 71/17 77/10 77/11 78/6 82/3 83/14 84/11 96/2 103/12 136/23 137/11 138/8 138/22 138/23 152/8 155/15 163/16 180/12 180/15 217/17 217/21 218/11 218/15 219/22 220/2 227/4</p> <p>it [586]</p> <p>it's [76] 12/1 22/22 26/5 28/5 30/19 32/18 33/9 33/9 33/9 33/12 36/5 36/15 36/16 36/19 37/10 38/21 39/15 41/12 42/13 45/12 49/6 54/18 55/19 61/4 63/22 65/20 67/6 67/15 67/20 73/2 85/4 86/5 86/11 89/9 89/11 90/20 102/24 104/3 104/25 108/8 129/21 130/24 138/6 139/21 144/7 144/14 145/4 145/5 145/19 155/9 155/10 157/6 161/12 162/3 162/5 162/8 164/6 166/23 166/24 166/24 168/1 169/20 172/15 177/22 181/5 182/2 183/11 190/11 190/21 190/25 192/8 206/16 211/14 220/5 220/24 227/24</p> <p>Italy [1] 219/6</p> <p>iterations [1] 187/4</p> <p>itll [1] 58/2</p> <p>its [24] 9/24 13/10 18/11 19/4 21/12 22/16 42/22 57/23</p>	<p>58/3 58/12 68/19 69/16 96/7 134/5 138/10 162/17 167/6 170/23 195/21 209/10 217/7 217/14 223/19 223/22</p> <p>itself [6] 15/8 90/23 103/16 156/22 226/21 227/1</p> <p>J</p> <p>Jane [1] 213/9</p> <p>January [26] 1/1 2/15 93/1 93/16 93/20 93/23 93/23 96/8 96/12 97/3 97/3 97/12 97/15 98/5 98/10 98/13 99/22 117/18 118/10 134/13 135/16 136/20 137/2 137/14 215/10 220/16</p> <p>January 2020 [3] 2/15 136/20 137/14</p> <p>January/February [1] 93/1</p> <p>Jason [7] 24/18 25/1 43/5 43/10 46/2 86/6 87/19</p> <p>Jason Leitch [4] 25/1 43/10 46/2 86/6</p> <p>Jeane [4] 134/19 143/14 222/10 223/25</p> <p>Jeane Freeman [4] 134/19 143/14 222/10 223/25</p> <p>Jim [2] 42/20 95/24</p> <p>Jim McMenamin [1] 95/24</p> <p>job [11] 39/11 61/1 62/16 63/3 89/4 127/14 154/12 154/13 160/1 197/17 209/5</p> <p>John [3] 32/11 32/13 32/17</p> <p>John Swinney [3] 32/11 32/13 32/17</p> <p>Johnson [17] 82/10 88/16 88/24 89/18 89/23 89/25 139/22 141/6 146/2 146/11 147/20 149/24 154/22 154/24 181/15 182/19 183/3</p> <p>joined [1] 155/18</p> <p>joint [2] 155/2 169/18</p> <p>joke [1] 86/14</p> <p>Jonathan [1] 211/21</p> <p>Jonathan Van-Tam [1] 211/21</p> <p>journalist [1] 20/14</p> <p>journalists [1] 184/17</p> <p>judge [10] 11/18 12/1 17/24 30/19 71/1 89/9</p>	<p>100/15 160/8 210/12 214/4</p> <p>judgement [9] 68/5 99/13 107/13 107/14 108/12 109/22 110/4 112/15 212/20</p> <p>judgements [8] 42/8 109/15 109/16 190/7 198/25 207/7 207/10 226/23</p> <p>judicial [1] 166/7</p> <p>July [14] 169/25 170/3 172/8 172/20 174/3 175/25 176/11 176/13 177/19 178/1 179/15 181/16 182/1 184/1</p> <p>July 2020 [2] 178/1 182/1</p> <p>jump [1] 127/19</p> <p>jumped [2] 142/7 193/20</p> <p>jumping [1] 142/9</p> <p>June [8] 50/13 64/11 163/2 170/11 189/12 191/13 202/10 202/15</p> <p>June 2020 [4] 50/13 170/11 189/12 191/13</p> <p>just [98] 4/1 5/23 8/9 8/15 9/22 11/4 11/15 12/12 17/19 18/21 20/7 22/8 27/20 28/6 30/18 30/23 31/6 32/12 32/18 33/6 33/12 34/4 35/12 40/3 40/14 42/25 45/21 45/22 45/22 45/24 47/14 54/14 55/2 57/14 57/23 58/11 58/21 58/23 60/25 62/20 64/7 64/8 64/13 67/4 67/13 70/14 70/17 79/6 79/15 80/9 80/17 82/9 82/17 82/23 87/1 90/20 91/10 92/10 92/11 93/12 98/8 101/17 110/22 115/12 129/16 130/7 132/9 136/22 141/21 143/21 144/8 146/7 147/2 152/6 154/23 155/7 157/12 158/22 166/23 168/22 171/22 175/17 179/10 181/3 184/19 189/8 190/10 193/12 193/16 193/22 196/11 197/4 197/6 199/1 202/13 218/20 220/9 224/16</p> <p>justified [1] 115/15</p> <p>justify [2] 173/15 180/24</p> <p>juxtaposition [1] 89/17</p>	<p>K</p> <p>Kate [1] 61/17</p> <p>keen [2] 23/15 55/3</p> <p>keep [23] 30/15 48/9 50/7 79/1 111/22 121/18 121/22 134/22 141/2 141/8 150/21 160/15 187/5 189/16 190/3 191/2 192/23 194/23 198/24 210/6 212/3 212/21 220/9</p> <p>keeping [8] 105/20 111/3 151/2 189/4 217/11 219/18 226/20 227/7</p> <p>Ken [13] 32/2 42/24 44/11 44/19 45/2 46/3 46/18 47/9 173/4 175/13 186/8 203/7 203/7</p> <p>Ken Thomson [9] 32/2 42/24 44/11 44/19 45/2 46/3 46/18 47/9 175/13</p> <p>Ken Thomson's [1] 186/8</p> <p>Kenneth [1] 16/14</p> <p>kept [8] 20/4 21/16 29/22 30/8 30/12 103/2 147/1 174/17</p> <p>key [11] 26/9 27/9 65/5 120/8 120/9 124/6 125/11 125/19 167/16 170/11 181/19</p> <p>kicked [2] 106/11 108/2</p> <p>kicks [1] 86/22</p> <p>kind [8] 25/7 26/7 26/10 39/4 42/7 47/5 101/3 188/21</p> <p>kindly [1] 59/19</p> <p>Kingdom [2] 140/18 223/19</p> <p>kit [1] 101/2</p> <p>knew [14] 16/1 19/15 19/22 19/24 21/4 21/6 149/21 149/22 186/21 196/25 198/23 199/9 210/21 215/22</p> <p>know [252]</p> <p>knowing [3] 37/13 204/3 225/10</p> <p>knowledge [10] 13/14 26/3 44/18 50/19 55/12 87/7 92/23 116/24 175/2 214/19</p> <p>known [11] 11/7 28/12 42/5 59/12 66/14 77/4 78/11 107/17 123/3 137/5 147/11</p>	<p>L</p> <p>lab [1] 102/7</p> <p>labour [1] 11/8</p> <p>labs [3] 101/19 102/6 117/21</p> <p>lack [5] 101/7 101/10 102/2 110/7 218/21</p> <p>lacked [1] 101/1</p> <p>Lady [13] 1/4 55/15 55/23 56/4 112/21 113/2 167/14 168/15 169/1 214/14 227/17 227/20 228/6</p> <p>Ladyship [1] 88/14</p> <p>Laid [1] 131/7</p> <p>Lancet [1] 215/5</p> <p>landline [1] 55/10</p> <p>language [11] 14/1 133/24 155/16 191/10 191/20 191/23 191/25 192/12 192/18 193/9 193/10</p> <p>large [8] 26/16 89/7 142/24 178/17 178/23 179/4 179/19 202/19</p> <p>largely [2] 132/24 169/9</p> <p>larger [1] 102/6</p> <p>last [14] 2/5 25/3 36/22 43/22 58/2 58/3 76/22 95/3 108/13 152/20 201/10 211/4 212/8 215/4</p> <p>lasted [1] 82/17</p> <p>late [10] 26/25 75/25 97/2 98/10 116/13 117/18 121/13 145/20 188/22 219/1</p> <p>later [44] 8/22 14/17 34/21 37/25 39/1 40/20 49/10 58/14 70/11 70/12 75/19 76/4 81/11 82/19 92/1 99/22 100/12 100/15 100/19 100/23 105/16 105/22 106/11 107/24 112/3 123/23 126/13 133/16 134/8 136/6 141/17 146/4 153/22 161/9 170/18 171/13 172/2 180/14 185/9 187/4 187/25 188/25 212/11 217/25</p> <p>latitude [2] 68/22 68/25</p> <p>latter [8] 70/12 77/21 98/4 98/13 117/6 120/20 122/2 218/20</p> <p>lay [3] 69/7 180/7 181/4</p> <p>lead [12] 1/7 62/2 65/8 70/4 84/18 91/21 92/20 109/12 120/7</p>
--	--	---	---	--

L	166/17 211/19 let's [2] 58/3 167/6 level [18] 30/21 35/17 36/8 37/1 43/6 68/20 103/1 128/3 173/6 183/15 187/5 187/14 191/2 192/9 193/8 194/23 207/1 210/16 level 2 [2] 36/8 37/1 levelled [1] 183/11 levels [5] 84/3 189/14 192/23 193/3 199/21 life [6] 31/6 160/4 160/19 187/19 208/5 225/22 lifelong [1] 160/3 lifetime [1] 206/17 lift [3] 178/24 179/15 191/3 lifted [3] 176/2 177/20 179/6 lifting [3] 176/5 176/5 189/2 light [8] 13/8 44/10 44/15 47/18 48/3 48/11 73/23 150/8 light-hearted [3] 44/15 48/3 48/11 Lighthouse [2] 102/7 102/8 like [32] 6/17 9/21 10/18 25/5 26/17 30/13 34/8 36/3 39/15 47/6 47/20 69/22 71/6 73/23 87/11 92/10 93/12 98/24 126/2 139/6 165/25 171/25 186/16 187/7 191/23 203/21 205/2 208/21 211/13 211/20 214/20 219/6 liked [1] 87/5 likelihood [1] 21/9 likely [10] 36/16 94/19 111/13 143/7 151/15 190/22 190/22 215/11 215/15 221/10 likewise [1] 162/15 limit [3] 47/1 102/4 131/17 limitation [1] 156/10 limitations [5] 104/4 104/14 104/15 171/7 224/20 limited [14] 6/3 6/23 10/3 18/1 21/20 24/3 24/17 32/10 32/25 101/13 102/21 217/12 220/10 224/24 limits [2] 20/22 38/14 line [10] 17/5 18/16 19/24 19/25 33/21	34/6 44/6 62/22 203/20 211/2 lineage [1] 100/11 link [1] 92/10 list [6] 74/23 75/11 77/22 140/19 169/25 173/8 listed [2] 41/13 172/22 listen [3] 40/15 40/15 141/25 listened [3] 36/24 40/10 183/12 listening [5] 35/20 37/1 40/22 41/6 58/7 literal [1] 22/12 literally [4] 9/20 23/9 80/10 86/25 littered [1] 6/16 little [5] 35/8 45/21 110/14 127/19 127/20 live [3] 189/4 190/2 207/9 lived [1] 178/2 livelihood [1] 194/25 livelihoods [1] 168/10 lives [4] 143/8 168/9 194/24 208/2 living [4] 48/2 188/12 188/19 208/8 Liz [3] 6/8 24/21 70/23 Liz Lloyd [3] 6/8 24/21 70/23 Lloyd [12] 6/8 24/21 32/1 33/15 35/11 35/21 36/10 36/25 70/23 75/3 79/9 80/25 Lloyd's [2] 41/13 41/14 local [1] 138/15 localised [1] 199/20 lock [1] 159/12 lockdown [24] 28/13 59/6 80/13 80/20 81/6 81/7 82/13 82/17 83/5 106/13 148/13 158/17 158/20 188/5 189/1 189/22 192/15 192/15 192/17 199/13 200/4 200/5 227/13 227/15 lockdowns [1] 189/18 logistics [1] 6/14 London [2] 100/4 171/19 long [5] 82/16 95/3 123/4 138/5 207/8 longer [8] 55/1 73/2 103/8 170/2 179/25 180/24 201/4 201/8 look [28] 18/22 22/11 24/12 35/5 38/9 39/1	42/3 44/8 46/18 63/19 69/10 69/16 69/21 72/14 73/14 76/8 79/14 85/5 85/6 98/17 145/15 154/25 163/1 172/4 178/11 202/8 203/18 203/21 looked [16] 5/2 5/16 14/17 24/15 49/23 50/10 73/22 74/6 85/14 134/1 184/23 200/24 202/16 212/11 218/7 224/17 looking [12] 14/22 47/2 57/17 64/21 69/14 95/21 122/24 144/17 145/11 155/15 186/9 195/16 loose [2] 94/18 191/9 loosely [1] 72/6 lose [3] 120/12 213/25 217/23 losing [1] 197/10 loss [7] 123/9 124/1 160/19 160/19 160/20 208/4 225/22 lost [10] 20/5 21/17 34/9 54/9 165/15 165/19 197/12 208/3 213/22 220/6 lot [9] 12/19 26/15 37/8 51/3 132/20 180/11 180/19 180/20 220/2 lots [5] 49/10 110/23 153/7 184/16 190/7 loud [1] 31/14 loved [2] 223/6 223/18 low [3] 178/2 187/22 193/8 lower [5] 58/15 137/8 137/19 195/17 208/14 lowest [3] 187/5 189/13 194/23 lunch [1] 143/9	150/9 156/11 157/16 159/9 160/22 165/24 166/2 166/18 171/14 176/24 177/2 184/21 185/13 186/3 190/18 197/15 204/10 204/14 205/4 205/17 210/8 221/13 221/16 222/10 222/20 226/7 226/23 magically [1] 194/8 magnitude [2] 3/8 23/6 main [5] 56/12 56/14 118/9 118/14 196/17 mainly [3] 3/12 113/13 113/13 maintain [1] 91/12 maintained [1] 216/3 maintenance [1] 103/14 majority [3] 26/20 109/19 194/5 make [53] 3/21 9/7 10/12 14/9 18/10 22/25 23/15 28/9 36/7 41/25 56/23 59/18 60/10 60/22 62/2 68/5 68/7 68/14 69/18 73/7 78/10 80/9 83/3 83/7 85/20 88/2 88/14 109/13 112/16 120/14 121/21 131/25 132/7 132/14 139/5 147/9 157/3 169/6 170/22 177/4 180/11 192/20 192/22 196/24 197/6 197/9 203/17 204/19 207/7 218/17 219/7 222/18 224/12 maker [2] 50/18 199/3 makers [2] 23/8 95/4 makes [5] 67/1 67/10 68/8 129/12 207/4 making [75] 3/11 8/20 8/24 14/8 15/9 15/10 20/10 21/11 21/22 22/17 24/2 26/4 27/24 35/15 38/11 38/12 39/6 44/7 47/11 49/15 49/16 56/7 56/11 56/13 56/14 61/8 64/25 66/24 67/15 68/8 68/14 68/24 70/7 71/12 73/8 75/7 75/10 83/2 84/18 84/21 87/14 90/24 90/24 104/19 104/23 113/4 120/1 120/5 139/6 151/23 151/25 152/4 153/14 154/1 155/24 157/12 157/14 165/17 172/1 173/23 174/2 188/23 194/15
			M	
			MacDougall [1] 172/24 mad [1] 35/18 made [69] 4/8 14/9 17/20 17/20 18/6 19/1 19/15 25/15 27/15 29/13 39/23 40/7 41/7 41/10 51/23 54/10 54/13 59/10 59/22 62/5 69/5 73/6 74/1 80/12 82/5 84/22 89/24 91/1 91/4 95/2 95/4 109/15 109/16 110/18 110/19 119/9 119/22 120/15 121/3 122/11 146/2 147/20	

M	masks [1] 136/21	214/13 227/18 229/8	221/2 221/8 221/25	133/8 133/17 133/21
making... [12] 198/24	mass [14] 112/9	McMenamin [2]	227/9	134/9 134/12 136/5
202/24 206/20 208/16	140/3 140/12 140/24	42/20 95/24	mean [34] 5/18 26/20	136/24 139/20 139/22
210/6 212/17 213/2	141/2 141/9 142/8	me [198] 4/5 4/9 6/9	37/8 65/20 68/16 83/1	141/6 141/13 141/15
221/21 221/24 222/1	142/13 145/21 146/22	6/13 7/15 7/18 7/20	87/4 107/5 109/23	141/20 141/21 142/2
222/17 223/1	152/25 158/1 158/23	9/22 9/24 10/21 11/25	112/14 129/18 136/3	144/7 144/19 144/21
man [1] 150/9	159/1	13/17 14/15 17/23	136/16 139/1 144/7	145/25 146/4 146/22
man-made [1] 150/9	match [6] 110/20	18/9 18/15 21/9 22/20	144/14 146/8 147/13	146/23 147/21 148/10
manage [2] 140/12	110/22 111/14 111/16	22/21 22/24 22/25	150/22 166/17 167/10	148/13 148/20 149/4
208/20	143/9 145/17	23/6 24/21 25/3 25/5	167/16 177/4 177/22	149/6 163/4 163/14
managed [5] 59/11	material [8] 10/14	27/11 30/15 31/19	180/13 189/9 189/14	165/7 165/10 166/19
86/4 193/2 200/15	12/4 16/17 18/12	32/21 33/17 34/1 39/4	189/15 190/25 190/25	213/14
208/17	19/16 21/7 22/2 45/16	40/12 43/13 43/15	191/3 194/12 219/4	meetings [49] 3/13
management [10]	materialise [2]	44/17 45/10 45/20	220/19	18/19 40/3 40/14
39/23 68/13 90/25	205/12 226/10	47/20 48/13 49/6 49/7	meaning [1] 88/22	56/23 59/20 62/4
96/8 107/22 108/2	materialised [1]	49/9 49/12 50/24	meaningful [1] 5/20	65/22 71/5 71/12
180/16 206/15 207/3	112/2	50/25 51/13 52/6 52/7	means [16] 8/16 12/4	71/13 71/16 71/18
212/4	materially [2] 65/12	52/23 52/24 53/2	12/22 13/20 13/24	71/24 72/4 72/5 72/6
managing [3] 82/1	167/8	53/10 53/23 54/6	15/16 21/3 24/13	72/8 72/13 72/17
205/1 225/13	matter [22] 7/9 11/18	54/24 55/6 58/11	31/24 31/24 33/9	72/24 73/9 73/18
Manchester [1]	17/23 23/13 25/12	58/14 59/13 60/19	87/25 166/14 167/22	74/21 75/7 75/9 75/25
171/25	85/13 88/15 92/10	61/14 61/15 62/3	190/20 222/16	76/4 76/16 76/20
manifested [2] 90/22	99/12 129/21 159/21	65/25 66/15 67/11	meant [20] 11/12	76/24 77/4 77/7 77/13
156/22	161/12 162/3 162/23	68/2 68/23 69/7 69/10	12/6 37/10 47/2 47/18	77/17 77/19 77/21
manner [1] 34/16	163/17 163/21 163/24	71/14 71/21 73/2 74/2	56/12 82/16 87/5 87/9	77/23 77/23 77/25
many [33] 22/7 22/9	169/18 173/14 186/5	74/23 77/22 83/16	125/6 146/17 147/1	78/2 84/2 86/24 87/12
26/5 32/23 37/15	186/12 204/8	83/17 83/18 84/1	147/16 167/2 179/3	134/15 136/19 209/2
47/21 48/2 54/24 70/8	matters [26] 3/2	87/10 87/17 89/7	186/9 186/22 189/19	209/2 209/4
70/15 71/23 77/25	11/21 16/24 16/25	91/14 91/24 92/2 92/4	192/12 192/22	member [13] 6/5
84/2 84/2 85/12 86/25	21/21 25/5 25/10 54/3	92/5 93/17 96/5 96/13	measure [1] 208/13	11/3 41/8 43/18 43/21
103/22 138/1 138/9	62/22 64/24 80/3	96/23 99/16 102/23	measures [15] 28/15	51/16 51/25 52/1
139/7 151/3 152/7	89/14 99/11 106/12	103/19 104/3 108/17	28/16 57/13 57/23	83/22 83/23 115/23
159/11 177/9 181/9	106/14 106/17 106/25	111/11 112/11 113/16	58/4 59/4 70/16 81/6	196/18 209/22
187/11 193/25 194/1	107/3 112/15 113/18	114/1 114/4 114/16	189/18 191/1 191/3	members [2] 57/2
194/1 194/2 211/20	146/5 149/6 151/6	115/17 115/25 115/25	195/13 199/19 199/21	228/2
213/17 220/11	153/14 174/19 213/13	116/11 116/12 116/15	224/23	membership [4]
map [2] 189/1 199/15	mature [1] 183/17	116/18 117/11 118/14	media [19] 9/2 9/5	115/24 173/18 173/22
march [35] 2/12	maximise [1] 148/5	119/6 120/9 120/25	17/8 21/10 22/3 25/13	174/24
27/22 28/12 39/10	maximum [3] 187/2	121/6 123/15 124/6	51/3 51/4 112/3	memories [1] 90/7
54/15 98/11 100/21	187/21 193/11	124/11 125/7 125/13	140/23 147/22 184/14	memory [4] 50/12
100/24 106/2 106/3	may [56] 6/20 10/5	125/24 126/1 126/14	184/15 196/20 197/20	95/6 174/8 176/6
106/22 106/25 109/14	11/1 15/18 19/8 27/14	126/17 126/19 128/7	198/2 198/2 198/4	mention [2] 138/17
115/20 116/9 116/13	29/14 30/7 31/9 47/3	128/20 128/22 128/24	198/15	164/4
118/10 130/20 131/6	47/3 48/14 53/7 55/18	130/12 132/6 134/10	medical [24] 26/22	mentioned [9] 9/1
132/7 139/20 146/19	59/15 59/24 70/11	136/21 143/9 143/10	28/18 94/13 113/9	16/12 17/11 34/19
148/12 154/10 157/23	79/9 80/16 83/16 93/5	144/3 144/4 144/8	113/12 114/5 117/15	70/1 92/8 105/13
157/25 158/1 158/21	103/14 107/13 110/4	145/24 152/8 154/4	120/12 121/23 122/10	176/20 203/13
161/3 162/10 213/14	111/7 123/8 123/8	154/19 154/21 154/22	123/22 123/23 124/19	mentioning [1] 17/4
218/2 219/1 221/17	125/5 126/16 127/5	154/24 156/6 156/16	125/1 125/19 140/21	mentions [1] 115/7
224/25	129/13 130/11 139/25	156/16 156/19 160/21	141/11 142/16 211/17	merit [1] 182/20
March 2020 [5] 106/3	140/14 143/23 145/16	161/25 164/21 164/25	219/3 225/15 226/12	message [7] 24/7
115/20 219/1 221/17	157/5 160/22 164/19	166/17 167/2 167/8	226/15 226/17	25/3 38/22 39/3 50/10
224/25	164/19 171/16 174/21	167/12 173/25 173/25	medicine [1] 114/12	51/20 120/22
March 2021 [1]	174/23 183/14 184/10	174/8 176/3 176/6	meet [5] 66/2 66/4	messed [1] 203/10
213/14	185/22 188/25 199/15	177/6 179/23 181/5	208/25 222/23 226/12	messages [55] 5/13
margins [1] 208/16	202/16 203/18 215/6	183/19 185/1 188/24	meeting [62] 28/21	6/1 6/9 8/1 10/16 13/7
Mark [5] 32/4 33/1	215/18 217/8 218/3	191/8 191/18 195/2	37/19 58/18 58/24	14/14 14/16 17/5
97/4 200/17 210/24	224/5 224/21	197/6 198/9 198/21	59/7 60/4 60/5 61/18	19/17 19/22 21/15
Mark Drakeford [2]	May 2020 [1] 224/5	202/12 203/10 204/14	64/10 65/15 66/5 67/9	23/20 23/25 23/25
32/4 33/1	May 2021 [1] 185/22	204/19 206/8 206/12	72/12 72/19 76/2	24/16 24/17 24/21
Mark Woolhouse's [1] 210/24	maybe [7] 55/20	206/24 207/7 207/23	79/23 80/2 85/5 85/22	24/25 26/2 29/7 29/8
Market [1] 162/20	61/14 63/2 64/23	208/15 210/15 211/9	85/25 86/20 93/20	29/12 32/7 32/9 32/15
	132/20 166/19 220/9	211/19 211/22 214/6	97/11 129/18 129/20	32/16 33/14 34/13
	McCaffery [4] 214/12	216/14 220/1 221/1	130/22 131/7 132/2	34/18 34/21 34/24

M	mind [7] 9/15 9/17 89/20 94/21 119/16 152/21 164/1	minutes [34] 18/17 18/20 18/25 37/24 40/1 40/2 42/6 45/24 49/14 56/23 63/11 63/12 63/13 63/19 63/24 64/10 69/25 71/10 71/11 72/6 73/15 74/6 74/13 131/4 133/8 144/1 163/3 165/1 165/11 166/14 205/21 211/4 211/5 212/23	22/22 25/13 29/25 35/8 35/23 61/24 62/14 73/6 75/21 76/5 78/18 81/8 84/20 90/15 95/6 96/6 99/16 99/23 100/7 102/22 103/18 104/6 104/17 105/4 106/6 112/6 120/5 124/22 128/18 130/6 130/10 135/1 138/15 139/13 142/10 145/22 146/21 146/21 158/25 159/5 167/7 167/10 170/7 180/17 180/25 183/8 185/16 188/24 189/15 190/22 203/5 203/7 203/10 207/23 210/10 210/23 215/15 215/19 216/17 223/9 226/25	130/17 133/10 139/21 139/22 141/6 142/7 146/2 152/12 156/19 162/10 162/11 164/5 168/25 169/4 172/2 172/16 180/15 181/15 182/19 183/24 185/21 202/9 203/9 203/14 204/2 204/5 214/12 214/13 227/18 229/8
messages... [23] 34/25 35/3 35/10 38/24 42/19 42/21 43/23 45/22 48/17 49/12 49/23 55/18 62/18 133/22 196/20 197/19 197/25 198/1 198/9 198/10 198/20 200/25 200/25	minded [1] 141/24	misguided [1] 205/5	morning [9] 1/4 26/25 28/2 37/18 39/16 74/2 117/25 203/10 214/18	Mr Dawson [10] 1/3 10/21 13/17 31/19 38/22 52/14 55/22 56/3 168/25 180/15
messaging [26] 3/22 7/8 8/1 8/11 13/8 15/16 25/2 25/7 28/10 31/25 33/7 37/11 99/6 105/15 105/20 106/1 106/8 109/9 110/12 120/24 121/7 121/22 127/5 143/2 194/15 196/5	mindful [1] 120/11	misinformed [1] 71/14	Morris [2] 196/6 209/20	Mr Derek Grieve [1] 130/17
met [5] 66/9 66/10 116/12 208/24 208/25	minds [1] 66/20	misinterpreted [1] 14/13	Morrison [2] 213/9 213/12	Mr Fitzpatrick [2] 128/14 129/3
method [2] 12/5 32/25	minimal [1] 79/20	misjudgements [1] 197/15	mortality [3] 137/4 137/16 208/12	Mr Gove [5] 139/21 142/7 152/12 162/11 183/24
methods [1] 3/1	minimise [11] 14/12 195/9 195/21 196/14 200/1 201/22 207/6 207/20 208/1 208/17 225/19	misjudgments [1] 4/8	most [9] 6/6 47/14 47/14 91/17 129/23 140/8 168/21 219/23 223/4	Mr Grieve's [1] 133/10
Michael [4] 151/4 151/6 161/4 183/13	minimised [1] 194/25	missing [1] 197/7	mostly [2] 175/16 215/12	Mr Johnson [7] 88/16 89/18 139/22 141/6 146/2 181/15 182/19
Michael Gove [3] 151/4 151/6 161/4	minister [84] 2/11 2/14 2/18 13/2 13/13 14/10 14/23 15/11 18/9 20/2 24/8 25/23 27/15 32/3 32/4 42/16 42/17 43/16 48/23 48/24 49/1 53/13 53/21 53/24 55/5 57/8 62/1 63/1 63/2 65/1 65/4 65/11 65/14 69/7 69/14 76/6 78/20 81/21 81/22 82/10 84/23 86/21 86/21 88/7 88/7 88/9 88/16 88/17 88/25 89/4 89/6 89/8 91/9 91/21 99/9 114/17 125/17 128/14 129/3 129/17 129/19 133/15 134/14 144/9 146/10 148/14 149/1 150/19 152/15 154/24 160/1 172/9 172/16 172/20 172/22 173/1 182/2 192/16 202/17 205/22 209/1 209/15 215/3 227/12	mission [1] 182/4	motivated [1] 160/14	Mr Kenneth Thomson [1] 16/14
Michael Gove's [1] 183/13	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	mistake [1] 119/22	motivation [5] 78/25 79/5 109/24 153/9 207/12	Mr McCaffery [2] 214/12 227/18
Michelle [2] 32/5 33/2	ministerial [5] 88/5 89/3 122/10 127/21 133/17	mistaken [1] 150/5	motives [7] 60/21 195/8 195/25 196/1 197/14 197/16 199/1	Mr Russell [1] 162/10
Michelle O'Neill [2] 32/5 33/2	ministerially [1] 85/2	mistakes [3] 160/22 160/23 197/15	mounting [1] 98/9	Mr Russell's [1] 164/5
middle [3] 43/8 43/19 106/22	ministers [24] 14/24 15/12 17/2 31/12 31/13 48/9 53/16 53/21 61/7 62/25 65/5 65/7 66/16 67/18 81/21 84/4 86/20 92/3 97/18 173/8 173/15 175/17 175/22 176/12	mitigate [3] 200/1 200/15 225/19	move [6] 55/15 124/14 157/6 158/24 208/19 225/9	Mr Swinney [5] 15/18 32/1 65/6 69/11 172/16
midst [2] 121/23 123/1	ministerial [5] 88/5 89/3 122/10 127/21 133/17	mitigated [1] 200/16	moved [5] 102/10 123/21 157/11 157/13 225/5	Mr Thomson [2] 45/15 185/21
might [44] 9/5 11/18 24/14 46/14 49/25 50/2 52/25 53/2 57/13 57/22 61/16 62/20 68/10 68/12 72/15 76/6 90/10 92/18 100/9 100/9 104/15 107/11 108/25 109/4 109/5 109/6 123/12 124/17 124/18 126/5 132/22 134/4 144/18 169/16 173/15 177/2 182/20 184/23 186/10 186/11 197/15 198/1 203/22 206/25	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	mitigating [2] 201/21 201/25	Mr Yousaf [21] 9/22 31/25 33/14 57/21 58/9 59/2 59/7 60/19 60/19 61/15 65/6 74/22 75/12 85/14 85/16 85/18 202/9 203/9 203/14 204/2 204/5	Mr Yousaf's [1] 172/2
might've [1] 183/18	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	mitigation [1] 35/24	moving [7] 56/5 142/5 158/24 159/5 169/2 174/7 220/13	Mrs [2] 213/9 213/12
Mike [1] 161/4	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	mitigations [1] 35/25	Mr [65] 1/3 9/22 10/21 13/17 15/18 16/14 31/19 31/25 32/1 33/14 38/22 43/7 45/15 52/14 55/22 56/3 57/21 58/9 59/2 59/7 60/19 60/19 61/15 65/6 65/6 69/11 74/22 75/12 85/14 85/16 85/18 88/16 89/18 128/14 129/3	Mrs Jane Morrison [1] 213/9
Mike Russell [1] 161/4	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	moan [1] 63/1		Mrs Morrison [1] 213/12
mild [3] 93/13 137/4 137/15	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	mobile [1] 32/24		MS [85] 1/6 10/7 23/13 26/16 26/18 26/21 27/3 28/18 32/1 32/1 33/15 35/6 35/11 35/21 36/10 36/25 41/13 41/14 55/2 56/5 57/6 59/2 59/9 60/6 60/14 62/15 62/17 62/19 65/6 65/24
milestones [1] 68/1	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	mobilised [1] 130/25		
million [6] 59/12 60/23 61/22 99/23 203/13 203/15	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	module [13] 1/7 1/11 1/12 2/18 3/9 23/14 88/5 88/16 92/23 114/21 169/4 200/17 229/6		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	Module 1 [2] 88/5 92/23		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	Module 2 [1] 88/16		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	Module 2A [1] 3/9		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	moment [17] 7/14 9/1 16/13 17/11 55/16 60/24 61/9 89/22 89/24 112/21 119/13 151/19 156/7 168/15 207/2 221/1 223/15		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	moments [4] 13/4 39/12 90/13 152/7		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	Monday [3] 148/12 151/4 203/21		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	money [7] 60/10 60/17 61/1 61/16 64/3 81/15 81/15		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	month [1] 80/14		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	months [2] 93/1 185/16		
	Minister's [5] 141/22 143/16 182/10 183/21 206/5	more [67] 4/10 4/21 6/4 8/18 14/5 16/9		

M	132/21 146/21 161/9 167/10 173/6 173/15 185/8 189/25 191/22 192/4 192/25 197/4 198/6 203/12 211/8 215/15 216/10 216/17 217/11 223/9 227/21 multiple [7] 54/1 101/18 125/25 178/17 178/22 179/4 179/19 Murrayfield [3] 106/24 110/20 143/9 must [2] 218/7 218/17 mustn't [1] 217/23 mutual [1] 61/8 mutually [1] 148/1 my [238] my Lady [12] 1/4 55/15 55/23 56/4 113/2 167/14 168/15 169/1 214/14 227/17 227/20 228/6 myself [12] 7/10 9/21 24/4 91/7 91/8 94/8 95/4 131/18 181/12 191/16 197/16 223/16 mysterious [1] 71/8	necessarily [5] 53/1 117/14 127/16 169/21 209/10 necessary [9] 27/19 35/20 102/17 122/12 151/14 181/3 200/1 201/4 207/20 necessitated [1] 207/22 necessity [2] 102/3 224/4 need [28] 17/18 36/20 36/21 40/14 44/14 60/2 68/14 80/16 86/23 87/2 101/20 105/14 110/12 140/14 188/12 188/19 199/6 207/17 218/11 219/2 219/3 219/11 221/17 225/15 226/15 226/17 227/4 228/4 needed [10] 11/22 13/5 52/11 78/22 85/19 101/22 187/18 192/17 202/20 219/8 needn't [1] 224/16 needs [10] 31/10 138/12 144/18 203/19 203/19 204/1 222/23 222/24 225/4 226/12 negative [3] 104/25 105/4 217/8 negatives [1] 104/24 negativity [1] 104/16 negligent [2] 149/2 155/6 Neil [1] 115/6 Neil Ferguson [1] 115/6 nerves [1] 203/22 nervous [1] 204/19 never [25] 6/4 8/16 32/11 32/19 33/10 43/23 53/15 53/23 54/5 55/11 91/16 91/17 91/20 151/3 160/17 162/17 173/18 182/8 189/8 193/16 194/21 199/1 201/11 201/12 208/3 nevertheless [2] 24/23 150/16 new [3] 85/20 92/15 197/2 New York [1] 197/2 news [2] 41/2 206/16 newspaper [2] 119/7 182/6 newspapers [1] 182/19 next [9] 55/21 79/13 90/4 92/10 123/25 131/2 140/10 174/7 178/24	NHS [2] 188/14 221/20 nicest [1] 65/21 Nick [1] 95/11 Nicola [7] 1/5 1/6 1/8 43/3 43/12 213/20 229/3 Nicola Steedman [2] 43/3 43/12 Nicola Sturgeon [3] 1/5 1/8 213/20 night [5] 26/25 76/22 119/2 206/22 211/4 Nike [13] 100/10 106/18 107/9 107/15 107/16 110/2 110/7 110/18 111/5 111/25 112/2 212/5 212/17 Nimbus [3] 127/22 128/21 130/9 nippy [1] 47/7 no [125] 6/4 11/25 13/14 13/15 18/17 23/18 28/11 32/7 33/24 33/24 35/17 36/2 36/8 36/14 41/9 41/16 41/16 42/23 49/9 51/12 55/1 55/7 59/23 59/23 61/1 62/2 62/23 62/25 70/8 71/25 73/25 77/17 78/2 78/15 79/18 81/10 86/5 89/5 89/22 91/2 92/1 92/3 94/22 94/24 97/7 97/19 99/24 100/5 102/12 103/8 105/23 109/24 110/16 112/21 115/11 116/22 117/18 120/15 121/4 125/17 129/2 131/3 134/3 134/23 135/10 135/25 136/2 136/13 136/19 138/17 138/17 139/18 141/15 142/1 142/18 142/18 144/6 144/22 148/18 150/8 152/8 154/9 156/13 156/19 156/19 157/24 158/18 158/22 162/5 162/8 163/12 163/14 163/16 163/18 164/1 164/24 166/23 166/23 170/1 179/1 179/25 180/23 184/12 186/3 187/13 188/7 190/16 191/2 198/1 201/4 201/8 201/8 201/20 205/16 206/18 207/19 208/4 209/12 209/14 210/5 210/10 213/21 214/8 220/24 227/16 Nobody [1] 167/8 non [4] 36/5 36/6	73/8 175/19 non central [1] 36/5 non-decision-making [1] 73/8 none [8] 40/17 86/2 87/16 106/25 114/11 142/9 160/11 181/12 nor [5] 68/25 69/1 105/7 117/14 191/7 normal [9] 24/12 28/25 29/1 33/4 52/9 63/4 129/6 129/6 129/15 Northern [8] 24/9 32/5 81/22 82/13 127/24 155/19 155/20 157/10 Northern Ireland [5] 24/9 81/22 155/19 155/20 157/10 Northern Irish [2] 82/13 127/24 nosocomial [3] 224/5 224/11 225/25 not [450] note [16] 6/17 9/23 85/5 132/2 134/7 135/10 135/12 135/13 135/17 135/21 135/23 135/25 136/2 136/13 136/23 190/10 notebook [1] 130/16 noted [2] 130/23 133/11 notes [6] 71/20 79/9 79/11 81/23 131/6 133/10 nothing [12] 7/25 18/2 20/21 36/23 40/9 41/12 77/6 149/8 183/20 185/2 207/12 210/23 notice [3] 27/25 76/2 228/2 notification [2] 16/22 76/24 noting [2] 65/3 140/13 notion [2] 149/17 150/21 notwithstanding [4] 99/9 179/12 216/19 217/12 novel [4] 133/14 133/19 134/2 134/21 November [7] 1/14 1/23 2/12 3/3 23/22 82/8 200/4 November 2020 [1] 200/4 now [46] 4/14 13/2 13/8 14/6 19/3 29/7 35/23 36/15 38/4 42/3 43/8 48/3 50/24 51/17
	N			
	name [4] 43/19 45/11 65/7 66/14 named [1] 130/16 names [4] 43/8 65/22 65/22 73/5 narrate [2] 18/23 69/17 narrative [4] 182/12 183/4 183/22 184/13 national [6] 4/23 61/20 96/7 112/19 113/22 136/22 nations [21] 9/23 110/23 140/17 140/21 141/11 148/5 149/11 150/7 150/10 150/12 150/14 150/21 151/9 151/15 154/15 155/18 155/23 157/8 157/13 157/17 202/5 naturally [1] 96/24 nature [36] 3/14 4/11 6/11 6/13 6/19 6/22 7/2 10/1 12/14 12/23 26/13 28/4 29/21 31/6 32/16 32/19 40/24 41/5 44/4 47/8 47/25 48/10 63/20 68/20 75/14 110/6 138/14 139/14 145/13 146/14 146/16 151/24 152/1 175/3 195/21 201/2 navigate [1] 79/17 near [1] 167/18			

<p>N</p> <p>now... [32] 57/8 67/12 69/15 70/17 77/22 83/1 85/7 97/13 97/18 98/8 102/25 104/9 107/12 108/3 109/9 112/13 122/25 143/18 144/8 145/11 153/18 154/24 167/4 173/5 175/17 178/21 182/7 183/14 193/12 219/20 220/22 225/11</p> <p>number [32] 1/11 4/20 5/24 10/8 18/1 26/16 28/17 32/22 32/24 54/16 56/9 74/1 88/15 92/8 98/16 110/8 130/19 140/25 141/1 152/14 172/10 172/16 172/21 172/23 175/13 189/23 198/17 202/19 206/25 208/2 213/25 218/8</p> <p>number 3 [1] 140/25 number 5 [1] 141/1 numbers [4] 58/15 108/19 188/2 218/9</p>	<p>occasions [8] 8/12 22/8 79/4 92/8 98/17 183/7 187/12 198/17</p> <p>occur [2] 215/12 220/18</p> <p>occurrence [1] 62/9</p> <p>October [5] 35/12 37/18 39/8 77/24 213/12</p> <p>October 2020 [1] 213/12</p> <p>off [11] 20/21 39/8 50/7 67/18 126/14 170/18 174/17 188/20 190/3 199/6 200/7</p> <p>offer [3] 62/13 87/7 178/20</p> <p>offered [1] 35/23</p> <p>office [17] 2/14 27/8 27/9 27/9 27/11 55/1 55/9 55/11 75/5 76/2 76/21 76/23 77/3 84/13 169/12 203/6 215/2</p> <p>Officer [12] 26/22 28/19 94/13 113/9 113/12 117/16 120/12 121/23 122/10 123/23 123/24 125/20</p> <p>officers [2] 140/21 141/11</p> <p>officials [14] 14/24 15/13 16/15 17/2 42/22 43/25 44/5 44/10 65/8 75/5 84/5 129/9 162/19 211/6</p> <p>offs [1] 41/24</p> <p>often [27] 46/8 46/19 65/21 72/4 74/13 74/21 75/3 81/10 81/24 81/24 94/8 109/16 155/10 155/15 155/19 155/23 156/15 157/6 157/15 169/11 171/21 174/13 175/9 175/10 178/10 204/4 208/24</p> <p>Oh [3] 28/11 104/19 166/19</p> <p>Ok [1] 36/19</p> <p>okay [5] 79/14 143/4 143/6 162/25 164/22</p> <p>older [1] 138/12</p> <p>Omicron [2] 57/14 70/13</p> <p>on [393]</p> <p>on...FM [1] 203/5</p> <p>one [90] 4/20 4/23 5/5 10/5 14/4 14/6 16/10 19/13 24/8 24/25 32/21 35/11 45/9 45/11 45/11 47/13 48/14 50/11 52/9 52/18 54/4 54/5</p>	<p>67/13 70/9 70/10 77/11 78/13 93/3 93/3 95/14 103/22 104/25 105/11 109/17 109/22 111/18 111/19 112/6 116/7 118/8 119/5 119/12 127/11 129/22 134/13 135/12 136/19 136/20 138/1 138/14 140/18 144/16 144/18 144/18 145/14 148/2 148/4 148/10 155/6 155/12 156/9 158/25 158/25 159/7 162/18 170/13 171/2 171/14 172/22 174/15 176/24 181/19 182/5 190/18 192/13 196/7 196/17 197/8 197/23 202/16 202/17 206/22 208/13 209/9 210/14 216/10 219/23 223/4 223/18 227/10</p> <p>one day [1] 104/25</p> <p>one's [1] 55/20</p> <p>onerous [1] 180/25</p> <p>ones [4] 4/21 109/20 221/25 223/7</p> <p>ongoing [7] 123/16 134/17 135/9 180/1 224/2 224/13 227/13</p> <p>online [2] 52/21 215/4</p> <p>only [34] 25/24 36/2 36/6 47/19 51/13 69/14 74/16 77/20 77/21 78/25 92/6 101/4 108/15 126/10 126/18 138/7 148/9 149/20 158/21 161/19 179/20 190/23 193/6 195/8 196/7 197/14 197/16 205/4 207/2 208/16 215/24 217/24 218/3 222/5</p> <p>onto [2] 8/13 69/4</p> <p>onwards [1] 93/23</p> <p>open [21] 3/5 3/25 11/13 12/7 14/17 31/13 35/23 36/6 37/4 39/2 102/8 111/13 111/22 142/16 179/20 187/20 190/1 190/2 190/7 210/16 212/2</p> <p>opened [2] 170/10 170/14</p> <p>opening [4] 23/14 189/3 199/14 223/9</p> <p>openly [6] 9/7 9/11 11/9 31/5 38/16 154/7</p> <p>openness [4] 4/3 4/15 4/16 5/6</p> <p>operate [3] 61/7 63/23 84/16</p>	<p>operated [7] 6/23 19/24 19/25 21/14 63/21 78/19 150/3</p> <p>operating [3] 61/9 115/17 211/3</p> <p>operation [5] 96/19 128/21 130/9 131/14 131/17</p> <p>Operation Nimbus [2] 128/21 130/9</p> <p>operational [1] 116/9</p> <p>opinion [3] 86/8 162/23 192/8</p> <p>opinions [2] 89/18 175/11</p> <p>opportunities [4] 76/7 77/13 168/10 211/8</p> <p>opportunity [9] 66/15 89/19 90/5 90/5 90/19 97/14 103/12 160/19 220/25</p> <p>opposed [2] 56/17 189/18</p> <p>opposite [5] 30/16 92/20 93/14 206/11 215/6</p> <p>option [1] 225/24</p> <p>options [17] 18/22 38/2 40/5 70/10 70/16 70/22 70/24 71/25 72/2 72/4 73/16 73/19 74/9 74/11 74/12 140/7 140/9</p> <p>or [164] 5/20 6/1 7/9 7/12 8/19 11/17 14/1 14/9 14/19 15/6 15/9 15/12 15/15 17/20 18/4 18/5 20/3 20/5 21/6 21/17 23/3 23/20 23/25 27/8 29/25 30/15 30/20 31/13 32/18 33/7 33/7 33/11 33/11 34/9 38/19 41/9 41/15 42/6 42/22 45/19 47/3 48/23 49/25 50/7 50/11 50/13 51/14 52/4 53/3 54/2 54/3 54/9 59/4 59/6 63/1 64/15 65/19 66/24 70/17 70/21 71/5 73/16 81/15 81/16 82/12 82/17 83/4 84/12 85/22 86/24 87/5 87/19 87/19 87/19 87/19 92/3 93/3 93/22 94/24 95/20 97/8 97/12 99/14 99/22 100/9 102/20 103/25 105/2 105/2 107/18 107/19 107/25 109/3 109/17 111/3 114/11 116/6 117/11 118/11 122/7</p>	<p>123/4 123/11 128/15 129/17 129/19 131/19 134/17 135/11 135/20 136/13 138/18 140/9 144/10 144/25 146/8 148/19 150/9 153/19 154/2 154/10 155/1 156/16 157/19 158/5 158/24 160/9 160/12 163/12 164/7 164/19 165/6 165/13 166/8 167/17 168/4 169/9 169/23 170/7 171/7 171/15 171/20 171/25 185/16 186/17 187/22 188/7 188/8 188/25 192/1 193/10 202/22 204/1 206/1 209/8 210/14 216/11 216/17 216/23 218/4 222/8 223/16 223/22 226/18 227/8</p> <p>oral [1] 213/9</p> <p>order [25] 3/1 10/13 10/19 15/20 16/6 17/17 48/18 53/5 59/25 61/17 76/12 78/4 78/7 99/1 128/18 148/24 148/25 150/2 150/21 151/14 154/19 154/21 155/7 198/13 198/22</p> <p>ordinate [1] 150/18</p> <p>ordination [3] 197/19 198/2 198/21</p> <p>organisation [2] 171/10 225/1</p> <p>organisations [1] 221/23</p> <p>orthodox [3] 155/12 155/13 156/9</p> <p>other [107] 1/11 2/22 6/14 7/9 9/20 10/14 12/21 13/6 13/7 15/1 15/15 23/21 26/6 26/22 27/2 31/13 33/3 34/13 38/19 44/16 45/18 45/25 47/20 49/11 50/11 50/23 55/7 56/9 63/2 65/6 66/10 66/16 72/14 78/8 79/3 80/18 83/13 105/2 105/11 109/17 109/25 110/5 110/8 111/6 111/7 112/5 115/1 115/6 115/18 115/19 119/24 121/8 123/9 124/23 125/25 126/15 129/14 132/5 132/14 133/13 134/3 138/16 141/25 142/24 143/7 143/23 144/24 145/16 145/25 147/18 148/18 151/16 157/16</p>
---	--	--	---	--

O	169/23 183/9 189/2 189/21 189/22 191/12 194/20 194/21 196/3 196/8 196/13 196/16 199/15 200/19 202/6 205/9 206/12 211/13 212/23 212/24 outbreak [8] 15/21 42/19 45/6 45/12 133/19 134/21 193/3 218/4 outbreaks [12] 173/13 173/14 178/17 178/23 179/4 179/13 179/19 180/2 180/2 193/3 199/19 199/20 outcome [8] 60/16 122/2 122/14 122/15 127/17 129/19 165/4 226/9 outcomes [4] 146/3 159/10 181/10 200/13 outlier [3] 155/23 180/21 180/22 outline [1] 175/22 output [2] 72/5 198/15 outs [1] 113/15 outset [5] 4/5 20/1 43/20 209/6 221/6 outside [5] 36/17 73/13 103/3 157/13 208/8 over [47] 18/15 18/17 22/8 31/21 64/23 65/10 66/7 67/18 70/25 74/6 74/14 75/24 78/20 90/23 96/25 98/23 100/4 103/21 110/10 110/12 115/8 115/13 117/2 117/10 121/12 121/14 121/25 123/7 123/25 131/22 133/2 141/19 157/5 158/15 166/5 174/7 193/7 193/13 193/15 193/19 194/13 197/9 200/22 201/6 203/17 210/11 218/2 overall [14] 2/20 6/22 86/13 118/11 118/12 121/10 159/9 179/13 180/3 181/4 195/9 200/10 200/13 201/23 overcome [1] 127/11 overlooking [1] 197/7 overoptimistic [1] 200/23 overriding [2] 153/6 153/9 overruled [1] 166/15 overseas [1] 194/4 overstate [1] 62/12	overtly [1] 182/3 overwhelm [1] 192/24 overwhelmed [1] 90/14 overwhelming [5] 90/16 90/21 91/15 190/4 226/2 overwhelmingly [1] 221/10 own [19] 9/15 33/19 66/20 69/4 84/24 94/7 103/8 103/9 123/24 174/16 175/11 181/21 205/25 207/7 208/22 209/3 217/7 217/14 226/18	49/20 50/14 52/16 54/25 55/4 56/8 57/16 67/16 68/13 75/17 76/9 78/21 79/1 84/17 85/11 86/4 86/10 86/12 87/18 88/10 89/6 90/1 91/1 92/9 96/4 101/16 102/5 102/16 103/3 103/16 103/22 105/10 113/6 115/13 117/9 118/18 120/1 121/24 128/18 137/4 137/15 139/11 142/20 146/15 159/10 159/10 160/7 160/8 161/16 162/10 163/11 165/18 166/6 167/21 167/22 168/9 182/25 183/7 184/10 184/12 184/19 184/24 197/5 200/22 201/6 201/8 201/8 202/3 204/11 205/14 206/15 206/21 207/4 207/14 208/3 208/4 209/6 209/6 209/14 210/11 213/3 213/6 213/14 213/18 214/7 218/25 219/23 224/8 226/4 pandemics [1] 99/10 paper [13] 15/10 40/4 51/11 72/1 134/19 163/15 163/17 164/7 164/9 164/10 164/11 183/24 183/25 papers [20] 18/17 18/20 38/8 49/14 51/22 52/3 56/23 71/15 72/7 72/9 73/14 73/15 74/6 75/24 76/3 76/21 76/24 205/20 209/22 212/22 paperwork [2] 71/22 74/8 paragraph [12] 3/4 67/1 67/10 67/11 133/12 140/4 163/2 163/13 200/18 214/20 215/8 224/18 paragraph 149 [1] 214/20 paragraph 15 [1] 140/4 paragraph 345 [1] 200/18 paragraph 44 [1] 133/12 paragraph 455 [1] 224/18 paragraph 48 [1] 3/4 paragraph 56 [1] 163/2 paragraph there [1] 67/10	paragraphs [1] 69/21 paramount [1] 49/18 paraphrasing [2] 60/22 132/10 parcel [1] 139/14 parliament [13] 15/19 53/19 54/8 141/23 141/23 143/14 153/23 156/2 156/12 157/21 158/9 190/19 222/11 Parliamentary [1] 153/24 part [56] 5/20 9/22 13/9 30/15 70/12 77/21 78/12 81/1 84/14 89/7 90/7 92/3 94/3 98/5 98/13 100/16 105/21 113/4 113/11 114/2 118/13 118/15 120/8 120/9 125/11 125/12 125/21 126/12 129/12 137/24 138/19 139/3 139/14 141/21 152/14 161/19 163/25 164/20 165/23 172/1 174/25 175/1 180/9 181/6 184/24 193/19 197/6 200/1 206/13 211/20 217/18 217/20 218/16 218/20 218/25 220/1 participants [1] 151/16 participate [3] 77/15 77/17 77/19 participated [2] 83/15 84/5 particular [45] 9/14 12/21 13/9 40/13 62/10 80/20 80/25 85/6 86/12 86/13 89/14 91/10 92/25 97/23 97/24 106/16 114/15 115/4 116/7 124/17 129/17 129/17 129/18 131/13 134/2 136/24 141/3 146/19 151/6 151/11 160/6 161/7 163/14 163/18 171/24 180/3 183/22 184/13 193/3 201/23 202/23 217/16 217/19 224/7 224/11 particularly [21] 27/20 44/1 44/19 49/19 53/3 61/11 75/19 86/19 86/20 104/7 119/12 128/4 129/15 133/22 138/14 152/19 160/7 171/4 178/3 181/1 186/21 parts [9] 8/9 93/5 177/15 180/3 183/13
----------	---	---	--	--

P	194/16 194/24 195/20 195/25 201/9 201/10 203/21 204/19 207/7 207/21 208/7 209/15 210/12 211/12 211/13 211/20 211/20 211/22 212/19 213/3 213/25 214/4 215/6 215/13 215/14 215/23 216/23 217/11 219/8 219/11 219/15 219/18 219/19 220/4 220/6 221/11 222/8 225/4 225/14 225/24 226/6 226/14 226/17 227/7	185/22 186/19 186/24 193/4 193/15 194/14 199/18 218/2 periodically [2] 51/3 196/22 periods [4] 66/10 67/19 103/3 169/23 permeated [1] 192/1 person [23] 25/14 85/6 88/25 106/21 108/19 112/18 113/17 126/3 126/11 126/18 162/1 182/5 182/15 194/20 196/3 196/7 196/13 214/2 214/2 214/24 214/24 215/11 215/11 personal [9] 22/15 50/6 53/12 53/18 53/25 54/3 54/8 104/12 136/14 personally [4] 54/23 129/1 195/24 213/22 perspective [3] 92/14 116/7 197/11 perspectives [1] 50/21 persuade [2] 82/2 144/23 persuaded [1] 204/22 pertaining [1] 59/4 pharmacology [1] 114/25 phase [5] 50/14 199/17 201/17 201/17 202/3 phased [1] 190/1 phases [1] 189/2 phasing [1] 190/8 phenomenon [2] 152/17 153/14 Phin [1] 95/11 phone [12] 20/4 21/16 32/24 34/9 53/12 53/15 53/25 54/1 54/7 54/15 54/17 122/13 phones [7] 53/17 53/19 53/22 53/22 54/20 55/9 55/13 phrase [8] 39/15 46/6 46/8 46/12 86/8 154/21 193/11 220/20 phraseology [3] 14/19 15/6 187/3 phrases [1] 118/21 phrasing [1] 14/16 pick [1] 104/10 picture [5] 54/4 84/25 91/10 98/8 205/23 piece [1] 42/13 pieces [1] 182/5	pin [1] 167/15 pinned [1] 82/15 pivotal [1] 119/25 place [27] 17/5 24/12 25/6 43/17 66/6 70/17 72/14 73/24 85/23 101/11 102/22 103/3 106/24 107/22 118/1 123/17 127/23 137/10 139/20 141/6 165/14 165/18 174/18 177/12 212/7 226/12 227/15 placed [1] 124/21 places [4] 35/23 36/5 36/13 200/16 placing [1] 30/22 plan [7] 105/11 105/11 117/8 117/16 117/23 118/1 118/17 planes [1] 193/21 planning [5] 57/7 124/14 128/18 188/16 188/20 platform [1] 38/1 plausible [3] 43/8 43/19 48/16 play [1] 17/13 played [1] 5/10 playing [1] 191/9 please [29] 2/24 35/5 42/10 45/21 57/4 59/13 64/6 64/6 64/8 64/13 65/25 67/13 79/8 133/7 133/12 139/19 139/23 163/1 166/23 172/4 172/6 172/12 172/12 175/12 178/11 181/14 202/8 228/3 228/5 plugged [1] 196/25 pm [10] 112/24 113/1 141/7 145/21 147/10 154/2 168/18 168/20 181/19 228/7 point [109] 11/8 19/22 24/1 27/20 28/14 28/25 31/15 35/25 36/23 40/9 40/13 41/13 44/21 50/17 51/12 52/13 52/15 60/9 60/19 61/21 63/7 63/7 66/18 67/25 73/1 73/6 74/1 77/9 78/25 79/19 81/8 81/9 84/16 101/22 101/24 102/14 102/24 104/19 109/13 112/6 116/22 121/5 122/9 124/9 125/18 128/4 129/13 130/14 131/17 132/10 141/20 142/9 142/12 142/22 146/19 147/7 148/18 149/18 151/24 152/1 152/4	152/20 153/25 154/9 155/9 157/7 157/9 157/12 158/2 158/3 159/4 164/20 164/24 166/21 166/23 167/16 167/17 167/18 168/8 170/22 173/9 176/14 176/15 177/3 178/2 178/3 178/7 178/15 179/7 179/9 179/25 180/3 180/9 180/10 180/20 180/21 180/22 180/23 186/6 186/13 186/14 187/13 190/20 192/3 193/15 198/24 199/16 201/18 222/13 pointing [1] 137/13 points [25] 7/10 19/1 20/7 27/6 27/12 27/14 28/9 29/3 29/9 29/18 31/16 40/6 41/6 43/5 54/10 63/16 63/17 63/18 71/20 72/11 72/16 72/18 72/22 201/12 201/14 police [1] 142/24 policies [5] 10/9 10/11 17/5 44/6 140/10 policy [10] 19/25 21/15 51/21 54/11 141/2 148/6 157/4 186/1 186/25 223/20 political [16] 79/21 81/1 88/21 89/19 89/24 90/19 92/22 146/8 160/12 160/24 165/13 173/17 174/22 176/19 181/13 181/25 politically [2] 147/13 181/6 politician [3] 90/13 109/5 109/6 politicians [2] 111/7 181/22 politicisation [1] 167/21 politicise [6] 168/8 182/22 182/25 183/6 184/12 184/24 politicised [1] 184/10 politicising [2] 163/11 184/19 politics [5] 22/9 22/25 160/3 160/5 161/25 polling [1] 127/7 pop [1] 32/18 population [8] 99/24 130/19 137/6 137/17 138/20 139/3 139/11 188/3 portfolio [3] 57/25 91/10 205/25
----------	--	--	---	---

<p>P</p> <p>portfolios [2] 60/17 84/24</p> <p>portray [1] 212/2</p> <p>posing [1] 11/10</p> <p>position [58] 3/24 4/3 23/15 38/20 40/8 46/13 51/22 62/18 63/8 75/6 76/15 88/11 103/8 122/20 124/11 131/10 139/6 140/2 143/12 150/5 150/17 154/23 155/11 155/14 155/21 155/22 156/1 156/9 156/14 157/15 158/7 161/15 162/9 168/3 169/22 171/9 171/16 172/8 175/25 176/18 177/3 180/13 180/24 181/1 184/9 184/20 185/23 187/23 188/2 197/18 204/25 206/1 206/20 213/22 217/4 223/22 223/23 224/1</p> <p>positions [1] 198/14</p> <p>positive [3] 86/10 100/3 104/17</p> <p>possibility [11] 57/12 59/3 59/17 85/22 173/18 173/21 174/21 202/24 214/22 216/2 216/11</p> <p>possible [51] 14/12 29/3 31/7 51/1 52/18 52/22 52/22 65/21 79/2 79/6 80/4 83/8 111/21 111/21 111/22 111/23 112/16 121/20 122/1 133/23 139/10 140/17 146/12 148/7 151/3 151/9 159/20 160/15 177/23 183/9 187/5 187/18 187/23 188/10 188/13 191/2 192/4 193/6 194/23 195/23 197/23 198/6 202/6 204/8 207/5 215/1 215/23 219/19 220/7 220/10 225/18</p> <p>possibly [11] 52/13 53/11 63/25 87/23 100/17 130/4 130/7 132/14 156/14 200/9 223/12</p> <p>post [1] 121/23</p> <p>posted [1] 182/8</p> <p>potential [8] 104/24 109/10 111/25 112/2 127/1 127/9 127/15 206/24</p> <p>potentially [2] 208/1 221/6</p>	<p>power [12] 16/6 68/6 149/12 156/3 156/12 157/21 158/9 158/12 158/13 170/25 171/21 225/20</p> <p>powers [1] 141/18</p> <p>PPE [1] 139/7</p> <p>PQs [1] 166/8</p> <p>practical [6] 98/22 98/25 102/12 105/11 171/11 171/22</p> <p>practically [1] 171/9</p> <p>practice [9] 25/14 25/16 32/12 33/6 33/9 33/10 52/10 54/11 114/8</p> <p>practices [1] 99/21</p> <p>pre [5] 101/16 117/25 138/10 166/10 224/21</p> <p>pre-Covid [1] 166/10</p> <p>pre-existing [2] 117/25 138/10</p> <p>pre-pandemic [1] 101/16</p> <p>pre-symptomatic [1] 224/21</p> <p>precautionary [1] 180/17</p> <p>precise [3] 119/4 171/6 191/22</p> <p>precisely [2] 89/4 168/13</p> <p>predicted [1] 137/16</p> <p>prediction [2] 137/3 137/15</p> <p>predictions [2] 137/2 137/14</p> <p>predominantly [1] 26/18</p> <p>prefer [1] 39/5</p> <p>preferred [2] 67/7 155/18</p> <p>prepaid [1] 54/17</p> <p>preparation [5] 62/6 74/4 189/9 199/11 211/5</p> <p>prepare [3] 140/23 199/6 199/24</p> <p>prepared [3] 20/25 36/20 177/13</p> <p>preparedness [1] 131/11</p> <p>preparing [6] 38/7 52/3 52/6 132/6 139/5 222/9</p> <p>presence [1] 181/23</p> <p>present [2] 77/9 129/18</p> <p>presentation [1] 74/12</p> <p>presented [2] 3/8 77/13</p> <p>press [4] 20/15 54/14 198/12 198/13</p>	<p>pressure [5] 44/24 101/25 140/12 142/23 180/19</p> <p>pressures [3] 61/20 61/23 142/25</p> <p>presumably [1] 174/15</p> <p>presymptomatic [3] 216/24 222/8 225/6</p> <p>pretext [1] 182/9</p> <p>pretty [2] 12/14 128/10</p> <p>prevalence [9] 173/9 174/5 174/9 176/14 178/15 179/7 179/25 180/4 180/23</p> <p>prevent [2] 134/4 188/8</p> <p>prevented [1] 225/16</p> <p>prevention [3] 222/15 224/22 225/17</p> <p>previous [13] 9/13 25/25 63/3 67/11 67/13 69/17 88/4 89/11 92/22 172/12 176/21 177/6 190/5</p> <p>previously [3] 28/16 59/12 178/15</p> <p>primarily [1] 2/18</p> <p>primary [2] 10/10 108/5</p> <p>Prime [14] 63/2 82/10 88/16 88/17 88/25 144/9 148/14 149/1 152/15 182/2 182/10 183/21 192/16 209/1</p> <p>Prime Minister [12] 63/2 82/10 88/16 88/17 88/25 144/9 148/14 149/1 152/15 182/2 192/16 209/1</p> <p>Prime Minister's [2] 182/10 183/21</p> <p>principal [3] 114/5 125/6 126/17</p> <p>principally [2] 96/20 211/18</p> <p>principle [2] 58/9 151/17</p> <p>prior [2] 1/11 83/11</p> <p>prioritisation [1] 129/25</p> <p>prioritise [2] 120/24 168/11</p> <p>prioritised [1] 130/5</p> <p>priority [5] 103/21 121/7 129/21 132/13 153/9</p> <p>prism [1] 159/21</p> <p>private [13] 20/20 21/25 22/5 27/8 27/9 27/9 27/11 30/2 51/7 62/20 75/5 76/21</p>	<p>215/2</p> <p>private office [7] 27/8 27/9 27/9 27/11 75/5 76/21 215/2</p> <p>privately [1] 82/2</p> <p>prob [2] 36/19 38/20</p> <p>probably [23] 6/4 13/20 15/4 34/8 37/25 39/15 44/25 47/5 48/12 61/12 77/20 85/9 86/11 86/12 88/1 92/2 97/10 122/11 129/2 159/11 182/8 206/22 227/24</p> <p>probe [1] 218/12</p> <p>probed [1] 205/6</p> <p>problem [1] 58/12</p> <p>problems [3] 137/23 225/6 225/7</p> <p>procedure [1] 33/21</p> <p>procedures [2] 12/19 208/21</p> <p>process [31] 17/10 22/18 24/2 33/13 34/16 39/20 41/10 62/13 67/4 68/7 68/24 70/2 72/2 73/13 74/20 111/23 113/11 114/2 114/19 116/18 117/19 121/14 123/7 137/22 151/16 153/7 167/3 167/11 197/6 210/8 223/2</p> <p>processes [4] 56/7 74/18 129/6 138/10</p> <p>processing [1] 100/1</p> <p>procuring [2] 135/10 136/14</p> <p>produce [2] 23/20 34/14</p> <p>produced [5] 32/7 33/15 34/18 34/20 51/18</p> <p>production [2] 23/19 34/23</p> <p>professional [3] 44/14 62/16 83/23</p> <p>professionalism [2] 45/5 131/24</p> <p>Professor [59] 13/3 24/16 24/18 25/9 25/20 32/2 32/3 34/19 34/20 34/20 49/24 51/12 51/19 52/12 57/10 58/6 85/15 85/21 85/24 86/9 87/8 88/1 95/11 97/4 97/21 97/22 97/22 98/16 98/23 105/12 106/18 110/11 113/10 113/21 114/1 114/6 114/6 114/14 114/22 115/4 115/4 115/23 117/5 122/18 134/1 137/3</p>	<p>137/14 195/15 196/5 196/6 196/16 198/15 200/17 200/24 202/10 203/3 203/23 204/5 211/14</p> <p>Professor Chris Whitty [1] 114/22</p> <p>Professor Devi Sridhar [1] 24/16</p> <p>Professor Jason Leitch [1] 24/18</p> <p>Professor Leitch [22] 13/3 25/9 25/20 32/2 34/19 57/10 58/6 85/15 85/21 85/24 86/9 87/8 88/1 113/21 114/1 114/6 114/14 117/5 202/10 203/3 203/23 204/5</p> <p>Professor Mark Woolhouse [1] 97/4</p> <p>Professor Morris [1] 196/6</p> <p>Professor Nick Phin [1] 95/11</p> <p>Professor Sir [1] 195/15</p> <p>Professor Smith [3] 113/10 114/6 122/18</p> <p>Professor Sridhar [11] 32/3 34/20 34/20 49/24 51/12 51/19 52/12 196/5 196/16 200/24 211/14</p> <p>Professor Sridhar's [1] 198/15</p> <p>Professor Woolhouse [14] 97/21 97/22 97/22 98/16 98/23 105/12 106/18 110/11 115/4 115/4 115/23 134/1 137/3 137/14</p> <p>profile [3] 157/1 179/13 209/11</p> <p>profit [1] 203/24</p> <p>profoundly [1] 218/14</p> <p>programme [1] 138/5</p> <p>progress [1] 132/23</p> <p>progressed [3] 120/18 138/23 169/18</p> <p>progresses [1] 140/13</p> <p>progressing [3] 136/9 136/10 136/12</p> <p>project [2] 137/9 162/16</p> <p>projections [1] 94/5</p> <p>promote [6] 150/7 151/14 154/15 161/13 162/6 163/10</p> <p>proper [5] 39/19 56/18 67/4 76/13</p>
---	--	--	--	--

<p>P</p> <p>proper... [1] 205/7</p> <p>properly [13] 20/5 20/11 21/7 21/18 25/5 39/20 49/14 59/25 84/1 118/22 205/24 219/24 227/4</p> <p>proposal [4] 31/15 70/9 70/20 167/13</p> <p>proposals [2] 66/18 73/15</p> <p>propose [1] 67/3</p> <p>proposed [2] 69/19 70/4</p> <p>proposing [1] 175/22</p> <p>proposition [2] 205/13 206/7</p> <p>pros [1] 74/10</p> <p>prospect [2] 164/1 188/17</p> <p>protect [10] 138/19 139/2 139/10 140/7 140/14 187/19 195/20 219/15 219/19 220/3</p> <p>protected [2] 137/8 137/19</p> <p>protecting [2] 184/4 188/14</p> <p>protection [6] 95/12 107/23 115/18 130/18 215/25 221/9</p> <p>protections [1] 105/3</p> <p>protective [1] 136/14</p> <p>prove [1] 206/7</p> <p>provide [2] 46/14 81/18</p> <p>provided [16] 1/10 1/12 1/21 2/4 24/9 24/18 24/20 33/17 42/19 113/6 114/22 138/18 141/10 145/25 188/5 201/3</p> <p>providing [3] 35/1 96/9 113/22</p> <p>provision [1] 169/19</p> <p>prudent [2] 216/4 218/22</p> <p>précis [1] 40/6</p> <p>public [139] 4/4 4/6 4/13 5/10 5/14 8/4 9/8 11/3 11/6 11/9 11/13 11/15 11/18 12/8 12/9 12/10 14/9 14/10 15/20 15/23 16/2 16/4 17/12 17/18 18/4 18/6 19/10 20/24 24/4 29/13 29/20 29/24 30/3 30/9 30/23 31/5 31/22 35/16 36/7 37/25 38/15 38/20 39/5 41/19 41/20 41/22 42/6 42/20 44/20 44/22 48/1 48/7</p> <p>49/3 49/17 52/20 75/20 81/14 84/10 95/13 96/3 99/6 101/1 105/15 105/20 105/20 106/1 106/8 106/15 107/1 108/8 108/9 109/9 110/12 111/4 112/10 114/14 114/15 114/23 119/19 120/14 120/24 121/6 121/6 121/22 124/10 126/24 127/4 127/6 127/7 133/23 137/10 137/21 138/1 138/2 138/3 138/8 138/12 140/8 140/15 141/4 142/11 143/24 146/3 146/18 146/20 147/15 147/16 147/22 149/21 149/22 152/2 153/11 153/24 154/6 154/7 168/21 170/23 171/5 171/8 174/11 174/20 175/9 176/15 177/1 177/17 178/16 178/21 192/10 198/11 210/4 210/10 210/17 212/3 212/10 215/9 216/1 217/25 220/17 228/2</p> <p>public's [2] 95/2 192/1</p> <p>publication [1] 110/7</p> <p>publications [1] 188/23</p> <p>publicly [5] 12/18 40/14 51/14 82/4 165/16</p> <p>published [6] 7/21 110/22 169/25 188/22 189/1 210/22</p> <p>pubs [2] 37/3 111/15</p> <p>purchase [2] 54/20 54/23</p> <p>purchased [3] 54/15 54/17 54/22</p> <p>purely [1] 205/4</p> <p>purpose [4] 55/7 59/11 71/24 73/9</p> <p>purposeful [1] 3/20</p> <p>purposes [1] 64/25</p> <p>pursuing [1] 167/22</p> <p>push [1] 158/16</p> <p>pushing [2] 50/11 158/20</p> <p>put [45] 4/9 7/12 22/12 31/18 46/23 49/12 51/8 63/7 67/13 69/12 70/9 70/20 83/16 83/18 88/22 102/6 107/22 108/9 108/16 110/7 114/4 124/20 125/4 128/5 137/9 141/12 143/10 147/4 154/22 171/6</p> <p>177/23 179/23 181/5 182/12 182/17 183/4 184/6 184/6 185/1 190/24 202/5 202/25 209/19 211/19 227/15 putting [14] 15/10 49/7 73/15 81/24 104/23 108/24 110/23 130/12 144/4 156/5 156/16 198/21 206/8 226/14</p> <p>Q</p> <p>qualifications [1] 114/15</p> <p>quality [2] 209/7 210/12</p> <p>quantum [1] 58/12</p> <p>quarantine [5] 170/1 170/3 176/1 177/19 178/24</p> <p>queried [3] 36/21 38/5 221/2</p> <p>query [1] 215/3</p> <p>question [33] 3/19 12/11 15/20 20/14 21/23 21/24 22/1 22/11 31/18 38/6 43/20 55/21 59/25 90/4 94/8 94/22 107/8 128/22 130/8 136/10 137/12 137/24 144/4 156/5 168/4 195/25 198/18 205/6 210/15 215/21 218/21 220/18 227/10</p> <p>questioning [4] 18/16 60/21 78/4 224/18</p> <p>questions [35] 1/7 2/24 6/21 21/3 22/9 22/10 56/6 66/17 106/7 112/21 117/24 139/19 141/22 143/16 175/6 184/15 184/15 184/16 186/16 187/13 191/14 195/3 206/6 209/16 210/14 210/14 211/10 214/9 214/10 214/12 214/13 220/11 227/17 229/5 229/8</p> <p>quick [2] 102/11 143/25</p> <p>quickly [26] 30/5 35/7 52/22 99/14 99/24 100/14 102/4 102/10 103/6 120/3 121/20 122/4 123/21 127/12 135/18 136/10 146/18 147/3 147/5 147/24 149/22 153/4 158/25 159/4 159/5 176/6</p> <p>quite [8] 26/15 37/8</p> <p>67/2 96/24 132/7 137/25 169/24 195/16</p> <p>quote [2] 188/9 191/12</p> <p>quoted [2] 208/11 220/20</p> <p>quoting [1] 221/25</p> <p>R</p> <p>R number [2] 28/17 189/23</p> <p>R0 [1] 98/24</p> <p>race [1] 148/24</p> <p>Rachel [1] 175/23</p> <p>racking [1] 24/13</p> <p>rail [1] 171/20</p> <p>raise [1] 81/15</p> <p>raised [5] 63/16 63/19 84/12 106/17 139/8</p> <p>raises [1] 220/1</p> <p>raising [1] 25/2</p> <p>ran [1] 202/19</p> <p>random [4] 36/20 38/21 39/15 41/12</p> <p>range [7] 70/10 70/21 105/8 115/22 211/12 222/2 223/25</p> <p>ranging [1] 130/19</p> <p>ranting [1] 58/11</p> <p>rapidly [3] 146/16 149/18 175/21</p> <p>rare [2] 7/6 182/25</p> <p>rarely [4] 8/12 8/14 8/18 8/18</p> <p>rate [2] 142/5 173/9</p> <p>rather [16] 2/7 14/2 36/13 50/16 52/11 70/7 72/13 72/19 103/15 105/22 162/23 181/21 193/10 199/15 208/1 226/13</p> <p>ratifying [1] 70/6</p> <p>rational [1] 153/19</p> <p>rationale [2] 49/16 74/19</p> <p>re [2] 60/10 176/8</p> <p>re-direct [1] 60/10</p> <p>reach [11] 3/23 5/17 5/22 40/18 42/7 65/12 68/1 85/3 109/18 121/3 153/9</p> <p>reached [25] 18/22 30/11 39/19 66/25 67/8 70/5 72/20 74/9 74/13 74/17 109/23 110/3 140/25 144/19 152/22 152/23 163/3 168/1 176/15 177/3 178/2 196/16 210/8 211/13 213/1</p> <p>reaches [2] 70/19 72/10</p> <p>reaching [6] 11/11</p> <p>33/11 33/13 67/7 74/20 200/9</p> <p>react [1] 126/23</p> <p>reacted [1] 182/15</p> <p>reaction [1] 121/17</p> <p>reactive [2] 161/7 162/18</p> <p>read [22] 2/5 9/23 39/3 44/13 52/18 52/20 53/1 69/25 76/23 97/14 97/18 113/15 124/4 124/18 130/20 133/9 141/7 166/14 179/1 191/12 211/14 215/3</p> <p>read-out [1] 9/23</p> <p>read-outs [1] 113/15</p> <p>reading [13] 35/12 48/3 56/22 57/7 62/6 83/17 91/2 141/12 144/2 144/3 163/13 179/10 198/20</p> <p>reads [1] 144/16</p> <p>reagents [1] 101/25</p> <p>real [4] 60/24 117/4 163/25 173/17</p> <p>realisation [3] 121/15 133/3 133/4</p> <p>realise [2] 120/18 183/14</p> <p>realised [3] 121/20 122/1 224/6</p> <p>realities [1] 171/22</p> <p>reality [7] 48/25 112/1 135/22 136/25 156/22 196/15 225/19</p> <p>really [14] 14/18 36/21 37/8 59/17 60/17 92/20 104/11 106/13 122/15 123/1 146/24 158/21 165/1 192/12</p> <p>reapplied [1] 176/7</p> <p>reason [7] 38/23 53/25 109/25 110/2 110/9 178/4 196/4</p> <p>reasonable [8] 10/12 41/6 94/4 108/24 162/1 206/23 212/13 212/19</p> <p>reasonably [2] 78/4 127/11</p> <p>reasoning [6] 11/5 18/14 18/24 30/25 74/11 74/19</p> <p>reasons [20] 14/4 14/6 23/24 52/18 111/21 112/16 116/15 138/1 142/14 146/4 146/6 150/15 160/25 174/12 196/2 196/17 212/18 212/18 213/1 222/5</p> <p>rebalance [1] 202/1</p>				
--	--	--	--	--

R	recording [2] 7/3 47/11	141/10 178/11 186/14 191/20 201/3 202/24	124/21	requests [4] 46/9 46/21 48/18 48/19
recall [23] 16/19 16/21 58/21 58/23 58/23 58/24 61/13 81/3 92/25 96/11 106/4 106/6 113/8 113/25 116/1 139/25 144/21 148/10 163/19 176/23 181/15 189/24 202/16	records [2] 74/9 74/14	regarding [1] 176/19	rely [2] 171/9 222/4	require [4] 57/13 60/12 65/17 102/17
receive [1] 16/20	recoverable [1] 48/17	regards [8] 23/19 85/24 117/8 140/1 149/6 169/8 169/22 210/7	relying [1] 154/6	required [9] 7/23 13/5 16/24 28/14 65/4 68/23 84/12 147/8 162/22
received [8] 93/17 93/19 113/8 136/20 157/19 214/25 215/9 216/1	recruit [1] 101/20	region [2] 18/19 49/13	remain [2] 1/18 2/2	required [9] 7/23 13/5 16/24 28/14 65/4 68/23 84/12 147/8 162/22
receiving [2] 16/19 96/24	redacted [2] 46/2 65/8	regret [8] 79/4 145/4 145/18 160/18 160/21 207/10 208/7 219/13	remained [5] 101/4 123/17 161/20 170/4 215/17	requirement [2] 99/3 188/17
recently [1] 51/18	redeployed [1] 166/12	regrets [1] 159/11	remaining [2] 124/19 213/16	requirements [3] 170/3 176/1 177/20
recess [1] 65/1	reduce [3] 79/19 80/4 142/21	regular [5] 62/9 94/16 105/25 165/11 224/2	remains [1] 22/20	requires [1] 27/16
reciprocity [1] 209/21	reduced [3] 213/25 224/14 225/22	regularly [6] 29/25 66/5 81/20 106/7 125/9 196/21	remarkable [1] 178/14	research [1] 52/21
recognise [4] 15/5 42/23 46/6 79/10	reducing [4] 174/9 179/14 180/5 201/23	regulated [1] 36/12	remember [18] 28/11 28/17 89/23 94/2 99/17 115/24 119/14 132/16 147/19 147/22 153/20 163/13 166/20 174/2 177/25 179/24 200/20 206/21	reserved [2] 171/3 171/10
recognised [2] 137/7 137/18	refer [5] 7/3 13/14 106/10 183/24 224/18	regulation [1] 218/14	remind [1] 42/25	residents [3] 218/5 221/18 223/6
recognising [1] 45/16	reference [13] 1/13 1/22 29/16 38/4 38/5 58/18 65/18 81/3 84/10 87/9 141/3 214/17 220/13	regulations [1] 170/10	reminded [1] 194/7	resign [3] 121/16 122/7 122/12
recollection [7] 64/18 101/7 133/1 170/5 176/23 179/11 223/3	referenced [2] 11/7 63/11	reimposed [2] 176/13 177/21	reminding [2] 44/14 47/4	resignation [5] 119/1 121/4 122/19 126/21 127/8
recommence [2] 161/6 161/9	references [2] 189/24 215/5	reimposing [1] 199/18	remotely [2] 26/8 58/3	resigned [6] 118/23 119/3 121/13 124/7 125/10 127/3
recommend [1] 159/2	referendum [7] 161/6 162/12 163/6 164/14 166/11 185/6 185/8	relate [3] 4/21 21/21 72/12	removed [1] 227/2	resigning [1] 121/1
recommendation [3] 105/19 105/25 163/18	referred [8] 6/16 12/17 71/7 72/22 95/19 142/6 144/11 176/21	related [9] 4/22 25/11 25/16 25/21 35/2 39/22 55/4 104/15 106/12	rendering [1] 210/22	resilience [5] 93/21 97/11 133/18 134/9 136/5
recommendations [4] 129/8 221/16 221/22 222/20	referring [3] 7/12 20/8 83/10	relates [1] 214/21	repeat [4] 12/3 47/9 49/6 137/12	resources [3] 64/5 85/1 218/13
recommending [1] 112/9	refers [3] 79/13 85/21 86/11	relating [6] 21/16 30/10 80/3 113/5 135/10 181/25	repeated [1] 4/24	respect [10] 3/6 61/8 68/18 117/3 151/16 151/22 167/25 179/1 179/22 184/25
reconcile [2] 8/9 178/16	reflect [8] 27/20 47/21 85/7 103/1 145/8 145/9 165/4 217/17	relation [11] 5/22 7/8 41/15 63/12 72/16 74/18 94/11 145/7 221/17 222/21 223/20	repeating [1] 74/2	respected [4] 112/11 140/11 144/9 144/13
record [46] 7/4 7/11 7/13 8/13 11/6 16/16 17/6 18/4 18/21 20/12 20/17 22/4 24/4 24/5 27/7 28/10 29/4 29/5 29/8 29/12 29/17 29/20 31/7 31/9 31/21 31/22 38/19 38/20 39/5 40/3 40/4 40/5 40/5 40/8 40/8 42/5 47/12 73/8 74/8 74/16 84/11 121/2 159/15 209/20 211/19 212/24	reflected [11] 7/11 29/14 29/19 38/10 77/9 91/6 96/18 101/10 101/10 101/11 102/25	relationship [4] 4/13 20/3 125/19 125/22	replace [2] 209/18 209/23	respective [1] 148/11
recorded [19] 7/1 7/11 7/23 20/5 20/11 21/8 21/18 22/3 27/12 28/21 28/24 30/4 33/3 34/6 37/23 39/20 40/1 49/15 210/9	reflecting [8] 9/6 9/9 73/3 77/12 158/22 163/7 164/15 165/21	relationships [2] 123/17 124/3	replied [2] 15/22 215/2	respects [1] 37/15
	reflection [7] 4/10 42/15 50/5 86/3 128/25 182/7 183/18	relative [2] 176/14 181/10	replies [4] 35/21 36/10 36/25 43/3	respiratory [2] 99/20 114/12
	reflections [1] 185/23	relatively [9] 25/18 102/10 111/16 119/25 142/17 170/12 176/4 178/1 218/9	reply [1] 203/8	respond [6] 82/11 118/18 120/3 162/19 166/6 166/9
	reflective [1] 70/23	relatives [1] 223/15	report [2] 119/10 217/25	responded [2] 20/23 184/13
	reflects [2] 39/16 73/17	release [1] 136/21	reported [3] 60/15 60/25 84/1	responders [1] 140/13
	refute [1] 73/25	released [1] 110/14	reporting [1] 211/6	response [28] 2/21 4/2 4/22 15/19 16/3 41/14 46/19 46/20 61/17 85/12 88/11 89/21 101/8 117/9 119/12 124/2 125/11 125/12 133/18 182/2 183/17 183/17 183/21 187/12 196/22 200/11
	reg [1] 40/11	releasing [1] 215/23	repository [1] 46/16	
	regard [13] 23/16 37/13 62/18 82/6 86/17 96/1 139/21	relevance [3] 20/9 21/6 24/2	represent [2] 4/18 84/8	
		relevant [10] 11/20 16/17 16/25 16/25 24/15 37/12 44/7 45/13 53/4 220/20	representation [2] 124/25 196/10	
		reliability [2] 216/22 222/7	representative [1] 213/10	
		reliance [2] 104/23	representatives [2] 127/23 213/17	
			reprimanded [1] 88/21	
			reputation [2] 194/19 196/12	
			request [6] 23/22 24/6 46/13 75/22 116/14 215/2	
			requested [4] 46/4 46/9 65/15 162/14	
			requesting [1] 172/9	

R	review [11] 35/25 71/22 128/23 141/2 141/9 166/7 175/19 188/5 223/22 224/2 224/5	robustness [4] 178/13 179/18 180/12 180/15	said [51] 7/7 8/10 8/15 17/8 17/25 24/1 38/23 43/20 44/3 57/21 60/21 71/1 75/11 76/1 87/2 87/10 91/23 92/17 93/11 102/7 110/1 116/1 117/11 117/17 122/9 125/9 126/7 131/20 134/20 136/9 140/5 143/15 147/12 151/19 162/9 162/10 164/22 164/23 165/8 165/12 166/19 167/3 167/5 167/6 167/9 167/9 169/10 183/5 184/3 198/22 205/19	181/18 182/23 185/2 186/18 189/12 190/11 190/12 196/11 198/12 200/13 206/3 206/17 221/3 227/7
response... [2] 220/18 221/8	reviewed [4] 71/22 76/21 128/21 130/9	Roger [1] 172/24	salience [1] 20/9	saying [40] 8/16 8/17 9/14 9/22 14/13 15/2 15/5 28/22 39/10 41/16 41/19 43/7 50/12 50/15 52/19 68/13 82/11 114/16 119/16 121/17 132/3 143/4 144/2 156/15 161/4 165/4 165/5 165/16 166/15 179/2 179/12 179/23 191/14 211/7 212/21 219/25 221/2 221/9 221/14 227/3
responses [4] 50/23 197/1 216/8 220/10	reviewing [4] 75/23 75/23 211/3 223/23	Roger Halliday [1] 172/24	salient [11] 7/3 7/9 16/25 27/6 27/11 28/9 29/3 29/9 29/18 31/16 72/22	says [32] 35/13 35/16 37/7 42/24 43/10 46/2 46/3 47/7 58/1 58/6 58/10 64/24 79/11 130/21 131/25 133/12 140/4 144/4 144/8 173/3 175/14 178/12 203/3 203/4 203/6 203/9 203/14 203/25 204/2 208/13 208/15 214/23
responsibilities [7] 47/11 150/9 151/12 155/7 170/24 170/24 171/3	revive [1] 185/5	roll [3] 183/9 200/19 202/6	Salmond [1] 227/13	scale [8] 60/18 90/14 101/12 101/18 101/19 102/6 102/23 128/5
responsibility [24] 2/20 69/6 81/13 84/25 90/16 90/22 91/15 91/21 94/3 103/9 112/12 118/19 119/13 124/16 146/9 146/13 149/12 149/23 149/25 154/14 154/15 171/21 205/22 217/23	rhetoric [1] 210/24	roll-out [2] 183/9 200/19	same [28] 26/9 35/22 36/5 54/25 66/2 80/10 82/9 83/7 94/19 107/13 109/6 110/19 122/6 126/10 148/8 149/2 150/23 155/20 157/15 165/10 169/9 169/24 170/21 172/19 190/15 212/3 221/14 225/10	scaled [3] 99/22 100/6 103/6
responsible [6] 10/7 50/17 92/5 118/17 131/18 209/3	rhythm [1] 120/5	rolled [1] 117/22	sample [1] 99/20	scaling [1] 139/5
rest [3] 67/1 147/18 186/22	ridiculous [2] 58/8 58/8	room [8] 86/23 87/1 87/22 126/10 126/18 133/18 134/10 208/8	SARS [1] 188/11	scenario [2] 94/4 206/23
restart [12] 163/22 164/22 164/24 165/6 166/1 166/4 167/4 167/9 167/13 167/17 185/8 186/13	right [56] 1/5 4/7 4/18 9/15 23/2 23/3 26/19 30/20 38/4 40/19 51/24 51/24 52/12 53/15 66/6 67/12 74/22 77/22 78/5 78/14 78/14 84/10 87/4 87/6 87/21 89/4 109/20 112/14 112/17 116/10 123/24 126/5 137/23 145/3 145/12 145/23 150/9 155/6 155/14 155/21 164/22 167/7 168/5 172/17 181/9 182/22 191/19 195/8 195/9 205/10 207/24 219/12 221/3 223/12 223/14 223/24	round [9] 58/16 60/16 61/5 61/6 67/20 78/5 78/14 87/7 188/25	SARS-CoV-2 [1] 188/11	scenes [1] 203/21
restarted [1] 186/6	Right Honourable [1] 1/5	route [2] 189/1 199/15	Saturday [2] 119/2 119/5	sceptical [2] 61/20 222/13
restarting [5] 163/6 163/21 164/13 165/20 166/20	rightly [3] 141/20 170/7 205/24	routine [4] 6/14 9/2 65/23 73/5	save [1] 182/4	scheduled [1] 66/6
restaurants [2] 36/3 37/3	rights [2] 143/20 143/21	routinely [4] 10/2 10/3 66/9 66/11	saw [8] 49/23 89/19 90/6 111/25 112/2 132/12 143/6 167/12	schedules [1] 156/1
restriction [2] 176/13 222/21	rigorously [1] 60/15	rugby [11] 106/23 107/9 110/20 110/22 111/10 112/5 112/19 143/9 145/7 212/6 212/14	say [81] 3/4 5/16 5/22 10/2 11/15 15/11 16/23 17/23 23/5 25/4 27/3 31/9 32/9 36/4 36/18 36/24 37/5 37/10 40/9 41/12 41/13 44/16 45/4 47/20 60/19 68/3 68/18 69/23 72/21 76/19 77/3 86/8 86/16 91/2 92/4 95/9 97/8 97/19 98/2 101/9 104/2 108/17 108/23 109/2 114/16 118/8 118/19 121/2 121/2 122/5 132/5 136/23 138/6 144/21 158/1 159/7 159/7 159/8 160/10 164/12 164/12 164/17 164/17 164/18 164/18 169/20 171/17	schools [2] 146/1 159/2
restrictions [23] 30/9 30/21 59/6 60/13 80/5 83/4 95/3 157/21 158/10 158/13 169/7 170/1 171/7 171/19 176/25 177/14 179/6 179/15 180/1 180/25 189/3 202/1 223/7	rise [5] 64/16 178/8 189/15 191/1 217/7	run [3] 205/14 213/4 213/7	scientific [3] 92/14 116/20 211/17	scientist [2] 118/3 197/22
result [9] 46/12 64/16 106/20 134/25 173/19 196/21 201/6 224/21 226/9	risen [2] 80/11 182/7	runs [3] 74/7 159/17 198/12	scientists [1] 95/10	scope [1] 14/13
resulted [1] 61/1	rising [1] 174/10	Russell [2] 161/4 162/10	Scotland [104] 2/11 4/2 4/18 5/14 10/7 15/22 16/9 42/21 57/14 64/17 81/7 86/4 92/19 95/12 95/13 96/3 99/12 99/25 100/13 100/16 103/24 105/8 106/21 106/24 107/23 108/16 112/18 115/3 115/19 117/19 117/23 137/5 137/10 137/17 137/21 138/1 138/2 138/3 138/8	
retain [5] 33/21 34/8 44/6 119/10 120/16	risk [21] 90/6 104/20 108/25 109/11 110/24 112/2 126/4 142/18 142/21 179/14 180/4 184/2 186/13 190/21 202/20 216/17 216/18 224/7 225/25 226/5 226/21	Russell's [1] 164/5		
retained [6] 6/10 10/13 17/1 34/3 54/12 210/9	risked [1] 108/18	S		
retaining [2] 16/17 17/4	risking [1] 88/20	sadly [1] 178/1		
retention [3] 10/9 16/16 226/11	risks [6] 205/11 217/15 224/11 224/14 227/2 227/8	safe [7] 48/10 79/2 111/22 151/2 160/15 219/10 222/4		
return [2] 112/23 168/17	risky [1] 142/17	safely [1] 187/20		
Returning [1] 202/9	road [2] 155/18 171/20	safer [2] 111/16 225/9		
revelations [1] 48/20	roadmap [1] 199/14	safety [2] 216/5 218/23		
reverse [1] 184/25	robbing [1] 168/9	SAGE [21] 80/15 113/14 113/16 116/16 116/18 116/21 140/16 189/21 208/21 208/23 209/5 209/5 209/7 209/14 209/15 209/18 209/19 209/22 209/23 209/24 209/25		

S	141/15 141/22 141/24 142/1 142/3 143/14 143/17 144/9 144/13 145/2 146/10 146/13 148/3 148/22 148/23 149/9 149/13 150/6 150/25 152/23 154/14 155/16 157/20 157/20 158/8 158/9 158/16 158/18 158/23 159/14 159/22 161/8 161/13 161/23 162/4 162/6 162/18 163/10 167/23 167/24 168/6 169/5 169/6 169/22 170/22 171/4 171/15 176/4 185/16 185/19 185/24 186/2 186/25 187/23 188/4 188/16 190/19 192/6 198/5 199/5 201/5 201/19 205/14 206/14 209/25 211/6 211/18 211/23 213/10 213/15 214/10 214/16 216/21 217/3 217/22 221/17 221/23 222/21 223/21 224/5 Scottish Care [2] 221/17 221/23 Scottish Government [1] 134/9 Scottish Inquiry [2] 18/11 23/10 screen [4] 44/17 177/23 220/14 220/21 scrutinise [3] 17/17 23/10 219/24 scrutinised [2] 195/23 198/25 scrutinising [2] 17/13 19/19 scrutiny [3] 22/23 173/6 195/5 se [1] 183/3 second [21] 27/20 31/23 33/15 54/17 81/6 108/10 146/7 153/8 162/12 168/22 185/5 185/7 191/24 193/21 199/6 199/9 199/24 200/2 200/3 200/4 200/5 secondary [1] 108/5 secondly [2] 142/22 209/12 secrecy [2] 109/24 110/14 secret [7] 9/10 29/22 30/8 30/12 30/16 147/1 210/6 secretaries [9] 62/7 62/19 63/6 63/23 78/8 84/4 84/24 92/3 205/24	secretary [29] 57/9 59/7 60/6 60/25 75/2 76/3 77/8 77/15 83/13 83/25 84/6 84/7 85/17 88/6 89/15 91/18 95/23 99/18 125/14 125/16 130/22 132/17 136/4 160/2 161/3 172/3 172/20 204/6 217/4 secretive [1] 111/3 secrets [1] 88/24 section [2] 133/6 171/5 section 94 [1] 171/5 section of [1] 133/6 sector [6] 30/3 30/3 174/16 194/14 218/13 220/3 secure [1] 34/10 see [41] 4/20 10/18 11/3 16/24 17/18 24/14 25/5 29/13 29/15 32/18 38/4 44/8 44/10 45/25 52/25 52/25 58/3 63/20 63/24 64/2 64/2 64/3 64/8 84/25 87/18 90/4 90/5 91/9 109/9 123/6 123/12 125/3 141/5 144/18 152/19 172/15 203/20 205/23 214/23 216/6 220/21 seeing [5] 13/15 94/4 159/21 179/4 202/12 seek [12] 106/9 150/7 161/12 162/3 163/10 185/20 186/2 206/13 207/15 208/19 210/3 212/2 seeking [9] 83/3 112/16 140/2 143/3 146/9 182/21 196/20 209/23 224/12 seeks [1] 4/17 seem [2] 180/18 204/6 seemed [4] 53/17 61/2 215/18 227/9 seems [2] 71/6 203/15 seen [43] 4/20 7/25 8/2 9/4 10/17 10/21 10/24 11/14 11/21 13/1 13/22 25/24 26/2 26/6 40/1 42/14 43/23 51/17 53/2 55/12 57/6 62/21 63/12 66/8 72/16 89/1 90/11 96/21 98/18 106/12 114/21 115/1 117/7 121/12 122/17 122/25 130/16 162/2 171/23 174/1 210/2 216/9	226/3 sees [2] 4/23 5/5 seized [1] 132/22 selected [1] 115/25 self [2] 104/19 150/4 self-evidently [2] 104/19 150/4 send [4] 7/18 14/14 51/13 52/24 sending [2] 52/6 52/6 senior [6] 14/24 26/23 43/18 65/8 129/9 211/17 sense [28] 5/19 6/11 16/21 38/9 42/1 71/8 72/5 91/20 93/4 94/3 94/17 97/20 98/4 98/12 98/13 102/2 106/10 124/5 129/4 132/17 132/21 146/8 146/19 149/8 158/19 171/11 180/11 181/10 sensible [3] 61/21 205/2 205/3 sent [6] 16/14 16/22 24/6 52/11 53/2 97/3 sentinel [1] 99/19 separate [2] 217/12 219/18 September [7] 77/24 79/10 80/12 81/5 185/13 185/14 186/4 September/October 2020 [1] 77/24 sequencing [3] 99/5 100/13 107/23 series [1] 97/2 serious [15] 3/19 47/22 49/2 94/1 98/1 120/15 131/8 133/3 133/5 143/1 143/3 195/4 216/13 217/17 217/20 seriously [10] 18/8 42/25 47/12 48/5 49/14 62/5 120/21 131/25 218/7 218/12 seriousness [1] 69/2 servant [6] 16/13 45/4 47/10 129/17 131/21 131/23 servants [6] 44/20 44/22 47/13 48/7 186/10 211/18 serves [1] 176/6 service [10] 10/6 43/18 61/21 61/23 65/21 85/2 86/17 86/18 101/1 138/15 services [3] 140/15 141/4 142/23 serving [1] 174/8 session [2] 141/22 222/9	sessions [4] 3/12 9/13 26/1 43/22 set [24] 3/9 5/3 23/24 34/17 60/2 62/10 67/25 87/25 116/8 116/13 137/22 138/2 140/6 142/13 143/12 153/21 156/21 171/17 178/15 189/2 199/15 206/23 212/23 224/8 sets [1] 212/24 setting [3] 17/10 152/21 224/4 settings [2] 221/20 222/3 settle [2] 120/3 203/22 seven [2] 27/3 27/5 seven days [2] 27/3 27/5 several [2] 28/1 74/14 severe [2] 91/19 187/17 severity [1] 84/21 SG [2] 130/25 131/5 SG comms [1] 131/5 SGoRR [1] 97/11 shall [2] 112/23 168/17 shape [3] 72/4 72/9 76/13 shaped [3] 3/12 73/19 87/15 shaping [3] 66/18 72/2 73/10 share [6] 11/9 14/1 84/19 84/20 88/17 124/16 shared [5] 51/15 76/19 89/18 136/14 209/22 sharing [3] 9/11 12/2 51/11 sharp [1] 15/8 she [106] 10/7 10/10 26/16 36/1 37/2 37/7 49/24 50/2 51/2 51/4 51/11 51/16 51/21 51/25 52/1 52/3 52/6 53/2 58/8 58/18 60/14 60/15 60/25 61/1 62/16 65/15 76/1 76/16 76/17 77/1 77/2 77/4 77/4 77/5 77/5 77/17 77/19 78/1 78/1 78/2 78/13 78/13 78/15 79/11 79/13 81/1 83/11 83/14 83/20 83/24 84/7 84/14 85/8 85/9 85/11 86/2 87/16 100/25 116/1 116/2 116/3 117/13 118/13 118/13
----------	---	--	--	---

S	show [7] 41/4 61/14 62/19 91/3 107/25 159/15 205/21 showed [2] 218/1 221/1 showing [4] 179/7 179/8 180/4 180/23 shown [3] 11/1 103/16 177/6 shows [4] 88/1 91/13 172/5 179/13 shying [1] 217/20 sic [1] 93/19 side [6] 47/15 90/12 109/21 151/22 216/5 218/23 sight [2] 13/15 217/24 signed [2] 1/16 1/25 significant [17] 12/4 30/2 60/18 116/25 119/19 134/16 134/24 153/13 157/4 165/23 174/4 188/2 195/17 213/13 217/18 218/15 221/7 significantly [1] 208/14 SIM [1] 54/16 similar [3] 62/6 69/13 94/14 similarly [1] 158/4 simple [4] 89/17 94/23 107/8 158/19 simply [20] 12/2 35/4 37/21 39/15 51/2 52/7 70/20 74/8 89/12 105/22 115/16 116/6 131/1 150/20 154/5 154/11 154/11 157/3 198/21 219/25 since [2] 34/7 39/9 single [6] 31/9 49/10 49/21 85/5 85/5 160/21 Sir [5] 94/14 114/24 125/20 195/15 208/12 Sir Harry Burns [2] 94/14 125/20 Sir Ian Diamond [1] 208/12 Sir Patrick Vallance [1] 114/24 sit [1] 227/6 sits [1] 72/1 sitting [5] 85/7 99/8 153/24 175/5 206/22 situation [31] 27/25 28/3 48/5 49/20 52/16 53/5 56/20 56/21 80/19 82/1 82/8 104/18 109/18 119/15 122/4 124/15 126/16 145/1 149/16 182/22	186/7 196/16 199/2 201/18 205/1 208/21 218/19 219/23 225/14 225/23 227/9 six [1] 185/16 six months [1] 185/16 size [1] 218/13 Skills [1] 172/21 sleep [1] 39/17 slept [3] 35/16 39/7 52/19 slide [1] 71/16 slightly [8] 34/21 57/24 62/12 82/19 124/18 135/21 153/22 159/2 slow [1] 80/13 slowly [3] 35/8 142/10 147/6 small [7] 101/18 101/19 108/19 198/17 205/18 216/17 218/9 small' [1] 86/1 small-scale [2] 101/18 101/19 Smith [14] 32/2 108/23 113/10 114/6 117/5 122/18 123/22 125/10 126/8 126/12 127/13 178/12 179/2 190/17 snippets [1] 90/11 SNP [3] 49/25 50/2 50/7 so [207] 2/20 7/6 7/22 8/17 9/8 9/11 10/1 11/8 11/13 12/10 16/1 16/10 20/7 20/18 22/13 23/11 23/23 25/8 26/1 27/8 27/11 28/3 28/22 29/7 31/2 31/3 33/5 35/2 35/7 35/12 35/24 36/16 36/19 38/9 38/21 39/14 39/15 40/11 41/1 41/12 42/1 43/21 44/3 44/12 45/22 45/24 46/25 47/15 54/5 55/22 57/20 58/17 58/20 61/18 61/19 61/24 62/8 62/17 63/3 63/19 66/6 66/9 67/10 67/15 67/25 68/2 68/6 69/8 69/21 70/19 71/22 72/2 72/4 72/25 73/12 75/15 75/18 75/24 77/24 80/17 85/7 87/7 87/22 88/25 90/18 91/25 93/7 93/23 94/15 95/19 96/3 96/8 96/12 97/12 97/18 97/21 99/17 100/4	100/14 101/9 101/15 102/2 102/10 102/23 103/19 103/23 104/10 104/25 105/4 105/23 106/8 107/9 107/18 113/11 113/15 114/18 116/22 117/23 119/11 120/13 120/24 122/7 122/15 123/6 123/10 124/14 125/3 125/10 125/20 126/8 126/15 127/14 128/22 128/24 130/9 130/10 131/24 132/10 134/19 135/6 135/13 135/21 136/22 143/11 145/17 147/3 147/7 148/6 148/17 153/10 153/24 155/19 155/19 156/14 158/7 158/18 158/21 162/22 164/8 165/5 166/15 166/17 168/22 171/4 171/8 171/20 172/7 176/23 179/18 183/2 183/11 183/17 184/5 185/20 186/8 186/13 187/17 190/3 191/5 191/22 192/21 192/25 194/24 195/11 198/20 200/7 201/22 202/3 202/15 208/9 209/3 209/16 209/21 209/24 215/21 216/10 216/25 218/6 218/11 219/7 220/20 221/4 221/11 221/20 222/16 223/1 224/1 social [9] 57/9 59/8 85/17 99/7 100/19 105/2 140/22 188/14 204/6 social care [1] 188/14 socialising [1] 140/7 society [6] 30/3 40/16 41/9 132/9 133/6 187/20 socioeconomic [2] 137/8 137/19 sole [4] 118/19 125/7 125/25 209/8 solely [5] 69/4 115/17 117/15 160/14 174/20 sombre [1] 47/23 some [114] 2/4 2/7 2/24 3/7 6/9 6/20 7/25 8/6 9/10 9/12 11/1 12/15 14/21 24/16 24/17 29/7 31/25 32/20 34/18 35/10 35/23 38/1 38/16 38/19 41/3 42/15 43/21 44/18 49/23	51/17 53/18 53/18 53/18 55/7 56/6 56/9 58/15 58/22 61/16 62/13 67/18 67/19 70/17 71/22 74/4 75/23 76/21 79/9 82/3 85/10 86/1 88/4 89/18 92/12 94/1 95/6 99/21 100/17 100/21 102/8 103/25 104/21 104/22 106/2 106/12 109/20 112/13 113/4 115/2 117/7 121/12 122/17 130/13 132/7 139/19 139/21 139/25 150/22 156/10 156/15 160/16 160/22 161/1 166/9 166/18 171/23 172/23 172/25 179/24 181/9 181/11 184/6 184/14 185/16 185/23 186/16 193/24 194/3 194/13 195/6 195/7 195/13 195/14 198/20 199/20 200/15 200/16 201/24 203/12 208/17 211/3 214/10 214/12 228/2 somebody [22] 7/13 27/10 39/14 45/2 47/6 51/2 52/23 52/24 73/13 75/5 96/1 104/25 108/18 124/1 164/21 165/7 167/2 167/12 186/14 196/19 217/8 219/2 somehow [4] 54/10 83/19 144/4 156/23 someone [5] 37/12 43/14 214/1 215/14 215/15 something [35] 7/13 7/15 9/16 15/10 25/3 38/6 46/1 49/21 50/7 52/24 92/16 93/2 93/3 95/16 96/19 98/14 105/16 106/8 120/23 122/22 124/4 127/25 128/3 130/5 132/11 132/12 133/5 144/5 145/11 153/15 163/24 167/10 171/25 179/7 207/2 sometime [1] 61/14 sometimes [14] 8/7 13/25 28/6 31/1 31/2 65/19 66/7 68/1 75/18 79/2 84/19 86/7 119/4 192/13 somewhat [2] 59/8 71/7 somewhere [1] 39/14 soon [3] 200/22 201/6 203/20 sophisticated [1]
----------	---	--	--	--

S	speech [2] 15/9 55/20	77/24 97/10 100/20 133/9 134/12 138/7 150/11 158/18 159/5 170/9 179/16 200/20 206/12 213/8	140/16 140/17	studies [1] 52/21
sophisticated... [1] 192/10	speed [1] 101/12	spent [2] 131/4 206/17	still [20] 3/24 4/3 37/8 48/2 50/13 88/14 100/3 100/17 119/25 131/3 131/3 186/6 195/19 203/5 217/2 217/8 221/9 222/13 225/3 227/13	study [3] 100/10 100/12 212/10
sorry [14] 8/15 55/2 64/1 127/19 136/19 137/12 137/24 141/1 153/5 167/14 167/14 172/12 202/13 214/1	spirit [1] 4/15	spoke [8] 81/10 94/3 95/11 95/13 108/21 122/12 147/23 151/4	stockpile [1] 136/22	Sturgeon [47] 1/5 1/6 1/8 23/13 35/6 55/2 56/5 57/6 62/19 65/24 68/10 73/22 82/5 89/16 90/21 92/8 103/15 113/3 121/17 126/21 130/15 139/17 139/25 144/16 156/1 164/12 166/13 168/3 169/2 172/13 181/16 183/23 191/21 193/9 193/20 200/20 202/16 204/11 205/13 213/5 213/20 214/8 214/15 215/21 227/10 227/21 229/3
sort [11] 34/2 43/17 78/6 80/22 81/4 86/14 90/12 98/8 98/25 185/3 190/16	spoken [4] 40/13 147/21 159/6 182/19	SPORT [1] 140/23	stolen [3] 20/5 21/17 34/9	style [1] 33/9
sort of [7] 43/17 78/6 80/22 81/4 90/12 98/25 190/16	spread [9] 79/20 108/1 108/4 109/12 134/5 149/20 153/12 214/24 215/15	stated [1] 17/11	stood [3] 96/7 194/6 206/6	subject [3] 16/15 62/17 157/18
sought [13] 3/5 5/15 24/20 31/1 84/17 95/15 128/17 151/8 210/15 211/12 213/12 220/3 221/25	spreading [3] 149/18 151/25 202/20	statement [36] 1/13 1/14 1/16 1/18 1/21 1/22 1/23 2/2 2/6 2/8 3/3 3/10 12/17 14/9 19/15 23/14 23/21 24/7 31/23 32/8 32/9 33/16 82/18 182/23 186/18 200/17 212/8 212/13 213/15 214/17 214/21 215/8 221/1 221/13 222/11 224/16	stop [5] 44/2 77/7 88/25 104/3 213/18	subliminally [1] 94/9
sounding [2] 88/21 104/20	spring [2] 188/1 216/15	statements [9] 1/10 1/12 1/12 12/10 14/10 18/6 29/13 42/6 153/22	stopped [2] 91/24 201/1	sublineage [1] 107/25
sounds [3] 34/1 167/15 191/7	Sridhar [12] 24/16 32/3 34/20 34/20 49/24 51/12 51/19 52/12 196/5 196/16 200/24 211/14	status [1] 151/24	stops [1] 62/3	submitted [1] 134/19
source [5] 96/5 96/22 116/17 165/1 209/9	Sridhar's [1] 198/15	statutory [2] 20/24 171/9	story [4] 106/6 119/7 213/19 213/19	subparagraph [2] 64/22 214/20
sources [9] 52/20 53/18 115/18 118/15 124/23 125/1 126/1 126/2 126/20	St [4] 26/14 26/24 26/24 32/21	Statistician [1] 169/5	straight [1] 126/14	subsequent [2] 117/22 144/17
space [3] 7/20 176/4 182/9	St Andrew's House [4] 26/14 26/24 26/24 32/21	Statistician's [1] 195/15	strategic [9] 65/3 65/13 67/24 68/16 68/19 68/20 187/4 187/25 188/22	subsequently [4] 31/23 117/6 140/3 174/23
Spain [25] 170/13 170/17 173/5 173/21 174/5 174/6 174/10 174/17 176/1 176/17 176/20 177/15 177/20 178/3 178/5 178/14 179/5 179/6 179/13 179/17 179/20 180/5 180/25 193/21 193/24	staff [5] 6/8 55/1 55/11 101/2 101/20 25/18 28/15 58/3 58/13 58/14 70/12 75/16 96/17 98/2 99/1 100/3 104/3 104/7 105/9 105/21 119/25 137/5 137/22 139/16 140/1 140/6 142/19 150/6 197/3 210/16	states [2] 140/20 200/18	strategies [2] 210/22 210/25	substance [7] 7/10 8/19 16/25 20/10 21/7 22/11 195/22
Spanish [4] 173/12 173/16 173/24 174/21	stage [27] 16/1 21/5 25/18 28/15 58/3 58/13 58/14 70/12 75/16 96/17 98/2 99/1 100/3 104/3 104/7 105/9 105/21 119/25 137/5 137/22 139/16 140/1 140/6 142/19 150/6 197/3 210/16	statue [1] 151/24	strategy [19] 5/11 105/17 105/22 110/23 118/10 118/11 118/11 126/25 186/17 187/2 187/10 189/11 197/20 198/2 198/2 199/5 205/14 207/18 213/4	substantial [4] 33/7 38/25 100/12 216/18
speak [14] 32/18 35/8 47/16 61/17 81/11 146/3 148/1 149/24 154/4 175/4 196/11 201/9 209/15 211/9	stage two [1] 140/6	statutory [2] 20/24 171/9	strengthen [2] 57/23 58/13	substantive [6] 15/13 21/21 56/25 61/24 134/4 134/18
speaking [7] 35/7 35/14 86/23 126/4 126/11 181/12 198/3	stages [6] 27/21 27/22 92/9 119/14 160/7 190/5	stayed [1] 194/3	strengthening [1] 184/4	substantively [1] 73/7
special [2] 75/4 119/6	stand [5] 50/16 58/5 107/7 212/9 212/14	steal [1] 154/10	strengthens [1] 58/4	succeeded [3] 79/3 89/10 191/24
specific [7] 21/3 41/15 105/24 116/14 188/8 199/21 221/25	standardised [2] 195/18 208/12	Steedman [2] 43/3 43/12	stress [1] 189/8	success [2] 151/15 193/6
specifically [5] 4/22 101/9 116/1 128/18 147/12	standing [2] 37/25 138/5	stem [6] 57/13 146/25 148/25 149/19 152/24 153/12	stressful [1] 87/20	successful [2] 108/4 193/8
specifics [1] 6/22	stands [3] 36/23 40/9 121/8	stemmed [1] 127/8	stressing [1] 132/11	successfully [2] 191/11 195/12
	start [21] 20/6 20/8 66/19 81/25 85/18 91/14 96/4 102/5 103/5 106/2 132/16 159/5 166/12 183/20 187/20 190/4 191/4 191/14 200/18 209/13 226/4	stenographer [3] 35/7 55/19 55/22	strict [1] 28/15	such [17] 3/16 7/18 12/25 16/22 25/9 59/23 68/3 68/4 81/17 90/24 110/14 115/6 128/16 146/1 177/1 202/5 212/4
	started [18] 17/9 39/3 54/25 64/16	step [2] 180/16 211/16	strike [5] 12/14 41/24 190/6 210/19 223/8	suddenly [5] 120/11 161/14 161/17 183/19 194/8
		stepped [1] 127/13	striving [1] 186/20	suffered [2] 103/4 214/3
		stepping [1] 155/13	strong [3] 98/12 146/19 150/10	sufficient [2] 118/2 217/14
		steps [7] 98/22 98/25 110/25 135/14 138/19 139/2 178/5	strongly [7] 14/6 23/5 73/25 81/25 143/18 160/24 184/25	
		sternest [1] 194/13	struggle [1] 119/3	
		stick [7] 35/16 36/11 36/19 38/21 70/16	struggled [1] 72/13 55/19	
			struggling [2] 41/2 55/19	
			stuck [1] 157/10	

S	219/25 suppress [5] 28/15 173/13 178/5 187/5 187/18 suppressing [2] 192/4 198/5 suppression [4] 187/2 187/21 192/5 193/11 sure [51] 8/21 9/15 10/12 10/24 11/14 18/10 21/11 22/25 24/2 28/9 29/11 31/8 36/7 39/18 40/20 43/25 47/11 49/11 52/25 61/8 62/5 62/11 66/9 69/3 73/2 73/7 80/9 82/14 83/2 83/3 84/9 104/9 114/1 118/22 120/14 121/21 139/5 139/6 146/11 156/5 178/6 192/20 196/24 197/6 197/9 199/3 212/8 218/17 219/7 224/12 225/17 surely [2] 155/25 180/11 surface [2] 82/25 109/8 surprised [2] 147/23 147/25 surprising [2] 123/1 170/19 surveillance [6] 99/4 99/5 99/19 99/19 189/17 192/24 survey [1] 212/10 suspect [11] 35/17 35/19 55/18 58/15 62/23 67/17 87/8 87/9 103/15 129/1 138/24 suspended [2] 162/13 162/17 suspending [1] 161/5 sustainable [1] 124/12 sustained [1] 186/24 swabs [1] 101/25 sweeping [1] 82/18 swine [19] 88/11 91/18 92/14 93/12 93/13 93/19 94/7 94/9 94/12 94/15 94/18 95/7 95/22 97/25 102/20 125/15 125/16 132/16 132/23 swine flu [18] 88/11 91/18 92/14 93/12 93/13 94/7 94/9 94/12 94/15 94/18 95/7 95/22 97/25 102/20 125/15 125/16 132/16 132/23	Swinney [8] 15/18 32/1 32/11 32/13 32/17 65/6 69/11 172/16 sympathy [1] 39/11 symptomatic [3] 146/24 215/7 224/21 symptoms [5] 104/8 153/1 215/14 215/25 221/11 symptoms' [1] 215/13 symptoms.' [1] 215/16 system [16] 6/18 7/1 7/16 7/24 21/8 21/18 27/13 27/17 50/8 99/4 99/18 99/19 101/2 102/8 193/4 199/21 systems [4] 8/3 8/11 17/7 33/4	64/21 71/10 73/10 73/24 78/10 78/24 79/9 81/17 87/16 91/11 92/2 99/1 110/5 110/25 111/2 111/2 111/4 111/7 111/9 111/20 119/6 124/13 125/1 125/21 135/14 139/2 140/14 141/21 143/17 143/19 143/24 144/15 144/20 148/22 151/25 153/1 166/7 166/7 169/15 170/17 173/11 174/11 175/8 177/7 178/5 178/24 181/8 195/6 195/6 195/7 202/21 204/7 225/10 takes [2] 72/3 173/13 taking [25] 15/14 27/24 31/16 33/12 39/12 40/18 41/6 41/22 44/9 48/5 78/23 90/23 109/17 111/12 145/14 146/15 146/17 149/19 150/16 155/5 180/24 181/22 191/1 200/8 210/19 talk [10] 18/17 25/5 26/1 37/23 40/20 53/7 70/11 91/25 100/9 104/10 talked [8] 33/22 70/22 102/19 113/6 113/21 192/12 194/11 201/18 talking [20] 5/25 7/5 11/16 13/21 37/21 38/1 38/16 47/5 51/10 67/23 105/5 110/17 120/4 131/4 159/1 183/20 193/18 193/22 219/1 226/16 talks [1] 81/1 Tam [1] 211/21 taps [1] 105/12 targeted [1] 189/18 task [1] 211/24 taught [1] 102/15 Tayside [1] 135/19 teach [1] 102/23 team [8] 96/8 107/22 108/2 118/16 123/17 124/20 124/22 166/10 technical [1] 99/10 technically [1] 122/11 teenager [1] 47/7 television [1] 219/5 tell [15] 45/17 72/14 72/22 122/7 128/7 145/24 147/9 147/17 147/17 147/18 150/1 150/1 175/5 179/3	204/3 telling [3] 45/10 149/3 206/12 ten [1] 108/15 tend [3] 66/4 121/14 178/22 tended [3] 66/2 101/17 122/18 tendency [2] 86/16 86/22 tenor [2] 97/15 97/21 tension [1] 152/8 term [5] 71/6 72/6 94/19 192/16 193/16 terminology [1] 66/23 terms [23] 17/24 18/1 22/12 25/4 44/23 57/15 82/25 90/8 93/11 93/15 94/5 94/7 127/4 134/24 145/12 170/23 187/7 191/5 195/17 198/17 219/10 223/10 227/5 terrifying [1] 94/5 test [2] 100/1 104/25 tested [2] 206/9 217/8 testing [64] 58/16 99/20 100/5 100/8 101/2 101/9 101/15 101/15 101/17 102/1 102/5 102/17 102/21 103/2 104/1 104/4 104/6 104/11 104/12 104/14 104/16 104/21 104/24 105/6 105/9 117/9 117/15 118/5 118/6 118/11 135/11 135/15 135/15 135/17 135/23 136/1 139/6 189/17 192/25 199/25 215/24 216/23 217/1 217/5 217/7 217/13 217/14 217/18 217/24 218/15 218/22 219/25 221/18 222/2 222/3 222/5 222/11 222/14 223/20 224/1 224/20 224/25 225/2 226/25 tests [8] 99/25 100/3 101/4 104/10 104/17 104/18 117/19 222/7 text [7] 2/8 6/1 23/25 24/7 32/13 32/15 32/16 than [53] 2/7 4/11 6/4 6/14 16/9 22/22 28/25 34/21 36/13 52/11 58/15 70/7 72/19 82/21 84/20 88/20 90/15 95/6 99/23 103/6 104/17 105/22 109/25 127/20 130/6
----------	--	--	---	--

T	146/20 152/1 153/2 154/3 155/17 155/21 156/8 168/9 175/11 205/25 207/7 211/25 223/6 226/12 226/18 theirs [2] 154/1 154/2 them [84] 8/14 13/15 20/21 22/1 23/8 23/12 24/23 24/23 24/24 30/9 30/24 33/16 33/20 33/21 33/25 34/11 35/1 35/12 35/24 37/1 39/1 44/19 48/2 52/4 52/4 54/23 57/12 70/17 71/10 71/24 74/21 75/4 77/14 87/5 93/9 97/7 97/14 97/18 108/15 109/20 112/17 114/11 115/13 122/21 127/16 131/3 143/4 143/8 147/6 147/16 147/17 147/17 147/18 149/10 149/22 149/22 150/2 152/3 152/4 152/9 153/4 159/21 170/15 176/5 176/5 176/7 181/9 181/11 181/12 183/12 194/13 199/20 209/16 211/2 211/7 211/10 211/10 212/4 213/13 213/15 219/3 225/9 226/13 226/20 theme [1] 73/21 themselves [5] 17/19 30/7 48/12 165/15 192/19 then [90] 4/14 12/16 17/6 21/2 24/8 24/18 24/23 27/16 28/19 28/23 29/19 30/22 31/4 36/1 37/2 37/7 37/22 37/23 39/19 39/25 46/2 49/7 50/8 57/8 57/17 58/1 61/2 63/8 70/19 71/19 72/3 72/7 72/9 74/13 76/13 77/18 82/9 82/10 83/20 84/13 88/16 94/13 95/22 100/6 104/8 105/1 105/3 113/9 113/12 116/16 119/7 120/7 121/4 129/12 131/4 135/1 140/25 143/18 144/1 145/3 150/4 153/18 156/23 167/12 168/12 170/17 170/17 171/12 172/2 174/15 175/25 176/6 176/17 177/20 187/4 188/24 192/20 193/3 199/18 199/21 202/1 203/7 203/12 203/13 203/22 204/2	204/5 205/4 215/21 221/9 there [309] there's [21] 6/17 23/13 27/14 36/23 37/8 38/3 38/4 40/4 40/9 41/12 89/7 126/7 132/5 134/21 135/10 135/25 136/13 138/17 172/21 178/14 203/12 thereabouts [2] 50/13 154/3 therefore [19] 14/16 34/9 45/12 45/13 72/20 82/2 101/11 120/10 148/6 149/23 152/3 182/20 189/3 189/25 204/15 215/21 216/4 224/22 225/8 these [135] 5/11 7/25 8/10 9/2 9/5 11/12 11/21 12/10 22/24 23/6 25/13 26/5 26/10 27/1 28/23 29/2 29/21 29/21 29/23 32/7 33/2 33/8 34/14 35/10 37/20 38/16 40/7 41/3 41/21 42/6 42/19 43/17 43/21 43/23 44/16 46/23 48/20 51/25 52/2 52/5 55/13 62/18 62/20 63/19 63/24 64/9 64/24 69/25 70/8 71/18 71/23 72/3 72/8 73/8 73/18 74/5 74/10 74/20 75/24 76/4 76/7 76/20 76/21 77/3 77/13 77/23 77/23 79/11 81/23 82/3 82/24 87/19 88/3 90/13 96/2 99/3 99/8 99/10 99/11 99/14 99/15 100/16 101/20 106/25 107/6 109/17 109/19 111/2 111/17 111/18 112/13 112/14 114/16 114/18 114/19 115/11 126/18 129/4 131/20 133/8 134/15 136/23 138/8 138/22 138/23 139/8 140/10 146/2 146/5 146/25 147/5 148/1 149/9 150/3 151/6 151/20 152/1 153/3 155/11 155/15 165/10 171/2 174/11 175/8 177/16 178/9 179/12 191/13 207/9 213/8 213/17 218/14 225/8 226/7 226/22 they [143] 6/10 6/11 10/15 11/21 11/21	11/22 13/4 13/5 14/14 14/17 17/3 17/4 22/6 23/16 27/10 30/1 30/4 30/4 30/7 30/11 30/24 31/20 33/17 35/23 40/3 40/4 40/5 40/5 44/17 44/20 44/22 44/24 44/25 45/18 47/5 47/5 47/23 47/24 48/20 51/6 52/7 53/17 54/22 54/23 55/3 55/6 55/7 55/9 57/20 58/17 61/8 62/21 71/7 71/8 71/9 71/12 72/12 72/15 75/7 81/18 85/18 85/21 86/18 86/23 87/15 95/19 99/14 102/10 105/1 107/6 108/3 111/4 111/8 111/14 111/15 111/20 112/14 112/15 113/16 114/13 115/16 115/18 119/6 119/23 122/20 122/21 123/10 123/12 131/4 142/12 142/24 143/6 144/24 146/17 147/2 147/3 148/2 149/11 152/8 154/2 154/3 154/4 154/18 155/22 161/25 163/9 164/12 164/17 164/18 165/4 169/23 171/18 173/17 173/18 173/25 174/12 174/13 174/22 174/23 177/20 180/2 183/1 183/4 183/6 183/8 186/11 190/15 192/18 192/19 194/17 194/17 210/8 210/13 211/8 213/4 213/6 213/6 213/15 214/7 215/24 217/9 221/10 226/13 they'd [1] 28/21 they'll [1] 37/8 they're [8] 14/19 14/20 39/2 64/10 81/23 85/23 132/22 156/19 thickly [1] 131/8 thing [13] 39/4 44/16 47/20 50/3 80/22 87/10 98/25 152/21 161/7 190/15 195/2 195/9 221/14 things [71] 6/17 8/13 9/21 10/15 14/1 14/2 14/16 15/7 23/1 23/2 29/24 29/25 30/15 34/5 37/22 44/15 47/5 47/15 48/25 50/15 52/5 52/7 53/6 58/5 59/20 73/6 75/17 79/21 81/2 83/17	94/11 94/23 98/24 99/11 102/10 110/8 111/2 115/1 120/3 120/6 120/14 120/19 123/8 127/2 127/15 132/5 138/16 139/8 147/5 148/23 148/23 152/7 153/7 155/11 156/17 157/12 158/14 161/24 162/18 171/14 174/22 186/10 189/9 190/13 192/13 198/22 205/3 222/17 224/1 225/21 226/9 think [320] thinking [13] 15/3 31/14 85/8 89/23 90/8 90/19 93/13 106/16 132/19 132/20 148/20 154/9 166/1 thinking-out-loud [1] 31/14 third [1] 218/4 thirdly [1] 143/1 thirst [1] 51/1 this [326] this inquiry [1] 20/22 tho [1] 35/18 Thomson [13] 16/14 32/2 42/24 43/7 44/11 44/19 45/2 45/15 46/3 46/18 47/9 175/13 185/21 Thomson's [1] 186/8 thorough [1] 34/4 those [113] 4/24 6/9 10/11 11/6 17/4 18/3 18/14 18/20 19/22 22/3 22/19 22/25 23/10 23/16 26/2 26/17 27/6 28/4 28/20 29/4 29/8 29/17 30/25 31/17 32/9 32/21 33/19 34/15 34/21 34/23 35/25 40/18 40/24 48/25 51/22 54/20 63/6 63/16 69/14 71/15 72/4 72/5 72/6 72/20 72/23 76/11 77/7 78/11 78/23 81/17 89/25 90/14 90/18 91/5 92/13 93/15 94/21 94/24 94/25 95/6 97/6 97/13 97/16 98/18 105/23 107/3 109/23 120/12 120/19 120/20 121/21 121/25 123/8 126/2 127/1 127/2 127/14 127/15 134/12 137/7 137/11 137/18 137/23 139/12 145/10 146/14 148/7 149/20 152/11 153/10 153/11
----------	--	--	--	--

T	127/6 129/6 138/9 139/21 158/21 159/6 159/17 159/21 161/11 161/22 169/11 186/8 188/21 188/24 189/20 193/1 193/2 196/20 199/13 199/14 199/21 205/7 208/4 209/19 211/8 211/24 214/6 218/3 220/11	220/11 220/20 222/19 223/18 223/24 224/3 224/19 225/1 226/22 226/23 227/8 227/13 timeline [1] 127/19 timeliness [1] 11/23 times [16] 4/2 28/1 29/1 36/22 47/23 74/1 79/3 90/11 90/13 129/15 129/15 150/23 152/9 153/24 199/2 219/5 timetable [4] 65/3 67/25 68/16 68/21 timing [4] 146/4 146/6 148/11 227/15 today [19] 3/24 4/9 8/16 11/1 53/7 74/4 81/11 91/25 128/20 132/6 175/6 181/19 185/1 189/10 206/17 211/5 220/25 227/19 227/25 today's [4] 1/4 1/19 2/3 222/9 Todays [1] 58/15 together [9] 107/6 138/15 140/17 143/5 150/17 155/4 202/25 204/19 211/9 told [8] 59/9 83/11 88/7 92/23 136/21 164/25 196/6 199/7 toll [1] 195/10 tomorrow [1] 228/5 too [20] 8/6 13/20 35/7 43/13 58/4 81/24 104/23 124/13 124/21 145/19 145/20 147/5 147/6 147/24 195/11 195/19 208/3 208/5 208/6 208/15 took [40] 8/22 17/14 18/8 19/7 19/20 30/18 37/24 40/22 43/17 47/10 52/22 57/22 62/3 62/4 72/14 85/16 92/16 102/6 106/23 107/9 127/22 139/20 141/6 145/5 145/19 145/20 153/2 157/14 159/1 160/9 170/11 175/7 180/9 183/24 184/16 192/17 194/24 195/10 195/13 199/5 top [3] 54/16 79/15 172/7 top-ups [1] 54/16 topic [3] 55/16 56/5 169/2 totality [1] 26/1 touched [2] 136/6 186/17 tough [2] 50/13 123/2	tougher [1] 83/4 towards [3] 141/2 200/20 202/2 trace [2] 106/19 107/24 traced [1] 107/24 tracing [9] 45/22 99/6 102/18 102/21 103/2 108/3 189/17 192/24 199/25 trade [1] 41/24 trade-offs [1] 41/24 tragedy [1] 208/7 train [2] 54/9 134/25 trained [1] 114/11 trajectory [1] 159/9 transcribed [2] 29/4 29/10 transfer [5] 215/22 220/18 220/20 225/6 225/7 transition [1] 162/21 translated [1] 26/12 translating [1] 126/2 translation [1] 126/5 transmission [20] 142/6 142/19 142/21 146/25 148/25 214/22 215/1 215/11 215/12 215/17 215/19 216/2 216/12 216/20 220/22 221/3 221/5 221/13 222/6 226/22 transmissions [1] 152/24 transmit [2] 191/4 221/11 transmitted [1] 117/1 transmitting [1] 146/16 transparency [3] 4/4 4/16 5/6 transparent [4] 3/6 3/25 4/11 210/16 transpose [1] 8/13 trauma [4] 48/1 48/2 208/9 223/6 traumatic [1] 222/25 travel [13] 170/6 170/9 170/15 171/19 172/1 172/10 173/2 173/24 174/3 174/17 176/17 179/20 193/23 travellers [1] 170/2 Treasury [2] 83/13 83/25 treat [1] 188/8 treatment [1] 219/9 treatments [2] 187/16 188/8 trial [1] 227/12 tribute [1] 151/5 tried [25] 5/12 62/2 84/18 84/19 85/1 92/6	121/24 144/23 145/8 146/11 146/11 146/12 148/9 150/16 152/5 152/10 182/24 191/22 193/22 194/1 212/16 212/16 214/5 214/6 222/17 trotted [1] 46/19 trotting [1] 165/13 true [11] 1/18 2/2 14/21 23/7 49/8 56/20 63/13 77/3 90/20 159/15 219/4 trust [9] 4/13 49/2 49/17 115/14 115/15 120/9 120/21 206/1 206/2 trusted [1] 205/18 truth [1] 48/6 try [45] 10/11 14/12 23/15 35/8 48/12 55/23 59/10 64/4 64/13 72/4 79/6 85/19 93/7 99/2 106/19 111/21 120/13 120/20 121/18 122/2 124/8 138/19 140/17 148/4 148/24 148/25 151/14 152/24 153/9 153/12 154/15 157/1 161/20 169/13 183/6 186/2 187/22 191/1 205/23 207/6 208/20 219/15 220/9 223/14 225/13 trying [56] 9/16 12/13 15/3 22/10 40/17 40/18 41/24 41/25 42/7 47/1 50/6 50/18 50/19 51/7 52/21 82/23 88/22 90/2 91/7 109/18 123/7 130/7 132/15 145/9 146/25 149/19 154/5 154/7 154/8 154/9 154/10 154/11 154/11 156/24 160/13 160/14 161/10 170/22 184/19 190/2 190/9 191/11 192/3 195/8 195/20 197/6 197/8 197/16 197/21 199/1 200/1 201/22 207/13 210/19 223/8 223/10 Tuesday [3] 66/6 66/9 66/13 turn [5] 27/18 86/7 92/10 92/18 225/21 turned [6] 16/9 91/19 94/18 95/5 95/16 121/19 turns [1] 205/9 tweet [7] 181/18 181/25 182/8 182/16 184/14 184/17 184/18
----------	---	--	--	--

T	184/16	224/9	220/14 222/3 223/9 224/4 224/8	211/21	
twice [1] 227/24	unaware [1] 13/12	undertake [2] 9/4 60/6	update [1] 128/17	valuable [2] 96/5 120/16	
Twitter [4] 24/15 24/25 34/18 196/5	uncertain [4] 116/23 117/2 215/17 216/18	undertaken [2] 9/2 169/16	updates [1] 145/25	value [2] 123/11 123/13	
two [29] 1/10 6/5 8/9 27/14 63/14 69/17 99/9 115/13 117/6 117/21 119/15 120/13 131/25 132/5 135/16 140/6 140/9 144/25 154/16 157/15 158/5 159/12 171/14 184/1 196/17 197/20 197/20 209/8 210/14	uncertainties [1] 116/25	undoubtedly [14] 4/9 15/25 38/12 73/1 109/20 113/24 128/2 136/6 136/11 181/11 184/14 187/6 217/18 219/16	upon [6] 169/15 177/1 212/21 212/22 227/22 227/23	valued [6] 83/22 96/5 125/12 211/3 211/7 211/8	
two days [1] 184/1	uncertainty [7] 216/3 216/10 216/12 216/16 216/19 216/22 218/21	unfold [4] 90/10 111/1 206/25 207/1	ups [1] 54/16	Van [1] 211/21	
two weeks [2] 135/16 159/12	unchanged [1] 170/4	unfolded [2] 122/4 123/7	upsetting [1] 123/5	variant [2] 193/2 200/5	
tying [1] 29/17	unclear [1] 75/12	unimaginable [1] 48/1	uptake [1] 7/19	variety [3] 53/16 53/17 227/4	
type [1] 208/21	undeniable [1] 89/11	Union [5] 182/4 182/20 183/25 184/2 184/4	urgency [5] 101/7 101/10 102/3 131/12 147/7	various [6] 31/24 56/10 99/4 106/12 115/19 131/22	
types [1] 99/4	under [29] 1/13 1/21 30/22 43/1 44/24 45/17 48/17 64/21 65/10 133/13 134/3 135/23 136/3 136/9 136/16 137/1 138/21 141/2 141/9 170/25 171/5 172/2 180/19 180/20 189/5 189/16 190/3 196/15 224/2	United [2] 140/18 223/19	us [36] 1/21 23/20 29/3 30/25 34/21 40/17 51/18 56/9 58/13 59/9 63/8 71/8 72/15 72/22 76/7 81/20 83/11 86/2 87/16 87/20 92/23 138/3 142/9 149/24 149/25 181/22 189/15 190/4 192/24 192/25 196/7 202/1 211/1 211/9 217/17 222/13	vary [1] 75/15	
U	under way [6] 135/23 136/3 136/9 136/16 137/1 138/21	United Kingdom [1] 140/18	use [19] 3/21 3/22 5/17 8/10 50/2 53/17 54/24 66/23 72/5 85/1 94/18 118/5 140/5 154/21 155/17 189/4 192/16 210/24 225/3	varying [2] 114/13 186/11	
UK [66] 2/22 3/15 12/21 12/24 60/8 67/5 79/22 81/2 81/18 82/2 83/7 102/8 103/24 114/22 126/13 127/23 130/24 131/14 131/16 140/14 147/6 147/9 147/18 149/8 150/1 150/24 151/20 152/6 153/15 153/25 155/5 155/11 155/17 155/21 155/25 156/2 156/7 156/12 156/14 157/6 157/11 162/4 162/15 162/17 169/6 169/24 169/25 170/14 176/7 177/15 182/12 182/24 183/15 184/1 184/3 184/5 186/22 194/18 195/11 195/15 195/19 207/16 207/23 208/15 210/3 211/20	undermined [3] 121/22 122/20 122/21	University [1] 97/5	used [25] 2/25 6/13 7/14 8/14 8/16 14/7 14/12 19/17 31/24 38/24 53/12 53/15 53/25 55/4 55/6 55/7 55/12 63/2 92/19 167/21 187/3 187/7 192/6 193/4 193/16	verbal [3] 26/17 27/6 29/2	
UK Cabinet [1] 184/1	undermining [1] 122/3	unknown [1] 41/20	usefully [1] 2/5	verbally [1] 26/11	
UK Government [21] 2/22 3/15 12/21 12/24 81/18 83/7 127/23 147/6 149/8 155/5 157/6 162/15 162/17 169/6 169/25 170/14 182/24 183/15 207/16 207/23 210/3	underneath [1] 140/25	unless [1] 128/7	using [10] 13/18 13/25 14/1 14/19 14/20 20/21 21/25 70/14 192/18 193/11	verging [1] 173/11	
UK Government's [3] 131/14 131/16 155/11	underpinned [1] 74/11	unlikely [2] 84/23 201/17	usually [2] 63/14 71/19	versus [2] 93/12 112/14	
ultimate [2] 204/7 210/7	underpinning [4] 18/13 21/13 22/19 49/15	unlike [2] 84/23 201/17	usurp [1] 151/10	very [172] 1/10 4/4 5/7 5/9 5/11 6/3 7/20 8/15 8/17 11/13 13/1 14/11 14/11 15/8 15/9 15/11 17/12 18/5 18/8 19/5 19/18 20/6 20/15 22/14 24/3 24/3 24/17 26/24 26/25 27/21 27/24 28/14 29/21 30/2 30/18 32/16 33/5 34/3 35/9 38/14 38/14 38/17 45/23 47/22 47/24 47/24 48/4 48/21 49/4 50/13 50/13 50/24 51/17 55/19 55/23 56/24 62/10 62/16 62/17 66/22 67/10 67/20 68/21 69/18 72/18 73/25 73/25 74/14 75/18 77/25 81/10 82/9 86/9 86/9 90/23 92/9 97/23 98/1 98/12 98/14 99/24 100/4 100/11 101/13 103/3 105/21 106/10 108/4 109/16 110/14 117/8 117/24 119/14 119/21 119/21 119/25 120/2 120/3 120/7 120/15 120/16 121/5 121/9 123/20 124/1 124/9 125/12 125/19 126/12 127/13 132/18 134/18 134/24 135/18 137/23 137/24 143/3 143/18 144/21 145/12 146/6	utmost [4] 44/20 45/4 45/5 131/24
ultimately [10] 13/6 30/8 48/15 62/21 90/25 91/23 92/5 122/7 205/17 210/8	understandably [3] 106/5 107/6 209/9	unlabeled [1] 36/13	uttered [1] 31/10		
unavoidable [1]	understanding [31] 42/14 51/5 51/6 53/5 55/3 64/14 65/24 66/1 79/24 80/1 80/10 80/18 80/23 93/25 98/22 114/12 128/12 128/13 131/11 131/19 133/1 150/13 157/19 169/14 169/17 192/1 192/9 192/11 192/21 194/10 209/16	unreasonable [3] 107/14 108/23 109/3	V		
	understand [24] 6/20 10/19 20/24 50/21 50/22 51/1 52/16 52/21 59/1 64/9 96/8 104/12 139/4 139/12 150/17 156/5 176/9 184/9 192/19 197/4 219/24 220/7 223/16 223/17	unregulated [1] 36/13	vaccinated [1] 188/3		
	understood [8] 8/3 119/18 144/15 158/7 190/11 190/22 196/24	unregulation [1] 36/13	vaccination [4] 7/17 7/19 202/4 202/7		
		unregulation [1] 36/13	vaccine [11] 183/9 186/20 187/15 187/16 188/7 200/19 200/19 201/2 201/7 201/16 201/25		
		unregulation [1] 36/13	vaccines [2] 115/1 190/23		
		unregulation [1] 36/13	Vallance [2] 114/24		

V	183/22 184/1 184/8 visited [1] 181/15 visiting [6] 134/13 169/8 222/22 223/4 223/7 223/10 vital [1] 153/3 vividly [1] 94/2 voice [3] 197/9 197/10 201/14 volume [1] 198/15 vote [2] 174/23 181/22 vulnerable [12] 54/9 137/5 137/6 137/16 137/17 138/19 139/2 139/13 140/8 219/11 226/6 226/14	152/21 152/22 153/5 155/14 162/21 164/20 170/19 175/1 183/15 183/19 183/19 192/5 193/18 194/8 196/12 197/7 197/7 197/8 197/10 197/12 200/16 204/11 204/14 207/18 207/19 208/24 209/2 209/25 210/4 216/25 219/14 221/4 watching [1] 219/5 wave [7] 57/14 64/16 193/21 199/7 199/9 199/24 200/2 way [92] 2/24 3/16 4/17 5/4 5/12 5/21 9/9 9/15 9/24 12/25 13/1 13/9 15/6 21/17 22/13 26/1 28/21 30/4 33/11 37/19 40/19 51/7 58/11 65/21 67/7 67/8 70/17 71/10 71/13 73/23 83/7 84/17 86/3 86/10 92/6 92/20 95/16 102/20 108/24 109/17 111/21 111/23 112/5 112/13 114/16 122/19 123/21 124/20 125/1 128/5 130/25 132/24 135/7 135/23 136/3 136/9 136/16 137/1 138/21 145/16 146/8 147/13 149/20 155/15 156/8 160/12 161/1 175/5 175/7 182/16 187/21 189/10 189/19 189/22 190/1 190/4 193/23 200/9 201/20 201/25 203/19 204/20 210/1 210/7 210/13 214/7 219/15 219/19 220/7 226/3 226/9 226/14 ways [15] 8/21 14/2 28/22 85/12 105/8 118/21 120/22 127/12 188/12 188/19 195/13 212/11 214/3 220/3 225/13 we [565] we haven't [1] 181/23 we'd [5] 12/12 38/1 124/8 150/3 199/15 we'll [8] 8/21 40/20 58/21 81/11 91/25 134/22 156/3 202/13 we're [12] 35/6 44/9 56/5 74/21 80/9 80/18 110/17 119/14 170/20 172/5 201/8 220/10 we've [43] 4/20 5/16 7/3 36/24 40/9 41/13	42/14 45/23 53/16 56/9 57/5 59/1 62/17 62/20 64/9 66/7 72/11 72/12 73/21 77/9 85/14 92/12 102/19 104/13 106/12 113/20 113/21 114/21 115/1 117/7 121/12 122/17 130/2 133/25 154/13 167/3 171/23 172/23 184/23 186/17 190/10 193/22 227/23 weak [1] 58/5 Wednesday [1] 1/1 week [11] 2/5 27/3 27/5 43/23 108/13 134/17 134/18 135/2 159/12 183/13 201/9 week's [1] 133/21 weekend [4] 66/7 121/12 124/8 145/17 weekly [1] 141/21 weeks [9] 61/15 90/19 94/25 117/22 135/16 140/10 159/12 174/7 213/8 weighing [1] 111/17 weight [2] 52/4 121/25 welcome [1] 181/19 well [58] 1/11 11/7 12/22 21/13 26/6 27/22 30/13 34/15 44/3 51/9 59/17 60/21 63/3 67/6 68/5 76/8 78/15 80/1 80/15 81/4 85/6 85/13 86/6 89/20 90/20 91/9 92/4 92/18 95/25 99/18 103/14 105/1 113/23 120/10 127/5 128/15 129/10 129/11 130/11 135/19 144/16 146/6 146/22 158/18 165/4 174/2 175/11 177/3 191/11 193/20 193/22 197/17 197/25 198/3 201/24 208/9 218/20 228/5 well known [1] 11/7 Welsh [2] 82/12 127/24 Welsh Government [1] 127/24 went [20] 8/5 12/18 28/19 30/17 71/15 81/8 97/14 98/4 98/9 117/17 139/20 143/14 147/24 148/12 161/24 185/21 187/14 193/17 193/24 199/13 were [467] weren't [8] 28/16 31/4 71/8 111/14 158/20 160/23 169/23	173/25 what [177] 3/8 5/15 5/17 7/4 7/7 8/17 9/4 9/15 11/11 11/12 11/12 12/9 13/22 14/13 15/5 15/25 17/22 23/6 28/12 28/22 29/6 30/23 30/25 31/1 31/17 39/7 41/19 44/8 45/10 45/15 45/20 46/1 47/1 47/25 48/6 49/7 50/12 50/14 51/6 51/10 52/3 52/4 58/25 59/17 62/18 64/8 68/12 69/2 71/6 72/8 76/9 76/11 76/11 76/19 80/7 80/17 80/19 81/2 82/8 82/15 82/23 83/9 83/9 83/16 83/18 87/1 87/9 87/25 90/10 90/15 91/12 92/9 92/24 92/25 94/5 95/9 96/20 98/21 98/21 102/19 104/9 105/4 106/4 107/25 110/6 110/25 118/9 119/16 120/16 121/10 122/16 125/5 129/7 130/11 131/25 134/4 134/10 135/22 136/8 136/25 139/2 140/6 141/23 143/15 144/2 144/2 145/9 146/4 147/16 147/19 148/4 149/3 150/2 152/12 156/15 158/15 159/8 164/12 164/17 164/18 165/2 166/17 167/1 168/1 169/13 170/14 173/20 175/5 176/11 177/23 179/2 179/3 179/5 179/11 179/14 179/23 180/7 180/9 181/4 183/5 185/18 186/9 187/11 188/16 189/19 190/1 190/7 190/7 190/8 190/9 190/11 192/2 192/11 192/12 192/21 197/20 198/9 198/12 198/20 198/23 201/16 203/21 204/3 204/20 204/23 206/11 207/24 210/19 215/7 216/20 220/21 221/6 225/10 225/11 225/17 225/19 227/11 what's [5] 48/13 144/19 181/5 205/2 205/3 whatever [14] 20/21 22/1 22/5 39/13 66/23 95/20 107/11 142/20 154/23 161/25 164/19
----------	--	---	---	--

<p>W</p> <p>whatever... [3] 173/13 197/15 197/25</p> <p>WhatsApp [25] 6/1 6/3 6/5 12/21 13/9 13/18 13/19 13/23 13/24 14/7 14/14 15/1 15/15 23/20 23/25 26/7 26/12 33/14 38/24 42/3 42/18 43/24 44/15 49/11 61/16</p> <p>WhatsApped [1] 32/13</p> <p>WhatsApps [5] 20/20 21/4 21/5 21/25 22/5</p> <p>whatsoever [1] 117/19</p> <p>wheel [1] 139/17</p> <p>when [97] 7/17 8/12 14/9 14/9 14/14 14/16 15/11 19/15 20/18 22/10 22/11 23/14 24/5 24/6 24/13 39/16 44/15 46/9 47/23 47/24 54/25 66/10 68/4 69/16 69/21 69/21 70/13 72/13 72/15 73/5 75/1 75/20 76/4 78/9 78/15 78/18 78/23 80/11 81/17 82/24 86/15 86/19 87/14 87/15 88/4 88/24 89/6 92/15 100/25 107/20 109/8 113/17 115/20 118/25 125/14 132/17 134/13 138/8 142/24 150/11 153/20 153/22 156/21 157/5 157/12 161/14 170/9 172/1 173/9 173/10 177/15 187/17 188/1 192/15 193/17 194/17 195/25 198/23 200/5 200/24 200/25 201/2 201/24 205/23 206/2 206/19 208/24 215/12 217/3 217/4 218/25 220/16 221/13 222/3 222/9 222/10 223/19</p> <p>where [71] 4/9 8/5 9/9 9/13 9/18 10/25 11/1 20/15 24/14 25/2 25/10 33/16 39/12 43/1 43/24 53/7 56/16 56/25 57/15 57/19 58/1 69/12 71/18 81/1 81/9 82/1 83/1 86/24 88/23 102/4 102/5 106/14 124/15 126/16 134/16 140/19 144/8 148/10 150/14 150/15</p>	<p>150/18 152/8 155/4 155/15 166/21 166/22 169/23 171/2 171/20 173/2 176/15 177/4 181/18 183/8 187/14 187/19 188/2 189/12 190/21 191/13 192/3 196/24 199/16 199/18 201/17 207/22 210/11 219/2 225/5 225/23 226/13</p> <p>Whereas [1] 29/2</p> <p>whereby [1] 121/15</p> <p>whether [51] 7/22 11/21 12/2 15/1 15/20 21/24 22/2 22/4 29/3 29/9 30/20 34/3 36/21 52/11 54/8 55/3 58/12 59/4 70/3 80/20 82/16 82/17 84/9 86/23 87/5 89/16 93/2 99/13 100/14 108/9 113/8 117/11 117/25 128/25 135/20 136/10 147/12 157/19 165/6 168/3 171/15 177/22 178/7 178/19 185/18 198/6 201/19 202/21 214/24 216/17 221/24</p> <p>which [188] 2/5 2/17 2/25 4/17 5/2 5/2 5/3 5/4 5/12 6/10 7/19 8/13 8/21 10/14 12/8 13/8 13/10 15/7 17/11 17/25 19/17 21/1 24/3 24/9 24/18 24/22 25/12 28/22 29/23 35/21 36/4 41/10 43/3 44/24 46/1 46/2 46/8 46/12 47/3 49/3 51/19 51/22 54/10 54/13 56/5 56/7 57/10 57/14 58/17 59/12 59/19 59/22 60/19 62/13 65/15 65/19 65/25 66/1 66/5 66/13 67/8 67/11 68/15 72/21 73/23 77/14 78/19 79/15 80/2 81/5 81/9 81/10 81/25 82/9 82/25 83/14 84/3 85/17 85/23 86/3 89/10 92/13 92/23 93/2 93/3 94/23 95/17 97/3 98/22 99/2 99/19 101/12 101/21 102/7 104/22 105/25 106/10 106/23 110/9 110/18 115/22 117/1 117/24 118/6 118/25 122/19 122/23 124/15 125/1 127/22 128/16 128/17 130/5 130/20 132/14 133/20 139/20 139/22</p>	<p>140/3 142/13 143/22 144/13 144/20 148/1 148/3 148/5 150/22 152/17 157/7 157/22 158/15 164/19 168/13 169/12 169/15 169/22 170/1 170/24 171/10 172/5 172/25 173/1 175/7 175/7 175/17 176/10 177/1 177/8 178/23 179/14 182/18 183/25 184/2 184/6 184/22 185/13 185/16 185/23 186/17 187/9 188/6 188/13 189/2 189/14 193/11 199/7 200/19 201/21 202/1 202/19 202/25 203/1 203/7 204/9 206/25 208/20 210/8 212/6 212/12 213/6 214/17 215/18 216/12 217/22 220/3 223/8 224/16 226/7</p> <p>while [13] 3/7 53/6 53/13 101/19 118/20 142/16 156/20 179/3 189/4 197/8 200/10 200/14 225/3</p> <p>whilst [1] 62/19</p> <p>Whitty [2] 114/22 211/21</p> <p>who [69] 16/12 22/25 26/18 32/21 37/12 38/7 42/21 44/22 47/10 48/7 48/10 51/2 79/25 84/24 87/13 88/2 92/13 95/11 95/11 95/15 95/24 106/20 112/19 113/21 114/23 114/24 115/7 119/6 123/14 124/1 125/20 128/14 132/20 139/12 148/18 165/13 165/17 169/4 172/10 194/2 194/14 194/20 196/8 196/13 196/19 197/2 197/22 209/14 209/20 211/22 213/17 213/25 214/2 215/14 215/15 216/14 216/23 217/8 218/5 219/8 219/11 220/5 220/6 221/2 221/11 222/8 225/14 226/15 226/17</p> <p>whole [19] 15/24 30/3 37/3 48/1 49/5 56/17 74/7 84/25 85/3 91/10 105/8 123/5 132/9 132/9 140/14 149/16 153/7 205/3 205/23</p> <p>whole-society [1] 132/9</p>	<p>whom [7] 5/24 16/13 87/1 115/9 172/22 172/23 196/5</p> <p>whose [1] 213/11</p> <p>why [38] 14/6 30/24 31/16 36/11 38/2 52/18 54/20 54/20 85/8 123/12 125/3 137/9 137/21 138/1 146/14 152/19 154/16 164/4 168/13 173/8 174/19 174/24 175/4 196/4 200/25 202/4 211/11 211/13 211/14 213/6 215/21 216/2 217/10 223/21 224/7 225/8 225/12 227/3</p> <p>wide [2] 68/12 68/25</p> <p>widely [2] 96/6 124/23</p> <p>wider [5] 41/18 51/12 52/8 84/15 224/10</p> <p>wife [1] 213/11</p> <p>will [75] 4/7 4/8 4/8 4/10 6/11 6/16 6/21 9/23 15/23 15/25 18/16 20/19 20/21 22/7 22/23 25/24 29/15 31/20 35/18 36/16 38/19 40/4 40/5 40/13 42/23 49/9 49/11 59/18 61/13 63/1 70/15 72/2 73/3 76/22 79/5 79/25 92/1 92/4 93/12 93/14 94/24 99/12 100/14 116/11 129/24 141/2 159/15 160/8 160/22 160/23 162/1 173/8 173/16 173/18 174/23 181/15 188/10 189/24 190/17 192/8 195/4 201/11 201/19 203/6 203/8 204/9 206/18 206/19 207/7 207/9 207/10 207/11 210/12 214/4 214/23</p> <p>willingness [1] 95/2</p> <p>winter [1] 36/13</p> <p>wish [13] 23/4 68/12 99/16 116/15 128/24 195/6 195/12 208/9 208/25 213/23 225/20 226/8 226/24</p> <p>wished [5] 5/4 56/6 160/18 183/18 214/19</p> <p>wishes [1] 89/7</p> <p>withdrew [1] 228/1</p> <p>within [31] 2/25 3/18 7/20 10/6 12/20 13/4 22/2 56/7 56/13 56/15 57/24 59/11 59/24 60/11 63/21 80/15 84/3 86/15 89/1 93/5</p>	<p>112/8 119/9 130/18 139/12 143/20 143/21 144/25 149/12 151/9 185/19 185/24</p> <p>without [9] 104/7 130/10 144/17 159/21 202/1 211/24 225/25 226/21 227/8</p> <p>witness [2] 1/4 228/1</p> <p>witnesses [3] 56/9 88/15 95/15</p> <p>won't [10] 11/8 27/18 29/2 35/19 173/14 173/17 189/15 191/1 191/3 227/22</p> <p>Woolhouse [16] 97/4 97/21 97/22 97/22 98/16 98/23 105/12 106/18 110/11 115/4 115/4 115/23 134/1 137/3 137/14 200/18</p> <p>Woolhouse's [1] 210/24</p> <p>word [8] 31/9 87/24 156/3 170/20 189/7 192/5 192/5 210/4</p> <p>worded [1] 15/7</p> <p>words [15] 4/1 14/11 14/19 46/23 81/23 87/24 144/10 154/20 156/18 156/20 164/12 164/17 185/25 210/24 213/17</p> <p>work [56] 16/18 29/3 29/8 32/23 34/5 35/24 55/1 62/8 71/19 72/13 76/13 117/4 134/16 135/22 136/3 136/4 136/7 136/8 136/16 137/1 138/5 138/21 139/4 139/14 146/12 150/17 151/8 151/15 152/9 152/10 156/8 161/5 161/7 162/17 162/22 163/6 163/21 163/21 164/2 164/14 164/23 164/24 165/6 165/21 166/2 166/4 166/12 166/20 167/4 167/9 167/13 167/17 169/13 185/7 186/5 186/12</p> <p>worked [8] 45/2 95/24 114/25 123/4 131/22 138/23 139/9 151/5</p> <p>workers [1] 83/5</p> <p>working [29] 26/8 26/13 28/1 28/8 39/10 44/4 44/22 44/24 44/25 48/7 67/19 95/25 101/20 120/22 123/21 125/19 127/12 148/5 150/7 150/10</p>
---	---	--	---	--

W
working... [9] 150/13
 150/14 150/21 151/15
 154/16 155/2 155/4
 166/10 214/5
works [1] 63/9
world [3] 62/24 96/21
 225/1
worried [2] 98/14
 205/11
worry [3] 35/18 93/11
 105/1
worse [1] 160/9
worst [3] 94/4 103/23
 206/23
worst-case [2] 94/4
 206/23
worth [1] 186/20
would [442]
would've [2] 183/11
 205/5
wouldn't [24] 9/10
 11/16 14/2 21/2 38/10
 39/8 50/8 53/9 54/2
 78/1 105/24 110/16
 114/18 117/14 127/16
 131/19 158/12 165/25
 168/14 174/17 192/23
 194/2 225/23 226/11
write [4] 132/3 175/3
 175/22 203/6
writing [1] 203/7
written [7] 113/16
 130/13 135/14 135/24
 162/11 175/4 182/23
wrong [30] 30/20
 37/17 52/14 59/14
 65/25 75/8 84/10
 87/17 88/17 88/24
 95/5 109/3 109/21
 111/24 112/14 119/17
 144/1 145/12 149/2
 151/1 153/7 165/14
 165/18 179/16 181/11
 204/4 207/11 207/25
 212/15 212/20
wrongly [3] 76/23
 121/19 170/7
wrote [2] 161/4
 185/25
Wuhan [1] 96/20

X

xmas [1] 58/16

Y

yeah [13] 27/8 29/11
 67/15 85/8 121/19
 138/1 144/13 144/13
 158/12 182/14 184/17
 198/24 203/10
year [3] 39/9 201/10
 204/18

years [5] 22/9 28/5
 39/1 160/3 204/4
Yep [1] 203/24
yes [118] 1/20 1/24
 2/1 2/4 2/6 4/3 5/8 6/2
 7/6 9/11 16/10 16/11
 17/22 19/10 19/11
 19/14 19/21 19/24
 25/20 26/20 27/5 27/6
 32/6 32/9 34/12 34/17
 35/4 37/15 43/4 45/7
 45/10 45/11 45/20
 46/7 46/11 46/17 49/7
 51/25 52/13 53/14
 55/23 57/18 58/21
 58/25 58/25 64/12
 64/19 64/23 65/24
 66/9 66/12 69/21 71/4
 72/25 73/12 74/24
 75/2 75/9 79/15 79/25
 80/1 80/24 82/7 82/22
 88/19 93/6 95/19
 96/12 96/14 96/16
 97/1 98/4 102/19
 102/23 103/19 104/19
 107/9 112/7 112/12
 112/20 114/10 118/24
 123/6 123/24 128/13
 129/23 130/12 141/14
 144/12 145/15 145/18
 145/18 145/24 153/18
 159/16 159/17 159/24
 161/14 162/14 168/12
 168/25 169/17 169/20
 170/5 170/8 170/19
 171/2 171/23 172/15
 172/19 175/12 181/18
 190/14 202/13 218/6
 219/7 226/24 227/20
yesterday [7] 15/19
 54/14 69/11 75/24
 76/1 77/5 78/1
yesterday's [1] 215/5
yet [4] 143/4 178/8
 201/19 225/4
York [1] 197/2
you [590]
you know [160] 6/17
 9/14 9/15 9/18 9/25
 12/10 12/14 14/9
 21/14 21/21 26/5
 26/22 28/5 29/15 30/2
 31/7 31/14 33/2 34/2
 39/4 39/6 39/9 41/1
 42/1 42/2 44/9 44/12
 47/6 48/10 49/13
 51/13 54/3 54/9 61/2
 62/1 62/1 63/1 63/10
 66/16 66/19 69/13
 70/16 71/24 72/1 73/4
 73/5 73/12 73/17 74/1
 74/3 74/7 75/16 76/22
 77/24 78/25 84/2 85/4
 85/10 86/7 87/17

87/18 90/11 90/12
 93/11 93/12 94/4
 97/15 97/19 98/5
 98/12 99/8 99/13
 99/15 100/8 100/8
 100/19 100/20 101/19
 101/25 103/21 104/1
 106/3 110/17 112/11
 115/12 115/17 116/16
 116/25 118/20 120/2
 120/2 120/6 121/24
 122/11 123/5 123/21
 123/23 123/24 124/9
 124/10 124/13 125/13
 126/8 126/9 127/12
 129/5 129/13 131/23
 134/21 134/22 135/7
 138/10 138/24 138/24
 139/7 143/10 145/12
 145/15 147/14 148/18
 150/19 152/5 152/22
 154/25 155/3 157/3
 158/1 160/8 160/19
 163/15 164/21 166/5
 166/8 167/9 174/12
 174/14 174/15 177/23
 183/8 186/7 187/16
 190/24 192/13 192/23
 193/1 193/23 194/11
 194/24 195/16 195/24
 196/23 197/14 198/6
 198/22 200/11 204/17
 205/1 208/6 211/16
 217/16
you'll [4] 16/13 84/9
 104/3 200/19
you're [23] 7/5 13/17
 13/21 14/16 22/10
 22/10 45/10 49/7 78/3
 104/3 128/7 130/12
 131/9 132/17 132/19
 133/11 144/2 156/5
 156/15 191/1 198/20
 206/8 221/25
you've [19] 19/8
 20/20 21/25 34/19
 40/1 72/21 77/14
 90/11 90/22 92/8
 92/11 92/17 92/23
 98/17 98/18 105/13
 156/21 164/25 168/3
young [1] 160/20
your [113] 1/14 1/23
 3/3 3/24 4/1 4/1 8/9
 11/24 12/17 18/16
 21/5 23/19 23/21
 25/14 31/23 32/8
 33/15 33/19 38/20
 40/8 42/14 42/16
 43/16 49/1 49/1 49/4
 49/25 50/1 50/2 50/3
 51/22 53/20 54/14
 54/18 55/4 55/5 59/21
 62/22 64/17 68/11

70/1 70/1 78/3 79/24
 80/22 88/5 88/8 89/3
 89/18 89/20 90/4
 92/22 98/21 101/6
 101/6 102/15 114/12
 115/8 117/9 121/17
 128/11 131/10 144/3
 146/5 147/9 151/22
 154/13 156/19 157/18
 159/17 159/22 165/11
 167/22 168/3 169/14
 181/25 182/20 184/9
 184/24 186/18 195/3
 196/3 197/19 197/20
 197/22 197/24 198/14
 200/24 201/5 204/9
 205/15 206/2 206/13
 207/15 207/16 208/19
 208/22 210/2 210/4
 210/6 210/21 212/2
 213/4 214/17 214/18
 214/19 220/9 220/16
 220/18 221/20 223/1
 224/16 227/25
yours [1] 197/20
yourself [9] 33/14
 34/14 35/11 51/19
 89/2 161/15 172/17
 197/21 212/2
Yousaf [25] 6/8 7/17
 9/21 9/22 24/22 31/25
 33/14 57/21 58/9 59/2
 59/7 60/19 60/19
 61/15 65/6 74/22
 75/12 85/14 85/16
 85/18 202/9 203/9
 203/14 204/2 204/5
Yousaf's [1] 172/2

Z

zero [6] 135/16
 186/16 186/25 187/7
 187/22 191/25
zone [7] 202/25
 203/18 204/12 204/14
 204/18 206/5 206/7