line is Parliamentary democracies, across the world, and indeed the UK is higher right through to the middle of 2021; after spring 2021 becomes much lower on average, across all these different measures.

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Q. You have already taken us to the earlier charts, which showed us much more carefully the delay at the beginning. These charts show overall the level of stringency over time.

Are you able to reach a view as to whether, in general terms, the United Kingdom applied non-pharmaceutical measures only when it became apparent that they were unavoidable, because they were delayed and at the time at which they were then imposed we know in the United Kingdom the NHS was believed to be likely to collapse, and then when they're lifted there is then a long period of delay before consideration appears to be given to their reintroduction, and then when they are reintroduced, again, because of the passage of time and the lateness, there is a requirement for those restrictions to be ever more stringently reimposed?

the lateness, there is a requirement for those
restrictions to be ever more stringently reimposed?

A. Correct. So we see this rollercoaster tendency where
restrictions are put into place only after it becomes
apparent there will be a very severe threat to
the health system. That's after a large amount of
community spread has begun. Because it's so prevalent

measures to maintain a very low level of spread, and, when a new outbreak would emerge, to quickly react to make sure those individuals were not involved in further spreading the virus. That prevented them from getting to the point of a wider population spread, in many instances, that would have required more restrictive stringent measures to control.

So the effective use of these testing measures was a nice way of maintaining a low level of spread and therefore not beginning the rise of the rollercoaster back up the ramp.

- Q. Did you also find a link between those countries which
 had that testing capacity and which were able to avoid
 relatively stringent NPIs and those countries which
 suffered the most in terms of excess number of deaths,
 economic performance, and general health impact?
- A. Correct. So the countries that were riding
 the rollercoaster were referring from a trifecta of
 large health impacts, high, long periods of stringency,
 and negative economic consequences, and those that were
 able to maintain a low level of spread, perhaps through
 effective TTI measures, were able to have a better
 outcome on all three of those measures.
- Q. Overall, does the literature and the data from your
 tracker project show that there were some areas of

at that moment, the restrictions need to be more 2 stringent and to be in place for a longer period of time 3 than might have been the case otherwise, but precisely 4 because sustaining high stringency for a long period 5 comes with costs, there's huge pressure to roll them 6 back sooner rather than later and that leaves, 7 inevitably, some residual virus circulating in 8 the population, which lays the seeds for the next wave 9 to emerge. So this kind of tendency to act too late in 10

the first instance and to take measures away too soon in the second instance does tend to lead to the peaks and troughs that these graphs show.

13 **Q**. Do later charts and figures, which I won't take you to, 14 show that an analysis, putting together some of 15 the threads that you have identified, of those countries 16 which had significant or substantial testing, contact 17 tracing and isolation systems against those countries 18 which were not obliged to impose NPIs at such high 19 levels of stringency because they had effectively 20 delayed, show that the presence of significant testing, 21 contact tracing and isolation measures allowed countries 22 not to have to react by way of the imposition of such 23 severe stringent measures?

A. Indeed. So countries as diverse as Japan, South Korea,
 Vietnam, others, were able to use testing and tracing
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and scope of its genetic sequencing, because that
allowed it to be very well placed to assess
the emergence of variants and the spread ultimately of
the virus; a very considerable and impressive degree of
ability to test and survey and keep tabs on the spread
of the virus, particularly in the middle and later
stages of the pandemic, through surveys such as the ONS

conspicuous success for the United Kingdom: the speed

- 9 COVID-19 Infection Survey; and the speed and extent of the vaccine deployment?
- 11 A. Correct.

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- 12 Q. But the absence of a test, trace and isolation process
 13 ultimately led to the data and the findings which you've
 14 reached in relation to the delay and then the repeated
 15 reintroduction of extremely stringent and damaging
 16 measures?
- 17 A. We do see consistently that countries that performed
 18 well, were able to avoid the rise and fall of cases,
 19 deaths and restrictive measures, were those that used
 20 the testing, tracing, isolation and support measures
 21 effectively, alongside other measures.
- 22 MR KEITH: Thank you very much.
- 23 LADY HALLETT: Thank you very much indeed, Professor Hale.
- 24 An extraordinary project.
- 25 THE WITNESS: Thank you.

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