

Thursday, 7 March 2024

1
2 (10.00 am)
3 **LADY HALLETT:** Good morning.
4 **MS HITCHMAN:** My Lady, before we begin hearing evidence
5 today, there is a correction to be put on the record.
6 In response to a Rule 10 question yesterday,
7 Dr Llewelyn referred to the impact of austerity on local
8 government over the last ten years, and he stated that
9 the budget had been cut in real terms by about £900,000.
10 Dr Llewelyn has clarified that the correct figure is in
11 fact £900 million.
12 **LADY HALLETT:** A slight difference.
13 **MS HITCHMAN:** May I please call Jane Runeckles.
14 **MS JANE RONECKLES (affirmed)**
15 **Questions from COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY**
16 **MS HITCHMAN:** Please could you give your full name.
17 **A.** Jane Sarah Runeckles.
18 **Q.** Thank you for attending today and for assisting
19 the Inquiry. You have kindly provided two witness
20 statements for this module. The first is at
21 INQ000320679, and this was signed on 20 October 2023,
22 and it concerns your role as a special adviser during
23 the pandemic.
24 The second statement is at INQ000274119, which was
25 signed on 15 December 2023, and this concerns your use

1

1 Subsequently you returned to the Welsh Government as
2 a special adviser on secondment from the Wales TUC to
3 support the then First Minister, Carwyn Jones.
4 You then returned to the Welsh Government special
5 adviser team as a direct employee of the Welsh
6 Government civil service in November 2016.
7 Is that all correct?
8 **A.** It is.
9 **Q.** Thank you, Ms Runeckles.
10 I want to start by asking you some questions about
11 the role of a special adviser within the Welsh
12 Government.
13 As the head of the special adviser team, you have
14 responsibility for 14 special advisers. These advisers
15 provide support to the First Minister and to individual
16 Welsh ministers; is that right?
17 **A.** It is.
18 **Q.** Please can you briefly describe the roles and
19 responsibilities of a special adviser in the Welsh
20 Government outside of a crisis period such as the
21 pandemic.
22 **A.** The role of the -- of a special adviser is set out in
23 the code, the special adviser code, which I've submitted
24 as part of my evidence. It stipulates those areas that
25 we can do, so primarily to convey the views of ministers

3

1 of informal or private communications.
2 Do both statements remain true to the best of your
3 knowledge and belief?
4 **A.** They do.
5 **Q.** Thank you.
6 You are the head of the Welsh Government's team of
7 special advisers, a role to which you were appointed in
8 December 2018. Alongside that role and since the start
9 of the pandemic you have been the senior special adviser
10 to the First Minister, and you remain in that office
11 today.
12 Is that all correct?
13 **A.** That is.
14 **Q.** In terms of your background and career, you began
15 working for the Welsh civil service in October 2003,
16 when you were appointed as a special adviser by
17 Rhodri Morgan, who was at that time the First Minister,
18 and you provided direct support to the then Minister for
19 the Environment, Planning and Countryside as well as the
20 business minister; is that right?
21 **A.** It is.
22 **Q.** You remained a special adviser until December 2009, when
23 Rhodri Morgan stepped down as First Minister, and you
24 then worked part-time for the Wales Trades Union
25 Congress between January 2010 and August 2015.

2

1 and their interests to the civil service, to request
2 documents and briefings for them, to hold meetings with
3 civil servants and to engage with the wider civil
4 service and external stakeholders.
5 We also have things we can't do, so we cannot take
6 any statutory or prerogative power decisions, we cannot
7 have any part in decision-making around budgets, we
8 cannot have any role in relation to the appointment or
9 management of the civil service staff, and -- we are
10 there to listen.
11 **Q.** Thank you, Ms Runeckles.
12 So it would be fair to summarise, as the name
13 suggests, that the role of a special adviser is to
14 advise but not to make any decisions?
15 **A.** Absolutely.
16 **Q.** Turning now to 2020 onwards and the beginning of the
17 Covid pandemic, please can you briefly outline how your
18 roles and responsibilities as a special adviser changed.
19 **A.** I don't know that they did change enormously. The
20 fundamentals that I've just described remained true
21 throughout the pandemic period.
22 **Q.** Thank you.
23 You explain in your first witness statement that the
24 structure of your team changed during the pandemic, and
25 the team was rejigged to respond to the handling of the

4

1 pandemic response in late March, and three new members
2 of the team were introduced.

3 Please could you explain why you restructured your
4 team in this way?

5 **A.** It was clear through March that the workload that the
6 team were having to cope with was increasing steadily,
7 and the First Minister, as a former special adviser
8 himself, suggested that it would be useful to bring in
9 additional support for the team, and the three people
10 who we brought into the team at that point were all
11 experienced special advisers and had served under
12 previous First Ministers.

13 I also asked two members of the team to take a kind
14 of more supervisory role in a way that isn't ordinarily
15 the case in the special adviser team, so there was one
16 of my team who looked after the sort of public services
17 elements and another member of my team who covered the
18 economy and finance side and helped provide a focus for
19 the other members of the special adviser team to be able
20 to have somebody to contact.

21 **Q.** Thank you.

22 You explain at paragraph 12 of your first witness
23 statement that:

24 "It is unusual in the Whitehall context for special
25 advisers to stay in post for as long as [you] have

5

1 were?

2 **A.** Yes.

3 **Q.** What was your relationship with your counterparts in the
4 UK Government and other devolved governments?

5 **A.** Until the pandemic, limited. I had very little contact
6 with other special advisers. I had met the -- my
7 counterpart in the Scottish Government before Christmas
8 in 2020 -- in 2019, when the First Ministers of Scotland
9 and Wales had done a joint press conference in relation
10 to some Brexit-related activity. I had no real contact
11 with the special advisers in the UK Government until the
12 pandemic began.

13 **Q.** And when the pandemic did begin, how would you describe
14 those relationships?

15 **A.** The relationships with the UK Government special
16 advisers were intermittent but quite -- that's not the
17 right word -- were frequent in the beginning, in the
18 early months, both with the special adviser in the Wales
19 Office and a special adviser in Number 10.

20 My relationships with them deteriorated over the
21 first months of the pandemic and I would guess that by
22 the summer of 2020 we weren't really having any regular
23 contact at all. My relationship with the special
24 adviser to the First Minister of Scotland developed and
25 continue -- has continued.

7

1 been ..."

2 And as we noted earlier, you've worked for three
3 First Ministers and have been a special adviser for
4 nearly 20 years. You also say that:

5 "In the Welsh Government context, many of the team
6 of special advisers have years of experience of working
7 with the civil service and in Welsh public life."

8 In your view, to what extent did that longevity of
9 service of special advisers affect the Welsh
10 Government's decision-making?

11 **A.** It was not something I was particularly conscious of at
12 the time, but having reflected on the experiences since,
13 the relation -- the fact that we had spent as long as we
14 had understanding the ways in which government works,
15 knowing the individuals with whom we relied heavily
16 upon, certainly in the early months, and having
17 relationships of trust with them, was extraordinarily
18 beneficial.

19 **Q.** Thank you.

20 Would it be fair to say that you had a very close
21 working relationship with the First Minister?

22 **A.** Yes.

23 **Q.** Would it also be fair to say that there were very few
24 people who were quite as close to the centre of Welsh
25 Government decision-making during the pandemic as you

6

1 **Q.** When you say that your relationship with
2 the UK Government special advisers deteriorated, what do
3 you attribute as the cause of that deterioration?

4 **A.** The tensions between the actions taken by the Welsh
5 Government and the actions taken by the UK Government
6 sort of became more and more obvious, and once we
7 reached the point through the beginning of May,
8 certainly, and I suspect this is a period we'll return
9 to, and into the summer, the fact that the Welsh
10 Government were taking decisions in a different way to
11 the United Kingdom Government just meant that there was
12 very little for us to talk about.

13 **Q.** Thank you. And you're correct to say that we'll return
14 to that period and the divergence between the
15 governments later today.

16 I want to turn now to your attendance at meetings
17 during the pandemic.

18 If we could please have on screen INQ000227534.
19 This is a document that you have provided which sets out
20 the various meetings you attended as an observer, and
21 it's fair to say, is it not, that save for a period
22 between the end of November 2020 and some time in
23 February or March 2021, when you were largely absent for
24 personal reasons, you attended almost every cabinet
25 meeting, ministerial call and meetings with the

8

1 UK Government and the other devolved governments that
 2 the First Minister attended?
 3 **A.** I did.
 4 **Q.** And you also attended numerous internal Welsh Government
 5 meetings, again as an observer; is that right?
 6 **A.** I did.
 7 **Q.** You say in your first witness statement that you did not
 8 provide any written briefings for these meetings. Is it
 9 right, then, that the advice you provided was mainly
 10 verbal throughout the entire period of the pandemic?
 11 **A.** I will have contributed to papers that went to the
 12 meetings in internal Welsh Government civil service
 13 meetings. I would have had conversations with officials
 14 in the run-up to those papers being produced. But in
 15 terms of written advice for those meetings, that was not
 16 my role.
 17 **Q.** Thank you.
 18 I want to turn now to look at the Welsh Government's
 19 initial understanding of and response to Covid-19, and
 20 looking first at January and February 2020.
 21 In his witness statement to this module, the
 22 First Minister says that by 24 January 2020, he had been
 23 advised by Sir Frank Atherton that there was
 24 a significant risk that the virus would arrive in Wales.
 25 Do you recall whether the First Minister shared that

9

1 25 February. Again, in light of the advice from the
 2 Chief Medical Officer for Wales, did that surprise you?
 3 **A.** No. There had been a number of written statements by
 4 the minister for health by this time, and the minister
 5 for health was keeping the First Minister updated
 6 informally, as was Dr Frank Atherton.
 7 **Q.** Thank you.
 8 The First Minister said in his written evidence to
 9 Module 2 that looking back on matters, and given what we
 10 know now, there is strong evidence to suggest that more
 11 stringent action could and should have been taken
 12 sooner.
 13 And that, for the record, is at paragraph 17 of
 14 INQ000273747.
 15 Do you agree with Mr Drakeford's assessment?
 16 **A.** Yes.
 17 **Q.** Moving now to March 2020, I'd like to look at the
 18 cabinet minutes from a meeting on 4 March 2020.
 19 This is at INQ000048789.
 20 You are listed as an attendee there.
 21 There is a note at the top of these minutes that
 22 states:
 23 "Cabinet will wish to note that these minutes,
 24 except those items in italics, will be published in week
 25 commencing 13th April 2020."

11

1 information with you at the time?
 2 **A.** I do not, no.
 3 **Q.** The Inquiry understands that Mr Drakeford attended his
 4 first COBR meeting on 18 February 2020, and the Welsh
 5 Government was represented at earlier COBR meetings by
 6 the Minister for Health and Social Services. Why did
 7 the First Minister not attend the first three COBR
 8 meetings, notwithstanding those comments from his Chief
 9 Medical Officer?
 10 **A.** The first couple of COBR meetings, the invitations for
 11 the COBR meetings will have come through to the
 12 First Minister's office, the First Minister would
 13 determine under other circumstances which minister was
 14 the most appropriate person to attend, and in the very
 15 early days this was a matter that was being dealt with
 16 by the Health and Social Services team and the health
 17 minister was the most appropriate person to attend.
 18 **Q.** Would you provide any advice to the First Minister on
 19 his attendance at meetings such as COBR?
 20 **A.** I would certainly have had conversations with him about
 21 that, yes.
 22 **Q.** Do you recall if you had conversations about those first
 23 three COBR meetings?
 24 **A.** No.
 25 **Q.** Covid-19 was not discussed by the Welsh Cabinet until

10

1 This is an instruction that appears on many cabinet
 2 minutes, obviously with a different date of publication.
 3 Why is it that italicised items are not to be published?
 4 **A.** It's something you may need to ask the
 5 cabinet secretary, but I understand that there are
 6 items -- this happens in relation to matters such as
 7 those when they're discussing finance, and those where
 8 they're discussing matters that it would be
 9 inappropriate to be put into the public domain at such
 10 an early point in the publication.
 11 The Welsh Government has published minutes of
 12 cabinet meetings for a very long time, it was one of the
 13 decisions taken by the first First Minister I worked
 14 for.
 15 **Q.** Thank you. If we could turn to page 3 of this document,
 16 and paragraph 2.6, the first sentence says:
 17 "Modelling by the Scientific Advisory Group for
 18 Emergencies suggested that under the reasonable worst
 19 case scenario, 80% of the population would be infected."
 20 Then the final sentence says:
 21 "The same modelling suggested somewhere in the
 22 region of 25,000 deaths."
 23 Then looking at paragraph 2.7, this says:
 24 "In terms of timescale, an increase in cases was
 25 expected over the coming weeks, with significant

12

1 escalation in April and possibly intensification into
2 May and June before the number of new infections started
3 to drop."

4 Just returning to what you said about italicised
5 items being inappropriate to put in the public domain,
6 in your view why were these two items not published in
7 the minutes that were published on 13 April 2020?

8 **A.** I'm afraid I ... I'm not sure that I'm the best person
9 to answer this question. I was certainly aware of the
10 figures set out in 2.6, and I distinctly remember the
11 discussions around the reasonable worst-case scenario at
12 this point and the significance of them.

13 **Q.** Thank you.

14 Are you able to comment on whether this was the
15 first time that the cabinet was informed about the SAGE
16 planning assumptions?

17 **A.** I ... I don't know.

18 **Q.** Thank you.

19 You explain at paragraph 28 of your first witness
20 statement that in around March 2020 there were
21 an increasing number of meetings with the cabinet, the
22 Minister for Health and Social Services, the chief
23 executive of the NHS, the CMO and others to discuss
24 measures being taken specifically in the NHS in Wales
25 but also preparedness in other sectors. What was the

13

1 the meeting rather than in the meeting itself.

2 **Q.** Thank you.

3 I want to turn now to INQ000303227.

4 This is a WhatsApp group entitled "AG Quintet",
5 which includes Shan Morgan, Andrew Goodall, Andrew Slade
6 and Tracey Burke.

7 If we turn to page 4, at the bottom of the page,
8 Dame Shan says as follows on 17 March 2020:

9 "Thanks all for an excellent CovExCo. Saw Jane R
10 afterwards. She's concerned about new COBR Ministerial
11 structures and lack of DAs."

12 In her oral evidence to the Inquiry earlier this
13 week, Dame Shan stated that she thought that you and the
14 First Minister were concerned about the predictability
15 of communications and engagement structures with the
16 UK Government. Is that an accurate summary of your
17 concerns?

18 **A.** It is.

19 **Q.** Why did you think that?

20 **A.** By -- by this point, we -- there was no real notice of
21 when the COBR meetings were going to happen, what the
22 agendas for those meetings would be, until very close,
23 sometimes 10, 15 minutes before the meetings began, and
24 the First Minister was becoming concerned about the
25 levels of engagement that he felt were necessary due to

15

1 level of your involvement in those meetings?

2 **A.** Sorry, what was the date you gave?

3 **Q.** From March 2020.

4 **A.** Oh, okay. My involvement would have been to have sat
5 and to have listened and to have picked up any action
6 points that were appropriate for me to do.

7 **Q.** Thank you.

8 You attended a Covid-19 core group meeting on
9 11 March 2020.

10 The minutes of that meeting are at INQ000215171.

11 Again, at the top it states that those minutes are
12 "Not for publication". Are you able to comment on why
13 that's the case?

14 **A.** No.

15 **Q.** There is a discussion here about various topics,
16 including whether to cancel routine hospital and GP
17 appointments, and the policy on mass gatherings, and
18 there are a number of questions raised. At paragraph 12
19 the minutes note that:

20 "Ministers agreed that there was a need to address
21 the questions that had been raised as soon as possible."

22 Why were these questions not addressed in the
23 meeting itself?

24 **A.** I ... I suspect that the minute refers to the fact that
25 there was action that would need to be taken following

14

1 the urgency of the situation we were in.

2 **Q.** That is a point to which we will return later in your
3 evidence.

4 I want to turn to look in further detail at the
5 degree of co-ordination between the Welsh Government and
6 the UK Government. You explain in your statement at
7 paragraph 38 that the potential for divergence between
8 the four parts of the United Kingdom was referred to by
9 the First Minister at COBR on 9 March 2020, and this
10 possible divergence was already evident by the Scottish
11 Government's indication at COBR that on 12 March 2020
12 that it intended to ban gatherings of more than
13 500 people.

14 What was your advice to the First Minister in
15 March 2020 as to the adoption of a four nations approach
16 to a lockdown?

17 **A.** I was absolutely clear, as he was, that the four nations
18 approach was the preferable way for us to be responding
19 to the emerging situation.

20 **Q.** And why was that?

21 **A.** An obvious point, the United Kingdom's an island and --
22 **LADY HALLETT:** Well, three parts of it are.

23 **A.** That's an absolutely fair point. I apologise to
24 Northern Ireland for my slip-up.

25 The -- and also I think that the most important

16

1 point was that we didn't at that point, in any way,
2 shape or form, anticipate that we would be in
3 a situation where we would end up taking the kind of
4 decisions that we did under the 1984 Act.

5 **MS HITCHMAN:** At paragraph 54 of your first witness
6 statement, you say that:

7 "It was becoming clear towards the end of
8 April [2020] that divergence from the UK Government
9 decision-making might be necessary."

10 And you say that:

11 "A number of things had happened that had put
12 pressure on the relationship, including the opening of
13 a test centre in Cardiff City football stadium by the
14 UK Government without any consultation with the Welsh
15 Government ..."

16 And you say that that created "significant
17 difficulties with data".

18 I want to just look at that specific example of the
19 test centre in Cardiff City football stadium.

20 If we could have onscreen INQ000216485, and this is
21 an email chain between Dr John Boulton of Public Health
22 Wales and other public health officials.

23 Given you're not included as a recipient in this
24 chain, I won't go into it in too much detail, but I just
25 want to ask you about a couple of points.

17

1 that came through that test centre, as far as we could
2 see, wouldn't be fed through into NHS records and into
3 the data collection that we were responsible for.

4 **Q.** Did you ever receive any information as to why there had
5 been no communications with Public Health Wales or the
6 Welsh Government?

7 **A.** No.

8 **Q.** You set out in considerable detail in your first
9 statement the ways in which the UK Government began to
10 diverge from the devolved governments, including, for
11 example, the UK Government changing their messaging from
12 Stay at Home to Stay Alert on 10 May 2020.

13 On this point, can we have on screen, INQ000222864.

14 This is a note that you prepared for the
15 First Minister on 4 May 2020; is that right?

16 **A.** Yes.

17 **Q.** Before we go into the contents of the note, how often
18 would you produce documents like this for the
19 First Minister?

20 **A.** Very rarely. I have two examples during the period the
21 Inquiry's covering.

22 **Q.** Thank you.

23 If we could turn to page 2, you set out there what
24 you think that the First Minister's schedule might look
25 like for the week ahead and you say:

19

1 Dr Boulton sets out the background to the set-up of
2 the testing facility, and under the heading "Situation"
3 he says that he was contacted on 30 March to arrange
4 a call to discuss the UK-wide key worker testing
5 strategy, and that contact was from Deloitte Consulting.

6 Then he goes on to say that a call took place on
7 1 April 2020, at 3 pm, in which he was told that they
8 had set up a testing facility in Cardiff City Stadium
9 and were ready to accept key workers for testing the
10 following day.

11 Then Mr Boulton says:

12 "I asked them to stand down the facility until
13 further discussion and clarity had been sought."

14 He goes on to say, under "Background" that:

15 "It doesn't appear that any communication to [Public
16 Health Wales] or Welsh Government had taken place prior
17 to this call, nobody in Wales knew they were coming it
18 appears."

19 What was the reaction of this decision by the
20 First Minister and other ministers for whom you advised?

21 **A.** They were very shocked, and dismayed, really, that we
22 were in a situation where a private company had opened
23 a testing centre, that the way in which the NHS in Wales
24 collects data hadn't been taken into account, and the
25 fact that any of the responses or the positive tests

18

1 "... (avoiding as much as I can the dreaded
2 'supposition' I was so rude about earlier)."

3 Could you explain what you mean by that?

4 **A.** There are a number of things in here that are bracketed
5 later on in relation to Wednesday and Thursday where we
6 are making suppositions about what might happen in
7 relation to engagement with the Welsh Government. We,
8 at the point I wrote the note, which was Monday,
9 I think, the 4th, were unclear as to what that
10 engagement would look like for the rest of the week.

11 **Q.** So we can take it that mean that the Welsh Government
12 were not being told when COBR meetings might happen; is
13 that right?

14 **A.** Yes.

15 **Q.** And we'll come back to look at COBR meetings in
16 a moment.

17 You then state, later in your document, that:

18 "UK Gvt announcement on continuation of current
19 restrictions (again supposition) with further
20 announcement to follow on Sunday."

21 Then further down the page, you say:

22 "Question from the comms side is going to be -- do
23 we go hell for leather on our plans on Thursday/Friday
24 (ahead of UK Gvt) or do we do something Sunday (again
25 ahead of UK Gvt) or do we go for Monday (after UK Gvt)."

20

1 Can you explain why these were the options that you
 2 were proposing to the First Minister?
 3 **A.** So I don't know that these are necessarily the options
 4 that I personally was proposing. I think it's clear
 5 that it was a conversation that was being had beyond me.
 6 But the important point really is the 21-day review
 7 period was due to finish on the Thursday, which would
 8 have been the date that -- the decisions -- cabinet
 9 would have been taking the decisions, so the decision
 10 was around -- in this case is around whether or not the
 11 First Minister does the announcement as close to the
 12 decision-making point as possible, or whether he holds
 13 back the announcement of that decision so that
 14 the UK Government has gone and made the announcements
 15 they were going to make first.
 16 **Q.** This is, as you say in the note, a question from the
 17 comms side. The Inquiry will be hearing from Toby Mason
 18 later today, but please could you give your view on the
 19 extent to which the Welsh Government's communication and
 20 public health messaging from this point onwards diverged
 21 from that of the UK Government?
 22 **A.** This is a very key period in this context from my point
 23 of view. A number of things -- I think I refer in the
 24 first couple of paragraphs of the note that the fact
 25 that we had only really become aware in the days before

21

1 need to retain the 'Welsh solutions to Welsh
 2 circumstances' approach, particularly in relation to
 3 schools where it feels very little we will end up in
 4 a different place."
 5 Please could you just explain what you mean by this.
 6 **A.** We were -- the First Minister was absolutely not looking
 7 for disagreements to be played out in a public arena as
 8 far as they possibly -- when they -- when they didn't
 9 need to be, and we were trying to avoid being in
 10 a situation where that was the case.
 11 In terms of the schools point, the information that
 12 SAGE and -- I'm sorry if I'm jumping ahead -- but the
 13 information that SAGE had been asked to look at in
 14 relation to England very heavily focused around the
 15 re-opening of schools, and we were in a different place,
 16 both with local -- our relationship with local
 17 government and in the relationship with the teaching
 18 unions and based on the scientific and the health advice
 19 that the First Minister and the ministers were receiving
 20 about the sort of more gradual re-opening, and the focus
 21 on schools was one aspect of that.
 22 **Q.** Thank you.
 23 **LADY HALLETT:** Just to follow that, so you at this stage got
 24 the impression that the UK Government were keener on
 25 re-opening schools --

23

1 this period that SAGE was considering a series of
 2 questions from the Cabinet Office, from the
 3 UK Government, in relation to how to move out of
 4 restrictions and asked SAGE to do a series of modelling
 5 around some exact scenarios, and these scenarios were
 6 very England-focused, and it was difficult for us to
 7 make assessment, similar assessments at that point on
 8 the basis of the information that was -- they were being
 9 asked to provide because of the England focus.
 10 Sorry, I'm not sure I've answered your question.
 11 **Q.** No, that's a point that we will return to, about the
 12 involvement of SAGE in advising the Welsh Government.
 13 **A.** It was about divergence, wasn't it? The reason this --
 14 it just is a very significant point at which it was
 15 becoming more and more apparent that the differences
 16 between the way in which -- the approach that we and the
 17 UK Government were going to take was going to be
 18 necessary.
 19 **Q.** Thank you.
 20 Just returning to your note, further down the page,
 21 you then say:
 22 "Whatever we do, I think we can be more confident
 23 now that we aren't heading into a big collision course
 24 with them (certainly in the short term) and that is
 25 obviously a good thing for a number of reasons. We will

22

1 **A.** Yes.
 2 **LADY HALLETT:** -- and the Welsh Government was more cautious
 3 about re-opening schools?
 4 **A.** Certainly that was what the evidence was suggesting to
 5 us that we should do.
 6 **LADY HALLETT:** When you say the evidence, that evidence was
 7 medical, biomedical evidence, or did it include the
 8 various other harms that are caused by closing schools?
 9 **A.** I'm not ... so both were a consideration. I haven't
 10 reviewed the paperwork around this in any detail. From
 11 memory the balancing of the considerations that was
 12 going on at that point wasn't suggesting that there
 13 should be a -- the impact of what would happen, were
 14 schools to re-open at that point, wasn't still fully
 15 understood, and so the advice that was being given to
 16 the First Minister and others was that we shouldn't be
 17 looking at that yet.
 18 **LADY HALLETT:** So my question is: was the First Minister
 19 getting advice on the potential for harm for young
 20 people, children, being denied access to schools, to
 21 social development, to education, to learning, all the
 22 rest of it?
 23 **A.** My recollection was absolutely, yes.
 24 **LADY HALLETT:** He was?
 25 **A.** Yes.

24

1 **MS HITCHMAN:** I'd just like to pick up on that point. You
2 say later in your witness statement, at paragraph 47(f),
3 that, regarding the closure of schools and education
4 settings, you facilitated discussions between officials,
5 local authority leaders and support staff and trade
6 union representatives to ensure that they had
7 an opportunity to discuss emerging evidence with
8 scientific advisers and to ensure that ministers had
9 feedback to inform future decisions.

10 You don't mention here that you facilitated any
11 discussions with children or parents. Do you recall
12 whether their views were sought?

13 **A.** I know that many -- that certainly the minister for
14 education and First Minister and a number of ministers
15 engaged in activities with children and young people,
16 they had sessions of the youth parliament, specifically
17 to hear views of young people, and a number of other
18 fora, I couldn't recollect the exact details of.

19 This -- my specific involvement in relation to the
20 support staff trade unions was around a period where
21 there were a number of concerns from the support staff
22 trade unions particularly, and the support staff unions
23 had felt and had been in contact with us that their
24 views weren't being taken into account. So it was
25 specifically the support staff trade unions rather than

25

1 "There are also some significant dates that we have
2 been talking about, including the question as to whether
3 we change from 21 days to 28. Personally, I really
4 don't think it matters. We are not going to be able to
5 easily align with the [UK Government] and to that end
6 all we [are] really buying are a couple of days for
7 officials to try and pretend we will be better
8 prepared."

9 What do you mean at the end where you say "try and
10 be better prepared"?

11 **A.** Everything at this point -- this is another significant
12 and very difficult moment in what -- the decisions that
13 the First Minister and the Welsh ministers were trying
14 to take. Coming out of the lockdown in some ways was
15 an extraordinarily difficult set of circumstances.
16 There wasn't a blueprint for how this was done and there
17 were an extraordinarily difficult number of issues and
18 balances that needed to be considered.

19 If you ask me whether or not we were prepared,
20 I would have to say no, I don't ... this hadn't been
21 done before.

22 **LADY HALLETT:** What is the reference "21 days to 28"?

23 **A.** The UK Government moved from considering the regulations
24 every 21 days to 28 days, and there was advice from the
25 civil service to the First Minister that we should

27

1 the kind of more conventional teaching trade unions
2 I refer to.

3 **Q.** Thank you.

4 If we could turn now to INQ000222865.

5 This is a briefing note that you wrote to the
6 First Minister on 9 June 2020; is that right?

7 **A.** Yes.

8 **Q.** You say about halfway down the first page:

9 "If we therefore have some 'money in the bank' to
10 introduce further relaxations, how are we making these
11 judgements? I know that there were a number of impact
12 assessments being done but fundamentally the balance of
13 these things will come down (as it has at every other
14 point in this process) to very fine judgements."

15 Please could you explain how you were providing
16 advice on those very fine judgements.

17 **A.** I'm not sure that I was specifically providing advice on
18 those very fine judgements, I think that this note just
19 sets out what some of those things are, and I think it's
20 important for me to say that this note was a very short
21 part of an extraordinarily large number of other
22 documents that the First Minister would have considered
23 at this time.

24 **Q.** Thank you.

25 Then a little further down the page, you say:

26

1 consider doing the same. He was very clear that he
2 wanted to maintain the 21-day rhythm. It was something
3 that the public were beginning to understand and
4 recognise, and the structure that it provided him, in
5 terms of not only making the public announcement and the
6 public understanding and being very clear about that,
7 but also the series of meetings that happened in
8 between, the cycle of meetings with officials, with
9 external stakeholders, with the Social Partnership
10 Council and others, was beginning to become understood
11 and became a key feature of the way in which he
12 communicated that with the public.

13 **MS HITCHMAN:** And finally on the topic of divergence, you
14 conclude in your first witness statement by saying that:

15 "Overall, divergence between the decisions taken by
16 Welsh ministers and the UK Government (and other parts
17 of the United Kingdom) was necessary for Welsh ministers
18 to properly discharge their functions."

19 And then you say:

20 "Welsh Ministers have a responsibility to discharge
21 those functions on the basis of the advice that they
22 receive."

23 Can we take it from that final sentence that you
24 were advising Welsh ministers to diverge from the UK
25 approach?

28

1 **A.** No. I think what I was trying to say in that sentence
2 was that, once the decision to use the 1984 Act had been
3 taken, that the Welsh ministers have statutory
4 responsibilities in terms of the exercising of those
5 functions and that those functions needed to be
6 undertaken based on the advice that they were provided
7 by the civil service.

8 **Q.** Thank you.

9 I want to turn now to look at a point that we've
10 briefly touched upon, which is the Welsh Government's
11 involvement in COBR meetings.

12 At paragraph 40 of your first witness statement you
13 say that:

14 "The control of the COBR meetings and the production
15 of papers for it rest exclusively in the hands of the
16 UK Government. The First Minister did not see COBR
17 papers until very close to the time of the meetings and
18 it was often unclear what the agenda would be until just
19 before the start of those meetings."

20 How did this late circulation of COBR papers that
21 you describe affect your ability to advise the
22 First Minister?

23 **A.** So it would -- it is not and would not have been the
24 case that I would have been providing advice ahead of
25 COBR meetings or to the First Minister in relation to

29

1 a predictable schedule for those COBR meetings fell on
2 deaf ears?

3 **A.** They certainly weren't successful.

4 **Q.** Turning back to your first witness statement, you say
5 that:

6 "The tensions that had emerged between the Welsh
7 Government and the UK Government ... were very much
8 evident in the run up to this period [the Welsh
9 firebreak] and I noted at a discussion ... on 31 October
10 where I asked if there would be a COBR meeting and noted
11 'how many times do we have to ask?'"

12 Is it fair to say, then, that by October 2020 the
13 Welsh Government was still not receiving adequate notice
14 of COBR meetings?

15 **A.** Yes.

16 **Q.** During the pandemic, you made notes in a series of
17 notebooks; is that right?

18 **A.** Yes.

19 **Q.** Were the notes that you made a contemporaneous note or
20 were they made after the event?

21 **A.** They were contemporaneous.

22 **Q.** Could we turn to one of those entries, at INQ000327611.

23 At page 2, this is dated at the top 31 July 2020,
24 and looking down the page, there's an entry timed
25 9.20 am, and you say:

31

1 COBR meetings, except possibly in relation to any of the
2 kind of wider political considerations.

3 **Q.** Do you have any views as to why those papers were
4 provided at such short notice?

5 **A.** No.

6 **Q.** If we could, please, turn to INQ000222503.

7 This is an email chain dated 22 March 2020, and the
8 first paragraph includes an action point for you which
9 states:

10 "Emphasise to No 10 that we must have a predictable
11 schedule for COBRA and its sub-groups ..."

12 Could you briefly explain, please, how this action
13 point came about?

14 **A.** I believe that I called the special adviser at
15 Number 10, with whom I was already having conversations
16 relatively regularly at this point.

17 **Q.** The Inquiry understands that in early April the
18 First Minister was pressing the UK Government to convene
19 a COBR meeting in good time before 16 April, which was
20 the date by which the first 21-day review needed to be
21 carried out, so that the four nations could discuss
22 a further set of co-ordinated announcements; is that
23 correct?

24 **A.** Yes.

25 **Q.** So would it be fair to say that your attempts to secure

30

1 "Phone call with Jack Stenner -- Sadiq K."

2 Is it correct that Mr Stenner was special adviser to
3 Sadiq Khan?

4 **A.** Yeah.

5 **Q.** You record as follows:

6 "no straight data showing problems but sense that
7 things could change [very, very] quickly."

8 What was that in reference to?

9 **A.** Was the date of this 31 July?

10 **Q.** Yes.

11 **A.** I assume it will have been case levels, numbers of
12 positive tests.

13 **Q.** Thank you.

14 Then just further down you say:

15 "no longer any contact with [UK Government] -- cut
16 out completely."

17 Again, what was that in reference to?

18 **A.** I believe that was Jack telling me that Sadiq's office
19 had -- no longer had any contact with the UK Government,
20 that they had been cut out completely.

21 **Q.** How would you describe the contact between the Welsh
22 Government and the UK Government at this time?

23 **A.** Sporadic. From a political point of view. I can't
24 speak for how -- what the contact with the civil --
25 between the civil servants was.

32

- 1 **Q.** You say at paragraph 62 of your witness statement that
 2 discussions with the UK Government moved towards
 3 conversations about issues such as how the Joint
 4 Biosecurity Centre was going to work and how genuinely
 5 joint it was.
 6 Could you just explain what you mean by that?
 7 **A.** When we first learnt of the creation of the Joint
 8 Biosecurity Centre, I recall the First Minister having
 9 been given information about what its purpose was and
 10 that there were -- there was genuine welcome for its
 11 creation. There were some concerns expressed about how
 12 joint, in relation to the involvement of the devolved
 13 governments, it would be. Largely these evaporated.
 14 **Q.** Thank you.
 15 The Inquiry understands that on 3 June 2021 there
 16 was a meeting between the First Minister and the
 17 Prime Minister, you describe this in your first witness
 18 statement as a "Summit", at which the Prime Minister
 19 committed to resetting the intergovernmental
 20 arrangements. You note in your witness statement that
 21 the First Minister told the Prime Minister that he
 22 believed that the fissures in the UK Government were
 23 growing rather than contracting. Was that something
 24 that you discussed with the First Minister?
 25 **A.** Yes.

33

- 1 **A.** No.
 2 **Q.** Why not?
 3 **A.** They were an informal opportunity for the
 4 first ministers and the deputy First Minister of
 5 Northern Ireland to explore issues, but they were not
 6 areas in which -- they were not meetings where sort of
 7 significant decisions at a four nations basis were taken
 8 place.
 9 **Q.** Thank you.
 10 Did anything change as regards intergovernmental
 11 relations after that June 2021 summit?
 12 **A.** No.
 13 **LADY HALLETT:** You say that they weren't meetings where
 14 significant decisions on a four nations basis could take
 15 place, but from what I've heard, given the different
 16 approaches in Scotland, as you said, Wales and, I may
 17 hear, in Northern Ireland, is it likely that had those
 18 meetings been held there would have been any decisions
 19 taken on a four nations basis, because people weren't
 20 agreeing?
 21 **A.** I do think there's a period in the run-up to the
 22 firebreak and post that period, in the run-up to
 23 Christmas, where there was a significant effort to try
 24 to re-align the decisions that had been taken
 25 previously, and I certainly believe in the case of the

35

- 1 **Q.** At this point, how would you describe the relationship
 2 between the First Minister and the then Prime Minister,
 3 Mr Johnson?
 4 **A.** Well, their contact was infrequent, and I believe the
 5 First Minister had a genuine, sincerely held concern
 6 that some of the actions of the United Kingdom
 7 Government, in relation to the way they had handled some
 8 of the earlier period, was a genuine threat to the
 9 future of the United Kingdom.
 10 **Q.** As we have touched upon, the First Minister was
 11 an advocate for a reliable and regular pattern of
 12 contact between all four nations during the pandemic,
 13 and we know that there were no Joint Ministerial
 14 Committee plenary meetings at all during the pandemic;
 15 is that right?
 16 **A.** Yes.
 17 **Q.** We also know that the principal point of contact was
 18 Michael Gove, initially in his capacity as Chancellor of
 19 the Duchy of Lancaster, and later as Secretary of State
 20 for Levelling Up and the Constitution, and regular calls
 21 between Mr Gove and the First Ministers of the devolved
 22 administrations started in June 2020; is that right?
 23 **A.** Yes.
 24 **Q.** In your view, were these calls with Mr Gove a suitable
 25 substitute for a more codified set of arrangements?

34

- 1 First Minister for whom I work that he would have at
 2 earlier stages liked that to be the case.
 3 **LADY HALLETT:** I think my question really is: that may well
 4 be in a perfect world, but, given we're not in a perfect
 5 world, had those meetings taken place, the
 6 Prime Minister and first ministers and deputy
 7 First Minister, would it have made any difference,
 8 because they weren't going to agree, were they?
 9 **A.** Is there an alternative universe where this was
 10 possible? I think there probably is.
 11 **LADY HALLETT:** Beyond my terms of reference, I think.
 12 **MS HITCHMAN:** I want to turn now to a point that you've
 13 already touched upon, which is your role in relation to
 14 medical and scientific expertise, and whilst of course
 15 you did not personally provide medical and scientific
 16 advice, a key part of your role, as you say in your
 17 witness statement, was to listen and, when points
 18 required escalation to ministers, to consider both the
 19 speed of that escalation and whether escalation was
 20 needed outside of the formal meeting structures that
 21 were in place.
 22 Is that a fair summary?
 23 **A.** Yes.
 24 **Q.** Presumably we're talking there about advice from the
 25 Welsh Government or Welsh bodies such as Public Health

36

1 Wales; is that right?
 2 **A.** Yes, my contact with Public Health Wales was limited.
 3 I don't recall whether by this point I -- the HPAG
 4 subgroup had been created, which was one of the ways in
 5 which I did have more regular contact with officials
 6 from Public Health Wales. I guess in the context I was
 7 referring to Dr Frank Atherton and the chief scientific
 8 advisers for health.

9 **Q.** Thank you.

10 There was a point in May 2020 when the
 11 First Minister wrote to Sir Patrick Vallance, as chair
 12 of SAGE, outlining the desire of the Welsh Government to
 13 engage more actively in the work that SAGE was
 14 undertaking.

15 If we could just pull up that letter, which is
 16 INQ000299310, it's dated 26 May. In your view, and this
 17 is a point that you've already touched upon, but in
 18 relation to this letter specifically, why was it
 19 necessary for the First Minister to write to Sir Patrick
 20 in this way?

21 **A.** I did refer to this briefly earlier. It was very
 22 noticeable to us towards the end of April and into the
 23 beginning of May that some of the work that was being
 24 undertaken by SAGE -- I'm sure there was other work
 25 beyond this, but some of the work that was being

37

1 everything and I feel rather guilty about it! Obviously
 2 not that sustainable if this continues for years."

3 Pausing there, are they Dr Atherton, as Chief
 4 Medical Officer, Dr Orford as Chief Scientific Adviser,
 5 and Fliss Bennee, co-chair of TAG and deputy director
 6 for digital data and technology?

7 **A.** I would assume so, yes.

8 **Q.** The next message in the chat is an hour and a half later
 9 and relates to a separate meeting. Why was
 10 Mr Woodward's point here about the need for more
 11 scientists not addressed?

12 **A.** As I'm sure we'll come on to, this was a very informal
 13 conversation and I'm not sure that Tom was looking for
 14 an answer, or that I was qualified to give him one.

15 **Q.** And what is your view of Mr Woodward's point that more
 16 scientists in the government were needed?

17 **A.** I suspect that the point that Tom was making -- where
 18 are we? 22 June -- related to the fact that we had at
 19 this point an enormous number of meetings taking place,
 20 both internally and with external stakeholders, and we
 21 relied very heavily on the three of those -- those three
 22 people to attend those meetings, and to explain the
 23 evidence that they were hearing.

24 **Q.** Thank you.

25 I want to turn now to look at the methods of

39

1 undertaken by SAGE on modelling in relation to easements
 2 from the lockdown was being undertaken based on a set of
 3 questions that were being asked to them by the
 4 UK Government Cabinet Office, which reflected very
 5 specific England-focused questions, something that
 6 I think Nicola Sturgeon raises in a meeting with the
 7 UK Government, I think it's around this time, where she
 8 discussed the different term dates in Scotland being
 9 a particular consideration. But it was those kinds of
 10 issues that we were concerned about.

11 **Q.** Thank you.

12 I want to take you now to a WhatsApp chain, which is
 13 at INQ000303220.

14 This is from a group titled "DrakeSpAds" and
 15 includes various people, including yourself.

16 Is it fair to assume that the group was what it says
 17 on the tin, it was the First Minister's special
 18 advisers?

19 **A.** It is.

20 **Q.** If we turn to page 11, and about halfway down the page,
 21 Tom Woodward says as follows:

22 "Is it just me, or do we as a government need more
 23 scientists? Are we looking to recruit more? In England
 24 even the departments have their own scientists, while it
 25 feels like we all have to bother the same 3 people for

38

1 communication that you used to conduct government
 2 business during the pandemic.

3 You say in your second witness statement that from
 4 1 January 2020 to 31 May 2022 you used your personal
 5 mobile phone to send WhatsApp messages; is that right?

6 **A.** It is.

7 **Q.** You explain that there were three groups that were
 8 routinely used: a ministers' WhatsApp group -- is that
 9 the DrakeSpAds that we have just looked at?

10 **A.** No.

11 **Q.** Separate -- forgive me -- a special adviser WhatsApp
 12 group, which is the DrakeSpAds WhatsApp group; and
 13 a WhatsApp group with a small team of Welsh Government
 14 lawyers?

15 **A.** Yes.

16 **Q.** Is that final group the Coronavirus legal hotline group?

17 **A.** Yes.

18 **Q.** There are a number of Welsh Government policies and
 19 documents that were in place dealing with the use of
 20 informal communications, including text messages and
 21 WhatsApp, and the Inquiry heard evidence from
 22 Dame Shan Morgan about many of those policies. I won't
 23 go into detail about them, but I just want to take you
 24 to two and ask you about two aspects of your use of your
 25 personal mobile phone and WhatsApp.

40

1 If I could take you first to a document from
2 January 2020, which is a SIRO notice, senior information
3 risk owner, and this is at INQ000396686, and on page 3,
4 under the heading "WhatsApp", it state:

5 "In the same way that personal email accounts cannot
6 be use to undertaking Welsh Government business,
7 personal WhatsApp accounts may not be used for Welsh
8 Government business."

9 Were you aware that conducting Welsh Government
10 business through a personal WhatsApp account was
11 prohibited?

12 **A.** So I think there's two things to say, the first one is
13 I have asked the civil service to confirm that
14 I received this notice, because I did not recognise it
15 when it was provided to me by the Inquiry, and I have
16 had confirmation that I was not on the distribution list
17 to be sent this email.

18 However, I do recognise that I was -- well, I knew
19 that I was not in a position to use my personal phone
20 for Welsh Government formal decision-making, and I do
21 not believe that that was the case. The groups that
22 I've discussed were used for admin purposes and for team
23 morale. This was a point at which my team was no longer
24 in the office and it was something that we did use to
25 keep in contact and to keep the team together.

41

1 text messages (and instant messaging) heightens the need
2 for users to be aware that they may be creating records
3 using this application, and to properly manage and
4 preserve record content."

5 Were you aware of this policy?

6 **A.** Yes. I don't know that I was sent this document in the
7 same way, but it would be wrong of me to assume that
8 I wasn't aware of the general points.

9 **Q.** Thank you.

10 I want to turn now to a few examples of your use of
11 WhatsApp during the pandemic.

12 If we could turn to the ministerial WhatsApp group.

13 That's at INQ000303219.

14 And is it right that this group includes you and
15 ministers including Kirsty Williams, Rebecca Evans,
16 Julie James and others?

17 **A.** Yes.

18 **Q.** If we can turn to the final page, page 73, on
19 25 November 2021, you turned on disappearing messages,
20 and the consequence of that was that messages in the
21 chat would disappear seven days after they were sent,
22 except where they were kept.

23 In her evidence to this module, Dame Shan Morgan
24 expressed her surprise that you turned on disappearing
25 messages, notwithstanding the guidance that we have just

43

1 **Q.** We will return in a moment to --

2 **LADY HALLETT:** Before you move on, if I may, Ms Hitchman.

3 But isn't using your personal phone for admin
4 purposes using it for Welsh Government business?

5 **A.** Yes.

6 **LADY HALLETT:** So you were using it wrongly?

7 **A.** Yes.

8 **MS HITCHMAN:** Thank you, my Lady.

9 We'll return in a moment, Ms Runeckles, to a couple
10 of examples in those WhatsApp groups. But I just want
11 to look first at another document, which relates to the
12 preservation of conversations for record-keeping
13 purposes.

14 That's at INQ000396685.

15 This is the Welsh Government Information Management
16 and Governance Policy published in August 2018.

17 On page 17, at paragraph 6.6, it states at the top
18 there:

19 "Text or 'instant messages' are electronic mail and
20 messaging systems used for the purposes of communication
21 between individuals. Staff should be aware that when
22 using their [Welsh Government] phones in this way they
23 are in fact creating 'public records'. Staff using
24 private phones for [Welsh Government] business may also
25 be creating public records. The ephemeral nature of

42

1 discussed.

2 In light of that guidance, and your acceptance that
3 you were aware of the requirement to preserve records,
4 why did you turn on disappearing messages?

5 **A.** My Lady, I think this is something I've reflected on
6 a lot, and I think it would be very useful for people
7 who hold the kind of role that I hold in the future for
8 there to be some clear recommendations about this.

9 I do not believe that there is any evidence of
10 decision-making in any of these groups, and I think that
11 in areas where we were using this tool, and possibly
12 I should have been using Teams and creating a chat
13 function on Teams, which was the method that the Welsh
14 Government does recommend -- I wasn't sure I knew how in
15 March 2020, but -- and the Welsh Government
16 record-keeping in that regard requires that those
17 messages are deleted after 30 days.

18 The 2009 document that I also have part of my
19 evidence pack makes it clear in relation to telephone
20 conversations that ministers have records of telephone
21 conversations between ministers and don't need to have
22 formal records kept when they're looking at policy
23 development or in relation to responding to events that
24 happen quickly, and I think that there is a distinction
25 in my mind between the formal records and the

44

1 decision-making processes that ministers undertook and
2 this kind of communication. But I'm aware that there is
3 a lot of interest in this topic.

4 **LADY HALLETT:** Well, in the hearings for 2A in Scotland,
5 I think it was agreed by some of the witnesses that it's
6 not just decision-making that should be recorded, and
7 that's really what the document to which Ms Hitchman
8 just took you indicates, that it goes beyond
9 decision-making. And the importance of keeping records,
10 as I'm sure you appreciate, is not just for the purposes
11 of an inquiry of this kind, but for public
12 accountability.

13 **A.** I -- I'm -- obviously understand the need to take this
14 in terms of future activity.

15 **MS HITCHMAN:** You just mentioned in your response the 2009
16 document. I think you are referring to the guidance on
17 private office records.

18 That's at INQ000396684, if we could just pull that
19 up briefly.

20 At paragraph 5, at the bottom of the page, it says
21 that:

22 "The records of Special Advisers require separate
23 consideration ... Where Special Advisers have a wider
24 role in the department and have an impact on official
25 business the records originated by a Special Adviser

45

1 Presumably that's a reference to Rob Orford.
2 "... revealed his big news yet??"

3 You say -- you respond with a question mark.

4 Dylan Hughes says:

5 "The 'important information' from Sage."

6 Helen Lentle responds:

7 "That what Fliss ..."

8 And presumably that's a reference to Fliss Bennee,
9 who we've already discussed.

10 "... said then. Lockdown."

11 And you respond:

12 "Fliss just said they recommend a short national
13 lockdown. We are all ignoring her."

14 What did you mean by that?

15 **A.** I don't recall.

16 **Q.** Why were you having a conversation about something as
17 important as another national lockdown on WhatsApp
18 rather than via official government channels?

19 **A.** My notebook on 18 September records a conversation I had
20 with Fliss specifically on this point, and there are
21 a considerable number of official records of meetings
22 that happen in the subsequent days and weeks on this
23 point, and I don't believe that we were not taking this
24 seriously.

25 **Q.** If we turn to the final page of this chat, disappearing

47

1 should be retained by the department."

2 Save where, it goes on to say, their records only
3 mirror those existing elsewhere.

4 So would you accept that even in your role as
5 a special adviser, you had an obligation to record
6 conversations via WhatsApp?

7 **A.** I would have interpreted the important part of this as
8 being "where they had an impact on official business".

9 **Q.** Thank you.

10 I want to take you to one more WhatsApp conversation
11 which is the coronavirus legal hotline.

12 That's at INQ000331038.

13 And this WhatsApp group includes you, other special
14 advisers and --

15 **A.** There's no other special advisers on this group, I heard
16 that said yesterday, it's only me.

17 **Q.** Forgive me. So this includes you and Welsh Government
18 lawyers?

19 **A.** Yeah.

20 **Q.** If we could turn to page 90, and at page 90 -- forgive
21 me.

22 **(Pause)**

23 There's an extract here where Helen Lentle says --
24 this is 17 September 2020:

25 "Have RobO ..."

46

1 messages are turned on on 15 June 2021, that wasn't by
2 you but by another member of the chat. Do you know why
3 disappearing messages were turned on on this legal
4 advice chat?

5 **A.** No.

6 **Q.** I just have a couple more questions for you,
7 Ms Runeckles.

8 At paragraph 35 of your statement you state that you
9 were involved in discussions with the education minister
10 leading to the decision on 18 March 2020 that schools
11 would close early for the Easter holidays, and there's
12 also a ministerial advice dated 20 March 2020 -- and we
13 won't pull it up but, for the record, that's
14 INQ000145342 -- which sets out the advice to the
15 minister on this point.

16 Focusing on this period alone, would you agree that
17 the discussion and decision was based perhaps -- perhaps
18 understandably -- on infection control, but that in
19 doing so there was no consideration or discussion of
20 impacts of the Rights of Children Measure 2011 or the
21 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child?

22 **A.** I don't think it would be fair to say there was no
23 consideration, and there were certainly discussions
24 about the impact on children of the decision that the
25 minister for education took.

48

1 Q. Would you agree that there was no discussion involving
2 or consulting the Children's Commissioner for Wales?
3 A. At that point, no.
4 Q. Would you agree that there was no discussion of the
5 mitigation measures or support children may need at home
6 if they were required to remain at home for a long term?
7 A. Would I agree that there was no consideration?
8 Q. There was no discussion or consideration of those
9 mitigation measures.
10 A. There absolutely was.
11 **MS HITCHMAN:** Thank you, Ms Runeckles.
12 My Lady, I have no further questions.
13 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you.
14 Ms Heaven, I think you have a question.
15 **Questions from MS HEAVEN**
16 **MS HEAVEN:** Good morning, Ms Runeckles, I represent the
17 Covid-19 Bereaved Families for Justice Cymru. Just one
18 very short topic, and it's divergence and justification.
19 Just to indicate, we don't need to get the statement up.
20 So you state at paragraph 60 of your witness
21 statement that 11 May 2020 was the point at which Wales
22 and the UK Government began to diverge in pace and
23 messaging, so it was around this time, that's what you
24 indicate.
25 Now, a narrative has been presented to this Inquiry
49

1 Welsh Government were always more cautious? And I'm
2 talking about that May period.
3 A. I don't know that I have suggested that we were more
4 cautious in the way that you describe, have I?
5 Q. No, I'm not saying that necessarily you do. I mean, you
6 indicate in your statement that in May there was
7 a change in pace, that's when you saw the divergence as
8 beginning. But it is being suggested generally, I think
9 in particularly the statement by the First Minister for
10 Wales, Mr Drakeford, that Wales was more cautious
11 following that first lockdown. So I'm just asking you
12 whether you agree that, on the topic of face coverings,
13 it would seem that the UK Government was more cautious
14 than the Welsh Government at this time?
15 A. We certainly took a different position to the
16 UK Government in relation to face coverings.
17 **MS HEAVEN:** Okay, that's fair enough. Well, thank you very
18 much.
19 That's my question, my Lady.
20 **Questions from THE CHAIR**
21 **LADY HALLETT:** I just have one question I'd forgotten, and
22 I'm sorry to take you back to the test centre,
23 Ms Runeckles.
24 I understand the reaction if the Welsh Government
25 had no idea that this test centre was being set up,
51

1 in the witness statements generally from the Welsh
2 Government that the Welsh Government was more cautious
3 following the first lockdown, and it was more cautious
4 and took a more gradual approach to re-opening of
5 society as compared to the UK Government, and this has
6 been presented as one of the justifications for not
7 taking a four nations approach.
8 Now, on divergence, we obviously know that on 11 May
9 in England the UK Government and Chris Whitty
10 recommended that the public wear face coverings where
11 social distancing wasn't possible, but on 12 May
12 Frank Atherton advised that face coverings was a matter
13 of personal choice and he actually told the public that.
14 So do you agree that it isn't entirely accurate, and
15 I'm not suggesting you're doing this, but it is from,
16 generally, the statements, to categorise the Welsh
17 Government as always cautious in that first easing of
18 the lockdown, of the first lockdown, as compared to the
19 UK Government being perhaps less cautious? Because
20 clearly if we look at the approach on public messaging
21 and face coverings in May, it's right, isn't it, that we
22 can see the Welsh Government taking perhaps a less
23 cautious approach than the UK Government, who were being
24 a bit more precautionary? So do you agree on that
25 topic, certainly it isn't right to suggest that the
50

1 I think I made that plain by my reaction yesterday, so
2 I understand the reaction to the lack of notice and
3 consultation, but given that you're informed by the
4 private company that they've set up a test centre and it
5 can be available the next day for key workers, why turn
6 down that opportunity as opposed to saying "Well, if you
7 can provide us with the data" -- you mentioned you
8 wouldn't get the data fed into the NHS; wouldn't it have
9 been better to accept the offer of the testing centre,
10 with addition -- with amendments?
11 A. That's what happened.
12 **LADY HALLETT:** That is what happened?
13 A. Yeah.
14 **LADY HALLETT:** Right. Thank you.
15 **(The witness withdrew)**
16 **LADY HALLETT:** Very well, I shall return at 11.35.
17 **(11.18 am)**
18 **(A short break)**
19 **(11.35 am)**
20 **LADY HALLETT:** Yes.
21 **MS COWEN:** My Lady, may I please call Toby Mason.
22 **MR TOBY MASON (affirmed)**
23 **Questions from COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY**
24 **MS COWEN:** Thank you, Mr Mason.
25 Could you please begin by giving us your full name,
52

1 please.

2 **A.** Yes, my full name is Toby Rhys Mason.

3 **Q.** Thank you. Thank you for assisting the Inquiry, both
4 through the provision of your witness statement and for
5 attending today.

6 If I can please remind you, when answering
7 questions, please keep your voice up and try to speak
8 slowly so our stenographer is able to keep pace with
9 your answers, thank you.

10 You have produced a witness statement for this
11 module of the Inquiry. That witness statement is at
12 INQ000340123 and that statement has been signed by you
13 on 2 November 2023. Is this statement true to the best
14 of your knowledge and belief?

15 **A.** It is.

16 **Q.** Thank you.

17 Mr Mason, you were appointed as head of strategic
18 communications for the Welsh Government in January 2014;
19 is that right?

20 **A.** That's correct.

21 **Q.** To be clear, your role is not a political appointment,
22 is it, you are in fact a civil servant?

23 **A.** That's correct, I am a civil servant.

24 **Q.** Thank you.

25 Prior to your appointment as head of strategic

53

1 **Q.** Thank you.

2 Is it correct that as of approximately
3 September 2022 there were about 144 posts within the
4 Welsh Government and only two of these posts were part
5 of the communications profession, and these posts were
6 either within the central communications division or
7 working to departmental heads of communication; is that
8 right?

9 **A.** There are 140 posts within the communications
10 profession.

11 **Q.** Yes, thank you.

12 You explain in your witness statement that the
13 communication division's principal role in the overall
14 Covid response was to provide communications and
15 handling advice to decision-makers and to communicate
16 those decisions as clearly as possible. Is that
17 correct?

18 **A.** That is correct.

19 **Q.** In Dr Goodall's statement he states:
20 "The Welsh Government's approach to public health
21 communications throughout the pandemic was governed by
22 the principles of clarity, transparency, honesty and
23 giving people all the key information needed to keep
24 themselves and their families safe at every stage."
25 Do you agree with that characterisation?

55

1 communications, you were news organiser in the BBC Wales
2 political unit based in the Senedd in Cardiff Bay; is
3 that right?

4 **A.** That's correct.

5 **Q.** Thank you.

6 So you were ultimately responsible for all aspects
7 of the Welsh Government's external communications and
8 you were head of the profession for communications
9 during the pandemic?

10 **A.** Correct.

11 **Q.** In his statement to the Inquiry, Dr Andrew Goodall has
12 summarised the structure of the communications team, and
13 from this statement the Inquiry understands that the
14 central communications division had four components.
15 These components were: the press office, which provides
16 press support for the First Minister, Counsel General
17 and other governmental ministers; the corporate digital
18 team, which is responsible for the operation and content
19 production of the Welsh Government's corporate digital
20 channels; cabinet communications, which delivers major
21 national events; and the central design team which
22 provides services such as graphic design and
23 typesetting.

24 Is that correct?

25 **A.** That is correct.

54

1 **A.** Absolutely.

2 **Q.** Thank you.

3 I'm now going to ask you about the role of the
4 communications profession during the pandemic.

5 In your witness statement, you explain that from the
6 outset of the pandemic, ministers and senior officials
7 within the Welsh Government recognised the importance of
8 clear and consistent communications.

9 You say in your statement that communications advice
10 and guidance was provided as frequently as possible to
11 inform policy and decision-making by both ministers and
12 officials.

13 Can I please ask, what form did this advice and
14 guidance take?

15 **A.** It took a wide variety of forms. Every paper that went
16 to cabinet had a communications section within it that
17 would be signed off along with the rest of the cabinet
18 paper. I would also provide more specific papers to
19 cabinet on particular aspects of communications
20 handling.

21 Our Keep Wales Safe campaign, which we'll probably
22 come on to later, every major kind of iteration of that
23 and every change in messaging was communicated to
24 cabinet so that they understood the overall strategy
25 that we had for the kind of communications approach.

56

1 And then, of course, there was the more kind of informal
2 communications, handling advice to ministers,
3 for example briefings before press conferences.

4 **Q.** Thank you.

5 What sources was your advice based upon?

6 **A.** So, we drew information from a wide variety of sources.

7 Behavioural insights was important and we had
8 a representative on the RCBI, and you heard from
9 Professor Ann John, so that was incredibly useful.

10 We undertook extensive tracker polling during the
11 pandemic, which gave us insight into people's level of
12 trust in the Welsh Government, people's understanding
13 and compliance with the rules at any given time, but we
14 also undertook focus groups and they were really
15 important for us in engaging people's sentiment towards
16 their safety, towards the government actions, and they
17 enabled us, I think, to put together quite a broad set
18 of advice that ministers could then consider as part of
19 their decision-making process.

20 **Q.** Thank you.

21 You also explain in your witness statement that your
22 team worked closely with the Public Health Wales
23 communications team, given their responsibility for
24 public health information provision.

25 Could you please describe your relationship with the
57

1 as we know, during a pandemic it's really important to
2 have those trusted clinical non-political voices to the
3 public. So they were really important.

4 **Q.** Thank you.

5 How regularly did you provide advice to Welsh
6 ministers, would you say?

7 **A.** As I said in my earlier answer, every cabinet paper
8 would have a communications section, some obviously were
9 more relevant than others, but, I mean, on a kind of
10 informal basis, on a kind of daily basis, when we as the
11 communications leads interacted with ministers, that's
12 the advice we would provide, but there were more formal
13 touchpoints too.

14 **Q.** Thank you.

15 In your witness statement you say that as well as
16 attending cabinet you attended meetings of the ExCovid
17 group, the Health Protection Advisory Group, and other
18 senior meetings within the government structure.

19 Do you think you had sufficient involvement in key
20 meetings and groups during the pandemic?

21 **A.** I can say I absolutely did. The importance of
22 communication as one of the key components of the
23 government's response was absolutely recognised by the
24 First Minister, by ministers, by successive
25 permanent secretaries and by senior officials. I think
59

1 Public Health Wales communications team in a little more
2 detail?

3 **A.** Yes, of course.

4 So Public Health Wales, at the very outset of the
5 pandemic, the four nations pandemic communication plan
6 was triggered and it was very clear that Public Health
7 Wales at that point were the lead in informing the
8 public on --

9 **Q.** I'm just going to interject, Mr Mason. I don't mean to
10 interrupt you, but can I just ask you to slow down
11 a little bit. I can feel that your pace is picking up
12 a bit. Sorry, I didn't mean to interrupt you, you were
13 talking about the four nations communications plan.

14 **A.** So Public Health Wales, along with the health
15 communications section of the Welsh Government, worked
16 effectively as one team in the early stages of the
17 pandemic in order to provide public health advice to
18 people in Wales. That was done on a -- very much
19 a four nations basis. As the pandemic progressed and as
20 the Welsh Government began to put in place its own rules
21 and regulations, then obviously the role of government
22 communications and ministerial communications began to
23 increase dramatically, but Public Health Wales were
24 always a very important component of our overall
25 strategy, because they had the clinical expertise and,
58

1 it was really important that we had a seat at the table
2 at those meetings. You'll see from the minutes that
3 I contributed. And one of the things I think we were
4 able to do was bring a degree of external perspective to
5 those discussions through feeding in the focus group
6 results, the social listening activities that we did as
7 well, and I felt that was quite a -- that was a very
8 important part of --

9 **Q.** Thank you. We will talk about some of those later on,
10 but thank you.

11 At paragraph 48 of your witness statement you say
12 that there was initially no dedicated budget for
13 communications. Are you able to say why that was?

14 **A.** So the way at that point communications budgeting worked
15 across the government is that each policy area, when
16 they were undertaking communications, for example
17 climate change communications, the communications budget
18 would come out of that to pay for that activity. So as
19 we went into the pandemic, the -- what effectively
20 happened was that the health communications team, who
21 looked after the -- initially the Stay Home, Save Lives
22 aspect of the campaign that was run jointly with
23 the UK Government, would have budget in order to promote
24 that in Wales alongside the UK Government. But then,
25 and we've spoken obviously about divergence, in May 2020
60

1 the budgets for the distinctively Welsh Keep Wales Safe
 2 campaign ramped up dramatically and I think reached
 3 £12 million in 2021, I understand, which is, you know,
 4 a very substantial amount of money for us.

5 **Q.** Thank you.

6 To the extent that you haven't already answered this
 7 question, can you say what impact did the initial lack
 8 of budget for communications have on the effectiveness
 9 of the communications strategy employed?

10 **A.** I would say that in the early stages, given the
 11 four nations approach, the buying power of the
 12 UK Government across the UK meant that we were playing
 13 to some extent a kind of supporting and, you know,
 14 helping role in terms of, for example, making sure that
 15 material in Wales was bilingual. The ramping up of
 16 budgets that I talked about happened pretty rapidly once
 17 the divergence happened.

18 **Q.** Thank you.

19 I would now like to turn to the approach taken by
 20 your team to communication with vulnerable and at-risk
 21 groups and those who were digitally excluded.

22 Before we start, can you please summarise what is
 23 meant by digitally excluded.

24 **A.** Yes, this is a group of the population who either don't
 25 have access to internet, social media or struggle to

61

1 **A.** Yes, absolutely.

2 I'll give three very, very brief examples, if I may,
 3 of the breadth of the communications work that we did.

4 So children and young people were really important.
 5 They don't necessarily consume news in the way that
 6 maybe adults do, and for that we made quite extensive
 7 use of TikTok, which was not a channel that we'd used as
 8 a government much at all, but that's where a lot of
 9 attention was, so we would actually take on influencers
 10 to carry our public health messages to that group.

11 We also had, and I referred to this in my statement,
 12 community teams who were on the ground in multi-ethnic,
 13 multicultural communities, speaking directly to people,
 14 because one of the insights that we had was that
 15 sometimes government is not necessarily the right
 16 conduit for government messages.

17 And then the third aspect, and this is -- goes to
 18 the points that we were making, we printed leaflets, we
 19 were pretty old-fashioned. We simplified the messages
 20 as much as possible and, you know, this was something
 21 that the Minister for Social Justice in particular was
 22 very, very -- you know, held our feet to the fire. So
 23 those leaflets were distributed through all our kind of
 24 networks of contacts, to GP surgeries, to community
 25 centres, but we also undertook all Wales door drops, so

63

1 kind of navigate that, and there's pretty robust data on
 2 that group.

3 **Q.** Thank you. Are you able to say what proportion of the
 4 Welsh population would be considered to be digitally
 5 excluded?

6 **A.** And this is from recollection, but I think we are
 7 looking at around about a third of the over 75s, but
 8 that just gives a kind of indication.

9 **Q.** Thank you.

10 You explain in your witness statement that:
 11 "Advice and evidence on the direct impact of NPIs on
 12 particular groups was principally a matter for
 13 colleagues in policy and science areas, and subsequent
 14 consideration by Cabinet on the balancing of relative
 15 harms."

16 You note, however, that:
 17 "... the 'at risk' and vulnerable groups, who may
 18 have been digitally excluded, were an important and
 19 distinct audience for our communications, which sought
 20 to reach groups such as these via the channels most
 21 accessible to them."

22 Please can you explain how you sought to reach these
 23 groups, and can you please be mindful when answering
 24 this question of efforts made to include older people in
 25 this strategy.

62

1 we were reaching 1.4 million households.

2 I hope that gives you a kind of breadth of -- we --
 3 you know, if it was -- if we were able to reach people
 4 via channel, we would use it.

5 **Q.** Yes.

6 **A.** I just want to say one very brief thing, the importance
 7 of the daily press conferences --

8 **Q.** Yes.

9 **A.** -- they were a game-changer for us, and the decision of
 10 BBC Wales to televise those really, I think, made a huge
 11 difference, because they were -- we were able to reach,
 12 then, people who may have been digitally excluded.

13 **Q.** Thank you.

14 **LADY HALLETT:** Sorry to interrupt.

15 By door drops, do you mean sticking them through
 16 people's letterboxes?

17 **A.** Yes, you effectively contract Royal Mail to deliver one
 18 to every household in Wales.

19 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you.

20 **MS COWEN:** Thank you.

21 I'm going to remind you again just to keep your
 22 voice slow, and I'm sorry to keep reminding you, but
 23 please bear that in mind.

24 You've touched on this in your answer actually to
 25 the previous question but you do note in your witness

64

1 statement that there was emerging evidence of the
2 disproportionate impact of Covid-19 on black, Asian and
3 minority ethnic communities, and so particular effort
4 was made to engage with these audiences.

5 Can you describe anything further that you may have
6 done subsequent to what you described in your earlier
7 answer regarding steps taken by your department to
8 engage with these audiences?

9 **A.** Yes, absolutely, we partnered with a lot of
10 organisations who had particular insights into these
11 communities. We took on a specialist consultancy at one
12 point really to kind of hone how we were doing. I think
13 the work of the Covid-19 race advisory board chaired by
14 Professor Ogbonna was really useful and was a very
15 useful challenge to us. And I think one of the main
16 things we did was, you know, work with community
17 leaders. As I said, a trusted conduit for our messages.

18 **Q.** Overall in your view to what extent did the Welsh
19 Government adequately engage with at-risk and
20 minoritised groups?

21 **A.** I believe we did. You can always do better and there
22 were learnings for us throughout the pandemic, but
23 I think as you can see from the statement and the
24 documents that I've exhibited we did, I feel, as much as
25 we could.

65

1 messages out to the broadest number of people throughout
2 the pandemic.

3 **Q.** So just to be completely clear, when you say that that
4 was an omission, do you mean that that's an omission
5 from your statement rather than the strategy?

6 **A.** I think it's an omission from the statement. I think we
7 were cognisant of that.

8 **Q.** Thank you.

9 I'm now going to ask about engagement across the
10 four nations in terms of communications. You explain in
11 your statement that using the devolved Public Health
12 Act 1984 as the underpinning legislation for NPIs meant
13 that there was always the potential for policy
14 divergence between UK nations, and you say that this
15 made liaison between communications teams in each of the
16 four nations particularly important.

17 How did you ensure that your team had an effective
18 relationship with the UK Government and other devolved
19 governments?

20 **A.** This was absolutely -- an absolutely vital part of my
21 and my team's role in this. A lot has been spoken about
22 the potential for confusion due to different rules in
23 different parts of the UK. Very high, if not the top of
24 our list, was to ensure that people in Wales understood
25 the rules that applied to them and what the government's

67

1 **Q.** Thank you.

2 **LADY HALLETT:** If you're moving on, when you say you could
3 have done better with hindsight, what might you have
4 done better?

5 **A.** I think that that deep kind of community engagement, we
6 could have expanded potentially those street teams.
7 They were in a number of areas during the pandemic.
8 I think -- yeah, I think that was -- that would be the
9 main thing. And just how important that was in terms of
10 particularly around the vaccination programme.

11 **MS COWEN:** Thank you.

12 There is no mention of any particular efforts made
13 by your team to reach disabled communities in your
14 statement. Are you able to express a view on why that
15 might be, given that disabled people face significant
16 barriers to accessing information during the pandemic
17 and also faced significant digital exclusion?

18 **A.** Yes. That is an omission, I think. We -- as with all
19 kind of groups, they were really important. We had the
20 shielding cohort, the shielding group of people, they
21 were written to directly by the Chief Medical Officer on
22 a number of times during the pandemic, and we -- during
23 the press conferences, the First Minister and others
24 would address that kind of group directly. But,
25 you know, we were focused on getting the broadest set of

66

1 messages were.

2 As I said, at the early stages of the pandemic, in
3 fact up until, and it's been again rehearsed in front of
4 the Inquiry, mid-May 2020, there was -- we were in
5 lockstep in communications terms as much as we were in
6 policy terms. Maybe the tone of government
7 communications was different, but it was very, very
8 clear what the core underlying public health messages
9 were. During that period I think liaison was
10 constructive and worked well. The big issue came at the
11 COBR in mid-May --

12 **Q.** Can I just pause you there.

13 **A.** Yes.

14 **Q.** We may come to the COBR meeting slightly later. I just
15 want to be clear, you have emphasised the importance of
16 effective liaison. Can I just ask, what did you do to
17 ensure that your team had effective liaison at the
18 relevant time?

19 **A.** No, absolutely. There was liaison at all levels of the
20 communications teams throughout the pandemic. I had
21 contact with the UK Government's director of
22 communications. The health -- our health communications
23 teams were very closely involved with DHSC, Public
24 Health England and the other devolved administrations.
25 But the really critical point was, once the divergence

68

1 took place, we formalised a four nations communications
2 group of senior leaders, myself, the head of the
3 UK Government's Covid communications hub and the other
4 devolveds, and that would be a really, really important
5 learning from the pandemic to establish early. I cannot
6 stress that enough.

7 **Q.** Thank you.

8 The Inquiry understands from your statement that the
9 formal engagement that you describe was in fact a weekly
10 meeting with the head of the Cabinet Office Covid hub
11 and other senior staff. The Inquiry understands that
12 minutes were not taken of these meetings; is that right?

13 **A.** I don't have meeting -- minutes of those meetings. It
14 may be that -- they were convened by Cabinet Office and
15 the Covid hub. They may have minutes of the meetings.
16 My role was very much to kind of feed back, almost in
17 real time, to colleagues working on Welsh Government
18 communications and campaigns, what the latest thinking
19 and direction of travel was in Whitehall.

20 **Q.** Thank you.

21 In your statement you say that you do not recall any
22 substantial changes to Welsh Government communications
23 strategies as a result of these meetings or any changes
24 to the UK Government communications strategies as
25 a result of their impact upon Wales.

69

1 materials, that would run in Wales. So we were able to
2 look at them and advise the UK Government that if there
3 were things in there that ran counter to the rules that
4 were in place in Wales, that they could try at least to
5 not run them in Wales. That was a really important
6 point. And there was quite an important kind of
7 pastoral point as well. You know, we were all working
8 under quite a degree of stress and, you know, it
9 incredibly useful and supportive to talk to colleagues
10 who were in similar positions in the other governments
11 of the UK.

12 **Q.** Thank you.

13 In your witness statement you give the example of
14 the Hands, Face, Space ... Air campaign of March 2021 as
15 illustrating the complexity of trying to get message
16 alignment based on changing rules in each of the
17 four nations. Can you please explain why this was such
18 an instance of complexity?

19 **A.** I think again, going back to that top line of -- hands,
20 face, space, air are the key protective behaviours that
21 people needed to adopt, based on scientific and medical
22 advice, during the pandemic.

23 We had no particular issue with UK Government
24 communications and campaigns running in Wales because so
25 long as they were reinforcing the absolutely key

71

1 Now, you've already explained that you think a key
2 learning point would be to, in the event of a future
3 crisis, set up this meeting again, so it's clear that --

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **Q.** -- you think it is of value. Can you please explain why
6 you think this group was particularly beneficial?

7 **A.** Yeah, if I can just clarify on the strategies, what I'm
8 talking about there is the kind of top-level approach,
9 communications approach.

10 So we had a very distinctive approach in Wales,
11 the UK Government took a slightly different tone and
12 approach in their communications, and while it was
13 useful to understand what was behind those, these
14 meetings weren't about us telling them "You should
15 change your" --

16 **Q.** Yes.

17 **A.** There was none of that. Sorry, the question was in
18 terms of?

19 **Q.** It's what you think the benefit of --

20 **A.** Oh.

21 **Q.** Sorry, what you think the benefit of this group was.

22 **A.** Yeah -- oh, it was -- I think there were -- there were,
23 just very quickly, a number of things. Particularly
24 once we got into 2021 there was really good or much
25 better advance sharing of UK Government campaign

70

1 behaviours that people needed to keep the prevalence of
2 the virus down, that was a good thing.

3 The problem was all the content that sat underneath
4 there. So if you had images of, say, people gathering
5 outdoors and it was clearly more than six people
6 gathering outdoors, the rule in Wales at that time might
7 have been no more than six people can gather outdoors.
8 So that was the work.

9 And I have to say that Cabinet Office civil service
10 colleagues were really diligent in terms of trying to do
11 that, but we were dealing with hundreds, if not
12 thousands, of pieces of content at any given time.

13 **Q.** Thank you.

14 If I can please now turn to document INQ000282302.

15 **A.** Yeah.

16 **Q.** I see you perhaps recognise this document?

17 **A.** This is exactly what we were just talking about.

18 **Q.** Right, well, you may need to help me explain this.

19 **A.** Yes.

20 **Q.** In your statement you say that this document was
21 a spreadsheet that was circulated by the UK Government
22 relating to communications activities they planned to
23 carry out.

24 Can you recall when this spreadsheet was circulated?

25 **A.** Yes. This would have been -- so that phase 1, 29 March

72

1 in column 3, column A, would have been, I think, 2021,
2 and this indicate -- this is a really good example of
3 the fact that, after a year, we did get to a point where
4 Cabinet Office and the UK Government were very cognisant
5 of the issues that were being caused by pieces of
6 content --

7 **Q.** Yes.

8 **A.** -- giving the wrong impression to people in different
9 nations. But this is a tiny part of an even bigger and
10 more complicated spreadsheet that we've -- I wanted to
11 exhibit this just to illustrate the care that was taken
12 perhaps in the latter stages of the --

13 **Q.** Yes.

14 **A.** -- pandemic.

15 **Q.** Thank you.

16 You explain in your witness statement that this
17 spreadsheet was circulated and you or your office were
18 asked to input changes that would need to be made to
19 reflect the variations in rules across the four nations.

20 If we can, please, look to lines 1 and 2 first
21 really, moving across line 1, at column B and C, which
22 have a yellow background, we can see that the cells are
23 labelled "Wales", with column B being a yes/no option
24 and column C being headed "Dates". We can see, moving
25 across line 1, that these column headings are replicated

73

1 run in Wales, this is our -- these are the rules that it
2 need to clearly depict to avoid confusing --

3 **Q.** Yes. Thank you.

4 **LADY HALLETT:** But if you -- sorry to interrupt. But if you
5 take a UK campaign, make it specific to Wales, which
6 I understand the importance to the people of Wales, but
7 then does it have relevance to England?

8 **A.** So without going too deeply into kind of media buying --
9 so, for example, with digital campaigns, you can -- you
10 can have a number of different "meeting up again" pieces
11 of content and they can be sold into -- that one piece
12 could be sold into Welsh-facing --

13 **LADY HALLETT:** So you can tweak it to fit your different
14 audiences?

15 **A.** You could. And then that one is -- would be sold into
16 media that people in Wales might see. You know,
17 WalesOnline, ITV Wales, and it could be differentiated.

18 One of the big problems we have, if I can just make
19 this point, the problem was that the UK Government,
20 obviously the scale of what they were doing in terms of
21 their media buying, their budgets, was huge. If you buy
22 a cover wrap for The Times newspaper, so the
23 all-encompassing, there's no Welsh edition of The Times.
24 That is sold in Cardiff in the same way that it's sold
25 in London. That's --

75

1 for Scotland and Northern Ireland, and then there are
2 further columns relating to UK-wide matters.

3 Can we please look at line 26 of the spreadsheet,
4 please. So at column A, we can see the phrase "MEETING
5 UP AGAIN?" Is this row, therefore, about messaging
6 relating to meeting up again?

7 **A.** Yes. This would have been, I think, the -- a piece of
8 content that was encouraging people, as we came out of
9 the more onerous restrictions, to meet up safely.

10 **Q.** Thank you.

11 There's then more detail provided in column I of
12 line 26, so if we can just scan along to that, please.

13 Now, still on the topic of meeting up again,
14 column I states that in Scotland, things depend on
15 a child's age. In Wales, it's noted:

16 "Yes, but it should be clear that there are two
17 households -- also change line 'stick to groups of six
18 from a maximum of two households'."

19 So can you just explain what meaning should be taken
20 from this entry in the spreadsheet, please.

21 **A.** The meaning that should be taken from this entry is that
22 that piece of content would have been, would have had
23 the representation of a group of people, probably given
24 it's around meeting up. What we were effectively saying
25 to the UK Government was: if this piece of content is to

74

1 **LADY HALLETT:** So you get the same cover wrap?

2 **A.** Which would refer to English --

3 **LADY HALLETT:** Yes, I follow.

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you.

6 **MS COWEN:** Thank you.

7 Thank you for your explanation of this line on the
8 spreadsheet. We've now looked at one line out of the
9 29 lines that are on the spreadsheet. Now, I appreciate
10 some of the heading ones are column headings, but there
11 are 29 lines, each line reflects a topic about which
12 public communication was anticipated. Would it be fair
13 to say that at this point the policies across the four
14 nations were so different that clear communications to
15 the public were becoming increasingly difficult?

16 **A.** There certainly were differences, as you can say. Some
17 of them were sequencing differences, some were more
18 substantive.

19 I think -- and the focus group data and the polling
20 data I think do bear this out -- that from a reasonably
21 early period after May 2020 people in Wales became quite
22 attuned, in fact very attuned, I think, to the fact that
23 the rules that they were being asked to follow may
24 differ, and I think that was the overwhelming kind of
25 imperative that we had in our communications, was just

76

1 to illustrate those as clearly as possible.
 2 I do come back to the press conferences, they were
 3 absolutely vital. The First Minister always made it
 4 clear that if people tuned in at 12.30 every day they
 5 would hear from the Welsh Government on the key
 6 messages, the progress of the virus, and any changes to
 7 Wales would be announced by the First Minister, not by
 8 ministers in London.

9 **Q.** Thank you.
 10 You explain in your witness statement that there
 11 were occasions during the pandemic where communications
 12 and campaign materials from the UK Government were
 13 published in Wales against the wishes of Welsh
 14 ministers, and you cite the introduction of the Stay
 15 Alert messaging which was introduced in England in May
 16 of 2020 as an example of this.

17 You state that:
 18 "At this point the UK Government's media buying
 19 strategy was UK-wide."
 20 And you state that it's your recollection that both
 21 the First Minister and the First Minister of Scotland
 22 expressed opposition to the Stay Alert messaging at the
 23 COBR meeting which took place on the afternoon of
 24 10 May 2020, and expressed a view that campaign material
 25 featuring this should not be run by the UK Government in

77

1 Is it your recollection that the Stay Alert campaign
 2 was not discussed in detail in this conversation with
 3 the director of the UK Government's communications team?

4 **A.** Yes. Just to be clear that this was the Tuesday of the
 5 week that ended with the COBR on the Sunday, just to
 6 give a sense of where we are with this.

7 **Q.** Yes.
 8 **A.** It's my sense that actually the UK Government had not by
 9 this stage settled on what -- their kind of campaign
 10 approach, so I wouldn't say there was an attempt not to
 11 tell me.
 12 What you see in this email is, I think, pennies
 13 dropping in Wales and in the UK Government that the
 14 theoretical potential for divergence is about to become
 15 real, and you touched on this with Jane Runeckles
 16 earlier on.
 17 So my response to that was obviously to make sure
 18 that there was a clear record of this conversation, but
 19 then what we did was accelerate the development of our
 20 own Keep Wales Safe brand. Stay Home, Save Lives,
 21 Protect the NHS was going to be withdrawn. So this was
 22 the kind of impetus for that.
 23 On the point about Stay Alert, yes, I recall
 24 conversations very early on that Sunday morning, as we
 25 saw the Sunday Telegraph, and it was a kind of "Oh,

79

1 either Scotland or Wales, given the key message in those
 2 nations at that point was to stay home.

3 **A.** Correct.
 4 **Q.** You state that you were not given advance notice of the
 5 Stay Alert campaign prior to its introduction in England
 6 and that your recollection was that the first you were
 7 aware of this campaign was when you saw it in the
 8 Sunday Telegraph on the morning of Sunday 10 May, which
 9 was the day of the COBR meeting itself.
 10 Can we please bring up document INQ000281683,
 11 please.
 12 This is an email dated 5 May 2020, which you sent to
 13 various officials in the Welsh Government, and in this
 14 email you summarise a conversation you had with the
 15 director of UK Government communications.

16 **A.** Yes.
 17 **Q.** At the fifth paragraph of the email, you state:
 18 "It is pretty clear that after Thursday/Sunday that
 19 from the [UK Government] side 'stay home, save lives'
 20 has gone, all marketing collateral will be removed --
 21 the question is what it is replaced with. Could be
 22 something as simple as 'Stay Safe' as a strapline, with
 23 a series of sub-headings around the measures that people
 24 and businesses can take (not verbatim but
 25 an indication)."

78

1 that's what they're going with". It was then included
 2 in the papers for the COBR meeting that we received
 3 a couple of hours before on Sunday.
 4 Neither the First Minister of Wales nor the
 5 First Minister of Scotland were content with that. That
 6 led to comms colleagues in the UK Government having to
 7 unpick very rapidly -- sorry to use media buying again,
 8 but their media buying strategy.
 9 But that was also the reason, I think, that the
 10 four nations directors of comms group was set up, was in
 11 order to try to avoid that crunch that happened on
 12 Sunday's COBR.

13 **Q.** Thank you.
 14 Now, there might be an issue as to whether formal
 15 notice of the proposed policy change was given, but even
 16 if notice was not given, do you think the Welsh
 17 Government could have been more proactive in liaising
 18 with the UK Government to agree a communications
 19 strategy around this policy change?

20 **A.** Well, as you can see, we were discussing it at very kind
 21 of senior levels. It may not be in this email, but
 22 I think it might be on the next page of the email that
 23 there was an action from the GPS -- yes, if I can
 24 read --
 25 **Q.** Yes.

80

1 A. -- "For awareness, this is an action from yesterday's
2 GPS MIG, which may have prompted the call. Home Office
3 and their counterparts in devolved administrations to
4 ensure there is clear public communication of potential
5 differences following Thursday's review."

6 And that was the process. But I think, you know,
7 policy was being decided very close to the wire.
8 Equally, kind of, communications followed that as well.

9 Q. You may have answered this already, but just to cover
10 the point, would you agree that the Welsh Government
11 bears some responsibility for confusion around public
12 messaging at this point?

13 A. I don't believe so. We were very clear: we spoke to the
14 people of Wales. And we spoke to them through our
15 channels, through the press conferences, through all the
16 interviews that, you know, the First Minister and other
17 ministers did. We made sure that we didn't confine that
18 to Welsh media. So the First Minister would do hundreds
19 of interviews and -- you know, Good Morning Britain,
20 you know, BBC Breakfast, BBC network, and what we were
21 trying to do, from this -- well, before this but
22 particularly from this stage onwards, was really to
23 educate the London media about the reality of what a
24 devolved pandemic was going to look like, and we
25 invested really quite a bit of resource into doing that.

81

1 and we worked very well together.

2 Cabinet Office I think did what they could. I think
3 one area of frustration, I think it's picked up by
4 Professor Henderson in her report to Module 2, was quite
5 frequently the UK Government, the Downing Street
6 briefings, even when they were on devolved matters,
7 barely referenced England, and of course those were
8 broadcast across the BBC and other outlets that cover
9 the whole of Wales, and we did make strenuous efforts at
10 every level, including First Ministerial, to try to
11 appeal to them to be more clear.

12 We didn't have that problem in the sense that it was
13 very clear that, you know, we were speaking to people
14 in -- people in Wales.

15 Q. Thank you.

16 Could we now, please, look at document INQ000282289,
17 please. Thank you.

18 This is a report summarising the findings of a focus
19 group and the report is dated 21 May 2020. If we turn
20 to page 3 of this document, please, and the first and
21 second bullet points there, they state that:

22 "Participants voiced regret and concern that the UK
23 is no longer taking a joined-up approach to managing the
24 pandemic across all four nations.

25 "All participants voiced a strong preference for

83

1 And to be fair, as time went on, I think the London --
2 the UK-based media that we see in Wales did become much
3 better at reflecting the differences across the
4 four nations.

5 Q. Thank you.

6 We're actually going to come to that point now. I'm
7 going to ask you about some questions about
8 differentiation in communications campaigns.

9 You note in your witness statement the issue of
10 English-specific campaigns being launched in UK-wide
11 publications. You explain that:

12 "In light of this, the Cabinet Office made efforts
13 at very short notice to restrict the media buying to
14 England only, but this gave an early indication of the
15 complexity of delivering different messages to different
16 parts of the UK."

17 Is it fair then to say that the Cabinet Office did
18 attempt to help the Welsh Government and the other
19 devolved nations when it became aware of issues such as
20 these?

21 A. Yes, they did. And I have to say, my relations -- as
22 I say in my statement, but for the record, my relations
23 with civil servants in Cabinet Office and other devolved
24 administrations, even when there were policy differences
25 between administrations, were always polite, respectful

82

1 a joined-up, UK-wide ... [Document read] ... leading to
2 an increase in the spread of the virus."

3 What was your view of this feedback at the time,
4 that being May 2020?

5 A. So this was a really important kind of way of taking the
6 temperature. I think the point I would make is that the
7 Welsh Government's preference was for a joined-up
8 UK-wide response, where there would be greater,
9 you know, co-ordination of approaches between the
10 four nations. I think, as Jane Runeckles said earlier
11 on, once the 1984 Public Health Act is brought in, then
12 divergence becomes a theoretical and then a practical
13 possibility.

14 I do -- I do think -- I think later in this focus
15 group I think the participants were also very clear that
16 they favoured the Welsh more cautious approach to what
17 was happening in England, and I think that's quite
18 important to note.

19 I don't think -- if you look at the report as
20 a whole, that is not a criticism of the Welsh
21 Government, but they are voicing a preference that the
22 situation we are now in is potentially complex and
23 confusing.

24 Q. Did you take any steps to address the point raised by
25 this feedback at the time?

84

1 A. We just redoubled our efforts to make sure that people
2 in Wales had clarity about the rules as they applied to
3 them.

4 Q. Thank you.

5 LADY HALLETT: Of course it isn't just differences between
6 what the Welsh Government were doing and
7 the UK Government were doing, Scotland did things
8 differently.

9 A. Yes. Yes, no, that's entirely true. I mean, the big
10 issue that we had was the porosity of the media border,
11 particularly between England and Wales, but yes, from
12 a citizens' point of view there would also be --
13 you know, the First Minister of Scotland would be on the
14 6 o'clock news announcing a slightly different, be it
15 sequencing or set of rules. Yes.

16 MS COWEN: Thank you.

17 I'd now like to turn to ask you about Wales-specific
18 communication during the pandemic.

19 You explain in your witness statement that you took
20 a decision that communications within specific pandemic
21 related programmes would be undertaken using the
22 overarching Keep Wales Safe brand in order to build on
23 the trust and recognition that that campaign had
24 accrued. That campaign was developed by the Welsh
25 Government in May of 2020, as what you term

85

1 that we flexed it at different times. So we were
2 looking at the data modelling from TAC and TAG, and if
3 it became clear that there was a large potential second
4 or even third wave coming, we would be flexing our
5 campaign planning to have a much harder edged approach.
6 So maybe in the summer months it would be "Let's keep
7 Wales safe together", with that very cautious but more
8 permissive view on meeting up.

9 In the winter, when prevalence was higher, we moved
10 to a much harder edged "Disrupt the transmission to keep
11 Wales safe". So we, yeah, we found it to be a really,
12 kind of, useful -- you know, a really powerful approach.

13 And I just would also say how bought in our public
14 sector partners were to it, because we did it in a way
15 that enabled them to adapt that content very easily for
16 their kind of local areas with an overarching national
17 brand.

18 Q. Thank you.

19 I would just like to pick up on one thing that you
20 talked about earlier in your statement, that was the use
21 of social listening reports.

22 Can we please bring up document INQ000282290,
23 please.

24 Now, this is an example of a social listening
25 report. It's from 2 November 2020. If we go to page 1

87

1 a distinctively Welsh brand to communicate the
2 regulations in Wales.

3 Can you please explain how you arrived at the
4 decision to launch the Keep Wales Safe brand?

5 A. Yes. So this goes back to the email that we saw earlier
6 on, which was, at the point of divergence, we couldn't
7 simply -- at that point it was not tenable or correct to
8 follow UK Government messaging, and if there was to be
9 broader divergence, then it needed to be very clear to
10 people in Wales who -- that we were speaking to them.

11 Keep Wales Safe was a phrase that I think the
12 First Minister had been using in some of his even quite
13 early press conferences, and what we found interesting
14 was, in our focus groups, when we asked people "What do
15 you want? What do you want from your government?"
16 overwhelmingly they said "We want to be kept safe and we
17 want our families to be safe".

18 So we then worked that up very rapidly in May into
19 a campaign, we tested that back with the focus groups,
20 and there was -- they said "Yes, this speaks to us in
21 terms of a Welsh identity but also, you know, the
22 imperative that we want". And I think that enabled us
23 to have an umbrella brand across all our, kind of,
24 communications activities across all sectors.

25 The really important thing with Keep Wales Safe is

86

1 of the document, under the heading "Topic mentions in
2 Wales", we can see there the nature of the summaries
3 produced by the social listening research. If we can go
4 to the bottom of page 1, under the heading "Firebreak",
5 we can then see snapshots of the top issues that have
6 been picked up on.

7 Is it fair to say that the social listening exercise
8 produces a very high-level summary and then pulls out
9 specific quotations?

10 You mentioned earlier that you thought these reports
11 were particularly useful -- can you explain, is that
12 right? Did you mean to say that or have I misconstrued
13 you?

14 A. No, they were useful. I think with social monitoring
15 they are a useful general indicator of sentiment, but
16 I think we would never advise ministers and our senior
17 officials, you know, to treat them as being necessarily
18 representative of public sentiment as a whole. It is
19 a useful additional and quite immediate tool, alongside
20 polling and focus groups, but also the feedback that we
21 were getting from our partners as to sentiment on the
22 ground in relation to --

23 Q. I see.

24 A. -- for example, compliance with regulations.

25 Q. Thank you.

88

1 I'd now like to ask some specific questions about
2 the public messaging campaigns implemented during the
3 pandemic.

4 If I may, please, begin by asking: why was the focus
5 of public messaging on protecting the NHS and not on
6 other sectors, for example care homes?

7 **A.** So that campaign was very much a UK Government campaign,
8 that's ... it was launched I think in -- you know, in
9 March. I -- my understanding is that the -- from what
10 I've read, the polling that they were doing, because
11 they did even more kind of polling and focus grouping
12 than we did, indicated that the -- a primary driver of
13 people's behaviours were to protect the NHS and, in
14 order to gain the kind of compliance with the
15 regulations and the stay-home rules, that that would be
16 the primary driver. But we weren't closely involved in
17 the development of that campaign, we assisted with the
18 way that it ran in Wales.

19 **Q.** Thank you.

20 Second, were communications always delivered in the
21 Welsh language? Do you consider there was parity with
22 English language communications?

23 **A.** Yes. We took bilingualism -- well, we have a statutory
24 responsibility as a government to communicate in both
25 languages and not treat one less favourably than the

89

1 I'd now like to ask some questions about the
2 effectiveness of Wales' communications strategy.

3 You explain in your witness statement that your
4 focus group work and your polling enabled you to assess
5 the extent to which the messages and communications were
6 resonating with the public, and the extent to which
7 people were accessing those messages and the likely
8 reaction to potential future restrictions in different
9 circumstances.

10 Can we please bring up document INQ000066103,
11 please.

12 This is a further focus group report, and this
13 group -- this report, sorry, is dated 13 May of 2020.

14 Could we please turn to page 2. Thank you, I see
15 that we have that.

16 That is a summary of the key findings. I would just
17 like to look at two in particular.

18 The first is at paragraph 4, and that states that:

19 "Despite some initial confusion, participants felt
20 the distinction between UK and Welsh Governmental
21 announcements is relatively clear."

22 To what extent do you consider that that was due to
23 your communications strategy?

24 **A.** As I've said to the Inquiry, that was our objective and
25 it was -- it was good to see that being reflected in

91

1 other. Yeah, it was -- and one of the things that we
2 did was, and we've kind of built on this since the
3 pandemic, is rather than just slavishly translate
4 English into Welsh, you can actually have more, kind of,
5 Welsh idioms that would appeal to, kind of, Welsh
6 speakers as well. So, yes, it was a really important
7 part of our work.

8 **Q.** Thank you. Reports provided to the Inquiry have also
9 commented on how the government's use of the term
10 "following the science" was very damaging. To what
11 extent was this a message that featured in the Welsh
12 Government's communications strategy?

13 **A.** I wouldn't necessarily say it was part of the strategy.
14 It was used by ministers at, kind of, press conferences
15 and in interviews. From my point of view, having seen
16 how carefully ministers weighed the, kind of, scientific
17 and medical advice that was in front of them, they --
18 that was their decision to use that.

19 **Q.** Do you have a view on the impact of -- that kind of
20 messaging had on the accountability of political
21 decision-makers and the public perception of who made
22 decisions?

23 **A.** I think it was very, very clear who was accountable for
24 the decisions made in Wales through our communications.

25 **Q.** Thank you.

90

1 the -- back to us in the focus groups.

2 **Q.** Thank you.

3 Could we now, please, bring up document
4 INQ000327735, please.

5 This is Dr Goodall's statement.

6 Can we, please, turn to paragraph 463, which is at
7 page 115 of the statement. Thank you.

8 In this part of Dr Goodall's statement, he
9 summarises the reach of the Keep Wales Safe campaign.
10 He states that it was significant:

11 "... for example, between April and September 2021,
12 it reached the following percentages of the Welsh
13 population ..."

14 And there is therein set out a breakdown of
15 different groups and how the messaging was being
16 received.

17 Of note, in relation to the C2, D and E groups, the
18 reach is 93.45%, that's in fact the lowest percentage in
19 the summary. Why do you think the campaign had the
20 lowest reach amongst individuals in those groups?

21 **A.** I couldn't say for sure. What I would say is that these
22 reach numbers are very, very high across the board for
23 any other campaign that a government would run. I'm not
24 sure, it could be a mix of the media buy, but -- no,
25 these are very, very high numbers generally.

92

1 Q. Thank you.
 2 If we then, please, look at paragraph 464 of the
 3 statement, that's at page 116, thank you.
 4 This states that in the tracker poll carried out in
 5 mid-August of 2021, awareness of Keep Wales Safe peaked
 6 at 81% of all adults in Wales.
 7 Do you have a view on why this figure is lower than
 8 the figures in the previous paragraph?
 9 A. Yes. So reach -- reach is a theoretical percentage that
 10 is generated by -- if a campaign runs across these
 11 channels at this frequency, that is what the reach of
 12 the campaign is. Awareness, which is really important,
 13 is more along the lines of: if you ask people to
 14 spontaneously say what is the Welsh Government's key
 15 message or what is their campaign, if they reply to you
 16 "It's Keep Wales Safe", that is the awareness level, and
 17 81% is very good for that, for any campaign.
 18 LADY HALLETT: So, putting it -- again, sorry, to go back to
 19 Scotland, but just so I'm following. So I heard a bit
 20 in Scotland about the FACTS campaign and so, had
 21 I looked at the reach figures, they might have been
 22 quite high because that was the theoretical number that
 23 the campaign --
 24 A. Yes.
 25 LADY HALLETT: But then when people were asked if they

93

1 A. Yeah.
 2 Q. I don't propose to read the message out, but you can see
 3 certainly the text of the message and the concerns that
 4 are raised regarding co-ordination.
 5 Do you agree that co-ordination and consistency
 6 between the different parts of the Welsh Government at
 7 a time of increasing concern around the virus was
 8 vitally important?
 9 A. My recollection of this period was, it wasn't so much
 10 co-ordination of the government's approach to tackling
 11 the virus, my recollection is that different -- we were
 12 at a stage when the questions around whether people
 13 should work from home or not were becoming very, very
 14 live. I think it was more there were some departments
 15 that were telling their staff "You should work from
 16 home", others saying "No, come into the office",
 17 I think, and I think the concern -- because we had to
 18 be, you know, an exemplar, as a Welsh Government, in
 19 terms of that, and I think -- I think it was more
 20 around, kind of, the internal processes.
 21 Q. So would you agree that an inconsistent approach from
 22 within the Welsh Government would have also been
 23 confusing for the public and would impact on public
 24 perception as regards the severity of the virus and
 25 trust in the government?

95

1 understood what FACTS stood for --
 2 A. Yes.
 3 LADY HALLETT: -- they didn't.
 4 A. They didn't. So that would be --
 5 LADY HALLETT: So that's the awareness figure?
 6 A. That would be more on the awareness figure, yes.
 7 I mean, our decision was we used Keep Wales Safe as
 8 an umbrella brand, as I said, and the protective
 9 behaviours would sit underneath there rather than have
 10 an acronym.
 11 LADY HALLETT: Sorry to interrupt.
 12 MS COWEN: Thank you.
 13 If I could now ask for document INQ000388424 is
 14 brought up, please.
 15 I'm sorry, I think that's probably a mistake.
 16 LADY HALLETT: It's all been redacted.
 17 MS COWEN: Sections of it have.
 18 If I can ask you, please, to look at a message on
 19 page 2, please, and this is a message of 14 March 2020
 20 that is timed at 14.48.39.
 21 This is a message between you and Shan Morgan on
 22 WhatsApp, and in this message there is reference to
 23 concerns being raised about co-ordination and
 24 inconsistency of approach between different parts of the
 25 government.

94

1 A. Yes, I think that was the concern.
 2 Q. Can I please then just ask you to look at the message at
 3 14.57.07. Shan Morgan therefore says:
 4 "OK -- Thanks. Sometimes inconsistency is actually
 5 flexibility."
 6 Why would you agree with that statement given what
 7 you've just said?
 8 A. It ... this was a -- so there were people ... I think
 9 a blanket work from home -- there were -- there were
 10 some of us who attended the office throughout most of
 11 the pandemic on the basis that there needed to be really
 12 close -- and things were moving so quickly that there
 13 needed to be really close, kind of, co-ordination, so
 14 I guess there was an element of there needed to be some
 15 flexibility that people -- people could. But, you know,
 16 I think the point about consistency is really important.
 17 MS COWEN: Thank you very much.
 18 Thank you, my Lady, that concludes my questions.
 19 LADY HALLETT: Thank you very much.
 20 I think there's a question or questions.
 21 Questions from MS HEAVEN
 22 MS HEAVEN: Good afternoon, I think, Mr Mason. My name is
 23 Kirsten Heaven and I represent the Covid-19 Bereaved
 24 Families for Justice Cymru. So can I start with the
 25 topic of face coverings, please.

96

1 The day is 9 June and it's the day of
 2 Vaughan Gething's press statements on face coverings.
 3 No doubt you will remember that, but just to give us all
 4 a quick reminder: five days before, the UK Government
 5 had announced face coverings were mandatory on public
 6 transport in England, and in this statement obviously we
 7 know Vaughan Gething is simply saying that face
 8 coverings will be recommended where social distancing is
 9 not possible.
 10 You're nodding your head, no doubt you remember that
 11 well.

12 **A.** I do.

13 **Q.** Thank you. So we have some very clear divergence there.

14 Before I ask you about your email communications on
 15 that day trying to sort out the press statement, can
 16 I just ask you to confirm -- we've seen some WhatsApps,
 17 I put them to Shan Morgan, we understand they're with
 18 you but your number, I think, was redacted.

19 **A.** Yes, that's correct.

20 **Q.** Yes. So can I just ask you, just if we could bring them
 21 up on screen, just so we can confirm you are the person
 22 speaking to Shan Morgan.

23 It's INQ000388424-004.

24 My Lady this is the communication around banging of
 25 heads on the morning of the 9th and "face mask

97

1 should wear a face covering, but it also recommended
 2 medical masks for vulnerable populations. So that was
 3 people over 60 with underlying health conditions.

4 So let's look at the series of emails between
 5 yourself, Fliss Bennee and others trying to sort out the
 6 press statement on the day Vaughan Gething gives his
 7 announcement.

8 So it's INQ000215458, and it's 0007, please. Sorry,
 9 let's start at 0006.

10 Now, this is the email from yourself there. I'm
 11 just going to read it to you. Has it come up on the
 12 screen? This is the --

13 **A.** -- yes.

14 **Q.** So you say:

15 "I'm really concerned about the handling of the 1230
 16 press conference following the 9am call. I don't
 17 believe ... [Document read] ... sectoral guidance,
 18 developed with stakeholders ..."

19 Okay. Now, you appear to be concerned here that if
 20 the Welsh Government were to go out in public on 9 June,
 21 so in other words Vaughan Gething, and on the website,
 22 and tell the vulnerable people in Wales that the WHO are
 23 now recommending that they should have medical grade
 24 masks, that this would cause really major implications
 25 for policy; is that right? That was your concern at

99

1 militancy".

2 **(Pause)**

3 So if we can just zoom in, please, it's quite hard
 4 to see, it's at the very bottom. There we go:

5 "Hope all goes well at the press conference -- it
 6 all sounded a bit muddled ..."

7 Then we think it's you said:

8 "A number of heads banged ahead together ... thrown
 9 as narrow a ring around it has I possibly can to avoid
 10 all the knock ons. Still pretty worried. Transport
 11 colleagues in the loop from the TFW side."

12 Is that you?

13 **A.** That is, yes.

14 **Q.** Thank you very much. Well, I'm not going to ask you
 15 about that.

16 **A.** Ah, okay.

17 **Q.** It's just to correct the record so that we know that
 18 it's the director of communications that's speaking to
 19 Shan Morgan.

20 **A.** Yeah.

21 **Q.** So, again, before I get the email up that I'm allowed to
 22 ask you about, a little bit more context.

23 5 June, the World Health Organisation publishes
 24 advice on face coverings, and we know that it
 25 recommended that government should be saying that you

98

1 this point in time?

2 **A.** Yes, that's what the email says, yes.

3 **Q.** What we know eventually happened is that a press
 4 statement went out. I think probably Vaughan Gething
 5 has given his statement to the public. He makes no
 6 mention that the WHO are telling vulnerable people to
 7 have medical masks. We'll come on to that in a moment.

8 But the press statement that goes on to the
 9 government website is just a few pages up. So if you
 10 scroll up, please, there is a few iterations but the
 11 final version that goes out is at 002, and it goes on to
 12 003.

13 So if we can just look at 002 there:

14 "Three-layer face coverings ..."

15 And 003, it goes down.

16 Now, we don't need to read it but you can take it
 17 from me that there is no reference in this press
 18 statement to the fact that the WHO were recommending
 19 that vulnerable people should have access to medical
 20 masks.

21 Can you assist us with why that was the case and was
 22 that on your advice, that that information should not go
 23 to the Welsh public?

24 **A.** So, I'm kind of reading this as we go along.

25 **Q.** I appreciate that, yes.

100

1 **A.** If we were -- this statement says we're following WHO
2 advice, I would assume that that recommendation is that
3 people in Wales should wear three-layer face coverings.
4 In the previous email that we looked at there was
5 reference to a TAG paper, the Technical Advisory Group
6 paper.

7 **Q.** Yes, I'll come on to that in a moment, because that
8 piece of information is also missing from the TAG paper
9 and I was going to ask you about that separately.

10 **A.** Okay.

11 **Q.** If we just focus on the initial question --

12 **A.** Yes.

13 **Q.** -- which is that the WHO, we know, was saying vulnerable
14 people had to have access to medical grade masks. It's
15 missing from Vaughan Gething's press statement, it's
16 missing from the press statement on the Welsh Government
17 website. So I'm just seeking your assistance as to
18 whether or not that was on your advice, because
19 obviously I've just read to you an email which says that
20 the issue of medical grade masks "will be pushed beyond
21 today".

22 So I'm just seeking to understand, is that something
23 that you advised needed to stay out of the press
24 statements, needed to not be given to the Welsh public
25 and pushed to a later date?

101

1 masks. Now, that was the final version that was
2 published. But what I want to understand from you is:
3 do you recollect, was there an earlier version of the
4 TAG paper which did talk about vulnerable people having
5 access to medical masks?

6 The reason I ask you that is because if we look at
7 your email again, and that's at 0007, it does reference
8 the TAG paper "bringing a huge number of queries and
9 demands like the provision of medical grade masks to
10 vulnerable people".

11 So that would seem to suggest that at one point
12 there was a TAG paper talking about vulnerable people
13 having medical masks, and that that might have then been
14 removed from the one that was eventually published. Can
15 you assist on that?

16 **A.** So I was not closely involved with development of TAG
17 papers, I didn't sit on TAG, I don't -- I don't recall.
18 This is kind of a note after a discussion. But, again,
19 whatever TAG published in the end was their
20 responsibility.

21 **Q.** Okay. And you could only work on that, presumably,
22 because you're not the scientist, essentially?

23 **A.** I'm definitely not a scientist.

24 **MS HEAVEN:** No.

25 My Lady, I've got one more question. Have I got

103

1 **A.** I -- we have this email -- I don't know what the
2 sequence of events were on this morning. What I do know
3 is that while there were, kind of -- I could give
4 communications advice about the way particular things
5 would land, ultimately this would have been signed off
6 by Fliss Bennee and others as being the correct
7 government position.

8 **Q.** Would you accept from me, looking at your email, it's
9 very clear, isn't it, that you knew that the WHO were
10 talking about vulnerable people needing access to
11 medical grade masks? You obviously knew that on that
12 day, didn't you? It's in your email.

13 **A.** I presume I did from the email. I don't -- again,
14 I haven't gone back and looked at the WHO advice itself
15 at this stage.

16 **Q.** Would you have drafted Vaughan Gething's statement to
17 the press that day?

18 **A.** No.

19 **Q.** Who would have drafted that then?

20 **A.** It would have been drafted by the relevant press
21 officer, I think.

22 **Q.** And I did say I was going to assist you on the TAG
23 paper. So the TAG paper that was eventually published
24 on 9 June made no reference to the WHO recommendation
25 that vulnerable people should have access to medical

102

1 time?

2 **LADY HALLETT:** Yes, certainly.

3 **MS HEAVEN:** Let's just get through these very quickly then,
4 so -- they're just straight questions, you'll be pleased
5 to hear.

6 Why were media communications initially so focused
7 on hand washing, with no focus on Covid-19 being
8 airborne and asymptomatic? So we're looking here at
9 March to June 2020.

10 **A.** That was the scientific advice from SAGE and the chief
11 medical officers at the time.

12 **Q.** Okay.

13 Again, was there any discussion on public messaging
14 around mitigation for airborne or asymptomatic
15 transmission? So do you remember when that discussion
16 came in?

17 **A.** Ventilation -- I don't remember exactly when ventilation
18 became a greater issue, I remember it becoming more and
19 more important. And that's why I think we referred to
20 it earlier on, HF -- Hands, Face, Space ... Air came in.
21 I would say on that that we incorporated that into our
22 messaging, but it was a good example, that
23 the UK Government worked up a campaign called let's Stop
24 Covid Hanging Around, it was quite a dramatic campaign,
25 and that was an example of a campaign that we were very

104

1 happy to run in Wales by the UK Government because it
 2 addressed one of the key emerging preventative
 3 behaviours.

4 **Q.** Finally, in late 2021 the Welsh Government ran its Stop
 5 Covid Hanging Around campaign and that was by that stage
 6 to stress that Covid was airborne, so did you ensure
 7 that the Welsh Government's communication on this was
 8 aligned with Public Health Wales and NHS Wales
 9 communications to challenge any misleading or confusing
 10 guidance from Public Health Wales that might not have
 11 aligned with what the Welsh Government were saying?

12 **A.** I wasn't aware of any advice that didn't align with
 13 that. As I say, this was a good example of, as the
 14 science developed and the understanding of the virus
 15 developed, the communications adapted with it.

16 **MS HEAVEN:** Okay, thank you very much.
 17 Thank you, my Lady.

18 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Ms Heaven.
 19 Ms Foubister.

20 **Questions from MS FOUBISTER**

21 **MS FOUBISTER:** Thank you, my Lady.
 22 Good morning, Mr Mason, I represent John's Campaign
 23 and Care Rights UK.
 24 In your witness statement and today you've spoken
 25 about communication with the vulnerable groups, and you

105

1 the director of social services. What communications
 2 would have come from them in relation to things that
 3 might affect the care sector?

4 **A.** I don't know specifically, my role was around the kind
 5 of -- the entirety of external communications, but
 6 I would imagine that there was -- that information -- as
 7 knowledge of the virus and its impact developed, that
 8 there would be communication at that level between the
 9 Welsh Government, Care Forum Wales and the sector more
 10 generally.

11 **Q.** So it wasn't part of your role specifically to deal with
 12 communications for the care sector specifically?

13 **A.** No.

14 **Q.** Are you aware that concerns have been raised that
 15 communications relevant to the care sector were
 16 inconsistent, confusing and unclear?

17 **A.** I wasn't aware of that specifically.

18 **Q.** Then you might not be able to help with my next
 19 question, but do you have any ideas about what could be
 20 done to improve clarity of communications with the
 21 care sector?

22 **A.** I don't -- I don't, in terms of that sort of specific
 23 sector. What I do know is that we tried at all times to
 24 be very, very clear in all our communications to the
 25 whole country about what the level of risk was and the

107

1 referred to particular efforts with black, Asian and
 2 minority ethnic communities given the disproportionate
 3 impact of Covid-19 on them.

4 Were you aware that Covid-19 and its response had
 5 a disproportionate impact on the care sector,
 6 for example that in the first three months of the
 7 pandemic nearly 40% of Covid deaths were of people in
 8 care homes?

9 **A.** Yes, I mean, the issue of care homes was very live
 10 within the government, yes.

11 **Q.** What particular efforts were made to communicate with
 12 those involved in the care sector, be it carers, people
 13 being cared for at home or living in care homes? Were
 14 particular efforts made, and if so what were then?

15 **A.** So if I divide that into two quick parts. Obviously all
 16 our campaign work around preventative behaviours was
 17 aimed at the entire population, which would include
 18 those working in care homes. Where there were more
 19 specific, kind of, technical, sector-specific advice to
 20 those working in care homes and those operating
 21 care homes, they would have come on a, kind of,
 22 stakeholder basis from the director of social services
 23 within the Welsh Government out into those -- out into
 24 that sector.

25 **Q.** So you refer to specific stakeholder perspective from

106

1 steps people could take to protect themselves.

2 **Q.** Did you have any expert advice on the communication
 3 needs of people in the care sector?

4 **A.** Not to my knowledge.

5 **Q.** Finally, was there a single person who was responsible
 6 for ensuring that guidance and communications relating
 7 to restrictions were clear and consistent?

8 **A.** Do you mean for the care sector or more generally?

9 **Q.** In general or the care sector specifically.

10 **A.** In general terms, we as a government had a collective
 11 responsibility for making sure that the communications
 12 around regulations and behaviours were clear. On the
 13 care sector more specifically, that would sit, I think,
 14 with probably the relevant Welsh Government department
 15 or the local authority director of social services.

16 **Q.** Do you think it might be helpful going forward for there
 17 to be someone specific targeted with ensuring clear
 18 consistency in communications for future situations like
 19 this?

20 **A.** Yes, I mean, I -- that was ultimately my responsibility
 21 and the responsibility of the wider government.

22 **MS FOUBISTER:** Thank you.
 23 Thank you, my Lady.

24 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much.
 25 Thank you very much, Mr Mason. I think we've put

108

1 you through the difficult task of marking your own
2 homework for long enough, so thank you for your help.

3 (The witness withdrew)

4 **LADY HALLETT:** I shall return at 1.45.
5 (12.50 pm)

6 (The short adjournment)

7 (1.45 pm)

8 **LADY HALLETT:** I hope we haven't kept you waiting.

9 **THE WITNESS:** Not at all.

10 **MR POOLE:** Can I call Simon Hart, please.

11 **MR SIMON HART (sworn)**

12 **Questions from LEAD COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY for MODULE 2B**

13 **MR POOLE:** Could you please start by giving us your full
14 name.

15 **A.** Yes, Simon Anthony Hart.

16 **Q.** Mr Hart, thank you for attending today and for your
17 evidence and assisting the Tribunal.

18 If I can ask you to just keep your voice up so that
19 I can hear you, so that everyone hears you, but also so
20 your evidence can be recorded.

21 If I do ask you something that you don't understand,
22 just ask me to rephrase it.

23 If we could, please, have a look at your witness
24 statement, please, at INQ000270271.

25 That is dated 30 August. Now, we just need to make
109

1 explore with you the relationship between the
2 UK Government and the Welsh Government during the
3 pandemic.

4 So during the period with which we are concerned,
5 namely January 2020 to May 2022, you were the
6 Secretary of State for Wales and David TC Davies was the
7 Parliamentary Undersecretary of State for Wales; is that
8 right?

9 **A.** Correct.

10 **Q.** You tell us at paragraph 8 of your witness statement
11 that the office of the Secretary of State Wales has only
12 a very small number of policy responsibilities, you say
13 most notably as custodians of the Welsh devolution
14 settlement, ensuring its smooth and effective operation.

15 Now, the Inquiry last week heard evidence from
16 Professor Wincott about the devolution settlement.
17 I don't want to get into a discussion with you about
18 devolution. It is right, though, as Secretary of State
19 for Wales, you were responsible, were you not, for
20 representing Wales' interests in matters that are
21 reserved to the UK Government?

22 **A.** Correct.

23 **Q.** You were also responsible for ensuring that the concerns
24 and priorities of Wales are taken into account in the
25 decision-making of the UK Government; is that right?
111

1 one correction to that.

2 If we can have paragraph 12, thank you very much.

3 You refer in the second and third sentence there to
4 attending a tabletop exercise held on 12 February 2020,
5 but I understand, having considered this further and
6 having seen the minutes of that tabletop, you can now
7 confirm that you did not attend that exercise, so we
8 should just score through those second and third
9 sentences of that paragraph; is that right?

10 **A.** Correct.

11 **Q.** Subject to those corrections, are the contents of those
12 statements true to the best of your knowledge and
13 belief?

14 **A.** Correct.

15 **Q.** Mr Hart, you are currently the Chief Whip of the House
16 of Commons, and MP for Carmarthen West and South
17 Pembrokeshire. You previously, though, served as
18 Secretary of State for Wales from December 2019 until
19 July 2022; is that right?

20 **A.** Correct.

21 **Q.** It's in that capacity, as Secretary of State for Wales,
22 that you were asked to provide a statement to this
23 module. If I can, I would like to ask some general
24 questions about the role of the Secretary of State for
25 Wales and also the Wales Office, before moving on to
110

1 **A.** That's also correct.

2 **Q.** In your witness statement, you say:

3 "[The Wales Office] was not responsible for making
4 key policy or operational decisions in response to the
5 pandemic ... in England or Wales ..."

6 But you say you had a:

7 "... crucial role during the Specified Period in
8 ensuring Wales was fully considered in UK Government
9 decision making relating to the pandemic response,
10 feeding in views and opinions from Wales and, so far as
11 we were able, ensuring co-operative working between the
12 UK Government and the Welsh Government."

13 Is that right?

14 **A.** That's also right.

15 **Q.** And that's how you saw your role during the relevant
16 period?

17 **A.** Correct.

18 **Q.** The Secretary of State for Wales is a member of the
19 UK Cabinet; correct?

20 **A.** Correct.

21 **Q.** You also attended COBR meetings during the pandemic?

22 **A.** Correct.

23 **Q.** Was the expectation that you would serve effectively as
24 the voice of Wales at UK Cabinet meetings?

25 **A.** Not exclusively, because Welsh Government was -- not at
112

1 a lot of the COBR meetings, but at cabinet, yes.

2 **Q.** So at cabinet you are the voice for Wales --

3 **A.** Correct.

4 **Q.** -- but at COBR, because it wasn't just you representing

5 Wales there, sometimes it would be the First Minister,

6 the minister for health?

7 **A.** Indeed.

8 **Q.** I want to ask you next some questions about

9 intergovernmental relations, and that's a topic I'll

10 come back to a bit later on when I look at certain

11 periods during the pandemic, but just generally I think

12 you were aware that the UK Government and the devolved

13 administrations concluded at an intergovernmental review

14 of intergovernmental relations -- it was January 2022

15 that a report was published.

16 If we can have INQ000083215, thank you. First page,

17 third paragraph, please.

18 As it says in this paragraph:

19 "Following a review of intergovernmental relations

20 this document sets out new structures and ways of

21 working."

22 If I can just have a look at, I think it's page 3,

23 paragraph 11, we see there these new what are called

24 "Engagement Structures", so in other words the

25 intergovernmental relations framework that is to

113

1 three of those tiers.

2 **Q.** Do you have a view how this new set of arrangements set

3 out and described here, this three-tier system, whether

4 that would be effective at managing intergovernmental

5 relations were there to be a future pandemic?

6 **A.** It's -- one of the things I think we will come to is

7 whether the process and the outcomes totally overlapped.

8 I'm not sure that this current structure necessarily

9 does -- would achieve that, for reasons that we'll come

10 to. I think it's a step in the right direction.

11 I think the arrival, actually, of Michael Gove on the

12 scene to oversee these processes did make a profound

13 difference to the way the various governments in the UK

14 worked together. So I think it's an important piece of

15 work, but I don't think it's the magic solution that

16 everybody's looking for, either in terms of pandemic

17 control or indeed any of the other policy areas which we

18 wrestle with and where devolution ends and where

19 reserved matter begin. And I think one of the things

20 which dawned on us during all of this is nothing is

21 truly devolved and nothing is truly reserved.

22 **Q.** You have touched on the calls with Michael Gove, the

23 so-called CDL calls.

24 **A.** Yeah.

25 **Q.** You're aware that the First Minister was a very vocal

115

1 supersede the Joint Ministerial Committee system, and

2 this provides a three-tier committee structure.

3 So top tier of engagement we have the Prime Minister

4 and heads of devolved governments council. Then if we

5 can zoom out we can see the middle tiers there

6 consistent of a general inter-ministerial standing

7 committee, and the finance inter-ministerial standing

8 committee. And then if we can zoom out again, the

9 lowest tier is -- consists of inter-ministerial groups.

10 Just help me, where does the Wales Office fit into

11 this new three-tier committee structure?

12 **A.** It fits into all of it, if that's not an evasive answer,

13 because the Wales Office has different levels of

14 responsibility, different levels of ministerial rank, as

15 you said, starting with cabinet but also across a lot --

16 a number of cabinet committees and other government

17 committees as well.

18 It's also -- its relationship with other government

19 departments, OGR -- OGTs, I think we call them, is quite

20 relevant in all of this, because we -- therefore there

21 is a sort of interlocking role that the Wales Office

22 plays. But actually most of it is all conducted at

23 official level. I think some of it's -- only two

24 ministers, as you know, in the Wales -- so most of this

25 is done at official level, and that spreads across all

114

1 advocate for what he described as a reliable and regular

2 pattern of contact between all four nations, and

3 the Inquiry's heard evidence that those CDL calls, the

4 calls between First Ministers of the devolved

5 administrations and Mr Gove, began in around June 2020.

6 You attended those calls; is that right?

7 **A.** Yep.

8 **Q.** Now, given that Mr Gove was leading on those calls on

9 behalf of the UK Government, what was the purpose of

10 your attendance on those calls?

11 **A.** He tried to include as many different, I suppose,

12 political stakeholders, you could call them, as

13 possible, so it made absolute sense to him that any

14 government department which had a -- which was active in

15 any of the devolved nations should be part of those

16 calls. For example -- I think DWP, for example, would

17 have been a part of that, say, as a major part of the

18 Welsh economy. So he would have had as many people --

19 the cast list was always quite big, but it was

20 deliberately big.

21 **Q.** Would the cast list change depending on the topic that

22 was to be discussed on the call or was the cast list

23 effectively --

24 **A.** It might do by a -- but not by much --

25 **Q.** But you --

116

1 A. -- might be occasions -- I think there would have been
2 occasions, actually, when we weren't included but Welsh
3 Government were. I definitely remember that in COBR,
4 there were occasions when it was considered that the
5 most crucial decision-making body would have been Welsh
6 Government, therefore there wasn't any point in the
7 Wales Office being there. That was fine, completely
8 accepted that, and that was a decision which was taken
9 just according to the agenda and the way in which the
10 disease control was going at the time.

11 MR POOLE: Mr Hart, you're talking quite quickly and I'm
12 told that the stenographer is finding it quite difficult
13 to record your evidence.

14 LADY HALLETT: It's very difficult to change one's speech
15 patterns, I know.

16 A. I shall slow down.

17 LADY HALLETT: I think you just have to breathe a lot more.

18 MR POOLE: Now, the First Minister in his written evidence
19 to the Inquiry has described these meetings, so these
20 meetings and calls with Mr Gove, as working well,
21 because, he says, all participants came together looking
22 to share information, solve problems and work together
23 on agendas of common concern.

24 Do you share the view of the First Minister?

25 A. Yeah, I think by and large that's fairly accurate.

117

1 responsibility that he did, it was actually much more
2 productive for him to be the person who chaired those
3 meetings and who had those direct relationships with the
4 First Ministers than the Prime Minister himself.
5 I think it made perfect sense.

6 Q. Now, as Secretary of State for Wales, you obviously want
7 to ensure that the concerns and priorities of Wales are
8 taken into account in the decision-making of the
9 UK Government, and as we discussed earlier that was one
10 of your roles as Secretary of State for Wales.

11 Did you consider these calls with Mr Gove
12 an adequate replacement for meetings that would have
13 taken place, for example, under the JBC(sic)?

14 A. Well, the manner in which they took place, which was
15 largely remote, was inevitable because we were subject
16 to Covid restrictions.

17 I thought the meetings were quite productive. Gove
18 chaired them well. They covered the subjects which we
19 needed to cover and there was significant official
20 activity in the run-up and in the aftermath of those
21 meetings. So even though the meetings themselves might
22 have been relatively brief and reasonably crisp, what
23 they covered and the decisions they reached were, as
24 I say, by and large one of those activities of activity
25 I don't remember too many people complaining about at

119

1 I think in many respects they worked better than a lot
2 of people were anticipating. Also, given there was
3 a wide range of views on our Covid response, expressed
4 by a lot of people with some very polarised political
5 opinions, it was remarkable that they worked as well as
6 they did.

7 Q. So this is possibly one of the more positive examples of
8 intergovernmental relations during the course of the
9 pandemic?

10 A. Yeah, I think I'd agree with that.

11 Q. Mr Johnson has said in his written evidence to
12 the Inquiry that he chose not to meet with the
13 First Ministers because, in his view, this would have
14 been optically wrong for fear that this would give
15 a false impression that the UK was a federal state.
16 Now, wearing your Secretary of State hat, what's your
17 reaction to that statement of Mr Johnson's?

18 A. I think it made sense. It made sense at the time and
19 when I re-read it now it still makes sense. There had
20 to be some kind of structure. There was probably no
21 structure that everybody would have agreed with, but if
22 the PM was the field marshal, Gove was the general, and
23 there needed to be some kind of pyramid which people
24 understood and could refer to, and it was quite right
25 that, with CDL, Michael Gove being -- having the wide

118

1 the time.

2 Q. I think, just for the transcript, I think I said JBC;
3 I obviously mean JMC.

4 A. Yeah.

5 Q. Now, we'll come to look at some of the letters you
6 exchanged with the First Minister during the pandemic
7 a little later in your evidence, but how often would you
8 actually speak with the First Minister of Wales during
9 the pandemic?

10 A. Quite rarely. We would have been on the same calls from
11 time to time. We would have been in the same COBR
12 meetings from time to time. Did we have a regular
13 dialogue of phone calls on a, you know, pre-determined
14 date? No, we didn't. But actually I don't think we
15 needed to, and I think sometimes there's a sort of
16 belief that -- in my world -- that meetings are the cure
17 for everything, but actually we met when we needed to.
18 People met when they needed to, hopefully no more, and
19 certainly no less. So, yeah, we spoke, but, as I say,
20 there was no regular pattern to that.

21 Q. In light of your answer to that question it might be
22 that you agree with the First Minister on this point.
23 The First Minister in his written evidence has described
24 you as being peripheral to his interaction with the
25 UK Government. Now, have you got any comment on that?

120

1 A. It's an interesting expression. I don't necessarily
2 disagree with it because the point of contact was CDL to
3 the First Minister, so that was fine. We were there,
4 ourselves, the Scottish secretary, and one or two of
5 those were there for a slightly different reason, so
6 that -- I'm not parochial about that point. I think
7 I might have phrased it differently but I don't disagree
8 fundamentally.

9 Q. I would like to ask you next about the period leading up
10 to the first national lockdown. The impression one gets
11 from reading your witness statement is that it wasn't
12 until mid-March that, to use your words, the gears of
13 governments changed and the focus shifted to managing
14 the pandemic. Is that a fair reading of your evidence?

15 A. Oh, it was definitely the case that in the early stages
16 of awareness, when the nation, the UK, became aware of
17 the pandemic, and what it was capable of, and what the
18 worst-case scenario could look like, then that process
19 started to speed up --

20 Q. Sorry to interrupt you, just stopping you there, when do
21 you say that was, that people became aware, within
22 government, about reasonable worst-case scenario and
23 that there would be a need to speed up the response?

24 A. The moment when the severity of what was heading in our
25 direction became really apparent, I think, was in the

121

1 frustratingly slow, and even with the -- even with the
2 urgency with which we knew we had to address this, and
3 the realisation that there was an emergency probably
4 already upon us, let alone heading our way, still the
5 machine takes a bit of time to get up to the, you know,
6 appropriate speed.

7 Could argue that -- you know, when was that? Did it
8 happen at all? And we could talk about that. But the
9 effort started early on, but the machine, the lag time
10 would have been a few weeks, yeah.

11 Q. Because obviously mid-March is but a week before the
12 national lockdown on 23 March, so does it not strike you
13 as worrying that it wasn't until mid-March that the
14 gears of governments changed?

15 A. I -- with the benefit of hindsight, could we have done
16 things differently? Could we have done things faster?
17 I think that's something which clearly this Inquiry will
18 reach a conclusion on. I do remember the numerous
19 meetings at the time, either in COBR or in Cabinet, or
20 in the margins of all of those meetings, meetings --
21 internal meetings with officials in the Wales Office and
22 other departments at the time. I just ... I remember
23 everybody coming to terms with what the lockdown
24 actually meant. Nobody in government has ever done
25 anything like that before. Nobody had really been faced

123

1 first COBR meeting that was called. And I will have to
2 refer to the notes as to when that was. But the first
3 COBR meeting was when all of the -- I think, pretty well
4 the whole cabinet plus Welsh Government and many others
5 were in the room, and I think it was at that stage that
6 Patrick Vallance and Chris Whitty explained in pretty
7 stark terms what was -- what was likely -- what was
8 possible, what might happen. I think at that moment
9 everybody refocused and put a significant amount more
10 priority into whichever element of disease control or
11 avoidance that we were responsible for, and everything
12 else got parked while we were trying to -- while we were
13 trying to achieve that.

14 Q. Now, obviously that first COBR meeting was well before
15 mid-March and it's -- just going back to your statement,
16 where you say that it wasn't until mid-March that the
17 gears of governments changed.

18 Just before I ask the question, just to be clear,
19 when you say the gears of governments, plural, changed
20 are you talking here UK Government, Welsh Government or
21 both?

22 A. I think it's both. I can't -- I'm not here to speak for
23 Welsh Government but I think it's both because --
24 you know, governments don't do 0 to 60 very quickly,
25 they're big machines, they're inherently and

122

1 with what the economic consequences, what the social
2 consequences were of what we were heading towards, and
3 that sense of inevitability, that we were about to
4 embark on something that nobody in the -- nobody in any
5 of the countries affected by Covid had ever done before.

6 So we were aware of what the sort of medical risk
7 was, we were also becoming increasingly aware of what
8 the economic risk was, and trying to find a balance
9 which protected the economy, protected people's
10 livelihoods and jobs at the same time as managing
11 disease control. And there was a -- I just remember
12 a very -- a passage of time when we were -- there was
13 an expression at the time, if you remember, which was
14 about "following the science", and I think that was
15 often misinterpreted as just follow the medical science,
16 that was the only science out there to follow. There
17 was behavioural science too, and we were conscious of
18 and worried of how much public patience that we could
19 demand and expect when we went into lockdown.

20 So although it wasn't quite your question, that
21 question about did we go into lockdown too late, too
22 soon, right time, was as much governed by what we
23 thought we could expect of the public, as it was some of
24 the medical advice that Chris Whitty and
25 Patrick Vallance were giving at the time. It was a very

124

1 fine balance, and a lot of difference of opinions on
2 that. And, you know, history will now relate as to
3 whether that balance was right and, if we did it again,
4 would we come to a different timing conclusion.
5 **Q.** Now obviously, Mr Hart, we're concerned in this aspect
6 of the Inquiry with the Welsh Government's core
7 decision-making during the pandemic, and you mention in
8 your witness statement that you in fact had to give
9 evidence to a Senedd committee on 9 March, I think you
10 say, and you make a point of saying in your witness
11 statement:

12 "There was nothing unusual in this event other than
13 to note, in hindsight, the complete lack of any mention
14 of the growing pandemic ..."

15 Then you also go on to say that in this period,
16 January to March, your engagement with Welsh ministers
17 was nothing out of the ordinary and that your feeling at
18 the time was one was getting on with business as usual.

19 So the sense one gets from your witness statement is
20 that your understanding was the Welsh Government were
21 not engaging with the pandemic at this stage up until,
22 as you say, mid-March, when the gears of governments
23 changed. Is that right?

24 **A.** I think it would be wrong to deduce from that that there
25 was any complacency on the part of Welsh Government in
125

1 friend of the Welsh Government ..."

2 So perhaps acting as a critical friend of the Welsh
3 Government, do you think that the Welsh Government was
4 slow to recognise the seriousness of Covid in the period
5 January to March 2020?

6 **A.** I think, by the way, we were a critical friend of
7 UK Government too, it was our job to be able to report
8 into other departments, and indeed Number 10, of our
9 experiences and observations from what was going on in
10 Wales, so it wasn't exclusively for the benefit of Welsh
11 Government.

12 Given where we were and given the manner with which
13 we were -- the way in which we were addressing the
14 disease, which was through public health legislation
15 rather than through civil contingencies legislation,
16 I don't think I could sit here in all honesty and say
17 that Welsh Government were deliberately slow on the
18 uptake. I think Welsh Government reacted, given the
19 resources and knowledge that it had at the time,
20 probably much the same as other governments. That may
21 one day be concluded as being too little, too late.
22 That's not for me to conclude. But I didn't witness
23 anything which would enable me to say -- to give you
24 an affirmative answer on that.

25 **Q.** You've mentioned the legislative choice that was made in
127

1 their defence. I think there was -- I can't
2 underestimate how much, at the time, people were
3 learning as we went along. I just cannot underestimate
4 the fact that this was territory nobody, literally
5 nobody, had ever been in before. And my recollection of
6 it was that, as people became aware of the risks and
7 understood more about the disease and what it was
8 capable of, everybody I came across, whether they were
9 politicians or whether they were officials, whether they
10 were volunteers, members of the public or anything else,
11 more and more people literally devoted every hour of the
12 day and every ounce of their energy to trying to do
13 their bit to do the right thing at the right time.

14 And sometimes in the recollection of this it almost
15 seems like people, sort of, didn't care or they made
16 callous decisions for thoughtless reasons, whether
17 it's -- whether it was Welsh Government, who I know you
18 take evidence from, or anybody else I saw, but
19 particularly the civil service and officials, I -- we
20 might have made some profound mistakes but the desire to
21 try to get this right was very evident very early on, as
22 soon as people became aware of what was -- as I say, the
23 expression I use -- what was heading our way.

24 **Q.** In your statement talking about your role you say:
25 "[It] evolved, increasingly, to that of a critical
126

1 your previous answer, so the fact that the Civil
2 Contingencies Act was not used but public health powers
3 were used to respond to the pandemic, and you say in
4 your witness statement that, whilst this had the
5 advantage of bespoke approaches being adopted to respond
6 to the particular circumstances of the pandemic in each
7 nation, you say it had the disadvantage of a confusing
8 plethora of different requirements and restrictions
9 establishing internal borders in the UK which had not
10 existed to the same extent previously.

11 Now, the Inquiry has heard evidence in Module 2, in
12 particular from Mr Johnson, who in his view said that
13 the UK, in the event of a future pandemic, should be
14 treated as a single epidemiological unit, and the best
15 approach is a UK-wide one with no differences between
16 the four nations.

17 Do you share that view?

18 **A.** I shared it at the time and, looking back now, I'm even
19 more emphatically of that belief.

20 And it looks from the First Minister's written
21 evidence that he's not a million miles away from that
22 position either. He, I think, expresses surprise that
23 the crisis wasn't dealt with by way of civil
24 contingencies legislation. I think that's quite early
25 on in his own evidence. And if there was a single
128

1 thing -- if there was a single sentence which I could
 2 conclude my evidence to you, it would be that. It is
 3 that area, it is that decision, which, if we were to do
 4 it again, I would do differently, more so than pretty
 5 well everything else.

6 **Q.** When you say "do it differently", so not use public
 7 health powers, and the quid pro quo would be, what, to
 8 use the Civil Contingencies Act?

9 **A.** I remember a minister in COBR when the debate took place
 10 very early on and the question was raised about: do we
 11 proceed on the basis of public health legislation or
 12 civil contingencies? And the conclusion was reached
 13 that it was more appropriate via public health
 14 legislation.

15 I think, if my memory serves me right, because that
 16 would only need to go to Parliament for renewal less
 17 frequently than civil contingencies legislation would.
 18 I think we would have had to update civil contingencies
 19 legislation more frequently than we would public health,
 20 so the decision was reached. And I remember a minister
 21 just saying in the meeting "If this isn't a civil
 22 contingencies emergency I don't know what is". And so
 23 there was some question right at the start about
 24 whether -- about which road we should go down. And it
 25 may not have changed -- if we had done that, by the way,

129

1 early phase of the national lockdown all four nations
 2 worked closely together, but by May 2020 you say you had
 3 become "concerned about the risk of this unity of
 4 purpose starting to fray", and you specifically identify
 5 the Prime Minister's announcement of 10 May. So that's
 6 the announcement where the UK Government changed its
 7 overarching public health message from Stay Home, Save
 8 Lives to Stay Alert, Save Lives but the decision was
 9 taken in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland to keep the
 10 message of Stay Home, Save Lives.

11 Now, it would be right, would it not, that 10 May
 12 was a real turning point in terms of four nation
 13 co-ordination?

14 **A.** I'm not sure who is making that assertion.

15 I go back to what I said earlier on. This was
 16 a period of intense and unpredictable activity, and
 17 I think there were moments when the relationship between
 18 four nations worked well and there were moments when it
 19 didn't. I think that was entirely to be expected. It
 20 might well have been the case if we'd been under civil
 21 contingencies legislation as well, who knows. And if
 22 there was another, God forbid, pandemic, I have
 23 absolutely no doubt that there would be similar
 24 tensions.

25 We were -- we were -- we were fighting something

131

1 it may not have changed the outcome, there might have
 2 still been decisions which were taken which might not
 3 have been, with the benefit of hindsight, the right
 4 ones, but what we would have been able to do is present,
 5 I think, a much more consistent and much simpler, much
 6 plainer set of proposals, restrictions, principles than
 7 we were able to do subsequently.

8 And I'm not obviously pointing a finger of blame.
 9 It was inevitable, once we had three, four different
 10 administrations, all with sort of slightly different
 11 ideas about how to deal with this, but a population
 12 which was very fluid, this was going to lead to
 13 problems. And I found it increasingly disturbing that
 14 we were looking at the problem through the lens of
 15 a political boundary, geographical boundary, between
 16 England and Wales, in my case, rather than looking at
 17 the population and the way the population and the
 18 economy crosses the border, without -- without a second
 19 thought for that kind of thing.

20 And, you know, as I say, I've concluded on many
 21 occasions if I had the power to change it that's what
 22 I would have done.

23 **Q.** Now, one of the obvious implications of using public
 24 health powers, as you allude to, is divergence, and you
 25 make the point in your witness statement, you say in the

130

1 nobody had ever had any experience of doing before, and
 2 the idea that that could be kind of seamlessly resolved
 3 by just a series of more regular meetings is for the
 4 birds. This was always going to be very, very complex,
 5 very, very contentious, it was going to trigger all
 6 sorts of political and practical rows.

7 So, turning point, there were high points, there
 8 were low points, but I don't think there was a turning
 9 point.

10 **Q.** You say in your witness statement that increasingly over
 11 time you were left with the feeling that Welsh ministers
 12 actively sought differentiation in their approach,
 13 compared to the UK Government's in England, and you say
 14 "for no other reason than to be different and to set
 15 Wales apart from other nations in the UK", so in other
 16 words you thought Wales were being different for the
 17 sake of being different?

18 **A.** It was -- I -- I'm afraid with -- more in sadness than
 19 anger, I do believe that to be the case, because if you
 20 approached the whole thing from the point of view of
 21 outcomes rather than processes, it was difficult to see
 22 any evidence which suggested that the outcomes were
 23 going to be or were any different as a result of some of
 24 the divergent policies which were emerging.

25 The rates of spread, all of the things which we read

132

1 about with increasing horror every day were largely the
2 same over the whole of the UK. You could make some
3 perfectly reasonable differentiations based on
4 population dynamics and that sort of thing, but the idea
5 that there was any significant geographical difference
6 between Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, England
7 wasn't supported by evidence, in my view.

8 And so -- and where you have a population, and we
9 frequently used to publicly have this debate at the
10 time, where there's 100,000 people every day of every
11 week who are going over the border from England to Wales
12 for work purposes or medical purposes or whatever it
13 might be, we were picking up, and we were simply
14 representing the views of quite a lot of stakeholders,
15 quite a lot of stakeholders in the Welsh economy at the
16 time, we were picking up increasing frustration from
17 people saying "I don't understand the difference,
18 I don't know whether" -- I mean, when I used to go to
19 London, I mean, I remember Great Western used to send
20 out a tannoy message halfway under the Severn Tunnel
21 saying "Put on your mask", or "Take off your mask".

22 Anything which led to confusion, anything that led
23 to contempt, anything that led to sort of lack of
24 confidence in the process that was in place were
25 potentially dangerous, in my view, and that's why we

133

1 regulations was going to be compromised. And that
2 ultimately was bad for everybody. And that's why we
3 said what we did.

4 **Q.** If we can please have a look at a document, it's
5 an email read-out of a meeting that you had with
6 Ken Skates on 26 March 2020.

7 It's INQ000128940.

8 If we can have a look, please, at the second bullet
9 point:

10 "[Secretary of State] ..."

11 So this is you, Mr Hart:

12 "... thanks [Ken Skates] for this, but says there
13 have been some occasions where [Welsh Government] has
14 decided to do things differently without immediate
15 clarity as to what differences have been pursued.
16 [Secretary of State] raises diversion on business rates
17 and definitions of key workers, particularly in
18 cross-border areas. These can look like political
19 opportunism, even though, there are likely valid reasons
20 for divergence."

21 So you appear there to concede that whilst it might
22 look like the Welsh Government are simply making
23 decisions for the sake of being different, there are
24 likely to be valid reasons for divergence. Do you stand
25 by that?

135

1 were articulating the views, to UK Government as well as
2 Welsh Government, that we should stick as closely as we
3 possibly could to similar measures across the whole of
4 the UK as was possible, and every time we diverged from
5 that, I -- rather than save lives, I think what it did
6 is cause confusion.

7 **Q.** Now, confusing public messaging is one thing, but here
8 aren't you going further than that, you're saying that
9 the Welsh Government's motivation for making decisions
10 was simply to be different for the sake of being
11 different; is that really what you're suggesting?

12 **A.** It was unquestionably a reflection of what people within
13 Wales were telling us and Welsh stakeholders were
14 telling us, the Welsh economy was telling us. And in
15 the absence of any evidence to suggest that the
16 divergence was going to have the effect that it was
17 argued, then it was difficult to reach any other
18 conclusion from time to time.

19 So I don't say this with any sense of glee. I think
20 in a moment of national, international emergency like
21 this was, I think the risk of that being the only
22 conclusion that people could reach was heightened and
23 what genuinely worried me was if that's where people --
24 what people were thinking, then their enthusiasm, if
25 there was such a thing, for complying with the

134

1 **A.** I was -- I thought Ken Skates, by the way, was one of
2 the standout performers in Welsh Government during this
3 process, and he was somebody who was able to leave any
4 party political differences well behind him in our
5 shared desire to reach the right place.

6 I think this was me being as tactful as I possibly
7 could in the circumstances, but I think if Ken was here
8 he would -- we talked about this a lot. If there were
9 valid reasons for divergence, I'm not completely sure
10 what they were, and more importantly I'm not completely
11 sure what effect they had.

12 **Q.** We've talked about the Prime Minister's announcements,
13 so the change of UK Government policy to -- from Stay
14 Home to Stay Alert.

15 The public statement the Prime Minister made -- we
16 can see it, it's INQ000065338 -- we don't need to read
17 it but just to make the point that this change of policy
18 obviously applied to England only, yet if we were to
19 read that statement, you can take it from me that there
20 is very little in there to suggest that these were
21 England-only measures, and that was a concern we heard
22 from Toby Mason a moment ago.

23 My question is simply this, Mr Hart, that was
24 a concern raised by the Welsh Government; did you take
25 any steps as Secretary of State for Wales the voice of

136

1 Wales in the UK Cabinet to ensure that UK Government
2 public health communications were clearer when they were
3 only meant to apply to England?

4 **A.** Frequently I remember our sort of comms people talking
5 to the media about making clear what was Wales only,
6 what was UK-wide, what was England-only. It was
7 an ongoing problem, it would often occur every day.

8 And it absolutely illustrates the point I was trying
9 to make about the civil contingencies route, because we
10 were frequently in situations where BBC Wales
11 for example would be reporting the First Minister's
12 position minutes before there was a press conference in
13 London with the Prime Minister making his comments, and
14 any gap in between those two things was immediately
15 seized on by people who were either angry or confused.
16 Neither of those sentiments was helpful as far as
17 disease control was concerned.

18 And it absolutely illustrates why I think if we were
19 to relive this pretty dreadful time we'd need to do it
20 on a UK-wide basis, because the idea that there was
21 an England-only problem or a Wales-only problem is
22 nonsense, it was a UK -- it was a global problem but it
23 was definitely a UK problem, and the idea that we could
24 subdivide it into even smaller responses I think just
25 made the situation more complicated than it needed to

137

1 represent our views to Welsh Government". So that's
2 exactly what we did. And I think it's -- in precisely
3 the same way, by the way, as I think Welsh Government
4 were not shy in doing when it came to UK Government
5 decisions, and there's quite a lot of references in the
6 media to an ongoing critique being provided by the
7 First Minister of Boris Johnson during this time.

8 And I actually -- I don't object to that. I mean,
9 I think it caused a bit of confusion, which I do object
10 to, but I think the idea that any of us should be above
11 or beyond some degree of scrutiny is -- is -- I don't
12 feel comfortable with that at all, and frankly we should
13 all, you know, in our -- in our roles we should be
14 prepared for a bit of that, and I think in a moment like
15 this it's absolutely right that we should say "Hang on
16 a minute, are you sure you've got this right?" That's
17 all that was.

18 **Q.** Moving into April, we know that on 24 April the Welsh
19 Government published "*Leading Wales out of the*
20 *coronavirus pandemic: a framework to recovery*". Don't
21 need that to be displayed, but on the same day you wrote
22 to the First Minister, and if we could have your
23 letter -- it's INQ000256843 -- like to look at the third
24 paragraph, please.

25 This is talking about that framework, a framework

139

1 be.

2 **Q.** On 2 April 2020 you spoke to Vaughan Gething, and we've
3 got a note of that call.

4 It's INQ000256824.

5 And it's I think eight lines up from the bottom of
6 that email on that first page:

7 "SH said he felt he had a role to
8 scrutinise/interrogate decisions whilst not wanting to
9 get in the way."

10 Then if we can go further up that email chain,
11 I think it's seven lines down in the second email,
12 Vaughan Gething says that he:

13 "... did not pick an argument over [your]
14 self-appointed scrutiny role."

15 Now, we discussed obviously the role of the
16 Secretary of State for Wales earlier on; was
17 scrutinising and interrogating decisions of the Welsh
18 Government really part of your role?

19 **A.** Yeah. I think it was. Absolutely I think it was. We
20 were having representations from individuals,
21 professionals, public servants, businesses, all the
22 time, every day of every week, asking us --

23 **Q.** Within -- sorry to interrupt you. Within Wales?

24 **A.** To the Wales Office. In Wales, yes. Welsh businesses,
25 Welsh public servants coming to us saying "Please

138

1 for recovery, and you say:

2 "As written, the framework alludes to the
3 possibility of a separate path for Wales out of the
4 lockdown."

5 Then the next paragraph, please, if we zoom out and
6 zoom back in, bottom of that page:

7 "I also note that the framework does not mention the
8 UK Government once, despite us being a key partner of
9 the Welsh Government as we respond to the outbreak.
10 This will not go unnoticed. Our Governments are working
11 well together and I believe we need to demonstrate our
12 continuing commitment to do so."

13 What do you mean when you say "This will not go
14 unnoticed"? By whom will it not go unnoticed?
15 **A.** People who were increasingly concerned that there was
16 a disconnect between UK Gov and Welsh Government, and it
17 wanted to at least have the confidence that there was
18 a joined up collegiate approach, not only to the
19 economic package but also to disease control, as
20 indicated in reference to military support in there.

21 And I just thought it would have been helpful,
22 rather than sort of feeling indignant for being left
23 out, I just thought it'd be helpful for the public to
24 know that the full joined up might of the UK and Welsh
25 Government was acting in lockstep in order to achieve

140

1 these aims. I thought that would have been a helpful
 2 observation to make. And it would have -- it would have
 3 minimised the opportunity for the media to suggest that
 4 there was more -- more of a division than was the case.
 5 So I thought it was a helpful suggestion that -- in
 6 a comms sense, which we should have signed up to.

7 **Q.** Would it be fair to describe this as a bit of a shot
 8 across the Welsh Government bows to fall into line?

9 **A.** No, not really. No, no, no, no. I think that --
 10 I don't think people should see demons where demons
 11 don't exist. We were, as I've said before, in a period
 12 of very intense activity, and I think it is perfectly
 13 reasonable for UK Government and devolved government
 14 during that time to challenge each other, to try to
 15 better understand the reasons behind and the evidence
 16 behind divergence, if divergence is necessary.
 17 Perfectly happy to do that in relative privacy of
 18 an exchange of letters, but I don't think -- I don't
 19 think that it was necessarily unsurprising that from
 20 time to time that could be contrived as being
 21 inflammatory. It wasn't intended to be inflammatory but
 22 I think the idea that we should, you know, shine a light
 23 at each other's policy areas and activities from time to
 24 time is -- is part and parcel of a response to a crisis
 25 of this magnitude.

141

1 the pandemic?

2 **A.** I think it worked fantastically well. I think it was
 3 one of those examples of where everybody sort of got
 4 over themselves and were able to join in a common
 5 endeavour. And the MoD -- I remember being vaccinated
 6 myself from a guy from -- seconded to Tenby from
 7 Cambridge and was incredibly proud of the work they did,
 8 really felt he was contributing to the "war effort", as
 9 he described it. And those kind of examples were --
 10 I think, you know, raised the morale of everybody in the
 11 area and who was affected by them.

12 **Q.** Just staying on the topic of intergovernmental
 13 relations, part of your -- I think it's paragraph 39 of
 14 your witness statement.

15 Perhaps we could have this displayed, so it's
 16 INQ000270271.

17 And it's page 9 of your witness statement,
 18 paragraph 39. You refer to some correspondence between
 19 yourself and the First Minister during this period, so
 20 we're now in May 2020, and you say:

21 "It also became increasingly clear to me that the
 22 open and unified 'big tent' approach of the UK
 23 Government since the start of the first national
 24 lockdown, whereby Ministers from the devolved
 25 administrations had been invited to attend a wide range

143

1 **Q.** Now, this letter, and we don't need to go to the
 2 relevant part of it, but it refers to the "Military Aid
 3 to Civil Authorities process". Can you just very
 4 briefly explain what that process is for us.

5 **A.** It's basically where Welsh Government come to us
 6 requesting assistance from the Ministry of Defence,
 7 normally in the form of personnel, more often than not
 8 for ambulance support with the Welsh ambulance service
 9 and also through the vaccination programme.

10 And each time that a request was made for X number
 11 of service personnel to assist with the vaccine roll-out
 12 or the medical response, that required a sign-off from
 13 the MoD and from the Wales Office. That was the same in
 14 Scotland as well as in Wales, and I don't think there
 15 was a single occasion where we declined a MACA request.

16 **Q.** So all requests were approved?

17 **A.** I'm pretty certain. Right at the end, I think there
 18 might have been a MACA request or two where the number
 19 bid for wasn't met but -- for example, there might have
 20 been 100 personnel bid for, the MoD was able to release
 21 50 or 75. Those are my -- I've just made up those
 22 numbers, but there was sometimes a bit of a deal to be
 23 done, simply because of the availability of personnel at
 24 the time.

25 **Q.** Do you consider that the MACA process worked well during

142

1 of UK Cabinet meetings including COBR-M and various
 2 Ministerial Implementation Groups (MIGs), was not being
 3 reciprocated by the Welsh Government."

4 Was it your view that co-operation between the two
 5 governments was essentially a bit of a one-way street?

6 **A.** It felt a bit like that at times, and -- it didn't cause
 7 us sleepless nights, I might add, and we weren't exactly
 8 looking for extra meetings to go to, there were plenty
 9 to choose from. What we thought it would -- what we
 10 were trying to achieve here was the ability to turn to
 11 the press, turn to the public in Wales to say, you know,
 12 we are arm in arm. UK Government Welsh Government arm
 13 in arm.

14 And we thought the best way or one way of doing that
 15 was to be in the same room, not necessarily with
 16 a speaking part or a vote or a power of veto or anything
 17 like that, just to be there. In the same way that the
 18 First Minister and others attended COBR meetings, we
 19 thought it would be helpful if David TC Davies, who we
 20 mentioned earlier on, was able to attend a weekly
 21 meeting in Cardiff or something like that. We thought
 22 optically that would be quite beneficial.

23 It turned out that view wasn't shared, but we gave
 24 it a go.

25 **Q.** I think it's right, isn't it, that the First Minister

144

1 wrote to you and effectively said "You're welcome to
2 come along to meetings but only when reserved matters
3 are on the agenda"?

4 **A.** And, with great respect, I think it sort of slightly
5 shines a light on the problem. In Covid there was no
6 such thing as devolved or reserved. You know, every
7 penny of Covid support, every soldier who turned up to
8 help the vaccination programme, every measure that was
9 put in place was actually funded by UK Government. And
10 that's not a boast, it's just the way that it is. And
11 so none of this -- nothing would have happened without
12 the -- without the whole of the UK Government operation
13 behind.

14 Even if I accept that there were some areas of
15 devolved activity with which we have no immediate
16 responsibility -- which I'm, you know, in many respects
17 happy to accept -- that didn't mean that there wasn't
18 some value from having the same people in the same room
19 so that we could turn to the public and turn to the
20 professional services in Wales and say "Don't worry
21 we're not allowing some political differences to get in
22 the way of decision-making here". And I thought that
23 would be helpful and I believe that to be the case still
24 today.

25 **Q.** The ministerial implementation groups which we heard
145

1 was an awful lot of focus on process, and I think that
2 was -- you know, as if every problem in the world could
3 be resolved by a meeting. And I think, you know,
4 Michael Gove's view was: no, we need to -- you know,
5 implementation and outcomes are what really matters and
6 we will therefore -- you know, we will evolve this
7 relationship. But the idea, if indeed it is implied,
8 that somehow there was a sort of sidelining exercise
9 going on, is, you know, nothing -- I don't recognise
10 that.

11 **Q.** The Inquiry's received evidence from a number of Welsh
12 ministers and Welsh officials to the effect that
13 meetings with their UK Government counterparts were
14 often at short notice, sometimes without an agenda or
15 papers, and that the general feeling was that meetings
16 were held with the devolved administrations effectively
17 to inform them of decisions already made rather than as
18 a forum for joint decision-making. Is that something
19 that you recognise?

20 **A.** Is that in the context of Covid or just more widely?

21 **Q.** During the pandemic, particularly in the context of MIGs
22 and then MIGs being replaced by Covid-O and Covid-S, and
23 intergovernmental relations generally.

24 **A.** I thought -- I thought the complaint was that meetings
25 didn't exist, but apparently the meetings did exist.
147

1 a bit about were wound down middle of 2020, and that was
2 done without any consultation with the devolved
3 administrations, and the First Minister had reason to
4 write to you setting out his concerns about that.

5 We don't need to bring the letter up, it was
6 a letter on 22 June 2020 where he said:

7 "... I am concerned about the way that machinery is
8 being wound down and the intermittent contact in
9 recent weeks."

10 That concern having been raised with you, what did
11 you do to ensure that those concerns were factored into
12 UK Government decision-making?

13 **A.** From memory -- I have to rely on memory here -- we at
14 that stage were reverting to the model that existed
15 before the pandemic, and I don't think there was --
16 I don't think as far as Michael Gove was concerned, as
17 the Minister for the Union, there was any particular
18 decision taken that liaison with, the relationship with
19 Welsh Government or Scottish Government was in any way
20 going to be reduced, it was just taking on a -- it was
21 just, in a sense, taking on a new format.

22 And this is going to sound a bit chippy, it's not
23 meant to be, you know, I think there's a huge difference
24 between sort of outcomes and process here and, if I was
25 to be respectfully critical of the First Minister, there
146

1 **Q.** Well, we know -- we know -- we have CDL, we had MIGs,
2 they were replaced by Covid-O, Covid-S, some Welsh
3 officials were only invited to aspects of those
4 meetings, you had CDL calls, so there's no issue that
5 there were meetings.

6 **A.** But this is what, you know -- this is why I feel
7 strongly about civil contingencies thing because,
8 you know, there are areas which are devolved and there
9 are areas which are reserved and that's fine, you know,
10 for example defence, foreign affairs are reserved
11 matters, health is devolved, but where you have -- where
12 you have military assistance in the delivery of health,
13 then the lines get blurred. And I'm not aware and
14 I don't remember during the pandemic any Welsh ministers
15 ever saying to me -- I stand to be corrected by the
16 way -- that they had had an unsatisfactory meeting with
17 a particular colleague and could I do something about
18 it. Most of the time I think people recognised, as I've
19 said before, that a large number of people were working
20 as hard as they could in dealing with a very unknown
21 enemy and that if there were slip-ups or if there were
22 meetings which should have gone on longer or should have
23 been curtailed sooner and if there were -- if there was
24 something wrong with the process, nine times out of ten
25 it wasn't as a result of some kind of contempt for
148

1 devolved government, it was probably just the fog of
2 war.
3 **Q.** Change topic and ask you some questions about travel
4 restrictions next. So we know that in September 2020
5 rates of infection were rapidly rising in Wales. Local
6 health protection areas, essentially local lockdowns
7 were put in place in a number of areas, and
8 the Inquiry's received evidence that those local
9 lockdowns were not as effective at slowing the rate of
10 infection as they had hoped and more stringent measures
11 needed to be brought in. You then have the Welsh
12 firebreak which came into effect Friday 23 October for
13 two weeks.

14 And the First Minister wrote to the Prime Minister
15 on 28 September -- I don't propose to have the letter
16 displayed -- but he then had to write again on
17 13 October, and in that second letter the First Minister
18 noted that ... hasn't had a response to the 28 September
19 letter but he goes on to urge the Prime Minister to
20 introduce regulations in England to restrict travel from
21 high prevalence areas because guidance had not proved
22 effective. And then the day after that you get
23 a similar letter, or the Prime Minister received
24 a similar letter from Nicola Sturgeon on behalf of the
25 Scottish Government.

149

1 to your letter.
2 It's INQ000226115, please.
3 It's 19 October, so the First Minister explains that
4 the regulations mirror restrictions already in place in
5 local health protection areas but he goes on to explain
6 that the decision has been made on the advice of the CMO
7 for Wales, that's Dr Atherton, and we see he quotes --
8 it's the fourth paragraph there -- Dr Atherton's advice:
9 "I fully support the proposal to restrict travel
10 from high-Covid transmission areas to protect the public
11 health of people living in areas which have lower rates
12 of virus in circulation; often areas which are remote or
13 less densely populated. This is a sensible and
14 necessary approach in line with the existing
15 restrictions for travel that are in place for the 17
16 health protection areas across the country'."

17 I mean, do you accept that the Welsh Government was
18 effectively following scientific advice in the decision
19 it made regarding the travel restrictions?
20 **A.** It was following -- it was following Dr Atherton's
21 comments, that's not really -- but I don't think that
22 was really our point at the time. Our point at the time
23 is that there were different bits of advice that
24 UK Government was relying on and we were -- and people
25 who were travelling around the UK rather than just

151

1 If we can just have a look at your letter of
2 15 October, it's INQ000256870, and the first line says
3 you are seeking "urgent clarification of issues arising
4 from your recent announcement", about travel from
5 England into Wales.

6 I suppose, just pausing there, when you wrote this
7 letter on 15 October were you aware of this -- these two
8 unanswered letters written by the First Minister to the
9 Prime Minister about this very issue?

10 **A.** Can't remember. Sorry.

11 **Q.** Third paragraph, second sentence, you say:

12 "As far as the evidence you rely on is concerned:
13 this, too, needs to pass scrutiny."

14 When you say "pass scrutiny", do you mean by
15 the UK Government, by the Senedd, by who?

16 **A.** I think the ... I think by the public, actually, who
17 were increasingly anxious to understand upon what
18 evidence any of these decisions were taken, not
19 necessarily members of the public who were fundamentally
20 against lockdown, by the way, but people who had strong
21 views in both directions. And again, at the risk of
22 sounding like a broken record, this -- it is these kind
23 of difficulties that arise as a result of different
24 policies in different parts of a small island.

25 **Q.** If we just have a look at the First Minister's response

150

1 around England or just around Wales were confused about
2 the fact that there were two conflicting bits of advice
3 and no supporting, necessarily -- so visible and
4 compelling -- supporting evidence of one over the other
5 or vice versa. Therein lies the problem.

6 And the moment -- we were concerned the moment there
7 is any confusion about these things is when the -- you
8 lose public confidence and people start thinking "I'm
9 not sure what I'm supposed to do or where I'm supposed
10 to do it or where the rules kick in or where they
11 don't".

12 And I thought it was quite revealing, but not in
13 a sinister way, the lengthy exchange in WhatsApp
14 messages amongst -- which is part of the evidence
15 pack -- between Welsh ministers, members of
16 Mark Drakeford's own Cabinet were expressing
17 a surprisingly large amount of confusion themselves as
18 to what they were able to do.

19 So this is not sort of some, you know, a high-handed
20 sort of UK Gov critique. Mark's own team were
21 WhatsApping each other saying, "I don't actually fully
22 understand the rules", "Can anybody tell me if I can go
23 from here to there?", "Not sure if it's a work event or
24 not", "Not sure if I'm covered by ...", "Do I have to
25 wear a mask?" All of that is laid out in some detail in

152

1 their WhatsApp exchanges. And that's not a criticism,
 2 it's an observation in fact that there was significant
 3 confusion. And then if you had -- if your travel or
 4 your work happened to take you across the border, let's
 5 say you live in Montgomeryshire but your medical care is
 6 provided by the Royal Shrewsbury Hospital in England,
 7 those were dilemmas people were having every single day,
 8 "I'm not quite sure when I move into another
 9 jurisdiction what rules ..." As a result of all of
 10 that, people just reverse out of the whole thing, and
 11 that's where the confusion arises.

12 **LADY HALLETT:** I'm afraid the stenographer's struggling,
 13 Mr Hart.

14 **A.** I'm so sorry.

15 **LADY HALLETT:** We've got several -- multitudinous "unclears"
 16 on the [draft] transcript, so for those who are
 17 following the transcript, if you could slow down, we'd
 18 be really grateful.

19 **A.** Of course.

20 **MR POOLE:** Mr Hart, just moving topic, I want to ask you
 21 a few questions about PPE.

22 Now, PPE is going to be dealt with in a later
 23 module, so, again, these are just some high-level
 24 questions anchored in a couple of documents.

25 If we can have a look at the 31 March letter that
 153

1 My question is simply this: did you have concerns
 2 about the provision of PPE in Wales at any stage during
 3 the pandemic?

4 **A.** I think we all did, we had concerns over PPE across the
 5 whole of the UK, and part of that was because there were
 6 concerns about PPE across the whole of the planet where
 7 Covid was an issue. Normally you can tap into
 8 an undisturbed market. In this instance, because
 9 everybody's market was disturbed in terms of the
 10 provision of these items, that became a whole lot more
 11 difficult.

12 What I do recall very clearly, particularly on the
 13 point about ventilators, was at one stage -- I was in
 14 a meeting with Matt Hancock and Vaughan Gething when
 15 this was raised -- at one stage there was a belief that
 16 ventilators were probably the most important item that
 17 we could acquire in volume in order to help people who
 18 were the worst affected by the disease. It was
 19 literally within about a fortnight of that that the
 20 medical advice had moved on and had begun to focus much
 21 more on earlier intervention with patients, and so the
 22 urgency around ventilators had subsided a bit, but we
 23 also knew that we were buying PPE in vast quantities as
 24 a UK Government and I just thought it was a helpful
 25 thing to be able to make the offer to Welsh Government,
 155

1 you wrote to the First Minister.

2 It's INQ000113643.

3 And you -- it's the last paragraph on that page, you
 4 asked:

5 "Second, we are, as you know, making excellent
 6 progress in ordering more ventilators and PPE and in
 7 sourcing new opportunities to manufacture them. It
 8 would be helpful to know the Welsh Government's
 9 outstanding needs in this regard. I would be grateful
 10 for this information even if you have already fed it in
 11 via other routes."

12 Then you wrote again about PPE, it's 14 April, that
 13 is INQ000113621. And I think I'm looking at the -- yes,
 14 so it's the fourth -- it's the last paragraph of the
 15 first page and over the page, you say:

16 "It is because we need to meet this challenge as
 17 four united nations that I am writing to highlight the
 18 breadth of UK Government support that is at your
 19 disposal should you wish to use it. Not only do we need
 20 plan effectively and distribute supplies equitably but
 21 we also need to do so at speed. Whilst it is your
 22 Government's responsibility to quantify and distribute
 23 the PPE equipment that is needed across Wales, I wanted
 24 to reassure you that we in UK Government will continue
 25 to do whatever we can to assist you in that operation."
 154

1 and if they were deficient in any of these items it was
 2 worth talking to us because we were -- had people all
 3 over the world trying to buy stuff in in volume. That
 4 said, not necessarily knowing that it would be used, as
 5 in the ventilator case, but we -- so we thought that
 6 would be a helpful -- a helpful offer to make.

7 **Q.** Mr Hart, finally just some questions about your
 8 engagement with local authorities in Wales.

9 You say in your witness statement that throughout
 10 the pandemic you met with a range of stakeholders in
 11 Wales without Ken Skates or any other Welsh ministers
 12 being present and those were meetings, I think I'm right
 13 in saying, with Welsh local authorities, police forces
 14 and business sector. How did those meetings feed into
 15 your engagement with the Welsh Government?

16 **A.** I think, from memory, certainly the businesses and
 17 I think there's an annex in one of the evidence packs
 18 about the businesses that I'd met -- normally at their
 19 invitation, I should add -- who had changed their
 20 business model often to make PPE or to do, manufacture
 21 things like hand sanitiser, and wanted to be able to
 22 market their -- market their achievement as much as
 23 their product actually. A lot of these people do
 24 something that they consider to be of huge public
 25 service, which it was. These were not people who were,
 156

1 you know, onto a good thing and making money, but they
2 were doing what they thought was right, which was
3 responding to the call for help. And so it was always
4 extraordinarily uplifting to go to some of these
5 factories, a sort of gin distillery making a hand
6 sanitiser. But the pride with which the owners and
7 workforce displayed for what they were doing was,
8 you know, one of the sort of few good bits about all of
9 this.

10 In terms of police, I don't remember quite -- we
11 used to have frequent -- frequent -- bi-monthly meetings
12 with the chief constables as a matter of course.
13 I suspect during this particular period they were more
14 focused on the enforcement of regulation obviously than
15 they would normally.

16 And local authorities, similar but not particularly
17 specific. But where there were concerns, I think
18 for example my own local authority had a particularly
19 difficult time with some of the travel restrictions,
20 being a coastal constituency, a lot of people coming in
21 and out, there was quite a lot of pressure on the local
22 authority around enforcement, and indeed the police for
23 that matter. But where necessary we would feed that
24 back into UK Government departments and where necessary
25 back into Welsh Government departments. But I don't

157

1 The process, which I mentioned, is civil contingencies
2 legislation. And I think, but stand to be corrected,
3 that under civil contingency planning -- regimes already
4 in place, for example there are -- there's a structure
5 for what happens in the event of -- fill in the relevant
6 gap, that I think already exists. I think the
7 Cabinet Office will, if there was a major terrorist
8 event, for example, in Wales or some kind of climatic
9 catastrophe or some kind of -- or some kind of pandemic,
10 civil contingency regime already exists. I couldn't
11 tell you necessarily what it is but it's undoubtedly
12 simpler than the one we were looking at earlier.

13 And I do believe it needs to be simple. I don't
14 think it is particularly simple. I think it's, as
15 I say, too much orientated around process and not
16 orientated enough around outcomes.

17 And I could -- you know, if you gave me ten minutes
18 and a piece of paper I could draw you one which would be
19 simple and effective. I haven't been asked to do that,
20 by the way, but I would because I think it is -- I think
21 it is possible, and I suspect the Cabinet Office have
22 said "Here's one we made earlier".

23 **LADY HALLETT:** I receive written evidence all the time and
24 take into account both written and oral evidence,
25 Mr Hart, so if you want to consider yourself

159

1 remember any particular sort of rub on that, I think it
2 was all conducted at a -- in a reasonably civilised way.

3 **MR POOLE:** Mr Hart, they're all my questions for you, but
4 there are some questions from core participants.

5 Questions from THE CHAIR

6 **LADY HALLETT:** Just before Ms Heaven asks any questions that
7 I've given permission for, could I ask you this,
8 Mr Hart: going back to one of the earliest questions
9 that Mr Poole asked you, talking about a new system,
10 obviously attempt's been made to come up with a new
11 system. It looks a pretty complicated system to me,
12 but --

13 **A.** The IGR, the intergovernmental --

14 **LADY HALLETT:** The one about several tiers and --

15 **A.** Yes.

16 **LADY HALLETT:** Right, and titles that weren't exactly easy
17 to remember. But can we just put to aside normal
18 circumstances, what structure do you think would be best
19 placed to serve the people of Wales, England, Scotland
20 and Northern Ireland in an emergency if you're going to
21 get the right involvement of the devolved nations with
22 the UK Government? Have you thought about what would be
23 the best structure, or do you think the Gove type
24 structure was the --

25 **A.** I have. I think there's structure and there's process.

158

1 commissioned to come up with a possible --

2 **THE WITNESS:** Okay.

3 **LADY HALLETT:** -- it would be interesting.

4 Thank you, Ms Heaven.

5 Questions from MS HEAVEN

6 **MS HEAVEN:** Thank you, my Lady.

7 Good afternoon, Mr Hart, I ask questions on behalf
8 of Covid-19 Bereaved Families for Justice Cymru.

9 Can I start by asking you about a document, please,
10 so I'm going to bring something up on the screen.

11 It's INQ000414516.

12 If you can just indicate when that's come up.

13 This is a tweet that you published on

14 1 November 2020 from X, Twitter formerly known, where
15 you state as follows:

16 "The furlough scheme has protected 400,000 jobs
17 across Wales & will now continue until Dec. Welsh Gov
18 didn't ask for a furlough extension, they asked for
19 a different scheme to be brought forward having already
20 been told that it was impossible."

21 Then you do a little hand emoji down to the letter
22 that Mark Drakeford, First Minister for Wales, had
23 written to the Prime Minister, and then you say:

24 "It's disingenuous. Work with us Mark?"

25 If we just scroll down, for completeness, we see

160

1 that's 1 November, and the letter itself which is
2 16 October 2020. It's the request that we know went to
3 the Prime Minister is then below.

4 So my first question is this: would you agree with
5 me that as Secretary of State for Wales to publish
6 a tweet firstly calling the First Minister for Wales
7 disingenuous and, secondly, publishing what seems to be
8 private correspondence between the First Minister for
9 Wales and the then Prime Minister of the UK Government
10 was deeply inappropriate and obviously liable to damage
11 the UK Government's relationships with the Welsh
12 Government at a time when the country was facing
13 an unprecedented national emergency?

14 So do you agree with that?

15 **A.** I don't, I don't think you would expect me to and
16 I don't, and I think part of the reason I say that, and
17 these things are always borderline calls and it's -- and
18 Twitter is never probably the ideal platform on which to
19 have these disagreements, I recognise that, but this
20 particular situation about financial support was
21 especially frustrating given --

22 **Q.** I don't want to cut you off. I'm absolutely going to
23 come to the substance.

24 **A.** Sure.

25 **Q.** I will be asking you about the substance of the concern.

161

1 **A.** Oh, definitely --

2 **LADY HALLETT:** Just before you go on, you said it was the
3 then Prime Minister; it was the then Chancellor of the
4 Exchequer. It's when Mr Sunak --

5 **MS HEAVEN:** Yes.

6 **LADY HALLETT:** -- was Chancellor.

7 **MS HEAVEN:** Thank you, my Lady.

8 **LADY HALLETT:** So --

9 **MS HEAVEN:** The then Chancellor of the Exchequer, so that
10 we're absolutely clear. I think you are.

11 **A.** Yeah. No, I understand.

12 **Q.** It's a letter to Rishi --

13 **A.** No, I understand.

14 **Q.** -- Sunak, the then Chancellor.

15 **A.** I was given a free hand in much of my comms.

16 I didn't -- I didn't operate to Downing Street orders.

17 **Q.** But was this tweet -- were you asked to put this tweet
18 out, or did you do it of your own volition?

19 **A.** I don't think so, no.

20 **Q.** Was this a one-off, then, or was this reflective of how
21 you conducted relations, as Secretary of State for
22 Wales, with the Welsh Government?

23 **A.** No, we -- as I say, most of the time we had
24 a relationship which varied from very good to tolerable,
25 depending on the subject of the day, we've had some very

163

1 But just focusing on the way you did it, just so I'm
2 clear, you're not accepting that it was inappropriate
3 and indeed damaging to the relations for it to be put
4 on X in the way you did; you're not accepting that, are
5 you?

6 **A.** No, because we -- and I could point you to numerous
7 moments when Mark Drakeford made some very derogatory
8 comments about Boris Johnson. I think to some extent --
9 it may be regrettable but it's an impossible situation
10 to --

11 **Q.** You're the Secretary of State for Wales.

12 **A.** Yes, and he's the First Minister of Wales dealing with
13 the Prime Minister, and -- and saying that he had
14 abandoned science and was interested only in protecting
15 England rather than Wales. Quite inflammatory comments,
16 but we accept that. But in the heat of these situations
17 I think these things get said. What's important is what
18 happens as a result of these lively and occasionally
19 quite combative -- what happens is the outcomes that
20 matter. I'm not offended by the numerous occasions that
21 I've been critiqued by Welsh Government, and by Mark in
22 particular, and I don't think he should be too sensitive
23 to a bit of challenge from now and again in public.

24 **Q.** Were you asked by those in Downing Street to publish
25 this tweet or did you do it of your own volition?

162

1 good -- we've had, as I say, some very good
2 relationships over a number of things. From time to
3 time, there's a sort of red line that they think I've
4 crossed and I think they've crossed and it's, I don't
5 think, entirely unhealthy that we shouldn't be able to
6 have those arguments in public.

7 **Q.** All right.

8 Can we move on to the substance, then, because it is
9 important.

10 **A.** Yeah.

11 **Q.** Can you explain, then, what had caused this tweet?
12 Because obviously something's caused it. I mean, what
13 had the Welsh Government and/or Mark Drakeford been
14 saying, can you remember? I know we've got the letter
15 here.

16 **A.** Yeah.

17 **Q.** But had something been said in public, then, that you
18 thought was misleading? And what did you mean by "Work
19 with us Mark?"

20 **A.** It was the suggestion that UK Government had made
21 a political choice by not providing the funding that
22 Mark Drakeford had asked for in the manner that he had
23 asked for it in October of 2020.

24 **Q.** Well --

25 **A.** Nothing could be further from the truth. The problem --

164

1 and this was a source of much frustration at the time --
 2 the problem was the process. I keep going back to that.
 3 The Treasury were more than -- would have been more than
 4 happy to have done their level best to comply with the
 5 request, they had already told Welsh Government they
 6 couldn't operate to the timescale that they were asking
 7 for, and yet still the announcement was made; and then,
 8 on the back of that, on the back of the letter from the
 9 Chancellor saying "Look, I'm sorry I can't meet that",
 10 as it says here ...

11 **Q.** The response --

12 **A.** -- "... secretary and I reference in our briefing with
 13 the devolved administrations ... advance of the
 14 announcement, we are unable to bring the claims date for
 15 the expansion of the job support scheme forward from
 16 1 November to 23 October due to the limitation of HMRC
 17 delivery timetables."

18 However, it was portrayed as a political decision of
 19 us, if you like, just short-changing Wales. Nothing
 20 could be further from the truth, and that was -- when
 21 I used the word "disingenuous", it was not entirely in
 22 a fit of pique, it was because Welsh Government knew
 23 that we had already said, "We can't manage these
 24 timetables", and --

25 **Q.** So --

165

1 **A.** -- was on the 19th.

2 **Q.** -- there had been a COBR on 12 October where
 3 Mr Drakeford had attended and firebreak had been
 4 discussed, but there was no request for funding.

5 **A.** But not as far as I'm aware.

6 **Q.** So if it had been requested on the 12th, would that have
 7 been enough time or is that something you can't answer?

8 **A.** It would have been much more likely to have succeeded.

9 It was -- the only matter is I remember the Chancellor
 10 being quite sort of frustrated because he wanted to
 11 help, and would have done. There was no political or
 12 ideological reason why we wouldn't have wanted to help.
 13 We wanted to be able to do that, it was simply the
 14 timescale. And so it was then frustrating to --

15 **Q.** Okay.

16 **A.** -- watch all of this unfold on the media and,
 17 I'm afraid, people in or close to Welsh Government
 18 portraying this as UK Government making a conscious
 19 decision to deprive Wales of the funding -- and it's not
 20 true.

21 **Q.** Can I just very quickly ask you for clarity on one more
 22 thing, because you're the only person we can ask, and
 23 it's in the opening statement of the Welsh Government
 24 that this Inquiry's received, just to see if you can
 25 assist with what they reference, because it's the first

167

1 **A.** -- that was the problem.

2 **Q.** Sorry to interrupt you. So presumably the concern was
 3 that the request came just too late to the date when the
 4 firebreak was going to be potentially implemented; if it
 5 had come earlier, there would have been more scope to
 6 help?

7 **A.** Absolutely, I think if -- literally by a matter of --
 8 almost by a matter of days --

9 **Q.** Okay.

10 **A.** -- if there'd been earlier warning, if we could've
 11 turned the Treasury machine round, the Treasury was
 12 pushing vast sums of money out of the door, wouldn't
 13 have been remotely concerned about it, just couldn't do
 14 it in the timescale.

15 **Q.** 12 October was the SAGE meeting where firebreak was
 16 raised by Mr Drakeford with the Prime Minister and the
 17 Chancellor. We know on that date there was no request
 18 for extra funding. Would that have been -- if it had
 19 been requested on that date, would that have been --

20 **A.** The request --

21 **Q.** Sorry, COBR on --

22 **A.** The request for funding was on 16 October --

23 **Q.** That's right.

24 **A.** -- I think and the reply from the Chancellor --

25 **Q.** Just to be clear --

166

1 time we've seen it. I'll just read it out:

2 "Mr Sunak in his evidence on 11 December 2023
 3 suggested that the Welsh Government could have used the
 4 upfront guarantee of additional funding ... [Document
 5 read] ... never a practical possibility."

6 Then they say this:

7 "The problem was not solely about the amount of
 8 money provided by the UK Government ... [Document read]
 9 ... and the availability of operational support from
 10 HMRC."

11 Now, are you able to assist on what the Welsh
 12 Government mean there by "the availability of
 13 operational support from HMRC"? What's the relevance of
 14 that to --

15 **A.** I'm neither Welsh Government nor HMRC, so I think you'll
 16 have to --

17 **Q.** Fair enough.

18 **A.** -- ask them that. All I do know is one of the few
 19 institutions not to be criticised during Covid is HMRC
 20 and the Treasury, because they achieved remarkable
 21 things in getting a large amount of money out, including
 22 to Welsh Government, and unlike Barnett, which is
 23 normally done in sort of a retrospective manner, all of
 24 the Barnett consequential money for Wales was upfronted
 25 exactly to deal with some of the problems that Welsh

168

1 Government encountered, but the particular thing I just
 2 want to emphasise particularly, the suggestion that
 3 a political decision was made to deprive Wales of money,
 4 that is what triggered my -- my -- my slightly barbed
 5 comments on Twitter.
 6 **MS HEAVEN:** Well, thank you very much, those are my
 7 questions.
 8 Thank you, my Lady.
 9 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much, Ms Heaven.
 10 I think that completes the questions, Mr Poole?
 11 **MR POOLE:** My Lady, it does.
 12 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much, Mr Hart. I know it's
 13 a very busy time for all politicians, so I'm grateful
 14 for your help.
 15 **THE WITNESS:** Thank you very much.
 16 **(The witness withdrew)**
 17 **LADY HALLETT:** Very well, I think that's as far as we can go
 18 today.
 19 **MR POOLE:** It is.
 20 **LADY HALLETT:** 10 o'clock on Monday, please. Thank you.
 21 **(3.08 pm)**
 22 **(The hearing adjourned until 10 am**
 23 **on Monday, 11 March 2024)**
 24
 25

INDEX	PAGE
1	
2	
3 MS JANE RUNECKLES (affirmed)	1
4 Questions from COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY	1
5 Questions from MS HEAVEN	49
6 Questions from THE CHAIR	51
7	
8 MR TOBY MASON (affirmed)	52
9 Questions from COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY	52
10 Questions from MS HEAVEN	96
11 Questions from MS FOUBISTER	105
12	
13 MR SIMON HART (sworn)	109
14 Questions from LEAD COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY	109
15 for MODULE 2B	
16 Questions from THE CHAIR	158
17 Questions from MS HEAVEN	160
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	
24	
25	

LADY HALLETT: [58] 1/3 1/12 16/22 23/23 24/2 24/6 24/18 24/24 27/22 35/13 36/3 36/11 42/2 42/6 45/4 49/13 51/21 52/12 52/14 52/16 52/20 64/14 64/19 66/2 75/4 75/13 76/1 76/3 76/5 85/5 93/18 93/25 94/3 94/5 94/11 94/16 96/19 104/2 105/18 108/24 109/4 109/8 117/14 117/17 153/12 153/15 158/6 158/14 158/16 159/23 160/3 163/2 163/6 163/8 169/9 169/12 169/17 169/20	O 0006 [1] 99/9 0007 [2] 99/8 103/7 002 [2] 100/11 100/13 003 [2] 100/12 100/15 004 [1] 97/23	149/17 13th April 2020 [1] 11/25 14 [1] 3/14 14 April [1] 154/12 14 March 2020 [1] 94/19 14.48.39 [1] 94/20 14.57.07 [1] 96/3 140 [1] 55/9 144 posts [1] 55/3 15 December 2023 [1] 1/25 15 June 2021 [1] 48/1 15 minutes [1] 15/23 15 October [2] 150/2 150/7 16 April [1] 30/19 16 October [1] 166/22 16 October 2020 [1] 161/2 17 [3] 11/13 42/17 151/15 17 March 2020 [1] 15/8 17 September 2020 [1] 46/24 18 February 2020 [1] 10/4 18 March 2020 [1] 48/10 18 September [1] 47/19 19 [11] 9/19 10/25 14/8 49/17 65/2 65/13 96/23 104/7 106/3 106/4 160/8 19 October [1] 151/3 1984 [2] 67/12 84/11 1984 Act [2] 17/4 29/2 19th [1] 167/1	2016 [1] 3/6 2018 [2] 2/8 42/16 2019 [2] 7/8 110/18 2020 [62] 4/16 7/8 7/22 8/22 9/20 9/22 10/4 11/17 11/18 11/25 13/7 13/20 14/3 14/9 15/8 16/9 16/11 16/15 17/8 18/7 19/12 19/15 26/6 30/7 31/12 31/23 34/22 37/10 40/4 41/2 44/15 46/24 48/10 48/12 49/21 60/25 68/4 76/21 77/16 77/24 78/12 83/19 84/4 85/25 87/25 91/13 94/19 104/9 110/4 111/5 116/5 127/5 131/2 135/6 138/2 143/20 146/1 146/6 149/4 160/14 161/2 164/23 2021 [12] 8/23 33/15 35/11 43/19 48/1 61/3 70/24 71/14 73/1 92/11 93/5 105/4 2022 [5] 40/4 55/3 110/19 111/5 113/14 2023 [4] 1/21 1/25 53/13 168/2 2024 [2] 1/1 169/23 21 days [3] 27/3 27/22 27/24 21 May 2020 [1] 83/19 21-day [3] 21/6 28/2 30/20 22 June [1] 39/18 22 June 2020 [1] 146/6 22 March 2020 [1] 30/7 23 March [1] 123/12 23 October [2] 149/12 165/16 24 April [1] 139/18 24 January 2020 [1] 9/22 25 February [1] 11/1 25 November 2021 [1] 43/19 25,000 [1] 12/22 26 [3] 74/3 74/12 135/6 26 May [1] 37/16 28 [3] 13/19 27/3 27/22 28 days [1] 27/24 28 September [2] 149/15 149/18 29 lines [2] 76/9 76/11 29 March [1] 72/25 2A [1] 45/4	2B [2] 109/12 170/15 3 3 June 2021 [1] 33/15 3 pm [1] 18/7 3.08 pm [1] 169/21 30 August [1] 109/25 30 days [1] 44/17 30 March [1] 18/3 31 July [1] 32/9 31 July 2020 [1] 31/23 31 March [1] 153/25 31 May 2022 [1] 40/4 31 October [1] 31/9 35 [1] 48/8 38 [1] 16/7 39 [2] 143/13 143/18
MR POOLE: [8] 109/10 109/13 117/11 117/18 153/20 158/3 169/11 169/19	1 1 April 2020 [1] 18/7 1 January 2020 [1] 40/4 1 November [2] 161/1 165/16 1 November 2020 [1] 160/14 1.4 million [1] 64/1 1.45 [1] 109/4 1.45 pm [1] 109/7 10 [6] 1/6 7/19 15/23 30/10 30/15 127/8 10 am [1] 169/22 10 May [3] 78/8 131/5 131/11 10 May 2020 [2] 19/12 77/24 10 o'clock [1] 169/20 10.00 am [1] 1/2 100 personnel [1] 142/20 100,000 [1] 133/10 11 [2] 38/20 113/23 11 December 2023 [1] 168/2 11 March 2020 [1] 14/9 11 March 2024 [1] 169/23 11 May [1] 50/8 11 May 2020 [1] 49/21 11.18 am [1] 52/17 11.35 [1] 52/16 11.35 am [1] 52/19 115 [1] 92/7 116 [1] 93/3 12 [4] 5/22 14/18 110/2 110/4 12 March 2020 [1] 16/11 12 May [1] 50/11 12 million [1] 61/3 12 October [2] 166/15 167/2 12.30 [1] 77/4 12.50 pm [1] 109/5 1230 [1] 99/15 12th [1] 167/6 13 April 2020 [1] 13/7 13 May [1] 91/13 13 October [1]	169/11 169/19 MS COWEN: [9] 52/21 52/24 64/20 66/11 76/6 85/16 94/12 94/17 96/17 MS FOUBISTER: [2] 105/21 108/22 MS HEAVEN: [11] 49/16 51/17 96/22 103/24 104/3 105/16 160/6 163/5 163/7 163/9 169/6 MS HITCHMAN: [10] 1/4 1/13 1/16 17/5 25/1 28/13 36/12 42/8 45/15 49/11 THE WITNESS: [3] 109/9 160/2 169/15	2021 [12] 8/23 33/15 35/11 43/19 48/1 61/3 70/24 71/14 73/1 92/11 93/5 105/4 2022 [5] 40/4 55/3 110/19 111/5 113/14 2023 [4] 1/21 1/25 53/13 168/2 2024 [2] 1/1 169/23 21 days [3] 27/3 27/22 27/24 21 May 2020 [1] 83/19 21-day [3] 21/6 28/2 30/20 22 June [1] 39/18 22 June 2020 [1] 146/6 22 March 2020 [1] 30/7 23 March [1] 123/12 23 October [2] 149/12 165/16 24 April [1] 139/18 24 January 2020 [1] 9/22 25 February [1] 11/1 25 November 2021 [1] 43/19 25,000 [1] 12/22 26 [3] 74/3 74/12 135/6 26 May [1] 37/16 28 [3] 13/19 27/3 27/22 28 days [1] 27/24 28 September [2] 149/15 149/18 29 lines [2] 76/9 76/11 29 March [1] 72/25 2A [1] 45/4	4 4 March 2020 [1] 11/18 4 May 2020 [1] 19/15 40 [2] 29/12 106/7 400,000 jobs [1] 160/16 463 [1] 92/6 464 [1] 93/2 47 [1] 25/2 48 [1] 60/11 4th [1] 20/9
'at [1] 62/17 'big [1] 143/22 'how [1] 31/11 'I [1] 151/9 'I fully [1] 151/9 'important [1] 47/5 'instant [1] 42/19 'money [1] 26/9 'public [1] 42/23 'stay [2] 78/19 78/22 'stick [1] 74/17 'supposition' [1] 20/2 'Welsh [1] 23/1	2 2 November 2020 [1] 87/25 2 November 2023 [1] 53/13 2.6 [2] 12/16 13/10 2.7 [1] 12/23 20 March 2020 [1] 48/12 20 October 2023 [1] 1/21 20 years [1] 6/4 2003 [1] 2/15 2009 [3] 2/22 44/18 45/15 2010 [1] 2/25 2011 [1] 48/20 2014 [1] 53/18 2015 [1] 2/25	5 5 June [1] 98/23 5 May 2020 [1] 78/12 50 [1] 142/21 500 people [1] 16/13 54 [1] 17/5	6 6 o'clock [1] 85/14 6.6 [1] 42/17 60 [3] 49/20 99/3 122/24 62 [1] 33/1	
'... [1] 112/7 ... crucial [1] 112/7	7 7 March 2024 [1] 1/1 73 [1] 43/18 75 [1] 142/21 75s [1] 62/7	8 80 [1] 12/19 81 [2] 93/6 93/17	9 9 June [3] 97/1 99/20 102/24 9 June 2020 [1] 26/6 9 March [1] 125/9 9 March 2020 [1] 16/9	

9	158/22 160/9 161/20 161/25 162/8 166/13 168/7	140/25	90/17 98/24 100/22 101/2 101/18 102/4 102/14 104/10 105/12 106/19 108/2 124/24 151/6 151/8 151/18 151/23 152/2 155/20	117/9 145/3 147/14
9.20 am [1] 31/25	above [1] 139/10	action [7] 11/11 14/5 14/25 30/8 30/12 80/23 81/1	advise [4] 4/14 29/21 71/2 88/16	agendas [2] 15/22 117/23
90 [2] 46/20 46/20	absence [1] 134/15	actions [4] 8/4 8/5 34/6 57/16	advised [4] 9/23 18/20 50/12 101/23	ago [1] 136/22
900 million [1] 1/11	absent [1] 8/23	active [1] 116/14	adviser [26] 1/22 2/9 2/16 2/22 3/2 3/5 3/11 3/13 3/19 3/22 3/23 4/13 4/18 5/7 5/15 5/19 6/3 7/18 7/19 7/24 30/14 32/2 39/4 40/11 45/25 46/5	agree [19] 11/15 36/8 48/16 49/1 49/4 49/7 50/14 50/24 51/12 55/25 80/18 81/10 95/5 95/21 96/6 118/10 120/22 161/4 161/14
900,000 [1] 1/9	absolute [1] 116/13	actively [2] 37/13 132/12	advisors [18] 2/7 3/14 3/14 5/11 5/25 6/6 6/9 7/6 7/11 7/16 8/2 25/8 37/8 38/18 45/22 45/23 46/14 46/15	agreed [3] 14/20 45/5 118/21
93.45 [1] 92/18	absolutely [24] 4/15 16/17 16/23 23/6 24/23 49/10 56/1 59/21 59/23 63/1 65/9 67/20 67/20 68/19 71/25 77/3 131/23 137/8 137/18 138/19 139/15 161/22 163/10 166/7	activities [6] 25/15 60/6 72/22 86/24 119/24 141/23	advising [2] 22/12 28/24	agreeing [1] 35/20
9am [1] 99/16	accelerate [1] 79/19	activity [8] 7/10 45/14 60/18 119/20 119/24 131/16 141/12 145/15	advisory [4] 12/17 59/17 65/13 101/5	Ah [1] 98/16
9th [1] 97/25	accept [8] 18/9 46/4 52/9 102/8 145/14 145/17 151/17 162/16	actually [20] 50/13 63/9 64/24 79/8 82/6 90/4 96/4 114/22 115/11 117/2 119/1 120/8 120/14 120/17 123/24 139/8 145/9 150/16 152/21 156/23	advocate [2] 34/11 116/1	ahead [6] 19/25 20/24 20/25 23/12 29/24 98/8
A	acceptance [1] 44/2	adapt [1] 87/15	affected [3] 124/5 143/11 155/18	alignment [1] 71/16
a, [1] 106/21	accepted [1] 117/8	adapted [1] 105/15	affairs [1] 148/10	all [70] 2/12 3/7 5/10 7/23 15/9 24/21 27/6 34/12 34/14 38/25 47/13 54/6 55/23 63/8 63/23 63/25 66/18 68/19 71/7 72/3 75/23 78/20 81/15 83/24 83/25 86/23 86/24 93/6 94/16 97/3 98/5 98/6 98/10 106/15 107/23 107/24 109/9 114/12 114/20 114/22 114/25 115/20 116/2 117/21 122/3 123/8 123/20 127/16 130/10 131/1 132/5 132/25 138/21 139/12 139/13 139/17 142/16 152/25 153/9 155/4 156/2 157/8 158/2 158/3 159/23 164/7 167/16 168/18 168/23 169/13
a, kind [1] 106/21	accepting [2] 162/2 162/4	add [2] 144/7 156/19	affirmative [1] 127/24	aligned [2] 105/8 105/11
abandoned [1] 162/14	access [7] 24/20 61/25 100/19 101/14 102/10 102/25 103/5	addition [1] 52/10	after [12] 5/16 20/25 31/20 35/11 43/21 44/17 60/21 73/3 76/21 78/18 103/18 149/22	align [3] 27/5 35/24 105/12
ability [2] 29/21 144/10	accessible [1] 62/21	additional [3] 5/9 88/19 168/4	aftermath [1] 119/20	alignment [1] 71/16
able [27] 5/19 13/14 14/12 27/4 53/8 60/4 60/13 62/3 64/3 64/11 66/14 71/1 107/18 112/11 127/7 130/4 130/7 136/3 142/20 143/4 144/20 152/18 155/25 156/21 164/5 167/13 168/11	accessing [2] 66/16 91/7	address [4] 14/20 66/24 84/24 123/2 39/11 105/2	afternoon [3] 77/23 96/22 160/7	aligned [2] 105/8 105/11
about [129] 1/9 3/10 8/12 10/20 10/22 13/4 13/15 14/15 15/10 15/14 15/24 17/25 20/2 20/6 22/11 22/13 23/20 24/3 26/8 27/2 28/6 30/13 33/3 33/9 33/11 36/24 38/10 38/20 39/1 39/10 40/22 40/23 40/24 44/8 47/16 48/24 51/2 55/3 56/3 58/13 60/9 60/25 61/16 62/7 67/9 67/21 70/8 70/14 72/17 74/5 76/11 79/14 79/23 81/23 82/7 82/7 85/2 85/17 87/20 89/1 91/1 93/20 94/23 96/16 97/14 98/15 98/22 99/15 101/9 102/4 102/10 103/4 103/12 105/25 107/19 107/25 110/24 111/16 111/17 113/8 119/25 121/6 121/9 121/22 123/8 124/3 124/14 124/21 126/7 126/24 129/10 129/23 129/24 130/11 131/3 133/1 136/8 136/12 137/5 137/9 139/25 146/1 146/4 146/7 148/7 148/17 149/3 150/4 150/9 152/1 152/7 153/21 154/12 155/2 155/6 155/13 155/19 156/7 156/18 157/8 158/9 158/14	account [6] 18/24 25/24 41/10 111/24 119/8 159/24	addressed [3] 14/22 39/11 105/2	against [2] 77/13 150/20	air [3] 71/14 71/20 104/20
airborne [3] 104/8 104/14 105/6	accountability [2] 45/12 90/20	addressing [1] 127/13	agenda [4] 29/18	airborne [3] 104/8 104/14 105/6
Alert [8] 19/12 77/15 77/22 78/5 79/1 79/23 131/8 136/14	accountable [1] 90/23	adequate [2] 31/13 119/12		Alert [8] 19/12 77/15 77/22 78/5 79/1 79/23 131/8 136/14
align [3] 27/5 35/24 105/12	accounts [2] 41/5 41/7	adequately [1] 65/19		align [3] 27/5 35/24 105/12
aligned [2] 105/8 105/11	accrued [1] 85/24	adjoined [1] 109/6		aligned [2] 105/8 105/11
alignment [1] 71/16	accurate [3] 15/16 50/14 117/25	admin [2] 41/22 42/3		alignment [1] 71/16
all [70] 2/12 3/7 5/10 7/23 15/9 24/21 27/6 34/12 34/14 38/25 47/13 54/6 55/23 63/8 63/23 63/25 66/18 68/19 71/7 72/3 75/23 78/20 81/15 83/24 83/25 86/23 86/24 93/6 94/16 97/3 98/5 98/6 98/10 106/15 107/23 107/24 109/9 114/12 114/20 114/22 114/25 115/20 116/2 117/21 122/3 123/8 123/20 127/16 130/10 131/1 132/5 132/25 138/21 139/12 139/13 139/17 142/16 152/25 153/9 155/4 156/2 157/8 158/2 158/3 159/23 164/7 167/16 168/18 168/23 169/13	achievement [1] 156/22	administrations [12] 34/22 68/24 81/3 82/24 82/25 113/13 116/5 130/10 143/25 146/3 147/16 165/13		all [70] 2/12 3/7 5/10 7/23 15/9 24/21 27/6 34/12 34/14 38/25 47/13 54/6 55/23 63/8 63/23 63/25 66/18 68/19 71/7 72/3 75/23 78/20 81/15 83/24 83/25 86/23 86/24 93/6 94/16 97/3 98/5 98/6 98/10 106/15 107/23 107/24 109/9 114/12 114/20 114/22 114/25 115/20 116/2 117/21 122/3 123/8 123/20 127/16 130/10 131/1 132/5 132/25 138/21 139/12 139/13 139/17 142/16 152/25 153/9 155/4 156/2 157/8 158/2 158/3 159/23 164/7 167/16 168/18 168/23 169/13
All right [1] 164/7	acquire [1] 155/17	adopt [1] 71/21		All right [1] 164/7
all-encompassing [1] 75/23	acronym [1] 94/10	adopted [1] 128/5		all-encompassing [1] 75/23
allowed [1] 98/21	across [25] 60/15 61/12 67/9 73/19 73/21 73/25 76/13 82/3 83/8 83/24 86/23 86/24 92/22 93/10 114/15 114/25 126/8 134/3 141/8 151/16 153/4 154/23 155/4 155/6 160/17	adoption [1] 16/15		allowed [1] 98/21
allowing [1] 145/21	Act [6] 17/4 29/2 67/12 84/11 128/2 129/8	adults [2] 63/6 93/6		allowing [1] 145/21
allude [1] 130/24	Act 1984 [1] 67/12	advance [3] 70/25 78/4 165/13		alludes [1] 140/2
alludes [1] 140/2	acting [2] 127/2	advantage [1] 128/5		almost [4] 8/24 69/16 126/14 166/8
almost [4] 8/24 69/16 126/14 166/8		advice [48] 9/9 9/15 10/18 11/1 16/14 23/18 24/15 24/19 26/16 26/17 27/24 28/21 29/6 29/24 36/16 36/24 48/4 48/12 48/14 55/15 56/9 56/13 57/2 57/5 57/18 58/17 59/5 59/12 62/11 71/22		

A	21/13 28/5 99/7 131/5 131/6 150/4 165/7 165/14	application [1] 43/3 applied [3] 67/25 85/2 136/18	151/12 151/15 153/16 153/23 154/5 158/4 159/4 161/17 162/4 163/10 165/14 168/11 169/6	73/18 76/23 86/14 93/25 110/22 154/4 158/9 159/19 160/18 162/24 163/17 164/22 164/23
alone [2] 48/16 123/4 along [7] 56/17 58/14 74/12 93/13 100/24 126/3 145/2	announcements [4] 21/14 30/22 91/21 136/12	apply [1] 137/3 appointed [4] 2/7 2/16 53/17 138/14	area [4] 60/15 83/3 129/3 143/11	asking [7] 3/10 51/11 89/4 138/22 160/9 161/25 165/6
alongside [3] 2/8 60/24 88/19	announcing [1] 85/14	appointment [3] 4/8 53/21 53/25	areas [20] 3/24 35/6 44/11 62/13 66/7 87/16 115/17 135/18 141/23 145/14 148/8 148/9 149/6 149/7 149/21 151/5 151/10 151/11 151/12 151/16	asks [1] 158/6 aspect [4] 23/21 60/22 63/17 125/5
already [18] 16/10 30/15 36/13 37/17 47/9 61/6 70/1 81/9 123/4 147/17 151/4 154/10 159/3 159/6 159/10 160/19 165/5 165/23	another [7] 5/17 27/11 42/11 47/17 48/2 131/22 153/8	appointments [1] 14/17	aren't [2] 22/23 134/8	aspects [4] 40/24 54/6 56/19 148/3
also [47] 4/5 5/13 6/4 6/23 9/4 13/25 16/25 27/1 28/7 34/17 42/24 44/18 48/12 56/18 57/14 57/21 63/11 63/25 66/17 74/17 80/9 84/15 85/12 86/21 87/13 88/20 90/8 95/22 99/1 101/8 109/19 110/25 111/23 112/1 112/14 112/21 114/15 114/18 118/2 124/7 125/15 140/7 140/19 142/9 143/21 154/21 155/23	answer [10] 13/9 39/14 59/7 64/24 65/7 114/12 120/21 127/24 128/1 167/7	appreciate [3] 45/10 76/9 100/25	argue [1] 123/7 argued [1] 134/17 argument [1] 138/13 arguments [1] 164/6	assertion [1] 131/14 assess [1] 91/4 assessment [2] 11/15 22/7
answered [3] 22/10 61/6 81/9	answered [3] 22/10 61/6 81/9	approach [30] 16/15 16/18 22/16 23/2 28/25 50/4 50/7 50/20 50/23 55/20 56/25 61/11 61/19 70/8 70/9 70/10 70/12 79/10 83/23 84/16 87/5 87/12 94/24 95/10 95/21 128/15 132/12 140/18 143/22 151/14	armed [1] 123/7 argued [1] 134/17 argument [1] 138/13 arguments [1] 164/6	assessments [2] 22/7 26/12
answering [2] 53/6 62/23	answering [2] 53/6 62/23	approached [1] 132/20	arise [1] 150/23 arises [1] 153/11 arising [1] 150/3	assist [7] 100/21 102/22 103/15 142/11 154/25 167/25 168/11
answers [1] 53/9	answers [1] 53/9	approaches [3] 35/16 84/9 128/5	arm [4] 144/12 144/12 144/12 144/13	assistance [3] 101/17 142/6 148/12
Anthony [1] 109/15	Anthony [1] 109/15	appropriate [5] 10/14 10/17 14/6 123/6 129/13	around [36] 4/7 13/11 13/20 21/10 21/10 22/5 23/14 24/10 25/20 38/7 49/23 62/7 66/10 74/24 78/23 80/19 81/11 95/7 95/12 95/20 97/24 98/9 104/14 104/24 105/5 106/16 107/4 108/12 116/5 151/25 152/1 152/1 155/22 157/22 159/15 159/16	assisted [1] 89/17 assisting [3] 1/18 53/3 109/17
anticipate [1] 17/2	anticipate [1] 17/2	approved [1] 142/16	arrange [1] 18/3	assume [5] 32/11 38/16 39/7 43/7 101/2
anticipated [1] 76/12	anticipated [1] 76/12	approved [1] 142/16	arrangements [3] 33/20 34/25 115/2	assumptions [1] 13/16
anticipating [1] 118/2	anticipating [1] 118/2	approved [1] 142/16	arrival [1] 115/11	asymptomatic [2] 104/8 104/14
anxious [1] 150/17	anxious [1] 150/17	approved [1] 142/16	arrive [1] 9/24	at [239]
any [67] 4/6 4/7 4/8 4/14 7/22 9/8 10/18 14/5 17/1 17/14 18/15 18/25 19/4 24/10 25/10 30/1 30/3 32/15 32/19 35/18 36/7 44/9 44/10 57/13 66/12 69/21 69/23 72/12 77/6 84/24 92/23 93/17 104/13 105/9 105/12 107/19 108/2 115/17 116/13 116/15 117/6 120/25 124/4 125/13 125/25 132/1 132/22 132/23 133/5 134/15 134/17 134/19 136/3 136/25 137/14 139/10 146/2 146/17 146/19 148/14 150/18 152/7 155/2 156/1 156/11 158/1 158/6	any [67] 4/6 4/7 4/8 4/14 7/22 9/8 10/18 14/5 17/1 17/14 18/15 18/25 19/4 24/10 25/10 30/1 30/3 32/15 32/19 35/18 36/7 44/9 44/10 57/13 66/12 69/21 69/23 72/12 77/6 84/24 92/23 93/17 104/13 105/9 105/12 107/19 108/2 115/17 116/13 116/15 117/6 120/25 124/4 125/13 125/25 132/1 132/22 132/23 133/5 134/15 134/17 134/19 136/3 136/25 137/14 139/10 146/2 146/17 146/19 148/14 150/18 152/7 155/2 156/1 156/11 158/1 158/6	are [98] 2/6 4/9 11/20 12/3 12/5 13/14 14/10 14/11 14/12 14/18 16/22 20/4 20/4 20/6 21/3 24/8 26/10 26/19 27/1 27/4 27/6 27/6 38/23 39/3 39/18 40/18 42/19 42/23 44/17 45/16 47/13 47/20 48/1 53/22 55/9 60/13 62/3 62/6 66/14 71/20 73/22 73/25 74/1 74/16 75/1 76/9 76/10 76/11 79/6 84/21 84/22 88/15 92/22 92/25 95/4 97/21 99/22 100/6 107/14 110/11 110/15 111/4 111/20 111/24 113/2 113/23 119/7 120/16 122/20 133/11 135/19 135/22 135/23 139/16 140/10 142/21 144/12 145/3 147/5 148/8 148/8 148/9 148/9 148/10 150/3	arrived [1] 86/3 articulating [1] 134/1	at-risk [2] 61/20 65/19
anybody [2] 126/18 152/22	anybody [2] 126/18 152/22	are [98] 2/6 4/9 11/20 12/3 12/5 13/14 14/10 14/11 14/12 14/18 16/22 20/4 20/4 20/6 21/3 24/8 26/10 26/19 27/1 27/4 27/6 27/6 38/23 39/3 39/18 40/18 42/19 42/23 44/17 45/16 47/13 47/20 48/1 53/22 55/9 60/13 62/3 62/6 66/14 71/20 73/22 73/25 74/1 74/16 75/1 76/9 76/10 76/11 79/6 84/21 84/22 88/15 92/22 92/25 95/4 97/21 99/22 100/6 107/14 110/11 110/15 111/4 111/20 111/24 113/2 113/23 119/7 120/16 122/20 133/11 135/19 135/22 135/23 139/16 140/10 142/21 144/12 145/3 147/5 148/8 148/8 148/9 148/9 148/10 150/3	as [254]	Atherton [6] 9/23 11/6 37/7 39/3 50/12 151/7
anything [9] 35/10 65/5 123/25 126/10 127/23 133/22 133/22 133/23 144/16	anything [9] 35/10 65/5 123/25 126/10 127/23 133/22 133/22 133/23 144/16	April [13] 11/25 13/1 13/7 17/8 18/7 30/17 30/19 37/22 92/11 138/2 139/18 139/18 154/12	Asian [2] 65/2 106/1	Atherton's [2] 151/8 151/20
apart [1] 132/15	apart [1] 132/15	April 2020 [1] 138/2	aside [1] 158/17	attempt [2] 79/10 82/18
apologise [1] 16/23	apologise [1] 16/23	are [98] 2/6 4/9 11/20 12/3 12/5 13/14 14/10 14/11 14/12 14/18 16/22 20/4 20/4 20/6 21/3 24/8 26/10 26/19 27/1 27/4 27/6 27/6 38/23 39/3 39/18 40/18 42/19 42/23 44/17 45/16 47/13 47/20 48/1 53/22 55/9 60/13 62/3 62/6 66/14 71/20 73/22 73/25 74/1 74/16 75/1 76/9 76/10 76/11 79/6 84/21 84/22 88/15 92/22 92/25 95/4 97/21 99/22 100/6 107/14 110/11 110/15 111/4 111/20 111/24 113/2 113/23 119/7 120/16 122/20 133/11 135/19 135/22 135/23 139/16 140/10 142/21 144/12 145/3 147/5 148/8 148/8 148/9 148/9 148/10 150/3	ask [40] 12/4 17/25 27/19 31/11 40/24 56/3 56/13 58/10 67/9 68/16 82/7 85/17 89/1 91/1 93/13 94/13 94/18 96/2 97/14 97/16 97/20 98/14 98/22 101/9 103/6 109/18 109/21 109/22 110/23 113/8 121/9 122/18 149/3 153/20 158/7 160/7 160/18 167/21 167/22 168/18	attempt's [1] 158/10
apparent [2] 22/15 121/25	apparent [2] 22/15 121/25	April 2020 [1] 138/2	asked [21] 5/13 18/12 22/4 22/9 23/13 31/10 38/3 41/13	attempts [1] 30/25
apparently [1] 147/25	apparently [1] 147/25	are [98] 2/6 4/9 11/20 12/3 12/5 13/14 14/10 14/11 14/12 14/18 16/22 20/4 20/4 20/6 21/3 24/8 26/10 26/19 27/1 27/4 27/6 27/6 38/23 39/3 39/18 40/18 42/19 42/23 44/17 45/16 47/13 47/20 48/1 53/22 55/9 60/13 62/3 62/6 66/14 71/20 73/22 73/25 74/1 74/16 75/1 76/9 76/10 76/11 79/6 84/21 84/22 88/15 92/22 92/25 95/4 97/21 99/22 100/6 107/14 110/11 110/15 111/4 111/20 111/24 113/2 113/23 119/7 120/16 122/20 133/11 135/19 135/22 135/23 139/16 140/10 142/21 144/12 145/3 147/5 148/8 148/8 148/9 148/9 148/10 150/3	as [254]	attend [7] 10/7 10/14 10/17 39/22 110/7 143/25 144/20
appeal [2] 83/11 90/5	appeal [2] 83/11 90/5	April 2020 [1] 138/2	asked [21] 5/13 18/12 22/4 22/9 23/13 31/10 38/3 41/13	attendance [3] 8/16 10/19 116/10
appear [3] 18/15 99/19 135/21	appear [3] 18/15 99/19 135/21	are [98] 2/6 4/9 11/20 12/3 12/5 13/14 14/10 14/11 14/12 14/18 16/22 20/4 20/4 20/6 21/3 24/8 26/10 26/19 27/1 27/4 27/6 27/6 38/23 39/3 39/18 40/18 42/19 42/23 44/17 45/16 47/13 47/20 48/1 53/22 55/9 60/13 62/3 62/6 66/14 71/20 73/22 73/25 74/1 74/16 75/1 76/9 76/10 76/11 79/6 84/21 84/22 88/15 92/22 92/25 95/4 97/21 99/22 100/6 107/14 110/11 110/15 111/4 111/20 111/24 113/2 113/23 119/7 120/16 122/20 133/11 135/19 135/22 135/23 139/16 140/10 142/21 144/12 145/3 147/5 148/8 148/8 148/9 148/9 148/10 150/3	as [254]	attended [12] 8/20 8/24 9/2 9/4 10/3 14/8 59/16 96/10 112/21 116/6 144/18 167/3
appears [2] 12/1 18/18	appears [2] 12/1 18/18	are [98] 2/6 4/9 11/20 12/3 12/5 13/14 14/10 14/11 14/12 14/18 16/22 20/4 20/4 20/6 21/3 24/8 26/10 26/19 27/1 27/4 27/6 27/6 38/23 39/3 39/18 40/18 42/19 42/23 44/17 45/16 47/13 47/20 48/1 53/22 55/9 60/13 62/3 62/6 66/14 71/20 73/22 73/25 74/1 74/16 75/1 76/9 76/10 76/11 79/6 84/21 84/22 88/15 92/22 92/25 95/4 97/21 99/22 100/6 107/14 110/11 110/15 111/4 111/20 111/24 113/2 113/23 119/7 120/16 122/20 133/11 135/19 135/22 135/23 139/16 140/10 142/21 144/12 145/3 147/5 148/8 148/8 148/9 148/9 148/10 150/3	as [254]	attendee [1] 11/20

A	57/5 71/16 71/21 82/2 133/3 basically [1] 142/5 basis [12] 22/8 28/21 35/7 35/14 35/19 58/19 59/10 59/10 96/11 106/22 129/11 137/20 Bay [1] 54/2 BBC [6] 54/1 64/10 81/20 81/20 83/8 137/10 BBC Breakfast [1] 81/20 BBC Wales [3] 54/1 64/10 137/10 be [197] bear [2] 64/23 76/20 bears [1] 81/11 became [13] 8/6 28/11 76/21 82/19 87/3 104/18 121/16 121/21 121/25 126/6 126/22 143/21 155/10 because [48] 22/9 35/19 36/8 41/14 50/19 58/25 63/14 64/11 71/24 87/14 89/10 93/22 95/17 101/7 101/18 103/6 103/22 105/1 112/25 113/4 114/13 114/20 117/21 118/13 119/15 121/2 122/23 123/11 129/15 132/19 137/9 137/20 142/23 148/7 149/21 154/16 155/5 155/8 156/2 159/20 162/6 164/8 164/12 165/22 167/10 167/22 167/25 168/20 become [5] 21/25 28/10 79/14 82/2 131/3 becomes [1] 84/12 becoming [7] 15/24 17/7 22/15 76/15 95/13 104/18 124/7 been [95] 1/9 2/9 6/1 6/3 9/22 11/3 11/11 14/4 14/21 18/13 18/24 19/5 21/8 21/9 23/13 25/23 27/2 27/20 29/2 29/23 29/24 32/11 32/20 33/9 35/18 35/18 35/24 37/4 44/12 49/25 50/6 52/9 53/12 62/18 64/12 67/21 68/3 72/7 72/25 73/1 74/7 74/22 80/17 86/12 88/6 93/21 94/16 95/22 102/5 102/20 103/13 107/14	116/17 117/1 117/5 118/14 119/22 120/10 120/11 123/10 123/25 126/5 130/2 130/3 130/4 131/20 131/20 135/13 135/15 140/21 141/1 142/18 142/20 143/25 146/10 148/23 151/6 158/10 159/19 160/20 162/21 164/13 164/17 165/3 166/5 166/10 166/13 166/18 166/19 166/19 167/2 167/3 167/6 167/7 167/8 before [31] 1/4 7/7 13/2 15/23 19/17 21/25 27/21 29/19 30/19 42/2 57/3 61/22 80/3 81/21 97/4 97/14 98/21 110/25 122/14 122/18 123/11 123/25 124/5 126/5 132/1 137/12 141/11 146/15 148/19 158/6 163/2 began [8] 2/14 7/12 15/23 19/9 49/22 58/20 58/22 116/5 begin [5] 1/4 7/13 52/25 89/4 115/19 beginning [7] 4/16 7/17 8/7 28/3 28/10 37/23 51/8 begun [1] 155/20 behalf [3] 116/9 149/24 160/7 behavioural [2] 57/7 124/17 behaviours [7] 71/20 72/1 89/13 94/9 105/3 106/16 108/12 behind [5] 70/13 136/4 141/15 141/16 145/13 being [59] 9/14 10/15 13/5 13/24 20/12 21/5 22/8 23/9 24/15 24/20 25/24 26/12 28/6 37/23 37/25 38/2 38/3 38/8 46/8 50/19 50/23 51/8 51/25 73/5 73/23 73/24 76/23 81/7 82/10 84/4 88/17 91/25 92/15 94/23 102/6 104/7 106/13 117/7 118/25 120/24 127/21 128/5 132/16 132/17 134/10 134/21 135/23 136/6 139/6 140/8 140/22 141/20 143/5 144/2 146/8 147/22 156/12 157/20 167/10 belief [6] 2/3 53/14	110/13 120/16 128/19 155/15 believe [14] 30/14 32/18 34/4 35/25 41/21 44/9 47/23 65/21 81/13 99/17 132/19 140/11 145/23 159/13 believed [1] 33/22 below [1] 161/3 beneficial [3] 6/18 70/6 144/22 benefit [5] 70/19 70/21 123/15 127/10 130/3 Bennee [4] 39/5 47/8 99/5 102/6 Bereaved [3] 49/17 96/23 160/8 bespoke [1] 128/5 best [9] 2/2 13/8 53/13 110/12 128/14 144/14 158/18 158/23 165/4 better [10] 27/7 27/10 52/9 65/21 66/3 66/4 70/25 82/3 118/1 141/15 between [49] 2/25 8/4 8/14 8/22 16/5 16/7 17/21 22/16 25/4 28/8 28/15 31/6 32/21 32/25 33/16 34/2 34/12 34/21 42/21 44/21 44/25 67/14 67/15 82/25 84/9 85/5 85/11 91/20 92/11 94/21 94/24 95/6 99/4 107/8 111/1 112/11 116/2 116/4 128/15 130/15 131/17 133/6 137/14 140/16 143/18 144/4 146/24 152/15 161/8 beyond [6] 21/5 36/11 37/25 45/8 101/20 139/11 bi [1] 157/11 bi-monthly [1] 157/11 bid [2] 142/19 142/20 big [8] 22/23 47/2 68/10 75/18 85/9 116/19 116/20 122/25 bigger [1] 73/9 bilingual [1] 61/15 bilingualism [1] 89/23 biomedical [1] 24/7 Biosecurity [2] 33/4 33/8 birds [1] 132/4 bit [20] 50/24 58/11 58/12 81/25 93/19	98/6 98/22 113/10 123/5 126/13 139/9 139/14 141/7 142/22 144/5 144/6 146/1 146/22 155/22 162/23 bits [3] 151/23 152/2 157/8 black [2] 65/2 106/1 blame [1] 130/8 blanket [1] 96/9 blueprint [1] 27/16 blurred [1] 148/13 board [2] 65/13 92/22 boast [1] 145/10 bodies [1] 36/25 body [1] 117/5 border [5] 85/10 130/18 133/11 135/18 153/4 borderline [1] 161/17 borders [1] 128/9 Boris [2] 139/7 162/8 Boris Johnson [2] 139/7 162/8 both [15] 2/2 7/18 23/16 24/9 36/18 39/20 53/3 56/11 77/20 89/24 122/21 122/22 122/23 150/21 159/24 bother [1] 38/25 bottom [6] 15/7 45/20 88/4 98/4 138/5 140/6 bought [1] 87/13 Boulton [3] 17/21 18/1 18/11 boundary [2] 130/15 130/15 bows [1] 141/8 bracketed [1] 20/4 brand [7] 79/20 85/22 86/1 86/4 86/23 87/17 94/8 breadth [3] 63/3 64/2 154/18 break [1] 52/18 breakdown [1] 92/14 Breakfast [1] 81/20 breathe [1] 117/17 Brexit [1] 7/10 Brexit-related [1] 7/10 brief [3] 63/2 64/6 119/22 briefing [2] 26/5 165/12 briefings [4] 4/2 9/8 57/3 83/6 briefly [7] 3/18 4/17 29/10 30/12 37/21 45/19 142/4 bring [10] 5/8 60/4
----------	--	--	--	---

B	12/5 bring... [8] 78/10 87/22 91/10 92/3 97/20 146/5 160/10 165/14 bringing [1] 103/8 Britain [1] 81/19 broad [1] 57/17 broadcast [1] 83/8 broader [1] 86/9 broadest [2] 66/25 67/1 broken [1] 150/22 brought [5] 5/10 84/11 94/14 149/11 160/19 budget [5] 1/9 60/12 60/17 60/23 61/8 budgeting [1] 60/14 budgets [4] 4/7 61/1 61/16 75/21 build [1] 85/22 built [1] 90/2 bullet [2] 83/21 135/8 Burke [1] 15/6 business [13] 2/20 40/2 41/6 41/8 41/10 42/4 42/24 45/25 46/8 125/18 135/16 156/14 156/20 businesses [5] 78/24 138/21 138/24 156/16 156/18 busy [1] 169/13 but [176] buy [3] 75/21 92/24 156/3 buying [9] 27/6 61/11 75/8 75/21 77/18 80/7 80/8 82/13 155/23	call [15] 1/13 8/25 18/4 18/6 18/17 32/1 52/21 81/2 99/16 109/10 114/19 116/12 116/22 138/3 157/3 called [5] 30/14 104/23 113/23 115/23 122/1 calling [1] 161/6 callous [1] 126/16 calls [16] 34/20 34/24 115/22 115/23 116/3 116/4 116/6 116/8 116/10 116/16 117/20 119/11 120/10 120/13 148/4 161/17 Cambridge [1] 143/7 came [11] 19/1 30/13 68/10 74/8 104/16 104/20 117/21 126/8 139/4 149/12 166/3 campaign [34] 56/21 60/22 61/2 70/25 71/14 75/5 77/12 77/24 78/5 78/7 79/1 79/9 85/23 85/24 86/19 87/5 89/7 89/7 89/17 92/9 92/19 92/23 93/10 93/12 93/15 93/17 93/20 93/23 104/23 104/24 104/25 105/5 105/22 106/16 campaigns [6] 69/18 71/24 75/9 82/8 82/10 89/2 can [107] 3/18 3/25 4/17 19/13 20/1 20/11 21/1 22/22 28/23 43/18 50/22 52/5 52/7 53/6 56/13 58/10 58/11 59/21 61/7 61/22 62/22 62/23 65/5 65/21 65/23 68/12 68/16 70/5 70/7 71/17 72/7 72/14 72/24 73/20 73/22 73/24 74/3 74/4 74/12 74/19 75/9 75/10 75/11 75/13 75/18 76/16 78/10 78/24 80/20 80/23 86/3 87/22 88/2 88/3 88/5 88/11 90/4 91/10 92/6 94/18 95/2 96/2 96/24 97/15 97/20 97/21 98/3 98/9 100/13 100/16 100/21 103/14 109/10 109/18 109/19 109/20 110/2 110/6 110/23 113/16 113/22 114/5 114/5 114/8 135/4 135/8 135/18	136/16 136/19 138/10 142/3 150/1 152/22 152/22 153/25 154/25 155/7 158/17 160/9 160/12 164/8 164/11 164/14 167/21 167/22 167/24 169/17 can't [8] 4/5 32/23 122/22 126/1 150/10 165/9 165/23 167/7 cancel [1] 14/16 cannot [6] 4/5 4/6 4/8 41/5 69/5 126/3 capable [2] 121/17 126/8 capacity [2] 34/18 110/21 Cardiff [6] 17/13 17/19 18/8 54/2 75/24 144/21 Cardiff Bay [1] 54/2 Cardiff City [3] 17/13 17/19 18/8 care [22] 73/11 89/6 105/23 106/5 106/8 106/9 106/12 106/13 106/18 106/20 106/21 107/3 107/9 107/12 107/15 107/21 108/3 108/8 108/9 108/13 126/15 153/5 care homes [7] 89/6 106/8 106/9 106/13 106/18 106/20 106/21 care sector [9] 106/5 106/12 107/12 107/15 107/21 108/3 108/8 108/9 108/13 cared [1] 106/13 career [1] 2/14 carefully [1] 90/16 carers [1] 106/12 Carmarthen [1] 110/16 carried [2] 30/21 93/4 carry [2] 63/10 72/23 Carwyn [1] 3/3 Carwyn Jones [1] 3/3 case [21] 5/15 12/19 13/11 14/13 21/10 23/10 29/24 32/11 35/25 36/2 41/21 100/21 121/15 121/18 121/22 130/16 131/20 132/19 141/4 145/23 156/5 cases [1] 12/24 cast [3] 116/19 116/21 116/22 catastrophe [1] 159/9 categorise [1] 50/16	cause [4] 8/3 99/24 134/6 144/6 caused [5] 24/8 73/5 139/9 164/11 164/12 cautious [12] 24/2 50/2 50/3 50/17 50/19 50/23 51/1 51/4 51/10 51/13 84/16 87/7 CDL [6] 115/23 116/3 118/25 121/2 148/1 148/4 cells [1] 73/22 central [3] 54/14 54/21 55/6 centre [11] 6/24 17/13 17/19 18/23 19/1 33/4 33/8 51/22 51/25 52/4 52/9 centres [1] 63/25 certain [2] 113/10 142/17 certainly [17] 6/16 8/8 10/20 13/9 22/24 24/4 25/13 31/3 35/25 48/23 50/25 51/15 76/16 95/3 104/2 120/19 156/16 chain [5] 17/21 17/24 30/7 38/12 138/10 chair [6] 37/11 39/5 51/20 158/5 170/6 170/16 chaired [3] 65/13 119/2 119/18 challenge [5] 65/15 105/9 141/14 154/16 162/23 Chancellor [9] 34/18 163/3 163/6 163/9 163/14 165/9 166/17 166/24 167/9 change [17] 4/19 27/3 32/7 35/10 51/7 56/23 60/17 70/15 74/17 80/15 80/19 116/21 117/14 130/21 136/13 136/17 149/3 changed [11] 4/18 4/24 121/13 122/17 122/19 123/14 125/23 129/25 130/1 131/6 156/19 changer [1] 64/9 changes [4] 69/22 69/23 73/18 77/6 changing [3] 19/11 71/16 165/19 channel [2] 63/7 64/4 channels [5] 47/18 54/20 62/20 81/15 93/11 characterisation [1] 55/25 chat [6] 39/8 43/21	44/12 47/25 48/2 48/4 chief [10] 10/8 11/2 13/22 37/7 39/3 39/4 66/21 104/10 110/15 157/12 Chief Whip [1] 110/15 Child [1] 48/21 child's [1] 74/15 children [7] 24/20 25/11 25/15 48/20 48/24 49/5 63/4 Children's [1] 49/2 chippy [1] 146/22 choice [3] 50/13 127/25 164/21 choose [1] 144/9 chose [1] 118/12 Chris [3] 50/9 122/6 124/24 Chris Whitty [3] 50/9 122/6 124/24 Christmas [2] 7/7 35/23 circulated [3] 72/21 72/24 73/17 circulation [2] 29/20 151/12 circumstances [6] 10/13 27/15 91/9 128/6 136/7 158/18 circumstances' [1] 23/2 cite [1] 77/14 citizens' [1] 85/12 City [3] 17/13 17/19 18/8 civil [33] 2/15 3/6 4/1 4/3 4/3 4/9 6/7 9/12 27/25 29/7 32/24 32/25 41/13 53/22 53/23 72/9 82/23 126/19 127/15 128/1 128/23 129/8 129/12 129/17 129/18 129/21 131/20 137/9 142/3 148/7 159/1 159/3 159/10 civilised [1] 158/2 claims [1] 165/14 clarification [1] 150/3 clarified [1] 1/10 clarify [1] 70/7 clarity [6] 18/13 55/22 85/2 107/20 135/15 167/21 clear [42] 5/5 16/17 17/7 21/4 28/1 28/6 44/8 44/19 53/21 56/8 58/6 67/3 68/8 68/15 70/3 74/16 76/14 77/4 78/18 79/4 79/18 81/4 81/13 83/11 83/13
C	C2 [1] 92/17 cabinet [41] 8/24 10/25 11/18 11/23 12/1 12/5 12/12 13/15 13/21 21/8 22/2 38/4 54/20 56/16 56/17 56/19 56/24 59/7 59/16 62/14 69/10 69/14 72/9 73/4 82/12 82/17 82/23 83/2 112/19 112/24 113/1 113/2 114/15 114/16 122/4 123/19 137/1 144/1 152/16 159/7 159/21 Cabinet Office [12] 22/2 38/4 69/10 69/14 72/9 73/4 82/12 82/17 82/23 83/2 159/7 159/21 cabinet secretary [1]				

C	collateral [1] 78/20	common [2] 117/23	136/9 136/10	confirmation [1]
clear... [17] 84/15	colleague [1] 148/17	143/4	completeness [1]	41/16
86/9 87/3 90/23 91/21	colleagues [6] 62/13	Commons [1] 110/16	160/25	conflicting [1] 152/2
97/13 102/9 107/24	69/17 71/9 72/10 80/6	comms [7] 20/22	completes [1] 169/10	confused [2] 137/15
108/7 108/12 108/17	98/11	21/17 80/6 80/10	complex [2] 84/22	152/1
122/18 137/5 143/21	collection [1] 19/3	137/4 141/6 163/15	132/4	confusing [7] 75/2
162/2 163/10 166/25	collective [1] 108/10	communicate [4]	complexity [3] 71/15	84/23 95/23 105/9
clearer [1] 137/2	collects [1] 18/24	55/15 86/1 89/24	71/18 82/15	107/16 128/7 134/7
clearly [7] 50/20	collegiate [1] 140/18	106/11	compliance [3] 57/13	confusion [10] 67/22
55/16 72/5 75/2 77/1	collision [1] 22/23	communicated [2]	88/24 89/14	81/11 91/19 133/22
123/17 155/12	column [10] 73/1	28/12 56/23	complicated [3]	134/6 139/9 152/7
climate [1] 60/17	73/1 73/21 73/23	communication [18]	73/10 137/25 158/11	152/17 153/3 153/11
climatic [1] 159/8	73/24 73/25 74/4	18/15 21/19 40/1	comply [1] 165/4	Congress [1] 2/25
clinical [2] 58/25	74/11 74/14 76/10	42/20 45/2 55/7 55/13	complying [1] 134/25	conscious [3] 6/11
59/2	column 3 [1] 73/1	58/5 59/22 61/20	component [1] 58/24	124/17 167/18
close [10] 6/20 6/24	column A [2] 73/1	76/12 81/4 85/18	components [3]	consequence [1]
15/22 21/11 29/17	74/4	97/24 105/7 105/25	54/14 54/15 59/22	43/20
48/11 81/7 96/12	column B [2] 73/21	107/8 108/2	compromised [1]	consequences [2]
96/13 167/17	73/23	communications [90]	135/1	124/1 124/2
closely [6] 57/22	column C [1] 73/24	2/1 15/15 19/5 40/20	concede [1] 135/21	consequential [1]
68/23 89/16 103/16	column I of [1] 74/11	53/18 54/1 54/7 54/8	concern [12] 34/5	168/24
131/2 134/2	column I states [1]	54/12 54/14 54/20	83/22 95/7 95/17 96/1	consider [9] 28/1
closing [1] 24/8	74/14	55/5 55/6 55/9 55/14	99/25 117/23 136/21	36/18 57/18 89/21
closure [1] 25/3	columns [1] 74/2	55/21 56/4 56/8 56/9	136/24 146/10 161/25	91/22 119/11 142/25
CMO [2] 13/23 151/6	combative [1] 162/19	56/16 56/19 56/25	166/2	156/24 159/25
co [12] 16/5 30/22	come [27] 10/11	57/2 57/23 58/1 58/13	concerned [16]	considerable [2]
39/5 84/9 94/23 95/4	20/15 26/13 39/12	58/15 58/22 58/22	15/10 15/14 15/24	19/8 47/21
95/5 95/10 96/13	56/22 60/18 68/14	59/8 59/11 60/13	38/10 99/15 99/19	consideration [8]
112/11 131/13 144/4	77/2 82/6 95/16 99/11	60/14 60/16 60/17	111/4 125/5 131/3	24/9 38/9 45/23 48/19
co-chair [1] 39/5	100/7 101/7 106/21	60/17 60/20 61/8 61/9	137/17 140/15 146/7	48/23 49/7 49/8 62/14
co-operation [1]	107/2 113/10 115/6	62/19 63/3 67/10	146/16 150/12 152/6	considerations [2]
144/4	115/9 120/5 125/4	67/15 68/5 68/7 68/20	166/13	24/11 30/2
co-operative [1]	142/5 145/2 158/10	68/22 68/22 69/1 69/3	concerns [16] 1/22	considered [6] 26/22
112/11	160/1 160/12 161/23	69/18 69/22 69/24	1/25 15/17 25/21	27/18 62/4 110/5
co-ordinated [1]	166/5	70/9 70/12 71/24	33/11 94/23 95/3	112/8 117/4
30/22	comfortable [1]	72/22 76/14 76/25	107/14 111/23 119/7	considering [2] 22/1
co-ordination [8]	139/12	77/11 78/15 79/3	146/4 146/11 155/1	27/23
16/5 84/9 94/23 95/4	coming [7] 12/25	80/18 81/8 82/8 85/20	155/4 155/6 157/17	consistency [3] 95/5
95/5 95/10 96/13	18/17 27/14 87/4	86/24 89/20 89/22	conclude [3] 28/14	96/16 108/18
131/13	123/23 138/25 157/20	90/12 90/24 91/2 91/5	127/22 129/2	consistent [4] 56/8
coastal [1] 157/20	coming weeks [1]	91/23 97/14 98/18	concluded [3] 113/13	108/7 114/6 130/5
COBR [44] 10/4 10/5	12/25	102/4 104/6 105/9	127/21 130/20	consists [1] 114/9
10/7 10/10 10/11	commencing [1]	105/15 107/1 107/5	concludes [1] 96/18	constables [1]
10/19 10/23 15/10	11/25	107/12 107/15 107/20	conclusion [5]	157/12
15/21 16/9 16/11	comment [3] 13/14	107/24 108/6 108/11	123/18 125/4 129/12	constituency [1]
20/12 20/15 29/11	14/12 120/25	108/18 137/2	134/18 134/22	157/20
29/14 29/16 29/20	commented [1] 90/9	communities [5]	conditions [1] 99/3	Constitution [1]
29/25 30/1 30/19 31/1	comments [6] 10/8	63/13 65/3 65/11	conduct [1] 40/1	34/20
31/10 31/14 68/11	137/13 151/21 162/8	66/13 106/2	conducted [3]	constructive [1]
68/14 77/23 78/9 79/5	162/15 169/5	community [4] 63/12	114/22 158/2 163/21	68/10
80/2 80/12 112/21	commissioned [1]	63/24 65/16 66/5	conducting [1] 41/9	consultancy [1]
113/1 113/4 117/3	160/1	company [2] 18/22	conduit [2] 63/16	65/11
120/11 122/1 122/3	Commissioner [1]	52/4	65/17	consultation [3]
122/14 123/19 129/9	49/2	compared [3] 50/5	conference [4] 7/9	17/14 52/3 146/2
144/1 144/18 166/21	Commissioner for [1]	50/18 132/13	98/5 99/16 137/12	consulting [2] 18/5
167/2	49/2	compelling [1] 152/4	conferences [7] 57/3	49/2
COBR-M [1] 144/1	commitment [1]	complacency [1]	64/7 66/23 77/2 81/15	consume [1] 63/5
COBRA [1] 30/11	140/12	125/25	86/13 90/14	contact [20] 5/20 7/5
code [2] 3/23 3/23	committed [1] 33/19	complaining [1]	confidence [3]	7/10 7/23 18/5 25/23
codified [1] 34/25	committee [7] 34/14	119/25	133/24 140/17 152/8	32/15 32/19 32/21
cognisant [2] 67/7	114/1 114/2 114/7	complaint [1] 147/24	confident [1] 22/22	32/24 34/4 34/12
73/4	114/8 114/11 125/9	complete [1] 125/13	confine [1] 81/17	34/17 37/2 37/5 41/25
cohort [1] 66/20	committees [2]	completely [6] 32/16	confirm [4] 41/13	68/21 116/2 121/2
	114/16 114/17	32/20 67/3 117/7	97/16 97/21 110/7	146/8

<p>C</p> <p>contacted [1] 18/3 contacts [1] 63/24 contemporaneous [2] 31/19 31/21 contempt [2] 133/23 148/25 content [11] 43/4 54/18 72/3 72/12 73/6 74/8 74/22 74/25 75/11 80/5 87/15 contentious [1] 132/5 contents [2] 19/17 110/11 context [7] 5/24 6/5 21/22 37/6 98/22 147/20 147/21 contingencies [12] 127/15 128/2 128/24 129/8 129/12 129/17 129/18 129/22 131/21 137/9 148/7 159/1 contingency [2] 159/3 159/10 continuation [1] 20/18 continue [3] 7/25 154/24 160/17 continued [1] 7/25 continues [1] 39/2 continuing [1] 140/12 contract [1] 64/17 contracting [1] 33/23 contributed [2] 9/11 60/3 contributing [1] 143/8 contrived [1] 141/20 control [8] 29/14 48/18 115/17 117/10 122/10 124/11 137/17 140/19 convene [1] 30/18 convened [1] 69/14 Convention [1] 48/21 conventional [1] 26/1 conversation [8] 21/5 39/13 46/10 47/16 47/19 78/14 79/2 79/18 conversations [10] 9/13 10/20 10/22 30/15 33/3 42/12 44/20 44/21 46/6 79/24 convey [1] 3/25 cope [1] 5/6 core [4] 14/8 68/8 125/6 158/4 coronavirus [3]</p>	<p>40/16 46/11 139/20 corporate [2] 54/17 54/19 correct [31] 1/10 2/12 3/7 8/13 30/23 32/2 53/20 53/23 54/4 54/10 54/24 54/25 55/2 55/17 55/18 78/3 86/7 97/19 98/17 102/6 110/10 110/14 110/20 111/9 111/22 112/1 112/17 112/19 112/20 112/22 113/3 corrected [2] 148/15 159/2 correction [2] 1/5 110/1 corrections [1] 110/11 correspondence [2] 143/18 161/8 could [84] 1/16 5/3 8/18 11/11 12/15 17/20 19/1 19/23 20/3 21/18 23/5 26/4 26/15 30/6 30/12 30/21 31/22 32/7 33/6 35/14 37/15 41/1 43/12 45/18 46/20 52/25 57/18 57/25 65/25 66/2 66/6 71/4 75/12 75/15 75/17 78/21 80/17 83/2 83/16 91/14 92/3 92/24 94/13 96/15 97/20 102/3 103/21 107/19 108/1 109/13 109/23 116/12 118/24 121/18 123/7 123/8 123/15 123/16 124/18 124/23 127/16 129/1 132/2 133/2 134/3 134/22 136/7 137/23 139/22 141/20 143/15 145/19 147/2 148/17 148/20 153/17 155/17 158/7 159/17 159/18 162/6 164/25 165/20 168/3 could've [1] 166/10 couldn't [6] 25/18 86/6 92/21 159/10 165/6 166/13 council [2] 28/10 114/4 COUNSEL [7] 1/15 52/23 54/16 109/12 170/4 170/9 170/14 Counsel General [1] 54/16 counter [1] 71/3 counterpart [1] 7/7 counterparts [3] 7/3 81/3 147/13 countries [1] 124/5</p>	<p>country [2] 107/25 161/12 country' [1] 151/16 Countryside [1] 2/19 couple [8] 10/10 17/25 21/24 27/6 42/9 48/6 80/3 153/24 course [9] 22/23 36/14 57/1 58/3 83/7 85/5 118/8 153/19 157/12 cover [5] 75/22 76/1 81/9 83/8 119/19 covered [4] 5/17 119/18 119/23 152/24 covering [2] 19/21 99/1 coverings [12] 50/10 50/12 50/21 51/12 51/16 96/25 97/2 97/5 97/8 98/24 100/14 101/3 CovExCo [1] 15/9 Covid [34] 4/17 9/19 10/25 14/8 49/17 55/14 65/2 65/13 69/3 69/10 69/15 96/23 104/7 104/24 105/5 105/6 106/3 106/4 106/7 118/3 119/16 124/5 127/4 145/5 145/7 147/20 147/22 147/22 148/2 148/2 151/10 155/7 160/8 168/19 Covid-19 [10] 9/19 10/25 49/17 65/2 65/13 96/23 104/7 106/3 106/4 160/8 Covid-O [2] 147/22 148/2 Covid-S [2] 147/22 148/2 created [2] 17/16 37/4 creating [4] 42/23 42/25 43/2 44/12 creation [2] 33/7 33/11 crisis [4] 3/20 70/3 128/23 141/24 crisp [1] 119/22 critical [5] 68/25 126/25 127/2 127/6 146/25 criticised [1] 168/19 criticism [2] 84/20 153/1 critique [2] 139/6 152/20 critiqued [1] 162/21 cross [1] 135/18 cross-border [1] 135/18</p>	<p>crossed [2] 164/4 164/4 crosses [1] 130/18 crucial [2] 112/7 117/5 crunch [1] 80/11 cure [1] 120/16 current [2] 20/18 115/8 currently [1] 110/15 curtailed [1] 148/23 custodians [1] 111/13 cut [4] 1/9 32/15 32/20 161/22 cycle [1] 28/8 Cymru [3] 49/17 96/24 160/8</p> <hr/> <p>D</p> <p>daily [2] 59/10 64/7 damage [1] 161/10 damaging [2] 90/10 162/3 Dame [4] 15/8 15/13 40/22 43/23 Dame Shan [2] 15/8 15/13 Dame Shan Morgan [2] 40/22 43/23 dangerous [1] 133/25 DAs [1] 15/11 data [11] 17/17 18/24 19/3 32/6 39/6 52/7 52/8 62/1 76/19 76/20 87/2 date [11] 12/2 14/2 21/8 30/20 32/9 101/25 120/14 165/14 166/3 166/17 166/19 dated [8] 30/7 31/23 37/16 48/12 78/12 83/19 91/13 109/25 dates [3] 27/1 38/8 73/24 David [2] 111/6 144/19 David TC Davies [2] 111/6 144/19 Davies [2] 111/6 144/19 dawned [1] 115/20 day [23] 18/10 21/6 28/2 30/20 52/5 77/4 78/9 97/1 97/1 97/15 99/6 102/12 102/17 126/12 127/21 133/1 133/10 137/7 138/22 139/21 149/22 153/7 163/25 days [12] 10/15 21/25 27/3 27/6 27/22 27/24 27/24 43/21</p>	<p>44/17 47/22 97/4 166/8 deaf [1] 31/2 deal [4] 107/11 130/11 142/22 168/25 dealing [4] 40/19 72/11 148/20 162/12 dealt [3] 10/15 128/23 153/22 deaths [2] 12/22 106/7 debate [2] 129/9 133/9 Dec [1] 160/17 December [5] 1/25 2/8 2/22 110/18 168/2 December 2009 [1] 2/22 December 2018 [1] 2/8 December 2019 [1] 110/18 decided [2] 81/7 135/14 decision [44] 4/7 6/10 6/25 17/9 18/19 21/9 21/12 21/13 29/2 41/20 44/10 45/1 45/6 45/9 48/10 48/17 48/24 55/15 56/11 57/19 64/9 85/20 86/4 90/18 90/21 94/7 111/25 112/9 117/5 117/8 119/8 125/7 129/3 129/20 131/8 145/22 146/12 146/18 147/18 151/6 151/18 165/18 167/19 169/3 decision-makers [2] 55/15 90/21 decision-making [19] 4/7 6/10 6/25 17/9 21/12 41/20 44/10 45/1 45/6 45/9 56/11 57/19 111/25 117/5 119/8 125/7 145/22 146/12 147/18 decisions [28] 4/6 4/14 8/10 12/13 17/4 21/8 21/9 25/9 27/12 28/15 35/7 35/14 35/18 35/24 55/16 90/22 90/24 112/4 119/23 126/16 130/2 134/9 135/23 138/8 138/17 139/5 147/17 150/18 declined [1] 142/15 dedicated [1] 60/12 deduce [1] 125/24 deep [1] 66/5 deeply [2] 75/8 161/10 defence [3] 126/1</p>
--	--	--	--	---

D	details [1] 25/18	36/7 64/11 115/13	23/7 161/19	130/24 134/16 135/20
defence... [2] 142/6 148/10	deteriorated [2] 7/20 8/2	125/1 133/5 133/17 146/23	disappear [1] 43/21	135/24 136/9 141/16 141/16
deficient [1] 156/1	deterioration [1] 8/3	differences [11]	disappearing [5]	divergent [1] 132/24
definitely [5] 103/23 117/3 121/15 137/23 163/1	determine [1] 10/13	22/15 76/16 76/17	43/19 43/24 44/4 47/25 48/3	diversion [1] 135/16
definitions [1]	determined [1]	81/5 82/3 82/24 85/5 128/15 135/15 136/4 145/21	discharge [2] 28/18 28/20	divide [1] 106/15
degree [4] 16/5 60/4 71/8 139/11	developed [6] 7/24 85/24 99/18 105/14 105/15 107/7	different [43] 8/10	disconnect [1]	division [3] 54/14 55/6 141/4
deleted [1] 44/17	development [5]	12/2 23/4 23/15 35/15 38/8 51/15 67/22	140/16	division's [1] 55/13
deliberately [2]	24/21 44/23 79/19	67/23 68/7 70/11 73/8	discuss [4] 13/23 18/4 25/7 30/21	do [115] 2/2 2/4 3/25 4/5 8/2 9/25 10/2 10/22 11/15 14/6 20/22 20/24 20/24 20/25 22/4 22/22 24/5 25/11 27/9 30/3 31/11 35/21 38/22 41/18 41/20 44/9 48/2 50/14 50/24 51/5 55/25 59/19 60/4 63/6 64/15 64/25 65/21 67/4 68/16 69/21 72/10 76/20 77/2 80/16 81/18 81/21 84/14 84/14 86/14 86/15 89/21 90/19 91/22 92/19 93/7 95/5 97/12 102/2 103/3 104/15 107/19 107/23 108/8 108/16 109/21 115/2 116/24 117/24 121/20 122/24 123/18 126/12 126/13 127/3 128/17 129/3 129/4 129/6 129/10 130/4 130/7 132/19 135/14 135/24 137/19 139/9 140/12 140/13 141/17 142/25 146/11 148/17 150/14 151/17 152/9 152/10 152/18 152/24 154/19 154/21 154/25 155/12 156/20 156/23 158/18 158/23 159/13 159/19 160/21 161/14 162/25 163/18 166/13 167/13 168/18
delivered [1] 89/20	89/17 103/16	75/10 75/13 76/14	discussed [11] 10/25 33/24 38/8 41/22 44/1 47/9 79/2 116/22 119/9 138/15 167/4	document [27] 8/19 12/15 20/17 41/1 42/11 43/6 44/18 45/7 45/16 72/14 72/16 72/20 78/10 83/16 83/20 84/1 87/22 88/1 91/10 92/3 94/13 99/17 113/20 135/4 160/9 168/4 168/8
delivering [1] 82/15	devolution [4]	82/15 82/15 85/14	119/9 138/15 167/4	documents [6] 4/2 19/18 26/22 40/19 65/24 153/24
delivers [1] 54/20	111/13 111/16 111/18 115/18	87/1 91/8 92/15 94/24	discussing [3] 12/7 12/8 80/20	does [9] 21/11 44/14 75/7 103/7 114/10 115/9 123/12 140/7 169/11
delivery [2] 148/12 165/17	devolved [29] 7/4 9/1	95/6 95/11 114/13	discussion [12]	doesn't [1] 18/15
Deloitte [1] 18/5	19/10 33/12 34/21	114/14 116/11 121/5	14/15 18/13 31/9	doing [14] 28/1 48/19
demand [1] 124/19	67/11 67/18 68/24	125/4 128/8 130/9	48/17 48/19 49/1 49/4 49/8 103/18 104/13 104/15 111/17	
demands [1] 103/9	81/3 81/24 82/19	130/10 132/14 132/16	discussions [7]	
demons [2] 141/10 141/10	82/23 83/6 113/12	132/17 132/23 134/10	13/11 25/4 25/11 33/2 48/9 48/23 60/5	
demonstrate [1]	114/4 115/21 116/4	134/11 135/23 150/23	disease [8] 117/10	
140/11	116/15 141/13 143/24	150/24 151/23 160/19	122/10 124/11 126/7 127/14 137/17 140/19 155/18	
denied [1] 24/20	145/6 145/15 146/2	differentiated [1]	disingenuous [3]	
densely [1] 151/13	147/16 148/8 148/11	75/17	160/24 161/7 165/21	
department [5] 45/24 46/1 65/7 108/14 116/14	149/1 158/21 165/13	differentiation [2]	dismayed [1] 18/21	
departmental [1]	devolveds [1] 69/4	82/8 132/12	displayed [4] 139/21 143/15 149/16 157/7	
55/7	devoted [1] 126/11	differentiations [1]	disposal [1] 154/19	
departments [7]	DHSC [1] 68/23	133/3	disproportionate [3]	
38/24 95/14 114/19	dialogue [1] 120/13	differently [6] 85/8	65/2 106/2 106/5	
123/22 127/8 157/24 157/25	did [79] 4/19 6/8 7/13	121/7 123/16 129/4	Disrupt [1] 87/10	
depend [1] 74/14	9/3 9/6 9/7 10/6 11/2	129/6 135/14	distancing [2] 50/11 97/8	
depending [2]	15/19 17/4 19/4 24/7	difficult [12] 22/6	distillery [1] 157/5	
116/21 163/25	29/16 29/20 35/10	27/12 27/15 27/17	distinct [1] 62/19	
depict [1] 75/2	36/15 37/5 37/21	76/15 109/1 117/12	distinction [2] 44/24 91/20	
deprive [2] 167/19 169/3	41/14 41/24 44/4	117/14 132/21 134/17	distinctive [1] 70/10	
deputy [3] 35/4 36/6 39/5	47/14 56/13 59/5	155/11 157/19	distinctively [2] 61/1 86/1	
derogatory [1] 162/7	59/21 60/6 61/7 63/3	difficulties [2] 17/17 150/23	distinctly [1] 13/10	
describe [11] 3/18	65/16 65/18 65/21	digital [5] 39/6 54/17	distribute [2] 154/20 154/22	
7/13 29/21 32/21	65/24 67/17 68/16	54/19 66/17 75/9	distributed [1] 63/23	
33/17 34/1 51/4 57/25	73/3 79/19 81/17 82/2	digitally [5] 61/21	distribution [1] 41/16	
65/5 69/9 141/7	82/17 82/21 83/2 83/9	61/23 62/4 62/18	disturbed [1] 155/9	
described [7] 4/20	84/24 85/7 87/14	64/12	disturbing [1] 130/13	
65/6 115/3 116/1	88/12 89/11 89/12	dilemmas [1] 153/7	diverge [3] 19/10 28/24 49/22	
117/19 120/23 143/9	90/2 102/13 102/22	diligent [1] 72/10	diverged [2] 21/20 134/4	
design [2] 54/21 54/22	103/4 105/6 108/2	direct [4] 2/18 3/5 62/11 119/3	divergence [26] 8/14 16/7 16/10 17/8 22/13 28/13 28/15 49/18 50/8 51/7 60/25 61/17 67/14 68/25 79/14 84/12 86/6 86/9 97/13	
desire [3] 37/12	110/7 115/12 118/6	62/11 119/3		
126/20 136/5	119/1 119/11 120/12	direction [3] 69/19		
despite [2] 91/19 140/8	123/7 124/21 125/3	115/10 121/25		
detail [9] 16/4 17/24	134/5 135/3 136/24	directions [1] 150/21		
19/8 24/10 40/23 58/2	138/13 139/2 143/7	directly [3] 63/13		
74/11 79/2 152/25	146/10 147/25 155/1	66/21 66/24		
	155/4 156/14 162/1	director [8] 39/5		
	162/4 162/25 163/18	68/21 78/15 79/3		
	164/18	98/18 106/22 107/1 108/15		
	didn't [20] 17/1 23/8	directors [1] 80/10		
	58/12 81/17 83/12	disabled [2] 66/13 66/15		
	94/3 94/4 102/12	disadvantage [1]		
	103/17 105/12 120/14	128/7		
	126/15 127/22 131/19	disagree [2] 121/2 121/7		
	144/6 145/17 147/25	disagreements [2]		
	160/18 163/16 163/16			
	differ [1] 76/24			
	difference [8] 1/12			

D	Dr Atherton's [2] 151/8 151/20	141/14 141/23 142/10 152/21	78/14 78/17 79/12 80/21 80/22 86/5 97/14 98/21 99/10 100/2 101/4 101/19 102/1 102/8 102/12 102/13 103/7 135/5 138/6 138/10 138/11	153/6 158/19 162/15 England-focused [2] 22/6 38/5 England-only [2] 136/21 137/6 English [4] 76/2 82/10 89/22 90/4 English-specific [1] 82/10 enormous [1] 39/19 enormously [1] 4/19 enough [6] 51/17 69/6 109/2 159/16 167/7 168/17 ensure [10] 25/6 25/8 67/17 67/24 68/17 81/4 105/6 119/7 137/1 146/11 ensuring [6] 108/6 108/17 111/14 111/23 112/8 112/11 enthusiasm [1] 134/24 entire [2] 9/10 106/17 entirely [5] 50/14 85/9 131/19 164/5 165/21 entirety [1] 107/5 entitled [1] 15/4 entries [1] 31/22 entry [3] 31/24 74/20 74/21 Environment [1] 2/19 ephemeral [1] 42/25 epidemiological [1] 128/14 Equally [1] 81/8 equipment [1] 154/23 equitably [1] 154/20 escalation [4] 13/1 36/18 36/19 36/19 especially [1] 161/21 essentially [3] 103/22 144/5 149/6 establish [1] 69/5 establishing [1] 128/9 ethnic [3] 63/12 65/3 106/2 Evans [1] 43/15 evaporated [1] 33/13 evasive [1] 114/12 even [17] 38/24 46/4 73/9 80/15 82/24 83/6 86/12 87/4 89/11 119/21 123/1 123/1 128/18 135/19 137/24 145/14 154/10 event [7] 31/20 70/2 125/12 128/13 152/23 159/5 159/8 events [3] 44/23 54/21 102/2
doing... [12] 50/15 65/12 75/20 81/25 85/6 85/7 89/10 132/1 139/4 144/14 157/2 157/7	Dr Boulton [1] 18/1 Dr Frank [1] 37/7 Dr Frank Atherton [1] 11/6 Dr Goodall's [3] 55/19 92/5 92/8 Dr John Boulton [1] 17/21 Dr Llewelyn [2] 1/7 1/10 Dr Orford [1] 39/4 draft [1] 153/16 drafted [3] 102/16 102/19 102/20 Drakeford [8] 10/3 51/10 160/22 162/7 164/13 164/22 166/16 167/3 Drakeford's [2] 11/15 152/16 DrakeSpAds [3] 38/14 40/9 40/12 dramatic [1] 104/24 dramatically [2] 58/23 61/2 draw [1] 159/18 dreaded [1] 20/1 dreadful [1] 137/19 drew [1] 57/6 driver [2] 89/12 89/16 drop [1] 13/3 dropping [1] 79/13 drops [2] 63/25 64/15 Duchy [1] 34/19 due [5] 15/25 21/7 67/22 91/22 165/16 during [45] 1/22 4/24 6/25 8/17 19/20 31/16 34/12 34/14 40/2 43/11 54/9 56/4 57/10 59/1 59/20 66/7 66/16 66/22 66/22 68/9 71/22 77/11 85/18 89/2 111/2 111/4 112/7 112/15 112/21 113/11 115/20 118/8 120/6 120/8 125/7 136/2 139/7 141/14 142/25 143/19 147/21 148/14 155/2 157/13 168/19 DWP [1] 116/16 Dylan [1] 47/4 Dylan Hughes [1] 47/4 dynamics [1] 133/4	earlier [25] 6/2 10/5 15/12 20/2 34/8 36/2 37/21 59/7 65/6 79/16 84/10 86/5 87/20 88/10 103/3 104/20 119/9 131/15 138/16 144/20 155/21 159/12 159/22 166/5 166/10 earliest [1] 158/8 early [20] 6/16 7/18 10/15 12/10 30/17 48/11 58/16 61/10 68/2 69/5 76/21 79/24 82/14 86/13 121/15 123/9 126/21 128/24 129/10 131/1 ears [1] 31/2 easements [1] 38/1 easily [2] 27/5 87/15 easing [1] 50/17 Easter [1] 48/11 easy [1] 158/16 economic [3] 124/1 124/8 140/19 economy [6] 5/18 116/18 124/9 130/18 133/15 134/14 edged [2] 87/5 87/10 edition [1] 75/23 educate [1] 81/23 education [5] 24/21 25/3 25/14 48/9 48/25 effect [4] 134/16 136/11 147/12 149/12 effective [8] 67/17 68/16 68/17 111/14 115/4 149/9 149/22 159/19 effectively [10] 58/16 60/19 64/17 74/24 112/23 116/23 145/1 147/16 151/18 154/20 effectiveness [2] 61/8 91/2 effort [4] 35/23 65/3 123/9 143/8 efforts [8] 62/24 66/12 82/12 83/9 85/1 106/1 106/11 106/14 eight [1] 138/5 either [7] 55/6 61/24 78/1 115/16 123/19 128/22 137/15 electronic [1] 42/19 element [2] 96/14 122/10 elements [1] 5/17 else [4] 122/12 126/10 126/18 129/5 elsewhere [1] 46/3 email [26] 17/21 30/7 41/5 41/17 78/12	emails [1] 99/4 embark [1] 124/4 emerged [1] 31/6 Emergencies [1] 12/18 emergency [5] 123/3 129/22 134/20 158/20 161/13 emerging [5] 16/19 25/7 65/1 105/2 132/24 emoji [1] 160/21 emphasise [2] 30/10 169/2 emphasised [1] 68/15 emphatically [1] 128/19 employed [1] 61/9 employee [1] 3/5 enable [1] 127/23 enabled [4] 57/17 86/22 87/15 91/4 encompassing [1] 75/23 encountered [1] 169/1 encouraging [1] 74/8 end [9] 8/22 17/3 17/7 23/3 27/5 27/9 37/22 103/19 142/17 endeavour [1] 143/5 ended [1] 79/5 ends [1] 115/18 enemy [1] 148/21 energy [1] 126/12 enforcement [2] 157/14 157/22 engage [5] 4/3 37/13 65/4 65/8 65/19 engaged [1] 25/15 engagement [12] 15/15 15/25 20/7 20/10 66/5 67/9 69/9 113/24 114/3 125/16 156/8 156/15 engaging [2] 57/15 125/21 England [31] 22/6 22/9 23/14 38/5 38/23 50/9 68/24 75/7 77/15 78/5 82/14 83/7 84/17 85/11 97/6 112/5 130/16 132/13 133/6 133/11 136/18 136/21 137/3 137/6 137/21 149/20 150/5 152/1	
domain [2] 12/9 13/5 don't [75] 4/19 13/17 21/3 25/10 27/4 27/20 37/3 43/6 44/21 47/15 47/23 48/22 49/19 51/3 58/9 61/24 63/5 69/13 81/13 84/19 95/2 99/16 100/16 102/1 102/13 103/17 103/17 104/17 107/4 107/22 107/22 109/21 111/17 115/15 119/25 120/14 121/1 121/7 122/24 127/16 129/22 132/8 133/17 133/18 134/19 136/16 139/8 139/11 139/20 141/10 141/11 141/18 141/18 142/1 142/14 145/20 146/5 146/15 146/16 147/9 148/14 149/15 151/21 152/11 152/21 157/10 157/25 159/13 161/15 161/15 161/16 161/22 162/22 163/19 164/4 done [21] 7/9 26/12 27/16 27/21 58/18 65/6 66/3 66/4 107/20 114/25 123/15 123/16 123/24 124/5 129/25 130/22 142/23 146/2 165/4 167/11 168/23 door [3] 63/25 64/15 166/12 doubt [3] 97/3 97/10 131/23 down [22] 2/23 18/12 20/21 22/20 26/8 26/13 26/25 31/24 32/14 38/20 52/6 58/10 72/2 100/15 117/16 129/24 138/11 146/1 146/8 153/17 160/21 160/25 Downing [3] 83/5 162/24 163/16 Downing Street [3] 83/5 162/24 163/16 Dr [15] 1/7 1/10 11/6 17/21 18/1 37/7 39/3 39/4 54/11 55/19 92/5 92/8 151/7 151/8 151/20 Dr Andrew [1] 54/11 Dr Atherton [2] 39/3 151/7	each [9] 60/15 67/15 71/16 76/11 128/6	E		

E	43/22	118/3	fashioned [1] 63/19	166/4 166/15 167/3
eventually [3] 100/3 102/23 103/14	exchange [2] 141/18 152/13	expresses [1] 128/22	faster [1] 123/16	first [155] 1/20 2/10
ever [6] 19/4 123/24 124/5 126/5 132/1 148/15	exchanged [1] 120/6	expressing [1] 152/16	favourably [1] 89/25	2/17 2/23 3/3 3/15
every [25] 8/24 26/13 27/24 55/24 56/15 56/22 56/23 59/7 64/18 77/4 83/10 126/11 126/12 133/1 133/10 133/10 134/4 137/7 138/22 138/22 145/6 145/7 145/8 147/2 153/7	exchanges [1] 153/1	expression [3] 121/1 124/13 126/23	favoured [1] 84/16	4/23 5/7 5/12 5/22 6/3
everybody [7] 118/21 122/9 123/23 126/8 135/2 143/3 143/10	Exchequer [2] 163/4 163/9	extension [1] 160/18	fear [1] 118/14	6/21 7/8 7/21 7/24 9/2
everybody's [2] 115/16 155/9	excluded [5] 61/21 61/23 62/5 62/18 64/12	extensive [2] 57/10 63/6	feature [1] 28/11	9/7 9/20 9/22 9/25
everyone [1] 109/19	exclusion [1] 66/17	extent [11] 6/8 21/19 61/6 61/13 65/18 90/11 91/5 91/6 91/22 128/10 162/8	featured [1] 90/11	10/4 10/7 10/7 10/10
everything [5] 27/11 39/1 120/17 122/11 129/5	exclusively [3] 29/15 112/25 127/10	external [6] 4/4 28/9 39/20 54/7 60/4 107/5	featuring [1] 77/25	10/12 10/12 10/18
evidence [48] 1/4 3/24 11/8 11/10 15/12 16/3 24/4 24/6 24/6 24/7 25/7 39/23 40/21 43/23 44/9 44/19 62/11 65/1 109/17 109/20 111/15 116/3 117/13 117/18 118/11 120/7 120/23 121/14 125/9 126/18 128/11 128/21 128/25 129/2 132/22 133/7 134/15 141/15 147/11 149/8 150/12 150/18 152/4 152/14 156/17 159/23 159/24 168/2	exist [3] 141/11 147/25 147/25	extra [2] 144/8 166/18	February [5] 8/23 9/20 10/4 11/1 110/4	10/22 11/5 11/8 12/13 12/13 12/16 13/15 13/19 15/14 15/24 16/9 16/14 17/5 18/20 19/8 19/15 19/19 19/24 21/2 21/11 21/15 21/24 23/6 23/19 24/16 24/18 25/14 26/6 26/8 26/22 27/13 27/25 28/14 29/12 29/16 29/22 29/25 30/8 30/18 30/20 31/4 33/7 33/8 33/16 33/17 33/21 33/24 34/2 34/5 34/10 34/21 35/4 35/4 36/1 36/6 36/7 37/11 37/19 38/17 41/1 41/12 42/11 50/3 50/17 50/18 51/9 51/11 54/16 59/24 66/23 73/20 77/3 77/7 77/21 77/21 78/6 80/4 80/5 81/16 81/18 83/10 83/20 85/13 86/12 91/18 106/6 113/5 113/16 115/25 116/4 117/18 117/24 118/13 119/4 120/6 120/8 120/22 120/23 121/3 121/10 122/1 122/2 122/14 128/20 137/11 138/6 139/7 139/22 143/19 143/23 144/18 144/25 146/3 146/25 149/14 149/17 150/2 150/8 150/25 151/3 154/1 154/15 160/22 161/4 161/6 161/8 162/12 167/25
evident [3] 16/10 31/8 126/21	existed [2] 128/10 146/14	extract [1] 46/23	February 2020 [2] 9/20 110/4	162/12 167/25
evolve [1] 147/6	existing [2] 46/3 151/14	extract [1] 46/23	fed [3] 19/2 52/8 154/10	First Minister [89] 2/10 2/17 2/23 3/3
evolved [1] 126/25	exists [2] 159/6 159/10	extraordinary [5] 6/17 26/21 27/15 27/17 157/4	feedback [4] 25/9 84/3 84/25 88/20	3/15 5/7 6/21 7/24 9/2
exact [2] 22/5 25/18	expanded [1] 66/6	face [18] 50/10 50/12 50/21 51/12 51/16 66/15 71/14 71/20 96/25 97/2 97/5 97/7 97/25 98/24 99/1 100/14 101/3 104/20	feeding [2] 60/5 112/10	9/22 9/25 10/7 10/12
exactly [6] 72/17 104/17 139/2 144/7 158/16 168/25	expansion [1] 165/15	faced [2] 66/17 123/25	feel [5] 39/1 58/11 65/24 139/12 148/6	10/18 11/5 11/8 12/13
example [26] 17/18 19/11 57/3 60/16 61/14 71/13 73/2 75/9 77/16 87/24 88/24 89/6 92/11 104/22 104/25 105/13 106/6 116/16 116/16 119/13 137/11 142/19 148/10 157/18 159/4 159/8	expect [3] 124/19 124/23 161/15	facilitated [2] 25/4 25/10	feeling [4] 125/17 132/11 140/22 147/15	15/14 15/24 16/9 16/14 18/20 19/15 19/19 21/2 21/11 23/6 23/19 24/16 24/18 25/14 26/6 26/22 27/13 27/25 29/16 29/22 29/25 30/18 33/8 33/16 33/21 33/24 34/2 34/5 34/10 35/4 36/1 36/7 37/11 37/19 51/9 54/16
examples [7] 19/20 42/10 43/10 63/2 118/7 143/3 143/9	expectation [1] 112/23	facility [3] 18/2 18/8 18/12	feels [2] 23/3 38/25	
excellent [2] 15/9 154/5	expected [2] 12/25 131/19	fact [21] 1/11 6/13 8/9 14/24 18/25 21/24 39/18 42/23 53/22 68/3 69/9 73/3 76/22 76/22 92/18 100/18 125/8 126/4 128/1 152/2 153/2	fell [1] 31/1	
except [3] 11/24 30/1	experience [2] 6/6 132/1	factored [1] 146/11	felt [7] 15/25 25/23 60/7 91/19 138/7 143/8 144/6	
	experienced [1] 5/11	factories [1] 157/5	few [8] 6/23 43/10 100/9 100/10 123/10 153/21 157/8 168/18	
	experiences [2] 6/12 127/9	FACTS [2] 93/20 94/1	field [1] 118/22	
	expert [1] 108/2	fact [18] 4/12 6/20 6/23 8/21 16/23 30/25 31/12 36/22 38/16 48/22 51/17 76/12 82/1 82/17 88/7 121/14 141/7 168/17	field marshal [1] 118/22	
	expertise [2] 36/14 58/25	fairly [1] 117/25	fifth [1] 78/17	
	explain [33] 4/23 5/3 5/22 13/19 16/6 20/3 21/1 23/5 26/15 30/12 33/6 39/22 40/7 55/12 56/5 57/21 62/10 62/22 67/10 70/5 71/17 72/18 73/16 74/19 77/10 82/11 85/19 86/3 88/11 91/3 142/4 151/5 164/11	fall [1] 141/8	fighting [1] 131/25	
	explained [2] 70/1 122/6	false [1] 118/15	figure [4] 1/10 93/7 94/5 94/6	
	explains [1] 151/3	families [5] 49/17 55/24 86/17 96/24 160/8	figures [3] 13/10 93/8 93/21	
	explanation [1] 76/7	fantastically [1] 143/2	fill [1] 159/5	
	explore [2] 35/5 111/1	far [8] 19/1 23/8 112/10 137/16 146/16 150/12 167/5 169/17	final [7] 12/20 28/23 40/16 43/18 47/25 100/11 103/1	
	express [1] 66/14		finally [4] 28/13 105/4 108/5 156/7	
	expressed [5] 33/11 43/24 77/22 77/24		finance [3] 5/18 12/7 114/7	

F	follows [4] 15/8 32/5 38/21 160/15	157/11 157/11	107/10 108/8 113/11 147/23	20/22 21/15 22/17 22/17 24/12 27/4 33/4 36/8 56/3 58/9 64/21 67/9 71/19 75/8 79/21 80/1 81/24 82/6 82/7 98/14 99/11 101/9 102/22 108/16 117/10 122/15 127/9 130/12 132/4 132/5 132/23 133/11 134/8 134/16 135/1 146/20 146/22 147/9 153/22 158/8 158/20 160/10 161/22 165/2 166/4
First Minister... [36] 59/24 66/23 77/3 77/7 77/21 77/21 80/4 80/5 81/16 81/18 85/13 86/12 113/5 115/25 117/18 117/24 120/8 120/22 120/23 121/3 139/7 139/22 143/19 144/18 144/25 146/3 146/25 149/14 149/17 150/8 151/3 154/1 160/22 161/6 161/8 162/12	football [2] 17/13 17/19	frequently [7] 56/10 83/5 129/17 129/19 133/9 137/4 137/10	generated [1] 93/10	gone [4] 21/14 78/20 102/14 148/22
81/16 81/18 85/13 86/12 113/5 115/25 117/18 117/24 120/8 120/22 120/23 121/3 139/7 139/22 143/19 144/18 144/25 146/3 146/25 149/14 149/17 150/8 151/3 154/1 160/22 161/6 161/8 162/12	fora [1] 25/18	Friday [2] 20/23 149/12	genuine [3] 33/10 34/5 34/8	good [20] 1/3 22/25 30/19 49/16 70/24 72/2 73/2 81/19 91/25 93/17 96/22 104/22 105/13 105/22 157/1 157/8 160/7 163/24 164/1 164/1
First Minister's [6] 10/12 19/24 38/17 128/20 137/11 150/25	forbid [1] 131/22	friend [3] 127/1 127/2 127/6	genuinely [2] 33/4 134/23	Goodall [2] 15/5 54/11
First Ministerial [1] 83/10	forces [1] 156/13	front [2] 68/3 90/17	geographical [2] 130/15 133/5	Goodall's [3] 55/19 92/5 92/8
first ministers [9] 5/12 6/3 7/8 34/21 35/4 36/6 116/4 118/13 119/4	foreign [1] 148/10	frustrated [1] 167/10	get [16] 49/19 52/8 71/15 73/3 76/1 98/21 104/3 111/17 123/5 126/21 138/9 145/21 148/13 149/22 158/21 162/17	got [11] 23/23 70/24 103/25 103/25 120/25 122/12 138/3 139/16 143/3 153/15 164/14
firstly [1] 161/6	forgive [3] 40/11 46/17 46/20	frustrating [2] 161/21 167/14	Gething [7] 97/7 99/6 99/21 100/4 138/2 138/12 155/14	Gov [3] 140/16 152/20 160/17
fissures [1] 33/22	forgotten [1] 51/21	frustratingly [1] 123/1	Gething's [3] 97/2 101/15 102/16	Gove [14] 34/18 34/21 34/24 115/11 115/22 116/5 116/8 117/20 118/22 118/25 119/11 119/17 146/16 158/23
fit [3] 75/13 114/10 165/22	form [3] 17/2 56/13 142/7	function [1] 44/13	gets [2] 121/10 125/19	Gove's [1] 147/4
fits [1] 114/12	formal [7] 36/20 41/20 44/22 44/25 59/12 69/9 80/14	functions [4] 28/18 28/21 29/5 29/5	getting [5] 24/19 66/25 88/21 125/18 168/21	Governance [1] 42/16
five [1] 97/4	formalised [1] 69/1	fundamentally [3] 26/12 121/8 150/19	gin [1] 157/5	governed [2] 55/21 124/22
five days [1] 97/4	format [1] 146/21	fundamentals [1] 4/20	give [11] 1/16 21/18 39/14 63/2 71/13 79/6 97/3 102/3 118/14 125/8 127/23	government [262]
flexed [1] 87/1	former [1] 5/7	funded [1] 145/9	given [29] 11/9 17/23 24/15 33/9 35/15 36/4 52/3 57/13 57/23 61/10 66/15 72/12 74/23 78/1 78/4 80/15 80/16 96/6 100/5 101/24 106/2 116/8 118/2 127/12 127/12 127/18 158/7 161/21 163/15	government's [27] 2/6 6/10 9/18 16/11 21/19 29/10 54/7 54/19 55/20 59/23 67/25 68/21 69/3 77/18 79/3 84/7 90/9 90/12 93/14 95/10 105/7 125/6 132/13 134/9 154/8 154/22 161/11
flexibility [2] 96/5 96/15	formerly [1] 160/14	fundamentals [1] 4/20	gives [3] 62/8 64/2 99/6	governmental [2] 54/17 91/20
flexing [1] 87/4	forms [1] 56/15	funding [6] 164/21 166/18 166/22 167/4 167/19 168/4	giving [5] 52/25 55/23 73/8 109/13 124/25	governments [18] 7/4 8/15 9/1 19/10 33/13 67/19 71/10 114/4 115/13 121/13 122/17 122/19 122/24 123/14 125/22 127/20 140/10 144/5
Fliss [7] 39/5 47/7 47/8 47/12 47/20 99/5 102/6	fortnight [1] 155/19	furlough [2] 160/16 160/18	global [1] 137/22	
Fliss Bennee [4] 39/5 47/8 99/5 102/6	forum [2] 107/9 147/18	further [18] 16/4 18/13 20/19 20/21 22/20 26/10 26/25 30/22 32/14 49/12 65/5 74/2 91/12 110/5 134/8 138/10 164/25 165/20	go [29] 17/24 19/17 20/23 20/25 40/23 87/25 88/3 93/18 98/4 99/20 100/22 100/24 124/21 125/15 129/16 129/24 131/15 133/18 138/10 140/10 140/13 140/14 142/1 144/8 144/24 152/22 157/4 163/2 169/17	
fluid [1] 130/12	forward [3] 108/16 160/19 165/15	future [9] 25/9 34/9 44/7 45/14 70/2 91/8 108/18 115/5 128/13	God [1] 131/22	
focus [21] 5/18 22/9 23/20 57/14 60/5 76/19 83/18 84/14 86/14 86/19 88/20 89/4 89/11 91/4 91/12 92/1 101/11 104/7 121/13 147/1 155/20	Foubister [3] 105/19 105/20 170/11		goes [13] 18/6 18/14 45/8 46/2 63/17 86/5 98/5 100/8 100/11 100/11 100/15 149/19 151/5	
focused [6] 22/6 23/14 38/5 66/25 104/6 157/14	found [3] 86/13 87/11 130/13		going [46] 15/21	
focusing [2] 48/16 162/1	four [31] 16/8 16/15 16/17 30/21 34/12 35/7 35/14 35/19 50/7 54/14 58/5 58/13 58/19 61/11 67/10 67/16 69/1 71/17 73/19 76/13 80/10 82/4 83/24 84/10 116/2 128/16 130/9 131/1 131/12 131/18 154/17			
fog [1] 149/1	fourth [2] 151/8 154/14			
follow [7] 20/20 23/23 76/3 76/23 86/8 124/15 124/16	framework [6] 113/25 139/20 139/25 139/25 140/2 140/7			
followed [1] 81/8	Frank [4] 9/23 11/6 37/7 50/12			
following [16] 14/25 18/10 50/3 51/11 81/5 90/10 92/12 93/19 99/16 101/1 113/19 124/14 151/18 151/20 151/20 153/17	Frank Atherton [1] 50/12			
	frankly [1] 139/12			
	fray [1] 131/4			
	free [1] 163/15			
	frequency [1] 93/11			
	frequent [3] 7/17			

G	18/22 19/4 21/5 21/25 23/13 25/6 25/8 25/16 25/23 25/23 29/2 31/6 32/19 32/19 32/20 34/5 34/7 35/17 35/24 36/5 37/4 39/18 41/16 46/5 46/8 47/19 51/25 54/14 56/16 56/25 57/7 58/25 59/19 60/1 63/11 63/14 65/10 66/19 67/17 68/17 68/20 70/10 71/23 72/4 74/22 76/25 78/14 79/8 85/2 85/10 85/23 86/12 90/20 92/19 93/20 95/17 97/5 101/14 106/4 108/10 112/6 116/14 116/18 118/19 119/3 123/2 123/25 124/5 125/8 126/5 127/19 128/4 128/7 128/9 129/18 129/25 130/9 130/21 131/2 132/1 132/1 135/5 136/11 138/7 143/25 146/3 148/1 148/4 148/16 148/16 149/10 149/16 149/18 149/21 150/20 153/3 155/4 155/20 155/20 155/22 156/2 156/19 157/18 160/22 162/13 163/23 163/25 164/1 164/11 164/13 164/17 164/20 164/22 164/22 165/5 165/23 166/5 166/18 167/2 167/3 167/3 167/6	80/11 100/3 145/11 153/4 happening [1] 84/17 happens [4] 12/6 159/5 162/18 162/19 happy [4] 105/1 141/17 145/17 165/4 hard [2] 98/3 148/20 harder [2] 87/5 87/10 harm [1] 24/19 harms [2] 24/8 62/15 Hart [18] 109/10 109/11 109/15 109/16 110/15 117/11 125/5 135/11 136/23 153/13 153/20 156/7 158/3 158/8 159/25 160/7 169/12 170/13 has [24] 1/10 7/25 12/11 21/14 26/13 49/25 50/5 53/12 54/11 67/21 78/20 98/9 99/11 100/5 111/11 114/13 117/19 118/11 120/23 123/24 128/11 135/13 151/6 160/16 hasn't [1] 149/18 hat [1] 118/16 have [216] haven't [5] 24/9 61/6 102/14 109/8 159/19 having [19] 5/6 6/12 6/16 7/22 30/15 33/8 47/16 80/6 90/15 103/4 103/13 110/5 110/6 118/25 138/20 145/18 146/10 153/7 160/19 he [44] 1/8 9/22 15/25 16/17 18/3 18/3 18/6 18/7 18/14 21/12 24/24 28/1 28/1 28/11 33/21 36/1 50/13 55/19 92/8 92/10 100/5 116/1 116/11 116/18 117/21 118/12 119/1 128/22 136/3 136/8 138/7 138/7 138/12 143/8 143/9 146/6 149/16 149/19 151/5 151/7 162/13 162/22 164/22 167/10 he's [2] 128/21 162/12 head [8] 2/6 3/13 53/17 53/25 54/8 69/2 69/10 97/10 headed [1] 73/24 heading [10] 18/2 22/23 41/4 76/10 88/1 88/4 121/24 123/4 124/2 126/23 headings [3] 73/25	76/10 78/23 heads [4] 55/7 97/25 98/8 114/4 health [55] 10/6 10/16 10/16 11/4 11/5 13/22 17/21 17/22 18/16 19/5 21/20 23/18 36/25 37/2 37/6 37/8 55/20 57/22 57/24 58/1 58/4 58/6 58/14 58/14 58/17 58/23 59/17 60/20 63/10 67/11 68/8 68/22 68/22 68/24 84/11 98/23 99/3 105/8 105/10 113/6 127/14 128/2 129/7 129/11 129/13 129/19 130/24 131/7 137/2 148/11 148/12 149/6 151/5 151/11 151/16 hear [5] 25/17 35/17 77/5 104/5 109/19 heard [10] 35/15 40/21 46/15 57/8 93/19 111/15 116/3 128/11 136/21 145/25 hearing [4] 1/4 21/17 39/23 169/22 hearings [1] 45/4 hears [1] 109/19 heat [1] 162/16 Heaven [12] 49/14 49/15 96/21 96/23 105/18 158/6 160/4 160/5 169/9 170/5 170/10 170/17 heavily [3] 6/15 23/14 39/21 heightened [1] 134/22 heightens [1] 43/1 held [5] 34/5 35/18 63/22 110/4 147/16 Helen [2] 46/23 47/6 Helen Lentle [2] 46/23 47/6 hell [1] 20/23 help [12] 72/18 82/18 107/18 109/2 114/10 145/8 155/17 157/3 166/6 167/11 167/12 169/14 helped [1] 5/18 helpful [12] 108/16 137/16 140/21 140/23 141/1 141/5 144/19 145/23 154/8 155/24 156/6 156/6 helping [1] 61/14 Henderson [1] 83/4 her [5] 15/12 43/23 43/24 47/13 83/4 here [20] 14/15 20/4	25/10 39/10 46/23 99/19 104/8 115/3 122/20 122/22 127/16 134/7 136/7 144/10 145/22 146/13 146/24 152/23 164/15 165/10 Here's [1] 159/22 HF [1] 104/20 high [10] 67/23 88/8 92/22 92/25 93/22 132/7 149/21 151/10 152/19 153/23 high-Covid [1] 151/10 high-level [2] 88/8 153/23 higher [1] 87/9 highlight [1] 154/17 him [6] 10/20 28/4 39/14 116/13 119/2 136/4 himself [2] 5/8 119/4 hindsight [4] 66/3 123/15 125/13 130/3 his [21] 9/21 10/3 10/8 10/19 11/8 34/18 47/2 54/11 86/12 99/6 100/5 117/18 118/11 118/13 120/23 120/24 128/12 128/25 137/13 146/4 168/2 history [1] 125/2 Hitchman [2] 42/2 45/7 HMRC [5] 165/16 168/10 168/13 168/15 168/19 hold [3] 4/2 44/7 44/7 holds [1] 21/12 holidays [1] 48/11 home [16] 19/12 49/5 49/6 60/21 78/2 78/19 79/20 81/2 89/15 95/13 95/16 96/9 106/13 131/7 131/10 136/14 Home Office [1] 81/2 homes [7] 89/6 106/8 106/9 106/13 106/18 106/20 106/21 homework [1] 109/2 hone [1] 65/12 honesty [2] 55/22 127/16 hope [3] 64/2 98/5 109/8 hoped [1] 149/10 hopefully [1] 120/18 horror [1] 133/1 hospital [2] 14/16 153/6 hotline [2] 40/16 46/11 hour [2] 39/8 126/11
H	had [142] 1/9 5/11 6/13 6/14 6/20 7/5 7/6 7/9 7/10 9/13 9/22 10/20 10/22 11/3 14/21 17/11 17/11 18/8 18/13 18/16	happen [8] 15/21 20/6 20/12 24/13 44/24 47/22 122/8 123/8 happened [11] 17/11 28/7 52/11 52/12 60/20 61/16 61/17		

H	159/17 159/18 162/6	140/21 140/23 155/24	159/21	I want [14] 3/10 8/16
hours [1] 80/3	I couldn't [3] 25/18	167/21 169/1	I talked [1] 61/16	9/18 15/3 16/4 17/18
House [1] 110/15	92/21 159/10	I keep [1] 165/2	I think [166] 16/25	29/9 36/12 38/12
household [1] 64/18	I definitely [1] 117/3	I knew [1] 41/18	20/9 21/4 21/23 22/22	39/25 43/10 46/10
households [2] 64/1	I did [7] 9/3 9/6 37/5	I know [2] 25/13	26/18 26/19 29/1 36/3	103/2 113/8
74/17	37/21 41/14 102/13	26/11	36/10 36/11 38/6 38/7	I wanted [2] 73/10
households' [1]	102/22	I look [1] 113/10	41/12 44/5 44/6 44/10	154/23
74/18	I didn't [4] 103/17	I looked [1] 93/21	44/24 45/5 45/16	I was [21] 6/11 13/9
how [34] 4/17 7/13	127/22 163/16 163/16	I made [1] 52/1	49/14 51/8 52/1 57/17	16/17 20/2 26/17 29/1
19/17 22/3 26/10	I distinctly [1] 13/10	I may [4] 35/16 42/2	59/25 60/3 61/2 62/6	30/15 37/6 39/14
26/15 27/16 29/20	I divide [1] 106/15	63/2 89/4	64/10 65/12 65/15	41/16 41/18 41/19
30/12 32/21 32/24	I do [19] 10/2 35/21	I mean [11] 51/5 59/9	65/23 66/5 66/8 66/8	43/6 101/9 102/22
33/3 33/4 33/11 34/1	41/18 41/20 44/9 77/2	85/9 94/7 106/9	66/18 67/6 68/9 71/19	103/16 136/1 137/8
44/14 59/5 62/22	84/14 84/14 97/12	108/20 133/18 133/19	73/1 74/7 76/19 76/20	146/24 155/13 163/15
65/12 66/9 67/17 86/3	102/2 107/23 109/21	139/8 151/17 164/12	76/22 76/24 79/12	I wasn't [4] 43/8
87/13 90/9 90/16	123/18 132/19 139/9	I mentioned [1]	80/9 80/22 81/6 82/1	44/14 105/12 107/17
92/15 112/15 115/2	148/17 155/12 159/13	159/1	83/2 83/2 83/3 84/6	I will [3] 9/11 122/1
120/7 124/18 126/2	168/18	I might [2] 121/7	84/10 84/14 84/15	161/25
130/11 156/14 163/20	I don't [56] 4/19	144/7	84/17 86/11 86/22	I won't [2] 17/24
however [3] 41/18	13/17 21/3 27/20 37/3	I noted [1] 31/9	88/14 88/16 89/8	40/22
62/16 165/18	43/6 47/15 47/23	I obviously [1] 120/3	90/23 94/15 95/14	I work [1] 36/1
HPAG [1] 37/3	48/22 51/3 58/9 69/13	I personally [1] 21/4	95/17 95/17 95/19	I worked [1] 12/13
hub [3] 69/3 69/10	81/13 84/19 95/2	I please [4] 1/13	95/19 96/1 96/8 96/16	I would [22] 7/21
69/15	102/1 103/17 103/17	52/21 56/13 96/2	96/20 96/22 100/4	9/13 10/20 27/20
huge [5] 64/10 75/21	104/17 107/4 107/22	I possibly [1] 136/6	102/21 104/19 108/13	29/24 39/7 46/7 56/18
103/8 146/23 156/24	107/22 111/17 115/15	I presume [1] 102/13	108/25 113/11 113/22	61/10 61/19 84/6
Hughes [1] 47/4	119/25 120/14 121/1	I put [1] 97/17	114/19 115/6 115/10	87/19 91/16 92/21
hundreds [2] 72/11	121/7 127/16 129/22	I re-read [1] 118/19	115/11 115/14 115/19	101/2 104/21 107/6
81/18	132/8 133/17 133/18	I really [1] 27/3	116/16 117/25 118/1	110/23 121/9 129/4
I	134/19 139/8 139/11	I recall [2] 33/8 79/23	118/10 118/18 119/5	130/22 159/20
I absolutely [1] 59/21	141/10 141/18 141/18	I receive [1] 159/23	120/2 120/15 121/6	I wouldn't [2] 79/10
I accept [1] 145/14	142/14 146/15 146/16	I received [1] 41/14	121/25 122/3 122/5	90/13
I actually [1] 139/8	147/9 148/14 149/15	I recognise [1]	122/8 122/22 122/23	I wrote [1] 20/8
I agree [1] 49/7	151/21 152/21 157/10	161/19	123/17 124/14 125/9	I'd [8] 11/17 25/1
I also [3] 5/13 44/18	157/25 161/15 161/15	I refer [2] 21/23 26/2	125/24 126/1 127/6	51/21 85/17 89/1 91/1
140/7	161/16 161/22 162/22	I reference [1]	127/18 128/22 128/24	118/10 156/18
I am [1] 53/23	163/19 164/4	165/12	129/15 129/18 130/5	I'll [4] 63/2 101/7
I apologise [1] 16/23	I feel [3] 39/1 65/24	I referred [1] 63/11	131/17 131/19 134/5	113/9 168/1
I appreciate [2] 76/9	148/6	I remember [7]	134/19 134/21 136/6	I'm [68] 13/8 13/8
100/25	I felt [1] 60/7	104/18 123/22 129/9	136/7 137/18 137/24	13/8 22/10 23/12
I ask [5] 97/14 103/6	I follow [1] 76/3	129/20 133/19 137/4	138/5 138/11 138/19	23/12 24/9 26/17
122/18 158/7 160/7	I found [1] 130/13	167/9	138/19 139/2 139/3	37/24 39/12 39/13
I asked [2] 18/12	I get [1] 98/21	I represent [3] 49/16	139/9 139/10 139/14	45/2 45/10 45/13
31/10	I go [1] 131/15	96/23 105/22	141/9 141/12 142/17	50/15 51/1 51/5 51/11
I assume [1] 32/11	I got [1] 103/25	I said [5] 59/7 65/17	143/10 143/13 144/25	51/22 56/3 58/9 64/21
I believe [5] 30/14	I guess [2] 37/6	68/2 94/8 131/15	145/4 146/23 147/1	64/22 67/9 70/7 82/6
32/18 34/4 65/21	96/14	I saw [1] 126/18	147/3 148/18 150/16	92/23 93/19 94/15
145/23	I had [5] 7/6 7/10	I say [10] 82/22	150/16 154/13 155/4	98/14 98/21 99/10
I call [1] 109/10	47/19 68/20 130/21	105/13 119/24 120/19	156/12 156/16 156/17	99/15 100/24 101/17
I called [1] 30/14	I have [10] 19/20	126/22 130/20 159/15	157/17 158/1 158/25	101/22 103/23 115/8
I came [1] 126/8	41/13 41/15 49/12	161/16 163/23 164/1	159/2 159/6 159/6	117/11 121/6 122/22
I can [11] 20/1 58/11	51/3 72/9 82/21	I see [3] 72/16 88/23	159/20 161/16 162/8	128/18 130/8 131/14
59/21 70/7 72/14	131/22 146/13 158/25	91/14	162/17 164/4 166/24	132/18 136/9 136/10
75/18 80/23 94/18	I haven't [2] 24/9	I shall [2] 52/16	168/15 169/10 169/17	142/17 145/16 148/13
109/18 110/23 113/22	102/14	109/4	I thought [8] 119/17	152/8 152/9 152/9
I can't [3] 32/23	I heard [2] 46/15	I shared [1] 128/18	136/1 141/1 141/5	152/24 153/8 153/12
126/1 165/9	93/19	I should [2] 44/12	145/22 147/24 147/24	153/14 154/13 156/12
I cannot [1] 69/5	I hold [1] 44/7	156/19	152/12	160/10 161/22 162/1
I certainly [1] 35/25	I hope [2] 64/2 109/8	I stand [1] 148/15	I understand [6] 12/5	162/20 165/9 167/5
I contributed [1] 60/3	I just [18] 17/24	I start [2] 96/24 160/9	51/24 52/2 61/3 75/6	167/17 168/15 169/13
I could [8] 41/1 94/13	40/23 42/10 48/6	I suppose [2] 116/11	110/5	I'm afraid [2] 13/8
102/3 127/16 129/1	68/12 68/14 68/16	150/6	I use [1] 126/23	167/17
	87/13 97/16 97/20	I suspect [5] 8/8	I used [2] 133/18	I'm not [2] 51/5 136/9
	123/22 124/11 126/3	14/24 39/17 157/13	165/21	I've [18] 3/23 4/20

I	ignoring [1] 47/13	94/24 96/4	60/12 60/21 104/6	INQ000327611 [1]
I've... [16] 22/10	IGR [1] 158/13	inconsistent [2]	input [1] 73/18	31/22
35/15 41/22 44/5	illustrate [2] 73/11	95/21 107/16	INQ000048789 [1]	INQ000327735 [1]
65/24 89/10 91/24	77/1	incorporated [1]	11/19	92/4
101/19 103/25 130/20	illustrates [2] 137/8	104/21	INQ000065338 [1]	INQ000331038 [1]
141/11 142/21 148/18	137/18	increase [3] 12/24	136/16	46/12
158/7 162/21 164/3	illustrating [1] 71/15	58/23 84/2	INQ000066103 [1]	INQ000340123 [1]
idea [8] 51/25 132/2	images [1] 72/4	increasing [5] 5/6	91/10	53/12
133/4 137/20 137/23	imagine [1] 107/6	13/21 95/7 133/1	INQ000083215 [1]	INQ000388424 [2]
139/10 141/22 147/7	immediate [3] 88/19	133/16	113/16	94/13 97/23
ideal [1] 161/18	135/14 145/15	increasingly [8]	INQ000113621 [1]	INQ000388424-004
ideas [2] 107/19	immediately [1]	76/15 124/7 126/25	154/13	[1] 97/23
130/11	137/14	130/13 132/10 140/15	INQ000113643 [1]	INQ000396684 [1]
identify [1] 131/4	impact [15] 1/7 24/13	143/21 150/17	154/2	45/18
identity [1] 86/21	26/11 45/24 46/8	incredibly [3] 57/9	INQ000128940 [1]	INQ000396685 [1]
ideological [1]	48/24 61/7 62/11 65/2	71/9 143/7	135/7	42/14
167/12	69/25 90/19 95/23	indeed [6] 113/7	INQ000145342 [1]	INQ000396686 [1]
idioms [1] 90/5	106/3 106/5 107/7	115/17 127/8 147/7	48/14	41/3
if [140] 8/18 10/22	impacts [1] 48/20	157/22 162/3	INQ000215171 [1]	INQ000414516 [1]
12/15 15/7 17/20	imperative [2] 76/25	INDEX [1] 169/24	14/10	160/11
19/23 23/12 26/4 26/9	86/22	indicate [5] 49/19	INQ000215458 [1]	inquiry [31] 1/15 1/19
27/19 30/6 31/10	impetus [1] 79/22	49/24 51/6 73/2	99/8	10/3 15/12 21/17
37/15 38/20 39/2 41/1	implementation [3]	160/12	INQ000216485 [1]	30/17 33/15 40/21
42/2 43/12 43/18	144/2 145/25 147/5	indicated [2] 89/12	17/20	41/15 45/11 49/25
45/18 46/20 47/25	implemented [2]	140/20	INQ000222503 [1]	52/23 53/3 53/11
49/6 50/20 51/24 52/6	89/2 166/4	indicates [1] 45/8	30/6	54/11 54/13 68/4 69/8
53/6 63/2 64/3 64/3	implications [2]	indication [4] 16/11	INQ000222864 [1]	69/11 90/8 91/24
66/2 67/23 70/7 71/2	99/24 130/23	62/8 78/25 82/14	19/13	109/12 111/15 117/19
72/4 72/11 72/14	implied [1] 147/7	indicator [1] 88/15	INQ000222865 [1]	118/12 123/17 125/6
73/20 74/12 74/25	importance [6] 45/9	indignant [1] 140/22	26/4	128/11 170/4 170/9
75/4 75/4 75/18 75/21	56/7 59/21 64/6 68/15	individual [1] 3/15	INQ000226115 [1]	170/14
77/4 80/16 80/23	75/6	individuals [4] 6/15	151/2	Inquiry's [5] 19/21
83/19 84/19 86/8 87/2	important [32] 16/25	42/21 92/20 138/20	INQ000227534 [1]	116/3 147/11 149/8
87/25 88/3 89/4 93/2	21/6 26/20 46/7 47/17	inevitability [1] 124/3	8/18	167/24
93/10 93/13 93/15	57/7 57/15 58/24 59/1	inevitable [2] 119/15	INQ000256824 [1]	insight [1] 57/11
93/25 94/13 94/18	59/3 60/1 60/8 62/18	130/9	138/4	insights [3] 57/7
97/20 98/3 99/19	63/4 66/9 66/19 67/16	infected [1] 12/19	INQ000256843 [1]	63/14 65/10
100/9 100/13 101/1	69/4 71/5 71/6 84/5	infection [3] 48/18	139/23	instance [2] 71/18
101/11 103/6 106/14	84/18 86/25 90/6	149/5 149/10	INQ000256870 [1]	155/8
106/15 109/18 109/21	93/12 95/8 96/16	infections [1] 13/2	150/2	instant [1] 43/1
109/23 110/2 110/23	104/19 115/14 155/16	inflammatory [3]	INQ000270271 [2]	institutions [1]
113/16 113/22 114/4	162/17 164/9	141/21 141/21 162/15	109/24 143/16	168/19
114/8 114/12 118/21	importantly [1]	influencers [1] 63/9	INQ000273747 [1]	instruction [1] 12/1
124/13 125/3 128/25	136/10	inform [3] 25/9 56/11	11/14	intended [2] 16/12
129/1 129/3 129/15	impossible [2]	147/17	INQ000274119 [1]	141/21
129/21 129/25 130/21	160/20 162/9	informal [6] 2/1 35/3	1/24	intense [2] 131/16
131/20 131/21 132/19	impression [4] 23/24	39/12 40/20 57/1	INQ000281683 [1]	141/12
134/23 134/24 135/4	73/8 118/15 121/10	59/10	78/10	intensification [1]
135/8 136/7 136/8	improve [1] 107/20	informally [1] 11/6	INQ000282289 [1]	13/1
136/18 137/18 138/10	inappropriate [4]	information [17] 10/1	83/16	inter [3] 114/6 114/7
139/22 140/5 141/16	12/9 13/5 161/10	19/4 22/8 23/11 23/13	INQ000282290 [1]	114/9
144/19 145/14 146/24	162/2	33/9 41/2 42/15 55/23	87/22	inter-ministerial [3]
147/2 147/7 148/21	include [4] 24/7	57/6 57/24 66/16	INQ000282302 [1]	114/6 114/7 114/9
148/21 148/23 148/23	62/24 106/17 116/11	100/22 101/8 107/6	72/14	interacted [1] 59/11
150/1 150/25 152/22	included [3] 17/23	117/22 154/10	INQ000299310 [1]	interaction [1]
152/23 152/24 153/3	80/1 117/2	information' [1] 47/5	37/16	120/24
153/3 153/17 153/25	includes [6] 15/5	informed [2] 13/15	INQ000303219 [1]	interest [1] 45/3
154/10 156/1 158/20	30/8 38/15 43/14	52/3	43/13	interested [1] 162/14
159/7 159/17 159/25	46/13 46/17	informing [1] 58/7	INQ000303220 [1]	interesting [3] 86/13
160/12 160/25 165/19	including [10] 14/16	infrequent [1] 34/4	38/13	121/1 160/3
166/4 166/7 166/10	17/12 19/10 27/2	inherently [1] 122/25	INQ000303227 [1]	interests [2] 4/1
166/10 166/18 167/6	38/15 40/20 43/15	initial [4] 9/19 61/7	15/3	111/20
167/24	83/10 144/1 168/21	91/19 101/11	INQ000320679 [1]	intergovernmental
	inconsistency [2]	initially [4] 34/18	1/21	[12] 33/19 35/10

I	158/21 involving [1] 49/1 Ireland [7] 16/24 35/5 35/17 74/1 131/9 133/6 158/20 is [304] island [2] 16/21 150/24 isn't [9] 5/14 42/3 50/14 50/21 50/25 85/5 102/9 129/21 144/25 issue [11] 68/10 71/23 80/14 82/9 85/10 101/20 104/18 106/9 148/4 150/9 155/7 issues [8] 27/17 33/3 35/5 38/10 73/5 82/19 88/5 150/3 it [357] it'd [1] 140/23 it's [92] 8/21 12/4 21/4 26/19 37/16 38/7 45/5 46/16 49/18 50/21 59/1 67/6 68/3 70/3 70/19 74/15 74/24 75/24 77/20 79/8 83/3 87/25 93/16 94/16 97/1 97/23 98/3 98/4 98/7 98/17 98/18 99/8 99/8 101/14 101/15 102/8 102/12 110/21 113/22 114/18 114/23 115/6 115/10 115/14 115/15 117/14 121/1 122/15 122/22 122/23 126/17 135/4 135/7 136/16 138/4 138/5 138/11 139/2 139/15 139/23 142/5 143/13 143/15 143/17 144/25 145/10 146/22 150/2 151/2 151/3 151/8 152/23 153/2 154/2 154/3 154/12 154/14 154/14 159/11 159/14 160/11 160/24 161/2 161/17 162/9 163/4 163/12 164/4 167/19 167/23 167/25 169/12 italicised [2] 12/3 13/4 italics [1] 11/24 item [1] 155/16 items [7] 11/24 12/3 12/6 13/5 13/6 155/10 156/1 iteration [1] 56/22 iterations [1] 100/10 its [11] 30/11 33/9 33/10 58/20 78/5 105/4 106/4 107/7	111/14 114/18 131/6 itself [5] 14/23 15/1 78/9 102/14 161/1 ITV [1] 75/17 ITV Wales [1] 75/17	J Jack [2] 32/1 32/18 Jack Stenner [1] 32/1 James [1] 43/16 Jane [7] 1/13 1/14 1/17 15/9 79/15 84/10 170/3 Jane Runeckles [3] 1/13 79/15 84/10 January [10] 2/25 9/20 9/22 40/4 41/2 53/18 111/5 113/14 125/16 127/5 January 2010 [1] 2/25 January 2014 [1] 53/18 January 2020 [2] 41/2 111/5 January 2022 [1] 113/14 JBC [2] 119/13 120/2 JMC [1] 120/3 job [2] 127/7 165/15 jobs [2] 124/10 160/16 John [2] 17/21 57/9 John's [1] 105/22 John's Campaign [1] 105/22 Johnson [5] 34/3 118/11 128/12 139/7 162/8 Johnson's [1] 118/17 join [1] 143/4 joined [5] 83/23 84/1 84/7 140/18 140/24 joined-up [1] 83/23 joint [8] 7/9 33/3 33/5 33/7 33/12 34/13 114/1 147/18 jointly [1] 60/22 Jones [1] 3/3 judgements [4] 26/11 26/14 26/16 26/18 Julie [1] 43/16 Julie James [1] 43/16 July [3] 31/23 32/9 110/19 July 2022 [1] 110/19 jumping [1] 23/12 June [14] 13/2 26/6 33/15 34/22 35/11 39/18 48/1 97/1 98/23 99/20 102/24 104/9	116/5 146/6 June 2020 [3] 34/22 104/9 116/5 June 2021 [1] 35/11 jurisdiction [1] 153/9 just [136] 4/20 8/11 13/4 17/18 17/24 22/14 22/20 23/5 23/23 25/1 26/18 29/18 32/14 33/6 37/15 38/22 40/9 40/23 42/10 43/25 45/6 45/8 45/10 45/15 45/18 47/12 48/6 49/17 49/19 51/11 51/21 58/9 58/10 62/8 64/6 64/21 66/9 67/3 68/12 68/14 68/16 70/7 70/23 72/17 73/11 74/12 74/19 75/18 76/25 79/4 79/5 81/9 85/1 85/5 87/13 87/19 90/3 91/16 93/19 96/2 96/7 97/3 97/16 97/20 97/20 97/21 98/3 98/17 99/11 100/9 100/13 101/11 101/17 101/19 101/22 104/3 104/4 109/18 109/22 109/25 110/8 113/4 113/11 113/22 114/10 117/9 117/17 120/2 121/20 122/15 122/18 122/18 123/22 124/11 124/15 126/3 129/21 132/3 136/17 137/24 140/21 140/23 142/3 142/21 143/12 144/17 145/10 146/20 146/21 147/20 149/1 150/1 150/6 150/25 151/25 152/1 153/10 153/20 153/23 155/24 156/7 158/6 158/17 160/12 160/25 162/1 162/1 163/2 165/19 166/3 166/13 166/25 167/21 167/24 168/1 169/1 Justice [4] 49/17 63/21 96/24 160/8 Justice Cymru [2] 49/17 96/24 justification [1] 49/18 justifications [1] 50/6	85/22 86/4 86/11 86/25 87/6 87/10 92/9 93/5 93/16 94/7 109/18 131/9 165/2 keeping [4] 11/5 42/12 44/16 45/9 Ken [5] 135/6 135/12 136/1 136/7 156/11 Ken Skates [4] 135/6 135/12 136/1 156/11 kept [4] 43/22 44/22 86/16 109/8 key [20] 18/4 18/9 21/22 28/11 36/16 52/5 55/23 59/19 59/22 70/1 71/20 71/25 77/5 78/1 91/16 93/14 105/2 112/4 135/17 140/8 key worker [1] 18/4 key workers [2] 18/9 52/5 Khan [1] 32/3 kick [1] 152/10 kind [61] 5/13 17/3 26/1 30/2 44/7 45/2 45/11 56/22 56/25 57/1 59/9 59/10 61/13 62/1 62/8 63/23 64/2 65/12 66/5 66/19 66/24 69/16 70/8 71/6 75/8 76/24 79/9 79/22 79/25 80/20 81/8 84/5 86/23 87/12 87/16 89/11 89/14 90/2 90/4 90/5 90/14 90/16 90/19 95/20 96/13 100/24 102/3 103/18 106/19 106/21 107/4 118/20 118/23 130/19 132/2 143/9 148/25 150/22 159/8 159/9 159/9 kindly [1] 1/19 kinds [1] 38/9 Kingdom [5] 8/11 16/8 28/17 34/6 34/9 Kingdom's [1] 16/21 Kirsten [1] 96/23 Kirsten Heaven [1] 96/23 Kirsty [1] 43/15 Kirsty Williams [1] 43/15 knew [8] 18/17 41/18 44/14 102/9 102/11 123/2 155/23 165/22 knock [1] 98/10 know [87] 4/19 11/10 13/17 21/3 25/13 26/11 34/13 34/17 43/6 48/2 50/8 51/3 59/1 61/3 61/13 63/20 63/22 64/3 65/16
----------	---	--	---	--	---

K	113/10 120/7 153/22 latest [1] 69/18 latter [1] 73/12 launch [1] 86/4 launched [2] 82/10 89/8 lawyers [2] 40/14 46/18 layer [2] 100/14 101/3 lead [4] 58/7 109/12 130/12 170/14 leaders [3] 25/5 65/17 69/2 leading [5] 48/10 84/1 116/8 121/9 139/19 leads [1] 59/11 leaflets [2] 63/18 63/23 learning [4] 24/21 69/5 70/2 126/3 learnings [1] 65/22 learnt [1] 33/7 least [2] 71/4 140/17 leather [1] 20/23 leave [1] 136/3 led [4] 80/6 133/22 133/22 133/23 left [2] 132/11 140/22 legal [3] 40/16 46/11 48/3 legislation [10] 67/12 127/14 127/15 128/24 129/11 129/14 129/17 129/19 131/21 159/2 legislative [1] 127/25 lengthy [1] 152/13 lens [1] 130/14 Lentle [2] 46/23 47/6 less [6] 50/19 50/22 89/25 120/19 129/16 151/13 let [1] 123/4 let's [6] 87/6 99/4 99/9 104/3 104/23 153/4 letter [20] 37/15 37/18 139/23 142/1 146/5 146/6 149/15 149/17 149/19 149/23 149/24 150/1 150/7 151/1 153/25 160/21 161/1 163/12 164/14 165/8 letterboxes [1] 64/16 letters [3] 120/5 141/18 150/8 level [12] 14/1 57/11 70/8 83/10 88/8 93/16 107/8 107/25 114/23 114/25 153/23 165/4 Levelling [1] 34/20 levels [6] 15/25	32/11 68/19 80/21 114/13 114/14 liable [1] 161/10 liaising [1] 80/17 liaison [6] 67/15 68/9 68/16 68/17 68/19 146/18 lies [1] 152/5 life [1] 6/7 light [6] 11/1 44/2 82/12 120/21 141/22 145/5 like [31] 11/17 19/18 19/25 20/10 25/1 38/25 61/19 81/24 85/17 87/19 89/1 91/1 91/17 103/9 108/18 110/23 121/9 121/18 123/25 126/15 134/20 135/18 135/22 139/14 139/23 144/6 144/17 144/21 150/22 156/21 165/19 liked [1] 36/2 likely [6] 35/17 91/7 122/7 135/19 135/24 167/8 limitation [1] 165/16 limited [2] 7/5 37/2 line [13] 71/19 73/21 73/25 74/3 74/12 74/17 76/7 76/8 76/11 141/8 150/2 151/14 164/3 line 1 [2] 73/21 73/25 line 26 [2] 74/3 74/12 lines [7] 73/20 76/9 76/11 93/13 138/5 138/11 148/13 lines 1 [1] 73/20 list [5] 41/16 67/24 116/19 116/21 116/22 listed [1] 11/20 listen [2] 4/10 36/17 listened [1] 14/5 listening [5] 60/6 87/21 87/24 88/3 88/7 literally [4] 126/4 126/11 155/19 166/7 little [11] 7/5 8/12 23/3 26/25 58/1 58/11 98/22 120/7 127/21 136/20 160/21 live [3] 95/14 106/9 153/5 livelihoods [1] 124/10 lively [1] 162/18 lives [6] 60/21 79/20 131/8 131/8 131/10 134/5 lives' [1] 78/19 living [2] 106/13 151/11	Llewelyn [2] 1/7 1/10 local [15] 1/7 23/16 23/16 25/5 87/16 108/15 149/5 149/6 149/8 151/5 156/8 156/13 157/16 157/18 157/21 lockdown [19] 16/16 27/14 38/2 47/10 47/13 47/17 50/3 50/18 50/18 51/11 121/10 123/12 123/23 124/19 124/21 131/1 140/4 143/24 150/20 lockdowns [2] 149/6 149/9 lockstep [2] 68/5 140/25 London [6] 75/25 77/8 81/23 82/1 133/19 137/13 long [6] 5/25 6/13 12/12 49/6 71/25 109/2 longer [5] 32/15 32/19 41/23 83/23 148/22 longevity [1] 6/8 look [39] 9/18 11/17 16/4 17/18 19/24 20/10 20/15 23/13 29/9 39/25 42/11 50/20 71/2 73/20 74/3 81/24 83/16 84/19 91/17 93/2 94/18 96/2 99/4 100/13 103/6 109/23 113/10 113/22 120/5 121/18 135/4 135/8 135/18 135/22 139/23 150/1 150/25 153/25 165/9 looked [7] 5/16 40/9 60/21 76/8 93/21 101/4 102/14 looking [21] 9/20 11/9 12/23 23/6 24/17 31/24 38/23 39/13 44/22 62/7 87/2 102/8 104/8 115/16 117/21 128/18 130/14 130/16 144/8 154/13 159/12 looks [2] 128/20 158/11 loop [1] 98/11 lose [1] 152/8 lot [20] 44/6 45/3 63/8 65/9 67/21 113/1 114/15 117/17 118/1 118/4 125/1 133/14 133/15 136/8 139/5 147/1 155/10 156/23 157/20 157/21 low [1] 132/8 lower [2] 93/7 151/11	lowest [3] 92/18 92/20 114/9
L			M	
labelled [1] 73/23 lack [5] 15/11 52/2 61/7 125/13 133/23 Lady [16] 1/4 42/8 44/5 49/12 51/19 52/21 96/18 97/24 103/25 105/17 105/21 108/23 160/6 163/7 169/8 169/11 lag [1] 123/9 laid [1] 152/25 Lancaster [1] 34/19 land [1] 102/5 language [2] 89/21 89/22 languages [1] 89/25 large [7] 26/21 87/3 117/25 119/24 148/19 152/17 168/21 largely [4] 8/23 33/13 119/15 133/1 last [4] 1/8 111/15 154/3 154/14 late [6] 5/1 29/20 105/4 124/21 127/21 166/3 later [16] 8/15 16/2 20/5 20/17 21/18 25/2 34/19 39/8 56/22 60/9 68/14 84/14 101/25			MACA [3] 142/15 142/18 142/25 machine [3] 123/5 123/9 166/11 machinery [1] 146/7 machines [1] 122/25 made [41] 21/14 31/16 31/19 31/20 36/7 52/1 62/24 63/6 64/10 65/4 66/12 67/15 73/18 77/3 81/17 82/12 90/21 90/24 102/24 106/11 106/14 116/13 118/18 118/18 119/5 126/15 126/20 127/25 136/15 137/25 142/10 142/21 147/17 151/6 151/19 158/10 159/22 162/7 164/20 165/7 169/3 magic [1] 115/15 magnitude [1] 141/25 mail [2] 42/19 64/17 main [2] 65/15 66/9 mainly [1] 9/9 maintain [1] 28/2 major [5] 54/20 56/22 99/24 116/17 159/7 make [20] 4/14 21/15 22/7 75/5 75/18 79/17 83/9 84/6 85/1 109/25 115/12 125/10 130/25 133/2 136/17 137/9 141/2 155/25 156/6 156/20 makers [2] 55/15 90/21 makes [3] 44/19 100/5 118/19 making [37] 4/7 6/10 6/25 17/9 20/6 21/12 26/10 28/5 39/17 41/20 44/10 45/1 45/6 45/9 56/11 57/19 61/14 63/18 108/11 111/25 112/3 112/9 117/5 119/8 125/7 131/14 134/9 135/22 137/5 137/13 145/22 146/12 147/18 154/5 157/1 157/5 167/18 manage [2] 43/3 165/23 management [2] 4/9 42/15 managing [4] 83/23 115/4 121/13 124/10 mandatory [1] 97/5 manner [4] 119/14	

M	matter [10] 10/15 50/12 62/12 115/19 157/12 157/23 162/20 166/7 166/8 167/9	75/8 75/16 75/21 77/18 80/7 80/8 81/18 81/23 82/2 82/13 85/10 92/24 104/6 137/5 139/6 141/3 167/16	mention [6] 25/10 66/12 100/6 125/7 125/13 140/7	135/21 140/24 142/18 142/19 144/7
manner... [3] 127/12 164/22 168/23	matters [10] 11/9 12/6 12/8 27/4 74/2 83/6 111/20 145/2 147/5 148/11	medical [28] 10/9 11/2 24/7 36/14 36/15 39/4 66/21 71/21 90/17 99/2 99/23 100/7 100/19 101/14 101/20 102/11 102/25 103/5 103/9 103/13 104/11 124/6 124/15 124/24 133/12 142/12 153/5 155/20	mentioned [6] 45/15 52/7 88/10 127/25 144/20 159/1	MIGs [4] 144/2 147/21 147/22 148/1
manufacture [2] 154/7 156/20	maximium [1] 74/18	meet [4] 74/9 118/12 154/16 165/9	mentions [1] 88/1	miles [1] 128/21
many [12] 6/5 12/1 25/13 31/11 40/22 116/11 116/18 118/1 119/25 122/4 130/20 145/16	may [59] 1/13 8/7 12/4 13/2 19/12 19/15 35/16 36/3 37/10 37/16 37/23 40/4 41/7 42/2 42/24 43/2 49/5 49/21 50/8 50/11 50/21 51/2 51/6 52/21 60/25 62/17 63/2 64/12 65/5 68/4 68/11 68/14 69/14 69/15 72/18 76/21 76/23 77/15 77/24 78/8 78/12 80/21 81/2 81/9 83/19 84/4 85/25 86/18 89/4 91/13 111/5 127/20 129/25 130/1 131/2 131/5 131/11 143/20 162/9	meeting [37] 8/25 10/4 11/18 14/8 14/10 14/23 15/1 15/1 30/19 31/10 33/16 36/20 38/6 39/9 68/14 69/10 69/13 70/3 74/4 74/6 74/13 74/24 75/10 77/23 78/9 80/2 87/8 122/1 122/3 122/14 129/21 135/5 144/21 147/3 148/16 155/14 166/15	message [15] 39/8 71/15 78/1 90/11 93/15 94/18 94/19 94/21 94/22 95/2 95/3 96/2 131/7 131/10 133/20	militancy [1] 98/1 military [3] 140/20 142/2 148/12
March [36] 1/1 5/1 5/5 8/23 11/17 11/18 13/20 14/3 14/9 15/8 16/9 16/11 16/15 18/3 30/7 44/15 48/10 48/12 71/14 72/25 89/9 94/19 104/9 121/12 122/15 122/16 123/11 123/12 123/13 125/9 125/16 125/22 127/5 135/6 153/25 169/23	May 2020 [6] 37/10 60/25 76/21 84/4 131/2 143/20	meet [4] 74/9 118/12 154/16 165/9	messages [15] 39/8 71/15 78/1 90/11 93/15 94/18 94/19 94/21 94/22 95/2 95/3 96/2 131/7 131/10 133/20	million [4] 1/11 61/3 64/1 128/21
March 2020 [6] 11/17 13/20 14/3 16/15 44/15 127/5	May 2022 [1] 111/5	meetings [81] 4/2 8/16 8/20 8/25 9/5 9/8 9/12 9/13 9/15 10/5 10/8 10/10 10/11 10/19 10/23 12/12 13/21 14/1 15/21 15/22 15/23 20/12 20/15 28/7 28/8 29/11 29/14 29/17 29/19 29/25 30/1 31/1 31/14 34/14 35/6 35/13 35/18 36/5 39/19 39/22 47/21 59/16 59/18 59/20 60/2 69/12 69/13 69/15 69/23 70/14 112/21 112/24 113/1 117/19 117/20 119/3 119/12 119/17 119/21 119/21 120/12 120/16 123/19 123/20 123/20 123/21 132/3 144/1 144/8 144/18 145/2 147/13 147/15 147/24 147/25 148/4 148/5 148/22 156/12 156/14 157/11	messages' [1] 42/19	mind [2] 44/25 64/23
March 2021 [2] 8/23 71/14	maybe [3] 63/6 68/6 87/6	member [3] 5/17 48/2 112/18	messaging [19] 19/11 21/20 42/20 43/1 49/23 50/20 56/23 74/5 77/15 77/22 81/12 86/8 89/2 89/5 90/20 92/15 104/13 104/22 134/7	mindful [1] 62/23
margins [1] 123/20	me [31] 14/6 21/5 26/20 27/19 32/18 38/22 40/11 41/15 43/7 46/16 46/17 46/21 72/18 79/11 100/17 102/8 109/22 114/10 127/22 127/23 129/15 134/23 136/6 136/19 143/21 148/15 152/22 158/11 159/17 161/5 161/15	members [6] 5/1 5/13 5/19 126/10 150/19 152/15	message [15] 39/8 71/15 78/1 90/11 93/15 94/18 94/19 94/21 94/22 95/2 95/3 96/2 131/7 131/10 133/20	minimised [1] 141/3
mark [9] 47/3 152/16 160/22 160/24 162/7 162/21 164/13 164/19 164/22	mean [29] 20/3 20/11 23/5 27/9 33/6 47/14 51/5 58/9 58/12 59/9 64/15 67/4 85/9 88/12 94/7 106/9 108/8 108/20 120/3 133/18 133/19 139/8 140/13 145/17 150/14 151/17 164/12 164/18 168/12	memory [5] 24/11 129/15 146/13 146/13 156/16	messages' [1] 42/19	minister [126] 2/10 2/17 2/18 2/20 2/23 3/3 3/15 5/7 6/21 7/24 9/2 9/22 9/25 10/6 10/7 10/12 10/13 10/17 10/18 11/4 11/4 11/5 11/8 12/13 13/22 15/14 15/24 16/9 16/14 18/20 19/15 19/19 21/2 21/11 23/6 23/19 24/16 24/18 25/13 25/14 26/6 26/22 27/13 27/25 29/16 29/22 29/25 30/18 33/8 33/16 33/17 33/18 33/21 33/21 33/24 34/2 34/2 34/5 34/10 35/4 36/1 36/6 36/7 37/11 37/19 48/9 48/15 48/25 51/9 54/16 59/24 63/21 66/23 77/3 77/7 77/21 77/21 80/4 80/5 81/16 81/18 85/13 86/12 113/5 113/6 114/3 115/25 117/18 117/24 119/4 120/6 120/8
Mark Drakeford [4] 160/22 162/7 164/13 164/22	meaning [2] 74/19 74/21	might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mind [2] 44/25 64/23
Mark Drakeford's [1] 152/16	meant [7] 8/11 61/12 61/23 67/12 123/24 137/3 146/23	might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mindful [1] 62/23
Mark's [1] 152/20	measure [2] 48/20 145/8	might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	minimised [1] 141/3
market [4] 155/8 155/9 156/22 156/22	measures [7] 13/24 49/5 49/9 78/23 134/3 136/21 149/10	might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	minister [126] 2/10 2/17 2/18 2/20 2/23 3/3 3/15 5/7 6/21 7/24 9/2 9/22 9/25 10/6 10/7 10/12 10/13 10/17 10/18 11/4 11/4 11/5 11/8 12/13 13/22 15/14 15/24 16/9 16/14 18/20 19/15 19/19 21/2 21/11 23/6 23/19 24/16 24/18 25/13 25/14 26/6 26/22 27/13 27/25 29/16 29/22 29/25 30/18 33/8 33/16 33/17 33/18 33/21 33/21 33/24 34/2 34/2 34/5 34/10 35/4 36/1 36/6 36/7 37/11 37/19 48/9 48/15 48/25 51/9 54/16 59/24 63/21 66/23 77/3 77/7 77/21 77/21 80/4 80/5 81/16 81/18 85/13 86/12 113/5 113/6 114/3 115/25 117/18 117/24 119/4 120/6 120/8
marketing [1] 78/20	media [18] 61/25	might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mind [2] 44/25 64/23
marking [1] 109/1		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mindful [1] 62/23
marshal [1] 118/22		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	minimised [1] 141/3
mask [4] 97/25 133/21 133/21 152/25		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	minister [126] 2/10 2/17 2/18 2/20 2/23 3/3 3/15 5/7 6/21 7/24 9/2 9/22 9/25 10/6 10/7 10/12 10/13 10/17 10/18 11/4 11/4 11/5 11/8 12/13 13/22 15/14 15/24 16/9 16/14 18/20 19/15 19/19 21/2 21/11 23/6 23/19 24/16 24/18 25/13 25/14 26/6 26/22 27/13 27/25 29/16 29/22 29/25 30/18 33/8 33/16 33/17 33/18 33/21 33/21 33/24 34/2 34/2 34/5 34/10 35/4 36/1 36/6 36/7 37/11 37/19 48/9 48/15 48/25 51/9 54/16 59/24 63/21 66/23 77/3 77/7 77/21 77/21 80/4 80/5 81/16 81/18 85/13 86/12 113/5 113/6 114/3 115/25 117/18 117/24 119/4 120/6 120/8
masks [11] 99/2 99/24 100/7 100/20 101/14 101/20 102/11 103/1 103/5 103/9 103/13		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mind [2] 44/25 64/23
Mason [12] 21/17 52/21 52/22 52/24 53/2 53/17 58/9 96/22 105/22 108/25 136/22 170/8		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mindful [1] 62/23
mass [1] 14/17		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	minimised [1] 141/3
material [2] 61/15 77/24		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	minister [126] 2/10 2/17 2/18 2/20 2/23 3/3 3/15 5/7 6/21 7/24 9/2 9/22 9/25 10/6 10/7 10/12 10/13 10/17 10/18 11/4 11/4 11/5 11/8 12/13 13/22 15/14 15/24 16/9 16/14 18/20 19/15 19/19 21/2 21/11 23/6 23/19 24/16 24/18 25/13 25/14 26/6 26/22 27/13 27/25 29/16 29/22 29/25 30/18 33/8 33/16 33/17 33/18 33/21 33/21 33/24 34/2 34/2 34/5 34/10 35/4 36/1 36/6 36/7 37/11 37/19 48/9 48/15 48/25 51/9 54/16 59/24 63/21 66/23 77/3 77/7 77/21 77/21 80/4 80/5 81/16 81/18 85/13 86/12 113/5 113/6 114/3 115/25 117/18 117/24 119/4 120/6 120/8
materials [2] 71/1 77/12		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mind [2] 44/25 64/23
Matt [1] 155/14		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	mindful [1] 62/23
Matt Hancock [1] 155/14		might [32] 17/9 19/24 20/6 20/12 66/3 66/15 72/6 75/16 80/14 80/22 93/21 103/13 105/10 107/3 107/18 108/16 116/24 117/1 119/21 120/21 121/7 122/8 126/20 130/1 130/2 131/20 133/13	messages' [1] 42/19	minimised [1] 141/3

M	131/18 162/7	MP [1] 110/16	63/20 65/24 68/5	121/10 123/12 131/1
ministers... [44]	Monday [4] 20/8	Mr [47] 10/3 11/15	69/16 70/24 82/2 87/5	134/20 143/23 161/13
14/20 18/20 23/19	20/25 169/20 169/23	18/11 32/2 34/3 34/21	87/10 89/7 95/9 96/17	nations [35] 16/15
25/8 25/14 27/13	money [7] 61/4 157/1	34/24 39/10 39/15	96/19 98/14 105/16	16/17 30/21 34/12
28/16 28/17 28/20	166/12 168/8 168/21	51/10 52/22 52/24	108/24 108/25 110/2	35/7 35/14 35/19
28/24 29/3 34/21 35/4	168/24 169/3	53/17 58/9 96/22	116/24 119/1 124/18	48/21 50/7 58/5 58/13
36/6 36/18 43/15	monitoring [1] 88/14	105/22 108/25 109/11	124/22 126/2 127/20	58/19 61/11 67/10
44/20 44/21 45/1	Montgomeryshire [1]	109/16 110/15 116/5	130/5 130/5 130/5	67/14 67/16 69/1
54/17 56/6 56/11 57/2	153/5	116/8 117/11 117/20	155/20 156/22 159/15	71/17 73/9 73/19
57/18 59/6 59/11	monthly [1] 157/11	118/11 118/17 119/11	163/15 165/1 167/8	76/14 78/2 80/10 82/4
59/24 77/8 77/14	months [5] 6/16 7/18	125/5 128/12 135/11	169/6 169/9 169/12	82/19 83/24 84/10
81/17 88/16 90/14	7/21 87/6 106/6	136/23 153/13 153/20	169/15	116/2 116/15 128/16
90/16 114/24 116/4	morale [2] 41/23	156/7 158/3 158/8	muddled [1] 98/6	131/1 131/18 132/15
118/13 119/4 125/16	143/10	158/9 159/25 160/7	multi [1] 63/12	154/17 158/21
132/11 143/24 147/12	more [88] 5/14 8/6	163/4 166/16 167/3	multi-ethnic [1]	nature [2] 42/25 88/2
148/14 152/15 156/11	8/6 11/10 16/12 22/15	168/2 169/10 169/12	63/12	navigate [1] 62/1
ministers' [1] 40/8	22/15 22/22 23/20	170/8 170/13	multicultural [1]	nearly [2] 6/4 106/7
Ministry [1] 142/6	24/2 26/1 34/25 37/5	Mr Boulton [1] 18/11	63/13	necessarily [14] 21/3
minoritised [1] 65/20	37/13 38/22 38/23	Mr Drakeford [4]	multitudinous [1]	51/5 63/5 63/15 88/17
minority [2] 65/3	39/10 39/15 46/10	10/3 51/10 166/16	153/15	90/13 115/8 121/1
106/2	48/6 50/2 50/3 50/4	167/3	must [1] 30/10	141/19 144/15 150/19
minute [2] 14/24	50/24 51/1 51/3 51/10	Mr Drakeford's [1]	my [78] 1/4 3/24 5/16	152/3 156/4 159/11
139/16	51/13 56/18 57/1 58/1	11/15	5/17 7/6 7/20 7/23	necessary [9] 15/25
minutes [17] 11/18	59/9 59/12 72/5 72/7	Mr Gove [6] 34/21	9/16 14/4 16/24 21/22	17/9 22/18 28/17
11/21 11/23 12/2	73/10 74/9 74/11	34/24 116/5 116/8	24/18 24/23 25/19	37/19 141/16 151/14
12/11 13/7 14/10	76/17 80/17 83/11	117/20 119/11	36/3 36/11 37/2 41/19	157/23 157/24
14/11 14/19 15/23	84/16 87/7 89/11 90/4	Mr Hart [14] 109/16	41/23 42/8 44/5 44/18	need [29] 12/4 14/20
60/2 69/12 69/13	93/13 94/6 95/14	110/15 117/11 125/5	44/25 47/19 49/12	14/25 23/1 23/9 38/22
69/15 110/6 137/12	95/19 98/22 103/25	135/11 136/23 153/13	51/19 51/19 52/1	39/10 43/1 44/21
159/17	104/18 104/19 106/18	153/20 156/7 158/3	52/21 53/2 59/7 63/11	45/13 49/5 49/19
mirror [2] 46/3 151/4	107/9 108/8 108/13	158/8 159/25 160/7	67/20 67/21 69/16	72/18 73/18 75/2
misconstrued [1]	117/17 118/7 119/1	169/12	79/8 79/17 82/21	100/16 109/25 121/23
88/12	120/18 122/9 126/7	Mr Johnson [3] 34/3	82/22 82/22 89/9	129/16 136/16 137/19
misinterpreted [1]	126/11 126/11 128/19	118/11 128/12	90/15 95/9 95/11	139/21 140/11 142/1
124/15	129/4 129/13 129/19	Mr Johnson's [1]	96/18 96/18 96/22	146/5 147/4 154/16
misleading [2] 105/9	130/5 132/3 132/18	118/17	97/24 103/25 105/17	154/19 154/21
164/18	136/10 137/25 141/4	Mr Mason [5] 52/24	105/21 107/4 107/18	needed [22] 27/18
missing [3] 101/8	141/4 142/7 147/20	53/17 96/22 105/22	108/4 108/20 108/23	29/5 30/20 36/20
101/15 101/16	149/10 154/6 155/10	108/25	120/16 126/5 129/2	39/16 55/23 71/21
mistake [1] 94/15	155/21 157/13 165/3	Mr Poole [2] 158/9	129/15 130/16 133/7	72/1 86/9 96/11 96/13
mistakes [1] 126/20	165/3 166/5 167/8	169/10	133/25 136/23 142/21	96/14 101/23 101/24
mitigation [3] 49/5	167/21	Mr Stenner [1] 32/2	155/1 157/18 158/3	118/23 119/19 120/15
49/9 104/14	Morgan [10] 2/17	Mr Sunak [1] 168/2	160/6 161/4 163/7	120/17 120/18 137/25
mix [1] 92/24	2/23 15/5 40/22 43/23	Mr Woodward's [2]	163/15 169/4 169/4	149/11 154/23
mobile [2] 40/5 40/25	94/21 96/3 97/17	39/10 39/15	169/4 169/6 169/8	needing [1] 102/10
MoD [3] 142/13	97/22 98/19	MS [25] 1/14 3/9 4/11	169/11	needs [4] 108/3
142/20 143/5	morning [8] 1/3	42/2 42/9 45/7 48/7	my Lady [14] 1/4	150/13 154/9 159/13
model [2] 146/14	49/16 78/8 79/24	49/11 49/14 49/15	42/8 44/5 49/12 51/19	neither [3] 80/4
156/20	81/19 97/25 102/2	49/16 51/23 96/21	52/21 96/18 97/24	137/16 168/15
modelling [5] 12/17	105/22	105/18 105/19 105/20	103/25 105/17 105/21	network [1] 81/20
12/21 22/4 38/1 87/2	most [12] 10/14	158/6 160/4 160/5	108/23 160/6 169/8	networks [1] 63/24
module [11] 1/20	10/17 16/25 62/20	169/9 170/3 170/5	myself [2] 69/2 143/6	never [3] 88/16
9/21 11/9 43/23 53/11	96/10 111/13 114/22	170/10 170/11 170/17		161/18 168/5
83/4 109/12 110/23	114/24 117/5 148/18	Ms Foubister [1]	N	new [11] 5/1 13/2
128/11 153/23 170/15	155/16 163/23	105/19	name [6] 1/16 4/12	15/10 113/20 113/23
Module 2 [3] 11/9	motivation [1] 134/9	Ms Heaven [4] 49/14	52/25 53/2 96/22	114/11 115/2 146/21
83/4 128/11	move [4] 22/3 42/2	105/18 158/6 160/4	109/14	154/7 158/9 158/10
moment [13] 20/16	153/8 164/8	Ms Hitchman [2]	namely [1] 111/5	news [4] 47/2 54/1
27/12 42/1 42/9 100/7	moved [4] 27/23 33/2	42/2 45/7	narrative [1] 49/25	63/5 85/14
101/7 121/24 122/8	87/9 155/20	Ms Runeckles [7]	narrow [1] 98/9	newspaper [1] 75/22
134/20 136/22 139/14	moving [8] 11/17	3/9 4/11 42/9 48/7	nation [3] 121/16	next [8] 39/8 52/5
152/6 152/6	66/2 73/21 73/24	49/11 49/16 51/23	128/7 131/12	80/22 107/18 113/8
moments [3] 131/17	96/12 110/25 139/18	much [42] 17/24 20/1	national [10] 47/12	121/9 140/5 149/4
	153/20	31/7 51/18 58/18 63/8	47/17 54/21 87/16	NHS [9] 13/23 13/24

N	17/23 20/12 21/10 22/10 23/6 24/9 26/17 27/4 27/19 28/5 29/16 29/23 29/23 31/13 35/2 35/5 35/6 36/4 36/15 39/2 39/11 39/13 41/7 41/14 41/16 41/19 41/21 44/9 45/6 45/10 47/23 50/6 50/15 51/5 53/21 63/7 63/15 67/23 69/12 69/21 71/5 72/11 77/7 77/25 78/4 78/24 79/2 79/8 79/10 80/16 80/21 84/20 86/7 89/5 89/25 92/23 95/13 97/9 98/14 100/22 101/18 101/24 103/16 103/22 103/23 105/10 107/18 108/4 109/9 110/7 111/19 112/3 112/25 112/25 114/12 115/8 116/24 118/12 121/6 122/22 123/12 125/21 127/22 128/2 128/9 128/21 129/6 129/25 130/1 130/2 130/8 131/11 131/14 136/9 136/10 138/8 138/13 139/4 140/7 140/10 140/13 140/14 140/18 141/9 142/7 144/2 144/15 145/10 145/21 146/22 148/13 149/9 149/21 150/18 151/21 152/9 152/12 152/19 152/23 152/24 152/24 153/1 153/8 154/19 156/4 156/25 157/16 159/15 162/2 162/4 162/20 164/21 165/21 167/5 167/19 168/7 168/19	52/2 78/4 80/15 80/16 82/13 147/14 noticeable [1] 37/22 notwithstanding [2] 10/8 43/25 November [8] 3/6 8/22 43/19 53/13 87/25 160/14 161/1 165/16 November 2016 [1] 3/6 November 2020 [1] 8/22 now [63] 4/16 8/16 9/18 11/10 11/17 15/3 22/23 26/4 29/9 36/12 38/12 39/25 43/10 49/25 50/8 56/3 61/19 67/9 70/1 72/14 74/13 76/8 76/9 80/14 82/6 83/16 84/22 85/17 87/24 89/1 91/1 92/3 94/13 99/10 99/19 99/23 100/16 103/1 109/25 110/6 111/15 116/8 117/18 118/16 118/19 119/6 120/5 120/25 122/14 125/2 125/5 128/11 128/18 130/23 131/11 134/7 138/15 142/1 143/20 153/22 160/17 162/23 168/11 NPIs [2] 62/11 67/12 number [37] 7/19 11/3 13/2 13/21 14/18 17/11 20/4 21/23 22/25 25/14 25/17 25/21 26/11 26/21 27/17 30/15 39/19 40/18 47/21 66/7 66/22 67/1 70/23 75/10 93/22 97/18 98/8 103/8 111/12 114/16 127/8 142/10 142/18 147/11 148/19 149/7 164/2 Number 10 [3] 7/19 30/15 127/8 numbers [4] 32/11 92/22 92/25 142/22 numerous [4] 9/4 123/18 162/6 162/20	127/9 observer [2] 8/20 9/5 obvious [3] 8/6 16/21 130/23 obviously [26] 12/2 22/25 39/1 45/13 50/8 58/21 59/8 60/25 75/20 79/17 97/6 101/19 102/11 106/15 119/6 120/3 122/14 123/11 125/5 130/8 136/18 138/15 157/14 158/10 161/10 164/12 occasion [1] 142/15 occasionally [1] 162/18 occasions [7] 77/11 117/1 117/2 117/4 130/21 135/13 162/20 occur [1] 137/7 October [15] 1/21 2/15 31/9 31/12 149/12 149/17 150/2 150/7 151/3 161/2 164/23 165/16 166/15 166/22 167/2 October 2003 [1] 2/15 October 2020 [1] 31/12 off [6] 56/17 102/5 133/21 142/12 161/22 163/20 offended [1] 162/20 offer [3] 52/9 155/25 156/6 office [33] 2/10 7/19 10/12 22/2 32/18 38/4 41/24 45/17 54/15 69/10 69/14 72/9 73/4 73/17 81/2 82/12 82/17 82/23 83/2 95/16 96/10 110/25 111/11 112/3 114/10 114/13 114/21 117/7 123/21 138/24 142/13 159/7 159/21 officer [5] 10/9 11/2 39/4 66/21 102/21 officers [1] 104/11 official [7] 45/24 46/8 47/18 47/21 114/23 114/25 119/19 officials [16] 9/13 17/22 25/4 27/7 28/8 37/5 56/6 56/12 59/25 78/13 88/17 123/21 126/9 126/19 147/12 148/3 often [9] 19/17 29/18 120/7 124/15 137/7 142/7 147/14 151/12 156/20 Ogbonna [1] 65/14	OGR [1] 114/19 OGTs [1] 114/19 oh [6] 14/4 70/20 70/22 79/25 121/15 163/1 OK [1] 96/4 okay [11] 14/4 51/17 98/16 99/19 101/10 103/21 104/12 105/16 160/2 166/9 167/15 old [1] 63/19 old-fashioned [1] 63/19 older [1] 62/24 omission [4] 66/18 67/4 67/4 67/6 on [295] on X [1] 162/4 once [8] 8/6 29/2 61/16 68/25 70/24 84/11 130/9 140/8 one [62] 5/15 12/12 23/21 31/22 37/4 39/14 41/12 46/10 49/17 50/6 51/21 58/16 59/22 60/3 63/14 64/6 64/17 65/11 65/15 75/11 75/15 75/18 76/8 83/3 87/19 89/25 90/1 103/11 103/14 103/25 105/2 110/1 115/6 115/19 118/7 119/9 119/24 121/4 121/10 125/18 125/19 127/21 128/15 130/23 134/7 136/1 143/3 144/5 144/14 152/4 155/13 155/15 156/17 157/8 158/8 158/14 159/12 159/18 159/22 163/20 167/21 168/18 one day [1] 127/21 one's [1] 117/14 onerous [1] 74/9 ones [2] 76/10 130/4 ongoing [2] 137/7 139/6 only [26] 21/25 28/5 46/2 46/16 55/4 82/14 103/21 111/11 114/23 124/16 129/16 134/21 136/18 136/21 137/3 137/5 137/6 137/21 137/21 140/18 145/2 148/3 154/19 162/14 167/9 167/22 ons [1] 98/10 onscreen [1] 17/20 onto [1] 157/1 onwards [3] 4/16 21/20 81/22 open [2] 24/14 143/22
----------	--	--	--	---

O	order [7] 58/17 60/23 80/11 85/22 89/14 140/25 155/17 ordering [1] 154/6 orders [1] 163/16 ordinarily [1] 5/14 ordinary [1] 125/17 ordained [1] 30/22 ordination [8] 16/5 84/9 94/23 95/4 95/5 95/10 96/13 131/13 Orford [2] 39/4 47/1 Organisation [1] 98/23 organisations [1] 65/10 organiser [1] 54/1 orientated [2] 159/15 159/16 originated [1] 45/25 other [48] 5/19 7/4 7/6 9/1 10/13 13/25 17/22 18/20 24/8 25/17 26/13 26/21 28/16 37/24 46/13 46/15 54/17 59/17 67/18 68/24 69/3 69/11 71/10 81/16 82/18 82/23 83/8 89/6 90/1 92/23 99/21 113/24 114/16 114/18 115/17 123/22 125/12 127/8 127/20 132/14 132/15 132/15 134/17 141/14 152/4 152/21 154/11 156/11 other's [1] 141/23 others [11] 13/23 24/16 28/10 43/16 59/9 66/23 95/16 99/5 102/6 122/4 144/18 ounce [1] 126/12 our [47] 20/23 23/16 53/8 56/21 58/24 62/19 63/10 63/22 63/23 65/17 67/24 68/22 75/1 76/25 79/19 81/14 85/1 86/14 86/17 86/23 87/4 87/13 88/16 88/21 90/7 90/24 91/24 94/7 104/21 106/16 107/24 118/3 121/24 123/4 126/23 127/7 127/8 136/4 137/4 139/1 139/13 139/13 140/10 140/11 151/22 151/22 165/12 ourselves [1] 121/4 out [55] 3/22 8/19 13/10 18/1 19/8 19/23 22/3 23/7 26/19 27/14 30/21 32/16 32/20 48/14 60/18 67/1	72/23 74/8 76/8 76/20 88/8 92/14 93/4 95/2 97/15 99/5 99/20 100/4 100/11 101/23 106/23 106/23 113/20 114/5 114/8 115/3 124/16 125/17 133/20 135/5 139/19 140/3 140/5 140/23 142/11 144/23 146/4 148/24 152/25 153/10 157/21 163/18 166/12 168/1 168/21 outbreak [1] 140/9 outcome [1] 130/1 outcomes [7] 115/7 132/21 132/22 146/24 147/5 159/16 162/19 outdoors [3] 72/5 72/6 72/7 outlets [1] 83/8 outline [1] 4/17 outlining [1] 37/12 outset [2] 56/6 58/4 outside [2] 3/20 36/20 outstanding [1] 154/9 over [15] 1/8 7/20 12/25 62/7 99/3 132/10 133/2 133/11 138/13 143/4 152/4 154/15 155/4 156/3 164/2 overall [5] 28/15 55/13 56/24 58/24 65/18 overarching [3] 85/22 87/16 131/7 overlapped [1] 115/7 oversee [1] 115/12 overwhelming [1] 76/24 overwhelmingly [1] 86/16 own [10] 38/24 58/20 79/20 109/1 128/25 152/16 152/20 157/18 162/25 163/18 owner [1] 41/3 owners [1] 157/6	43/18 43/18 45/20 46/20 46/20 47/25 80/22 83/20 87/25 88/4 91/14 92/7 93/3 94/19 113/16 113/22 138/6 140/6 143/17 154/3 154/15 154/15 170/2 page 1 [2] 87/25 88/4 page 11 [1] 38/20 page 115 [1] 92/7 page 116 [1] 93/3 page 17 [1] 42/17 page 2 [4] 19/23 31/23 91/14 94/19 page 3 [4] 12/15 41/3 83/20 113/22 page 4 [1] 15/7 page 73 [1] 43/18 page 9 [1] 143/17 page 90 [2] 46/20 46/20 pages [1] 100/9 pandemic [76] 1/23 2/9 3/21 4/17 4/21 4/24 5/1 6/25 7/5 7/12 7/13 7/21 8/17 9/10 31/16 34/12 34/14 40/2 43/11 54/9 55/21 56/4 56/6 57/11 58/5 58/5 58/17 58/19 59/1 59/20 60/19 65/22 66/7 66/16 66/22 67/2 68/2 68/20 69/5 71/22 73/14 77/11 81/24 83/24 85/18 85/20 89/3 90/3 96/11 106/7 111/3 112/5 112/9 112/21 113/11 115/5 115/16 118/9 120/6 120/9 121/14 121/17 125/7 125/14 125/21 128/3 128/6 128/13 131/22 143/1 146/15 147/21 148/14 155/3 156/10 159/9 pandemic: [1] 139/20 paper [12] 56/15 56/18 59/7 101/5 101/6 101/8 102/23 102/23 103/4 103/8 103/12 159/18 papers [10] 9/11 9/14 29/15 29/17 29/20 30/3 56/18 80/2 103/17 147/15 paperwork [1] 24/10 paragraph [36] 5/22 11/13 12/16 12/23 13/19 14/18 16/7 17/5 25/2 29/12 30/8 33/1 42/17 45/20 48/8 49/20 60/11 78/17	91/18 92/6 93/2 93/8 110/2 110/9 111/10 113/17 113/18 113/23 139/24 140/5 143/13 143/18 150/11 151/8 154/3 154/14 paragraph 11 [1] 113/23 paragraph 12 [3] 5/22 14/18 110/2 paragraph 17 [1] 11/13 paragraph 2.6 [1] 12/16 paragraph 2.7 [1] 12/23 paragraph 28 [1] 13/19 paragraph 35 [1] 48/8 paragraph 38 [1] 16/7 paragraph 39 [2] 143/13 143/18 paragraph 4 [1] 91/18 paragraph 40 [1] 29/12 paragraph 463 [1] 92/6 paragraph 464 [1] 93/2 paragraph 47 [1] 25/2 paragraph 48 [1] 60/11 paragraph 5 [1] 45/20 paragraph 54 [1] 17/5 paragraph 6.6 [1] 42/17 paragraph 60 [1] 49/20 paragraph 62 [1] 33/1 paragraph 8 [1] 111/10 paragraphs [1] 21/24 parcel [1] 141/24 parents [1] 25/11 parity [1] 89/21 parked [1] 122/12 parliament [2] 25/16 129/16 Parliamentary [1] 111/7 parochial [1] 121/6 part [28] 2/24 3/24 4/7 26/21 36/16 44/18 46/7 55/4 57/18 60/8 67/20 73/9 90/7 90/13 92/8 107/11 116/15 116/17 116/17 125/25
----------	---	---	--	--

<p>P</p> <p>part... [8] 138/18 141/24 142/2 143/13 144/16 152/14 155/5 161/16</p> <p>part-time [1] 2/24</p> <p>participants [6] 83/22 83/25 84/15 91/19 117/21 158/4</p> <p>particular [22] 38/9 56/19 62/12 63/21 65/3 65/10 66/12 71/23 91/17 102/4 106/1 106/11 106/14 128/6 128/12 146/17 148/17 157/13 158/1 161/20 162/22 169/1</p> <p>particularly [19] 6/11 23/2 25/22 51/9 66/10 67/16 70/6 70/23 81/22 85/11 88/11 126/19 135/17 147/21 155/12 157/16 157/18 159/14 169/2</p> <p>partner [1] 140/8</p> <p>partnered [1] 65/9</p> <p>partners [2] 87/14 88/21</p> <p>Partnership [1] 28/9</p> <p>parts [9] 16/8 16/22 28/16 67/23 82/16 94/24 95/6 106/15 150/24</p> <p>party [1] 136/4</p> <p>pass [2] 150/13 150/14</p> <p>passage [1] 124/12</p> <p>pastoral [1] 71/7</p> <p>path [1] 140/3</p> <p>patience [1] 124/18</p> <p>patients [1] 155/21</p> <p>Patrick [4] 37/11 37/19 122/6 124/25</p> <p>Patrick Vallance [2] 122/6 124/25</p> <p>pattern [3] 34/11 116/2 120/20</p> <p>patterns [1] 117/15</p> <p>pause [3] 46/22 68/12 98/2</p> <p>pausing [2] 39/3 150/6</p> <p>pay [1] 60/18</p> <p>peaked [1] 93/5</p> <p>Pembrokeshire [1] 110/17</p> <p>pennies [1] 79/12</p> <p>penny [1] 145/7</p> <p>people [101] 5/9 6/24 16/13 24/20 25/15 25/17 35/19 38/15 38/25 39/22 44/6 55/23 58/18 62/24</p>	<p>63/4 63/13 64/3 64/12 66/15 66/20 67/1 67/24 71/21 72/1 72/4 72/5 72/7 73/8 74/8 74/23 75/6 75/16 76/21 77/4 78/23 81/14 83/13 83/14 85/1 86/10 86/14 91/7 93/13 93/25 95/12 96/8 96/15 96/15 99/3 99/22 100/6 100/19 101/3 101/14 102/10 102/25 103/4 103/10 103/12 106/7 106/12 108/1 108/3 116/18 118/2 118/4 118/23 119/25 120/18 121/21 126/2 126/6 126/11 126/15 126/22 133/10 133/17 134/12 134/22 134/23 134/24 137/4 137/15 140/15 141/10 145/18 148/18 148/19 150/20 151/11 151/24 152/8 153/7 153/10 155/17 156/2 156/23 156/25 157/20 158/19 167/17</p> <p>people's [6] 57/11 57/12 57/15 64/16 89/13 124/9</p> <p>percentage [2] 92/18 93/9</p> <p>percentages [1] 92/12</p> <p>perception [2] 90/21 95/24</p> <p>perfect [3] 36/4 36/4 119/5</p> <p>perfectly [3] 133/3 141/12 141/17</p> <p>performers [1] 136/2</p> <p>perhaps [8] 48/17 48/17 50/19 50/22 72/16 73/12 127/2 143/15</p> <p>period [30] 3/20 4/21 8/8 8/14 8/21 9/10 19/20 21/7 21/22 22/1 25/20 31/8 34/8 35/21 35/22 48/16 51/2 68/9 76/21 95/9 111/4 112/7 112/16 121/9 125/15 127/4 131/16 141/11 143/19 157/13</p> <p>periods [1] 113/11</p> <p>peripheral [1] 120/24</p> <p>permanent [1] 59/25</p> <p>permanent secretaries [1] 59/25</p> <p>permission [1] 158/7</p> <p>permissive [1] 87/8</p> <p>person [7] 10/14</p>	<p>10/17 13/8 97/21 108/5 119/2 167/22</p> <p>personal [9] 8/24 40/4 40/25 41/5 41/7 41/10 41/19 42/3 50/13</p> <p>personally [3] 21/4 27/3 36/15</p> <p>personnel [4] 142/7 142/11 142/20 142/23</p> <p>perspective [2] 60/4 106/25</p> <p>phase [2] 72/25 131/1</p> <p>phase 1 [1] 72/25</p> <p>phone [6] 32/1 40/5 40/25 41/19 42/3 120/13</p> <p>phones [2] 42/22 42/24</p> <p>phrase [2] 74/4 86/11</p> <p>phrased [1] 121/7</p> <p>pick [3] 25/1 87/19 138/13</p> <p>picked [3] 14/5 83/3 88/6</p> <p>picking [3] 58/11 133/13 133/16</p> <p>piece [7] 74/7 74/22 74/25 75/11 101/8 115/14 159/18</p> <p>pieces [3] 72/12 73/5 75/10</p> <p>pique [1] 165/22</p> <p>place [24] 18/6 18/16 23/4 23/15 35/8 35/15 36/5 36/21 39/19 40/19 58/20 69/1 71/4 77/23 119/13 119/14 129/9 133/24 136/5 145/9 149/7 151/4 151/15 159/4</p> <p>placed [1] 158/19</p> <p>plain [1] 52/1</p> <p>plainer [1] 130/6</p> <p>plan [3] 58/5 58/13 154/20</p> <p>planet [1] 155/6</p> <p>planned [1] 72/22</p> <p>planning [4] 2/19 13/16 87/5 159/3</p> <p>plans [1] 20/23</p> <p>platform [1] 161/18</p> <p>played [1] 23/7</p> <p>playing [1] 61/12</p> <p>plays [1] 114/22</p> <p>please [67] 1/13 1/16 3/18 4/17 5/3 8/18 21/18 23/5 26/15 30/6 30/12 52/21 52/25 53/1 53/6 53/7 56/13 57/25 61/22 62/22 62/23 64/23 70/5 71/17 72/14 73/20</p>	<p>74/3 74/4 74/12 74/20 78/10 78/11 83/16 83/17 83/20 86/3 87/22 87/23 89/4 91/10 91/11 91/14 92/3 92/4 92/6 93/2 94/14 94/18 94/19 96/2 96/25 98/3 99/8 100/10 109/10 109/13 109/23 109/24 113/17 135/4 135/8 138/25 139/24 140/5 151/2 160/9 169/20</p> <p>pleased [1] 104/4</p> <p>plenary [1] 34/14</p> <p>plenty [1] 144/8</p> <p>plethora [1] 128/8</p> <p>plural [1] 122/19</p> <p>plus [1] 122/4</p> <p>pm [5] 18/7 109/5 109/7 118/22 169/21</p> <p>point [88] 5/10 8/7 12/10 13/12 15/20 16/2 16/21 16/23 17/1 17/1 19/13 20/8 21/6 21/12 21/20 21/22 22/7 22/11 22/14 23/11 24/12 24/14 25/1 26/14 27/11 29/9 30/8 30/13 30/16 32/23 34/1 34/17 36/12 37/3 37/10 37/17 39/10 39/15 39/17 39/19 41/23 47/20 47/23 48/15 49/3 49/21 58/7 60/14 65/12 68/25 70/2 71/6 71/7 73/3 75/19 76/13 77/18 78/2 79/23 81/10 81/12 82/6 84/6 84/24 85/12 86/6 86/7 90/15 96/16 100/1 103/11 117/6 120/22 121/2 121/6 125/10 130/25 131/12 132/7 132/9 132/20 135/9 136/17 137/8 151/22 151/22 155/13 162/6</p> <p>pointing [1] 130/8</p> <p>points [8] 14/6 17/25 36/17 43/8 63/18 83/21 132/7 132/8</p> <p>polarised [1] 118/4</p> <p>police [3] 156/13 157/10 157/22</p> <p>policies [5] 40/18 40/22 76/13 132/24 150/24</p> <p>policy [20] 14/17 42/16 43/5 44/22 56/11 60/15 62/13 67/13 68/6 80/15 80/19 81/7 82/24 99/25 111/12 112/4</p>	<p>115/17 136/13 136/17 141/23</p> <p>polite [1] 82/25</p> <p>political [17] 30/2 32/23 53/21 54/2 59/2 90/20 116/12 118/4 130/15 132/6 135/18 136/4 145/21 164/21 165/18 167/11 169/3</p> <p>politicians [2] 126/9 169/13</p> <p>poll [1] 93/4</p> <p>polling [6] 57/10 76/19 88/20 89/10 89/11 91/4</p> <p>Poole [2] 158/9 169/10</p> <p>populated [1] 151/13</p> <p>population [10] 12/19 61/24 62/4 92/13 106/17 130/11 130/17 130/17 133/4 133/8</p> <p>populations [1] 99/2</p> <p>porosity [1] 85/10</p> <p>portrayed [1] 165/18</p> <p>portraying [1] 167/18</p> <p>position [5] 41/19 51/15 102/7 128/22 137/12</p> <p>positions [1] 71/10</p> <p>positive [3] 18/25 32/12 118/7</p> <p>possibility [3] 84/13 140/3 168/5</p> <p>possible [15] 14/21 16/10 21/12 36/10 50/11 55/16 56/10 63/20 77/1 97/9 116/13 122/8 134/4 159/21 160/1</p> <p>possibly [8] 13/1 23/8 30/1 44/11 98/9 118/7 134/3 136/6</p> <p>post [2] 5/25 35/22</p> <p>posts [4] 55/3 55/4 55/5 55/9</p> <p>potential [8] 16/7 24/19 67/13 67/22 79/14 81/4 87/3 91/8</p> <p>potentially [4] 66/6 84/22 133/25 166/4</p> <p>power [4] 4/6 61/11 130/21 144/16</p> <p>powerful [1] 87/12</p> <p>powers [3] 128/2 129/7 130/24</p> <p>PPE [10] 153/21 153/22 154/6 154/12 154/23 155/2 155/4 155/6 155/23 156/20</p> <p>practical [3] 84/12 132/6 168/5</p> <p>pre [1] 120/13</p>
---	---	---	--	--

P	136/12 136/15 137/13 149/14 149/19 149/23 150/9 160/23 161/3 161/9 162/13 163/3 166/16	productive [2] 119/2 119/17	providing [4] 26/15 26/17 29/24 164/21	pyramid [1] 118/23
pre-determined [1] 120/13	Prime Minister [18] 33/17 33/18 33/21 34/2 36/6 114/3 119/4 136/15 137/13 149/14 149/19 149/23 150/9 160/23 161/3 161/9 162/13 166/16	profession [4] 54/8 55/5 55/10 56/4	provision [5] 53/4 57/24 103/9 155/2 155/10	Q
precautionary [1] 50/24	principal [2] 34/17 55/13	professional [1] 145/20	qualified [1] 39/14	
precisely [1] 139/2	principally [1] 62/12	professionals [1] 138/21	quantify [1] 154/22	
predictability [1] 15/14	principles [2] 55/22 130/6	Professor [4] 57/9 65/14 83/4 111/16	quantities [1] 155/23	
predictable [2] 30/10 31/1	printed [1] 63/18	Professor Ann John [1] 57/9	queries [1] 103/8	
preferable [1] 16/18	prior [3] 18/16 53/25 78/5	Professor Henderson [1] 83/4	question [30] 1/6 13/9 20/22 21/16 22/10 24/18 27/2 36/3 47/3 49/14 51/19 51/21 61/7 62/24 64/25 70/17 78/21 96/20 101/11 103/25 107/19 120/21 122/18 124/20 124/21 129/10 129/23 136/23 155/1 161/4	
preference [3] 83/25 84/7 84/21	priorities [2] 111/24 119/7	Professor Ogbonna [1] 65/14	questions [48] 1/15 3/10 14/18 14/21 14/22 22/2 38/3 38/5 48/6 49/12 49/15 51/20 52/23 53/7 82/7 89/1 91/1 95/12 96/18 96/20 96/21 104/4 105/20 109/12 110/24 113/8 149/3 153/21 153/24 156/7 158/3 158/4 158/5 158/6 158/8 160/5 160/7 169/7 169/10 170/4 170/5 170/6 170/9 170/10 170/11 170/14 170/16 170/17	
prepared [5] 19/14 27/8 27/10 27/19 139/14	priority [1] 122/10	Professor Wincott [1] 111/16	quick [2] 97/4 106/15	
preparedness [1] 13/25	privacy [1] 141/17	profound [2] 115/12 126/20	quickly [8] 32/7 44/24 70/23 96/12 104/3 117/11 122/24 167/21	
prerogative [1] 4/6	private [6] 2/1 18/22 42/24 45/17 52/4 161/8	programme [3] 66/10 142/9 145/8	quid [1] 129/7	
present [2] 130/4 156/12	private office [1] 45/17	programmes [1] 85/21	quid pro quo [1] 129/7	
presented [2] 49/25 50/6	pro [1] 129/7	progress [2] 77/6 154/6	Quintet [1] 15/4	
preservation [1] 42/12	proactive [1] 80/17	progressed [1] 58/19	quite [36] 6/24 7/16 57/17 60/7 63/6 71/6 71/8 76/21 81/25 83/4 84/17 86/12 88/19 93/22 98/3 104/24 114/19 116/19 117/11 117/12 118/24 119/17 120/10 124/20 128/24 133/14 133/15 139/5 144/22 152/12 153/8 157/10 157/21 162/15 162/19 167/10	
preserve [2] 43/4 44/3	probably [12] 36/10 56/21 74/23 94/15 100/4 108/14 118/20 123/3 127/20 149/1 155/16 161/18	prohibited [1] 41/11	quo [1] 129/7	
press [25] 7/9 54/15 54/16 57/3 64/7 66/23 77/2 81/15 86/13 90/14 97/2 97/15 98/5 99/6 99/16 100/3 100/8 100/17 101/15 101/16 101/23 102/17 102/20 137/12 144/11	problem [16] 72/3 75/19 83/12 130/14 137/7 137/21 137/21 137/22 137/23 145/5 147/2 152/5 164/25 165/2 166/1 168/7	promote [1] 60/23	quotations [1] 88/9	
pressing [1] 30/18	problems [5] 32/6 75/18 117/22 130/13 168/25	prompted [1] 81/2	quotes [1] 151/7	
pressure [2] 17/12 157/21	proceed [1] 129/11	properly [2] 28/18 43/3		
presumably [5] 36/24 47/1 47/8 103/21 166/2	process [17] 26/14 57/19 81/6 115/7 121/18 133/24 136/3 142/3 142/4 142/25 146/24 147/1 148/24 158/25 159/1 159/15 165/2	proportion [1] 62/3		
presume [1] 102/13	processes [4] 45/1 95/20 115/12 132/21	proposal [1] 151/9		
pretend [1] 27/7	produce [1] 19/18	proposals [1] 130/6		
pretty [11] 61/16 62/1 63/19 78/18 98/10 122/3 122/6 129/4 137/19 142/17 158/11	produced [3] 9/14 53/10 88/3	propose [2] 95/2 149/15		
pressing [1] 30/18	produces [1] 88/8	proposed [1] 80/15		
pressure [2] 17/12 157/21	product [1] 156/23	proposing [2] 21/2 21/4		
presumably [5] 36/24 47/1 47/8 103/21 166/2	production [2] 29/14 54/19	protect [4] 79/21 89/13 108/1 151/10		
presume [1] 102/13		protected [3] 124/9 124/9 160/16		
pretend [1] 27/7		protecting [2] 89/5 162/14		
pretty [11] 61/16 62/1 63/19 78/18 98/10 122/3 122/6 129/4 137/19 142/17 158/11		protection [4] 59/17 149/6 151/5 151/16		
prevalence [3] 72/1 87/9 149/21		protective [2] 71/20 94/8		
preventative [2] 105/2 106/16		proud [1] 143/7		
previous [5] 5/12 64/25 93/8 101/4 128/1		proved [1] 149/21		
previously [3] 35/25 110/17 128/10		provide [13] 3/15 5/18 9/8 10/18 22/9 36/15 52/7 55/14 56/18 58/17 59/5 59/12 110/22		
pride [1] 157/6		provided [14] 1/19 2/18 8/19 9/9 28/4 29/6 30/4 41/15 56/10 74/11 90/8 139/6 153/6 168/8		
primarily [1] 3/25		provides [3] 54/15 54/22 114/2		
primary [2] 89/12 89/16				
Prime [21] 33/17 33/18 33/21 34/2 36/6 114/3 119/4 131/5				

R	really [48] 7/22 18/21 21/6 21/25 27/3 27/6 36/3 45/7 57/14 59/1 59/3 60/1 63/4 64/10 65/12 65/14 66/19 68/25 69/4 69/4 70/24 71/5 72/10 73/2 73/21 81/22 81/25 84/5 86/25 87/11 87/12 90/6 93/12 96/11 96/13 96/16 99/15 99/24 121/25 123/25 134/11 138/18 141/9 143/8 147/5 151/21 151/22 153/18	recommendation [2] 101/2 102/24	region [1] 12/22	49/6
raised... [5] 136/24 143/10 146/10 155/15 166/16	reason [8] 22/13 80/9 103/6 121/5 132/14 146/3 161/16 167/12	recommendations [1] 44/8	regret [1] 83/22	remained [2] 2/22 4/20
raises [2] 38/6 135/16	reasonable [5] 12/18 13/11 121/22 133/3 141/13	recommended [4] 50/10 97/8 98/25 99/1 99/23 100/18	regrettable [1] 162/9	remarkable [2] 118/5 168/20
ramped [1] 61/2	reasonably [3] 76/20 119/22 158/2	recommending [2] 99/23 100/18	regular [8] 7/22 34/11 34/20 37/5 116/1 120/12 120/20 132/3	remember [24] 13/10 97/3 97/10 104/15 104/17 104/18 117/3 119/25 123/18 123/22 124/11 124/13 129/9 129/20 133/19 137/4 143/5 148/14 150/10 157/10 158/1 158/17 164/14 167/9
ramping [1] 61/15	reasons [8] 8/24 22/25 115/9 126/16 135/19 135/24 136/9 141/15	record [13] 1/5 11/13 32/5 42/12 43/4 44/16 46/5 48/13 79/18 82/22 98/17 117/13 150/22	regularly [2] 30/16 59/5	remind [2] 53/6 64/21
ran [3] 71/3 89/18 105/4	reassure [1] 154/24	record-keeping [2] 42/12 44/16	regulation [1] 157/14	reminder [1] 97/4
range [3] 118/3 143/25 156/10	Rebecca [1] 43/15	recorded [2] 45/6 109/20	regulations [9] 27/23 58/21 86/2 88/24 89/15 108/12 135/1 149/20 151/4	reminding [1] 64/22
rank [1] 114/14	Rebecca Evans [1] 43/15	records [14] 19/2 42/25 43/2 44/3 44/20 44/22 44/25 45/9 45/17 45/22 45/25 46/2 47/19 47/21	related [3] 7/10 39/18 85/21	remote [2] 119/15 151/12
rapidly [4] 61/16 80/7 86/18 149/5	recall [11] 9/25 10/22 25/11 33/8 37/3 47/15 69/21 72/24 79/23 103/17 155/12	records' [1] 42/23	relates [2] 39/9 42/11	remotely [1] 166/13
rarely [2] 19/20 120/10	received [7] 41/14 80/2 92/16 147/11 149/8 149/23 167/24	recovery [2] 139/20 140/1	relating [5] 72/22 74/2 74/6 108/6 112/9	removed [2] 78/20 103/14
rate [1] 149/9	receive [3] 19/4 28/22 159/23	recruit [1] 38/23	relation [23] 4/8 6/13 7/9 12/6 20/5 20/7 22/3 23/2 23/14 25/19 29/25 30/1 33/12 34/7 36/13 37/18 38/1 44/19 44/23 51/16 88/22 92/17 107/2	renewal [1] 129/16
rates [4] 132/25 135/16 149/5 151/11	receiving [2] 23/19 31/13	red [1] 164/3	relationships [13] 35/11 82/21 82/22 113/9 113/14 113/19 113/25 115/5 118/8 143/13 147/23 162/3 163/21	rephrase [1] 109/22
rather [16] 15/1 25/25 33/23 39/1 47/18 67/5 90/3 94/9 127/15 130/16 132/21 134/5 140/22 147/17 151/25 162/15	recent [2] 146/9 150/4	redacted [2] 94/16 97/18	relationship [16] 6/21 7/3 7/23 8/1 17/12 23/16 23/17 34/1 57/25 67/18 111/1 114/18 131/17 146/18 147/7 163/24	replaced [3] 78/21 147/22 148/2
RCBI [1] 57/8	recent weeks [1] 146/9	redoubled [1] 85/1	relations [13] 35/11 82/21 82/22 113/9 113/14 113/19 113/25 115/5 118/8 143/13 147/23 162/3 163/21	replacement [1] 119/12
re [8] 23/15 23/20 23/25 24/3 24/14 35/24 50/4 118/19	recipient [1] 17/23	reduced [1] 146/20	relation [23] 4/8 6/13 7/9 12/6 20/5 20/7 22/3 23/2 23/14 25/19 29/25 30/1 33/12 34/7 36/13 37/18 38/1 44/19 44/23 51/16 88/22 92/17 107/2	reply [2] 93/15 166/24
re-align [1] 35/24	reciprocated [1] 144/3	refer [9] 21/23 26/2 37/21 76/2 106/25 110/3 118/24 122/2 143/18	report [9] 83/4 83/18 83/19 84/19 87/25 91/12 91/13 113/15 127/7	reporting [1] 137/11
re-open [1] 24/14	recognise [8] 28/4 41/14 41/18 72/16 127/4 147/9 147/19 161/19	referred [5] 1/7 16/8 63/11 104/19 106/1	reporting [1] 137/11	reports [3] 87/21 88/10 90/8
re-opening [5] 23/15 23/20 23/25 24/3 50/4	recognised [3] 56/7 59/23 148/18	referring [2] 37/7 45/16	relationship [16] 6/21 7/3 7/23 8/1 17/12 23/16 23/17 34/1 57/25 67/18 111/1 114/18 131/17 146/18 147/7 163/24	represent [4] 49/16 96/23 105/22 139/1
reach [17] 62/20 62/22 64/3 64/11 66/13 92/9 92/18 92/20 92/22 93/9 93/9 93/11 93/21 123/18 134/17 134/22 136/5	recognition [1] 85/23	refers [2] 14/24 142/2	relationships [7] 6/17 7/14 7/15 7/20 119/3 161/11 164/2	representation [1] 74/23
reached [6] 8/7 61/2 92/12 119/23 129/12 129/20	recollect [2] 25/18 103/3	reflected [4] 6/12 38/4 44/5 91/25	relative [2] 62/14 141/17	representations [1] 138/20
reaching [1] 64/1	recollection [9] 24/23 62/6 77/20 78/6 79/1 95/9 95/11 126/5 126/14	reflecting [1] 82/3	relatively [3] 30/16 91/21 119/22	representative [2] 57/8 88/18
reacted [1] 127/18	recommend [2] 44/14 47/12	reflection [1] 134/12	relaxations [1] 26/10	representatives [1] 25/6
reaction [6] 18/19 51/24 52/1 52/2 91/8 118/17	regard [2] 44/16 154/9	reflective [1] 163/20	release [1] 142/20	represented [1] 10/5
read [16] 80/24 84/1 89/10 95/2 99/11 99/17 100/16 101/19 118/19 132/25 135/5 136/16 136/19 168/1 168/5 168/8	regarding [4] 25/3 65/7 95/4 151/19	reflects [1] 76/11	relevance [2] 75/7 168/13	representing [3] 111/20 113/4 133/14
read-out [1] 135/5	regards [2] 35/10 95/24	refocused [1] 122/9	relevant [9] 59/9 68/18 102/20 107/15 108/14 112/15 114/20 142/2 159/5	request [11] 4/1 142/10 142/15 142/18 161/2 165/5 166/3 166/17 166/20 166/22 167/4
reading [3] 100/24 121/11 121/14	regime [1] 159/10	regard [2] 44/16 154/9	reliable [2] 34/11 116/1	requested [2] 166/19 167/6
ready [1] 18/9	regimes [1] 159/3	regarding [4] 25/3 65/7 95/4 151/19	relied [2] 6/15 39/21	requesting [1] 142/6
real [6] 1/9 7/10 15/20 69/17 79/15 131/12		regards [2] 35/10 95/24	relieve [1] 137/19	requests [1] 142/16
realisation [1] 123/3		regime [1] 159/10	rely [2] 146/13 150/12	require [1] 45/22
reality [1] 81/23		regimes [1] 159/3	relying [1] 151/24	required [3] 36/18 49/6 142/12
			remain [3] 2/2 2/10	

R	retained [1] 46/1	138/15 138/18	128/12 131/15 135/3	105/11 125/10 129/21
requirement [1] 44/3	retrospective [1] 168/23	roles [4] 3/18 4/18 119/10 139/13	138/7 141/11 145/1 146/6 148/19 156/4 159/22 162/17 163/2 164/17 165/23	133/17 133/21 134/8 138/25 148/15 152/21 156/13 162/13 164/14 165/9
requirements [1] 128/8	return [8] 8/8 8/13 16/2 22/11 42/1 42/9 52/16 109/4	roll [1] 142/11	roll-out [1] 142/11	sake [3] 132/17 134/10 135/23
requires [1] 44/16	returned [2] 3/1 3/4	room [3] 122/5 144/15 145/18	same [20] 12/21 28/1 38/25 41/5 43/7 75/24 76/1 120/10 120/11 124/10 127/20 128/10 133/2 139/3 139/21 142/13 144/15 144/17 145/18 145/18	says [22] 9/22 12/16 12/20 12/23 15/8 18/3 18/11 38/16 38/21 45/20 46/23 47/4 96/3 100/2 101/1 101/19 113/18 117/21 135/12 138/12 150/2 165/10
research [1] 88/3	returning [2] 13/4 22/20	round [1] 166/11	route [1] 137/9	scale [1] 75/20
reserved [7] 111/21 115/19 115/21 145/2 145/6 148/9 148/10	revealed [1] 47/2	routes [1] 154/11	routine [1] 14/16	scan [1] 74/12
resetting [1] 33/19	revealing [1] 152/12	routinely [1] 40/8	row [1] 74/5	scenario [4] 12/19 13/11 121/18 121/22
resolved [2] 132/2 147/3	reverting [1] 146/14	rows [1] 132/6	Royal [2] 64/17 153/6	scenarios [2] 22/5 22/5
resonating [1] 91/6	review [5] 21/6 30/20 81/5 113/13 113/19	Royal Mail [1] 64/17	rub [1] 158/1	scene [1] 115/12
resource [1] 81/25	reviewed [1] 24/10	rude [1] 20/2	rule [2] 1/6 72/6	schedule [3] 19/24 30/11 31/1
resources [1] 127/19	Rhodri [2] 2/17 2/23	rules [15] 57/13 58/20 67/22 67/25 71/3 71/16 73/19 75/1 76/23 85/2 85/15 89/15 152/10 152/22 153/9	rules [15] 57/13 58/20 67/22 67/25 71/3 71/16 73/19 75/1 76/23 85/2 85/15 89/15 152/10 152/22 153/9	scheme [3] 160/16 160/19 165/15
respect [1] 145/4	Rhodri Morgan [2] 2/17 2/23	run [12] 9/14 31/8 35/21 35/22 60/22 71/1 71/5 75/1 77/25 92/23 105/1 119/20	Rhys [1] 53/2	schools [11] 23/3 23/11 23/15 23/21 23/25 24/3 24/8 24/14 24/20 25/3 48/10
respectful [1] 82/25	rhythm [1] 28/2	run-up [4] 9/14 35/21 35/22 119/20	right [56] 2/20 3/16 7/17 9/5 9/9 19/15 20/13 26/6 31/17 34/15 34/22 37/1 40/5 43/14 50/21 50/25 52/14 53/19 54/3 55/8 63/15 69/12 72/18 88/12 99/25 110/9 110/19 111/8 111/18 111/25 112/13 112/14 115/10 116/6 118/24 124/22 125/3 125/23 126/13 126/13 126/21 129/15 129/23 130/3 131/11 136/5 139/15 139/16 142/17 144/25 156/12 157/2 158/16 158/21 164/7 166/23	science [8] 62/13 90/10 105/14 124/14 124/15 124/16 124/17 162/14
respectfully [1] 146/25	Rights [3] 48/20 48/21 105/23	Runeckles [13] 1/13 1/14 1/17 3/9 4/11 42/9 48/7 49/11 49/16 51/23 79/15 84/10 170/3	respond [6] 4/25 47/3 47/11 128/3 128/5 140/9	scientific [11] 12/17 23/18 25/8 36/14 36/15 37/7 39/4 71/21 90/16 104/10 151/18
respects [2] 118/1 145/16	ring [1] 98/9	running [1] 71/24	responding [3] 16/18 44/23 157/3	scientist [2] 103/22 103/23
respond [6] 4/25 47/3 47/11 128/3 128/5 140/9	Rishi [1] 163/12	runs [1] 93/10	responds [1] 47/6	scientists [4] 38/23 38/24 39/11 39/16
responding [3] 16/18 44/23 157/3	rising [1] 149/5	S	response [18] 1/6 5/1 9/19 45/15 55/14 59/23 79/17 84/8 106/4 112/4 112/9 118/3 121/23 141/24 142/12 149/18 150/25 165/11	scope [1] 166/5
responds [1] 47/6	risk [10] 9/24 41/3 61/20 65/19 107/25 124/6 124/8 131/3 134/21 150/21	Sadiq [2] 32/1 32/3	responsibilities [4] 3/19 4/18 29/4 111/12	score [1] 110/8
response [18] 1/6 5/1 9/19 45/15 55/14 59/23 79/17 84/8 106/4 112/4 112/9 118/3 121/23 141/24 142/12 149/18 150/25 165/11	risk' [1] 62/17	Sadiq K [1] 32/1	responsibility [13] 3/14 28/20 57/23 81/11 89/24 103/20 108/11 108/20 108/21 114/14 119/1 145/16 154/22	Scotland [18] 7/8 7/24 35/16 38/8 45/4 74/1 74/14 77/21 78/1 80/5 85/7 85/13 93/19 93/20 131/9 133/6 142/14 158/19
responses [2] 18/25 137/24	risks [1] 126/6	Sadiq Khan [1] 32/3	responsibilities [4] 3/19 4/18 29/4 111/12	Scottish [5] 7/7 16/10 121/4 146/19 149/25
responsibilities [4] 3/19 4/18 29/4 111/12	road [1] 129/24	Sadiq's [1] 32/18	responsibility [13] 3/14 28/20 57/23 81/11 89/24 103/20 108/11 108/20 108/21 114/14 119/1 145/16 154/22	screen [5] 8/18 19/13 97/21 99/12 160/10
responsibility [13] 3/14 28/20 57/23 81/11 89/24 103/20 108/11 108/20 108/21 114/14 119/1 145/16 154/22	Rob [1] 47/1	sadness [1] 132/18	rest [4] 20/10 24/22 29/15 56/17	scroll [2] 100/10 160/25
responsible [8] 19/3 54/6 54/18 108/5 111/19 111/23 112/3 122/11	Rob Orford [1] 47/1	safe [16] 55/24 56/21 61/1 79/20 85/22 86/4 86/11 86/16 86/17 86/25 87/7 87/11 92/9 93/5 93/16 94/7	restrict [3] 82/13 149/20 151/9	scrutinise [1] 138/8
responsible [8] 19/3 54/6 54/18 108/5 111/19 111/23 112/3 122/11	RobO [1] 46/25	Safe' [1] 78/22	restrictions [13] 20/19 22/4 74/9 91/8 108/7 119/16 128/8 130/6 149/4 151/4 151/15 151/19 157/19	scrutinise/interrogat e [1] 138/8
rest [4] 20/10 24/22 29/15 56/17	robust [1] 62/1	safely [1] 74/9	result [7] 69/23 69/25 132/23 148/25 150/23 153/9 162/18	scrutinising [1] 138/17
restrict [3] 82/13 149/20 151/9	role [32] 1/22 2/7 2/8 3/11 3/22 4/8 4/13 5/14 9/16 36/13 36/16 44/7 45/24 46/4 53/21 55/13 56/3 58/21 61/14 67/21 69/16 107/4 107/11 110/24 112/7 112/15 114/21 126/24 138/7 138/14	safety [1] 57/16	results [1] 60/6	scrutiny [4] 138/14 139/11 150/13 150/14
restrictions [13] 20/19 22/4 74/9 91/8 108/7 119/16 128/8 130/6 149/4 151/4 151/15 151/19 157/19		SAGE [13] 13/15 22/1 22/4 22/12 23/12 23/13 37/12 37/13 37/24 38/1 47/5 104/10 166/15	retain [1] 23/1	seamlessly [1] 132/2
restructured [1] 5/3		said [33] 11/8 13/4 35/16 46/16 47/10 47/12 59/7 65/17 68/2 84/10 86/16 86/20 91/24 94/8 96/7 98/7 114/15 118/11 120/2		seat [1] 60/1
result [7] 69/23 69/25 132/23 148/25 150/23 153/9 162/18				second [13] 1/24
results [1] 60/6				
retain [1] 23/1				

S				
<p>second... [12] 40/3 83/21 87/3 89/20 110/3 110/8 130/18 135/8 138/11 149/17 150/11 154/5</p> <p>seconded [1] 143/6</p> <p>secondly [1] 161/7</p> <p>secondment [1] 3/2</p> <p>secretaries [1] 59/25</p> <p>secretary [21] 12/5 34/19 110/18 110/21 110/24 111/6 111/11 111/18 112/18 118/16 119/6 119/10 121/4 135/10 135/16 136/25 138/16 161/5 162/11 163/21 165/12</p> <p>section [3] 56/16 58/15 59/8</p> <p>Sections [1] 94/17</p> <p>sector [16] 87/14 106/5 106/12 106/19 106/24 107/3 107/9 107/12 107/15 107/21 107/23 108/3 108/8 108/9 108/13 156/14</p> <p>sector-specific [1] 106/19</p> <p>sectoral [1] 99/17</p> <p>sectors [3] 13/25 86/24 89/6</p> <p>secure [1] 30/25</p> <p>see [28] 19/2 29/16 50/22 60/2 65/23 72/16 73/22 73/24 74/4 75/16 79/12 80/20 82/2 88/2 88/5 88/23 91/14 91/25 95/2 98/4 113/23 114/5 132/21 136/16 141/10 151/7 160/25 167/24</p> <p>seeking [3] 101/17 101/22 150/3</p> <p>seem [2] 51/13 103/11</p> <p>seems [2] 126/15 161/7</p> <p>seen [4] 90/15 97/16 110/6 168/1</p> <p>seized [1] 137/15</p> <p>self [1] 138/14</p> <p>self-appointed [1] 138/14</p> <p>send [2] 40/5 133/19</p> <p>Senedd [3] 54/2 125/9 150/15</p> <p>senior [9] 2/9 41/2 56/6 59/18 59/25 69/2 69/11 80/21 88/16</p> <p>sense [14] 32/6 79/6 79/8 83/12 116/13</p>	<p>118/18 118/18 118/19 119/5 124/3 125/19 134/19 141/6 146/21</p> <p>sensible [1] 151/13</p> <p>sensitive [1] 162/22</p> <p>sent [4] 41/17 43/6 43/21 78/12</p> <p>sentence [7] 12/16 12/20 28/23 29/1 110/3 129/1 150/11</p> <p>sentences [1] 110/9</p> <p>sentiment [4] 57/15 88/15 88/18 88/21</p> <p>sentiments [1] 137/16</p> <p>separate [4] 39/9 40/11 45/22 140/3</p> <p>separately [1] 101/9</p> <p>September [7] 46/24 47/19 55/3 92/11 149/4 149/15 149/18</p> <p>September 2020 [1] 149/4</p> <p>September 2021 [1] 92/11</p> <p>September 2022 [1] 55/3</p> <p>sequence [1] 102/2</p> <p>sequencing [2] 76/17 85/15</p> <p>series [7] 22/1 22/4 28/7 31/16 78/23 99/4 132/3</p> <p>seriously [1] 47/24</p> <p>seriousness [1] 127/4</p> <p>servant [2] 53/22 53/23</p> <p>servants [5] 4/3 32/25 82/23 138/21 138/25</p> <p>serve [2] 112/23 158/19</p> <p>served [2] 5/11 110/17</p> <p>serves [1] 129/15</p> <p>service [16] 2/15 3/6 4/1 4/4 4/9 6/7 6/9 9/12 27/25 29/7 41/13 72/9 126/19 142/8 142/11 156/25</p> <p>services [9] 5/16 10/6 10/16 13/22 54/22 106/22 107/1 108/15 145/20</p> <p>sessions [1] 25/16</p> <p>set [22] 3/22 13/10 18/1 18/8 19/8 19/23 27/15 30/22 34/25 38/2 51/25 52/4 57/17 66/25 70/3 80/10 85/15 92/14 115/2 115/2 130/6 132/14</p> <p>set-up [1] 18/1</p>	<p>sets [5] 8/19 18/1 26/19 48/14 113/20</p> <p>setting [1] 146/4</p> <p>settings [1] 25/4</p> <p>settled [1] 79/9</p> <p>settlement [2] 111/14 111/16</p> <p>seven [2] 43/21 138/11</p> <p>seven days [1] 43/21</p> <p>several [2] 153/15 158/14</p> <p>severity [2] 95/24 121/24</p> <p>Severn [1] 133/20</p> <p>Severn Tunnel [1] 133/20</p> <p>SH [1] 138/7</p> <p>shall [3] 52/16 109/4 117/16</p> <p>Shan [10] 15/5 15/8 15/13 40/22 43/23 94/21 96/3 97/17 97/22 98/19</p> <p>Shan Morgan [6] 15/5 94/21 96/3 97/17 97/22 98/19</p> <p>shape [1] 17/2</p> <p>share [3] 117/22 117/24 128/17</p> <p>shared [4] 9/25 128/18 136/5 144/23</p> <p>sharing [1] 70/25</p> <p>she [2] 15/13 38/7</p> <p>She's [1] 15/10</p> <p>shielding [2] 66/20 66/20</p> <p>shifted [1] 121/13</p> <p>shine [1] 141/22</p> <p>shines [1] 145/5</p> <p>shocked [1] 18/21</p> <p>short [10] 22/24 26/20 30/4 47/12 49/18 52/18 82/13 109/6 147/14 165/19</p> <p>short-changing [1] 165/19</p> <p>shot [1] 141/7</p> <p>should [39] 11/11 24/5 24/13 27/25 42/21 44/12 45/6 46/1 70/14 74/16 74/19 74/21 77/25 95/13 95/15 98/25 99/1 99/23 100/19 100/22 101/3 102/25 110/8 116/15 128/13 129/24 134/2 139/10 139/12 139/13 139/15 141/6 141/10 141/22 148/22 148/22 154/19 156/19 162/22</p> <p>shouldn't [2] 24/16 164/5</p>	<p>showing [1] 32/6</p> <p>Shrewsbury [1] 153/6</p> <p>shy [1] 139/4</p> <p>sic [1] 119/13</p> <p>side [5] 5/18 20/22 21/17 78/19 98/11</p> <p>sidelining [1] 147/8</p> <p>sign [1] 142/12</p> <p>sign-off [1] 142/12</p> <p>signed [6] 1/21 1/25 53/12 56/17 102/5 141/6</p> <p>signed off [2] 56/17 102/5</p> <p>significance [1] 13/12</p> <p>significant [16] 9/24 12/25 17/16 22/14 27/1 27/11 35/7 35/14 35/23 66/15 66/17 92/10 119/19 122/9 133/5 153/2</p> <p>similar [7] 22/7 71/10 131/23 134/3 149/23 149/24 157/16</p> <p>Simon [4] 109/10 109/11 109/15 170/13</p> <p>Simon Hart [1] 109/10</p> <p>simple [4] 78/22 159/13 159/14 159/19</p> <p>simpler [2] 130/5 159/12</p> <p>simplified [1] 63/19</p> <p>simply [9] 86/7 97/7 133/13 134/10 135/22 136/23 142/23 155/1 167/13</p> <p>since [4] 2/8 6/12 90/2 143/23</p> <p>sincerely [1] 34/5</p> <p>single [6] 108/5 128/14 128/25 129/1 142/15 153/7</p> <p>sinister [1] 152/13</p> <p>Sir [3] 9/23 37/11 37/19</p> <p>Sir Frank Atherton [1] 9/23</p> <p>Sir Patrick [1] 37/19</p> <p>Sir Patrick Vallance [1] 37/11</p> <p>SIRO [1] 41/2</p> <p>sit [4] 94/9 103/17 108/13 127/16</p> <p>situation [10] 16/1 16/19 17/3 18/2 18/22 23/10 84/22 137/25 161/20 162/9</p> <p>situations [3] 108/18 137/10 162/16</p> <p>six [3] 72/5 72/7 74/17</p>	<p>Skates [4] 135/6 135/12 136/1 156/11</p> <p>Slade [1] 15/5</p> <p>slavishly [1] 90/3</p> <p>sleepless [1] 144/7</p> <p>slight [1] 1/12</p> <p>slightly [7] 68/14 70/11 85/14 121/5 130/10 145/4 169/4</p> <p>slip [2] 16/24 148/21</p> <p>slip-up [1] 16/24</p> <p>slip-ups [1] 148/21</p> <p>slow [7] 58/10 64/22 117/16 123/1 127/4 127/17 153/17</p> <p>slowing [1] 149/9</p> <p>slowly [1] 53/8</p> <p>small [3] 40/13 111/12 150/24</p> <p>smaller [1] 137/24</p> <p>smooth [1] 111/14</p> <p>snapshots [1] 88/5</p> <p>so [190]</p> <p>so-called [1] 115/23</p> <p>social [19] 10/6 10/16 13/22 24/21 28/9 50/11 60/6 61/25 63/21 87/21 87/24 88/3 88/7 88/14 97/8 106/22 107/1 108/15 124/1</p> <p>social media [1] 61/25</p> <p>society [1] 50/5</p> <p>sold [5] 75/11 75/12 75/15 75/24 75/24</p> <p>soldier [1] 145/7</p> <p>solely [1] 168/7</p> <p>solution [1] 115/15</p> <p>solutions [1] 23/1</p> <p>solve [1] 117/22</p> <p>some [68] 3/10 7/10 8/22 22/5 26/9 26/19 27/1 27/14 33/11 34/6 34/7 37/23 37/25 44/8 45/5 59/8 60/9 61/13 76/10 76/16 76/17 81/11 82/7 86/12 89/1 91/1 91/19 95/14 96/10 96/14 97/13 97/16 110/23 113/8 114/23 118/4 118/20 118/23 120/5 124/23 126/20 129/23 132/23 133/2 135/13 139/11 143/18 145/14 145/18 145/21 148/2 148/25 149/3 152/19 152/25 153/23 156/7 157/4 157/19 158/4 159/8 159/9 159/9 162/7 162/8 163/25 164/1 168/25</p> <p>somebody [2] 5/20</p>

S	speakers [1] 90/6	106/22 106/25	14/11 30/9 42/17	159/4
somebody... [1] 136/3	speaking [6] 63/13 83/13 86/10 97/22 98/18 144/16	stakeholders [9] 4/4 28/9 39/20 99/18 116/12 133/14 133/15 134/13 156/10	55/19 74/14 91/18 92/10 93/4	structures [5] 15/11 15/15 36/20 113/20 113/24
somehow [1] 147/8	speaks [1] 86/20	stand [4] 18/12 135/24 148/15 159/2	statutory [3] 4/6 29/3 89/23	struggle [1] 61/25
someone [1] 108/17	special [40] 1/22 2/7 2/9 2/16 2/22 3/2 3/4 3/11 3/13 3/14 3/19 3/22 3/23 4/13 4/18 5/7 5/11 5/15 5/19 5/24 6/3 6/6 6/9 7/6 7/11 7/15 7/18 7/19 7/23 8/2 30/14 32/2 38/17 40/11 45/22 45/23 45/25 46/5 46/13 46/15	standing [2] 114/6 114/7	stay [18] 5/25 19/12 19/12 60/21 77/14 77/22 78/2 78/5 79/1 79/20 79/23 89/15 101/23 131/7 131/8 131/10 136/13 136/14	struggling [1] 153/12
something [24] 6/11 12/4 20/24 28/2 33/23 38/5 41/24 44/5 47/16 63/20 78/22 101/22 109/21 123/17 124/4 131/25 144/21 147/18 148/17 148/24 156/24 160/10 164/17 167/7	specialist [1] 65/11	standout [1] 136/2	Stay Alert [2] 131/8 136/14	stuff [1] 156/3
something's [1] 164/12	specific [16] 17/18 25/19 38/5 56/18 75/5 82/10 85/17 85/20 88/9 89/1 106/19 106/19 106/25 107/22 108/17 157/17	start [11] 2/8 3/10 29/19 61/22 96/24 99/9 109/13 129/23 143/23 152/8 160/9	staying [1] 89/15	Sturgeon [2] 38/6 149/24
sometimes [8] 15/23 63/15 96/4 113/5 120/15 126/14 142/22 147/14	specifically [13] 13/24 25/16 25/25 26/17 37/18 47/20 107/4 107/11 107/12 107/17 108/9 108/13 131/4	started [4] 13/2 34/22 121/19 123/9	steadily [1] 5/6	sub [2] 30/11 78/23
somewhere [1] 12/21	speech [1] 112/7	starting [2] 114/15 131/4	Stenner [2] 32/1 32/2	sub-groups [1] 30/11
soon [3] 14/21 124/22 126/22	speed [5] 36/19 121/19 121/23 123/6 154/21	state [30] 20/17 34/19 41/4 48/8 49/20 77/17 77/20 78/4 78/17 83/21 110/18 110/21 110/24 111/6 111/7 111/11 111/18 112/18 118/15 118/16 119/6 119/10 135/10 135/16 136/25 138/16 160/15 161/5 162/11 163/21	stenographer [2] 53/8 117/12	sub-headings [1] 78/23
sooner [2] 11/12 148/23	spent [1] 6/13	stated [2] 1/8 15/13	stenographer's [1] 153/12	subdivide [1] 137/24
sorry [23] 14/2 22/10 23/12 51/22 58/12 64/14 64/22 70/17 70/21 75/4 80/7 91/13 93/18 94/11 94/15 99/8 121/20 138/23 150/10 153/14 165/9 166/2 166/21	spoke [4] 81/13 81/14 120/19 138/2	statement [93] 1/24 4/23 5/23 9/7 9/21 13/20 16/6 17/6 19/9 25/2 28/14 29/12 31/4 33/1 33/18 33/20 36/17 40/3 48/8 49/19 49/21 51/6 51/9 53/4 53/10 53/11 53/12 53/13 54/11 54/13 55/12 55/19 56/5 56/9 57/21 59/15 60/11 62/10 63/11 65/1 65/23 66/14 67/5 67/6 67/11 69/8 69/21 71/13 72/20 73/16 77/10 82/9 82/22 85/19 87/20 91/3 92/5 92/7 92/8 93/3 96/6 97/6 97/15 99/6 100/4 100/5 100/8 100/18 101/1 101/15 101/16 102/16 105/24 109/24 110/22 111/10 112/2 118/17 121/11 122/15 125/8 125/11 125/19 126/24 128/4 130/25 132/10 136/15 136/19 143/14 143/17 156/9 167/23	stopping [1] 121/20	subject [3] 110/11 119/15 163/25
sort [28] 5/16 8/6 23/20 35/6 97/15 99/5 107/22 114/21 120/15 124/6 126/15 130/10 133/4 133/23 137/4 140/22 143/3 145/4 146/24 147/8 152/19 152/20 157/5 157/8 158/1 164/3 167/10 168/23	spoken [3] 60/25 67/21 105/24	stop [2] 104/23 105/4	steps [4] 65/7 84/24 108/1 136/25	subjects [1] 119/18
sort of [15] 5/16 23/20 35/6 107/22 124/6 126/15 133/4 133/23 140/22 143/3 146/24 152/19 152/20 158/1 167/10	spontaneously [1] 93/14	stopping [1] 121/20	stick [1] 134/2	submitted [1] 3/23
sorts [1] 132/6	Sporadic [1] 32/23	straight [2] 32/6 104/4	sticking [1] 64/15	subsequent [3] 47/22 62/13 65/6
sought [5] 18/13 25/12 62/19 62/22 132/12	spread [2] 84/2 132/25	strategic [2] 53/17 53/25	still [9] 24/14 31/13 74/13 98/10 118/19 123/4 130/2 145/23 165/7	subsequently [2] 3/1 130/7
sound [1] 146/22	spreads [1] 114/25	strategies [3] 69/23 69/24 70/7	stipulates [1] 3/24	subsided [1] 155/22
sounded [1] 98/6	spreadsheet [8] 72/21 72/24 73/10 73/17 74/3 74/20 76/8 76/9	strategy [13] 18/5 56/24 58/25 61/9 62/25 67/5 77/19 80/8 80/19 90/12 90/13 91/2 91/23	stood [1] 94/1	substance [3] 161/23 161/25 164/8
sounding [1] 150/22	stadium [3] 17/13 17/19 18/8	stopping [1] 121/20	Stop [2] 104/23 105/4	substantial [2] 61/4 69/22
source [1] 165/1	staff [10] 4/9 25/5 25/20 25/21 25/22 25/25 42/21 42/23 69/11 95/15	stopping [1] 121/20	stopping [1] 121/20	substantive [1] 76/18
sources [2] 57/5 57/6	stage [13] 23/23 55/24 79/9 81/22 95/12 102/15 105/5 122/5 125/21 146/14 155/2 155/13 155/15	stopping [1] 121/20	stopping [1] 121/20	substitute [1] 34/25
sourcing [1] 154/7	stages [6] 36/2 58/16 61/10 68/2 73/12 121/15	stopping [1] 121/20	stopping [1] 121/20	succeeded [1] 167/8
South [1] 110/16	stakeholder [2]	stopping [1] 121/20	stopping [1] 121/20	successful [1] 31/3
space [3] 71/14 71/20 104/20		stopping [1] 121/20	stopping [1] 121/20	successive [1] 59/24
speak [4] 32/24 53/7 120/8 122/22		stopping [1] 121/20	stopping [1] 121/20	such [13] 3/20 10/19 12/6 12/9 30/4 33/3 36/25 54/22 62/20 71/17 82/19 134/25 145/6

S	tackling [1] 95/10	106/19	32/13 33/14 35/9 37/9	51/19 52/11 53/20
summit [2] 33/18 35/11	tactful [1] 136/6	technology [1] 39/6	38/11 39/24 42/8 43/9	53/23 54/4 59/11 63/8
sums [1] 166/12	TAG [12] 39/5 87/2 101/5 101/8 102/22	Telegraph [2] 78/8 79/25	46/9 49/11 49/13	67/4 75/25 80/1 84/17
Sunak [3] 163/4 163/14 168/2	102/23 103/4 103/8	telephone [2] 44/19 44/20	51/17 52/14 52/24	85/9 89/8 92/18 93/3
Sunday [9] 20/20 20/24 78/8 78/8 78/18	103/12 103/16 103/17 103/19	televise [1] 64/10	53/3 53/3 53/9 53/16	94/5 94/15 97/19
79/5 79/24 79/25 80/3	take [26] 4/5 5/13 20/11 22/17 27/14	tell [5] 79/11 99/22 111/10 152/22 159/11	53/24 54/5 55/1 55/11	98/18 100/2 103/7
Sunday Telegraph [2] 78/8 79/25	28/23 35/14 38/12	telling [7] 32/18 70/14 95/15 100/6	56/2 57/4 57/20 59/4	104/19 112/1 112/14
Sunday's [1] 80/12	40/23 41/1 45/13	134/13 134/14 134/14	59/14 60/9 60/10 61/5	112/15 113/9 114/12
supersede [1] 114/1	46/10 51/22 56/14	temperature [1] 84/6	61/18 62/3 62/9 64/13	117/25 123/17 127/22
supervisory [1] 5/14	63/9 75/5 78/24 84/24	ten [3] 1/8 148/24 159/17	64/19 64/20 66/1	128/24 130/21 131/5
supplies [1] 154/20	100/16 108/1 126/18	ten minutes [1] 159/17	66/11 67/8 69/7 69/20	133/25 134/23 135/2
support [20] 2/18 3/3 3/15 5/9 25/5 25/20	133/21 136/19 136/24	ten years [1] 1/8	71/12 72/13 73/15	139/1 139/16 145/10
25/21 25/22 25/25	153/4 159/24	tenable [1] 86/7	74/10 75/3 76/5 76/6	148/9 151/7 151/21
49/5 54/16 140/20	taken [29] 8/4 8/5 11/11 12/13 13/24	Tenby [1] 143/6	76/7 77/9 80/13 82/5	153/1 153/11 160/12
142/8 145/7 151/9	14/25 18/16 18/24	tensions [3] 8/4 31/6 131/24	83/15 83/17 85/4	161/1 166/23 169/17
154/18 161/20 165/15	25/24 28/15 29/3 35/7	tent' [1] 143/22	85/16 87/18 88/25	their [38] 4/1 19/11
168/9 168/13	35/19 35/24 36/5	term [5] 22/24 38/8 49/6 85/25 90/9	89/19 90/8 90/25	25/12 25/23 28/18
supported [1] 133/7	61/19 65/7 69/12	terms [27] 1/9 2/14 9/15 12/24 23/11 28/5	91/14 92/2 92/7 93/1	34/4 38/24 42/22 46/2
supporting [3] 61/13 152/3 152/4	73/11 74/19 74/21	29/4 36/11 45/14	93/3 94/12 96/17	55/24 57/16 57/19
supportive [1] 71/9	111/24 117/8 119/8	61/14 66/9 67/10 68/5	96/18 96/19 97/13	57/23 69/25 70/12
suppose [2] 116/11 150/6	119/13 130/2 131/9	68/6 70/18 72/10	98/14 105/16 105/17	75/21 75/21 79/9 80/8
supposed [2] 152/9 152/9	146/18 150/18	75/20 86/21 95/19	105/18 105/21 108/22	81/3 87/16 90/18
supposition [1] 20/19	takes [1] 123/5	107/22 108/10 115/16	108/23 108/24 108/25	93/15 95/15 103/19
suppositions [1] 20/6	taking [11] 8/10 17/3 21/9 39/19 47/23 50/7	122/7 123/23 131/12	109/2 109/16 110/2	126/1 126/12 126/13
sure [25] 13/8 22/10 26/17 37/24 39/12	50/22 83/23 84/5	155/9 157/10	113/16 160/4 160/6	132/12 134/24 147/13
39/13 44/14 45/10	146/20 146/21	territory [1] 126/4	163/7 169/6 169/8	153/1 156/18 156/19
61/14 79/17 81/17	talk [5] 8/12 60/9 71/9 103/4 123/8	terrorist [1] 159/7	169/9 169/12 169/15 169/20	156/22 156/22 156/23 165/4
85/1 92/21 92/24	talked [4] 61/16 87/20 136/8 136/12	test [6] 17/13 17/19 19/1 51/22 51/25 52/4	169/20	
108/11 115/8 131/14	talking [15] 27/2 36/24 51/2 58/13 70/8	tested [1] 86/19	thank you [98] 1/18 2/5 3/9 4/11 4/22 5/21	them [33] 4/2 6/17 7/20 13/12 18/12
136/9 136/11 139/16	72/17 102/10 103/12	testing [6] 18/2 18/4 18/8 18/9 18/23 52/9	6/19 8/13 9/17 11/7	22/24 38/3 40/23
152/9 152/23 152/24	117/11 122/20 126/24	tests [2] 18/25 32/12	12/15 13/13 13/18	62/21 64/15 67/25
153/8 161/24	137/4 139/25 156/2 158/9	text [4] 40/20 42/19 43/1 95/3	14/7 15/2 19/22 22/19	70/14 71/2 71/5 76/17
surgeries [1] 63/24	tannoy [1] 133/20	TFW [1] 98/11	23/22 26/3 26/24 29/8	81/14 83/11 85/3
surprise [3] 11/2 43/24 128/22	tap [1] 155/7	than [41] 15/1 16/12 25/25 33/23 47/18	32/13 33/14 35/9 37/9	86/10 87/15 88/17
surprisingly [1] 152/17	targeted [1] 108/17	50/23 51/14 59/9 67/5	38/11 39/24 42/8 43/9	90/17 97/17 97/20
suspect [5] 8/8 14/24 39/17 157/13 159/21	task [1] 109/1	72/5 72/7 89/12 89/25	46/9 49/11 49/13	106/3 107/2 114/19
sustainable [1] 39/2	TC [2] 111/6 144/19	90/3 93/7 94/9 118/1	52/14 52/24 53/3 53/3	116/12 119/18 143/11
sworn [2] 109/11 170/13	teaching [2] 23/17 26/1	119/4 125/12 127/15	53/9 53/16 53/24 54/5	147/17 154/7 168/18
system [5] 114/1 115/3 158/9 158/11	team [35] 2/6 3/5 3/13 4/24 4/25 5/2 5/4	129/4 129/17 129/19	55/1 55/11 56/2 57/4	themselves [5] 55/24 108/1 119/21 143/4 152/17
systems [1] 42/20	5/6 5/9 5/10 5/13 5/15	130/6 130/16 132/14	57/20 59/4 59/14 60/9	then [76] 2/18 2/24 3/3 3/4 9/9 12/20
	10/16 40/13 41/22	132/18 132/21 134/5	60/10 61/5 61/18 62/3	12/23 18/6 18/11
	41/23 41/25 54/12	134/8 137/25 140/22	64/13 64/19 66/1	20/17 20/21 22/21
	54/18 54/21 57/22	141/4 142/7 147/17	66/11 67/8 69/7 69/20	26/25 28/19 31/12
	57/23 58/1 58/16	151/25 157/14 159/12	71/12 72/13 73/15	32/14 34/2 47/10 57/1
	60/20 61/20 66/13	162/15 165/3 165/3	74/10 75/3 76/5 76/6	57/18 58/21 60/24
	67/17 68/17 79/3 152/20	thank [114] 1/18 2/5 3/9 4/11 4/22 5/21	76/7 77/9 80/13 82/5	63/17 64/12 74/1
	team's [1] 67/21	6/19 8/13 9/17 11/7	83/15 83/17 85/4	74/11 75/7 75/15
	teams [7] 44/12 44/13 63/12 66/6	12/15 13/13 13/18	85/16 87/18 88/25	79/19 80/1 82/17
	67/15 68/20 68/23	14/7 15/2 19/22 22/19	89/19 90/8 91/14 92/2	84/11 84/12 86/9
	technical [2] 101/5	23/22 26/3 26/24 29/8	92/7 93/1 93/3 94/12	86/18 88/5 88/8 93/2
			96/18 97/13 105/17	93/25 96/2 98/7
			105/18 105/21 108/22	102/19 103/13 104/3
			108/23 109/2 109/16	106/14 107/18 114/4
			113/16 160/4 160/6	114/8 121/18 125/15
			169/8 169/20	134/17 134/24 138/10
			thanks [3] 15/9 96/4 135/12	140/5 147/22 148/13
			that [1052]	149/11 149/16 149/22
			that's [63] 7/16 14/13 16/23 22/11 42/14	153/3 154/12 160/21
			43/13 45/7 45/18	160/23 161/3 161/9
			46/12 47/1 47/8 48/13	163/3 163/3 163/9
			49/23 51/7 51/17	

T	94/3 94/4 99/23 106/21 118/1 118/5 118/6 119/14 119/18 119/23 119/23 120/18 126/8 126/9 126/9 126/15 136/10 136/11 137/2 143/7 148/2 148/16 148/20 149/10 152/10 152/18 156/1 156/24 157/1 157/2 157/7 157/13 157/15 160/18 164/3 165/5 165/5 165/6 167/25 168/6 168/20 they're [9] 12/7 12/8 44/22 80/1 97/17 104/4 122/25 122/25 158/3 they've [2] 52/4 164/4 thing [20] 22/25 64/6 66/9 72/2 86/25 87/19 126/13 129/1 130/19 132/20 133/4 134/7 134/25 145/6 148/7 153/10 155/25 157/1 167/22 169/1 things [31] 4/5 17/11 20/4 21/23 26/13 26/19 32/7 41/12 60/3 65/16 70/23 71/3 74/14 85/7 90/1 96/12 102/4 107/2 115/6 115/19 123/16 123/16 132/25 135/14 137/14 152/7 156/21 161/17 162/17 164/2 168/21 think [217] thinking [3] 69/18 134/24 152/8 third [8] 62/7 63/17 87/4 110/3 110/8 113/17 139/23 150/11 this [301] those [85] 3/24 7/14 9/14 9/15 10/8 10/22 11/24 12/7 12/7 14/1 14/11 15/22 26/16 26/18 26/19 28/21 29/4 29/5 29/19 30/3 31/1 31/22 35/17 36/5 38/9 39/21 39/21 39/22 40/22 42/10 44/16 46/3 49/8 55/16 59/2 60/2 60/5 60/9 61/21 63/23 64/10 66/6 69/13 70/13 77/1 78/1 83/7 91/7 92/20 106/12 106/18 106/20 106/20 106/23 110/8 110/11 110/11 115/1 116/3 116/6 116/8 116/10 116/15 119/2 119/3 119/20 119/24	121/5 123/20 137/14 137/16 142/21 142/21 143/3 143/9 146/11 148/3 149/8 153/7 153/16 156/12 156/14 162/24 164/6 169/6 though [4] 110/17 111/18 119/21 135/19 thought [24] 15/13 88/10 119/17 124/23 130/19 132/16 136/1 140/21 140/23 141/1 141/5 144/9 144/14 144/19 144/21 145/22 147/24 147/24 152/12 155/24 156/5 157/2 158/22 164/18 thoughtless [1] 126/16 thousands [1] 72/12 threat [1] 34/8 three [18] 5/1 5/9 6/2 10/7 10/23 16/22 39/21 39/21 40/7 63/2 100/14 101/3 106/6 114/2 114/11 115/1 115/3 130/9 three months [1] 106/6 three-layer [2] 100/14 101/3 three-tier [2] 114/11 115/3 through [21] 5/5 8/7 10/11 19/1 19/2 41/10 53/4 60/5 63/23 64/15 81/14 81/15 81/15 90/24 104/3 109/1 110/8 127/14 127/15 130/14 142/9 throughout [8] 4/21 9/10 55/21 65/22 67/1 68/20 96/10 156/9 thrown [1] 98/8 Thursday [5] 1/1 20/5 20/23 21/7 78/18 Thursday's [1] 81/5 Thursday/Friday [1] 20/23 Thursday/Sunday [1] 78/18 tier [5] 114/2 114/3 114/9 114/11 115/3 tiers [3] 114/5 115/1 158/14 TikTok [1] 63/7 time [77] 2/17 2/24 6/12 8/22 10/1 11/4 12/12 13/15 26/23 29/17 30/19 32/22 38/7 49/23 51/14 57/13 68/18 69/17 72/6 72/12 82/1 84/3 84/25 95/7 100/1	104/1 104/11 117/10 118/18 120/1 120/11 120/11 120/12 120/12 123/5 123/9 123/19 123/22 124/10 124/12 124/13 124/22 124/25 125/18 126/2 126/13 127/19 128/18 132/11 133/10 133/16 134/4 134/18 134/18 137/19 138/22 139/7 141/14 141/20 141/20 141/23 141/24 142/10 142/24 148/18 151/22 151/22 157/19 159/23 161/12 163/23 164/2 164/3 165/1 167/7 168/1 169/13 timed [2] 31/24 94/20 times [8] 31/11 66/22 75/22 75/23 87/1 107/23 144/6 148/24 timescale [4] 12/24 165/6 166/14 167/14 timetables [2] 165/17 165/24 timing [1] 125/4 tin [1] 38/17 tiny [1] 73/9 titled [1] 38/14 titles [1] 158/16 Toby [6] 21/17 52/21 52/22 53/2 136/22 170/8 Toby Mason [3] 21/17 52/21 136/22 today [11] 1/5 1/18 2/11 8/15 21/18 53/5 101/21 105/24 109/16 145/24 169/18 together [10] 41/25 57/17 83/1 87/7 98/8 115/14 117/21 117/22 131/2 140/11 told [7] 18/7 20/12 33/21 50/13 117/12 160/20 165/5 tolerable [1] 163/24 Tom [3] 38/21 39/13 39/17 Tom Woodward [1] 38/21 tone [2] 68/6 70/11 too [14] 17/24 59/13 75/8 119/25 124/17 124/21 124/21 127/7 127/21 127/21 150/13 159/15 162/22 166/3 took [14] 18/6 45/8 48/25 50/4 51/15 56/15 65/11 69/1 70/11 77/23 85/19 89/23 119/14 129/9 tool [2] 44/11 88/19	top [9] 11/21 14/11 31/23 42/17 67/23 70/8 71/19 88/5 114/3 top-level [1] 70/8 topic [14] 28/13 45/3 49/18 50/25 51/12 74/13 76/11 88/1 96/25 113/9 116/21 143/12 149/3 153/20 topics [1] 14/15 totally [1] 115/7 touched [7] 29/10 34/10 36/13 37/17 64/24 79/15 115/22 touchpoints [1] 59/13 towards [6] 17/7 33/2 37/22 57/15 57/16 124/2 Tracey [1] 15/6 Tracey Burke [1] 15/6 tracker [2] 57/10 93/4 trade [5] 25/5 25/20 25/22 25/25 26/1 Trades [1] 2/24 Trades Union [1] 2/24 transcript [3] 120/2 153/16 153/17 translate [1] 90/3 transmission [3] 87/10 104/15 151/10 transparency [1] 55/22 transport [2] 97/6 98/10 travel [9] 69/19 149/3 149/20 150/4 151/9 151/15 151/19 153/3 157/19 travelling [1] 151/25 Treasury [4] 165/3 166/11 166/11 168/20 treat [2] 88/17 89/25 treated [1] 128/14 Tribunal [1] 109/17 tried [2] 107/23 116/11 trigger [1] 132/5 triggered [2] 58/6 169/4 true [6] 2/2 4/20 53/13 85/9 110/12 167/20 truly [2] 115/21 115/21 trust [4] 6/17 57/12 85/23 95/25 trusted [2] 59/2 65/17 truth [2] 164/25 165/20
----------	---	--	--	--

T	67/23 68/21 69/3 69/24 70/11 70/25 71/2 71/11 71/23 72/21 73/4 74/2 74/25 75/5 75/19 77/12 77/18 77/19 77/25 78/15 78/19 79/3 79/8 79/13 80/6 80/18 82/2 82/10 82/16 83/5 83/22 84/1 84/8 85/7 86/8 89/7 91/20 97/4 104/23 105/1 105/23 111/2 111/21 111/25 112/8 112/12 112/19 112/24 113/12 115/13 116/9 118/15 119/9 120/25 121/16 122/20 127/7 128/9 128/13 128/15 131/6 132/13 132/15 133/2 134/1 134/4 136/13 137/1 137/1 137/6 137/20 137/22 137/23 139/4 140/8 140/16 140/24 141/13 143/22 144/1 144/12 145/9 145/12 146/12 147/13 150/15 151/24 151/25 152/20 154/18 154/24 155/5 155/24 157/24 158/22 161/9 161/11 164/20 167/18 168/8	94/8 unable [1] 165/14 unanswered [1] 150/8 unclear [3] 20/9 29/18 107/16 unclears [1] 153/15 under [14] 5/11 10/13 12/18 17/4 18/2 18/14 41/4 71/8 88/1 88/4 119/13 131/20 133/20 159/3 underestimate [2] 126/2 126/3 underlying [2] 68/8 99/3 underneath [2] 72/3 94/9 underpinning [1] 67/12 Undersecretary [1] 111/7 understand [19] 12/5 28/3 45/13 51/24 52/2 61/3 70/13 75/6 97/17 101/22 103/2 109/21 110/5 133/17 141/15 150/17 152/22 163/11 163/13 understandably [1] 48/18 understanding [7] 6/14 9/19 28/6 57/12 89/9 105/14 125/20 understands [6] 10/3 30/17 33/15 54/13 69/8 69/11 understood [7] 24/15 28/10 56/24 67/24 94/1 118/24 126/7 undertaken [5] 29/6 37/24 38/1 38/2 85/21 undertaking [3] 37/14 41/6 60/16 undertook [4] 45/1 57/10 57/14 63/25 undisturbed [1] 155/8 undoubtedly [1] 159/11 unfold [1] 167/16 unhealthy [1] 164/5 unified [1] 143/22 union [3] 2/24 25/6 146/17 unions [6] 23/18 25/20 25/22 25/22 25/25 26/1 unit [2] 54/2 128/14 united [8] 8/11 16/8 16/21 28/17 34/6 34/9 48/21 154/17 United Kingdom [4] 8/11 16/8 28/17 34/9	United Kingdom's [1] 16/21 United Nations [1] 48/21 unity [1] 131/3 universe [1] 36/9 unknown [1] 148/20 unlike [1] 168/22 unnoticed [3] 140/10 140/14 140/14 unpick [1] 80/7 unprecedented [1] 161/13 unpredictable [1] 131/16 unquestionably [1] 134/12 unsatisfactory [1] 148/16 unsurprising [1] 141/19 until [16] 2/22 7/5 7/11 10/25 15/22 18/12 29/17 29/18 68/3 110/18 121/12 122/16 123/13 125/21 160/17 169/22 until Dec [1] 160/17 unusual [2] 5/24 125/12 up [71] 9/14 14/5 16/24 17/3 18/1 18/8 23/3 25/1 31/8 34/20 35/21 35/22 37/15 45/19 48/13 49/19 51/25 52/4 53/7 58/11 61/2 61/15 68/3 70/3 74/5 74/6 74/9 74/13 74/24 75/10 78/10 80/10 83/3 83/23 84/1 84/7 86/18 87/8 87/19 87/22 88/6 91/10 92/3 94/14 97/21 98/21 99/11 100/9 100/10 104/23 109/18 119/20 121/9 121/19 121/23 123/5 125/21 133/13 133/16 138/5 138/10 140/18 140/24 141/6 142/21 145/7 146/5 158/10 160/1 160/10 160/12 update [1] 129/18 updated [1] 11/5 upfront [1] 168/4 upfronted [1] 168/24 uplifting [1] 157/4 upon [9] 6/16 29/10 34/10 36/13 37/17 57/5 69/25 123/4 150/17 ups [1] 148/21 uptake [1] 127/18 urge [1] 149/19	urgency [3] 16/1 123/2 155/22 urgent [1] 150/3 us [40] 8/12 16/18 22/6 24/5 25/23 37/22 52/7 52/25 57/11 57/15 57/17 61/4 64/9 65/15 65/22 70/14 86/20 86/22 92/1 96/10 97/3 100/21 109/13 111/10 115/20 123/4 134/13 134/14 134/14 138/22 138/25 139/10 140/8 142/4 142/5 144/7 156/2 160/24 164/19 165/19 use [19] 1/25 29/2 40/19 40/24 41/6 41/19 41/24 43/10 63/7 64/4 80/7 87/20 90/9 90/18 121/12 126/23 129/6 129/8 154/19 used [18] 40/1 40/4 40/8 41/7 41/22 42/20 63/7 90/14 94/7 128/2 128/3 133/9 133/18 133/19 156/4 157/11 165/21 168/3 useful [12] 5/8 44/6 57/9 65/14 65/15 70/13 71/9 87/12 88/11 88/14 88/15 88/19 users [1] 43/2 using [12] 42/3 42/4 42/6 42/22 42/23 43/3 44/11 44/12 67/11 85/21 86/12 130/23 usual [1] 125/18
try [9] 27/7 27/9 35/23 53/7 71/4 80/11 83/10 126/21 141/14 trying [15] 23/9 27/13 29/1 71/15 72/10 81/21 97/15 99/5 122/12 122/13 124/8 126/12 137/8 144/10 156/3 TUC [1] 3/2 Tuesday [1] 79/4 tuned [1] 77/4 Tunnel [1] 133/20 turn [31] 8/16 9/18 12/15 15/3 15/7 16/4 19/23 26/4 29/9 30/6 31/22 36/12 38/20 39/25 43/10 43/12 43/18 44/4 46/20 47/25 52/5 61/19 72/14 83/19 85/17 91/14 92/6 144/10 144/11 145/19 145/19 turned [7] 43/19 43/24 48/1 48/3 144/23 145/7 166/11 turning [5] 4/16 31/4 131/12 132/7 132/8 tweak [1] 75/13 tweet [6] 160/13 161/6 162/25 163/17 163/17 164/11 Twitter [3] 160/14 161/18 169/5 two [20] 1/19 5/13 13/6 19/20 40/24 40/24 41/12 55/4 74/16 74/18 91/17 106/15 114/23 121/4 137/14 142/18 144/4 149/13 150/7 152/2 two weeks [1] 149/13 type [1] 158/23 typesetting [1] 54/23	UK Cabinet [3] 112/19 112/24 137/1 UK Gov [2] 140/16 152/20 UK Government [53] 7/4 8/5 9/1 15/16 16/6 17/8 17/14 19/9 19/11 21/21 22/3 22/17 27/5 28/16 29/16 32/15 38/4 38/7 50/19 50/23 51/16 61/12 70/25 71/23 78/15 78/19 83/5 86/8 105/1 111/2 111/25 112/12 116/9 119/9 120/25 122/20 127/7 134/1 136/13 137/1 139/4 141/13 144/12 145/9 145/12 146/12 147/13 151/24 157/24 158/22 161/9 164/20 167/18 UK Government's [3] 69/3 79/3 161/11 UK Gvt [4] 20/18 20/24 20/25 20/25 UK-based [1] 82/2 UK-wide [7] 18/4 74/2 77/19 82/10 84/1 84/8 137/6 ultimately [4] 54/6 102/5 108/20 135/2 umbrella [2] 86/23	United Kingdom's [1] 16/21 United Nations [1] 48/21 unity [1] 131/3 universe [1] 36/9 unknown [1] 148/20 unlike [1] 168/22 unnoticed [3] 140/10 140/14 140/14 unpick [1] 80/7 unprecedented [1] 161/13 unpredictable [1] 131/16 unquestionably [1] 134/12 unsatisfactory [1] 148/16 unsurprising [1] 141/19 until [16] 2/22 7/5 7/11 10/25 15/22 18/12 29/17 29/18 68/3 110/18 121/12 122/16 123/13 125/21 160/17 169/22 until Dec [1] 160/17 unusual [2] 5/24 125/12 up [71] 9/14 14/5 16/24 17/3 18/1 18/8 23/3 25/1 31/8 34/20 35/21 35/22 37/15 45/19 48/13 49/19 51/25 52/4 53/7 58/11 61/2 61/15 68/3 70/3 74/5 74/6 74/9 74/13 74/24 75/10 78/10 80/10 83/3 83/23 84/1 84/7 86/18 87/8 87/19 87/22 88/6 91/10 92/3 94/14 97/21 98/21 99/11 100/9 100/10 104/23 109/18 119/20 121/9 121/19 121/23 123/5 125/21 133/13 133/16 138/5 138/10 140/18 140/24 141/6 142/21 145/7 146/5 158/10 160/1 160/10 160/12 update [1] 129/18 updated [1] 11/5 upfront [1] 168/4 upfronted [1] 168/24 uplifting [1] 157/4 upon [9] 6/16 29/10 34/10 36/13 37/17 57/5 69/25 123/4 150/17 ups [1] 148/21 uptake [1] 127/18 urge [1] 149/19	vaccinated [1] 143/5 vaccination [3] 66/10 142/9 145/8 vaccine [1] 142/11 valid [3] 135/19 135/24 136/9 Vallance [3] 37/11 122/6 124/25 value [2] 70/5 145/18 variations [1] 73/19 varied [1] 163/24 variety [2] 56/15 57/6 various [7] 8/20 14/15 24/8 38/15 78/13 115/13 144/1 vast [2] 155/23 166/12 Vaughan [10] 97/2 97/7 99/6 99/21 100/4 101/15 102/16 138/2 138/12 155/14 Vaughan Gething [7]	

V
Vaughan Gething...
[7] 97/7 99/6 99/21
100/4 138/2 138/12
155/14
Vaughan Gething's
[2] 97/2 101/15
ventilation [2] 104/17
104/17
ventilator [1] 156/5
ventilators [4] 154/6
155/13 155/16 155/22
verbal [1] 9/10
verbatim [1] 78/24
versa [1] 152/5
version [3] 100/11
103/1 103/3
very [126] 6/20 6/23
7/5 8/12 10/14 12/12
15/22 18/21 19/20
21/22 22/6 22/14 23/3
23/14 26/14 26/16
26/18 26/20 27/12
28/1 28/6 29/17 31/7
32/7 32/7 37/21 38/4
39/12 39/21 44/6
49/18 51/17 52/16
58/4 58/6 58/18 58/24
60/7 61/4 63/2 63/2
63/22 63/22 64/6
65/14 67/23 68/7 68/7
68/23 69/16 70/10
70/23 73/4 76/22
79/24 80/7 80/20 81/7
81/13 82/13 83/1
83/13 84/15 86/9
86/18 87/7 87/15 88/8
89/7 90/10 90/23
90/23 92/22 92/22
92/25 92/25 93/17
95/13 95/13 96/17
96/19 97/13 98/4
98/14 102/9 104/3
104/25 105/16 106/9
107/24 107/24 108/24
108/25 110/2 111/12
115/25 117/14 118/4
122/24 124/12 124/25
126/21 126/21 129/10
130/12 132/4 132/4
132/5 132/5 136/20
141/12 142/3 148/20
150/9 155/12 162/7
163/24 163/25 164/1
167/21 169/6 169/9
169/12 169/13 169/15
169/17
veto [1] 144/16
via [6] 46/6 47/18
62/20 64/4 129/13
154/11
vice [1] 152/5
vice versa [1] 152/5

view [28] 6/8 13/6
21/18 21/23 32/23
34/24 37/16 39/15
65/18 66/14 77/24
84/3 85/12 87/8 90/15
90/19 93/7 115/2
117/24 118/13 128/12
128/17 132/20 133/7
133/25 144/4 144/23
147/4
views [11] 3/25 25/12
25/17 25/24 30/3
112/10 118/3 133/14
134/1 139/1 150/21
virus [10] 9/24 72/2
77/6 84/2 95/7 95/11
95/24 105/14 107/7
151/12
visible [1] 152/3
vital [2] 67/20 77/3
vitality [1] 95/8
vocal [1] 115/25
voice [6] 53/7 64/22
109/18 112/24 113/2
136/25
voiced [2] 83/22
83/25
voices [1] 59/2
voicing [1] 84/21
volition [2] 162/25
163/18
volume [2] 155/17
156/3
volunteers [1]
126/10
vote [1] 144/16
vulnerable [13] 61/20
62/17 99/2 99/22
100/6 100/19 101/13
102/10 102/25 103/4
103/10 103/12 105/25

W

waiting [1] 109/8
Wales [160] 2/24 3/2
7/9 7/18 9/24 11/2
13/24 17/22 18/16
18/17 18/23 19/5
35/16 37/1 37/2 37/6
49/2 49/21 51/10
51/10 54/1 56/21
57/22 58/1 58/4 58/7
58/14 58/18 58/23
60/24 61/1 61/15
63/25 64/10 64/18
67/24 69/25 70/10
71/1 71/4 71/5 71/24
72/6 73/23 74/15 75/1
75/5 75/6 75/16 75/17
76/21 77/7 77/13 78/1
79/13 79/20 80/4
81/14 82/2 83/9 83/14
85/2 85/11 85/17
85/22 86/2 86/4 86/10

86/11 86/25 87/7
87/11 88/2 89/18
90/24 92/9 93/5 93/6
93/16 94/7 99/22
101/3 105/1 105/8
105/8 105/10 107/9
110/18 110/21 110/25
110/25 111/6 111/7
111/11 111/19 111/24
112/3 112/5 112/8
112/10 112/18 112/24
113/2 113/5 114/10
114/13 114/21 114/24
117/7 119/6 119/7
119/10 120/8 123/21
127/10 130/16 131/9
132/15 132/16 133/6
133/11 134/13 136/25
137/1 137/5 137/10
137/21 138/16 138/23
138/24 138/24 139/19
140/3 142/13 142/14
144/11 145/20 149/5
150/5 151/7 152/1
154/23 155/2 156/8
156/11 158/19 159/8
160/17 160/22 161/5
161/6 161/9 162/11
162/12 162/15 163/22
165/19 167/19 168/24
169/3
Wales TUC [1] 3/2
Wales' [2] 91/2
111/20
Wales-specific [1]
85/17
WalesOnline [1]
75/17
want [30] 3/10 8/16
9/18 15/3 16/4 17/18
17/25 29/9 36/12
38/12 39/25 40/23
42/10 43/10 46/10
64/6 68/15 86/15
86/15 86/16 86/17
86/22 103/2 111/17
113/8 119/6 153/20
159/25 161/22 169/2
wanted [8] 28/2
73/10 140/17 154/23
156/21 167/10 167/12
167/13
wanting [1] 138/8
war [2] 143/8 149/2
warning [1] 166/10
was [592]
washing [1] 104/7
wasn't [26] 22/13
24/12 24/14 27/16
43/8 44/14 48/1 50/11
95/9 105/12 107/11
107/17 113/4 117/6
121/11 122/16 123/13
124/20 127/10 128/23

133/7 141/21 142/19
144/23 145/17 148/25
watch [1] 167/16
wave [1] 87/4
way [49] 5/4 5/14
8/10 16/18 17/1 18/23
22/16 28/11 34/7
37/20 41/5 42/22 43/7
51/4 60/14 63/5 75/24
84/5 87/14 89/18
102/4 115/13 117/9
123/4 126/23 127/6
127/13 128/23 129/25
130/17 136/1 138/9
139/3 139/3 144/5
144/14 144/14 144/17
145/10 145/22 146/7
146/19 148/16 150/20
152/13 158/2 159/20
162/1 162/4
ways [5] 6/14 19/9
27/14 37/4 113/20
we [426]
we'd [4] 63/7 131/20
137/19 153/17
we'll [9] 8/8 8/13
20/15 39/12 42/9
56/21 100/7 115/9
120/5
we're [9] 36/4 36/24
82/6 101/1 104/8
125/5 143/20 145/21
163/10
we've [15] 29/9 47/9
60/25 73/10 76/8 90/2
97/16 108/25 136/12
138/2 153/15 163/25
164/1 164/14 168/1
wear [4] 50/10 99/1
101/3 152/25
wearing [1] 118/16
website [3] 99/21
100/9 101/17
Wednesday [1] 20/5
week [9] 11/24 15/13
19/25 20/10 79/5
111/15 123/11 133/11
138/22
weekly [2] 69/9
144/20
weeks [5] 12/25
47/22 123/10 146/9
149/13
weighed [1] 90/16
welcome [2] 33/10
145/1
well [44] 2/19 16/22
34/4 36/3 41/18 45/4
51/17 52/6 52/16
59/15 60/7 68/10 71/7
72/18 80/20 81/8
81/21 83/1 89/23 90/6
97/11 98/5 98/14
114/17 117/20 118/5

119/14 119/18 122/3
122/14 129/5 131/18
131/20 131/21 134/1
136/4 140/11 142/14
142/25 143/2 148/1
164/24 169/6 169/17
Welsh [189]
Welsh Gov [1]
160/17
Welsh Ministers [1]
28/20
Welsh-facing [1]
75/12
went [8] 9/11 56/15
60/19 82/1 100/4
124/19 126/3 161/2
were [344]
weren't [11] 7/22
25/24 31/3 35/13
35/19 36/8 70/14
89/16 117/2 144/7
158/16
West [1] 110/16
Western [1] 133/19
what [161] 6/8 7/3
8/2 11/9 13/4 13/25
14/2 15/21 16/14
18/19 19/23 20/3 20/6
20/9 23/5 24/4 24/13
26/19 27/9 27/12
27/22 29/1 29/18 32/8
32/17 32/24 33/6 33/9
35/15 38/16 39/15
45/7 47/7 47/14 49/23
52/11 52/12 56/13
57/5 60/19 61/7 61/22
62/3 65/6 65/18 66/3
67/25 68/8 68/16
69/18 70/7 70/13
70/19 70/21 72/17
74/19 74/24 75/20
78/21 79/9 79/12
79/19 80/1 81/20
81/23 83/2 84/3 84/16
85/6 85/25 86/13
86/14 86/15 89/9
90/10 91/22 92/21
93/11 93/14 93/15
94/1 96/6 100/2 100/3
102/1 102/2 103/2
105/11 106/11 106/14
107/1 107/19 107/23
107/25 113/23 116/1
116/9 119/22 121/17
121/17 121/24 122/7
122/7 122/7 122/8
123/23 124/1 124/1
124/2 124/6 124/7
124/22 126/7 126/22
126/23 127/9 129/7
129/22 130/4 130/21
131/15 134/5 134/11
134/12 134/23 134/24
135/3 135/15 136/10

W				
what... [32] 136/11 137/5 137/6 137/6 139/2 140/13 142/4 144/9 144/9 146/10 147/5 148/6 150/17 152/9 152/18 153/9 155/12 157/2 157/7 158/18 158/22 159/5 159/11 161/7 162/17 162/19 164/11 164/12 164/18 167/25 168/11 169/4	143/3 146/6 148/11 148/11 152/9 152/10 152/10 153/11 155/6 157/17 157/23 157/24 160/14 166/15 167/2 whereby [1] 143/24 whether [24] 9/25 13/14 14/16 21/10 21/12 25/12 27/2 27/19 36/19 37/3 51/12 80/14 95/12 101/18 115/3 115/7 125/3 126/8 126/9 126/9 126/16 126/17 129/24 133/18 which [116] 1/24 2/7 3/23 6/14 8/19 10/13 15/5 16/2 18/7 18/23 19/9 20/8 21/7 21/19 22/14 22/16 28/11 29/10 30/8 30/19 30/20 33/18 35/6 36/13 37/4 37/5 37/15 38/4 38/12 40/12 41/2 41/23 42/11 44/13 45/7 46/11 48/14 49/21 54/15 54/18 54/20 54/21 56/21 57/11 61/3 62/19 63/7 73/21 75/5 76/2 76/11 77/15 77/23 78/8 78/12 81/2 86/6 91/5 91/6 92/6 93/12 101/13 101/19 103/4 106/17 111/4 115/17 115/20 116/14 116/14 117/8 117/9 118/23 119/14 119/14 119/18 123/2 123/17 124/9 124/13 127/12 127/13 127/14 127/23 128/9 129/1 129/3 129/24 130/2 130/2 130/12 132/22 132/24 132/25 133/22 139/9 141/6 145/15 145/16 145/25 148/8 148/9 148/22 149/12 151/11 151/12 152/14 156/25 157/2 157/6 159/1 159/18 161/1 161/18 163/24 168/22 whichever [1] 122/10 while [5] 38/24 70/12 102/3 122/12 122/12 whilst [5] 36/14 128/4 135/21 138/8 154/21 Whip [1] 110/15 Whitehall [2] 5/24 69/19 Whitty [3] 50/9 122/6 124/24 who [52] 2/17 5/10	5/16 5/17 6/24 44/7 47/9 50/23 60/20 61/21 61/24 62/17 63/12 64/12 65/10 71/10 86/10 90/21 90/23 96/10 99/22 100/6 100/18 101/1 101/13 102/9 102/14 102/19 102/24 108/5 119/2 119/3 126/17 128/12 131/14 131/21 133/11 136/3 137/15 140/15 143/11 144/19 145/7 150/15 150/16 150/19 150/20 151/25 153/16 155/17 156/19 156/25 whole [13] 83/9 84/20 88/18 107/25 122/4 132/20 133/2 134/3 145/12 153/10 155/5 155/6 155/10 whom [5] 6/15 18/20 30/15 36/1 140/14 why [34] 5/3 10/6 12/3 13/6 14/12 14/22 15/19 16/20 19/4 21/1 30/3 35/2 37/18 39/9 44/4 47/16 48/2 52/5 60/13 66/14 70/5 71/17 89/4 92/19 93/7 96/6 100/21 104/6 104/19 133/25 135/2 137/18 148/6 167/12 wide [14] 18/4 56/15 57/6 74/2 77/19 82/10 84/1 84/8 118/3 118/25 128/15 137/6 137/20 143/25 widely [1] 147/20 wider [4] 4/3 30/2 45/23 108/21 will [31] 9/11 10/11 11/23 11/24 16/2 21/17 22/11 22/25 23/3 26/13 27/7 32/11 42/1 60/9 78/20 97/3 97/8 101/20 115/6 122/1 123/17 125/2 140/10 140/13 140/14 147/6 147/6 154/24 159/7 160/17 161/25	59/18 85/20 95/22 106/10 106/23 121/21 134/12 138/23 138/23 155/19 without [10] 17/14 75/8 130/18 130/18 135/14 145/11 145/12 146/2 147/14 156/11 witness [52] 1/19 4/23 5/22 9/7 9/21 13/19 17/5 25/2 28/14 29/12 31/4 33/1 33/17 33/20 36/17 40/3 49/20 50/1 52/15 53/4 53/10 53/11 55/12 56/5 57/21 59/15 60/11 62/10 64/25 71/13 73/16 77/10 82/9 85/19 91/3 105/24 109/3 109/23 111/10 112/2 121/11 125/8 125/10 125/19 127/22 128/4 130/25 132/10 143/14 143/17 156/9 169/16 witnesses [1] 45/5 won't [3] 17/24 40/22 48/13 Woodward [1] 38/21 Woodward's [2] 39/10 39/15 word [2] 7/17 165/21 words [4] 99/21 113/24 121/12 132/16 work [25] 33/4 36/1 37/13 37/23 37/24 37/25 63/3 65/13 65/16 72/8 90/7 91/4 95/13 95/15 96/9 103/21 106/16 115/15 117/22 133/12 143/7 152/23 153/4 160/24 164/18 worked [17] 2/24 6/2 12/13 57/22 58/15 60/14 68/10 83/1 86/18 104/23 115/14 118/1 118/5 131/2 131/18 142/25 143/2 worker [1] 18/4 workers [3] 18/9 52/5 135/17 workforce [1] 157/7 working [13] 2/15 6/6 6/21 55/7 69/17 71/7 106/18 106/20 112/11 113/21 117/20 140/10 148/19 workload [1] 5/5 works [1] 6/14 world [6] 36/4 36/5 98/23 120/16 147/2 156/3 worried [3] 98/10	124/18 134/23 worry [1] 145/20 worrying [1] 123/13 worst [5] 12/18 13/11 121/18 121/22 155/18 worst-case [3] 13/11 121/18 121/22 worth [1] 156/2 would [186] wouldn't [7] 19/2 52/8 52/8 79/10 90/13 166/12 167/12 wound [2] 146/1 146/8 wrap [2] 75/22 76/1 wrestle [1] 115/18 write [3] 37/19 146/4 149/16 writing [1] 154/17 written [14] 9/8 9/15 11/3 11/8 66/21 117/18 118/11 120/23 128/20 140/2 150/8 159/23 159/24 160/23 wrong [5] 43/7 73/8 118/14 125/24 148/24 wrongly [1] 42/6 wrote [9] 20/8 26/5 37/11 139/21 145/1 149/14 150/6 154/1 154/12
				Y
				yeah [21] 32/4 46/19 52/13 66/8 70/7 70/22 72/15 87/11 90/1 95/1 98/20 115/24 117/25 118/10 120/4 120/19 123/10 138/19 163/11 164/10 164/16 year [1] 73/3 years [4] 1/8 6/4 6/6 39/2 yellow [1] 73/22 Yep [1] 116/7 yes [90] 6/22 7/2 10/21 11/16 19/16 20/14 24/1 24/23 24/25 26/7 30/24 31/15 31/18 32/10 33/25 34/16 34/23 36/23 37/2 39/7 40/15 40/17 42/5 42/7 43/6 43/17 52/20 53/2 55/11 58/3 61/24 63/1 64/5 64/8 64/17 65/9 66/18 68/13 70/4 70/16 72/19 72/25 73/7 73/13 73/23 74/7 74/16 75/3 76/3 76/4 78/16 79/4 79/7 79/23 80/23 80/25 82/21 85/9 85/9 85/11 85/15 86/5 86/20 89/23 90/6

Y

yes... [25] 93/9 93/24
94/2 94/6 96/1 97/19
97/20 98/13 99/13
100/2 100/2 100/25
101/7 101/12 104/2
106/9 106/10 108/20
109/15 113/1 138/24
154/13 158/15 162/12
163/5

yesterday [3] 1/6
46/16 52/1

yesterday's [1] 81/1

yet [4] 24/17 47/2
136/18 165/7

you [707]

you know [41] 61/3
61/13 63/20 63/22
64/3 65/16 66/25 71/7
75/16 81/6 81/16
81/19 81/20 83/13
84/9 85/13 86/21
88/17 89/8 95/18
96/15 120/13 122/24
123/5 125/2 130/20
139/13 143/10 144/11
145/6 146/23 147/2
147/6 147/9 148/6
148/8 148/9 152/19
157/1 157/8 159/17

you'll [3] 60/2 104/4
168/15

you're [17] 8/13
17/23 50/15 52/3 66/2
97/10 103/22 115/25
117/11 134/8 134/11
145/1 158/20 162/2
162/4 162/11 167/22

you've [9] 6/2 36/12
37/17 64/24 70/1 96/7
105/24 127/25 139/16

young [4] 24/19
25/15 25/17 63/4

your [179]

yourself [5] 38/15
99/5 99/10 143/19
159/25

youth [1] 25/16

Z

zoom [5] 98/3 114/5
114/8 140/5 140/6