

Monday, 25 November 2024

(12.00 pm)

MS CAREY: My Lady, may I check that you can see and hear me all right?

LADY HALLETT: I can, Ms Carey, thank you very much indeed.

I'm truly sorry that I can't be with you today but, as you can probably hear, I've been advised to rest, and if I can't rest, to work from home, so that's where I am. But thanks to the Inquiry team, who leapt into action, I'm confident we can proceed without any delays and in the normal fashion apart from the fact I'm not there.

So thank you very much.

MS CAREY: Thank you, my Lady.

My Lady, the first witness, indeed the only witness today is Sir Sajid Javid, who is in the room. Can I ask, please, that he is sworn.

SIR SAJID JAVID (affirmed)

Questions from LEAD COUNSEL TO THE INQUIRY for MODULE 3

MS CAREY: Sir Sajid, good afternoon.

A. Good afternoon.

Q. You became Secretary of State for Health and Social Care on 26 June 2021 until your resignation on 5 July 2022; is that correct?

A. That's correct.

Q. By way of background, I think you became an MP first of

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But, as well as the country still being in partial lockdown, a lot of discussion was going on about when we should lift those restrictions, but also a huge amount of stress on the NHS because of not just obviously people from Covid, many -- you know, still thousands of infections at that time, but also the pressures of getting the vaccine out as quickly as possible and the many people we knew that had stayed away from the NHS and wanted them to come forward but knowing that that would present even more challenges with demand.

Q. When you were sort of gaining an assessment of what everyone had been through and the state of it in June, who were you talking to or taking briefings from?

A. A number of people. So I had a -- as I say in my evidence statement, I, sort of, refer to -- first there was, like, a rhythm of regular, sort of, meetings to both stay updated but also to help me make decisions. And they would be meetings with No. 10 team, for example, with the Prime Minister himself, quite regularly, almost every morning initially, in a morning meeting, with my -- with the team at the department itself. Especially certain individuals such as the CMO, the deputy CMOs, the department of secretary, the NHS leadership, especially the CEO, the Chief Medical Officer and others, and also Jenny Harries and her team

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all in May 2010. Before that you had had a background in investment banking. And do I take it from that, you did not have clinical experience as at the time you were appointed Secretary of State?

A. That's correct.

Q. We are familiar with the role and indeed the responsibilities of the secretary, so I don't need to take you through that, but can I ask you this at the outset. By the time you took up the job in June 2021, what was your assessment of the state of the NHS as at the time you were appointed Secretary of State?

A. Well, clearly, obviously, the pandemic had started and the country had gone through a very, very difficult time and the NHS had gone through a significant amount of challenges and stress. I think I would say by the time I came in June 2021, certainly from the people that I first started talking to, my office, in the NHS itself and others, I think from listening to them at the time that they felt it was sort of -- things were calmer, there was a, sort of -- better structures in place, the sort of -- you know, certainly at that point it was felt that the high point of the crisis, when there was so little known about the virus itself and how to protect ourselves against it, was -- you know, things weren't -- there were more knowns at that time.

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in UKHSA. And there -- I mean, there were many other people involved but what I've stated there, probably some of the people that I would meet, you know, almost, you know, every -- some of them every day and some of them more than -- you know, many times in the same day but at least every week there would be very regular meetings.

Q. You said a moment ago that perhaps the height of the uncertainty had passed. Were you able to gain any assessment of how the workforce were feeling, what their morale was like, what their resilience levels were like when you started in June?

A. Yes, but in the early days, in the first, sort of, couple of weeks it was more through -- rather than any sort of direct contact with the workforce in the NHS, if you're referring to the NHS workforce specifically, it was through people that were having direct contact, so the leadership of the NHS.

Very early on I also wanted to start meetings with some of the CEOs of the NHS, the various -- some of the trusts. I started having discussions again early on with some of the representatives of the workforce, the royal colleges, the BMA --

Q. I'm going to ask you --

A. -- the Royal College of Nursing and others.

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1 **Q.** All right. Before I do ask you about those --
 2 **A.** Yes.
 3 **Q.** -- can I just ask you about a number of things you say
 4 in your statement. And if it helps you, Sir Sajid, I'm
 5 at paragraph 41, but you say your overall priorities
 6 during your tenure were around three key themes: Covid,
 7 recovery and reform.
 8 **A.** Yeah.
 9 **Q.** And I think you go on to say you sought to advocate for
 10 greater investment in pandemic resilience both
 11 domestically and internationally.
 12 Can I ask, are you able to give us some practical
 13 examples of how you advocated for greater investment
 14 and, indeed, what fruit was borne from that advocacy?
 15 **A.** Yeah, so, you know, when I talk about investment, it's
 16 about -- particularly I think I'm referring to here,
 17 it's always financial resources.
 18 Already I was aware there had been a significant
 19 increase in financial resources both for the NHS to deal
 20 with Covid but also the, sort of, wider system with
 21 other interventions to deal with the pandemic. But more
 22 specifically, when I came in, I think one of my -- you
 23 know, as I said here, the -- my -- I sort of framed my
 24 role as dealing with three things, not, sort of, one
 25 after the other, but they were all at the same time,

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1 about the international element to your statement there?
 2 **A.** Well, it was -- so I think when I'm writing that here in
 3 this paragraph, I was thinking about international
 4 cooperation around Covid specifically at that time, and
 5 there were a number of things on my mind and one of them
 6 certainly was the -- prior to me becoming the health
 7 secretary the government had already, rightly, made
 8 a commitment to share vaccines with countries that
 9 basically couldn't afford them and I was very keen to
 10 make sure we were following through on our commitment
 11 and at pace within other countries.
 12 The second thing was about information sharing.
 13 The UK had, I think compared to many other countries,
 14 had invested a lot of time and effort in creating
 15 databases, including international databases, and I was
 16 keen that that information was being shared.
 17 And then thirdly, I remember soon after I came in
 18 that I was briefed on some international initiatives
 19 specifically that the UK had been involved in, one was
 20 with the -- well, a number were with the World Health
 21 Organisation, especially around discussions that had
 22 already started about a pandemic treaty which was sort
 23 of looking forward to, you know, how can we be better
 24 prepared as a world for the next pandemic, learning
 25 lessons, and I think the sooner we -- if there was

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1 which is, as it says -- first and foremost, right there
 2 then, is obviously the Covid pandemic is still going on.
 3 There's the recovery from that pandemic. I mean,
 4 I wasn't thinking "It's over", and obviously later we
 5 learned -- the Omicron variant, for example, comes
 6 along. But then also thinking about longer-term
 7 reforms. And also some of the issues that I think that
 8 the pandemic has sort of shined a light on about, you
 9 know, health inequalities and other important issues
 10 like that within the health system.
 11 But to give you a specific example with the sort
 12 of Covid emergency and recovery at the time, I was keen
 13 to secure extra resources, especially for what I'd call,
 14 sort of, elective recovery -- you know, for the
 15 elective -- both in terms of diagnostics and also ops.
 16 And I think at the time that eventually, you know,
 17 through the process, when it was worked through, I think
 18 I secured around an additional £8 billion in that
 19 financial year. Some 5.9 billion of that went into
 20 what's called the Elective Recovery Fund to fund more
 21 operations and diagnostics, and also £700 million into
 22 something called the Targeted Investment Fund.
 23 **Q.** Clearly your efforts bore fruit financially. You say
 24 though in your statement that you advocated for greater
 25 resilience, domestically and internationally. Tell us

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1 an agreement on that globally the better.
 2 So that was something I was engaged in.
 3 And then, lastly, also there's an organisation
 4 called GAVI which the global -- it's the global
 5 organisation of vaccinations -- global association of
 6 vaccinations and immunisations, which the UK was,
 7 I think, probably the second- or third-largest donor,
 8 being a very generous donor, and I was keen to see how
 9 we could work with GAVI and other similar organisations
 10 in vaccinations and not just the delivery of
 11 vaccinations but also actually getting them into
 12 people's arms globally.
 13 **Q.** Well, that gives us a sense of what you were trying to
 14 convey in that paragraph. You do say, though, at your
 15 paragraph 43 that you imposed formal parameters around
 16 what decisions you wanted to take personally --
 17 **A.** Yeah.
 18 -- and other areas of decision-making which were
 19 delegated to junior ministers, and you set them out.
 20 You say, I think, you wanted to take personal
 21 responsibility for the NHS care bill -- I'm not going to
 22 ask you about that --
 23 **A.** Yes.
 24 **Q.** -- but you do say:
 25 "... how the NHS was handling Covid in hospital

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1 wards; hospital waiting lists ... and prioritisation of
2 surgeries ..."

3 To name just a few of your areas of personal
4 responsibility.

5 And why those particular areas, Sir Sajid?

6 **A.** First of all, it's -- in any government department it's
7 not unusual for the Secretary of State to set out early
8 on who is going to focus on what, including the
9 Secretary of State. It's worth, sort of, highlighting
10 this was the sixth government department that I'd ran
11 and so I'd had a bit of experience in running
12 departments generally but also how to, sort of, try and
13 get things done.

14 So, first, this should be happening in any case.

15 But then in terms of deciding who does what. Some of it
16 was already set out when I came into the department and
17 I felt that where ministers were in place, for example
18 the health minister at the time, Ed Argar, and I felt
19 that if it generally seemed that the individual was
20 doing a very good job, I thought that there shouldn't be
21 much change in their mandate in particular, but the
22 areas that I've highlighted here that I picked, and as
23 you say, this is not an all-inclusive list, there are
24 many others, these are just examples.

25 These are the ones that I decided were very

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1 **Q.** I see. Thank you.

2 You mentioned a moment ago work that you'd done
3 perhaps with unions, CEOs, the front line, and I'd like
4 to ask you about that.

5 **A.** Yes.

6 **Q.** In your statement you say you had a number of meetings
7 with nurses in particular in February 2022, as that
8 coincided, I think, with a recess in Parliament.

9 **A.** Yes.

10 **Q.** Two things: did you speak to anyone on the front line
11 though prior to that, given that you were appointed
12 in June of 2021? What were you doing for the eight
13 months or so prior to the meetings in February '22?

14 **A.** Yeah, no, lots. In fact when I -- soon after I got
15 appointed I was very keen to get out there, if you will,
16 out of my office and into hospitals and other clinical
17 settings to speak to both staff and patients, but to,
18 sort of, get a sense myself and hear directly from
19 people on the front line.

20 And I think that probably started I think in the
21 first, sort of, week I was in the job and I would try my
22 best to actually every week to get out somewhere and
23 make a visit and -- it wasn't always the case, but that
24 would be my aim every single week, sometimes more than
25 one such visit in a week. And so I made many, many

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1 important for the Secretary of State personally to deal
2 with, because --

3 **Q.** Can I interrupt you.

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **Q.** Sorry. Can you give us a sense of when you say you want
6 to take personal -- what do you actually do? How does
7 it manifest itself in the workings of the department?

8 **A.** Yeah, so what it would mean is that, you know, if you
9 just take one of these diagnostic centres,
10 prioritisation of surgeries, what that would mean is
11 that -- I'm referring there specifically to an
12 initiative that we'd had which was early days at the
13 time, which were around community diagnostic centres.
14 We basically wanted to open up many more diagnostic
15 centres to work through the backlog of people and they
16 weren't just in hospitals, they could be in other
17 settings, so it was quite a new, different initiative,
18 and I was really keen that stayed at pace, but because
19 it's new, though, issues might come up and I thought it
20 would be much quicker in terms of delivery of those
21 diagnostic centres if I was dealing with them directly.

22 So what that means is that every time an issue
23 came up, if it was either a policy paper, a meeting to
24 make decisions, it would be me leading that meeting
25 rather than one of my junior ministers.

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1 visits before February '22 -- you know, I don't know how
2 many, but it would have been, if it's every week, would
3 have been tens and, you know, 20, and -- but also
4 sometimes I would make visits that would -- if I'm going
5 to a particular area like Birmingham, or something,
6 I might see two or three different settings in The
7 Midlands area at the same time to try and make the most
8 of my time, but one I think wanted to do was to make
9 sure that when I made such visits I wasn't just meeting
10 or speaking to the leadership, which is important, it's
11 hugely important, so I'd go to a health trust, for
12 example, I remember, for example, Milton Keynes, one of
13 the Milton Keynes health trusts I visited where I had
14 actually a very good meeting with the CEO and his top
15 team, and I think in the past maybe meetings would have
16 stopped around having those types of top-level meetings,
17 but I had said before I went, and I continued this
18 throughout, that whenever I make such visits we must try
19 to have meetings for me with the frontline staff, nurses
20 and porters, and others, but without any of their senior
21 management present, so I only wanted myself, one of my
22 private secretaries, and then the frontline workers
23 without any of their senior managers, so I could hear
24 from them directly and I would start often by saying to
25 them, "Feel free to say anything you want, we're not

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1 taking notes, just be very open and honest because
 2 I want to know what's working well and what's not
 3 working well."
 4 **Q.** Pausing you there. Can I ask you then, for example, in
 5 relation to the nurses that you met, what kind of things
 6 were they telling you and, more importantly, how did
 7 that impact your response or directions you gave to the
 8 Department of Health? How did what they were telling
 9 you translate to actual action for something you could
 10 do practically for them?
 11 **A.** Yeah, so when I -- I mean, I met with many, sort of,
 12 nurses normally as groups in hospital -- typically
 13 hospital settings. And I would hear for example
 14 things -- some things about things that have gone right
 15 and gone really well and nurses understood the country,
 16 there was a crisis and it was going to be difficult for
 17 everyone but they were on the front line and I felt that
 18 overall nurses were doing a great job and they needed to
 19 be heard.
 20 I heard about morale generally. Staff morale was
 21 tough, given the extra burdens and the pressures that
 22 Covid had brought. And it would lead me then to, sort
 23 of, enquire when I would, then, sort of, get back to the
 24 office, so to speak, and then maybe sit down with the
 25 NHS leadership and stuff is to bring those issues up and

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1 **A.** Well, I think I do remember porters, certainly a group
 2 of porters telling me about -- and they weren't
 3 complaining, it was more sort of to -- explaining that
 4 because of the job they had, the very important job that
 5 they had throughout the pandemic, and they couldn't stay
 6 at home, they couldn't sort of work from home, and they
 7 felt much more exposed to the virus. And certainly in
 8 the early days when a lot less was known about the virus
 9 and certainly when there wasn't the vaccine and in some
 10 cases possibly not enough PPE or the right type of PPE
 11 to go into hospitals, they were really concerned, but
 12 how they still kept coming into work which -- so -- and
 13 it just -- and that was before my time, what they were
 14 referring to was before my time as health secretary but
 15 I completely understood it and it just made me,
 16 you know, think that obviously I can't change what had
 17 happened, especially when they're talking about PPE and
 18 the lack of vaccines, but it just again made me think
 19 about the next time this happens, when we are having the
 20 next pandemic is that -- you know, this is exactly the
 21 kind of things we need to be better prepared for but
 22 also thinking about people just like that on the front
 23 line.
 24 **Q.** In your statement you make reference to other meetings
 25 that you had, including meetings in relation to cancer,

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1 ask what's being not just in that trust I've heard it
 2 from, but in other trusts.
 3 I would hear, for example -- I remember one group,
 4 I can't remember which hospital it was but nurses
 5 explaining to me -- it was in an A&E ward -- that they
 6 felt that their local hospital was very well integrated
 7 with the sort of -- with the ambulance service and they
 8 had some newer technology that allowed them to
 9 communicate more efficiently with ambulances where they
 10 were and who was about to come in, and they hadn't had
 11 that before and how it had made a big difference to
 12 their workday, to the pressures they had, so then
 13 I would take that back to when I had my weekly meetings
 14 with the UEC team, the urgent and emergency care team,
 15 I would then be able to bring that up because I had
 16 heard it directly.
 17 So the point: many examples of things that
 18 I heard, I found it hugely valuable to have that kind of
 19 engagement.
 20 **Q.** What about in your meetings with porters?
 21 **A.** Yes.
 22 **Q.** What kind of things were they telling you about how the
 23 pandemic had affected them? And again, what did you do
 24 about it, what did you take away from your meeting with
 25 them?

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1 and we may look at that. But there was also meetings
 2 with those who were involved with patients that had
 3 dementia. Can I ask you about that, please. Do you
 4 remember now what was sort of discussed in the meetings
 5 where you were speaking to people who were involved in
 6 dementia and what kind of issues were they raising with
 7 you? I presume you met with family --
 8 **A.** Do you mean in relation to Covid or do you mean in
 9 general?
 10 **Q.** I think it was -- well your statement doesn't make it
 11 entirely clear. It's at paragraph 76, Sir Sajid, if it
 12 helps you. You had meetings in relation to Monkeypox --
 13 I don't need to ask you about that. Regular meetings on
 14 cancer with the NHS lead and then you say:
 15 "... similar meetings on mental health and
 16 dementia."
 17 **A.** Yeah, yeah.
 18 **Q.** And it's really if there's a link between what you were
 19 hearing in the dementia-related meetings and how the
 20 pandemic had affected those with or caring for people
 21 with dementia?
 22 **A.** I think what I'm referring to here were -- on dementia
 23 specifically, since you asked about that, is not
 24 specifically linked to the pandemic and Covid. My
 25 reference here is that -- if you go back to where we

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1 started a moment ago by -- my priorities, Covid,
 2 recovery and reform, and in terms of my, sort of,
 3 recovery, but especially my reform work, was that, as
 4 I mentioned a moment ago, I think for me simply coming
 5 into running the health service, the department at that
 6 time, Covid had revealed, I thought, a sort of -- a lot
 7 of inefficiencies in the system broadly, a lot of
 8 inequalities in health outcomes, and I felt also a lack
 9 of joined-up government in many serious illnesses. And
 10 three of those that I identified as a priority were
 11 dementia, cancer and mental health, and actually
 12 a fourth one was suicide prevention.

13 But the first three I'd spent a lot of time on and
 14 I asked for ten-year plans to be developed, long-term
 15 reform plans, but what I was specifically trying to get
 16 at is that it's not just a job for the health
 17 department, it's a job across government. So, for
 18 example, dementia there's a role for DWP department,
 19 there's a role for the education department, for local
 20 government, and I felt that government wasn't, sort of,
 21 working together to address these serious ill health
 22 issues.

23 **Q.** Acknowledging the wider picture as you've just alluded
 24 to, can I descend now to perhaps some detail about the
 25 NHS itself and in particular the issue in relation to

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1 admission ... the highest recorded since the
 2 collection began."

3 Now, Sir Sajid, clearly A&E waiting times,
 4 ambulance waiting times, and the like, are nothing new,
 5 but would you agree they were exacerbated by the impact
 6 of the pandemic?

7 **A.** Yeah, absolutely. The primary cause of these very poor
 8 numbers is the pandemic.

9 **Q.** Yes. Now, seeing that bleak picture as you did,
 10 I think, on a regular basis, can you help with what
 11 steps you took, for example, upon receipt of this
 12 information, to try to improve A&E waiting times,
 13 insofar as you were able. And we appreciate that
 14 there's not a magic wand here, but tell us what kind of
 15 things would you say, would you do, would you direct the
 16 department to do about this?

17 **A.** Yeah, I mean, so, you know, first of all, the -- it's --
 18 I thought it was important in terms why is -- why is
 19 this happening. And obviously it's -- I think it's
 20 obvious it's the pandemic, but then we need to break
 21 that down: what is it? What aspects of the pandemic are
 22 driving this?

23 And you had this combination of people coming to
 24 A&E that might be -- it might be related directly to
 25 Covid, and so they might be in really bad health, need

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1 waiting times. I think you were briefed regularly in
 2 relation to different aspects of waiting times.

3 Can we have on screen, please, INQ000372786.

4 And if we go to page 2, just to situate ourselves.

5 This is a ten-page document which covers a number of
 6 different waiting times, A&E, 111 calls, referrals to
 7 treatment and the like. I'm not going to go through
 8 them all with you, Sir Sajid.

9 **A.** Yes.

10 **Q.** Here is an example from September 2021, so you'd been in
 11 post three months or so by that stage.

12 **A.** Yes.

13 **Q.** And we can see that in relation to A&E there were 14
 14 trusts undertaking field testing of new standards as
 15 part of a clinical review that were not required to
 16 submit 4-hour breaches, therefore not everyone's
 17 performance had adjusted, but if you look at the second
 18 bullet point:

19 "95% A&E standard not met, 112 out of 112 Trusts
 20 with Type 1 departments ... missed the standard (for
 21 all types)."

22 And if we just go down to the bottom bullet point:

23 "In September 2021, the number of patients
 24 waiting over four hours [104,000-odd] and over
 25 twelve hours [5,000 people] from decision to admit to

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1 emergency care, because they've got the virus and it's
 2 been particularly bad for them. But also, and this was
 3 going to be a huge amount of it, is that this is, as you
 4 say, September 2021. By then, I think I'm right in
 5 saying that the lock -- the sort of lockdown
 6 restrictions had all been lifted. There might be other
 7 restrictions in place but the country was feeling like
 8 it's sort of getting slowly back to normal, people out
 9 and about again and things and feeling, I think, more
 10 comfortable to access healthcare and weren't, sort of,
 11 keeping themselves away like they had during the height
 12 of the pandemic. So a lot of people returning to
 13 healthcare. And a lot of the problems they would have
 14 had that had there not been a pandemic they might have
 15 gone through their usual process in the NHS, without
 16 A&E, that it may be the issue had become more acute. So
 17 I think there was a lot of like what I would say is sort
 18 of delayed demand even for A&E.

19 Also I think a part of the aspect here -- part of
 20 the reason here was accessing non-emergency care and
 21 people getting frustrated that they maybe tried to get
 22 a hold of their GP or other forms of non-emergency care
 23 but they tried so many times and feeling that they're
 24 not getting through and the system is not responding
 25 well enough and then turning up at A&E, whether that's

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1 through ambulance or at the door.
 2 And so the answer to your question about what we
 3 were trying to do is that I had a number of meetings
 4 with NHS, with the department, ambulance trusts and
 5 others about this particular issue, and then I think it
 6 was in September that same month we published a 10-point
 7 plan on UEC, on emergency -- urgent and emergency care.

8 And that included a number of initiatives.

9 So, for example, one of those that sort of stood
 10 out, I was told because it's one of the biggest issues,
 11 was the more people -- if there were enough call
 12 handlers, qualified call handlers, more people could be
 13 handled through the NHS 111 service.

14 **Q.** I'll come on to that.

15 **A.** And so that was one thing that we invested in, in terms
 16 of resources and trying to train up more people.

17 Another was through, you know, what, sort of, more
 18 support could we give to primary care, to GP services,
 19 and that -- then this fed into, I think, later, the sort
 20 of winter care package, I forget the exact name we
 21 called it, the extra 250 million -- the winter fund that
 22 we offered GP services.

23 And then also we -- we were -- in fact on this
 24 issue I also felt I also needed more data, I needed more
 25 granular data, which I started getting what I sort of

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1 as at the time you became Secretary of State, there was
 2 still concern that NHS 111 didn't have the capacity to
 3 answer the calls that they were receiving?

4 **A.** Yes, absolutely.

5 **Q.** And do I take from what you've just said that you tried
 6 do something about that --

7 **A.** Yeah.

8 **Q.** -- in -- by increasing the number of call handlers?

9 **A.** Well, yes, call -- and also there was -- increase the
 10 number of call handlers and I believe there was also
 11 something where -- some kind of initiative with British
 12 Telecom as well, about how the calls were handled and
 13 distributed around the country.

14 **Q.** Final page on this. If we go through, please, to page 8
 15 of this document. You were receiving information about
 16 the "Post Covid Assessment Service (Long Covid)".

17 **A.** Yes.

18 **Q.** And we can see that as at September 2021, in August
 19 there had been 5,488 referrals. That was a slight drop
 20 than in the previous four weeks. A proportion of those
 21 that were accepted.

22 One looks at -- they were telling you the access,
 23 the types of people that had been assessed. Clearly
 24 there was mainly white people. Most of the people were
 25 women. And then the age groups indeed. And you can see

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1 called a UEC, sort of, dashboard, and -- and then
 2 I started asking for it at least a day before the
 3 meeting, so I could study it before I'd have my
 4 meetings, and then I started having almost twice weekly
 5 meetings on this particular issue, to see and make sure
 6 that we were doing everything we possibly could be
 7 doing.

8 **Q.** Can I pick up on one of the things you just said there,
 9 which was NHS 111.

10 **A.** Yes.

11 **Q.** In fact if we go to page 4 of this document, we can see
 12 that some of the other aspects of waiting times that you
 13 were given were the number of calls going into NHS 111,
 14 and indeed some of the data, if we look in the middle of
 15 table 5, was the proportion of calls that were
 16 abandoned. By September 2021 it was 25.6% of calls
 17 abandoned.

18 **A.** Yes.

19 **Q.** Just to help you, Sir Sajid, in March 2020 we heard
 20 there were, I think, 1.1 million calls out of
 21 2.5 million calls that were unanswered. So 40% went
 22 unanswered 18 months before. It's now down to 25.6% but
 23 still a large proportion of calls were abandoned.
 24 That's not to say people might not have rung back, we
 25 appreciate that. But do I understand it correctly even

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1 there that, in fact, 1,000 of those, 31%, were under the
 2 age of 45. And then the majority of people there were
 3 aged between 45 and 64, and a smaller percentage aged
 4 65 plus.

5 And if you look at the waiting times, of those who
 6 had had their initial assessment during the reported
 7 period, 40% were seen within six weeks, 55% within
 8 eight weeks and 19% were waiting longer than 15 weeks.

9 And then there was regional variation. So it
 10 looks like they were doing better in the North West at
 11 being seen within six weeks compared with what was going
 12 on in the South East. So clearly a lot of data there
 13 about Long Covid.

14 When you saw regional variation like that, what do
 15 you actually do as Secretary of State to try to address
 16 what, on any view, is a wide disparity, isn't there,
 17 between how the North West was performing and how the
 18 South East was performing?

19 **A.** Do you mean with reference to Long Covid only?

20 **Q.** Yes, long Covid.

21 **A.** So I would -- you know, I would want to know as to --
 22 what are the reasons for such a disparity. So, for
 23 example, could it be the provision of services, could it
 24 be the communication of the -- could the service exist
 25 but is there poor communication? You know, and

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1 obviously there could be other issues as well. And then
2 what we are doing -- you know, "we" is sort of more
3 broadly, but specifically NHS -- to address them.

4 I noticed this was in -- I think these numbers --
5 yes, as you say, it's from August.

6 **Q.** Yes.

7 **A.** I believe that in -- you know, throughout the pandemic
8 but I think particularly in June of that year there was
9 a big, sort of -- I think an announcement by my
10 predecessor, it would have been around Long Covid, but
11 in particular about more provision and more resources.
12 And I think, if I remember, it's something like
13 £19 million was allocated for more clinics specifically
14 for this and something like 145 hubs were stood up
15 across the country.

16 So, I knew that -- so, looking at this, I would
17 have known then, but I would have wanted to, sort of, be
18 updated that -- you know, what's now happening, is that
19 money actually going into creating the hubs. Because we
20 had no time to waste. You know, you didn't want
21 an announcement back in June, only a couple of months
22 before this, that people sort of -- perhaps sort of, you
23 know, haven't understood the urgency of that. And
24 I think I would want to be updated on making sure that
25 those hubs are indeed opening, they're operating, are

25

1 for example, the LOCOMOTION study at Leeds focusing on
2 identifying and promoting the most effective care, and
3 indeed one being done, at the bottom bullet point,
4 EXPLAIN, at the University of Oxford, looking at
5 diagnosing ongoing breathlessness.

6 Can I just ask you this, were you involved in
7 actually identifying what projects should get the
8 funding or just securing the funding itself?

9 **A.** More in securing the funding. And I think, you know --
10 certain what would have happened here is that once the
11 officials working with the NHS have identified which
12 projects are to get funding, I would have seen a list,
13 but it wouldn't have -- I would not have changed it or
14 made any other recommendation, on the basis that the
15 officials would know better because they would have the
16 expert advice and they'd understand each of those.
17 I would have been keen for the -- for them to get on
18 with it.

19 I do remember -- because the funding for all this
20 was -- so it was announced, as you say, by my
21 predecessor in June. This -- these studies you're
22 referring to -- this announcement on these 15 studies
23 was made soon after I got in, like a couple of weeks
24 after I got in. I think -- I'm pretty sure that within
25 my first few days I asked about -- certainly I had

27

1 there any issues, and so it's not just
2 an announcement that, you know, maybe -- you know, it's
3 the right announcement but is it actually being
4 delivered.

5 **Q.** Can I stick with Long Covid, and I think by the time you
6 had become Secretary of State there had been various
7 pieces of guidance and calls for research and indeed
8 funding for research, as you've just referred to.
9 You're right that in June Mr Hancock had launched the
10 Long Covid plan for 2021 and 2022, including the
11 19 million Long Covid clinics and various amounts of
12 funding. And I think in July 2021 you announced 15 new
13 studies and just shy of 20 million to help improve the
14 understanding of Long Covid and identify effective
15 treatments.

16 Can we just look at some of the projects that were
17 being envisaged.

18 And can I have on screen INQ000283460_4.

19 This is just a summary of some of the projects,
20 but you can see that there was one being done by
21 University College involving more than 4,500 people with
22 Long Covid to test the effectiveness of existing drugs
23 to treat Long Covid.

24 **A.** Yes.

25 **Q.** And then there were various other studies, including,

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1 a briefing on Long Covid but I asked what was happening
2 to the funding, and I wanted the team to, sort of,
3 accelerate this investment because, again, I didn't want
4 there to be an announcement with no follow-through. And
5 I'm sure, because this happened quite quickly, I would
6 have been pleased that they'd identified the projects
7 and started getting them funding very quickly soon after
8 the announcement.

9 **Q.** Now, we've heard that there were Long Covid roundtables
10 that were already in existence by the time you became
11 Secretary of State, and I think you attended one
12 yourself on 23 September 2021. We have a minute of
13 that.

14 Can I have on screen, please, INQ000067409.

15 I think they were normally chaired by
16 Lord Bethell. You attended this one. And in the ONS
17 update we can see there that it was reported that
18 prevalence of Long Covid at 12 weeks was highest among
19 women, middle age people and people with existing
20 illness.

21 Then if we go down to the NHS England update and
22 the bullet -- sorry, the note that starts:

23 "CH said that based on data from September,
24 there were 6,000 referrals to the assessment services
25 over a 4-week period. 88% ... were accepted. The

28

1 rate of referrals is only around 30% of what was
2 anticipated which may mean many people are not coming
3 forward."

4 Now, once this was been discussed in the
5 roundtable, Sir Sajid, what did you ask to be done about
6 this and why, on the face of it, it looks like there are
7 quite a large number of people not coming forward for
8 assessment?

9 **A.** I think actually one thing I'd point out here, there
10 were -- as you say, there were regular roundtable --
11 this -- the -- a task force was set up. In fact,
12 I think the NHS had set up their task force back in 2020
13 and the -- but the -- from ministers there were regular
14 roundtables.

15 Also at this meeting, I think I'm also right in
16 that Maria Caulfield was there as well and she was
17 a minister in my department that was responsible for --
18 broadly for patient care and patient safety. And one of
19 the jobs I'd given her when she had come in as minister
20 was to also be the minister for Long Covid, because
21 I thought it needed a very specific focus from
22 a minister, and I believe she was at this meeting, she
23 regularly attend these meetings.

24 But on your question, I couldn't tell you today,
25 like, specifically in relation to what's just

29

1 Long Covid for a moment. We've heard -- we've asked
2 a number of people, indeed we've heard a lot of evidence
3 about the Stay at Home messaging and whether the balance
4 was right. And you were, I think, Chancellor of
5 the Exchequer at the very beginning of the pandemic --

6 **A.** Yes.

7 **Q.** -- and then on the back benches for a while before
8 resuming your role as Secretary of State now for health.

9 What do you think, Sir Sajid, about whether the
10 balance of the Stay at Home messaging was right and
11 would you do anything different if you were -- or advise
12 a future minister to do anything different?

13 **A.** Look, I think it was the -- overall in principle it was
14 the right messaging. I think what's very difficult is
15 to the balance, getting that right. Because, you know,
16 it demands -- it needs some kind of clarity, and I think
17 that most of the time that was there but I think later
18 on during the pandemic there were moments before -- this
19 is -- the moments -- I'm referring to before I was
20 health secretary, and I speak now not as -- therefore as
21 health secretary, but I was a backbencher, as you say
22 then, but I felt that some of the messaging could be
23 a lot clearer. But I do -- having said that, I just
24 think it is very difficult to get the right balance.

25 **Q.** I think everyone acknowledges the difficulty but

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1 highlighted here what I would have asked but I can tell
2 you with a high degree of confidence what I probably
3 would have said is: how do we -- there are clearly
4 people out there that should be coming forward that are
5 not so how -- what are we doing, what is the NHS doing,
6 what is the department doing to try to encourage them?

7 And this was -- actually it was a broader problem.
8 It wasn't just an issue with Long Covid, and that's
9 important enough. We had a very big issue of people not
10 coming forward --

11 **Q.** Yes.

12 **A.** -- and that was important to me. Because, first of all,
13 obviously people -- if people have some illness that
14 needs to be addressed, the sooner they get it addressed,
15 it's good for them. Obviously it's better overall also
16 for the NHS as well. But I just felt not enough people
17 were thinking that the NHS is, sort of, open, so to
18 speak, and they can start coming back now with the
19 issues they might have stayed away from at the height of
20 Covid. And in fact I made many, many public appeals on
21 TV, radio, media, elsewhere, again and again, just
22 asking people to come forward, and that would have
23 included people clearly that might have symptoms of
24 Long Covid.

25 **Q.** Can I just ask you to stand back away slightly out of

30

1 a solution is perhaps harder to find.

2 Can I go back to Long Covid, please. And in that
3 roundtable in September 2021, if we could go to page 3
4 of that document, I think you actually then spoke to and
5 were addressed by a number of Long Covid sufferers who
6 spoke about their experiences. It's just coming up now.

7 And we can see there in that top box that
8 a sufferer explained that she was from Manchester, one
9 of the -- six most deprived areas, had caught Covid
10 early on in the pandemic, was disbelieved by her GP, who
11 dismissed her, and months later was still suffering.
12 She says she's now been referred to the Long Covid
13 services. Often not been able to travel to multiple
14 different hospitals for appointments.

15 "[The] model of service is not accessible for many
16 people who live on a low income or are disabled."

17 And indeed reference there to online support
18 groups being set up and then regularly hearing from
19 people who are saying they were disbelieved by
20 their GPs.

21 Once you heard it from the sufferers themselves,
22 can you recall now what you did to, firstly, address
23 concerns that people were being disbelieved by
24 their GPs?

25 **A.** Yeah, I was actually -- yeah, well, I remember actually

32

1 now, hearing that. And I was very concerned about that.

2 But I'll tell you one of the reasons I was -- it
3 sort of particularly caught my interest is that,
4 you know, I know people that suffer or live with ME and
5 CFS. And I know that's not Long Covid, but it is
6 a serious illness that affects at least 200,00 maybe
7 250,000 people in this country. It's a very serious
8 illness. Actually has some symptoms that are not
9 dissimilar from Long Covid.

10 And just from my own, sort of, personal
11 experience, I've heard from so many people -- and also
12 as a constituency MP, that people that have -- who are
13 living with ME and CFS felt that GPs -- in some cases
14 they'd say: GPs are not listening, they don't recognise
15 it, they think I'm just lazier, should just get out
16 there, do a bit of exercise. And this comment that this
17 individual obviously is making about Long Covid really
18 reminded me of that and I saw some sort of similarities
19 in that.

20 And I thought -- one of the issues with ME and CFS
21 is that it hasn't received enough research and --
22 because it hasn't been -- by the -- overall by the
23 system been taken seriously enough, by everyone, and
24 that's -- made -- what was -- something that made me
25 want to act even more than otherwise on this, because

33

1 And can we have up on screen, please,
2 INQ000479860_9.

3 Sir Sajid, this is now January 2022. We just
4 looked at September 2021 data.

5 If possible, could I have up the September 2021
6 data. It was INQ000372786, I believe.

7 So on the left of the page, if you're looking at
8 it, it's waiting times from September 2021, as we just
9 looked at. On the right side of the page, here we are
10 now in January 2022, and if one just looks at the --
11 thank you -- both at the bottom, the waiting time boxes,
12 in fact it looks like the position's got slightly worse
13 in some respects, better in other respects.

14 But we can see there during the reporting period,
15 39% now waiting six weeks. I think it had been 40%, so
16 it's got better by a percentage. 55% down now to 47%.
17 And 35% though were waiting longer than 15 -- so looks
18 like a rise there in the amount of time people were
19 waiting.

20 And there is still the regional variation. Length
21 of waits were 81% in North East were being seen within
22 six weeks compared with 4% in the South East. 64% of
23 patients in the South East were waiting over 15.

24 So may I put it like this: a mixed picture of some
25 progress in some of the waiting times coming down,

35

1 I really recognise what this individual was saying, and
2 I'd heard it before as well with reference to Long Covid
3 as a constituency MP.

4 And so as a result of that, I certainly would
5 have -- one thing we already talked about was the
6 research around how can we, sort of, make sure this
7 research is happening, but also I think I enquired then
8 about what is the NHS or the health system doing about
9 this, making sure, for example, GPs do know about this,
10 that they do take it seriously. And I was told the --
11 for example, that NICE was setting out new guidelines,
12 it had -- already had guidelines on Long Covid -- new
13 guidelines, and also how it would be communicated.

14 I'm sure I would have asked it to come out even
15 sooner than what they planned, and I believe that
16 in November that year that NICE did publish its
17 guidelines, and the point being that it gets out to
18 every clinician and practitioner out there so there's
19 better awareness.

20 I also -- by the way, I also started a separate
21 review of government's handling of ME and CFS as well,
22 and I asked them to work closely with the same team that
23 was looking at Long Covid.

24 **Q.** Can I just jump forward a few months and look at the
25 waiting times in relation to Long Covid again.

34

1 assessment times coming down, but not in other respects.

2 When you got a sort of jump like that three months
3 on, where it's not improved across the board, what did
4 you do as Secretary of State to try to ensure that those
5 great disparities we're seeing there in regional
6 variations were addressed. It looks like something
7 hasn't quite worked from September 2021 to January 2022.

8 **A.** Yeah, I would have -- so I would have seen these updates
9 on activity regularly.

10 **Q.** Yes.

11 **A.** I think part of it probably also reflects the number of
12 people because one is obviously a few months after the
13 other, and so the number of people, sadly, with
14 Long Covid is probably increasing as well because --
15 just the way the virus is -- because I think the second
16 set of numbers is during the Omicron -- yeah, it's
17 22 November to 19 December, so that's during the Omicron
18 wave. And so infections have been rising as well.

19 I would -- so I think I would have -- again,
20 I can't tell you specifically in relation to this what
21 I did, but I can tell you what I, sort of, would have
22 done is to ask about -- again about the resources and
23 are we putting enough resources into this, are all the
24 hubs being stood up, is there enough awareness amongst
25 GPs to recommend people to the right services.

36

1 And I must also say though I think that during
 2 that time, this period, November 22 -- sorry,
 3 22 November to 19 December, I think a lot of my
 4 bandwidth, so to speak, would have been on Omicron.
 5 **Q.** Yes.
 6 **A.** And perhaps I would have had less time to spend on other
 7 issues, no matter how important they are, because
 8 Omicron was a serious threat to the country and the NHS.
 9 **Q.** We're going to look at Omicron in just one moment.
 10 **A.** Yes.
 11 **Q.** Can I just finish on Long Covid, and can I ask, please,
 12 about some comments that the Inquiry's Every Story
 13 Matters record has heard.
 14 **A.** Yes.
 15 **Q.** Can we have up on screen, please, INQ000474233_0180.
 16 And the section beginning "Other pandemic changes to
 17 healthcare often made it harder to access care for
 18 Long Covid, adding further frustration":
 19 "... some experiences highlight the difficulties
 20 faced in using a telephone or online consultation to
 21 communicate their symptoms and the impact this had on
 22 them. Contributors were frustrated that telephone or
 23 online appointments did not provide care to the same
 24 standard as seeing a healthcare professional ..."
 25 And you will see there, Sir Sajid, two quotations
 37

1 **Q.** It brings me on to that topic, if I may. Because
 2 I think you've certainly seen evidence provided by the
 3 Royal College of GPs and, indeed, we heard from
 4 Dr Mulholland.
 5 Can I have a look on screen, please, at
 6 INQ000097867.
 7 And we are now in, I think, September of 2021, so
 8 just before Omicron really hits. And if we go down in
 9 the letter to you from Richard Vautrey, the chair of the
 10 BMA's GPs committee. Clearly there's reference there
 11 to:
 12 "GPs, Practice Managers, and other primary care
 13 professionals share patients' frustrations when they
 14 face long delays for an appointment or waiting
 15 times ..."
 16 A BMA survey revealed that two-third of GPs
 17 experienced abuse, including threatening behaviour or
 18 violence, and that had got worse in the last year.
 19 And indeed there was another survey done by the
 20 Institute of General Practice Management that found that
 21 there was GP staff experiencing abuse, not only that,
 22 threatening behaviour, racist abuse, sexist abuse.
 23 When you received this letter, if we go over the
 24 page, there is a request for you -- thank you -- the
 25 paragraph beginning "This situation is not acceptable":
 39

1 from people that spoke to Every Story Matters. The
 2 first person said:
 3 "It's so hard to see a GP now. I have to send
 4 photographs to my doctor's WhatsApp telephone number
 5 where you send your name, date of birth and the
 6 photographs ... it's just not the same."
 7 And a second contributor said:
 8 "I managed to see healthcare professionals
 9 through virtual consultations. They instructed me to
 10 monitor my own vital signs like pulse and blood
 11 pressure and even guided me through examining my own
 12 throat. But I found this mode of consultation
 13 inadequate; there's no substitute for a physical
 14 examination by a professional. I was diagnosed with
 15 Long Covid. While this diagnosis was a relief, it
 16 also taught me a crucial lesson: virtual consultations
 17 have their limitations."
 18 Were you made aware, firstly in the context of
 19 Long Covid, that perhaps in some respects virtual
 20 consultations were having an effect on those who were
 21 seeking diagnosis and/or treatment for Long Covid?
 22 **A.** I don't remember specifically with reference to
 23 Long Covid but I was made aware more generally, and that
 24 would have included Long Covid, that virtual
 25 consultations have their limitations.
 38

1 "We call on you to publicly support and defend
 2 dedicated GPs and primary care staff against this
 3 onslaught of misinformation and abuse promoted by the
 4 media. It is essential that patient care is
 5 protected ... We believe that there must be accurate,
 6 timely and regular communications from the government to
 7 the public, which reflect the realities of the
 8 situation ..."
 9 Now, no one is obviously doing anything other than
 10 condemning abuse of staff and GP practices, but there
 11 was a call on you to publicly support and defend
 12 dedicated GPs. Did you do anything in response to this
 13 issue being raised with you and, if so, what?
 14 **A.** Yes, and, sadly, this wasn't the only time this issue
 15 was raised with me and this was an important letter and
 16 I totally understood why it had been raised with me
 17 again and, actually, having these numbers were -- I
 18 mean, they were shocking. In a sense it was good to
 19 have some numbers around it and get more information but
 20 there were shocking numbers because, as you say, abuse
 21 of, whether it's doctors or any health professional, or
 22 anyone, is completely unacceptable but in a situation
 23 where, you know, in this case it was talking about GPs,
 24 GPs in particular were facing so much pressure and
 25 challenges and clearly they couldn't operate in the same
 40

1 way they had done pre-pandemic and I think it's fair to
 2 say the vast, vast majority of the public completely
 3 understood that and worked with GPs but there were,
 4 sadly, cases of abuse.

5 I remember one case in particular in -- I mean,
 6 there were many, but the one I remember in particular
 7 was a very horrific case in a doctor's surgery in
 8 Manchester and when -- when I heard of that particular
 9 case I happened to be going to Manchester, in any, case
 10 that same day or the day after, and I made a visit to
 11 the surgery and met staff and met others and it's
 12 an issue that I and the department and the NHS took very
 13 seriously. We talked with representatives of GPs about
 14 what more we could do to try and give security and
 15 comfort to GPs, but also publicly, whether it's in
 16 Parliament, or elsewhere, I would have said this kind of
 17 behaviour is completely unacceptable and that people
 18 must recognise that GPs are under a lot of pressure.

19 **Q.** I think you are also aware that RCGP were concerned
 20 in September 2021 where you said in Parliament that,
 21 "More GPs should be offering face-to-face access and we
 22 intend to do more about it." You said that it was not
 23 intended to create a league table but it appears
 24 certainly that was how it was potentially reported in
 25 the press and that many members of RCGP felt demoralised

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1 a GP appointment as it was in the previous year,
 2 a face-to-face appointment.

3 Now, that said, I felt that in a vast majority of
 4 cases, especially for those patients that believed that
 5 they were adequate -- that virtual appointment is
 6 perfectly okay and it works but in some cases it might
 7 not be the right type of appointment and it might not be
 8 adequate. We've just seen an example that you've shared
 9 with me from someone who had Long Covid who felt that
 10 had it been face to face maybe there would have been
 11 a better outcome. And that's what I was reflecting in
 12 that statement.

13 And also, at that time in Parliament amongst
 14 Members of Parliament of all political backgrounds, it
 15 was one of the number one issues that MPs would bring up
 16 with me either formally or in the lobbies or in the tea
 17 rooms, and stuff: what is the government doing about
 18 bringing back more face-to-face appointments? And that
 19 is MPs reflecting what their constituents are bringing
 20 to them, particularly elderly constituents who, whether
 21 it's the technology, or otherwise, found virtual
 22 appointments incredibly hard. It doesn't mean to say
 23 they cannot work and for many elderly it was on the
 24 phone, so it wasn't like a video conversation that you
 25 might have, say, for a younger person who has access to

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1 by what they perceived as a constant media attack and
 2 a lack of support from the department and, indeed, from
 3 ministers.

4 Can you help us, what were you trying to achieve
 5 when you said, "More GPs should be offering face-to-face
 6 access and we intend to do a lot more about it"?

7 **A.** What I was trying to achieve is -- I think, during -- in
 8 2020 when we all first learned about the pandemic and
 9 the Stay at Home sort of requirements came out, there
 10 was no vaccine or it was very early days for the
 11 vaccine. I think that at that time everyone, including
 12 the general public, GPs and stuff, understood why it's
 13 not really going to be possible for almost anyone to see
 14 their GP face to face, unless there is some kind of
 15 emergency situation, or something. I think that people
 16 expected most consultations to be virtual or trying to
 17 avoid face-to-face contact. By September, the period
 18 that you asked me about when I made that comment,
 19 in September 2021, we were, as a country, thankfully, we
 20 were in a lot better place vis-à-vis the pandemic in
 21 terms of vaccination, other treatments, and also the
 22 Stay at Home requirements, other sort of limits on
 23 social interactions had -- almost all of them had gone,
 24 and I think there was a reasonable expectation of the
 25 public that it shouldn't be as hard as it was to get

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1 that kind of technology and is comfortable with it, it
 2 would be a phone call from a GP and clearly for someone
 3 that has -- well, a number of ailments, having a GP call
 4 on the phone may not be adequate.

5 **Q.** Given that you were hearing from a number of different
 6 quarters about the concerns that it wasn't working, do
 7 you think enough was done to try and convey to those who
 8 would prefer face-to-face appointments that that was
 9 still an option available? We've heard there was
 10 a perception, certainly, that people couldn't get
 11 a face-to-face appointment. Could more have been done
 12 to dispel that perception, do you think?

13 **A.** I think it mattered where your -- on your GP surgery. I
 14 mean, there were some surgeries even at the time I made
 15 that statement that were doing virtually no face-to-face
 16 appointments, and in other parts of the country it was
 17 a realistic option. I think what we -- what I wanted to
 18 see, what the NHS wanted to see, because it pays for
 19 those GP services, was, where possible -- obviously,
 20 ultimately, the GP has to be the judge of that, rightly
 21 so, but where possible, where a patient was requesting
 22 a face-to-face appointment, the GP should do that, if it
 23 was safe and right to do so.

24 So there was really almost like some kind of
 25 postcode lottery depending on where you were, what kind

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1 of GP surgery that you were registered with, whether you
2 were going to get a face-to-face appointment even if you
3 had requested it.

4 **Q.** May I move to Omicron and the planning for winter 2021,
5 into 2022. And in Module 2 you gave evidence that in
6 relation to the planning and preparation for, indeed,
7 Omicron and that winter, the NHS was a huge factor in
8 this, we wouldn't want to see our hospitals overwhelmed.

9 That's what you said to Module 2.

10 **A.** Yes.

11 **Q.** What did you understand "NHS overwhelm" to mean or to
12 look like?

13 **A.** It would have been the NHS unable to cope with emergency
14 cases, A&E effectively becoming closed because it was --
15 had too many patients, ambulances not able to arrive and
16 drop people off in any kind of reasonable time, you
17 know -- just to explain that a bit more. Even in
18 pre-pandemic times, so just before the pandemic, the NHS
19 is traditionally run on a very tight sort of capacity
20 constraint. I think about roughly 95% in terms of beds,
21 if you measure it like that. And that's a lot tighter
22 than comparable countries. And so there's not much,
23 sort of -- there's not much give in that and obviously
24 the pandemic came along and that meant the NHS didn't
25 just have much capacity, whether you measure it in terms

45

1 an example of the system being overwhelmed.

2 **A.** Yeah -- yes.

3 **Q.** It might be thought that if you are making difficult
4 triage decisions about who should go to hospital, who
5 should go into intensive care, that is an example of
6 overwhelm. And I just really wanted your reflections
7 now, some years on, as to whether you thought it was
8 a helpful way of looking at and conveying the real state
9 of the NHS during the pandemic?

10 **A.** I don't think it's unhelpful.

11 **Q.** In your statement you set out a number of the
12 contingency measures that were put into place to prepare
13 the healthcare system for that winter of '21 into 2022,
14 and I'm not going to go through them all, but you say at
15 your paragraph 100, Sir Sajid:

16 "... some, but not all, of the contingency
17 measures that were formulated for the Autumn ... Winter
18 plan 2021 were helpful in preparing the healthcare
19 system to respond to the pressures of Omicron."

20 Can I ask you, what measures do you consider were
21 not helpful in preparation for Omicron?

22 **A.** I think that's probably a reference by me to -- I think
23 some were -- I mean, I don't have them all in front of
24 me now, but some were more important than others. It's
25 not they were -- it's not that they were completely

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1 of beds, doctors, nurses, and I felt that, you know,
2 a year on, which -- just over a year on when I was
3 Secretary of State, and Omicron had started, and when
4 I learnt that it was -- that the key difference between
5 Omicron -- the first thing we learned about it, before
6 we knew it was less severe, which obviously was welcome
7 news, before we knew that, we just knew that it was
8 a lot, lot more contagious, and that's what really
9 worried me, and that's why I was concerned that at the
10 rate it was spreading, if it turned out that it was
11 severe or not enough people had vaccines or the vaccines
12 weren't going to work properly, that the NHS may become
13 overwhelmed.

14 **Q.** We have heard a lot of about the "NHS overwhelm" and it
15 may be thought to be a rather subjective word. What is
16 "overwhelm" to you may not be to the nurse on the front
17 line or some, indeed, of the witnesses that we have
18 called. Do you think now, looking back, that it was the
19 right word or the right way of describing the aim to
20 protect the NHS?

21 **A.** I mean, I don't -- if you didn't have that word, I think
22 you'd probably come up with something similar and you'd
23 probably ask me the same question about that word.

24 **Q.** It's just that it might be thought that if you're
25 cancelling all non-urgent elective care, that is

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1 unimportant, I think there were some measures there that
2 we'd set out in the winter plan, that there were other
3 ones that should be focused on.

4 **Q.** One of the factors that was taken into account was
5 workforce absences. It was clearly higher during Covid
6 than it had been pre-Covid. And you say this in your
7 statement, that there was a reserves programme launched
8 in November 2021, and you considered that having
9 a reserve scheme on a standing basis is helpful in the
10 times of crisis. By and large it was kept in place and
11 still exists now, with the head of the NHS announcing an
12 extension until March 2022 --

13 **A.** Yes.

14 **Q.** -- you leaving I think later, your role as secretary,
15 a little bit later that year.

16 What for you was the main benefit of having that
17 reserve programme, and do you think it would be useful
18 in the event of a future pandemic?

19 **A.** Yeah, I think the main benefit was just -- so to take
20 its name, that if you have experienced clinicians on
21 reserve, so to speak, and then you know who they are,
22 what their skills are, where they are in the country and
23 other factors, then it's something that in an emergency,
24 health emergency situation such as a pandemic, it's much
25 easier for the NHS, for the health system more broadly,

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1 to ask those people if they're able to serve and if
 2 they're able to help, if it's been well thought of in
 3 advance.
 4 So the second part of your question, is it helpful
 5 to think about something like this sort of going
 6 forward? Yes, it is.
 7 **Q.** We heard from Amanda Pritchard from NHS England that
 8 planning for the winter started in June 2021, but
 9 by December, when Omicron had really started to take
 10 hold, there were concerns about the response because
 11 there were in fact far fewer beds available now because
 12 there'd been an attempt to resume non-urgent elective
 13 care.
 14 Clearly there was some availability of some
 15 Nightingale units, Sir Sajid, and you say in your
 16 statement, at your paragraph 102(e) you were:
 17 "... informed that the way in which Nightingale
 18 hospitals were set up during the first wave ... had not
 19 been effective as a primary reason was we simply did not
 20 have enough sufficient doctors and nurses to operate
 21 them."
 22 And then you discuss that with Amanda Pritchard.
 23 Just pausing there, who informed you of the fact
 24 there weren't enough doctors and nurses to operate the
 25 Nightingales?

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1 care were being provided in those surge wards?
 2 **A.** Well, it turned out that way but really I didn't know at
 3 the time when we decided that because I didn't know what
 4 was going to be the path of Omicron and we quickly
 5 decided -- I quickly decided within a couple of weeks of
 6 learning about Omicron that the way out of it was
 7 through pharmaceutical defences, especially through
 8 boosting but we had to boost record numbers of people
 9 and also we had to get record numbers of tests out there
 10 and also make sure we had the antivirals, which we all
 11 did successfully in the end, but, I think, had it not
 12 been for that, then perhaps the staff numbers wouldn't
 13 have been enough.
 14 I also just want to add, you asked me about winter
 15 preparation, but even before we knew about Omicron, just
 16 knowing that winters historically can be tough, and also
 17 we had information about the flu, and the seasonal flu,
 18 and what we tended to do was to look at how flu had
 19 performed in the southern hemisphere and that would give
 20 an indication of what happened in the northern
 21 hemisphere in our winter, and I was concerned that it
 22 could be quite a difficult winter -- obviously not
 23 knowing about Omicron at the time. But we put together
 24 a winter, sort of, package, access package for GPs, and
 25 there were £250 million of funding available for GPs and

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1 **A.** Oh, I think it would have been more than one person.
 2 I'm sure Amanda told me that. I'm sure the Chief
 3 Medical Officer told me that. The national clinical
 4 director. I mean, it was well known that there weren't
 5 enough staff to -- you know, doctors, nurses, or other
 6 clinical staff for the so-called -- for the Nightingale
 7 hospitals. At the time of Omicron and what we --
 8 learning from that experience what I heard -- the
 9 suggestion from Amanda and her team which I thought was
 10 sensible was that what could be done to help the NHS
 11 with capacity was to, sort of, extend existing wards
 12 rather than have completely new wards or so-called
 13 Nightingale hospitals and to focus them on, sort of, I
 14 think what they refer to as step down care, so still
 15 care, medical care but maybe less demanding than
 16 otherwise and therefore staff could be proportioned
 17 adequately.
 18 I think we -- the NHS started calling them surge
 19 wards, I think the name Nightingale was tagged onto
 20 that. It didn't really mean anything other than they
 21 were just sort of surge wards, but that's how we handled
 22 it during Omicron.
 23 **Q.** And were you satisfied that surge wards, Nightingale
 24 units, call them what you will, that there would be
 25 sufficient staff to help ensure that decent levels of

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1 a whole programme of support and I was very disappointed
 2 that when we took that to GPs -- GPs generally as
 3 individuals really welcomed it in my interactions with
 4 GPs, but the BMA's General Practitioner Committee was
 5 very much against it and didn't recommend it, and that
 6 was very disappointing because I felt that they weren't
 7 putting the interests of patients first, which is what
 8 I would have expected in a time of national crisis.
 9 **Q.** The final document before we perhaps break for lunch.
 10 If I may, can we just have up on screen, please,
 11 INQ000270035_4.
 12 Sir Sajid, this is an Omicron NHS planning meeting
 13 or, I should say, a note of that meeting on
 14 7 December 2021. I won't take you through all of it but
 15 you can see there that you're present. There's a number
 16 of names that are familiar to us now present.
 17 **A.** Yes.
 18 **Q.** Clearly there was concern about the transmissibility of
 19 Omicron and AP, Amanda Pritchard, setting out a number
 20 of actions underway to try and ensure there was
 21 sufficient capacity.
 22 Could we go to page 4 of that document. There we
 23 are, thank you very much:
 24 "[Secretary of State] queried NHS's capacity to
 25 respond to a [25,000] scenario ..."

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1 Was that envisaging 25,000 extra patients?
 2 **A.** 25,000 total.
 3 **Q.** Total, all right.
 4 "... triggering escalation to level 4 [at the
 5 NHS]".
 6 **A.** Yep.
 7 **Q.** "[Amanda Pritchard] noted this could be done, but
 8 stressed difficult decisions would need to be made with
 9 significant implications, including on electives."
 10 Did you understand that to mean that potentially
 11 a suspension or certainly a slowing down --
 12 **A.** Yes.
 13 **Q.** -- of elective care?
 14 **A.** Yes. Yes.
 15 **Q.** Then you say -- you:
 16 "... queried what more could be done on staff
 17 leave and absence.
 18 "[Amanda Pritchard] suggested maintaining
 19 flexibility, while staff should be taking leave in some
 20 areas, while others will rely on goodwill and staff
 21 rolling over leave to next year."
 22 **A.** Yes.
 23 **Q.** No one is underestimating the difficult decisions that
 24 need to be made but was it really being suggested that
 25 you might cancel some staff leave?

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1 **MS CAREY:** Would that be a convenient moment, my Lady?
 2 **LADY HALLETT:** It is, Ms Carey. Thank you very much.
 3 Sir Sajid, I'm sorry we have to take a break for
 4 lunch, but I promise we will finish your evidence this
 5 afternoon.
 6 **THE WITNESS:** Thank you.
 7 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much. I shall return at 2.10.
 8 (1.10 pm)
 9 (The short adjournment)
 10 (2.10 pm)
 11 **MS CAREY:** My Lady, good afternoon, I hope you can see and
 12 hear me all right.
 13 **LADY HALLETT:** I can, thank you very much, Ms Carey.
 14 **MS CAREY:** Sir Sajid, may I pick up with where I left off
 15 before lunch --
 16 **A.** Yes.
 17 **Q.** -- and nosocomial infections. We've heard a lot of
 18 about them, including the rates in wave 1 and wave 2,
 19 and it's not that, but clearly as Omicron emerged,
 20 high-community prevalence led to high infection rates in
 21 health and social care settings.
 22 And in your statement you say that in particular
 23 you were provided with information that during the
 24 Omicron wave there were much higher levels of nosocomial
 25 transmission in mental health and learning disabilities

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1 **A.** Yes.
 2 **Q.** Even notwithstanding the fact that staff had been
 3 through wave 1, wave 2, and no doubt needed a good
 4 period of absence or leave? Why were you pondering
 5 taking that step?
 6 **A.** Well, because it's a national emergency and at times of
 7 national emergency people sometimes have to cancel their
 8 holidays and their leave, even over Christmas, and
 9 whilst you're absolutely right, the staff, particularly
 10 in the NHS more than probably anywhere else in the
 11 country, had felt more stress and challenges, and had
 12 been through an incredibly difficult time, I think that
 13 had -- as I say, with Omicron because of the booster
 14 campaign, and other interventions we took it didn't turn
 15 out to be as bad as some of the scenarios had suggested
 16 but I think it was responsible to prepare for different
 17 scenarios including worse than those that actually
 18 transpired. And I think it would have been wrong not to
 19 consider this issue of -- this particular issue of
 20 staffing and leave.
 21 **Q.** And we can see there that:
 22 "[Jenny Harries] stressed high transmissibility
 23 will mean greater levels of nosocomial infection ..."
 24 And I'd like to turn to that topic after the lunch
 25 break.

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1 healthcare placements and community NHS trusts. And
 2 the Inquiry has been looking at the impact of the
 3 pandemic on child and mental health settings. Were they
 4 a feature of high nosocomial rates, as far as you can
 5 remember?
 6 **A.** So were "they", you mean mental health settings?
 7 **Q.** Yes.
 8 **A.** I think through Omicron, yes, yeah.
 9 **Q.** And when you became aware of the higher levels of
 10 nosocomial transmission in mental health and learning
 11 disabilities placements, and community NHS trusts, what
 12 steps, if any, did you take to try address that problem?
 13 **A.** Well, I think in all settings, including those, you
 14 know, trying to stop, you know, the spread of the virus
 15 in such settings, nosocomial infections was a priority,
 16 but in terms of the steps actually taken, in all cases
 17 that I can recall, I took the advice and accepted the
 18 advice of infection protection control which was run by
 19 UKHSA but also with the input of the NHS and others,
 20 including the CMO.
 21 And I don't remember ever once, sort of, you know,
 22 questioning or wanting to do something different to that
 23 because I thought it was very, very important to, on
 24 such an important issue, to listen to the experts.
 25 **Q.** And you make it clear in your statement at paragraph 115

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1 that you were not involved in the decisions of the UK
 2 IPC cell --
 3 **A.** Yes.
 4 **Q.** -- so I'm not going to ask you about that. But more
 5 generally, you say in your statement that you weren't
 6 aware of concerns around the quality and suitability of
 7 PPE. Was there any, by the time you became
 8 Secretary of State, concerns that there wasn't enough,
 9 it wasn't the right type, or it wasn't in the right
 10 location? Can you help with whether there were those
 11 kind of issues raised with you?
 12 **A.** No, I don't -- in terms of, you know, is there enough,
 13 is there enough for the right type, that wasn't really
 14 an issue that came up -- for me.
 15 **Q.** Absolutely. And can I -- can you help me to this
 16 extent. Were you aware of potentially a distinction
 17 between the protective nature of the blue masks as
 18 proposed to the protective nature of the FFP3 respirator
 19 masks?
 20 **A.** I knew that there were different types of masks, FFP3,
 21 FFP2 and obviously the sort of -- what you refer to as
 22 the blue masks. I knew that in certain settings the --
 23 in terms of what I'd been told by the IPC, by UKHSA, was
 24 that FFP3 was more appropriate. But in terms of the --
 25 if you asked me about the technical differences between

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1 be allowed to, sort of, have rules that apply to him,
 2 that don't apply to others, it wasn't that at all, and
 3 that would be wrong because, you know, just from
 4 a scientific, medical point of view, if having a beard
 5 exposed was a risk, then that shouldn't be allowed, and
 6 he wasn't arguing that at all, but what he said was that
 7 there was a clinical workaround, that there was
 8 a different type of mask, or PPE, in effect, that could
 9 be used to cover beards and that he felt it was
 10 effective and that it wasn't being taken seriously
 11 enough and being considered by the NHS because there was
 12 such a small minority of people that would benefit from
 13 that.

14 I thought in response that what he raised was
 15 reasonable issue, because he wasn't asking for any kind
 16 of special treatment, he was -- thought the same rules
 17 and the high quality of those rules should apply to
 18 everyone regardless of, you know, what their faith may
 19 or may not be, but if there was a sensible workaround
 20 that, from an IPC perspective, would work, it should be
 21 considered.

22 So in that particular case I took his details,
 23 which was a business card he gave me, and when I went
 24 back to my office a couple of days later I gave it to my
 25 office and said, "Can you -- can someone please follow

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1 the different masks, I wouldn't know the detail of that.
 2 **Q.** Okay. You do give an example in your statement at
 3 paragraph 121 about issues concern inequalities around
 4 PPE.
 5 **A.** Yeah.
 6 **Q.** And, Sir Sajid, we've heard a lot of evidence about PPE,
 7 in particular FFP3 masks, not always being appropriate
 8 for either women, for people from black, Asian and
 9 minority ethnic communities, for different facial,
 10 types, sizes, and you speak of an occasion at
 11 Conservative Association dinner where a Sikh doctor told
 12 you about being asked to cut his beard in certain
 13 clinical situations, and you say you took the doctor's
 14 details as you thought it was a reasonable issue to look
 15 into.

16 What was being raised with you by the Sikh doctor
 17 and what steps did you take to look into the concerns
 18 that he was raising?

19 **A.** Yeah, what -- so as it says here, that his concern was
 20 that for him to comply with -- as he understood it, to
 21 comply with the rules at the time, that he would have to
 22 cut his beard. And him being Sikh in this case, as part
 23 of his religion, that would not be something that he
 24 could do or wanted to do.

25 What he was suggesting -- it wasn't that he should
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1 up on this."
 2 **Q.** Right. Were you aware more generally, that example
 3 aside, of whether, by the time you were in office, the
 4 PPE available was more diverse, in the sense that it
 5 fitted a broader range of people? Do you know whether
 6 there was sufficient supplies of wider types of PPE?
 7 **A.** I don't know.
 8 **Q.** Okay.
 9 **A.** I wasn't aware of that.
 10 **Q.** All right. I think you say in your statement, just
 11 finally on IPC, no issues in relation to ventilation in
 12 particular were raised?
 13 **A.** No.
 14 **Q.** Do I take from that that there wasn't any requests
 15 through you or via you to improve the use of portable
 16 ventilation in perhaps the older hospital estate?
 17 **A.** Not that I recall. The only time -- one time I can
 18 recall ventilation being discussed was in school
 19 settings.
 20 **Q.** Right.
 21 **A.** When we were looking at can we remove some of the
 22 restrictions on children attending school or having to
 23 go home if someone is infected by -- could ventilation
 24 be improved. But that was primarily being led by the
 25 Department for Education.

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1 Q. Yes, understood. All right, can I turn, then, to
 2 vaccination as a condition of deployment.
 3 A. Yes.
 4 Q. We heard from Mr Hancock last week that VCOD, if I can
 5 use its acronym, was discussed at Covid-O, the policy
 6 was introduced in social care settings in regulations
 7 that came into force in November 2021, and I think you
 8 say in your statement, if it helps you, paragraph 119,
 9 Sir Sajid, that the Prime Minister asked you to consider
 10 now making VCOD mandatory for NHS staff.
 11 A. Yeah.
 12 Q. And I think there was a consultation that ran from about
 13 November over the course of winter 2021.
 14 A. Yeah.
 15 Q. We have a letter from the RCN that I'd like to ask you
 16 about.
 17 Can I have on screen, please, INQ000417535.
 18 It's a letter from Pat Cullen the director at the
 19 RCN. It's dated 22 December 2021, and can we see in
 20 the -- scroll down a little bit, please. Keep going.
 21 Page 2. There we are. The paragraph beginning "The
 22 other current policy", which the RCN asked for delayed
 23 implementation of is VCOD:
 24 "The RCN recognises vaccination as a key pillar in
 25 infection control and disease prevention in healthcare
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1 overriding reason not to.
 2 And whilst this letter is important, and the RCN
 3 is important, I was pleased to have regular contact with
 4 them, including Pat Cullen herself a number of times, it
 5 wasn't going to change our mind in government because
 6 the policy was introduced for infection protection
 7 control reasons to protect vulnerable people in
 8 hospitals and this letter wasn't going to change that.
 9 Q. All right. They're not objecting per se, it was merely
 10 a request for a delay.
 11 A. Yes, but -- I understand that but a delay today, then
 12 a delay again tomorrow, and so forth, so I didn't really
 13 see it in the context of "Let's delay it by a few weeks"
 14 I saw it more in the context of, "Can you stop the
 15 policy".
 16 Q. All right. Did you receive, in fact, objections from
 17 other areas of the healthcare system objecting per se to
 18 the implementation of VCOD within the NHS?
 19 A. Yes, I'm sure I did. I can't remember specifically from
 20 which organisations but I'm sure I did, yes.
 21 Q. All right. So can I summarise it, perhaps, I hope
 22 fairly. There was some support, including from the
 23 opposition?
 24 A. Yeah.
 25 Q. Some, perhaps, taking a middle road of bring it in but
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1 settings and believes that all health and care
 2 staff ..."
 3 But they were concerned about it being brought in,
 4 if you read down, that it might further marginalise
 5 those who remain unvaccinated and put further pressure
 6 on service capacity, ie the number of staff available to
 7 look after the patients, and they were effectively
 8 asking that implementation was delayed.
 9 When you received a letter like this, what was
 10 your position in relation to whether there should be any
 11 delay in relation to the rollout of VCOD. I know it
 12 didn't come into force but I just want to look at what
 13 was being said to you in the consultation phase.
 14 A. Yes, so as you say, during this time, this is, what,
 15 December 22?
 16 Q. 22 December '21, yeah.
 17 A. The consultation was still going on. The regulations,
 18 as it were, for this had been set out, so the government
 19 had set out what the policy would be, when it would
 20 become effective from, the rationale for that, I think
 21 I'd stood up in Parliament and explained it. It was
 22 supported very widely throughout Parliament, including
 23 by Her Majesty's opposition, and we made it very clear
 24 that the only way this policy works is if we stick to
 25 the date that we had set out, unless there was some
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1 perhaps not bring it in now, and then some people who
 2 were wholly opposed to it; would that be a fair summary
 3 of where you got --
 4 A. You mean in Parliament or you mean in general?
 5 Q. Generally. As at the consultation phase.
 6 A. Yes.
 7 Q. When you sought to bring it in -- I won't go through all
 8 of the guidance, but it was proposed to bring it in for
 9 frontline workers as well as non-clinical workers not
 10 directly involved in patient care but who may have
 11 face-to-face contact with patients such as porters,
 12 cleaners, or receptionists. So slightly broader than
 13 the doctors and nurses and healthcare professionals.
 14 A. Yeah.
 15 Q. Why was it thought important to widen the pool of people
 16 that might be required to vaccinate?
 17 A. Because the whole purpose of the policy was to reduce
 18 the possibility of infection in a clinical, hospital
 19 setting. And just step back here. Why was that, you
 20 know, very important, is that because the patients, by
 21 definition if they're in hospital they're ill, they're
 22 more clinically vulnerable than the regular population.
 23 And if it could be -- you know, if the risk of them
 24 catching Covid could be reduced in that setting, then
 25 that's what we should do.
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1 Now, every decision to try to do that, this is
 2 a form of infection and protection -- control, obviously
 3 this is a balanced decision and it comes with, you know,
 4 benefits, of course, but also costs. The benefits
 5 I think are self-evident: if you can reduce -- if people
 6 aren't infected because they've been vaccinated, or less
 7 likely to be infected because they're vaccinated,
 8 they're not going to infect someone else. And so
 9 I think that benefit was clear. The potential cost of
 10 the policy would be if ultimately there were people,
 11 including the groups of workers that you just mentioned
 12 and referred to, that refused to get vaccinated, then
 13 they would eventually leave the health service if they
 14 could not be persuaded.

15 And that was a balanced decision. I think we
 16 absolutely made the right decision both at the time and
 17 in retrospect we made the right decision, but the
 18 purpose of it was to reduce infection for patients,
 19 which meant that anyone that was in a patient-facing
 20 role, including porters and cleaners that might come
 21 into contact with patients, was, you know, subject to
 22 the policy.

23 **Q.** Can I ask you, please, about some examples that
 24 the Inquiry has provided you with from our spotlight
 25 hospitals, where the Inquiry sought evidence from on the
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1 uptake of the vaccine was poor amongst the Trust's Black
 2 and Bangladeshi communities. Black staff (who account
 3 for 29% of the Trust workforce) ... [are] nearly 54% of
 4 those who were in scope ..."

5 And if we could just scroll down to the next
 6 paragraph:

7 "VCOD presented a [difficult decision] for staff
 8 who refused to have the vaccine due to the limited
 9 ability for the Trust to redeploy them."

10 You can see there it added to the workload, stress
 11 and anger amongst all members of staff, and clearly had
 12 a significant adverse impact on workforce morale.

13 So that's an example from Lewisham. May I give
 14 you a slightly different example, and could we go,
 15 please, to INQ000472879_7. This is from Warwick
 16 Hospital. And paragraph 34.

17 "130 [of their] staff were in patient-facing
 18 roles and due to be dismissed ... represented 2.6% of
 19 the overall workforce ..."

20 You can see there set out that in fact there
 21 was -- people had had one dose but had not received
 22 the second dose.

23 Then could we just go over to the next page,
 24 please, and paragraph 35:

25 "The impact of VCOD cannot be underestimated,
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1 ground, as it were, if I can put it like that.

2 **A.** Yes.

3 **Q.** Can I just show on screen, please, INQ000474214_13.

4 I just want to look with you, Sir Sajid, at the
 5 impact it had on the hospitals and the kind of work they
 6 had to do in preparation for the rollout of VCOD.

7 And this is an example taken from Lewisham, the
 8 Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Lewisham. They had about
 9 3,000 staff at that hospital.

10 And if you look at paragraph 2.37, one can see
 11 there that in January 2022 the trust board confirmed
 12 that 973 permanent and 282 bank staff who were in scope
 13 for mandated vaccine had yet to demonstrate they'd
 14 received both vaccinations. By the end of the month the
 15 numbers had changed slightly.

16 And then they actually did some work breaking down
 17 the group, and if you look in the middle of that
 18 paragraph:

19 "The analysis undertaken by the Trust at this time
 20 demonstrated the lowest uptake ... was amongst the most
 21 junior roles within the organisation, ie, all clinical
 22 support roles the vast majority of which are healthcare
 23 assistants. This was particularly worrying as all roles
 24 within these professions would be categorised as
 25 'frontline' and then fall within [VCOD] ... In addition,
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1 particularly the damage to the HR teams ..."

2 It goes on, that statement, to set out significant
 3 damage to employee relations, there are managers who
 4 refused to have conversations with their staff members
 5 as they fundamentally disagreed with the government
 6 approach. And due the very late decision to repeal
 7 VCOD, which I'm going to come on to, potential
 8 applicants for vacancies had already been turned away as
 9 they had indicated they were unvaccinated.

10 So a number of different issues there. Firstly,
 11 losing staff and not being able to redeploy them. And
 12 secondly, the impact on the morale.

13 What steps had you taken during the consultation
 14 in the run-up to this guidance being given to ensure
 15 that we weren't going to lose a vast number of staff at
 16 a time when there was already pressures on staffing
 17 capacity?

18 **A.** So there were a number of discussions that took place
 19 both within the department and directly with the NHS.
 20 Importantly, the leadership of the NHS, you know, the
 21 Chief Executive Officer, the Chief Medical Officer at
 22 the NHS, that they supported this decision and its
 23 implementation and the fact that it could be
 24 successfully implemented within the NHS. And that meant
 25 a lot to me because, at the end of the day, you know,
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1 they would understand the NHS and staffing morale and
2 these issues more than I would, because that's their
3 main job. And I took all that into account.

4 We -- they had set up within the NHS a system of
5 communication of why the policy exists, why vaccination
6 is important, how it protects patients, and then also
7 information and sessions available for staff, either
8 one-on-one or in groups, about the efficacy and safety
9 of the vaccine and again emphasising why it was
10 important.

11 So, looking at the examples you've just shared
12 with me, I can still totally understand why it's not in
13 all cases an easy decision to implement and why it can
14 lead for some employees to anxiety and anger, even. But
15 that doesn't mean it's not a valuable policy. This was
16 an important tool, a very important tool in the pandemic
17 in infection prevention and control. I believe we
18 should absolutely keep a tool like this in the box for
19 future pandemics -- because we might need it again, and
20 where you have a vaccine for a virus that is effective
21 and safe and requiring frontline health workers to take
22 it. As I say, it was right at the time, and it's
23 something that, you know, I think certainly for me, when
24 we reflect back to it, I think it was absolutely the
25 right policy to follow. We'll get into why, eventually,

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1 Can I have on screen, please, INQ000091577,
2 pages 4 and 5.

3 These are the Covid-O minutes from
4 31 January 2022, and over the course of two or three
5 pages, it sets out the reasons, in short, for why VCOD
6 was not in fact brought in. I can take you to
7 particular parts if you wish, but since you were there,
8 can you help us, why was it that come the end of
9 January 2022, VCOD was not brought in for the NHS and,
10 in fact, was no longer pursued, I think, within the care
11 settings?

12 **A.** So when the regulations for VCOD were laid out which
13 I think was early November 2021, what we were -- in
14 terms of Covid, what the country and the world was
15 dealing with at the time was the delta variant. And
16 I believe at the time some 99% of infections were delta
17 variant infections, and what we knew from the evidence
18 that had been gathered on the efficacy of the vaccines
19 at that point was that in terms of preventing infection
20 they were between 65%, I think, to 80% effective,
21 depending on which vaccine one had taken. And so it was
22 effective in reducing infection rates and therefore
23 making people less infectious including in the NHS
24 setting.

25 So that was the, sort of, the science logic, if

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1 it was dropped but in both cases when we implemented the
2 policy, then dropped the policy eventually, it was led
3 by science and medical fact and that's the most
4 important thing here and then we had to think about the
5 practicalities. There were tradeoffs, as I said, and
6 you've pointed to some of them but it was a balance that
7 we thought was the right balance which was to implement
8 the policy.

9 **Q.** I'll come to the reversal of the policy in a moment, but
10 can I ask you this perhaps on behalf of some others that
11 are in this room: given that we've looked at potentially
12 a disproportionate impact on black, Asian and minority
13 ethnic workers who, for whatever reason, didn't want to
14 have double vaccination, were you aware it was likely to
15 have a disproportionate impact on that cohort of staff?

16 **A.** Yes.

17 **Q.** Given that you were aware of that, do you think perhaps
18 that in fact the policy shouldn't have been brought in
19 and it wasn't justifiable to pursue it given that it
20 would have that impact on them?

21 **A.** No, not at all. I think all workers in the NHS should
22 be treated equally regardless of their race.

23 **Q.** Can we turn, then, to the reasons why the policy was not
24 pursued. It may help you to have a look at the
25 Covid-O minutes, Sir Sajid.

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1 you will, in introducing it.

2 Your question was then why did we eventually
3 decide not to do it. That decision was made in January
4 of 2022, and despite the fact there only being like
5 a couple of months between November and December, a lot
6 had changed and that was because of Omicron. So Omicron
7 was discovered after the regulations for VCOD had been
8 laid and the policy had been set out and gradually
9 obviously we learnt more and more about Omicron
10 including two very important things. One was just how
11 infectious it was, much, much more infectious in
12 multiples than the delta variant.

13 And so that by the time we'd made the decision to
14 I think -- by the time of this Covid-O meeting that
15 you're referring to where this decision was made
16 formally in government, I think some 99% of infections
17 then were Omicron and not delta. In fact, I think in
18 the eight weeks previous to making this decision,
19 one-third of all infections in the UK since the pandemic
20 had begun had happened and that's how, just to give you
21 a demonstration of how infectious it was. Also, because
22 it was so infectious it meant a lot of people had -- if
23 they hadn't had vaccines, they'd developed antibodies
24 through infection. And also we learned about Omicron
25 was that although it was more infectious, thankfully it

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1 was less severe in its impact than the delta variant.
 2 So taking all of that into account, the infection
 3 rates, the fact that it's less severe, the fact that so
 4 many people had already been infected, and the fact
 5 that, actually, the announcement of the VCOD -- this
 6 VCOD policy for hospital settings had led to more and
 7 more people taking the vaccine in any case, even before
 8 Omicron, and we had the boosting drive because of
 9 Omicron and there was a good take-up of that generally
 10 in the country including amongst healthcare workers, it
 11 meant the facts had changed, the scientific facts had
 12 changed, and it made sense now to drop the policy
 13 because, as I said, if the scientific facts changed,
 14 then we should change our minds as well and be open to
 15 that and that's what happened.

16 **Q.** Understood.

17 Can I ask you, then, just about one aspect of the
 18 Covid-O minutes.

19 Can we scroll to page 4 and then look over into
 20 the top of page 5. And you can see there, Sir Sajid,
 21 this picks up on what you were just explaining. The
 22 bottom line of page 4:

23 "Due to the reduced severity of Omicron, the
 24 relative number of hospitalisations had halved the
 25 cost of the policy now outweighed the potential

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1 **A.** I think it should definitely be a tool in the box.
 2 I think it's hard to say today for anyone whether you
 3 should definitely do it in the future or not. But
 4 I think that one thing we learnt through the pandemic is
 5 thankfully there was globally a vaccine was developed,
 6 with the UK playing a big role, quite quickly; quicker
 7 than I think a fair set of people had expected. And the
 8 vaccine, as with the Covid vaccine, if in the future a
 9 vaccine is, by independent authorities and respected
 10 authorities, deemed to be safe, then if we are asking
 11 the general public to take it and it will help reduce
 12 infections within hospital settings and make patients
 13 safer than otherwise, I think it should definitely be
 14 a tool in the box.

15 It's just worth also knowing that even before the
 16 pandemic, the NHS, they have guidelines on vaccines.
 17 Their guidelines are contained in something they call
 18 The Green Book, so when one looks at chapter 12, I think
 19 it is, of The Green Book, it talks about vaccinations of
 20 staff in health settings, and whilst some of those are
 21 recommended, it also makes clear there are certain
 22 vaccines that all health workers, even today, under the
 23 Health and Safety at Work Act of 1974 are expected to
 24 have -- it's not they might have, they are expected to
 25 have, and that includes the MMR vaccine, for example.

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1 benefit."

2 **A.** Yes.

3 **Q.** Right. Go down to the next paragraph, please, you
 4 continue:

5 "... the professional bodies were clear that
 6 vaccination was still the professional duty of those
 7 working in health and social care but that it was
 8 right to question whether a statutory requirement to
 9 force people to get vaccinated in order to keep their
 10 job was still the right policy or whether it should be
 11 dropped. He said that it did not make sense to retain
 12 the policy as it would be challenged in the courts
 13 and, given that it would no longer be in line with
 14 science, there was a high chance of losing."

15 To what extent did concerns about a loss of
 16 a legal challenge impact the decision, if at all, to
 17 abandon the policy?

18 **A.** It wasn't unimportant but it wasn't the reason. The
 19 reason was the change in the science and the effect of
 20 having this policy.

21 **Q.** And then I think in due course both the policies were
 22 abandoned. Can I ask you this: in the event of a future
 23 pandemic would you recommend or advocate for
 24 an implementation of VCOD, assuming that there was
 25 a vaccine, for any new pandemic?

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1 So my point is, it's not unusual to expect health
 2 workers to have a higher bar in terms of vaccinations,
 3 and I think if I were a health worker today, especially
 4 one that is -- perhaps someone who is thinking of
 5 joining the health service, so post-pandemic, I would
 6 certainly take into account that a future government,
 7 and bear in mind that this decision, when it was made in
 8 Parliament was supported by all the major political
 9 parties, so it had almost universal support in
 10 Parliament -- obviously, I can't speak for future
 11 Parliaments but that's an indication of what governments
 12 might do in the future. So if I was a health worker
 13 today, I would go in with the assumption that this might
 14 be asked of me in the future and if someone doesn't like
 15 that, then they can take that into account before they
 16 make their decision on what future jobs they would like
 17 to do.

18 **Q.** In short, are you advocating for there to be
 19 an expectation that VCOD might be brought in?

20 **A.** Yes, it might be brought in. Yes. It's a tool in the
 21 box that future governments might use.

22 **Q.** May I ask you, please, about some of the inequalities
 23 and vulnerabilities that Covid, to use your phrase,
 24 shone a light on.

25 And it may help just to have in our minds -- can

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1 I have up on screen, please, INQ000309453_8.
 2 This is some data, Sir Sajid, that came from the
 3 PHE review, conducted before your time, but if you can
 4 see there in the middle of the page the rates of death
 5 from Covid by ethnicity that have been adjusted, as best
 6 one is able to, to take into account location,
 7 disadvantage and the like. But one can see there
 8 a clear impact on males, male Bangladeshis, black
 9 African men, Pakistani men, Indian men, before we get
 10 down to rates of death for "White other". And I think
 11 you were aware, weren't you, when you came into post,
 12 that there was this disproportionate impact on men, and
 13 indeed women, from BAME backgrounds.

14 So with that in mind, what steps, if any, did you
 15 take to try to address the disproportionate impact of
 16 the pandemic?

17 Sir Sajid, may I say this, we are aware of the
 18 White Paper that you published in due course, and I will
 19 turn to that, but --

20 **A.** Well, I never published it. My successors decided not
 21 to publish it.

22 **Q.** Yes, quite. That you asked to be published --

23 **A.** Yes.

24 **Q.** -- and had done considerable work in getting ready to be
 25 published. But before we get to that, did you take any

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1 in multi-occupation households and all of that, and
 2 these sort of social factors I think were important.

3 Also though I was very concerned and wanted to
 4 know about whether the -- you know, in -- sort of, even
 5 knowing that, that was the health service overall
 6 responding effectively, doing everything it could to
 7 identify causes that might be in the health system and
 8 address them.

9 So, for example, one of those that I came across
 10 and took a particular interest in was the -- some of the
 11 medical equipment that was being used during Covid, and
 12 that was in particular pulse oximeters, and I had read
 13 and then I asked -- before I became health secretary,
 14 and then I asked specifically, I think in one of my
 15 early meetings, the CMO and others to look into this,
 16 get back to me. He was concerned as well, the CMO, in
 17 particular, and they pointed to some work that had been
 18 done by the NHS but also the Race and Health Observatory
 19 within the NHS, and -- and I wasn't satisfied with the
 20 answers that I was getting, and that's why
 21 I commissioned more work. Eventually that led to me
 22 asking for the conduct of a full independent review
 23 by -- in the end it was by Dame Margaret Whitehead. Not
 24 just in into medical instruments, not just the pulse
 25 oximeter, because then I became concerned that maybe

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1 particular steps to try to address this disproportionate
 2 impact?

3 **A.** Yes. I mean, I was -- as you alluded to, you know,
 4 I was aware of the -- this disproportionality before,
 5 you know, I became health secretary, just from what I'd
 6 read and heard, and I was concerned about it then, even
 7 before I became health secretary, and -- but now I was
 8 health secretary, I was in a position to learn more and,
 9 more importantly, do something about it.

10 First, I wanted to understand it, you know, what
 11 were the causes of this. And in particular one thing
 12 that stuck in my head, I remember being told, was
 13 something like a third of people that presented to ICU
 14 with Covid were from ethnic minority backgrounds and
 15 that's almost double -- more than double, I think --
 16 than the proportion in the general population. So
 17 that -- I was very concerned about that.

18 And I think some of the factors are
 19 understandable. That doesn't excuse them in any way but
 20 it's understandable in the sense that, for lots of
 21 reasons that I wouldn't get into, that people from
 22 ethnic minorities are more likely to be in jobs that
 23 were more front facing, that you couldn't do from home,
 24 therefore more likely to get infected, more likely
 25 though live in deprived neighbourhoods and households --

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1 this is much more widespread than just pulse oximeters,
 2 because maybe these instruments are not being tested on
 3 people of all backgrounds and races, maybe they only
 4 used one control group that is, sort of, white
 5 middle-class people and so there are other groups of
 6 people that are being left behind in making sure these
 7 types of things work for them.

8 I mean, there are many other things that I did but
 9 that was one of them in particular. And then that
 10 review took place and eventually reported I think
 11 in 2024.

12 **Q.** Yes, I'm going to come on to the review, if I may, in
 13 a minute. Even though I know the review post-dates your
 14 time as Secretary of State.

15 Can I just ask you about the White Paper though.
 16 Clearly that was prepared in draft, not then pursued by
 17 your successor?

18 **A.** Yes.

19 **Q.** In it though you make -- or it makes the observation
 20 that Covid-19 hit hardest in many of the same
 21 communities that have experienced poor health outcomes
 22 for generations, mortality rates -- and perhaps as we've
 23 looked at -- from Covid-19 in the most deprived areas
 24 have been considerably higher than in the least deprived
 25 areas. This contributed to a widening of existing

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1 disparities in life expectancy between the most and the
2 least deprived areas in 2020, and a further widening
3 in 2021.

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **Q.** Do I take it from everything that's set out in the White
6 Paper, and indeed what you've just said, that you
7 accept, sadly, that Covid exacerbated pre-existing
8 health inequalities, social deprivation inequalities and
9 the like?

10 **A.** Yes.

11 **Q.** And the White Paper touches on a number of different
12 areas, including, for example, the need to address
13 obesity, the need to address people with drug problems,
14 the need to try to address people who smoke, and thereby
15 reduce the strain on the NHS.

16 Why did you think it was so important when you
17 came into post to try to address these underlying health
18 inequalities?

19 **A.** Well, first of all, I've always thought, you know,
20 health -- I've always, in my government jobs that
21 I've had, tried to sort of look at the issues of
22 inequalities from many different angles. Health was
23 going to be no different. But as you -- as I've alluded
24 to and you've mentioned again, is that Covid really,
25 sort of, exacerbated or shone a light on this and you

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1 the worst?

2 And as you alluded to, a lot of that came down to
3 -- whether it was smoking, it was obesity, it was
4 alcohol or drug addiction, and -- and that's why
5 I wanted this cross government work done. And it also
6 fitted in with my longer-term plans on cancer and
7 dementia and mental health that I alluded to earlier.

8 I mean, sadly, when I left the department, a lot
9 of work had been done -- the White Paper was almost
10 complete, I think it's fair to say probably, like, 95%
11 of it was done, the work on the long-term plans had been
12 done, but my successors decided not to go ahead and
13 publish any of that and act on it.

14 **Q.** Can I turn then to pulse oximetry, and just take it in
15 stages. I think, Sir Sajid, you went on the Andrew Marr
16 Show in November of 2021 and you were asked about it by
17 Andrew Marr. And he was alluding to a story in the
18 papers that morning which meant -- which basically said
19 that there was a concern that pulse oximeters might not
20 be measuring blood oxygen levels as successfully on
21 people with darker skin. So that was the context. And
22 then he asked you this, he said:

23 "It's very serious. Do you think that people
24 have died of Covid as a result of the inaccurate
25 readings?"

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1 could see that certain communities we've just talked
2 about, one, it can be based on jobs or social background
3 or regions, were just hit a lot harder.

4 And in trying to understand that, it became clear
5 to me that, you know, this is obviously a problem --
6 an issue that is much bigger than Covid, it's been
7 long-standing, and therefore much more needs to be done
8 about it, and it needs to be done obviously within my
9 department, specifically with the NHS, but also, you
10 know, other parts of my department.

11 So, for example, I had inherited -- Public Health
12 England had been broken up by the time I got there but
13 one part of it which was focused on prevention I changed
14 the name to Office for Health Improvement, and the
15 Office for Health Improvement -- and, sorry, OHID, the
16 Office for Health Improvement -- and the reason for that
17 was specifically not just a name change but it was to
18 get it completely focused on health inequalities, and --
19 and the first one -- one of the first jobs I gave to it
20 was this White Paper, which I wanted to be
21 a cross-government White Paper and to focus on --
22 a central mission was: how can we lift healthy life
23 expectancy, you know, across the country, but especially
24 reduce the gap between the best areas, in terms of
25 healthy life expectancy, and those that were performing

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1 And you said:

2 "I think possibly, yes, yes, I don't have the
3 full facts and that's, that would be [a problem],
4 these oximeters are being used in every country and
5 they have the same problem and the reason is is that
6 a lot of these medical devices there or even some of
7 the drugs and the procedures some of the
8 textbooks ..."

9 And you said essentially you thought it was
10 systemic. All right?

11 Now, just acknowledging, as you've said there, you
12 didn't have the full facts, COVID Oximetry@home was
13 rolled out across the NHS to try to tackle the number of
14 people going into hospital that might not need to be
15 there, and effectively monitor them at home. If their
16 oxygen levels plus other readings suggested that they
17 needed to go in then they would be brought into
18 hospital.

19 I wonder there do you think upon reflection that
20 saying that some people might have died as a result of
21 this might have put people off from using and taking up
22 the use of pulse oximetry at home?

23 **A.** Sorry, can you ask me the question again.

24 **Q.** Yes. To Andrew Marr you said that you had thought
25 possibly some people had died as a result of the

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1 inaccurate readings.

2 **A.** Yes.

3 **Q.** At the same time as the NHS are trying to encourage the
4 use of it to prevent people going into hospital that
5 don't need to be there. And I wondered if perhaps,
6 although you had said you don't have the full facts,
7 even saying that there might have been people that died
8 might have actually put off some of the very people that
9 we wanted to keep at home and protect?

10 **A.** No, I don't -- I mean, that's certainly not the
11 intention of saying it. The intention of saying it is
12 to set out what I thought was a very serious problem
13 with pulse oximeters. And, you know, I've got no reason
14 to think that put people off in terms of using it. But
15 I did think it made the NHS and the wider health system
16 take the issue much more seriously than otherwise. Not
17 just as a result of that interview, of course, but
18 it's -- obviously the reason I answered the question in
19 the way that I did at the interview is it's an issue
20 that I had been spending quite a bit of time on and
21 looking at, and beyond pulse oximeters on to other
22 medical equipment that might suffer in the same way from
23 bias, whether that's race or gender or something else.

24 Just a -- on the NHS. I mean, the NHS had noted
25 this issue with pulse oximeters and people with darker

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1 **A.** Yes.

2 **Q.** -- and it did conclude that for people with darker skin
3 tones, pulse oximeters did overestimate the true oxygen
4 levels, as you have just pointed out, and it was
5 potentially -- pulse oximetry overestimation gets worse
6 in patients with low or more dangerous levels of oxygen
7 saturation. And if anyone wants to look at it, perhaps
8 we could call up on screen INQ000438237_51, the review,
9 which I assume you've read, Sir Sajid?

10 **A.** Yes.

11 **Q.** And I'll just wait --

12 **A.** Well, it came out when I was on the back benches, but
13 yes.

14 **Q.** All right. If one looks there at figure 5, the review
15 very succinctly set out the number of ways in which the
16 low blood oxygen levels, and not detecting them, could
17 affect, sort of, every stage of someone's journey into
18 and indeed out of hospital.

19 So, look, if you can see there at the beginning if
20 you're having COVID Oximetry@home or on a virtual ward,
21 it means your deterioration goes unnoticed. Again, it
22 might affect you at emergency department, ward level,
23 ICU level. And then in the review it says, "What more
24 should be done?":

25 "The search for equitable solutions is now taxing

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1 skins early on in the pandemic. They had tried to do
2 something about it but I wasn't convinced it was enough.
3 You know, so, for example, the guidelines -- I think I'm
4 right in saying that the guidelines that the NHS issued,
5 and this was before I became health secretary, to GPs
6 and other clinical workers to make sure they were aware
7 of this issue, even in the guidelines they said that the
8 pulse oximeters when used in people from ethnic
9 minorities might underestimate the level of oxygen in
10 the blood when actually they should have said
11 overestimate.

12 So I just didn't -- and when I learnt that as
13 well, I just wasn't convinced the issue was being taken
14 seriously enough, and also I could not understand why
15 someone hadn't made the next step, which was: if this is
16 an issue with pulse oximeters, where else could this be
17 an issue?

18 And the NHS just sort of stopped at pulse
19 oximeters and didn't, sort of, think: well, are there
20 other pieces of equipment that we're using -- not
21 necessarily for Covid, but for people's health -- that
22 could have a similar problem? And that is why I then
23 ordered the independent inquiry.

24 **Q.** Now that inquiry reported I think in March,
25 11 March 2024 --

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1 the minds of many organisations nationally and
2 internationally."

3 And in your statement you said that you spoke
4 about this publicly and discussed it with your US
5 counterpart.

6 What was the reason why you were discussing it
7 with your counterpart in the States?

8 **A.** There were two reasons. First of all, because he was my
9 counterpart from such an important, sort of, partner
10 country -- but there were a number of things that we
11 would discuss obviously with the pandemic on, and I met
12 him for the first time, it was at a G7 meeting of health
13 ministers. But I specifically wanted to raise this
14 issue with him because I had read somewhere that his
15 boss, the President, President Biden had raised this --
16 had raised the issue of racial, sort of, taking account
17 of racial inequalities in healthcare in the context of
18 the United States as an issue in the United States, not
19 specifically about pulse oximetry but just more
20 generally, so I thought it would be an issue that he
21 would be concerned about, my counterpart, which he was,
22 but I had a specific suggestion for him which was that
23 I thought that if there was a way to get the UK and the
24 US to jointly require all medical equipment makers in
25 the world that they procure from to make sure that all

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1 their equipment that they produce has been tested on
2 people of all races, then obviously that would be
3 a great outcome but I thought if the UK and the US did
4 it, the US is the world's largest health market and the
5 UK as the world's -- the NHS specifically as the world's
6 single largest buyer of such equipment, then it would
7 set a new global standard and I thought that would be
8 good not just for the UK and the US but it would be
9 globally the right outcome, because so much of this
10 equipment is designed by companies run by white people,
11 tested on white people, and I felt something had to
12 change.

13 **Q.** Finally this on this topic. The review was
14 commissioned, I think, in April 2022 and it was nearly
15 two years on before it was published. In your view, do
16 you think that a two-year intervening period, I won't
17 call it a delay, meant that sufficient action wasn't
18 being taken on what is clearly an important issue?

19 **A.** I hope not. I don't know, because I was not there in
20 the department any more. But one thing I would like to
21 say is I would just take this opportunity to thank Dame
22 Margaret Whitehead and her team for what I think is
23 excellent work that they did and I think the work that
24 she did was completed a lot earlier than it was actually
25 published.

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1 and also the deputy CMO, Jonathan Van-Tam, and they were
2 clear that shielding is not without costs. You can
3 think of benefits but it also has costs including
4 medical costs for -- and there were a number of reports
5 and research that had been done that some people who had
6 been shielding, I think it was over -- it was
7 3.8 million people. And so, obviously, a huge number of
8 people but many of them had complained of mental health
9 problems, other mental health challenges, isolation,
10 loneliness, and other issues, and so all of that was
11 taken into account but especially the fact that now we
12 had vaccines and so much of the population, but
13 especially the shielded population where they could take
14 vaccines, were vaccinated, the general population,
15 I think that a high level of vaccination had been
16 introduced, but I think amongst the shielded population
17 it was something like 91% had received one dose, 88% had
18 received two doses and that meant that we were in a very
19 different position to when shielding was first
20 introduced.

21 So it was a balanced decision but then the
22 decision based on the advice that I received was to end
23 the programme.

24 And then just if I may add to that. We then had
25 a discussion about how should we inform people, because

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1 **Q.** Different topic, please. End of shielding and the
2 decision to end shielding. Sir Sajid, you deal with
3 that starting at paragraphs 124 onwards in your witness
4 statement. And you say this, that there was no perfect
5 time to stand down the shielding programme; however,
6 your view was that shielding could not go on forever.

7 Can I ask you, please, why in your mind was it
8 right to take the decision in, I think it was
9 September 2021 when it formally ended, that that was the
10 right time to end the shielding programme and what steps
11 did you put in place to support those that had been on
12 it and were now going to be off the shielded patient
13 list?

14 **A.** Yeah, so by the time I had become health secretary, the
15 shielding programme or certainly the guidance on it had
16 been paused and I think it was described to me as it was
17 still kept there as a contingency option, that was the
18 language used at the time.

19 Then the decision then to be made was, do we keep
20 it as a contingency option or do we end it? And the
21 reason I decided to end it was essentially just based on
22 clinical advice. Again, it's a clinical, sort of,
23 decision based on science and the right medical advice.
24 The advice I received was from a number of people but
25 specifically from Jenny Harries who is the head of UKHSA

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1 it's very important to get the communication right.
2 I decided there should be direct communication and
3 I was -- it was suggested to me that maybe the
4 Secretary of State should write to people to let people
5 know it was a decision made at the top, so to speak, and
6 after a lot of consideration, and so I decided that was
7 the best way, it wasn't the only way, but it was part of
8 the communication.

9 And I think you then asked me what plans we made
10 after we ended shielding.

11 **Q.** Yes, I did.

12 **A.** The decision was that -- not that you just said "end
13 shielding" and that's it, you just move on, of course
14 not. It was to make sure that what we moved to was
15 a policy similar to -- that existed for your clinically
16 vulnerable people and immunosuppressed people, for
17 example before the pandemic, which was a policy of what
18 we, sort of, generally referred to as individual risk
19 assessment. So each individual, obviously their medical
20 needs and their situation will be different to others,
21 and that they would get advice from their GPs and other
22 clinicians about what's right for them rather than
23 a blanket fits all policy of which was just Stay at
24 Home.

25 **Q.** I think one of the policies that was put in place was

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1 what is called the Enhanced Protection Programme?
 2 **A.** Yeah.
 3 **Q.** What did you understand that to practically provide to
 4 those who had been shielding but were now no longer,
 5 once shielding was stopped, on the shielded patient
 6 list?
 7 **A.** Well, that actually became particularly important
 8 because soon after we made this shielding decision,
 9 a few weeks later, we had the Omicron crisis and that
 10 was for certain people. Again, the list was drawn up by
 11 the NHS, and input from CMO and others, that we thought
 12 were particularly vulnerable or remained vulnerable but
 13 obviously weren't shielding any more that we had to put
 14 in some kind of enhanced protection especially in light
 15 of Omicron, and that was -- especially because by then
 16 we also had more treatments including antibody
 17 treatment -- no, sorry, antivirals.
 18 And so those antivirals could be -- so especially
 19 where people either vaccine wasn't effective enough or
 20 for some reason they couldn't take the vaccine, but
 21 where the antivirals could be something that could help
 22 and it could be used post infection as well, which meant
 23 that it would be very important to make sure those
 24 individuals could access the PCR tests quickly and also
 25 they could be given -- those results would be applied

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1 people at higher risk of serious illness from COVID-19
 2 (due to a weakened immune system or specific other
 3 medical condition) are identified and receive
 4 appropriate interventions, support and communication.
 5 Feedback by the end of the week ..."
 6 And then can we jump forward to page 1, and bottom
 7 there:
 8 "Hi Phil, Secretary of State has agreed to the
 9 points in your submission.
 10 "We wanted to highlight the importance of
 11 communication/explaining this clearly to those
 12 previously in the CV/CEV groups. We need to reassure
 13 this group as there has been strong messaging to them
 14 previously throughout the pandemic about their
 15 vulnerability, and we receive lots of communications
 16 from these groups about how they feel forgotten
 17 about."
 18 Firstly this, were you aware of communications
 19 from the CEV or CV groups saying they felt forgotten
 20 about?
 21 **A.** Yes.
 22 **Q.** Over what period of time were you receiving those
 23 concerns?
 24 **A.** I'd say throughout my time as health secretary but
 25 especially in the, sort of, the first six months.

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1 quickly and they would also be sent the antivirals. And
 2 so we put in a process of identifying these people,
 3 informing them, in most cases sending them a PCR test in
 4 advance that they could basically keep at home in case
 5 needed, and then if they did need it because they didn't
 6 feel well, they wanted to check it wasn't Covid, because
 7 for them it was particularly important, given their
 8 situation, there was a special number they could call
 9 where a courier would come and pick up the PCR test and
 10 then, if they needed antivirals, either someone could go
 11 and pick them up from a local clinician or a hospital or
 12 they would be delivered to them by a courier, and so the
 13 whole purpose of that was to have a, as it was called,
 14 have an enhanced process for a certain group of people,
 15 over 1 million, that we thought were particularly
 16 vulnerable and needed something more than what existed
 17 before shielding.
 18 **Q.** Can I ask you, please, about an email on the topic of
 19 the Enhanced Protection Programme.
 20 INQ000333292_3, firstly, and then we'll come back
 21 to your involvement in it. But we are at the very
 22 beginning of February 2022, Sir Sajid, and there is
 23 an email about the Enhanced Protection Programme:
 24 "As discussed, please see attached submission
 25 ... a programme being established to ensure that

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1 **Q.** Correct me if I'm wrong, I think you said earlier that
 2 when the shielding programme ended the letter ending it
 3 was to come from you; is that correct?
 4 **A.** Yes.
 5 **Q.** Just help me with the comms, then; do you think the
 6 communications were right if there was still by
 7 February 2022 people saying that they felt, effectively,
 8 abandoned and forgotten about?
 9 **A.** Yes, I think both can be right in that I think it's
 10 possible that had I not sent the letter and we did the
 11 comms around the shielding decision, had not done what
 12 we actually did, this feeling could be even worse. So
 13 the objective -- there were definitely -- there were
 14 people in this important group that clearly felt that
 15 they weren't getting enough communication and that was
 16 something that was well understood and important to me.
 17 But I'm not sure that we would ever get to a point where
 18 everyone in this group would feel they've had perfect
 19 communication. It was a diverse group. Although they
 20 had something clearly in common, when you have
 21 3.8 million people, it's -- some of their priorities
 22 within that group can be a bit different to some of the
 23 fellow, sort of, members of their cohort.
 24 So, I'm not sure whether we were ever going to get
 25 to a position where everyone was going to feel happy

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1 with the communications. But I think what we did in
2 stepping up those communications was important.

3 One of the reasons I was aware of this, by the
4 way, is that it came up in Parliament -- I'd be in
5 Parliament almost every week making one statement or
6 other to do with Covid, and quite often, quite rightly,
7 MPs would raise this issue or something related to it,
8 and that was something that was increasingly getting me
9 concerned to make sure that we're reaching out to this
10 group and that we're doing all that we can.

11 **Q.** Finally this, please, on the Enhanced Protection
12 Programme. Is it right that the Enhanced Protection
13 Programme did not extend the passporting protections
14 such as Statutory Sick Pay and the like. It was there
15 to deal with more sort of either pastoral or more
16 supportive concerns. Have we understood that correctly?

17 **A.** I think it's right that it didn't extend on to other --

18 **Q.** Sick pay --

19 **A.** Sick pay, and -- I can't remember exactly when it was
20 but some of the special provisions around sick pay and
21 other measures were removed and not part of the enhanced
22 programme.

23 **Q.** A more discrete topic. Data, please. Whilst you were
24 Secretary of State are you aware whether there were any
25 efforts made by the department to monitor the prevalence

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1 So prior to the pandemic, the NHS has been run by
2 successive governments at almost full capacity. If you
3 look at it in terms of beds, I think the measure is
4 something like they try to aim to run it at 95% of beds
5 are taken. But even if you look at it, broaden that
6 out, if you just look at the number of doctors, number
7 of nurses, number of ventilators, number of IC units,
8 whatever measure you wish to take of the scale of the
9 NHS, it is per capita a lot less than comparable
10 countries with universal healthcare systems. And by
11 that I'm excluding countries that don't have universal
12 healthcare, like the United States, but if you compare
13 to France, to Germany, to Italy, to Japan, to Canada, to
14 Australia, we have a lot less capacity and I think --
15 first of all, that came through in Covid, all things
16 that we've been discussing today because the capacity
17 just wasn't there and that's why it required a lot of
18 the kind of measures and things that we needed.

19 Which then leads me on to, very quickly, what can
20 be done about that. I think there is a fundamental
21 design flaw in the NHS, especially with increasing
22 demand for healthcare, and obviously the pandemic
23 exacerbated that but even before that, and it continues
24 of course because of new medicines, because of
25 demographics, because of the change in the burden of the

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1 of Long Covid in healthcare workers and obtain data on
2 those sufferers?

3 **A.** On healthcare workers specifically?

4 **Q.** Yes, specifically.

5 **A.** No, I'm not aware.

6 **Q.** And was there any department or organisation that you
7 were aware of that was monitoring the deaths of
8 healthcare workers from Covid-19 whilst you were
9 Secretary of State?

10 **A.** I'm not aware of a specific department -- or I think you
11 referred -- or organisation, other than it's something
12 the NHS, amongst the information it was collecting,
13 I'd be surprised if it wasn't amongst their data.

14 **Q.** Final topic, please, from me and this comes to your
15 lessons learned section in your statement, Sir Sajid.
16 Can you help us, please, with any key recommendations
17 that you would urge the chair to consider in the event
18 of a future pandemic that are specifically focused on
19 improving the response of the healthcare system?

20 **A.** Yeah, I think it's fair that even before the pandemic
21 the NHS was massively stretched and that's important
22 because the state of the NHS before the pandemic,
23 especially around capacity and how much, sort of, you
24 know, flexibility and capacity it has is hugely
25 important in being able to deal with a pandemic.

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1 disease, demand is soaring and supply cannot keep up,
2 and I think one of the fundamental reasons supply cannot
3 keep up is because the NHS is funded almost entirely by
4 general taxation and that has to compete with other
5 government priorities and that's true of any government.
6 When I was chancellor I saw that firsthand as well. And
7 we're already at a stage as a country where the NHS
8 is -- I think today it's something like 44% of
9 day-to-day government spending. 25 years ago it was
10 27%. It's soon going to be over 50%. Soon the entire
11 government will become, in effect, a subsidiary of the
12 NHS and, clearly, that is not sustainable.

13 So I think the model is fundamentally flawed and
14 one can measure that in terms of outcomes not just in
15 outcomes in terms of Covid but if you look at whether
16 it's cancer outcomes, it's cardiovascular outcomes, it's
17 diagnostics, whatever measure you care to take, the UK,
18 despite the hard work of everyone who works in the NHS,
19 the system is flawed, and we are generally worse than
20 every other country and that is a fundamental problem
21 with the NHS.

22 The reason I say this is because I think for this
23 Inquiry to do what I think it is trying to do, which is
24 to learn the lessons from the pandemic and make sure
25 we're better prepared for the next one, if it doesn't

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1 try -- not necessarily address, but raise this issue of
 2 the model of the NHS is completely flawed and not
 3 sustainable, then I think it's ducking a very important
 4 issue, and I know that my Lady doesn't want to duck any
 5 issue in this Inquiry and she won't leave it alone and
 6 the top recommendation I would make, because politicians
 7 in all political parties are too scared to say what
 8 I say, and they duck this issue because they're worried
 9 about having their head shot off if they say these
 10 things, is we should have a royal commission of the
 11 great and the good to look at this most vital issue
 12 because unless it's addressed then the next pandemic, no
 13 matter what lessons you learned from it, we won't be
 14 able to deal with it as efficiently if we had an NHS
 15 which, pre-pandemic, was actually fit for purpose.
 16 **Q.** Clearly you advocate, from what you've just said, for
 17 a fairly fundamental or radical reform, call it what you
 18 will.
 19 **A.** Yes.
 20 **Q.** Can I ask, that aside, is there any specific, perhaps
 21 more detailed or granular recommendation that you would
 22 urge upon her Ladyship that you've observed over your
 23 time as Secretary of State that could be perhaps more
 24 easily implemented than wholesale reform?
 25 **A.** Yes, there are potentially many. I mean, and I'll give
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1 prevention, that can be done through help from other
 2 government departments, but the way the government is
 3 structured, the way priorities are set, understandably
 4 for other government departments, health isn't always
 5 a priority for them but I think that if all of
 6 government came together and worked much better together
 7 there are certain areas such as obesity, such as
 8 smoking, such as alcohol and drug addiction that can be
 9 better addressed.
 10 **MS CAREY:** Sir Sajid, they are all the questions I have for
 11 you.
 12 Let me turn to her Ladyship and see if there is
 13 any other matter that your Ladyship would like to raise
 14 before we turn to CP questions.
 15 **LADY HALLETT:** No, just to tell Sir Sajid that I have noted
 16 the challenge, not that there was a very great challenge
 17 there, just one of the major issues facing us, but
 18 I have noted it.
 19 **A.** Thank you.
 20 **LADY HALLETT:** It's time to go to Mr Jacobs, please.
 21 **MS CAREY:** Thank you, my Lady.
 22 Sir Sajid, Mr Jacobs is behind you but if you,
 23 when you answer him, could you speak back into the
 24 microphone, please.
 25 **A.** Yes.
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1 you a -- I can share a couple with you now but
 2 fundamentally I have to, I think, unless this -- the
 3 elephant in the room is addressed, everything else is
 4 just slightly better than window-dressing because it
 5 won't deal with the fundamental issue. We will still
 6 have massive, massive undercapacity when we get to the
 7 next pandemic.
 8 Other things that could be done in the meantime
 9 are: you could take parts of the NHS and review those
 10 independently of the whole system. The primary care
 11 system is not fit for purpose. It was a compromise from
 12 when the NHS was created. It doesn't work. It's the
 13 worst parts of the private sector, the worst parts of
 14 the public sector all combined into one, and it doesn't
 15 work, and that needs an independent review. It's
 16 something I wanted to do when I was in the department
 17 but it was blocked by the then Prime Minister.
 18 And there are other reforms especially around --
 19 on prevention, there's a lot more around prevention that
 20 can be done, and especially through better use of
 21 vaccinations, better healthcare messaging and also a lot
 22 more work that can be done across government. That was
 23 the purpose of my ten-year plans because, as I alluded
 24 to earlier, but I think it's so important, is that there
 25 is a lot in terms of better healthcare, especially
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1 **MS CAREY:** Thank you very much.
 2 **Questions from MR JACOBS**
 3 **MR JACOBS:** Sir Sajid, just a couple of questions on behalf
 4 of the Trades Union Congress.
 5 **A.** Yes.
 6 **Q.** In describing in your statement the draft White Paper,
 7 you refer to the recognition that disparities in health
 8 outcomes are driven by a number of factors including the
 9 nature of employment. In a similar vein, Chris Whitty
 10 has described, in this Inquiry, the importance, in his
 11 view, of reducing precariousness in work in a pandemic
 12 in order to reduce health inequalities.
 13 Do you have a view on the importance in a pandemic
 14 of reducing precarious work particularly in those
 15 healthcare roles where there is a lower paid and
 16 vulnerable workforce such as caterers, porters and
 17 cleaners?
 18 **A.** Can I just ask, when you say reducing precariousness, do
 19 you mean -- what do you mean by that specifically? Not
 20 doing the work or?
 21 **Q.** Well, precariousness clearly may manifest in a number of
 22 forms but if we focus it on something narrower, if that
 23 assists, something like access to sick pay. So workers
 24 having sufficient security in their work that they are
 25 not driven to presentee-ism, for example.
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1 **A.** I agree in general with what you refer to as the CMO's
 2 view, and I think it would be important to look at such
 3 measures. All I would just add to that, though, is that
 4 everything is a tradeoff, and every decision a minister
 5 makes is a tradeoff. Take the point around, let's say
 6 if it was -- I can see how having some kind of enhanced,
 7 let's say, sick pay system for certain roles in a future
 8 pandemic would make a difference. But it would have
 9 a cost. It would have a financial cost, obviously, and
 10 in government you'll have to think about what are you
 11 not doing to be able to afford that, and so I just, sort
 12 of, would caveat you have to balance this out but in
 13 principle I agree with your reference to what the CMO
 14 said.

15 **Q.** And if on one side, there's a pecuniary cost, as you
 16 identify --

17 **A.** Yes.

18 **Q.** -- if on the other side, there's a cost in terms of
 19 increased loss of life, an exacerbation of health
 20 outcomes for particularly vulnerable groups, do you
 21 accept that that's a very powerful factor in favour of
 22 taking some action to address it?

23 **A.** Yes, I do, but it's worth remembering the NHS makes this
 24 type of tradeoff all the time. As you know, the number
 25 of drugs that if the NHS could afford them, a lot more

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1 support over here that you would do outside a pandemic.

2 **MR JACOBS:** I think I've probably used up my time, but thank
 3 you very much, Sir Sajid.

4 **A.** Thank you.

5 **LADY HALLETT:** And I did note, Mr Jacobs, the question for
 6 which I did not give you permission, but I'll take it up
 7 with you when I next see you in person.

8 **MR JACOBS:** So I did mine, my Lady.

9 **LADY HALLETT:** Right, Mr Jory, please.

10 He's probably behind you, to the right.

11 **Questions from MR JORY KC**

12 **MR JORY:** The same direction, Sir Sajid. I ask questions on
 13 behalf of the Independent Ambulance Association.

14 **A.** Yes.

15 **Q.** In your statement you identify four ways in which
 16 capacity could be increased during the pandemic and one
 17 of these ways was making use of independent sector
 18 capacity which resulted in agreements being signed
 19 between NHS bodies and the independent sector.

20 Now, independent ambulance providers already
 21 provide about 50% of all non-emergency patient transport
 22 services in the UK but despite the very high level of
 23 investment in this area, over £500 million I believe,
 24 there's no permanent national team providing oversight.
 25 So, looking to the future, and what might perhaps be

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1 people would live or they'd live longer but it didn't
 2 buy those drugs because it can't afford them and so the
 3 NHS or the wider, sort of, government system in terms of
 4 public expenditure would have to take the cost of any
 5 measure into account.

6 **Q.** Sir Sajid, there might be an impression from your
 7 answers that you acknowledge in principle the point
 8 being made but your heart is not really in it when it
 9 comes to addressing it as a problem for poor healthcare
 10 workers in vulnerable roles.

11 **A.** That would be the wrong impression. I just point out
 12 fact, which is that decisions that ministers make have
 13 tradeoffs, and only a bad minister would ignore those
 14 tradeoffs because normally in those situations both
 15 sides lose and no one gains anything. So I think that
 16 any -- you know, what's more valuable in this is trying
 17 to set out what those tradeoffs are and then how you can
 18 work around them.

19 So for example, if this is an issue which
 20 I understand and I agree with in principle that is
 21 particularly important to -- you represent the TUC,
 22 right? -- so it's particularly important to the TUC, it
 23 would be more valuable if they said, you know, if you
 24 can give this kind of support to workers in a pandemic,
 25 maybe you can pay for it by not giving this kind of

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1 done better in the future, do you think it would be
 2 helpful to consider creating a national team to include
 3 representatives from both the NHS and the independent
 4 sector to address the challenges of providing consistent
 5 non-emergency patient transport services?

6 **A.** Thank you. I think, first of all, I'd say the
 7 independent sector played an -- overall played
 8 an important role in helping to deal with the pandemic
 9 and that of course was welcome. Turning to your
 10 question specifically around transport services, I think
 11 you said non-emergency transport services, I think it
 12 would make sense to have more co-ordination between the
 13 public sector and the independent sector broadly, much
 14 more broadly, but including on non-emergency transport
 15 services.

16 **Q.** Thank you. Just one other question, please. Again,
 17 looking to the future, given the independent -- sorry,
 18 the interdependence between the NHS and the independent
 19 ambulance sector, especially in times of surge and
 20 demand, do you consider it would be helpful to have
 21 an agreed national working protocol between them,
 22 including perhaps a register of approved providers and
 23 established terms of engagement to ensure that services
 24 can be rapidly scaled up when required, for example in
 25 the next pandemic?

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1 **A.** Yes.
 2 **MR JORY:** Thank you very much.
 3 Thank you, my Lady, that's all I ask.
 4 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you. Good short answer.
 5 I think probably we'll break now, because
 6 Mr Weatherby, you have slightly longer than the time it
 7 would take us up to the break, so we'll break now for
 8 ten minutes if that suits everybody and return at just
 9 about half past.
 10 **MS CAREY:** Thank you, my Lady.
 11 **(3.22 pm)**
 12 **(A short break)**
 13 **(3.32 pm)**
 14 **MS CAREY:** My Lady, good afternoon. I think the next
 15 counsel to ask questions is Mr Weatherby King's Counsel.
 16 **LADY HALLETT:** It is. Yes, please, Mr Weatherby.
 17 **Questions from MR WEATHERBY KC**
 18 **MR WEATHERBY:** Good afternoon. I ask you questions on
 19 behalf of the Covid-19 Bereaved Families for Justice UK
 20 group. Just a few points from me. In your statement
 21 you explain that you had twice weekly meetings with the
 22 national director for UEC, urgent and emergency care.
 23 For reference it's paragraph 112, but we don't need to
 24 go there.
 25 **A.** Yes.

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1 **MR WEATHERBY:** Right. Well, I was putting to you that you'd
 2 agreed that the data that you received indicated that
 3 response times and waiting times in A&E were
 4 unacceptably high, and I was putting to you, do you
 5 agree that the response and waiting times and ambulance
 6 queueing were long-standing issues that were known prior
 7 to the pandemic?
 8 **A.** Yes, they were clearly exacerbated by the pandemic but
 9 they were long-standing issues.
 10 **Q.** Indeed, and therefore, frankly, should have been
 11 addressed before the pandemic as general points not just
 12 related to an emergency?
 13 **A.** Is that a question?
 14 **Q.** Yes.
 15 **A.** I think -- obviously, I was not there before the
 16 pandemic but I think that there were initiatives and
 17 measures to try and address it but that doesn't mean to
 18 say, going back to your first question, it still wasn't
 19 a problem when the pandemic started.
 20 **Q.** So it was a problem. And do you agree that the problem
 21 was exacerbated during the winter with its associated
 22 risk of high levels of Covid, and was foreseeable, and
 23 that once the pandemic had struck but before you came
 24 into office, that further measures should have been
 25 taken to alleviate the problem before you came into

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1 **Q.** And primarily you discussed ambulances and accident and
 2 emergency in view of long waiting times, noting in the
 3 statement that ambulance waiting times went up
 4 considerably during the pandemic and you explain that
 5 there were particular concerns about ambulance stacking
 6 during the emergence of Omicron in 2021.
 7 So, first point. The data you had that was coming
 8 through to you as Secretary of State, indicated that
 9 ambulance response and A&E waiting times were
 10 unacceptably high; that's right, isn't it?
 11 **A.** Yeah.
 12 **Q.** Now, again, the last piece of evidence you gave when
 13 Ms Carey was asking you questions may have answered this
 14 point but let me put it to you anyway.
 15 **A.** Yes.
 16 **Q.** Do you agree that response and waiting times and
 17 ambulance queueing were long-standing issues which had
 18 pre-dated the pandemic and should have been addressed,
 19 frankly, before the pandemic?
 20 **A.** I do, but my Lady has just disappeared from the screen.
 21 Do you want me to answer it or shall I just --
 22 **LADY HALLETT:** I think I pressed the wrong button. Very
 23 sorry.
 24 **A.** Could you ask me that again, please. Not the whole
 25 question, just the last bit.

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1 office so that the winter 2021-22, the position would
 2 have been that you'd have gone into that better
 3 prepared?
 4 **A.** I'm not sure what further measures could be taken or
 5 could have been taken that weren't being taken before
 6 I got into office because, as you mentioned too, and
 7 I've said in my evidence, I started having regular
 8 meetings with the national director for UEC and in some
 9 cases I would have them more than once a week and
 10 I think I alluded to earlier I'd ask for the data in
 11 advance, I'd ask for more data and things.
 12 **Q.** Yes.
 13 **A.** I even brought in people from outside the health system
 14 to try and give a different perspective and to give
 15 advice, and I think although I brought in a lot of
 16 measures myself, that's not to say that there wasn't
 17 much -- there was still a lot being done. I think the
 18 problem was before I was in that role the real sort
 19 of -- a lot of bandwidth, so to speak, was taken on
 20 Covid itself, the vaccines, the delivery of those
 21 vaccines.
 22 **Q.** Indeed.
 23 **A.** Recruitment, retention, and also there was a high rate
 24 of absenteeism because of Covid, including in the UEC
 25 service, and I'm just not sure what more you could have

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1 done.

2 **Q.** I see. Okay. So it's an intractable long-term problem
3 which needed earlier attention, and in the course of the
4 pandemic it was very difficult to do anything about it;
5 is that right?

6 **A.** Things were being done but, because of the pandemic, the
7 problem -- it didn't lessen in any way.

8 **Q.** Okay. Next point, I think back to 111, and Ms Carey
9 took you some statistics, and you were provided
10 periodically with data and you agreed this morning, from
11 the document that Ms Carey showed you, that even by
12 September of 2021 something like 25% of 111 calls were
13 being abandoned.

14 The next set of data -- I'm not going to take you
15 to it but a similar document, you've seen it in your
16 evidence pack, it's actually at your tab 10, and for the
17 transcript it's INQ000479860 -- a similar document but
18 slightly later.

19 **A.** Yes.

20 **Q.** We know from that document that the number of
21 abandoned -- proportion of abandoned calls was about
22 23.3% in December of 2021. So a similar level, slightly
23 lower, and indeed from that document it was suggested
24 that the projection was it was then going to fall
25 in 2022.

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1 There were staffing problems throughout the health
2 system. There were a lot of vacancies going into the
3 pandemic. It was -- obviously those problems continued
4 during the pandemic. And that, alongside the other
5 infection protection and control measures that had to
6 be -- had taken place, that reduced capacity, and other
7 measures, I'm just not sure there could be -- because it
8 was a pandemic, I'm not sure what else, in practical
9 terms, could have been done.

10 **Q.** All right, just as a follow-on to that, in terms of
11 a lesson learned for the future, for example, where
12 something is obviously going to be something which is
13 a first point of contact, shouldn't there have been
14 an emergency surge plan for staffing and for telephone
15 banks and the rest of it in terms of 111?

16 **A.** You see, because I came in sort of halfway through the
17 pandemic, I hesitate to comment on what happened in
18 terms of emergency services in the first part of the
19 pandemic, when I wasn't there. So was there a surge
20 plan or not, I don't know --

21 **Q.** Ah, okay --

22 **A.** -- and so --

23 **Q.** -- the Inquiry has heard evidence about that, so I won't
24 ask you about that.

25 **A.** Yes.

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1 But do you agree that these levels of
2 abandoned 111 calls were by the end of -- by the autumn
3 or winter of 2021, were unacceptably high?

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **Q.** And particularly so given that members of the public had
6 been encouraged since right from the beginning of the
7 pandemic to use 111 as a first point of contact for
8 non-urgent advice?

9 **A.** Yeah. Well, 111 and possibly their GPs.

10 **Q.** Sure. And was this something that you had been aware of
11 generally through the pandemic, that there were problems
12 with 111 and the performance of it, in terms --

13 **A.** You mean before I was health secretary?

14 **Q.** Yes.

15 **A.** Yes.

16 **Q.** And therefore by when you were health secretary, and by
17 certainly the winter of 21/22, the problems were and had
18 been foreseeable, shouldn't there have been better
19 planning in relation particularly to staffing by that
20 point?

21 **A.** I'm not sure there could be better planning. I mean,
22 the whole health system -- and obviously UEC is a very
23 important part of it but other parts of the health
24 system, we've talked today about whether it's primary
25 care or acute care, for example, was under stress.

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1 **Q.** Let me put it a different way, going forward, having
2 been Secretary of State for Health, would you agree
3 there should be a surge plan for services, particularly
4 like 111, for the future?

5 **A.** Yes.

6 **Q.** And finally on 111. You, at paragraph 112, again you
7 talk about a "big recruitment drive" for call handlers.
8 What I'm not so clear about is when that actually
9 happened?

10 **A.** It started -- I believe it started happening quite early
11 on in -- in terms -- early on as in in my term as health
12 secretary.

13 **Q.** Right.

14 **A.** And it continued certainly through the second half
15 of -- well, certainly from --

16 **Q.** Okay, but it --

17 **A.** From when I started as health secretary, certainly
18 through to November.

19 **Q.** Okay. So, but this was something that you instituted or
20 was instituted during your time --

21 **A.** It was something that was suggested by the national
22 director in the wider NHS and it was something that
23 I fully supported.

24 **Q.** Yes, but during your term from June 20 --

25 **A.** Yes, but it doesn't mean to say that there wasn't

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1 something already going on before it was suggested to
 2 me.
 3 **Q.** Yes, all right. Finally this, and it's my last topic,
 4 shielding, and most of the points I was going to ask you
 5 about have already been asked so I don't need to do
 6 that, but you've told us about 3.8 million people being
 7 subject to shielding and you've talked about the step
 8 down or the ending of shielding.
 9 **A.** Yes.
 10 **Q.** And one of the things that was needed were individual
 11 risk assessments.
 12 **A.** Yes.
 13 **Q.** And that's from primary care, from GPs primarily?
 14 **A.** Primarily, yeah.
 15 **Q.** Can you help us as to what additional resources were
 16 provided to ensure that there would be sufficient
 17 capacity for GPs and NHS clinicians to provide
 18 individual risk assessments or bespoke risk advice to
 19 those who would previously have fallen within the
 20 shielding cohort, or who were coming out of the
 21 shielding cohort, given the numbers involved?
 22 **A.** Yes, well, it wasn't -- because it takes time to recruit
 23 GPs, you know, clearly it wasn't going to be just,
 24 sort of, a situation where you provide extra funding and
 25 suddenly you have more GPs. That wasn't -- I felt

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1 a lot more GPs. It was to use funding to try to shift
 2 workloads, to help with workloads in other ways, so it
 3 could free up GPs' valuable time.

4 **MR WEATHERBY:** Thank you very much.

5 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Mr Weatherby.

6 Now I think it's Mr Simblet, who is just behind to
 7 you to your right.

8 Questions from MR SIMBLET KC

9 **MR SIMBLET:** Thank you, yes.

10 Good afternoon, Sir Sajid.

11 **A.** Hi.

12 **Q.** These are questions on behalf of the Covid Airborne
 13 Transmission Alliance (CATA), which I think has been in
 14 correspondence with you. I'm going to ask you about
 15 that in a moment. It's an organisation of healthcare
 16 workers and others who came together during the pandemic
 17 because they were concerned about the need to protect
 18 healthcare workers from Covid's airborne nature, and in
 19 particular had concerns about appropriate protective
 20 equipment.

21 So I'm going to ask to be put on the screen,
 22 please, a letter that was sent to you in April 2022.

23 It's INQ000300490.

24 There it is on screen. That's the first page.

25 I don't need to go through it. You can see there's

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1 generally that was not going to be the answer.

2 **Q.** Yes.

3 **A.** So what was done was to try to take away from GPs other
 4 things that they would have -- ordinarily have done
 5 without the pandemic and, sort of, reduced their
 6 workload so that they could focus more on not just this
 7 issue but increase -- later on, soon after we removed
 8 shielding, when we had the Omicron crisis, we did more
 9 of that. So it was more about reducing -- sort of,
 10 shifting workloads --

11 **Q.** Right, so instead of further resources --

12 **A.** -- and also making sure, where possible, that some of
 13 the resource that you could recruit more easily than
 14 GPs, because GPs obviously -- you know, it takes a long
 15 time to train a GP, were, sort of, other clinical
 16 support that might help GPs, not necessarily with that
 17 task -- with doing it as individual plans but maybe take
 18 other work off them and release them to do more of those
 19 kind of assessments.

20 **Q.** Right, so no further resources but freeing up GP time to
 21 do it?

22 **A.** There were -- was more resources for other things
 23 for GPs but the -- I don't want to pretend that we
 24 thought that, you know, offering a lot more financial
 25 resource was suddenly miraculously going to result in

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1 a number of constituent organisations in CATA.

2 What I want to -- if we can turn to the second
 3 page of that, please, you can see it's been signed by
 4 Dr Barry Jones on behalf of CATA, which was then known
 5 as CAPA.

6 And they had written to you -- I'll highlight the
 7 appropriate bit in a moment -- suggesting that the risk
 8 of transmission of SARS-CoV-2 could be managed in
 9 a simpler and safer way by implementing, in particular,
 10 two measures that they had bulled.

11 So if we can go to the top of the page, the second
 12 one we needn't -- is about booster vaccinations, needn't
 13 worry about that for the moment, but can we highlight
 14 the first of those bullet points, please, and I want to
 15 ask you some questions about that.

16 **A.** Yes.

17 **Q.** So I'll read it out for the record:

18 "The clear acceptance of the airborne
 19 transmission of SARS-CoV-2 and what that means for
 20 indoor environments and the provision of respiratory
 21 protective equipment (RPE). This includes FFP3 and
 22 similar respirators which are effective and approved
 23 by the Health and Safety Executive for protection
 24 against airborne pathogens whereas the surgical masks
 25 currently provided to staff are not."

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1 So that's what they were suggesting.
2 So my questions are these. What did you
3 understand to be the route of transmission for Covid-19?
4 Did you consider it to be airborne?

5 **A.** Yes. To some extent, yes.
6 **Q.** And in that context, were you aware of previous concerns
7 raised by healthcare stakeholders about the quality and
8 suitability of their PPE and particularly respiratory
9 protective equipment?
10 **A.** Yes, but not to a very sort of high level. What I mean
11 by that is that I think, you know, a lot of issues
12 around -- and they were real issues, of course, around
13 protective equipment and, sort of, PPE as well, were --
14 preceded me, and by the time I came in as health
15 secretary there were still issues raised, and your
16 letter here you point to, in April 2022, is a good
17 example of that, but it wasn't an issue that was coming
18 up often. And whenever it came up, like with this
19 letter, whilst I don't -- obviously I've seen the letter
20 in the evidence pack, I don't recall it -- necessarily
21 seeing it at the time, but it doesn't mean to say
22 I didn't see it, it just means I don't recall it. What
23 I would have done is, you know, after reading something
24 like this, I would have asked my officials to make sure
25 that the people that were -- the experts that were

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1 **MR SIMBLET:** All right. Well, thank you very much. Those
2 are my questions.

3 **A.** Thank you.

4 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Mr Simblet.

5 Ms Hannett next, please.

6 Usually right at the back behind you, to your
7 right, Sir Sajid.

8 Questions from MS HANNETT KC

9 **MS HANNETT:** Sir Sajid, I ask questions on behalf of the
10 Long Covid Groups.

11 **A.** Yes.

12 **Q.** I want to start, if I may, by asking you about
13 Long Covid in children and young people.

14 You were asked this morning about the ministerial
15 roundtable that you attended on 23 September 2021. At
16 that same meeting, Long Covid Kids proposed that
17 a public awareness campaign could help the public
18 understand the effects of Long Covid on children.

19 Do you agree that not enough had been done to
20 communicate the risk of Long Covid to children and young
21 people by that point?

22 **A.** I agree with the importance of communication on this
23 important issue. I mean, I hesitate to say that -- your
24 question was asking me to agree if not enough was done.
25 I don't think I have enough information to say whether

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1 setting IPC policy, that's basically NHS and UKHSA, were
2 aware of this and they would then either give me advice
3 or in a meeting it will me what they are doing about it.

4 So this is saying something specific, which is
5 saying -- you know, basically asking for more FFP3 or
6 making sure that and similar respirators are effective
7 and approved, as it says here. But that would have
8 been -- it's something that I would have been concerned
9 about, but it would have been a job of the NHS,
10 primarily, to make sure that is happening.

11 **Q.** Thank you. And, I suppose in a similar vein, at
12 paragraph 120 of your statement -- I don't need that to
13 be shown -- you say you were aware of concerns about the
14 supply of PPE, and you are talking about things like
15 restocking and so on, but not about the quality and
16 suitability of it. Does that mean that you yourself
17 didn't know of specific concerns around, say, the supply
18 of respiratory protective equipment such as FFP3s, and
19 to what extent were you aware of concerns of the sort
20 that are in that letter?

21 **A.** It didn't come up much for me. And that doesn't mean to
22 say it wasn't coming up within the wider system,
23 including with junior ministers, but there -- it wasn't
24 an issue that I recall as being brought up with me
25 directly to address.

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1 enough was done.

2 **Q.** Following that meeting then, what specific steps were
3 taken to communicate the risk of Long Covid in children
4 and young people?

5 **A.** I can't tell you what specific steps were taken.
6 Long Covid as an issue was something my predecessor,
7 I believe, and myself -- and my department, we took very
8 seriously. I think we talked earlier about some of the
9 measures, initiatives that we took.

10 The purpose of me having this roundtable and
11 attending it myself to listen myself to the issues was
12 to reflect that and to act on that. At the end of the
13 meeting, during any roundtable, particularly that
14 roundtable, we would have taken -- my office would have
15 taken note of what was said and what I agreed to. There
16 would normally be a follow-up meeting. I can't remember
17 exactly what was discussed in that follow-up meeting on
18 that specific issue that you raise. But then if my team
19 would have said to me that we will communicate that to
20 the NHS, to the wider health system, and we will make
21 sure that the communications are improved, I mean,
22 generally I would have -- on an issue like that I think
23 I would have asked them to update me in a few weeks'
24 time what's happened. I don't remember what that update
25 was, but -- I believe they would have taken action but

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1 I just can't tell you specifically what form that
2 communication took.

3 **Q.** Just moving on to now then, do you agree that there
4 should be a public health campaign now to communicate
5 the risks of Long Covid to children and young people?

6 **A.** I don't know. I haven't thought about that enough.

7 **Q.** Moving on then to Long Covid services. You were asked
8 earlier about what was done in response to concerns
9 about Long Covid clinics. You approved further
10 dedicated funding for Long Covid services in July 2022.
11 In your experience, do Long Covid services require
12 continued dedicated funding to maintain the level of
13 services required by the commissioning guidelines?

14 **A.** Yes, I think so. I think that Long Covid, as I was
15 saying earlier in our discussions, I think it's very
16 real. I think that, helpfully by now, that all, sort
17 of, GPs and clinicians accept it's a very real thing
18 that people are living with and trying to deal with.
19 I think it does require not just a -- continued
20 dedicated services but also continued research and other
21 levels of support.
22 But your question was about having a dedicated
23 support and I think, given the number of people that are
24 living with Long Covid, I think that is justified.

25 **Q.** You've talked about dedicated support and we talked
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1 looks both historically and to present day.

2 **A.** So, sorry, was your question -- is it could more have
3 been done at the time of Omicron?

4 **Q.** Indeed, yes -- well, let's start there, shall we, start
5 at that point.

6 **A.** Yes. To inform people that vaccinations work, was that
7 your question?

8 **Q.** Well, that vaccines specifically reduce the incidence
9 and severity of Long Covid?

10 **A.** No, I'm not sure more could be done at the time.
11 I think we were doing everything we could to communicate
12 that.

13 **Q.** Specifically in respect -- do you recall that
14 vaccination communication specifically referred to the
15 effects of vaccination on Long Covid?

16 **A.** No, if you are distinguishing between, you know,
17 vaccination effect on contracting Covid versus
18 Long Covid, I don't think that distinction was made
19 often, but to get Long Covid you've got to have Covid,
20 and so if the message is -- which I believe at the time
21 was very, very clear -- is that if you take -- if you
22 get vaccinated, especially if you get boosted, you'll
23 reduce your chances of contracting Covid, and therefore
24 chances of contracting Long Covid, I think that was
25 clear.

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1 about dedicated support and research. Would you also
2 agree that there needs to be specific communication
3 about the existence of those Long Covid services to the
4 general public?

5 **A.** Well, I think probably -- the reason I'm saying
6 "probably" is I just don't know what the current
7 communication is, and so it's hard for me to determine
8 whether it's enough or not. But certainly in principle,
9 you know, should those services -- you know, whatever
10 services exist, you know, should they be properly
11 communicated, properly understood? They should, and
12 I hope they are.

13 **Q.** Thank you. I'm going to move on now to talk about
14 vaccinations, if I may.

15 **A.** Yes.

16 **Q.** You said earlier that during the Omicron wave infections
17 were rising and there was an increase in the numbers of
18 people with Long Covid.

19 **A.** Yes.

20 **Q.** Do you think more could have been done and still needs
21 to be done to inform the general public that
22 vaccinations reduce the incidence and severity of
23 Long Covid?

24 **A.** If more still needs to be done now or ...?

25 **Q.** Well, at the time -- both -- that is a question that
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1 **Q.** Would you agree that at the time many people were not
2 aware of the indiscriminate risk of acquiring
3 Long Covid, and therefore wouldn't you agree that
4 explaining that vaccines had the effect both on Covid
5 and on contracting Long Covid that might have increased
6 uptake?

7 **A.** No, I'm not sure, because I think it might have confused
8 the message. I think -- you know, I was doing a lot of
9 media at that time myself, so were many others, and
10 I'm -- thinking about it, I think if I went out and said
11 that "Get boosted and reduce your chances of getting
12 Covid and Long Covid", I think it confuses the message.
13 So I'm not sure.

14 **Q.** I'm going to turn to talk about inequalities. You've
15 been shown earlier that we only have data on the
16 ethnicity of people referred into the Long Covid clinics
17 but not on the number of people who have Long Covid
18 overall, ie those who have Long Covid but aren't within
19 the NHS clinical system.

20 **A.** Yes.

21 **Q.** In fact there's little research impact of Long Covid on
22 different ethnic groups or their ability to access
23 Long Covid care. What, if any, work was done while you
24 were in office to better understand how Long Covid
25 impacted people from BAME groups?

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1 **A.** The -- you know, the data that I had -- yes, I don't --
 2 I think in many cases it didn't distinguish between
 3 different ethnic groups and -- but I believe, you know,
 4 later -- over time the collection of data on Long Covid
 5 improved. I don't know what -- where that eventually
 6 got to after I left office but I think having -- given
 7 the fact that we already now know that the pandemic
 8 affected different groups, including different ethnic
 9 groups differently, I think having such data is
 10 important. I couldn't tell you though how -- what the
 11 quality of that data eventually became.

12 **MS HANNETT:** Thank you, Sir Sajid.

13 Thank you, my Lady.

14 **A.** Thank you.

15 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Ms Hannett.

16 I think the next person to ask is Mr Puar, who is
 17 usually middle back, as I look at the ...

18 **THE WITNESS:** Yes, I've got it, thank you.

19 **Questions from MR PUAR**

20 **MR PUAR:** Yes, afternoon, Sir Sajid.

21 I ask questions on behalf of Covid Bereaved
 22 Families for Justice Cymru, who are a group of bereaved
 23 families in Wales, and my question to you is regarding
 24 your relationship with devolved administrations.

25 **A.** Yes.

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1 UK Government, or indeed any devolved administration?
 2 **A.** First of all, those relations were very important to me,
 3 as they were very important to my devolved nation
 4 counterparts, and basically I think very important in
 5 addressing the pandemic for the whole of the UK because,
 6 you know, as we all know, the pandemic didn't stop at
 7 internal national borders and it was really important to
 8 co-operate and work together.

9 So when it came to working together, I think there
 10 was amongst ourselves, that group, there was
 11 an understanding and acceptance and recognition of, you
 12 know, certain things in health were devolved, and
 13 certain things were not. And so there were clearly
 14 actions that the UK Government took -- sorry, for
 15 England, that didn't apply to Wales or Scotland or
 16 Northern Ireland for that matter. You know, we
 17 discussed, for example, VCOD earlier as an example.

18 But there were other areas where we were making
 19 joint decisions where we could have deferred if we'd
 20 wanted to but we felt that, for lots of reasons, not
 21 least having a sort of single message to the wider
 22 population and building confidence was important, and
 23 that, for example, was on vaccinations and vaccination
 24 policy about when the JCVI had given its recommendations
 25 about how it would work and how we would communicate it,

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1 **Q.** Now, at paragraph 46 of your witness statement, you
 2 describe meetings that you had with your counterparts in
 3 the devolved administrations.

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **Q.** And you describe working relationships, good working
 6 relationships, with a high level of trust. You may be
 7 pleased to hear that Baroness Eluned Morgan says
 8 something similar in her witness statement. What she
 9 says in her statement to the Inquiry is this:

10 "... I was pleasantly surprised by the amount of
 11 contacts I had with my counterparts. During the
 12 height of the pandemic, the health ministers from each
 13 of the four nations met almost weekly. This was
 14 entirely down to the determination and commitment of
 15 Matt Hancock and Sajid Javid who, as health ministers,
 16 took the relationships with the devolved nations very
 17 seriously albeit that I felt that the Welsh
 18 Government's influence over any decisions reached by
 19 the UK Government was limited. These meetings
 20 continued until in or around the summer of 2022."

21 So my question to you is whether Baroness Morgan
 22 is correct about the lack of influence the Welsh
 23 Government had in respect of UK Government decisions, or
 24 can you think of an example where the Welsh Government
 25 did have influence on the decisions taken by the

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1 we could have chosen different ways to communicate it,
 2 for example, even if we accepted the decision.

3 So you asked me about examples where the
 4 Welsh Government, for example, may have influenced the
 5 decision. I can think of instances where I think it was
 6 Eluned Morgan, obviously, as you said, the Welsh health
 7 minister, would suggest when -- for example when we
 8 should announce a decision, the way we should announce
 9 a decision on vaccines, and on one occasion I'm sure she
 10 talked about: something was -- else was being announced
 11 in Wales and if we say it at the same time it might
 12 get ...

13 So, we -- you know, we took timing into account,
 14 and the way it's announced and -- and so there were
 15 decisions like that. I'm sure there were others but
 16 I think notwithstanding there was a general acceptance
 17 that there were devolved competencies, there were
 18 instances, whether it's the Welsh Government, the
 19 Scottish Government or the Northern Ireland Government,
 20 where it would have certainly influenced my
 21 decision-making.

22 **MR PUAR:** Thank you, Sir Sajid.

23 Thank you, my Lady, that's my question.

24 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much, Mr Puar.

25 Ms Sen Gupta, please. Usually to the left as

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1 I look at the hearing room behind --

2 **THE WITNESS:** Thank you.

3 **Questions from MS SEN GUPTA KC**

4 **MS SEN GUPTA:** Thank you, my Lady.

5 Good afternoon, Sir Sajid. I represent the
6 Frontline Migrant Health Workers Group. Our client's
7 members include outsourced non-clinical healthcare
8 workers, largely from ethnic minority and migrant
9 backgrounds, and clinical nursing and healthcare
10 assistant staff, all of whom are from a migrant
11 background.

12 Our questions relate to your draft White Paper,
13 health disparities, levelling up health, which was not
14 ultimately published, as you've explained.

15 Ms Carey asked you some questions about the
16 disproportionate impact of Covid-19 on ethnic minorities
17 and our questions are about migrant health workers in
18 particular.

19 Paragraph 53 of your witness statement refers to
20 the PHE study of June 2020, disparities in risks and
21 outcomes. That study found a particularly high increase
22 in all deaths among those born outside the UK and
23 Ireland and those in a range of caring occupations
24 including social care, and nursing auxiliaries and
25 assistants, and the particular vulnerability of migrants

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1 OHID should specifically seek to address the health
2 disparities faced by migrant communities, including
3 migrant healthcare workers?

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **MS SEN GUPTA:** Thank you.

6 Thank you, my Lady.

7 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you, Ms Sen Gupta, and I think lastly
8 we have Mr Wagner who is usually sitting somewhere near
9 Miss Sen Gupta.

10 **Questions from MR WAGNER**

11 **MR WAGNER:** Thank you very much.

12 Good afternoon, Sir Sajid. My name is Adam Wagner
13 and I ask questions on behalf of the Clinically
14 Vulnerable Families. I want to ask you, first, about
15 shielding. I take it from your earlier evidence that
16 you would agree it's important to understand the views
17 and the experiences of those who were asked to shield?

18 **A.** Yes.

19 **Q.** Did you consider carrying out any consultation, a formal
20 consultation with those who were shielding to understand
21 their views on how the programme, whether it was
22 effective, whether there was still a need for shielding
23 measures, before ending it?

24 **A.** I don't specifically recall thinking about doing
25 a consultation, no. I don't think it was suggested

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1 and their significantly higher mortality rates during
2 the pandemic.

3 Were you aware of those findings when you
4 commenced your work on your proposed White Paper?

5 **A.** First of all, can I say I think migrant workers are
6 a very, very important part of our health and social
7 care system for that matter and had we not had the level
8 of support that we did from such workers, I think things
9 would have been a lot more challenging and difficult
10 than they already were.

11 Was I aware of those concerns you raise? I think
12 yes, but I can't tell you it was definitely from that
13 same PHE study. I think there was, certainly by the
14 time I became health secretary, there was more of
15 a general awareness but also I had an inquisitiveness
16 personally about this issue and so after asking these
17 questions I became more and more aware.

18 **Q.** Thank you. Your draft White Paper made only limited
19 reference to migrants. It did not refer in any detail
20 to addressing the health disparities faced by migrant
21 communities, including migrant healthcare workers.
22 You've referred to OHID the Office for Health
23 Improvement and Disparities. Bearing in mind the
24 significantly higher mortality rates in migrant
25 communities, do you agree that before the next pandemic

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1 either.

2 **Q.** Would you agree shielding was a novel programme in the
3 sense that it hadn't been tried before --

4 **A.** Yes.

5 **Q.** -- certainly in this context?

6 **A.** Yeah.

7 **Q.** Wasn't it necessary, given how important getting the
8 views of those individuals was, to do some sort of
9 consultation, to have some sort of objective
10 understanding of the effectiveness of the programme
11 before cutting off the support?

12 **A.** No, I don't think so. I'm thinking about it now whilst
13 you ask. I don't think so. I don't think it was
14 necessary because shielding was introduced based on
15 scientific and medical fact. Shielding was removed
16 based on scientific and medical fact. And whilst the
17 people being shielded, all 3.8 million plus of them, are
18 hugely important and it's important to get the whole
19 policy right, they're not medical or scientific experts,
20 and I think that such an important policy should be
21 grounded in fact.

22 **Q.** But you referred before to some of the downsides of
23 shielding such as being stuck inside the home,
24 psychological impacts, not being able to go to work,
25 that sort of thing. Those aren't scientific questions,

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1 are they? They are questions of fact.

2 **A.** Getting that kind of sort of information from people
3 that are being shielded is important but I do recall
4 when we made the decision there were -- you asked me
5 specifically about consultation and a consultation, to
6 me, has a specific meaning in government.

7 **Q.** Yes.

8 **A.** I've never known a consultation to take less than
9 eight weeks, for example, and normally they take
10 12 weeks and it's a big, formal process and that doesn't
11 mean to say that you don't have evidence on making
12 a decision, including from those people that are most
13 affected or likely to be most affected. So I already
14 had information, particularly from the CMO and his
15 office, on the issue of some of the negative impacts,
16 the inadvertent negative impacts of shielding and,
17 clearly, obviously that would point to a decision of
18 removing shielding and those were taken into account.
19 But I didn't think it would -- I don't think it would
20 justify having a week's long consultation when I think
21 the science behind it, ie that what we had learnt
22 already about shielding, about the other sort of health
23 impacts, but also taking into account vaccinations, as
24 well, and where we were then versus when shielding was
25 introduced, I don't think consultation was going to

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1 really an individual risk assessment which would mean
2 taking into account what that individual -- what's best
3 for that individual including in certain clinical
4 settings. Because it's worth keeping in mind there were
5 clinically vulnerable people before the pandemic and,
6 sadly, there always will be, one way or another, and
7 those people need extra layers of protection, including
8 in health settings, and just as before Covid, there were
9 a set of precautions that may be able to put in place
10 for when such individuals visit a health setting, it's
11 possible, sort of, post-Covid as well.

12 So I think it was left to an individual assessment
13 to determine what that -- how that setting should be
14 approached and what's possible and what's not possible,
15 rather than there being a central policy on it.

16 **Q.** But my question was, did you consider healthcare
17 settings particularly and the difficulties that
18 clinically vulnerable people would experience there,
19 especially post-Covid when obviously as well as --

20 *(Unclear: multiple speakers)*

21 **A.** Yes, I would say I considered it to the extent that
22 I felt that it was something that would be dealt with
23 through the individual risk assessments.

24 **Q.** Do you accept that those at higher risk from Covid-19
25 remained at that time, remain now to be particularly

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1 change any of that.

2 **Q.** You sent a letter on 17 September 2021 to the shielding
3 group advising them that the shielding programme was
4 coming to an end, and in it you suggested that people
5 could continue practising social distancing, ask
6 visitors to take lateral flow tests before, wear face
7 coverings, to avoid crowded spaces, et cetera. I want
8 to ask you about healthcare settings specifically.

9 Now, Dr Catherine Finnis of CVF gave oral evidence
10 to this Inquiry that that advice was, and still is, in
11 the healthcare settings almost impossible to follow
12 because people who have a high risk of Covid-19 when
13 they visit healthcare settings they face a lack of
14 structural protection. So lack of ventilation. Doctors
15 and nurses not wearing masks. Having to crowd into
16 spaces. When you wrote that letter, did you consider
17 the practical implications or difficulties of clinically
18 vulnerable people taking those measures when they went
19 to healthcare settings?

20 **A.** Yeah, I think the -- clearly that was a general message
21 to 3.8 million people about some measures that they
22 might be able to take. It's not that they obviously had
23 to take those measures and it's not that in all settings
24 that they would be suitable. But that is why the
25 central message of that same letter was the -- key is

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1 vulnerable to being exposed to the virus when they
2 attend healthcare settings?

3 **A.** I don't know about now.

4 **Q.** What about then?

5 **A.** Yes, because Covid -- there was a lot more Covid around
6 then and also we had the Omicron wave.

7 **Q.** And healthcare settings are quite straightforward places
8 to get Covid --

9 **A.** Well, they could be. Even though, of course, in
10 healthcare settings there were a lot more stringent
11 controls, and infection protection controls than you
12 have in non-healthcare settings.

13 **Q.** Well, your predecessor, Mr Hancock, on Friday, I think,
14 Thursday, said that you -- hospitals were one of the
15 places you were most likely to get Covid at the time;
16 would you agree with that?

17 **A.** I think that was certainly more the case when he was
18 health secretary because Covid was just discovered, we
19 didn't know enough about it, we didn't really know how
20 to -- as much as we learnt much later about how to
21 control infection, we didn't have as good ventilation
22 and we certainly didn't have the vaccines and the
23 treatments and some of the other medications that we
24 had. So I just think it was much tougher when he was
25 there, and it's not to say -- I'm not arguing with your

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1 point about healthcare settings, you've got to be much
2 more careful that people may contract it there but
3 I think a lot of the policies that we had in place, by
4 the time I was there, were reducing that risk, not least
5 to mention the VCOD policy because even before VCOD
6 there were very high levels of vaccinations and
7 obviously that increased even though VCOD wasn't
8 implemented in all healthcare settings, but when
9 Mr Hancock was Secretary of State there was no vaccine
10 for most of the time and even when there was, uptake
11 took a while including in healthcare settings.

12 **Q.** Finally I want to ask you about access to antivirals
13 which is something you've already referred to a bit in
14 your oral evidence.

15 **A.** Yes.

16 **Q.** In your statement, and in fact earlier today, you say
17 that one of the rationales for ending the shielding
18 programme was the availability of antibody therapies and
19 antivirals, and you spoke about the various ways in
20 which you tried to give access to people who needed
21 those antivirals who were immunosuppressed. Many of
22 CVF's members who are clinically vulnerable,
23 immunosuppressed, or clinically extremely vulnerable,
24 have reported historic and, indeed, ongoing difficulties
25 accessing antivirals within the required five days from

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1 That was the policy.

2 I can't sit here and say that I think that worked
3 perfectly in every case. I know there were many cases
4 that were successful and it did lead to people getting
5 antivirals much sooner than they would have otherwise,
6 but it is possible also that for some people that
7 process didn't work as well as it should have.

8 **MR WAGNER:** Thank you.

9 My Lady, may I have permission to ask the final
10 question on the list? I know I am over time.

11 **LADY HALLETT:** You may, Mr Wagner.

12 **MR WAGNER:** Thank you.

13 My final question on the same point. Do you
14 accept that if antivirals were not in fact practicably
15 available or promptly offered to many people at a higher
16 risk of Covid-19, and just accept that -- if you accept
17 that as a proposition, I'm not asking you whether it is
18 necessarily correct, would that have impacted on the
19 decision-making process as to when to end shielding and
20 the justifications for it?

21 **A.** The antivirals were an important part of the
22 decision-making process to end shielding. So I can say
23 it certainly was taken into account that we had them,
24 that they were -- it was something that the UK was one
25 of the first, sort of, countries in the world to procure

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1 the start of symptoms, particularly because of
2 difficulties processing the PCR test in time and getting
3 a decision to approve access to the antivirals from the
4 Covid-19 medical decisions unit.

5 Can you recall what, if any, processes you had in
6 place to make sure that immunosuppressed people who were
7 at the highest risk from Covid-19 infection were in fact
8 able to access antivirals?

9 **A.** Yeah, I think, I believe on the CEV list, the clinically
10 extremely vulnerable, 3.8 million, I think roughly about
11 400,000 were immunosuppressed, and for those people in
12 particular that's where we tried to put in place the --
13 it's something we discussed earlier, which were the
14 enhanced protections, so alongside the individual risk
15 assessments after we ended shielding, it was a policy of
16 identifying those, and I think it was -- it was
17 a process certainly run by the CMO's office but it's
18 something like, I want to say 1.3 million people, it was
19 just over -- it was around that number that were on this
20 enhanced list and the plan was to make sure they had
21 easy access to PCR tests, many of them were sent PCR
22 tests without asking for them, so they had them
23 available and so they could be tested and antivirals
24 could be delivered to them quickly if they became
25 infected.

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1 them and they were going to be made more available
2 and -- but, having said that, I would say that there
3 were also other factors and I think probably it's fair
4 to say that the vaccination rate in the country,
5 obviously not just of those in that cohort but the
6 general vaccination rate in the country, were probably
7 more important than the decision-making -- in the
8 decision-making than the antivirals.

9 **Q.** But the vaccinations don't necessarily work well for the
10 immunosuppressed, that's the issue.

11 **A.** Oh, no, that's -- of course that is true but what
12 I meant is the vaccination, more broadly in the general
13 population, would also mean there's a higher level of
14 protection in the country from infection than there was
15 before vaccinations.

16 **MR WAGNER:** Thank you. Those are my questions.

17 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much, Mr Wagner.

18 I think that completes the questions for you now,
19 Sir Sajid. Thank you very much for your help. I do
20 know what a burden it is to ask you to keep coming back
21 to answer the questions. If you want someone to blame,
22 blame your former colleagues who set the terms of
23 reference extraordinarily wide.

24 But on that point, can I just manage expectations.
25 You set me a challenge earlier and however tempted I may

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1 be to accept a challenge I am bound by those terms of
 2 reference. So I hope you won't be disappointed if you
 3 discover that I can't go quite as far as you would like,
 4 because I just don't have the powers to do it. But
 5 anyway, we'll see how far we can go.

6 **THE WITNESS:** Thank you, my Lady.

7 If I may just say -- I mean, that point I made
 8 earlier about the NHS and its general sort of -- the
 9 system it operates under, I do believe and I think it
 10 became -- I think it's a vital point in dealing with
 11 a future pandemic, and so that's why I made the point
 12 that -- in the way I did, but I understand what you say
 13 and I hope there is something the Inquiry can do about
 14 that. That's the first thing.

15 And the second thing, if I can say, is get well
 16 soon.

17 **LADY HALLETT:** Thank you very much, Sir Sajid, I'm very
 18 grateful to you.

19 Very well, we'll sit again at 10 o'clock tomorrow.

20 Thank you, everybody.

21 **MS CAREY:** Thank you, my Lady.

22 (The witness withdrew)

23 (4.20 pm)

24 (The hearing adjourned until 10.00 am
 25 on Tuesday, 26 November 2024)

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