

# Special Inquiry Committee Proposals for 2020–21

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## **Proposal 1: Letter from Baroness Tonge and Baroness Barker**

### *Abortion in the UK*

#### *Description of proposal*

An inquiry into abortion in the UK. The inquiry should have a particular focus on:

- (a) How to best update the current outdated UK abortion legislation to improve abortion services for women and girls in the UK
- (b) How to improve service provisions for women and girls accessing abortion services in the UK with a particular focus on healthcare provider workforce; financing NHS/Private Providers; quality of care; expedite access; adolescent girls and marginalised/migrant populations, partnerships, and the use of digital technology

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

Decriminalisation of abortion in the UK

Increased funding to abortion service provisions in the UK

Improved abortion service provisions in the UK

#### *Relevant Member experience*

A cross party parliamentary inquiry into abortion will ensure input and scrutiny of an important service provision that affect 1 in 3 women in the UK—and currently outdated due to new technologies; health workforce shortages; and financial and bureaucratic constraints

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

Abortion address areas of policy in the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Social Care, the Northern Ireland Office and the Home Office.

#### *One-year time frame*

Yes.

#### *Additional comments*

Abortion is very topical at present both in the UK and abroad.

The UK taking a lead in updating abortion legislation will lead the way for commonwealth and other countries to follow suit.

**TONGE AND BARKER**

## Proposal 2: Letter from the Lord Bishop of Durham

### *Children's well-being*

#### *Description of proposal*

This proposal is for a committee to consider children's well-being in the United Kingdom.

The Government should enable children to 'thrive not just survive'.<sup>1</sup> Well-being is about children feeling satisfied with their lives, feeling listened to, and being optimistic about their future. Research from The Children's Society's 'Good Childhood Report' suggests that children's mean overall life satisfaction and well-being has declined over the past ten years.

Children's well-being is affected by at least five key Government policy areas:

- Providing a world class education.
- Improving mental health.
- Addressing inequality in society.
- Promoting work.
- Protecting children (1989 Children Act).

However, the full range of factors which affect children's well-being have not been considered as a whole by either Government or a Parliamentary committee.

We know that the conditions in which children grow up have substantially changed in recent years, particularly the context of 'family' and family stability, and we would like the committee to consider how different factors influence children's well-being and how Government policy could improve well-being.

The inquiry would likely have a particular focus on the poorest and most disadvantaged children, as children living in income poverty are significantly more likely to have low well-being in their overall life satisfaction. Given the projected rise in child poverty, looking at *why and how* growing up in poverty and financial strain affects children's well-being will enable more effective policy solutions.

The committee could consider issues around measurement of children's well-being, and whether the impact on children's well-being is sufficiently considered when legislation and policy are formulated.

We would hope that the voices of children themselves would be central to any work of the inquiry and that such an inquiry would consider the context of children's familial relationships. We anticipate that children's experience of family life affects their well-being, creating questions for how Government policy can impact the stability a child experiences in their family life.

The theme of children's well-being is particularly suited to a House of Lords inquiry, not only because it is a pressing issue for our country, but also because it has policy relevance for a wide range of Government departments and can utilise the expertise within the House. The Government does not yet have a policy framework for tackling the decline in children's well-being. Our hope is that a

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Russell, The Children's Society, *The Good Childhood Report 2019*, p 5

committee would be able to identify the key public policy interventions which could improve children's well-being nationally.

*Purpose of inquiry*

- Identifying key factors affecting children's well-being across the United Kingdom.
- Identifying policies which promote or impede high life satisfaction for children.
- Advising Government about how children's well-being should be considered as part of the policy-making process.
- Considering the effects of child poverty on children's well-being.
- Creating an evidence base for how children's well-being affects their lives.
- Considering how policies impact family stability, and the effect of this on children's well-being.
- Assisting in the development of a coherent cross-departmental strategy for reversing the recent decline in children's well-being.

*Relevant Member experience*

Members of the House have extensive knowledge and experience of both well-being and children's issues. The proposal would use Members' experience in both Government policy-making and civil society organisations to consider factors that affect children's well-being. The committee would particularly use the expertise of Members with professional backgrounds in medicine, social care, local government, law, and education.

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

There are many departments involved in children's well-being and the consequences and causes of low well-being for children:

- The Department for Education: interested in how education can impact children's well-being and how children's well-being can impact their experience of, and contribution to, education. There is evidence that children's overall levels of well-being impact their behaviour and engagement in school, affecting their academic achievements. The recent emphasis on holistic education furthers the Department for Education's interest in this area, as children's well-being will be affected by how holistic their education is.
- The Department for Work and Pensions: vulnerable children, living in families who are financially struggling, are more likely to have low well-being meaning the Department for Work and Pensions will be interested in factors like household income which affect children's well-being.
- The Department for Health and Social Care: well-being as a term has often been interchanged with mental health. Although this proposal views well-being more broadly than children's mental health, mental

health is an integral part of a child's well-being which therefore places this issue within the interests of this department.

- The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government: Local authorities work closely with vulnerable children and administer programmes to promote children and families' well-being. Housing and family relationships in particular are likely to influence children's well-being.

*One-year time frame*

With a focus on the factors affecting children's well-being, particularly focussing on the most disadvantaged children, the inquiry would be able to hold evidence sessions looking at different factors influencing the well-being of children. We therefore believe this could be completed within a year.

Lord Alton of Liverpool, Baroness Armstrong of Hill Top, Lord Beecham, Baroness Bennett of Manor Castle, Baroness Garden of Frogna, Lord Bates, Lord Bishop of Derby, Baroness Finlay of Llandaff, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, Baroness Hollins, Lord Hylton, Lord Laming, Baroness Lister of Burtersett, Lord Judd, Baroness Massey of Darwen, Baroness Meacher, Baroness Neuberger, Bishop of Portsmouth, Lord Ramsbotham and Baroness Tyler of Enfield support this proposal

**+ PAUL DUNELM**

### Proposal 3: Letter from Baroness Greengross

#### *COVID-19 and Prevention in Public Health*

##### *Description of proposal*

The scale of the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted all too starkly the importance of public health. The pandemic has been characterised by a combination of health, social and economic shocks to the system. In an ageing society, more of us are likely to be vulnerable in the face of the pandemic, and so it is vital that we move upstream to support people of all ages to continue to live healthily, actively and independently for as long as possible and to reduce the burden on our already overstretched NHS.

Those with pre-existing medical conditions are at far greater risk if they catch COVID-19. A March 2020 report by the International Longevity Centre UK<sup>2</sup> projects that the time spent in poor health as a result of preventable diseases will increase by 17% over the next 25 years. Rates of diagnosis for conditions such as Type 2 diabetes, cardiovascular disease, lung cancer and HIV can be reduced through stronger public health prevention programmes. Greater investment in prevention could have significantly reduced the number of COVID-19 deaths and hospitalisations.

Shortly before the outbreak of COVID-19 analysis by the Nuffield Trust<sup>3</sup> revealed a shortage of 1 in 12 healthcare professionals in the NHS. The long-term sustainability of our health system has now been further challenged by this pandemic.

The purpose of this inquiry is to look ahead at how the UK's public health system can be more resilient. Would shifting focus upstream to prevent ill health help ease pressure and reduce demand on the NHS rebuilding from the current pandemic and would this apply in any future crisis?

##### *Purpose of inquiry*

The inquiry would seek to develop practical, evidence-based recommendations for action across public health and social care and other Government departments to ensure the NHS is better prepared for any future pandemic or public health crisis. All this needs to be seen in the context of a rapidly ageing population. This inquiry will assess the impact of investing in preventative health interventions across the life course and how this could help Britain be more resilient when faced with future pandemics or other similar crisis.

##### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

This proposal is by its nature inter-departmental and would include recommendations across departments including the:

- Department for Health and Social Care;
- Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government;
- Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.

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2 International Longevity Centre UK. 2019. "Maximising the longevity dividend". Available at: <https://ilcuk.org.uk/maximising-the-longevity-dividend/> [accessed: 6 March 2020]

3 Nuffield Trust. 2019. "The NHS workforce in numbers". Available from: <https://www.nuffieldtrust.org.uk/resource/the-nhs-workforce-in-numbers> [accessed: 6 March 2020]

But will also include a number of other government departments and agencies.

*One-year time frame*

The special inquiry committee would hold a total of 12 x 1-hour evidence sessions over the period of a year, consisting of three evidence sessions across each of the themes of:

- What has happened?—The NHS and COVID-19
- Rebuilding the NHS—Public health and prevention
- What needs to happen next?—Resilience to future pandemics

Seeking input from:

- Members of both Houses and other policy and practice experts;
- Research bodies, professional bodies and third sector organisations; as well as
- Business and the private sector respectively.

***GREENGROSS***

## **Proposal 4: Letter from Baroness Thomas of Winchester and Baroness Campbell of Surbiton**

### *Disabled people and work*

#### *Description of proposal*

The committee would examine barriers to disabled people of working age to live independently in the community and access employment opportunities. The committee would assist the Government, and their recently published National Disability Strategy, in trying to get 1 million disabled people into work over the next 10 years. Independent living for disabled people is now regressing but must be reversed if this target is to be met. The UK used to be world-leading in supporting disabled people to be active, participating citizens, and it is vital to know why this is no longer the case, and what can be done about it. We envisage the committee focusing on social care, housing, transport and education.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

It would publish practical and affordable proposals which would help to enable disabled people of working age to participate fully in society, including getting a job. This would include an analysis of what has gone wrong with existing support services, learning from what works in other countries, and finally considering whether legislative remedies are needed.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

There are disabled members all round the House who know from first-hand experience about barriers to independent living. There are also experts in all parties and none in the fields of housing, education, care and employment which would be the most relevant to this inquiry.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

It is now acknowledged that cross-departmental working is essential if the needs of disabled people are to be met in a way that enables them to participate fully in society. The Government last year set up an inter-Ministerial Group to address this agenda, so a special inquiry committee in the Lords would give this Group added strength.

#### *One-year time frame*

Yes. A one-year limit would be an essential discipline.

#### *Additional comments*

Diversity is now gaining traction as essential for successful organisations and companies. But disability seems to be the poor relation. Our proposed committee would help to remedy this in helping to put disability in the mainstream of life rather than in a siding. After all, many disabled people of working age are longing to be tax paying members of society instead of just benefit recipients.

**THOMAS OF WINCHESTER AND CAMPBELL OF SURBITON**



## Proposal 5: Letter from Lord Harries of Pentregarth

### *Genome Editing*

#### *Description of proposal*

Genome editing is at the cutting edge of science. At the moment somatic genome editing is permitted, with the usual research ethics approvals. But is the present legislative framework adequate? The 2018 report of the Nuffield Committee on bioethics suggested a committee that would look at this and examine whether all areas are adequately covered.

Germline genome editing is permitted for research purposes if licensed by the HFEA. But should it be permitted in clinical practise? At the moment it is not permitted but the Nuffield Council argued that provided certain rigorous criteria had been met it should in principle be allowed. On the other hand, given the great risks and danger involved should there be a definite moratorium?

These issues were discussed in the Lords' debate on 30 January 2020<sup>4</sup>.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

Legislative clarity in a field of great potential benefit but grave ethical concern.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

Very well. It would use philosophers, lawyers and scientists from members of the Lords.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

The Department of Health and Social Care and the Department of Science and Technology have a stake in these issues.

#### *One-year time frame*

Yes.

#### *Additional comments*

When I was Bishop of Oxford I had the privilege of chairing the Select Committee on Stem Cell Research which reported in 2002.<sup>5</sup> This produced a report which directly influenced and shaped government policy in this area. A committee on genome editing could be equally significant.

Lord Patel supports this proposal.

**HARRIES OF PENTREGARTH**

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<sup>4</sup> HL Deb, 30 January 2020, [cols 801–1554](#)

<sup>5</sup> Select Committee on Stem Cell Research, *Stem Cell Research*, (Report of Session 2001–02, HL Paper 83)

## Proposal 6: Letter from Lord Trees

### *Globalisation and Biosecurity - risks and benefits for animal, plant and environmental health*

#### *Description of proposal*

Globalisation has been a powerful driver for good in terms of international relations and economic development. It comes, however, at a cost—that cost is reduced biosecurity. The current coronavirus pandemic has brought into sharp focus the human cost of biosecurity breaches associated with globalisation. The costs for human health will doubtless be the subject of many other enquiries and this proposal does *not* seek to address that. What the current crisis has revealed in stark reality is the vulnerability of supply chains, the speed and ease with which pathogens can spread internationally, and the economic consequences that can result. Lessons will be learnt for human health from the coronavirus pandemic. The same vulnerabilities and risks, however, pertain to pathogens and pests affecting animal, plant and environmental health. Although the economic costs of biosecurity breaches in these cases are very much lower than the current human pandemic, they can still be substantial. The last major foot and mouth disease epidemic closed the countryside and cost some £8 billion and it is estimated that the cost of dealing with ash dieback will eventually be some £15 billion, over and above the biodiversity and aesthetic costs. Other invasive non-native species are affecting our natural environment in profound ways.

Given current events, it is timely and essential that we review our national risks, benefits and preparedness with respect to incursions of plant, animal and environmental pathogens and pests. This proposed inquiry would look at the extent of movement of relevant goods (livestock and their products; trees and plants and their products; bulk products which could harbour pests and their pathogens; and material carried by humans, legally or illegally), assess known risks, and consider national preparedness and mitigation capabilities. Brexit gives us new opportunities to control the import of goods which could threaten our biosecurity. Whilst it is not certain how ash dieback reached the UK, the import of ash saplings has been incriminated. Why one wonders, did we import a species that was native and already abundant in the UK? The ambitious plans to plant millions of trees to mitigate climate change raise questions as to the source of all the young trees; we risk losing as many trees from introduced pathogens and pests as we might plant. In animal health, African swine fever in pigs has devastated the pig population in China and has advanced westward across continental Europe. It is of particular concern because wild boar are infected and this potential wild animal reservoir means that control or eradication is doubly difficult. In Denmark, a fence is being built along the border with Germany to prevent the incursion of infected wild boar.

In this age of globalisation I suggest that we have not taken risks to biosecurity seriously enough. Unless we do, there will be further, and more frequent “new” diseases and pests which will affect the health of our environment, plants and animals. There is no excuse now for being ignorant or complacent.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

To increase political awareness that there are by-stander costs associated with globalisation and free trade. This would not be to suggest they are per se not worth pursuing but rather to set a context in which there can be an evidence-based, balanced political analysis of the benefit-cost ratio in such activities. This might

lead to increased investments in preventive or mitigation efforts proportionate to the value of certain enterprises and a consideration of who benefits and who pays. It could highlight areas where more research is needed, either operational research in improving surveillance and control methods (including specific trade restrictions), or more basic research into prophylactic measures such as vaccines or genetics. It may also seek to influence policy regarding to what extent, as a nation, we should increase self-reliance on critical resources such as food.

Above all, it would seek to reach recommendations that would strengthen our proactive or reactive capability to safeguard our environmental, plant and animal health in a world where global trade and movement of people and goods will continue.

*Relevant Member experience*

This would draw on the great knowledge and expertise of the House in economics, trade and business, agriculture, plant and animal health, public health and international relations.

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

As mentioned in the section above, the proposal involves areas of policy in trade and finance, science and technology, foreign relations, health and the activities of Defra and Department for International Development.

*One-year time frame*

Yes—but detailed benefit-cost analysis of globalisation would be beyond its scope.

*Additional comments*

This is an issue that has been quietly growing as a matter of national concern, but which current events have brought into sharp focus.

**TREES**

## Proposal 7: Letter from the Lord Bishop of Leeds

### *Improving Foreign Language Learning in the UK*

#### *Description of the proposal*

The Government's ambition for the UK to be (a) a leader in global free trade and (b) more influential on the world stage makes more critical than ever the need to address our paucity of language skills.

UK trade and investment research shows that a deficiency of language skills costs the UK economy 3.5% of GDP per year—around £48 billion.

The combination of Brexit, the sharp decline in language learning in schools and universities, and the current nature of language GCSE and A-levels make a bad situation worse. Retention of language teachers is increasingly difficult.

Knowing the language of competitors and colleagues is vital for effective trade, negotiation, diplomacy and access to intelligence. (Monoglots only ever hear as much as the people around them want them to hear.) In addition, competence in other languages fosters self-reflection, social cohesion, social mobility and educational attainment through the development of analytical, interpretative and social skills. Switching between languages accepts difference whilst building bridges—vital for a healthy public discourse—and gives an ability to look at ourselves through the eyes of the 'other'.

The British Chambers of Commerce have stated: "Few business people are confident to conduct deals in the buyers' language, while non-exporters see a lack of proficiency in another language as a barrier to do so." The British Council sees "the closing down of opportunities for overseas work, a lack of international business sense, a failure to recognise that other cultures have different ways of doing things and a potential tendency to overestimate the global importance of British culture."

No other culture sees this as an optional extra or a luxury.

An improved, effective strategy for improving our language skills shouldn't be left to educationalists; it needs an informed cross-discipline, multi-departmental approach.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

Starting from a recognition of the current state, to research how language learning can be better valued, promoted, structured and advocated for—in order to encourage a strategic approach nationally to resourcing a new generation of linguistically flexible and able citizens.

The inquiry would (a) discover the reasons for our inadequacies in language learning (educational, cultural, economic and psychological barriers), and (b) propose novel and creative solutions through soundings from, for example, the CBI, trade unions, British Council, the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, military, educationalists, other countries with proven success (for example 70% of pupils in Ireland take a foreign language in their school leaving exams).

#### *Relevant Member experience*

There are a number of Peers who have expertise or strong interest in this area, including former language teachers, diplomats and linguists (such as me: I worked

as a professional linguist at GCHQ in Cheltenham, using Russian, German and French).

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

There are few departments that do not use language, communication & negotiation/diplomacy, but in particular: the Department of Trade and Industry, the Department for International Trade, the Department for Education, the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, Department for International Development, the Ministry of Defence, the Department of Health and Social Care, the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport & the Ministry of Justice.

*One-year time frame*

Yes.

*Additional comments*

I would be happy to expand on what I have put as concisely as possible in written form here.

**+ NICK LEEDS**

## **Proposal 8: Letter from Lord Alton of Liverpool**

*Inquiry into the fulfilment of HMG's duties under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to prevent, suppress and punish the crime of genocide*

### *Description of proposal*

The inquiry will scrutinise the fulfilment of HMG's obligations under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, namely, the duty to prevent, suppress, and punish the crime of genocide. The inquiry will consider HMG's response to the cases of alleged genocide, from Armenia to Darfur, the recent Daesh genocide against religious minorities in Syria and Iraq, the genocide perpetrated against Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine state, Burma, and the emerging genocides, such as Nigeria, and targeting of specific groups, such as the Uighurs. (Indeed, in the case of the Uighurs, there are clear indicators of genocide to come. E.g. China's state media has publicly stated that the goal in regard to the Uighurs is to "break their lineage, break their roots, break their connections and break their origins." President Xi has said they should be shown "absolutely no mercy". The Washington Post said in a recent editorial, "It's hard to read that as anything other than a declaration of genocidal intent.")

In relation to the duty to prevent, the inquiry will examine the steps taken by HMG to identify and analyse the early warning signs of atrocities, especially where the atrocities show the hallmarks of genocide.

In relation to the duty to suppress, the inquiry will consider the steps taken by HMG to address the atrocities, including diplomatic, humanitarian, legal and military steps.

In relation to the duty to punish, the inquiry will look at the existing provisions criminalising the crime of genocide and how they are being used by courts in the UK. Furthermore, the inquiry will scrutinise how HMG has contributed to the international efforts to punish those responsible for genocide, including at the International Criminal Court and by UN mechanisms.

The inquiry will consider the possible approaches for HMG to adopt to strengthen its responses to genocide, in line with HMG's duties under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Lastly, the inquiry will scrutinise how the global commitment of the Responsibility to Protect helps to broaden the scope of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to prevent other atrocities like war crimes and crimes against humanity.

### *Purpose of inquiry*

The inquiry will consider whether HMG's current approaches are adequate and what other steps HMG could be taking to give full effect to its obligations under the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The inquiry will also make recommendations for HMG to consider, in order to ensure that HMG meets its obligations under international law and so contributes to the global commitment to prevent, suppress, and punish the crime of genocide. Such a comprehensive inquiry has never been conducted by either House. In the eight decade after the adoption of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide it is crucial to consider HMG's role in turning the legacy of this landmark document into reality.

*Relevant Member experience*

Members of the House with particular expertise on these issues include:

Baroness Kennedy of The Shaws Q.C., Baroness Butler-Sloss Q.C., Lord Carlile Q.C., Lord Brennan Q.C., Lord Pannick Q.C., Lord Mackay of Clashfern Q.C., Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne, Baroness Cox of Queensbury, Lord Forsyth, Lord Marlesford, Lord Campbell of Pittenweem, Baroness Helic.

Other Members of the House whose expertise could contribute to the inquiry include:

- Lord Hope of Craighead, former Deputy President of the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom.
- Lord Stirrup, former Chief of Defence Staff, has a detailed knowledge of Iraq.
- Lord Judge, former Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales.
- Lord Trimble, as former First Minister for Northern Ireland, professor of law and barrister.
- Lord Woolf, as former Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales and as a member of the Privy Council he conducted a review of the working methods of the European Court of Human Rights.
- Lord Hannay of Chiswick, member of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the United Nations, International Relations and Defence Committee.
- Lord Wood of Anfield, chair of the United Nations Association, UK and member of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on the United Nations.
- Lord Evans of Weardale, was Director-General of the British Security Service, the United Kingdom's domestic security and counter-intelligence service.
- Lord Collins of Highbury, Opposition Whip (Lords), Shadow Spokesperson (International Development), and Shadow Spokesperson (Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs).

They could be assisted by experts in the field, including, Sir Geoffrey Nice QC, who has expressed his willingness to be an Advisor to the Inquiry.

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

It is envisaged that officials would be invited to submit evidence in a focused session. Witnesses could be drawn from some of the following departments, and submissions sought from others:

- The Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- The Ministry of Defence
- The Ministry of Justice
- The Crown Prosecution Service

- The Attorney General's Office

Former or current House of Lords Ministers could be asked to give evidence, including:

- Baroness Symons
- Baroness Northover
- Baroness Warsi
- Lord Howell of Guildford
- Baroness Anelay
- Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon

*One-year time frame*

The proposed special inquiry committee is capable of being completed in one year with an attempt to finalise it within a shorter period of time. The inquiry will conduct between five and 10 expert witness sessions of up to two hours per session. The witnesses will include experts from the above identified departments, legal academics and practitioners, and others with relevant expertise.

*Additional comments*

The inquiry could also involve a public call for evidence from individuals or groups (or academia) with relevant expertise to ensure that the inquiry is as comprehensive as possible to significant contribute to the debates on the topic.

Lord Carlile of Berriew, Lord Hannay of Chiswick and Baroness Smith of Newnham support this proposal.

***ALTON OF LIVERPOOL***



## Proposal 9: Letter from the Earl of Caithness

### *Land Use Framework in England - the case for it*

#### *Description of proposal*

In much of England there are competing demands for the same bit of land. Although there is a degree of planning at regional and, more particularly, local level, the failure is not having a joined-up framework at national level. In stark contrast to England, the Devolved Administrations all have over-arching land use plans and policies.

The Natural Environment and Rural Communities Act 2006 Committee<sup>6</sup> (2017–18) touched on this and the Rural Economy Committee<sup>7</sup> (2018–19) recommended there should be such a plan, partly because of its importance for struggling rural communities. The Commission on Food Farming and the Countryside which reported towards the end of last year also called for such a plan.

The population is increasing as is the demand for food but there is only a finite amount of land in England and even less farmable land. Land use is a ‘hot’ political issue and farmers in particular face huge challenges due to leaving the Common Agricultural Policy. In addition, Climate Change and how to meet net zero is forcing big changes in land use to which they will have to adapt. There are added pressures due to topsoil degradation, the need to improve biodiversity and probable water shortages in some areas in the future and excess water in others. Meanwhile on that same land, the Government is encouraging farmers and landowners to plant 11 million more trees the next five years. The Infrastructure Commission are recommending new projects and the Government are planning developments, including a massive increase in house building to 300,000 new homes a year. In 2017 40% of local planning authorities did not have an up to date plan that meets the projected growth in households in their area and thus no idea where they would be built nor of the consequences. Many of these proposals will take the land out of agricultural, forestry or amenity use forever but there is no co-ordination as to where this should happen.

In addition, there is the change, which has already started, whereby more foods, particularly meat products, will be engineered by scientists at a molecular level and uploaded to databases that can be accessed by food designers anywhere in the world. For the foreseeable future, the meat and alternative-protein industries will coexist. However, in the medium term, such food will be readily available, and probably cheaper than current farming methods. The consequences not only for land use, as we know it, but also for the internationally renowned English landscapes which farmers have helped shape, will be immense.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

Many of the Government’s policies have inherent conflicts and can be contradictory. The aim of the inquiry would be to take expert witness from those involved, assess the merits of the arguments, and to recommend what sort of overall framework plan should be developed to help resolve the competing pressures so as to maximise the benefits for all and enable rural economies and communities, in particular, to be sustainable and grow. It could also recommend how Local Authority (maybe

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6 Select Committee on the Natural Environment and Rural Economies Act 2006, *The countryside at a crossroads: Is the Natural Environment and Rural Communities Act 2006 still fit for purpose?* (Report of Session 2017–19, HL Paper 99)

7 Select Committee on the Rural Economy, *Time for a strategy for the rural economy* (Report of Session 2017–19, HL Paper 330)

clusters of Local Authorities) or maybe Local Enterprise Partnerships should be adapting that national framework on a regional basis.

*Relevant Member experience*

The House has members across all parties and groups who have interests not only in rural and urban policies but in infrastructure, development, housing and planning, all of which is so important to our Country's future.

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

Most departments are affected by how we utilise our land– the Cabinet Office, the Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, Defra, the Department for International Trade, the Department for Transport, The Department of Health & Social Care, HM Treasury, The Home Office and The Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government are the obvious ones.

*One-year time frame*

Definitely.

*Additional comments*

Our diet is the worst in Europe and costing the country billions of pounds annually. This will become an increasingly important Government concern. The Food, Poverty, Health and the Environment Committee (currently still taking evidence) has heard a lot of compelling evidence of the need to use land to grow more vegetables and other crops for a healthier diet. Suitable land for this is relatively limited in England. Should such land continue to be farmed or allowed to be developed for other purposes?

Recommendation 80 from the Rural Economy Committee's report states:

“Government should revisit the merits of a spatial plan for England, particularly as it relates to rural areas, to ensure that planning policy operates in a framework where land use priorities are properly considered above the local level. This will help ensure that the right type of development is brought forward in the right places, enabling sustainable and growing rural economies and communities. Government must carefully consider how such a plan may be developed at a local and regional level, focusing on how groups of local authorities may be encouraged or required to work together to develop and implement the plans. (Paragraph 405)”

Only a national framework plan can give guidance to help avoid huge unnecessary mistakes in the short term that will affect future generations.

Lord Cameron of Dillington and Baroness Young of Old Scone support this proposal.

**CAITHNESS**

## Proposal 10: Letter from Lord Clement-Jones

### *Live Facial Recognition Technology*

#### *Description of proposal*

To conduct an inquiry into the quality of and the regulatory environment surrounding the deployment of automated or live facial recognition technology (LFR) and make recommendations for future regulation of its use.

The focus of the inquiry would focus on the purposes for which LFR is being deployed, its quality and accuracy and the implications for human rights and data privacy of its use.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

To assess the risks posed to privacy and other civil and human rights by LFR and assess where the technology should be permitted and/ or regulated.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

Members of the House have a considerable interest and expertise in ethics, human rights and civil liberties and have successfully previously conducted a special inquiry into Artificial Intelligence<sup>8</sup>, an essential component of LFR. The Data Protection Bill, now Act, 2018, was very relevant to the use by facial recognition technology of biometric data, was very robustly and expertly debated by many members of the House.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

Policy on digital issues resides with the Cabinet Office and the the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport; the Office for Artificial Intelligence reports to the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport and the Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy, and the procurement, utilisation and deployment of Artificial Intelligence solutions including LFR technologies is a matter for individual departments such as the Home Office and public authorities such as local councils and the police.

This inquiry is designed to examine practice and policy across these departments and public authorities as well as the private sector and consider whether a risk-based approach to regulation and best practice is appropriate and can be instituted.

#### *One-year time frame*

Yes. I calculate that some 40-60 witnesses would need to be called which would fit well within the normal 20x1 hour sessions on the basis of a manageable three witnesses per one hour session.

#### *Additional comments*

This is a topic of very strong public current interest and great controversy. It has begun to be widely deployed by UK police forces. A legal challenge has been made in one case still to be decided on appeal. Numerous reports on the technology have been produced: from RUSI and the Ada Lovelace Institute, the Law Society, the Biometrics Commissioner, Big Brother Watch, and the Scottish Parliament's Justice Committee, which call for a regulatory framework or a moratorium on its use pending regulation. The Information Commissioner has also expressed concerns

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8 The Select Committee on Artificial Intelligence, *AI in the UK: ready, willing and able?* (Report of Session 2017-19, HL Paper 100)

about the lack of a regulatory framework. The Home Office's own Biometrics and Forensics Ethics Group has expressed concerns about the accuracy of the technology and noted its potential for biased outputs and biased decision-making on the part of system operators.

Time is of the essence in terms of the rollout of this technology and the debate and decisions that are needed on the appropriate level of permitted deployment and required regulation. The Science and Technology Committee made certain recommendations in 2019 as part of its inquiry into the work of the Biometrics Commissioner and the Forensic Science Commissioner but there has been no specific parliamentary scrutiny of the public and private sector adoption of this technology which is now becoming widespread.

Furthermore, LFR is an important area of technology where our attitude to the risks posed by rapidly developing forms of AI needed to be considered and whether regulation rather than a code of practice or design standards is appropriate.

***CLEMENT-JONES***

## **Proposal 11: Letter from Lord Campbell-Savours**

### *National Identity Cards*

#### *Description of proposal*

Can I suggest a Liaison Committee inquiry into the introduction/use of national identity cards?

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

The areas I would like to see covered would include

- (1) Their use as entitlement cards in accessing public services
- (2) The use of the cards in combatting fraud
- (3) The use of the cards in providing identity on request
- (4) The benefit of the cards post Brexit
- (5) The experience of other European States in their use
- (6) The use of technology biometrics on the card
- (7) The use of the card and benefits to the taxpayer arising out of their use

And more!

Lord Blunkett, Lord Clark of Windermere, Lord Grocott and Lord Rooker support this proposal.

***CAMPBELL-SAVOURS***

## Proposal 12: Letter from Lord Moynihan

### *National plan for sport & recreation*

#### *Description of proposal*

A National Plan for Sport and Recreation. The inquiry will cover the delivery of sport and recreation initiatives as part of a proactive health agenda.

Sport is key to the economy contributing some £20 billion of gross value added and 400,000 full-time equivalent jobs.

Health and social benefits—to include an assessment of lessons learnt during COVID-19 building on new social media devices / techniques to help both the fit and the elderly and those generally housebound in normal circumstances.

National pride and community benefits—Olympics and Commonwealth Games; urban regeneration and sports legacy.

Elite sport—especially football and the wider economic benefits of professional sports.

School curriculum; sport and recreation for children and grassroots community initiatives.

Sport and mental health.

The further development of women in sport—wider equality and social benefits.

Governance of sport.

Government, local authority and private sector support for sport and recreation. The state of physical education and sport in schools, colleges and universities. Facilities in the community including a review of levelling up sporting opportunity between the north and south.

COVID-19 has had an immediate impact. Sport England's campaign to inspire people to stay active at home during the coronavirus pandemic is linked to the wider question as to how current policies have enhanced the level of fitness and health amongst all population groups.

At the elite end of sport, the preparation of our Olympic and Paralympic athletes has been impacted as the athletes now prepare for Tokyo 2021 against the backdrop of a four year funding programme which ends in the summer of 2020. Opportunity to review the effect of the delay on our national performance.

Assessment of the build-up towards the Commonwealth Games in Birmingham 2022 and lessons to be learnt from the past towards future bidding processes to host major international sporting events in the 2020's.

Britain's role in international sport including our representation on international sports bodies; how we face the challenges of match-fixing; bribery and corruption; doping in sport; the appropriate legal framework to deal with fraud perpetrated within sport; measures to protect the integrity of sport and the nascent challenge of gene editing designed to enhance performance.

Sports policy issues affected by Brexit including access for football clubs to the best of European and rest of the world professional sportsmen and women. Implications for a sports visa scheme focused on ensuring that those of great potential as well as

proven international quality play alongside the highest quality home grown talent. The future for Kolpak rugby players under the Cotonou Agreement including the ability for the governing bodies of cricket to set the appropriate level of overseas players in domestic competitions.

The role of women in sport and recreation as a red thread throughout the inquiry.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

A National Plan for Sport and Recreation. A special inquiry committee would review the issues outlined above and all additional aspects relevant to a National Plan for Sport and Recreation beginning with the current state of sport and recreation policy in the UK. It would be able to make pertinent and timely recommendations and consider the current structure of government, local authority and lottery support for the sector. It would take into account measures necessary further to protect playing fields from being lost to development as well as opportunities for private sector support; sponsorship and television rights.

The question of how far we, as a country, have built on the success of the Paralympic Games in 2012 when considering the delivery of sport and sporting facilities for disabled athletes and spectators of all ages.

The inquiry would aim to recommend improvements to the delivery mechanisms at the heart of sports policy.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

The House of Lords includes multiple Olympic and Paralympic medallists as well as leading sports administrators—both past and current. It is an area of inquiry which crosses party political boundaries. The findings of a Special Inquiry committee would generate significant interest both in the UK and beyond. The publication of its report would be timely in the build-up to Tokyo 2021.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

More than any other sector.

Inter alia:

- Home Office policies which include a focus on providing potential truants a route away from the escalator to crime.
- The Department of Education which recognises that sport is a language understood by pupils who find the rigours of the classroom less inspiring. The values of team sport to later life skills. Learning, through sport to play by the rules. The growth of e-sports and the related power of sport as an education tool.
- The Department of Health and Social Care. Participation in sport and recreation is recognised as critical to a proactive health policy. GPs are increasingly prescribing active lifestyle schemes as a means to address the growing incidence of obesity. An unfit society is less prepared to face the worst effects of viruses and illness.
- The Foreign & Commonwealth Office & Department for International Development who have a range of policies both through ‘soft power’ and initiatives to promote an active lifestyle—working with Governing

Bodies in all the major sports around the world—particularly in developing countries.

- The Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport as the lead Department with responsibility for sports policy.

This proposal has the advantage of complementing the the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport Select Committee work in the House of Commons.

There is hardly a Department of State which does not cross fertilise with other departments to deliver sport and recreational initiatives. Whether cross departmental policy making is effective in achieving the goals set out in this proposal will be a question for the committee.

*One-year time frame*

Yes. The issues to be covered can be organised efficiently into twenty evidence sessions. Additionally, the hosting of the Tokyo Olympic & Paralympic Games in the summer of 2021 works well to the timing of the special inquiry; as does the opportunity to consider the effects of COVID-19 on a National Plan for the future.

*Additional comments*

No.

Lord Bates, Lord Bilimoria, Baroness Doocey, Lord Griffiths of Burry Port, Lord McConnell of Glenscorrodale, Baroness Wheatcroft support this proposal.

**MOYNIHAN**



## Proposal 13: Letter from Lord Ravensdale

### *Net Zero Roadmap to 2050*

#### *Description of proposal*

Since legislation setting a target for net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 was passed in June 2019 there has been limited formal parliamentary scrutiny of any overarching roadmap needed to reach this target, despite the significant implications for the economy and society. The next year will be crucial in putting in place the building blocks and mechanisms to help achieve net zero, with the added impetus of the UK hosting COP26.

This proposal is for a special inquiry committee on the overarching roadmap and governance required in order to achieve a net zero by 2050. Recommendations from the committee would provide a foundational, practical framework for long-term progress and scrutiny, and increase confidence that the UK's target will be achieved. The committee would form part of a coherent trajectory for Lords committee scrutiny:

1. Joint committee sessions in March 2020, providing insights on key policy areas
2. Establishment of a permanent climate and environment committee once EU committees are dissolved, addressing mitigation and adaptation

The special inquiry committee would consider:

- **What is required overall to deliver a clear, measurable roadmap to net zero, including adaptation to ongoing climate impacts:** The governance, processes, benchmarks/measurement, reporting, coordination and timetable mechanisms required to deliver the target—identifying where mechanisms to support a roadmap are already in place, where they could be strengthened or where they need to be created.
- **Roles and responsibilities:** The roles different public bodies can/should play in supporting roadmap delivery, ensuring complementarity and avoiding duplication.
- **Cross-government coordination:** The mechanisms needed to coordinate all sector-specific roadmaps (identifying any inter-sector and sector-specific obstacles to coordination and how to address these).
- **International structures:** Structures to collaborate globally in critical areas such as climate/technological research or for high-emitting sectors (e.g. energy, transport, steel, cement).
- **Co-ordination of civic society:** How to harness the contribution and energy of civic society, business, universities, local authorities, media, faith groups, NGOs and charities; how to remove obstacles and amplify successful practice.
- **Fairness, including on financial costs:** How to embed principles of fairness and social justice in the road map, its supporting mechanisms and how costs are allocated.
- **Lessons learned:** e.g. from similar challenges at home/ internationally.

Evidence sessions would be held with stakeholders likely to contribute to a roadmap, including statutory advisers, Departments, industry, civic groups and other experts.

The inquiry represents an opportunity for Members to play a valuable role in establishing a successful UK roadmap and demonstrate thought leadership prior to COP26. The issues play to the House's strength in considering long-term, strategic and principles-based questions that address the complex task of integrating policy development and delivery across multiple subject fields: Given that climate policy is considered in silos by committees, with no committee looking across the system and strategy as a whole, a system-wide scope would be a key benefit of this proposed committee.

The implications of net zero are so significant for the UK that a specific committee to consider the issue is considered appropriate.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

The inquiry would provide a clear, foundational 'heat map' of the policy, legislative, governance, routines, procedural and timetable issues that need to be addressed in order for the UK to create the best possible of chance of delivering its net zero commitments and would produce a concise set of recommendations for Government in light of this. It would not seek to answer policy questions or provide advice that is rightly the responsibility of statutory bodies, such as the Committee on Climate Change. Rather, working with such stakeholders, it would identify where existing governance approaches are effective or deficient. As such, the inquiry would provide critical groundwork both for the roadmap itself and for on-going Parliamentary and public scrutiny of progress on this twenty-year national and global decarbonisation project.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

Climate change is a horizontal issue that touches on all policy areas. The House has extraordinary breadth and depth of knowledge and experience on climate issues, ranging from an author of the 2008 climate change act through to the chair of the Committee on Climate Change, as well as multiple fields of expertise in areas where a climate lens is essential if we are to achieve our net zero target—from health, to defence and security, to food, to education, innovation and skills and many more. However, Members also have particular strength in understanding the strategic importance of embedding the principles and levers of good governance in our political and policy systems in order to achieve societal objectives. Its diversity and longevity of experience could offer practical and innovative solutions that provide the blueprint for other countries to emulate in their own net zero roadmaps.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

Due to its wide scope and effect, the net zero target crosses departmental boundaries and has implications for nearly all government departments. However, an on-going challenge to well-coordinated action to achieve our net zero target is that that climate discussions can be siloed either within 'traditional climate fields', such as energy and environment, or within sector-specific fields, such as finance or international development, rather than being internalised and embedded across all policy and decision-making. The creation of a special committee that can address an overarching framework to govern our net zero target would help address this challenge of complex systems change.

*One-year time frame*

Yes—although net zero is an ongoing issue, the next year will be crucial in ensuring that the right framework is set up to deliver it and therefore a one-year special committee is considered appropriate. Building on the recommendations of the special committee, we believe there is also a strong case in the longer term to create a permanent sessional committee following the UK's withdrawal from the EU. Members supporting this submission are therefore also supporting a proposal to establish a permanent sessional committee in 2021, to which this special inquiry can pass the baton.

*Additional comments*

The proposal addresses a gap in the current committees. The only current Lords committee specifically considering these issues on an on-going basis is the EU Energy and Environment sub-committee which is limited to an EU context. Related committees in the Commons include the Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy Committee and the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs Committee. However, as noted above, these are, by definition, focused in policy areas that reflect Departmental responsibilities: They do not and cannot address cross-cutting issues that will determine the success or otherwise of the UK roadmap to net zero emissions. Similarly, the Joint Lords committee sessions in March 2020 will provide valuable insights in key areas, but do not address the overall roadmap and associated governance mechanism. The scope and implications of net zero are so significant that a specific committee to consider such horizontal, strategic issues is considered appropriate, making best use of the expertise within the House of Lords.

Baroness Bennett of Manor Castle, Baroness Brown of Cambridge, Lord Duncan of Springbank, Lord Hollick, Lord Krebs, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, Lord Teverson support this proposal.

As signatories we are lending our personal support to this submission but are aware of a significant number of colleagues from across the House who would also have willingly added their names. Proposals for special and permanent inquiries focused on climate change and the UK net zero roadmap have also been discussed and received support from the Peers for the Planet Group, which has over 100 supporters in the House.

**RAVENSDALE**

## Proposal 14: Letter from the Earl of Lytton

### *New Home Communal Assets and Rentcharges*

#### *Description of proposal*

A committee of inquiry to look into the issue of rentcharges levied on owners of new homes by management companies particularly in respect of maintaining communal space, unadopted roads and parking areas, lighting, drainage and open or play space; the level of such charges, their transparency and rights of redress against excessive charges; the negative stance of mortgage lenders towards high levels of charges in certain instances; the circumstances in which poor construction issues and lax conveyancing may exacerbate problems; local authority financial bearing on decisions as to whether to adopt or not; the role, structure and need for regulation of management companies engaged in this area.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

Highlight the extent of the problem, the nature of the issues of concern and following evidence, suggest remedies and safeguards and raise public awareness.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

Covers areas of property, law, private and local government finance, construction and wellbeing of householders drawing on the considerable expertise of the House in these areas.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

Although primarily the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government', the scope would also cover MoJ and potentially Treasury and Defra interests, the Department for Health and Social Care, and consumer rights generally.

#### *One-year time frame*

This relatively narrow subject area ought to be capable of investigation and report in under a year.

#### *Additional comments*

This subject area sits alongside but is separate from issues of leasehold and defective construction in new homes.

I am not entirely clear how widespread the issue of rentcharge problems currently is.

**LYTTON**

## Proposal 15: Letter from Lord Faulkner of Worcester and Lord Shutt of Greetland

### *Reversing Beeching—the case for reopening closed railway lines and stations*

#### *Description of proposal*

The Government has committed itself initially to expenditure of £500 million to look at the opportunities for reopening railway lines closed after the Beeching report of 1963. It has so far identified two candidates: the lines from Ashington to Blyth in Northumberland, and to Fleetwood in Lancashire. There are numerous others, in all parts of Great Britain, where there is substantial local authority and parliamentary support for the restoration of rail services, but there has so far been little co-ordination of efforts to achieve this, or to establish workable criteria for doing so. The purpose of the inquiry would be to receive evidence from campaigners wishing to make the case for specific reopenings (lines and stations), from academics who have made a study of these matters, and from government, think-tanks, environmentalists, existing train operators and infrastructure providers. It would also look at the relationships between heritage railways and the national rail operators, and the role the former could achieve—often through relatively simple and inexpensive connections—in providing public transport services as well as heritage rail experiences. It would be particularly valuable if the study were able to demonstrate value for money (positive or negative) in the case of each project, and the wider social and environmental benefits which would flow from them (eg modal shift from car use to railway, reduced CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, tourism and regional economic regeneration).

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

To provide a realistic benchmark against which railway reopenings could be judged, and to draw up a list of candidates in order of preference, taking account of affordability, likely demand, and economic and environmental return.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

The special inquiry on the future of seaside towns demonstrated clearly how members' knowledge can be put to good advantage, and the study proposed here would draw similarly on that experience. The House of Lords Library produced on 6 February a useful short briefing paper entitled “Reversing the Beeching Closures: Full Steam Ahead?”<sup>9</sup>

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

The Department for Transport would be the principal ministry involved in the inquiry, but there would be important roles for the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (in respect of tourism and heritage), and for the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government. It is likely that there would also be inputs from the governments of Scotland and Wales.

#### *One-year time frame*

Yes.

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9 House of Lords Library, *Reversing the Beeching Closures: Full Steam Ahead?*, Library Research Briefing, [LLN-2020-0052](#), February 2020

*Additional comments*

The report produced by the committee following the inquiry would be likely to attract substantial national, regional and local media interest.

***FAULKNER OF WORCESTER AND SHUTT OF GREETLAND***

## Proposal 16: Letter from Lord Rees of Ludlow

### *Risk assessment and risk planning*

#### *Description of proposal*

The most recent National Risk Register suggested that “emerging infectious diseases” could lead to “several thousand people experiencing symptoms, potentially leading to up to 100 fatalities”. This is both a gross underestimation of the current Coronavirus situation and out of line with the available evidence<sup>10</sup> of risks experts suggests there is consensus that a pandemic could conceivably cause 1 billion+ deaths.

It is a wise maxim that ‘the unfamiliar is not the same as the improbable’. It is a false economy not to explore potentially catastrophic scenarios, not to take action to minimise their probability and to not be prepared for future catastrophic risks. When crises hit the costs can be in the hundreds of billions, but investment in early planning and preparedness can significantly mitigate these risks and costs.

The UK Government maps and models risks through the National Risk Assessment (NRA) and the National Security Risk Assessment (NSRA)<sup>11</sup>, and individual departments take responsibility for mitigation of and preparation for the identified risks.

We know there are challenges with this process. The Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology’s Evaluating UK natural hazards<sup>12</sup> identifies a host of problems including:

- Ensuring separation between science and politics
- Assigning risk owners
- Dealing with unknown risks or uncertain situations
- Preparing for multiple hazards co-occurring
- Acting to prevent future risks and manage long-term trends

High Consequence low probability threats—events so extreme that one occurrence is too many—need to be more discussed. This issue of risk management is one of the utmost importance and urgency and, unless our risk management process is improved, we will be under-prepared to handle future disasters.

The committee would consider:

- (1) **The risk identification process.** Is the existing process (the NSRA and NRA) fit for purpose to identify risks facing the UK? How is it affected by political pressures and does this pose a problem? Is it led by scientific consensus? Is there sufficient peer review and quality assurance?

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10 Oxford University Future of Humanity Institute, *Global Catastrophic Risks Survey, Technical Report #2008-1* (2008): <https://www.fhi.ox.ac.uk/reports/2008-1.pdf> [accessed 4 June 2020]

11 The NSRA and NRA may have been combined in 2019. Public information is not available.

12 Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology, [Evaluating UK natural hazards: the national risk assessment](#), POSTbrief 31, April 2019

- (2) **Coronavirus.** What may have gone wrong? Should the risk identification process have placed greater emphasis on emerging pandemics?
- (3) **Risk ownership.** How are government departments, local authorities and others brought on board and assigned risk ownership? Do they have the incentives and resources in place to ensure they take sufficient action to prepare for, prevent and mitigate the consequences of risks?
- (4) **Future and emerging and unknown risks.** How can we ensure that future risks beyond the current political cycle are considered and appropriate action taken on these risks?
- (5) **International engagement.** Is the UK learning from and providing support to other countries? What role can the UK play to ensure the global community is working together to prevent global risks?

There is an urgent need for this review.

This is an issue which needs both technical scientific and political expertise and as such a House of Lords committee would be the ideal place to conduct such a review.

*Purpose of inquiry*

The inquiry would aim to:

Ensure that the UK risk assessment and risk planning process is comprehensive and fit for purpose.

We can define this as follows:

- “*risk*”: Extreme future natural, safety, security and stability catastrophes that would require large scale government response outside the scope of business as usual.
- “*risk management process*”: The processes by which the UK Government identifies and understands risks.
- “*risk planning process*”: The processes by which the UK Government takes preparatory action to prevent risks occurring and plans and mitigates the consequences of risks.
- “*comprehensive*”: All risks are captured. All risks that can reasonably be acted on are managed. This includes global risks and risks beyond the next few years.
- “*fit for purpose*”: The processes, the institutions and the Ministers working on this have the necessary resource, leadership, direction, expertise and incentives.

(The suggestion is to focus on the pre-emptive planning as opposed to directly looking at the processes by which disasters are managed once they happen.)

The inquiry would aim to make concrete actionable recommendations to the Government.



This would serve the broader goal of ensuring that taxpayers' resources can be best spent in the best interest of the UK, where this includes investing to prevent future costs arising.

[Edit: The inquiry should recognise the world's interdependence. Risks, such as pandemics, may be global in nature and international cooperation may be a necessary part of preparation. The consequences and implications of this need to be considered as throughout]<sup>13</sup>

*Relevant Member experience*

Risk identification needs broad technical and academic expertise and connections in areas ranging from climate modelling to political science. Reviewing how risk management works in government needs political expertise. A House of Lords committee would be the ideal place to convene such technical and political expertise.

Furthermore, the Members of the House often take a more long-term perspective than the Commons, escaping the immediate pressures of the news and election cycles. Such a review although important could be overlooked by the Commons and by Government but would be well suited to the Lords.

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

This is a cross-departmental issue.

The Cabinet Office owns the National Risk Register but much of the risk identification is done by individual departments that feed into the National Risk Register. Ownership and responsibility to act on risks is then distributed across government departments who then work on risk planning with local actors (local councils, emergency services).

The Defence Services will also have their own security risk management processes.

*One-year time frame*

10-20 x 1-hour evidence sessions should be sufficient for a highly worthwhile inquiry.

Lord Bird, Baroness Bennett of Manor Castle, Lord Collins of Highbury, Lord Crisp, Lord Filkin, Lord Hennessy of Nympsfield, Baroness Jones of Moulsecoomb, Lord Judd, Lord Mair, Baroness McGregor-Smith, Baroness Neville-Jones, Baroness Watkins of Tavistock, Baroness Wheatcroft and Baroness Uddin support this proposal.

**REES OF LUDLOW**

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<sup>13</sup> Edit made following feedback on initial draft after initial signatories.

## **Proposal 17: Letter from the Lord Bishop of Carlisle**

### *Social Care*

#### *Description of proposal*

A Cross-party group to review previous reports and proposals on social care, explore the current situation in England and its implications for the NHS, and make specific recommendations to HMG for long-term action (further to the debate sponsored by Lord Hunt of King's Heath on 6 February 2020).

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

A long-term strategy for Social Care in England, given the growing need, importance of integration with Health, necessity of cross-party agreement and continued absence of a Green Paper.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

This will draw on the huge experience of Members in this field and that of Health.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

The Department of Health & Social Care have implications for most departments.

#### *One-year time frame*

Yes.

#### *Additional comments*

Others (for example Baroness Brinton) have emphasised the need for a cross-party commission of some kind, and the PM has declared his commitment to cross-party progress.

**+JAMES CARLIOL**

## Proposal 18: Letter from Baroness Cox

### *The problem of ‘marriages’ that are not marriages*

#### *Description of proposal*

An inquiry into the problems experienced by women in polygamous households or those who have had a religious-only marriage, to find upon divorce they have little to no rights in terms of finance, property or child custody.

Women who are married in Islamic ceremonies but are not married under English law can suffer grave disadvantages because they lack legal protection.<sup>14</sup> What is more, they can be unaware that their marriage is not officially recognised.

The situation was highlighted in a Channel 4 survey, which found that six in 10 Muslim women who have had traditional Islamic weddings in Britain are not legally married. Of these, over a quarter (28 per cent) are not aware that they do not have the same rights as they would have with a legally-recognised marriage.<sup>15</sup>

A separate study by the Muslim women’s group Aurat: Supporting Women highlighted cases of women in Britain living in polygamous marriages. The evidence for its findings was drawn from 50 case studies of Muslim women living in the West Midlands. Two thirds of those who identified as being married said their ‘husband’ had more than one ‘wife’.<sup>16</sup>

The reports’ findings are all the more alarming when it is considered that as many as 100,000 couples in Britain are estimated to be living in Islamic marriages not recognised by English law.<sup>17</sup>

For more information, see the House of Commons Library Briefing ‘Islamic marriage and divorce in England and Wales’<sup>18</sup>, November 2019.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

We are fortunate to live in a democracy that enshrines the principle of equality before the law and is committed to the promotion of gender equality. However, there are increasing concerns that—because of the Government’s failure to act in this area—many women continue to suffer from systematic gender discrimination.

Our hope is that the inquiry will act as a catalyst for much needed legislative and policy change. It offers an important opportunity for redress for vulnerable Muslim women, some of whom are suicidal because they have unequal rights and are so ostracised by their community.

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14 See, for example, the widely-reported case which ruled that a couple’s Islamic marriage was ‘invalid’ under English marriage law: Court of Appeal, *HMAg v Akhter, Khan & ors*, [2020] EWCA Civ 122 (4 February 2020)

15 Channel 4, ‘New Channel 4 survey reveals The Truth About Muslim Marriage’: <https://www.channel4.com/press/news/new-channel-4-survey-reveals-truth-about-muslim-marriage> (20 November 2017) [accessed 4 June 2020] The survey was carried out by 20 Muslim female community researchers between December 2016 and September 2017, using a mix of face to face and phone interviews. Data were tabulated by ICM analysed from the responses of 923 participants from 14 cities across Britain.

16 Aurat, *Supporting Women, Equal and Free? 50 Muslim Women’s Experiences of Marriage in Britain Today* (December 2014): <https://www.secularism.org.uk/uploads/aurat-report-dec2014.pdf> [accessed 4 June 2020]

17 ‘Young Muslims fuel huge rise in Sharia marriage.’, *The Times* (3 July 2015): <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/young-muslims-fuel-huge-rise-in-sharia-marriage-c2mynkmg38f> [accessed 4 June 2020]

18 House of Commons Library, *Islamic marriage and divorce in England and Wales*, Research Briefing, [CBP-8747](https://www.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8747), February 2020

*Relevant Member experience*

Many members of the House have great legal and professional knowledge and experience of addressing issues relating to gender discrimination, arbitration and mediation services, support for victims of abuse, and appropriate statutory responses.

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

The investigation, analysis and findings relate to the Home Office, Ministry of Justice and the Government Equalities Office.

The inquiry would consider recommendations of: the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Resolution 2253, January 2019)<sup>19</sup>; the Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper (March 2018)<sup>20</sup>; the Independent Review into the Application of Sharia Law in England and Wales (February 2018)<sup>21</sup>; and the Casey Review (December 2016)<sup>22</sup>.

*One-year time frame*

Yes.

Lord Carlile of Berriew, Baroness Corston, Lord Dholakia, Baroness Eaton, Baroness Finlay of Llandaff, Lord Green of Deddington, Lord Kalms, Baroness Lister of Burtersett, Baroness Massey of Darwen, Baroness O’Loan, Lord Tebbit and Lord Vinson support this proposal.

**COX**

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## Proposal 19: Letter from Baroness Fookes

### *The Role and Importance of Horticulture to the Economy, Health and Well Being, and Climate Change*

#### *Description of proposal*

Horticulture is composed of a number of related disciplines which include arboriculture, plant nurseries, garden centres, garden design and landscape design, colleges of horticulture, important and historic gardens, garden machinery, research into pests and diseases and the development of new and improved varieties of ornamental plants. This list is not exhaustive.

Many of these are small enterprises and correspondingly find it difficult to bring to the attention of a wider audience and the government both the opportunities to contribute to the public good and their problems.

Horticulture has an important role to play in the following areas:

- (1) Its economic importance in providing employment for around half a million people and its contribution of £24.2 billion to the economy (2017 figures).
- (2) Its capacity to mitigate the ill effects of climate change.
- (3) Its contribution to the health and wellbeing of the community.
- (4) Its prowess in research into pests and diseases affecting plants and in the development of machinery capable of undertaking delicate tasks currently done by hand.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

In addition to the importance I attach to bringing to the attention of a wide audience the opportunities afforded by horticulture to the public good I would wish the inquiry to focus on solving a number of challenges faced by horticulture.

To name a few:

- A shortage of skilled workers holding back the expansion or even the maintenance of a number of enterprises including the mass planting of trees.
- A failure by the education system to provide high quality courses in the numbers needed and failing to encourage young people to take up horticulture as a career.
- The need for import substitution to avoid pests and diseases from abroad and the need for incentives.
- The encouragement of the NHS in its various capacities to see gardening as a therapy.
- The need to encourage local authorities, especially planners, to implement robust policies about green space.

*Relevant Member experience*

There are a number of Peers with direct experience of growing trees and running nurseries as well as those with medical expertise and expertise in the areas of local government and climate change.

*Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

Horticulture clearly covers Defra but also the Departments of Health and Social Care, the Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport, the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, the Home Office and Department for Education.

*One-year time frame*

Yes.

*Additional comments*

As far as I am aware no Select Committee in either House has tackled the subject of horticulture as a whole. It is high time this gaping hole is filled in!

**FOOKES**

## Proposal 20: Letter from Lord Black of Brentwood

### *The UK's role in expanding Global Media Freedom*

#### *Description of proposal*

In 2018 the Government—with cross-party support—committed to making the expansion of media freedom across the globe a matter of priority in public policy. This was followed by a Global Media Freedom Conference in London in 2019, hosted by the Foreign Secretary, and the launch of the Media Freedom Coalition, a new intergovernmental body to which 35 states are already committed and of which the UK is co-chair. A further conference is due to take place in Canada in September this year. The initiative has received significant international support and interest.

The aim of this inquiry would be to assess how this is working across Government—as it impacts on a number of Departments—and what further initiatives need to be taken at domestic and, where the UK has a role, international level to ensure media freedom, including the safety of journalists, is at the heart of policy making. It would help ensure this immensely important UK initiative is successful and sustainable over the longer term.

The focus would be on both international policy and on domestic media freedom issues, as the UK's performance at home inevitably impacts on our effectiveness in promoting media freedom abroad (not least in the Commonwealth where we have a significant leadership role). Regrettably, the UK is set to fall down the Reporters Sans Frontières' World Press Freedom Index this year following the killing of Lyra McKee and this inquiry can look into how that position can be reversed.

Central to the inquiry will be an examination of how respect for media freedom can be delivered across all parts of Government in both policy and practice, and not just compartmentalised as a purely “media” issue. (How this fits across Whitehall and the devolved Governments in policy terms is set out in one of the sections below.)

The inquiry can also look at how threats to media freedom globally are rapidly changing: this is an issue which merits a deeper and more nuanced understanding which the House of Lords can provide, particularly now in light of the reaction to the coronavirus in different countries. Technological advances have changed the nature of journalism and in turn the nature of the threats to journalists and publishers, and it is important Parliament and Government understand this fully, especially at a time when complex Online Harms legislation is being planned.

This is also a really important opportunity to establish how the UK can establish a global leadership role in this area post-Brexit.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

This is an area where the UK has shown substantial international leadership and placed the issue on the agenda for many Government and international organisations. This includes the Council of Europe, where a recent report—led by Lord Foulkes—called for this issue to be followed up by national Parliaments as this proposal recommends.

If the policy is to continue to be successful and sustainable in the UK and internationally, it will be essential to:

- take stock of the initiatives that have taken place over the last three years;
- assess their effectiveness and how they can be made sustainable;
- ensure the UK is living up to the high standards it is expecting of other countries (and if not what must change);
- make recommendations to ensure that respect for media freedom is embedded across Government and not compartmentalised;
- look at the scope for the UK's leadership role on this issue in international organisations, including within the EU post Brexit; and
- look at the changing nature, in a digital age, of the threats to media freedom and journalist safety worldwide to inform the effective development of policy in the future.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

There are many Members of the House whose knowledge and expertise would be invaluable in such an inquiry. This includes those with knowledge of and experience in:

- the media (of which there are large numbers as recent debates on the BBC, on online harms and on journalist safety have shown);
- terrorism, cyber security and judicial matters which are at the heart of the changing nature of the threats to press freedom in the UK and globally;
- international relations, including relationships with the Commonwealth (where the UK has a significant role to play and where issues of media freedom are acute);
- international development (a key area for global press freedom and good governance);
- domestic and international law, which can help set the framework for future progress, as well as easing existing burdens; and
- global conflict, as media freedom is often under most intense pressure in post-conflict zones.

As a blend of domestic and international policy, it is ideally suited to the expertise of the House of Lords.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

Before the Government's initiatives in 2018 this is an area which was often compartmentalised as a "media-specific" issue, but it is not, as the Global Media Freedom Initiative has shown. To be successful this policy will need to be embedded across Government, as well as being an issue which is regularly included in the agendas for international organisations. (At the last Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Malta the issue was not even raised.) There will also need



to be far more significant co-operation across, and dialogue between, Government Departments than there ever has been before.

In domestic and Governmental terms, the brief specifically includes in direct policy areas:

- The Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- Department for International Development
- Ministry of Justice
- Cabinet Office and No 10
- Home Office and the police service
- Devolved Governments and relevant Departments
- Department for International Trade

*One-year time frame*

Yes.

*Additional comments*

Aspects of this brief as they relate just to the Foreign & Commonwealth Office were touched on by the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee last year. But the scope of this inquiry would be significantly wider—encompassing how to embed the issue in all Government Departments, how to frame policy with regard to future threats as well as looking at past behaviour, looking specifically at the UK's own domestic performance, and assessing the role of the UK post-Brexit in shaping international policy in this area. It would draw perfectly on the expertise and strengths of the House of Lords, and its recommendations would have significant domestic and global impact.

It probably needs no underlining, but the current COVID-19 pandemic highlights precisely why freedom of expression and media freedom on a global stage are important, and how dangerous their suppression can be for societies and for the public worldwide. What happens to the media in China demonstrably matters here. That is why an inquiry of this sort is so vital and so pressing.

Viscount Colville of Culross, Lord Foulkes of Cumnock, Lord Lexden, Lord Wakeham support this proposal.

***BLACK OF BRENTWOOD***

## Proposal 21: Letter from Lord Soley

### *These Islands*

#### *Description of proposal*

To examine and make recommendations on the links between the nations and regions of the UK with the object of strengthening and where appropriate renewing and developing those links. To provide evidence on where those links are weak or vulnerable and make proposals to strengthen them with the object of renewing and strengthening the Union.

#### *Purpose of inquiry*

It would recommend ways of strengthening the union of the UK and gaining a better understanding of the stresses and strains that lead to a fracturing of the Union. It would aim to enable the government and public and private bodies to gain greater understanding of the economic, political and social advantages of the Union.

#### *Relevant Member experience*

Members of the House have knowledge and experience of governmental structures, public and private bodies that cross regional and national lines within the UK. This knowledge puts them in a unique position to be able to recommend ways of strengthening the Union.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

It will address economic, social and cultural issues in the broadest sense and could touch on the work of many government departments.

#### *One-year time frame*

Yes. I would anticipate a maximum of one year. The committee would not be looking at the wider constitutional issues. It is essentially about improving the links between nations and regions and demonstrating the role and importance of the Union of the UK.

#### *Additional comments*

Some stresses and strains have emerged between the nations and regions of the UK in recent years, but the importance of regions and nations should not be allowed to reduce the importance of the Union in binding the people of these islands together. There is an underlying loyalty to the idea of Britain and the UK, but we have, I suggest, undervalued the importance of that loyalty in recent years. It needs to be rekindled and I hope this committee will help to do that.

Lord Bridges of Headley, Lord Brabazon of Tara, Lord Cormack, Lord Darling of Roulanish, Lord Foster of Bath, Baroness Liddell of Coatdyke, Lord Murphy of Torfaen, Baroness Quin and Lord Touhig support this proposal

**SOLEY**

## Proposal 22: Letter from Lord Lilley

*To investigate the ‘Crisis of Replication’ in science and ways of assuring the quality of scientific studies on which public policy is based.*

### *Description of proposal*

There is growing concern in the scientific world about the number of published, peer-reviewed studies whose findings cannot be replicated. Yet, if the results claimed for a scientific theory cannot be replicated, it cannot be true. Pfizer found they could not replicate three quarters of published results suggesting potential drugs. *The Economist* reported: “A rule of thumb among biotechnology venture-capitalists is that half of published research cannot be replicated. Even that may be optimistic - one biotech firm, Amgen, found they could reproduce just six of 53 ‘landmark’ studies in cancer research.”<sup>23</sup>

One of the most often downloaded articles of all time is Professor Ioannidis’ “Why Most Published Research Findings are False”<sup>24</sup>. Ioannidis explains that errors and bias occur at every stage from choice of research project through project design, selection of results and statistical tests of validity, to publication. For example, the standard statistical test of whether a result may be caused by random variation, works only if applied to a single experiment. But if, as is often the case in fashionable areas of research, multiple teams are trying to establish a particular result the chance of a random false positive result becomes large and the test ceases to be valid. However, Journals will usually publish only the single study showing the positive result and ignore those finding no such outcome. As a result, Ioannidis concludes: “For many current scientific fields, claimed research findings may often be simply accurate measures of the prevailing bias.”

In view of the huge sums of public money funding much published scientific research, it is important to establish whether this is the case and, if so, to seek ways of assuring higher quality in future especially in respect of scientific studies on which public policy is based.

### *Purpose of inquiry*

To establish whether there is a ‘crisis of Replication’ in peer-reviewed scientific research, especially that funded by the taxpayer.

To examine ways of assuring higher quality in published research.

To consider how the quality of research on which government policy is based may be assured.

### *Relevant Member experience*

The House contains:

- many prominent scientists, a number of whom will be familiar with this problem,
- peers familiar with statistical methodology,

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23 ‘How science goes wrong’, *The Economist* (21 October 2013): available at: <https://www.economist.com/leaders/2013/10/21/how-science-goes-wrong>

24 John P. A. Ioannidis, ‘Why Most Published Research Findings Are False’ *PLOS Medicine*, e124 (2005): <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.0020124>

- peers who have been responsible for development of public policy dependent on scientific research,
- peers who have been leaders of universities and research establishments who will be familiar with the pressures under which scientific research is carried out.

*Cross-Cutting Departmental Boundaries*

All Government Departments try to develop ‘evidence-based policy’ which often means relying on published research—and therefore should be alarmed if a significant portion of it may be invalid.

*One-year time frame*

Yes.

Lord McColl and Lord Ridley support this proposal.

**LILLEY**

## Proposal 23: Letter from Lord Browne of Ladyton

*To test the adequacy and resilience of the government's plans to deliver net zero carbon emissions by 2050*

### *Description of proposal*

It is recognised that climate change presents an existential threat. Leaders, including our own, have set a series of long-term grand targets to address this threat. Parliament and the public must be satisfied that they have and will fund the grand policies needed to achieve them and that they have anticipated the challenges of risk and resilience in these policies.

There is a need for a process of accountability to test robustly the adequacy and resilience of the government's plan to reach net-zero by 2050 and to examine the evidence-base for the plans themselves. The Climate Change Committee is an advisory body with no power to carry out this task. Accountability of this nature is the responsibility of Parliament. To date no Parliamentary committee has undertaken or has plans to undertake an inquiry of this nature. The House of Lords, with its diversity of membership and unique mix of scientific, technical, public policy and parliamentary experience, uniquely is placed to discharge this responsibility. From recent debates in your Lordship's House it has become apparent that there are competing views about the steps required to achieve this target. Even when steps are agreed, it is far from clear that they can be scaled up quickly enough to deliver the required change on time.

### *Purpose of inquiry*

The challenges of the Climate Change target, like the crisis created by the COVID-19 virus, are unprecedented. They are both difficult and complex. It is imperative that Parliament offers scrutiny. Government will value this external validation and political support for changed implementation where this is necessary.

The purpose of this inquiry is not only to make the government accountable for its policies in a very complex environment but to provide the support described above. No one debate or any number of written or oral questions can achieve this. What is necessary is a sustained, comprehensive probing of the diverse elements that combine to make up the policy to deliver this target, concluding in a substantial report, identifying the priorities for action in the short, medium and long term, a process for which the House of Lords is rightly admired and uniquely equipped to carry out.

### *Relevant Member experience*

Membership of the House of Lords represents a wide range of knowledge and expertise, including in science, engineering, technology, business, including finance, the armed forces, diplomacy and public service, as well as in politics itself. Generally, members of the House are elevated to the Lords, at a time in their careers when they have acquired considerable experience in their specific field of expertise and often a seniority and influence. Certainly, where that is the case, they can speak with authority and knowledge on behalf of the interests of their areas of knowledge.

The speakers who participated in the Climate Change debate on 6 February<sup>25</sup> and the Green Economy debate<sup>26</sup> on 12 March reflect not only the knowledge and

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<sup>25</sup> HL Deb, 6 February 2020, [cols 1939–1980](#)

<sup>26</sup> HL Deb, 12 March 2020, [cols 1161–1198](#)

experience of members of the House, but also the extent of the interest across the whole of the House, in this particular issue.

Arguably, only a committee that brought together such knowledge and experience could perform the task set out for this committee as the identified knowledge communities set out above and others would need to be at the core of any delivery mechanism set up to achieve net-zero by 2050.

#### *Cross-cutting departmental boundaries*

There is no Department of State whose purpose would not be adversely impacted by the manifestations of the climate change that the Climate Change Act seeks to prevent. Equally, there is no Department of State, left to their own capacity and capability, who could resist that change.

Success in achieving the net-zero target 2050 demands work in each department and across departments on a national basis. This is an all-Government target and only will be achieved if all of Government works together.

Further, the achievement of this target requires the focused engagement of every aspect and sector of our society as well as work with international partners and through international forums.

#### *One-year time frame*

It is capable of being completed within a year. Honestly, however, having reported and set out short, medium and long- term policy priorities for the government, it is certain that these matters will need to be the focus of future inquiries periodically between now and 2050.

The nature of the subject matter would make the inquiry ideally suited to the video-conferencing pilot activities now being carried out by the Committee Offices in both Houses of Parliament. The timing of the evidence session could be adjusted as necessary to fit round the availability of members, witnesses and staff.

#### *Additional comments*

Often, the word ‘existential’ is overused, but in the case of climate change it is used accurately. There is no more important challenge for the world than battling with the causes of climate change and overcoming them. Our ability to continue living on this planet is dependent on achieving that success. In their most recent report, the Climate Change Committee reported a “policy gap” and confirmed what other experts have said, that is that we are not on course with the required rates of change. We cannot stress sufficiently the urgency of this work.

**BROWNE OF LADYTON**

## Proposal 24: Letter from Lord O'Donnell and Lord Layard

### *Wellbeing as the guide to policy*

#### *Description of proposal*

Recent events make it more urgent than ever to review the fundamental objectives of our government, and how these objectives influence the choice of policies. On one view the overriding objective should be the wellbeing of the people. As you well know this view goes back to the 18th Century Anglo-Scottish enlightenment. But it has now become more feasible due to the new science of wellbeing. On the other side critics argue it is unfeasible or mistaken. Whatever one thinks no one can any longer pretend that GDP is the objective when the government has so deliberately reduced it. We need to define another objective just as in 1993 we found a new objective for macro-economic policy.

We would therefore like to suggest a select committee to examine the feasibility of "Wellbeing as the guide to policy".

This would arouse huge interest. There are plenty of competent witnesses for and some against. And the report could do a huge amount to clarify this crucial issue of the government's objectives.

**O'DONNELL AND LAYARD**

## APPENDIX 1: LIST OF MEMBERS AND DECLARATIONS OF INTEREST

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Lord Alton of Liverpool

**Genocide**

*I am a Patron or Trustee of several charities that have helped victims of genocide and crimes against humanity and advocated on their behalf, including the Coalition for Genocide Response established in October 2019*

**Children's well-being**

*No relevant interests to declare*

Baroness Armstrong of Hill Top

*Ambassador for Action for Children*

Baroness Barker

*Committee Member of the APPG on Population, Development and Reproductive Health*

*I co-chair the APPG on Sexual and Reproductive Health*

Lord Bates

*I have an interest in sport listed in the Register of Interests as a Board Member of the International Olympic Truce Foundation of the International Olympic Committee. Whilst the international Olympic truce is a mechanism for promoting peace and development internationally and this is a domestic focus on sport and recreation.*

*I am also 'Walking Ambassador' for the County of Northumberland and Founder of the Walk for Peace Charitable Foundation.*

Lord Beecham

*I am a city councillor in Newcastle and a member of its Health Scrutiny committee. I am also an honorary Vice President of the Local Government Association*

Baroness Bennett of Manor Castle

**Risk assessment and risk planning**

*No relevant interests to declare*

**Children's well-being**

*No relevant interests to declare*

**Net Zero Roadmap to 2050**

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Bilimoria

*Chancellor of the University of Birmingham and the Commonwealth Games are occurring in Birmingham in 2022.*

*Please also see the Register*

Lord Bird

*I am co-chair of the APPG for Future Generation*

Lord Black of Brentwood

*I have a number of media interests listed in the Register. Of those specifically engaged in this issue, I am Deputy Chairman of Telegraph Media Group, Vice President of News Media Europe, Patron of the Rory Peck Trust, Chairman of the Commonwealth Press Union Media Trust, Director of the Regulatory Funding Company and a Special Adviser to Albany Associates.*

Lord Blunkett

*Former Home Secretary. I introduced the original national identity card scheme as Home Secretary.*

Lord Brabazon of Tara

*No relevant interests to declare*



Lord Bridges of Headley

*I am a Trustee of the Ditchley Foundation.*

Baroness Brown of Cambridge

*I am vice Chair of the Committee on Climate Change and chair of its Adaptation Committee. I am also chair of the Carbon Trust.*

*I also have a significant (greater than £50k) shareholding in Rolls-Royce plc but have sold most of my BP shares (which are listed in the Register of interests as being more than £50k). I am also Sector Champion for the Offshore Wind Sector Deal, and unpaid role in which I work closely with the Offshore Wind Industry Council.*

Lord Browne of Ladyton

*No relevant interests to declare*

Earl of Caithness

*I declare my interest as a former Surveyor (FRICS) with Agricultural and land use experience.*

Lord Cameron of Dillington

*I should say that my family has farming, forestry and landowning interests including commercial and domestic property in rural Somerset. I am a member of the National Trust, the NFU and CLA and I am a fellow of the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors.*

Baroness Campbell of Surbiton

*Disabled, but past retirement age*

Lord Campbell-Savours

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Carlile of Berriew

*No relevant interests to declare*

***The problem with “marriages” that are not marriages***

*No relevant interests to declare*

***Genocide***

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Bishop of Carlisle

*Lead Bishop for Health and Social Care*

*President of Silloth Nursing Home*

*Former member of Select Committee on the sustainability of the NHS and Social Care.*

Lord Clark of Windermere

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Clement-Jones

*I speak frequently on these issues, chaired the AI Ad Hoc (Special Inquiry) Select Committee and Co-Chair and founder of the All Party Parliamentary AI Group.*

Lord Collins of Highbury

*No relevant interests to declare*

Viscount Colville of Culcross

*I am a freelance TV producer. Until the end of April I am a freelance series producer working for RawTV making content for CNN.*

Lord Cormack

*No relevant interests to declare*

Baroness Corston

*Previous member of the House of Commons in a constituency where there were a lot of marriages according to Islamic law, and I am sure that not all of them were followed by a marriage under domestic law.*

### Baroness Cox

*Baroness Cox is an officer of the APPG on 'Honour'-Based Abuse, which has heard numerous testimonies from Muslim women in religious-only marriages.*

*Baroness Cox's current Private Member's Bill [Marriage Act 1949 (Amendment) Bill] seeks to protect Muslim women in religious-only marriages. Its provisions create an offence of purporting to solemnise an unregistered marriage.*

*Baroness Cox's previous Private Member's Bill [Arbitration and Mediation Services] placed a duty on public bodies to ensure that couples in religious-only marriages are made aware of their (lack of) legal rights under English law. The Bill was introduced in six consecutive Parliamentary Sessions and received three Second Reading debates in the House of Lords, with widespread cross-party support.<sup>27</sup>*

*The above Bills are strongly supported by many organisations concerned with the suffering of vulnerable women, including Karma Nirvana, the Council for Muslims Facing Tomorrow, British Arabs Supporting Universal Women's Rights (BASIRA) and the Muslim Women's Advisory Council.*

### Lord Crisp

*I do some work with the Oracle Partnership It is not directly involved in risk assessment but does develop future scenarios*

### Lord Darling of Roulanish

*I chaired the Better Together campaign in 2014*

*See Register of Members Interests*

### Lord Bishop of Derby

*I am Vice Chair of Trustees of The Children's Society. I am the Church of England lead Bishop for Sport (oversight which includes social, health and well-being for all ages)*

*I have held responsibility in the past for diocesan social responsibility engagement and training (in the Diocese of Chester) for children, young people and families. I have been a trustee of an Adoption Agency.*

### Lord Dholakia

*Lord Dholakia is an officer of the APPG on 'Honour'-Based Abuse, which has heard numerous testimonies from Muslim women in religious-only marriages.*

*I have served and attended a number of APPG dealing with this subject*

### Baroness Doocoy

*During the 2012 Olympic and Paralympics build up, I chaired the committees which monitored the delivery of the Games for both the London Assembly's and the Metropolitan Police Authority.*

*My particular interest is using sport to help in particular children from disadvantaged backgrounds.*

### Lord Duncan of Springbank

*Until the recent re-shuffle I was the UK Government Minister for Climate Change. In that capacity I represented the UK Government at various international climate change gatherings.*

*As an MEP, I was the Parliament's rapporteur on Carbon Trading reform as well as a number of other climate-related pieces of legislation. I was also a parliamentary delegate to the UN Climate conferences in Lima, Paris, and Marrakech.*

*Earlier in my career I worked for BP. I am also a qualified geologist.*

### Lord Bishop of Durham

*Acting Chair of the National Society*

Baroness Eaton

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Faulkner of Worcester

*No remunerated interests: Lord Faulkner chairs the Great Western Railway advisory board, is president of the Heritage Railway Association, and is an officer in the rail, and heritage rail APPGs.*

Lord Filkin

*No relevant interests to declare*

Baroness Finlay of Llandaff

***The problem of “marriages” that are not marriages***

*My daughters goddaughter has entered into a sharia marriage and does not yet have a civil wedding arranged*

***Children’s well-being***

*I chair the National Mental Capacity Forum and the Commission on Alcohol Harms*

Baroness Fookes

*Co-Chairman of All Party Parliamentary Gardening and Horticulture Group.*

*Member of the Royal Horticultural Society*

*Member of the European Boxwood and Topiary Society*

Lord Foster of Bath

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Foulkes of Cumnock

*I was the PACE General rapporteur on Media Freedom and The Safety of Journalists up to 31st. December 2019 and the Rapporteur for a Report on the issue*

Baroness Garden of Frogmal

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Bishop of Gloucester

*No interests declared*

Lord Green of Deddington

*General interest stems from a Foreign & Commonwealth Office career largely in the Middle East*

Baroness Greengross

*No interests declared*

Lord Griffiths of Burry Port

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Grocott

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Hannay of Chiswick

*I was U.K. Permanent Representative to the UN Security Council when two genocides took place (Rwanda and Srebrenica) without the UN being able to do anything effective about it. I was a member of Kofi Annan’s High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change which has the prevention of genocide at its heart and gave rise to the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine which has had patchy observance. I have spoken up often about genocidal activity in Iraq and Syria. And I served on the House’s Committee on Sexual Violence in Conflict. I am co-chair of the UN APPG.*

Lord Harries of Pentregarth

*I have in the past been a member both of the HFEA and the Nuffield Council on Bioethics*

*When I was Bishop of Oxford I had the privilege of chairing the Select Committee on Stem Cell Research which reported in 2002.*

Lord Hennessy of Nympsfield

*I am a Fellow of the British Academy and was involved in their post-2008 Crash seminars. I've also written the occasional paper on the theme and a history called *The Secret State: Preparing For The Worst 1945–2010**

Lord Hollick

*I am a Director of Honeywell, a US headquartered multi industry conglomerate which manufactures, installs and services control systems to manage energy use efficiently. Customers include the Department of Defence and Walmart who have thanks to Honeywell's technologies, achieved savings in energy use in excess of 20%.*

Baroness Hollins

*My interest are in the needs of Children with disabilities and I should declare that I chair Books Beyond Words, a charity which creates and distributes resources to support the social, emotional and mental health of children and young people*

Lord Hylton

*15 grandchildren*

Baroness Jones of Mouslecoomb

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Judd

***Risk assessment***

*See Register of Members Interests*

***Children's well-being***

*I am a father, a grandfather, a member of the Church of England and President of the Labour Human Rights Campaign*

Lord Kalms

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Krebs

*I have four relevant interests to declare: (a) I advise the energy company Drax on the sustainability of their woody biofuels (b) I am a member of the Advisory Board of the Energy and Climate Intelligence Unit (c) I chair the Advisory Board of a Wellcome Trust funded research programme at Oxford University, on the impacts of meat consumption on health and the environment (d) I am a member of the Royal Society's working group on Climate Change.*

Lord Laming

*Career was in social work and has a particular care about family support services and the protection of children at risk*

Lord Layard

*Chair of Action for Happiness*

Lord Bishop of Leeds

*I continue to lecture, preach and write in Germany. I am part of an academic project based at Manchester University researching languages*

Lord Lexden

*No relevant interests to declare*

Baroness Liddell of Coatdyke

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Lilley

*No relevant interests to declare*

Baroness Lister of Burtersett

***Children's well-being***

*I am hon president of child poverty action group and the chair of a British Academy working group on childhood*

***The problem of “marriages” that are not marriages***

*No relevant interests to declare*

The Earl of Lytton

*I am a practising chartered surveyor (due to retire from most professional work in June 2020) with some limited involvement with this area but have received several communications in my parliamentary post, highlighting problems.*

Lord Mair

*My particular interests relevant are resilience of national infrastructure and the risk of natural hazards. Until recently I was Head of Civil Engineering at Cambridge University and was President of the Institution of Civil Engineers (2017–18). I am currently Chair of the Science Advisory Council of the Department of Transport.*

Baroness Massey of Darwen

***The problem of “marriages” that are not marriages***

*I am a member of the Joint Committee on Human Rights, co - chair of the APPG on Young People’s Health and Secretary of the APPG on Humanism*

***Children’s well-being***

*I am on the Children Sub Committee ( previously Chair) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and engaged in writing 2 reports on Violence Against Children and Child Participation*

*I am co- chair of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Young People’s Health and on the committee of the APPG on children*

*I am a patron of a number of children’s charities*

*I am a Lady Taverner, a cricket charity which fund raises to buy equipment to enable disabled children to take part in sport*

Lord McColl

*I am a Professor Emeritus University of London*

Lord McConnell of Glenscorrodale

*I chair the Commonwealth Games Scotland Endowment Fund which helps fund the kit and general preparations for Team Scotland for the Commonwealth Games and the Commonwealth Youth Games.*

*I am the Honorary President of Scottish Athletics.*

*As Chancellor of the University of Stirling, I should perhaps note that Stirling University is designated the Scottish University for Sporting Excellence and the University has considerable interest in sport, including the provision of facilities on campus for the headquarters of a number of sports governing bodies.*

*All of the above interests are voluntary, I receive no financial payment for my involvement.*

*I am a member of the judging panel of the Annual Team Scotland Scottish Sports Awards.*

*Professorial Fellow, University of Stirling, Scotland*

Baroness McGregor-Smith

*No interests declared*

Baroness Meacher

*Since running the Child Poverty Action Group’s (successful) campaign for the introduction of Child Benefit in the early 1970s I have had a 50 year interest in child poverty and child welfare. I have contributed to countless debates on welfare legislation with a particular interest in the impact of legislation on children, since becoming a cross-bench peer.*

*I worked in child care as a front line social worker at the beginning of my career, and finished up as Chair of the East London NHS mental health*

*Trust for nine years. We ran CAMHS services and an in-patient unit for children with severe psychiatric problems. I understand the consequences of the persistent under funding of these services relative to the physical health services.*

*I have chaired the APPG for Drug Policy Reform in Parliament for about ten years, and through this work have been very much in touch with the consequences for teenagers of inadequate youth and drug treatment services. We are aware of good practice in other Countries.*

Lord Moynihan

*No current interests. Former Chairman of the British Olympic Committee; Member of the 2012 Olympic Board and one time Olympic silver medallist (rowing 1980).*

Lord Murphy of Torfaen

*Held the positions of Secretary of State for Wales and for Northern Ireland and was a Welsh MP*

Baroness Neuberger

*I chair both UCLH and the Whittington Hospital NHS Trusts, I am a Trustee of the Rayne Foundation which makes some grants towards children's interests, and I chair the Schwab Westheimer Trusts which provide grants for young asylum seekers to access education. Most, but not all, are at college/university level, but a few are for laptops for young looked after asylum seeking children. I am also a trustee of the Netherlands based Van Leer Foundation, where the key objective is the welfare of children.*

Baroness Neville-Jones

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord O'Donnell

*No interests declared*

Baroness O'Loan

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Bishop of Oxford

*As Bishop of Oxford I am involved in various environmental matters both within the Diocese of Oxford (which has over 800 churches and 282 schools) and in the Church of England's national environmental work. I am one of three Lords Spiritual who leads on environment and climate change matters.*

*I am a member of the Advisory Board of the University of Oxford's Environmental Change Institute, the Patron of the charity Hope for the Future which campaigns on environmental issues and a founding Board member of the UK Government's Centre for Data Ethics and Innovation.*

Lord Patel

*I am fellow of Acad Medical sciences and Royal Society of Edinburgh  
Member of Professional Advisory Committee, Vopulus Limited (medical education technology)*

*Professor of Obstetrics & Consultant Obstetrician, Ninewells Hospital, University of Dundee (retired)*

*Member, UK-Israel Science Council*

Lord Bishop of Portsmouth

*No relevant interests*

Baroness Quin

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Ramsbotham

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Ravensdale

*See Register of Members Interests*

Lord Rees of Ludlow

*Founder of Centre for the Study of Existential Risk (An academic institute at the University of Cambridge that researches risks)*

Lord Ridley

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Rooker

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Shutt of Greetland

*No remunerated interests. Lord Shutt is a vice-chair of the heritage rail APPG*

Baroness Smith of Newnham

*I sit on the Lords' International Relations and Defence Committee and have contributed on questions relating to genocide*

Lord Soley

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Tebbit

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Teverson

*I have a non-financial interest as a Trustee of Regen SW, which is a membership organisation in the area of clean energy. I am not a trustee that is on its board, but one that protects its constitution.*

*I have an indirect interest as co-chair of the Cornwall and Isles of Scilly Local Nature Partnership for which I receive an honorarium. However it's remit does not cover climate change as such.*

*I have a further non-financial interest as a trustee of the Green Purposes Company, a not for profit company whose sole purpose is to hold the 'green share' in the privatised Green Investment Bank*

Baroness Tonge

*Baroness Jenny Tonge is the Joint-Chair of the UK APPG on Population, Development and Reproductive Health*

*Want to improve health service provisions for women and girls in the UK with a particular focus on reducing- abortion gestation, -NHS expenditure and improve the quality of care experienced by women and girls in need of Abortion services*

Baroness Thomas of Winchester

*Disabled, but past retirement age*

Lord Touhig

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Trees

*As a veterinarian, I have a specific interest in animal health and biosecurity, but I also have great interest and concern for the natural environment.*

Baroness Tyler of Enfield

*My only direct interests are as a former Chair of CAFCASS (I stepped down in April 2018) and as President of the National Children's Bureau where I stepped down at the end of last year.*

*I am also a Board member of Social Work England.*

Baroness Uddin

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Vinson

*No relevant interests to declare*

Lord Wakeham

*I spent 9 years as the Chairman of the Press Complaints Commission concerned with both Standards of the Press and the Maintenance of a Free and Responsible Press*

Baroness Watkins of Tavistock

*Registered Nurse*

Baroness Wheatcroft

***Risk assessment and risk planning***

*No relevant interests to declare*

***National plan for sport and recreation***

*No relevant interests to declare*

Baroness Young of Old Scone

*Chairman of the Woodland Trust*

*Chancellor of Cranfield University*

*Vice-President of RSPB*

*Commissioner on the RSA Commission on the Future of Food, Farming  
and the Countryside*

A full list of members' interests can be found in the Register of Lords' Interests:

[http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-interests/  
register-of-lords-interests](http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-interests/register-of-lords-interests)