

Wednesday, 8th July 2026

(10.00 am)

(Proceedings due to commence at 10.30 am)

(10.30 am)

Introductory statement by THE CHAIR

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: In memory of the three girls who so tragically died two years ago and to mark our profound respect for the courage and resilience of all those who were physically and psychologically injured as a consequence of what occurred at the Hart Space on 29 July 2024, along with their families, please join me in standing for a minute's silence.

(Pause)

Thank you. Today marks the anniversary of the opening of Phase 1 of this Inquiry, a notable coincidence which leads me to express my profound thanks, yet again but with undimmed force, for the exceptional patience and encouragement on the part of the surviving victims and their families, but also for the high level of co-operation by all the Core Participants and those who have been supporting and assisting them.

In a similar vein, I have been keenly aware of the consistent and exceptional hard work on the part of the Inquiry team. This impressive spirit of collaboration

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"(a) The findings of the Southport Inquiry Report were, rightly, unsparing. The perpetrator came into contact with the state on countless occasions in the years leading up to the attack. Failures in both systems and culture meant multiple opportunities were missed to stop this atrocity. That is unacceptable.

(b) I am clear that the Inquiry must act as a turning point. In honour of the victims, their families and all affected, meaningful change must now follow.

(c) In keeping with that aim, we are accepting all the recommendations for central Government in the Phase 1 Report. My department is taking the lead on coordinating this work, with support from the various departments that share responsibility for delivering against the recommendations. Our collective commitment to meeting the outcomes intended by Sir Adrian is absolute. We need to get this right, but I am clear about the need for urgency. The government will update on its progress ahead of Phase 2 of the Inquiry concluding next year."

The Home Secretary therefore accepted without equivocation that the fundamental risk posed by AR had been neither understood nor managed appropriately. With respect, I suggest that this is a wholly promising

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has put us in the position of having a real chance of fulfilling our commitment of completing the entire Inquiry process within two years.

There have been three departures from the Inquiry team that I want to mark. Caroline Featherstone, the solicitor to the Inquiry, has retired. Kate Anderson, the secretary to the Inquiry, has for the most understandable of reasons moved on to a new role. Their contribution to Phase 1 and the help that Kate Anderson has given to the preparation for Phase 2 has been quite exceptional. I wish publicly to acknowledge the truly significant role they have both played. They have been replaced respectively by Ross Howarth and Russell Knight as solicitor and secretary to the Inquiry. I am delighted they have both accepted these roles.

John Goss, one of the junior counsel to the Inquiry, also departs today to fulfil professional commitments to which I was fully aware he was bound prior to our commencing Phase 1. He has made an enormous contribution for which he has my considerable thanks.

I have been exceptionally pleased with the strong response by the Government to the Phase 1 Report and our Recommendations. The Home Secretary, in her introduction to the response, stated last week, and I quote:

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reaction to the Phase 1 Report and we will monitor closely how this admirably expressed commitment unfolds. There is now a Home Office led task force which is focusing on this critical area, a development about which Nicholas Moss, lead counsel to the Inquiry, will provide more details in a moment.

But this is not just about central government. I need to emphasise that across the board there have been extremely positive responses to the Phase 1 Recommendations. A little later today a summary will be provided of the up-to-date position in this regard and Mr Moss will explain the steps we are intending to take to monitor the progress to the Phase 1 Recommendations, and to call defaulters to account (something which I hope will be wholly unnecessary).

Furthermore, not least because of the events two years ago, there has been significant activity on the part of a number of individuals and bodies as regards the risks posed by this violence-fixated cohort, and we will seek to ensure that we do not simply replicate, repeat, or interfere with steps that are being suggested or taken by others, whilst at all times recognising that we are in no sense bound by the conclusions of any of them. These include the reports by Lord Anderson and Jonathan Hall KC (respectively, the former and present

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Independent Reviewers of terrorism legislation), the report of the independent Commission on UK Counter Terrorism Law, Policy and Practice and the report from the Home Affairs Committee.

From these we find, for instance, clear support for Lord Anderson's suggested approach for Prevent to be connected to a broader safeguarding violence reduction system. We should not underestimate however the challenges of adapting existing arrangements, whether multi-agency or otherwise, to accommodate the management of those fixated with violence, particularly given the existing considerable pressures on the Prevent and other programmes. Additionally, I note there is ongoing work by various other bodies, including by His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services. Again, Mr Moss will expand on these aspects.

The strong and positive reaction to the Phase 1 Report, as generously expressed by a wide range of interested bodies and individuals, has deepened my belief that as a society we need, in the aftermath of events as devastating as the present, to reach a rapid understanding of what actually happened and why (which self-evidently was our objective in Phase 1), thereafter speedily identifying and then implementing the overarching changes necessary to address effectively the

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involved, and which can readily be applied. I consider it of particular importance that it is absolutely clear for the future where responsibility lies for monitoring and ensuring that the right action is taken, particularly when a number of different agencies are involved. Multi-agency working really must be effective in this context and not just an aspiration or a slogan. Our proposals at the end of this process, therefore, must offer a real prospect of effecting substantive change. I suspect that in pursuing that objective, outdated and, whether or not outdated, incompatible IT systems may yet prove to be one of the greatest challenges.

All of that said, I am resolutely optimistic that between all of us we are well placed to identify the causes of past failures, along with sensible and effective means of implementing real change. But the detail must await the evidence and submissions that the Inquiry will hear starting in the early autumn. The evidence sessions will be spread over September, October, and November, and if needed early December. More than anything else, young people must be diverted from the thoughts and impulses which motivated AR in July 2024. We are confronted with a growing challenge from violence-fixated individuals who all too often are

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fixation with violence on the part of a growing number of people (which is our task in Phase 2). In a sentence, we must now, with the greatest care but also at speed, do all we can to prevent a repetition of the events in Southport two years ago, which were, tragically, wholly avoidable.

The victims and their families will be at the very centre of our work during Phase 2, not least because they have the right to expect that we remain -- as I hope will be the case -- unwaveringly focused, efficient and effective in our work and that we identify, wherever they exist, the changes of substance that must be made as to how we address those who have a dangerous preoccupation with significant violence.

I want to emphasise at this point that my ambition is that the solutions we identify are practicable, readily enforceable and proportionate. There is no point in coming up with complicated, labour-intensive new systems, or adjustments to existing arrangements, only then to syphon resources away from organisations running existing vital programmes. We must strive to identify mechanisms and changes which do not impose unrealistic additional financial burdens on our already strained public resources. We must seek out ways of intervening which will be clearly understood by all

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not acting out of an adherence to a particular ideology. Instead, the reasons for their interest in violence is various and as a consequence they can be extremely difficult to identify. All too often they will be acting entirely alone, having spent endless hours in solitude relentlessly online.

The Inquiry team has worked hard to identify a range of ways by which we will achieve a real level of understanding of this problem and the solutions to it. Mr Moss will explain in a moment the extent and the detail of the mixed approach that we will take to the evidence.

But before I handover to him I want to stress very shortly four limited aspects of what is to come. First, we are going to look closely at the themes that emerge from six case studies involving other individuals which bear at least some strong similarities to the position of AR. We anticipate these cases may reveal common patterns, along with gaps within and between the agencies, such as existed in the present case, with the inevitable consequential missed opportunities. They will highlight a range of other systemic issues. I want to stress that we will not be re-investigating those cases, nor will we be conducting separate inquiries into them. Instead, we will seek to identify lessons from

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others who have planned offending in similar circumstances.

I need to stress that throughout Phase 2, the Inquiry will refer to all of those six case studies by cipher. I have adopted this approach because the Inquiry's focus is on the wider themes and issues that emerge from them, rather than the circumstances of any particular individual. It also reflects my desire, consistent with the approach we have taken in relation to AR, to avoid conferring further notoriety on those who have committed or contemplated acts of serious violence and to minimise the risk of imitation.

In relation to two of the case studies, A and B, I have made an anonymity order. That order has been made because there are significant issues concerning risk and it would be inappropriate to identify those individuals or to provide details that could lead to their identities being revealed through what is often referred to as "jigsaw identification". The media have been given notice of the terms of these restrictions, and the anonymity order is published on the Inquiry's website. I therefore remind all those reporting on these proceedings that those restrictions must be respected fully and at all times.

Mr Moss will, today, name the remaining four

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critical for our understanding of matters as diverse as the impact of the psychiatric and psychological make up of the members of this violent cohort; the effectiveness in the present context of the Prevent programme; the risk management structures that are available other than that provided by Prevent; and the operation of our current offender management systems. We will look at the processes and procedures implemented in other countries to address these problems; we will consider the adverse influence of the online world (which is a particular and deep concern of mine); and we will reflect on the adequacy of our existing statutory and regulatory framework in this context.

Third, we have issued eight sets of highly detailed questionnaires nationwide which I am going to leave to Mr Moss to explain, to avoid duplication. But the results which will be expertly analysed, could well be of truly significant interest.

And fourth, we will call a wide range of witnesses to give what I'm going to describe as "conventional evidence", which will be provided in response to the extensive Rule 9 witness statement requests issued by the Inquiry over the last month or so.

The scale of the task before us is, therefore, considerable, not least because the problem we have been

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individuals referred to as case studies C to F. But that will be the only time during the entirety of these proceedings when their names will be used. Thereafter they will simply be referred to by their cypher. Accordingly, whilst the identities of case studies C to F are to be disclosed, I ask and encourage all editors, broadcasters and publishers not to name those individuals in their reporting. Instead, I would ask that the relevant cipher is used throughout, including when reference is first made to them. This request is not intended to limit reporting on the circumstances of those cases or the issues they raise. Rather, it is intended to reduce the risk of providing them with the notoriety they seek and to minimise the risk of imitation attacks. I am grateful for the constructive approach taken by the media during Phase 1, particularly in respecting our request not to publish AR's custody photograph. I urge that his image or his custody photograph is not used in the reporting of Phase 2 out of respect for the serious impact those two representations of his image have on the victims and their families.

Returning to the ways in which we will receive evidence, secondly, there will be a series of thematic seminars with carefully selected experts who will be

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asked to address is profound and cannot be solved by some easy, quick-fix remedy. But we will do all in our power to provide a range of practical and enforceable solutions by the Spring of next year when we deliver the Phase 2 report. Our core objective is to assist in bringing about real change given the devastation that can be wrought by those fixated on violence in this way. The victims of AR's grotesque actions on 29 July 2024 deserve nothing less.

That concludes my opening. We will now take just over a 15-minute break until 11.10 am when Mr Moss will provide CTI's opening.

(10.55 am)

(A short break)

(11.10 am)

CTI's Opening Statement

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Mr Moss, I will leave you to choose an appropriate point in the opening for us to break for lunch.

MR MOSS: Thank you, sir.

May it please you, sir, the starting point for our Phase 2 work is, and must be, Elsie, Alice and Bebe, each of them murdered by AR and their family members, and it is C1, C2, C3, C4, C5 and C6, Leanne Lucas and Jonathan Hayes, each of whom were stabbed by AR and

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suffered severe psychological trauma. And it is children J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W and X along with Heidi Liddle who evaded physical injury but also suffered severe psychological trauma.

Phase 1 of this Inquiry has established -- in necessary but I regret in distressing detail -- what happened both on the day these innocent victims were attacked, but also with the agencies involved with AR in the years that led up to it.

The task now for Phase 2 of this Inquiry is in essence to consider the present arrangements for violence-fixated individuals in the four topic areas set out in our Phase 2 Terms of Reference. To critically analyse their adequacy and to make effective and pragmatic recommendations, to minimise the risk of any repeat of such an unimaginably dreadful attack in the future.

With that in mind, in this opening we are going to address three issues.

First, an explanation for how the responses to the phase 1 recommendations will be monitored in this Phase 2.

Second, an update on the work that has already been done in Phase 2 in each of the areas you have already introduced, sir. So, the case studies, the

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Sir, you have made clear that respecting both the proper remit of your powers and the delineation of responsibility between on the one hand an inquiry chair and, on the other hand, government and other bodies to whom recommendations are made, you wish to monitor closely the progress made towards effective implementation of your recommendations.

Accordingly, between 30 April and 5 May this year, all of the departments and organisations to whom your Phase 1 recommendations were made were contacted by the Inquiry. They were informed in clear terms that you will be taking that close interest in how the recommendations are considered and taken forward.

An update was requested on your behalf within six weeks, setting out what work has been currently undertaken, requesting timescales for completion or implementation and any foreseeable issues or matters on which progress was dependent.

It is right that I should list publicly those contacted which is as follows: Alder Hey Children's NHS Foundation Trust, Amazon, the Care Quality Commission, The College of Policing, Counter Terrorism Policing Headquarters, Counter Terrorism Policing North West, the Department for Education, the Department for Health and Social Care, the Department for Science, Innovation and

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questionnaires, our planned seminars and the remainder of the Phase 2 hearing programme of more conventional forms of evidence.

And third, we will give an introduction to each of the four topics in the Phase 2 terms of reference.

I will start, sir, with how the Phase 1 recommendations will be monitored in Phase 2. You have made some 67 recommendations in your Phase 1 Report. Of those, ten were recommendations that were, wholly or in part, raised matters that you said should be considered further in Phase 2.

In those early meetings with the victims, and in submissions, you have heard the importance that they, rightly, attribute to effective and speedy implementation of improvements in response to your recommendations; that is to say the need for real, tangible change. They have stressed that they are well aware that there have been a multiplicity of recommendations from earlier atrocities. They have a perhaps understandable scepticism about the effectiveness of action taken in relation to public inquiry recommendations in the past. The sentiment that has been expressed to the Inquiry is that "lessons will be learned" and "lessons have been learned" have been said so often that it feels like a debased currency.

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Technology, the Department for Transport, Greater Manchester Mental Health Foundation Trust who were of course responsible for the relevant Forensic CAMHS service, the Home Office, Lancashire Constabulary, Lancashire County Council, the Law Commission, Merseyside Police, the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local government, the Metropolitan Police, the National Police Chiefs' Council, the National Ambulance Resilience Unit, whose functions have now been taken over by the NHS Resilience Emergency Capabilities Unit, NHS England, the Northwest Ambulance Service and the Youth Justice Board.

So I can't give the full details today, it would take too long, but I am pleased to be able to update in the following general terms:

First, there have been replies from every one of these organisations and copies of the most relevant correspondence have been collated and were made available to the Core Participants earlier this week.

Secondly, for the recipients of recommendations other than central government departments, I'm pleased to be able to update that all of the recipients appear to be proceeding on the basis that they have accepted your recommendations, and their focus is now on implementing them.

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1 Thirdly, as you have already referenced, sir,
2 earlier this morning, the formal response of the
3 government to the Phase 1 Report was issued last week on
4 2nd July and the Home Secretary makes clear that the
5 Government formally accepts each of the recommendations
6 that are for central government to deliver.

7 Importantly, however, beyond that, the Home Secretary
8 has made clear that the government also agrees with all
9 67 recommendations. We understand that to mean that
10 where the Inquiry has made recommendations to bodies
11 other than central government, the government positively
12 supports the recommendations that you have made.

13 On any view, central government's response to the
14 Phase 1 Report released last week is detailed,
15 considered and encouraging. As the response itself
16 acknowledges, however, much work is still required, and
17 as you have indicated, sir, the Inquiry will be engaging
18 very closely with the Home Office as the lead department
19 in the weeks and months to come.

20 Fourthly, sir, the responses from all other
21 recipients are also in broad summary for the very most
22 part meaningful and engaging. May I just mention two
23 recommendation recipients. In particular, firstly,
24 CTPHQ, that is Counter Terrorism Policing Headquarters,
25 have provided a detailed response but some of the detail

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1 not to do so.

2 Looking beyond the second update stage at the end of
3 August, sir, you have set aside some time towards the
4 end of the envisaged Phase 2 oral hearings at the end of
5 November, or possibly the start of December, for calling
6 for witness evidence, live witness evidence, from the
7 organisations to whom Phase 1 recommendations have been
8 made. Those hearing slots are in place so that you can
9 hear in public transparently from any organisation whose
10 response to Phase 1 recommendations appears in your
11 judicial assessment to be falling short, whether in
12 substance or in timeliness. Recipients of
13 recommendations will, therefore, wish to bear that
14 carefully in mind, we would suggest, and ensure that
15 their responses continue to be detailed, meaningful and
16 candid as they have been so far.

17 As you have already observed however, sir, it is
18 hoped of course that this will be wholly unnecessary.

19 Can I turn then to an update on the work that has
20 already been done in Phase 2. I should start with Core
21 Participants, if I may. Those to whom you have granted
22 Core Participant status for Phase 2 are, first of all,
23 of course, the parents of Alice, Bebe and Elsie, the
24 parents of the other child victims and the three adult
25 victims.

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1 in that response for understandable reasons relates to
2 sensitive matters and so a disclosable version is being
3 prepared and Core Participants will be provided with
4 that as soon as practicable. They have been fully
5 co-operative.

6 Sir, recommendation 67 relates to the Law Commission
7 and Core Participants can be reassured that you, sir,
8 have been liaising personally and directly with the Law
9 Commission at a very senior level on that
10 recommendation.

11 Next steps on Phase 1 recommendations. The early
12 signs are, then, encouraging. However, the Inquiry will
13 be writing to all of these organisations again next week
14 setting a deadline for a further update, which is likely
15 to be Friday 28 August. All the organisations
16 concerned, and I have listed them, should please note
17 that following the first set of updates already given,
18 the Inquiry's intensity of scrutiny will be increasing
19 for this second update. For some recommendation
20 recipients there will be targeted questions asking for
21 more detail and assurance on points on their initial
22 responses and the Inquiry will circulate these second
23 updates to Core Participants, but it is also intended
24 that they will be published on the Inquiry's website in
25 September unless there are good public interest reasons

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1 Other Core Participants are Counter Terrorism
2 Policing Headquarters, the Crown Prosecution Service,
3 the Department for Education, the Department of Health
4 and Social Care, the Department for Science Innovation
5 and Technology, the Local Government Association,
6 the Ministry of Justice, the National Crime Agency, NHS
7 England, the Secretary of State for the Home Department
8 and the Youth Justice Board.

9 Sir, for good and understandable reasons, not all
10 the advocates are present today for those Core
11 Participants, so with your permission, sir, if I may,
12 I will introduce them on a later occasion. I should
13 however just mention that we are fortunate that Alex
14 Jamieson and Genevieve Woods have joined as junior
15 counsel to the Inquiry.

16 Two bodies sought Core Participant status which you
17 have decided not to grant. One of those has made
18 further representations and the existing Core
19 Participants will be kept informed in that regard when
20 you have made a decision on those further
21 representations.

22 Can I turn next, please, to witness statement
23 requests under Rule 9 of the Inquiry rules.

24 Under Rule 9, the Inquiry legal team has worked
25 intensely on the programme of witness statement requests

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under that rule. The position we have reached is that the Inquiry legal team has very clearly completed the requests to bodies and individuals that the Inquiry itself has identified as being most likely able to assist in Phase 2.

Needless to say, however, the door to others being requested to make witness statements is not closed. Those to whom we have already issued witness statement requests may well identify others who can assist, and may I stress that Core Participants may also identify others as well.

However, in this first major phase of issuing Rule 9 requests, from the first request that was made on 20 May to this morning, the Inquiry has issued some 69 requests for witness statements and by the close of play on Friday of this week the final 17 or so will have been issued. Some of those may be to several similar groups, for example, retailers, so the final number may be a little higher than 17.

The requested return time for more straightforward witness statement requests is two weeks, extending to four weeks for the most complex. And, sir, I will come back to that.

Some of these Rule 9 requests, particularly those to government departments, agencies, policing bodies and

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TikTok, Roblox, Discord, Snapchat and Reddit.

We have also sent Rule 9s on the online environment aspect importantly to parent groups and other interest groups in this area: to the Molly Rose Foundation, the Centre for Countering Digital Hate, NSPCC, the Breck foundation, the UK internet Safety Centre and the Internet Watch Foundation. We will also be sending Rule 9 requests to both Moonshot and the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, both of whom are active in the area of terrorist and other new threats including VFIs and including in the sphere of the online environment.

On Prevent, we will have engaged with and we will shortly be sending a Rule 9 request to the new Prevent Commissioner, Tim Jacques, and I shall mention others in this area in the context of the seminar evidence.

Also on Prevent, we have sent a Rule 9 request to the Deterrence Centre but also to five public interest groups with interest in Prevent, being the Child Rights International Network, Rights & Security International, Prevent Watch, the Resilience in Unity Project and Amnesty International UK.

We have also sent Rule 9 requests to:

His Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary Fire & Rescue Service because of their inspection of counter-terrorism safeguarding which will I will come

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local government cover more than one topic in the terms of reference and within that category are the Rule 9 requests the Inquiry has now sent to the following:

Firstly, the Home Office -- they in fact have received one major Rule 9 request but several smaller additional Rule 9 requests as well with one more to follow -- the National Crime Agency, the Crown Prosecution Service, the Department for Science Innovation and Technology, the Youth Justice Board, NHS England, NHS Wales, the Department for Education, the Ministry of Justice, Ofsted, Counter Terrorism Policing Headquarters, the National Police Chiefs' Council, the Local Government Association, the Welsh Local Government Association, and the Association of Directors of Children's Services, all of whom have received Rule 9 requests spanning several of the topics.

We have also sent Rule 9 requests to four leading teaching unions in relation to, in broad terms, the challenges of the management of violence-fixated individuals (VFIs) in education.

On topic 2, the online environment, we have sent, or in some cases are about to send this week, Rule 9 requests to Ofcom, the UK Council for Internet Safety, and a range of Internet and social media service providers and messaging platforms: X, Meta, Google,

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back to, and also to criminal law professional bodies in the legal sphere in relation to the effectiveness of the current laws, orders and sentencing.

We have issued or are about to issue a number of Rule 9 requests pursuant to Topic 4. That is the effectiveness of current policies in relation to the sale and possession of offensive weapons and articles with a point or blade. Those include:

The Trading Standards Association, the Advertising Standards Association, the Ben Kinsella Trust, there will be a request to Leanne Lucas in her role with Let's be Blunt, a number of the mainstream large retailers of knives both involved in online sales and in-store sales, to retailers in the outdoor market involved in the sale of knives, and to a very large range of the interest organisations and retailers involved in archery, concerning whether there should be controls on the sale of archery equipment other than crossbows, bearing in mind the archery equipment that AR had obtained and hidden.

Finally we have sent, or will this week be sending, Rule 9 requests to a number of clinicians and academics:

Professor Busher at the Centre for Peace and Security at Coventry University, Dr Richard Taylor, Clinical Lead for the Clinical Consultancy Service;

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Professor Samantha Lundgren (Director of the International Policing and Public Protection Research Institute), Dr Gwen Adhsead, forensic psychologist, and Dr Nina Champaneri, the National Clinical Lead for Forensic CAMHS.

Sir, that is a brief summary of the Rule 9 requests activity. Early next week we will provide Core Participants through an update with a complete list of the Rule 9 witness statement requests that have been made. It will, I hope, be apparent the efforts that have been made by the Inquiry legal team to cast the net quite widely and also to seek a balance and a contrast of views which is obviously important.

As I have already indicated, constructive suggestions and input from Core Participants will be welcomed.

The Inquiry will not of course call all of those who provide witness statements to give oral evidence. It is intended that from these Rule 9 requests, those from whom you consider oral evidence will be most helpful to the exploration of our four topics will be called in that topic order, topics I, II, III and IV, in the main Phase 2 evidence hearing blocks in October and November of this year. However, and importantly, statements from witnesses who are not called to give oral evidence do

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The purpose of the questionnaires issued by the Inquiry is to widen and deepen the evidence base on both the current approach adopted to VFIs (its strengths and weaknesses) and on the options for change. The Phase 1 Report addresses, we hope and believe at an appropriately forensic level of detail, the agencies involvement with AR. While that obviously overlapped with aspects of regional and national practice, the main focus in Phase 1 was on AR's individual case and therefore on the agencies in Lancashire and Merseyside who were engaged with him. To look appropriately at what may need to change nationally, we are seeking to capture wider views through these questionnaires. Importantly, in a number of cases, the questionnaires are also designed to offset the risk that corporate witness statements are often, rightly, and I don't say this critically, given by very senior officials or heads of organisations and through the questionnaires we are keen to understand more from those at a more working level.

With those aims in mind, the Inquiry has sent out, as you have indicated, sir, eight sets of questionnaires.

The first questionnaires have gone to Channel chairs, that is to say the chairs of the panels whose

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not have some kind of lower status. They generally will be published and they will be an important part of your evidence base.

Sir, I had said that I would come back to the timescales. We, as an Inquiry team, are acutely conscious of the tight turnaround times for responses to the Rule 9 witness statement requests that are issued on your behalf. The issues in which we are engaged are urgent. The Home Secretary's timetable for our Phase 2 is equally as demanding as that for Phase 1. But, for good reason, the Inquiry legal team is available to give practical assistance and guidance on responses where issues arise. But as with Phase 1, the Inquiry is essentially dependent upon organisations giving what we fully appreciate is an almost unprecedented priority to their responses. Sir, can I indicate that we remain extremely grateful for the enormous collegiate efforts that are being made and which I know will continue to be made.

Having summarised the more traditional witness statement evidence gathering, can I turn next please, sir, to the alternative forms of evidence gathering which are referenced indeed in your Phase 2 Terms of Reference.

And the first of these is the questionnaires.

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cases are adopted by Prevent. Amongst many other topics, we are seeking from Channel chairs information on the number of VFI type cases dealt with by Channel chairs, their views on the current multi-agency working for cases that are and are not adopted by Channel, and for options for improvement and change in the future.

The second set of questionnaires has gone to Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements, that is to say MAPPA, Chairs. Again, amongst many other topics, we are seeking information on the number of VFI cases currently being dealt with by MAPPA, the MAPPA Chairs' views on current multi-agency working and the scope for MAPPA playing a greater role in VFI risk management in the future.

The third set of questionnaires has gone to Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS). We are seeking to explore with them amongst other topics, again VFI prevalence, relevant clinical training, referral routes, how confident clinicians are in dealing with VFI cases, risk assessment tools, information sharing, multi-agency working and how effectively Forensic CAMHS works with their CAMHS services.

Fourthly, we have sent questionnaires to forensic CAMHS practitioners. Sir, unsurprisingly the issues there are broadly similar to those with CAMHS, save for

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asking the flip-side question of how effectively FCAMHS considers CAMHS services works with them.

Fifthly, and sixthly, we have sent questionnaires targeted respectively to Local Authority Senior Leaders, principally at director of Children's Services level, and to a selection of frontline local authority practitioners. Topics addressed here include training, VFI prevalence, the effectiveness or otherwise of multi-agency working, whether they have sufficient access to specialist input and support, and the role and effectiveness of Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs, or MASH.

Seventhly, we have sent questionnaires to a selected sample of designated safeguarding leads in education settings. Here again we are seeking to explore the effectiveness or otherwise of multi-agency co-operation in VFI cases, training, teacher confidence in handling VFI cases, risk assessments and information sharing and their experience of Prevent amongst other topics.

Eighth and finally, questionnaires have now gone to detective inspectors for each of the regional counter terrorism units in England and Wales. We are seeking for them to gather the views of relevant Counter Terrorism Policing Prevent practitioners in their teams. Again, topics include VFI prevalence, training,

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indicate that this is planned for the first two weeks of the Phase 2 evidence in September of this year, and we hope to be able to confirm the precise dates quite shortly.

The seminars will be delivered by a mixture of academics, commissioners, clinicians, relevant experts, interests groups and in some cases by those currently operationally responsible for some areas of the response to violence fixated individuals.

The intention is that the seminars will be both evidence in their own right, but also important context for the more conventional evidence to follow. By giving speakers an opportunity to present in an extended seminar format, we hope that it will bring a different perspective to the traditional questioning format of conventional evidence. We will be finalising the precise format, which may vary a little bit from seminar to seminar, over the coming weeks. But the current expectation is that each speaker will deliver their presentation individually to be followed by a format of moderated questions in a plenary session at the end of each day of seminars.

I can give some detail on what the seminars will contain. The first seminar will be entitled "Violence Fixated Individuals: views from Psychiatry and

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effectiveness of management of VFIs in Prevent in the current arrangements, multi-agency working, and the adequacy of tools to assess subjects online activity.

These questionnaires are hosted electronically. In the questionnaires and surrounding communications, emphasis has been given on the need for candour. It has been explained that the process is to gather insight, not to "mark" or assess the recipients or recipient unit's performance. For the most part, especially for more junior staff, they can respond anonymously.

While these questions have not been designed to formal consultation or statistical standards, they have been drafted to allow a degree of meaningful data interpretation with some questions having gradated scoring options. The Inquiry intends, as you have indicated, to engage data analysts to consider the responses so as to provide the most meaningful output from these questionnaires. They will be looking for the thematic trends in responses, so this is genuinely different from seeking individual witness statements.

Sir, I turn next with your permission please to seminars.

The Phase 2 seminars will be a programme of, we think, six days of seminars, which the Inquiry legal team has organised under your direction, and I can

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Psychology". The speakers will be Professor Laura Smith, Professor of Psychology at the University of Bath, Dr Tina Irani, forensic psychiatrist with experience of both Forensic CAMHS and Community CAMHS services, who of course, sir, was the Inquiry's independent psychiatric expert in Phase 1, and a further forensic psychologist who will be confirmed we hope very shortly.

The second seminar will be on the role of Prevent in managing violence fixated individuals. At present, our planned speakers are:

Lord David Anderson KC, former interim Commissioner of Prevent and the author of the report "Lessons for Prevent" following the Southport attack, to which I will return.

Jonathan Hall KC, the independent reviewer of Terrorism Legislation and author of the report "The Classification of Extreme Violence Used in the Southport Attack on 29 July 2024", to which I will again return.

Thirdly, subject to confirmation, Dr Paul Betts, who is a former Detective Chief Superintendent of Police, who was seconded to Counter Terrorism Policing Headquarters. His final role there was serving as the National Prevent Coordinator. But of help to us, Dr Betts is now an academic but with that extensive

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1 senior policing experience, including in Prevent.
 2 Subject to confirmation, fourthly, Alasdair
 3 Roxburgh, Legal, Policy and Advocacy Adviser of Child
 4 Rights International Network.
 5 And fifthly, Sarah St Vincent of Rights and Security
 6 International.
 7 The third seminar will be on Violence Fixed
 8 Individuals: Lessons from threat management and
 9 multi-agency processes other than Prevent. This
 10 seminar, sir, will be targeted at looking at risk
 11 management process other than Prevent. It will also
 12 consider an example of risk management from overseas.
 13 The planned speakers are:
 14 Becky Canning, His Majesty's Prison & Probation
 15 Service Lead and Joint Head of the National MAPPA team;
 16 Professor Bram Sizoo, Professor in Clinical Psychology
 17 of Radicalisation at the University of Amsterdam who
 18 will speak to the Dutch model, which is of particular
 19 interest. Thirdly, a senior representative from the
 20 London Violence Reduction Unit. Confirmation for that
 21 proposed speaker should come very shortly. And
 22 fourthly, Dr Asling Martin, Consultant Clinical
 23 Psychologist at Trusting Hands, which is the NHS
 24 Vanguard Site in Gateshead.
 25 The fourth seminar will be on Violence Fixed

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1 Individuals: the effectiveness of current laws, systems
 2 and orders. This will be in two parts, the first
 3 looking at legal powers and offline disruption. Planned
 4 speakers are the relevant specialist prosecutor from the
 5 CPS and equivalent speakers from the National Crime
 6 Agency and Youth Justice. The second part will be
 7 online frameworks, powers and disruption, with planned
 8 speakers there being Adam Hadley, the director and CEO
 9 of Tech Against Terrorism, and Professor Lorna Woods,
 10 Professor of Internet Law and expert on online safety
 11 regulation.
 12 Sir, may I just indicate publicly how very grateful
 13 we are for all of those speakers who have agreed to
 14 participate.
 15 Can I turn finally to the Inquiry's case studies,
 16 sir, which you have already briefly introduced.
 17 In selecting a number of case studies of other
 18 offenders for assessment, the Inquiry is again seeking
 19 to broaden and deepen its evidence base. Albeit
 20 exceptionally rare and grave in its outcome, we are
 21 conscious that the Southport attack was one single
 22 dreadful event. We want to consider whether themes that
 23 can emerge from other recent VFI-like cases will help
 24 focus the conclusions and recommendations for this
 25 second phase of the Inquiry's work.

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1 Individuals: the internet, online platforms and pathways
 2 to violence. The planned speakers are:
 3 Dr Julia Ebner, leader of the Violence Extremism Lab
 4 at the University of Oxford; Professor Paul Gill,
 5 Professor of Security and Crime Science at UCL; Dr Joe
 6 Whittaker, Director of Cyber Threats, Swansea
 7 University, and Milo Comerford, senior director of
 8 Policy and Research at the Institute for Strategic
 9 Dialogue.
 10 The fifth seminar will be on Violence Fixed
 11 Individuals: access to, and the attraction of, offensive
 12 weapons and bladed articles. For this seminar, sir, the
 13 planned speakers are:
 14 Commander Stephen Clayman, the National Knife Crime
 15 Centre; Patrick Green, CEO of Ben Kinsella Trust;
 16 Professor Iain Brennan, Professor of Criminology at the
 17 University of Hull, and Tim Weston, director of
 18 Environment Policy and Politics for the National
 19 Gamekeepers' Organisation. It is hoped that he will
 20 give an alternative insight because the Inquiry wishes
 21 and needs to hear from those who have a professional
 22 need for the use of knives, for example, in outdoor
 23 pursuits, so it is hoped he will give that alternative
 24 perspective.
 25 The sixth seminar will be on Violence Fixed

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1 Sir, as you have indicated, the Inquiry has selected
 2 six case studies. We have already obtained
 3 proportionate disclosure in relation to these six cases.
 4 Sir, as you have already mentioned but I ought to
 5 stress, the Inquiry is not conducting a Phase 1-like
 6 investigation into each of these individual cases.
 7 Rather, we are seeking to use them to identify the
 8 thematic lessons. The Inquiry will not be looking to
 9 assess the rights and wrongs of actions by individuals
 10 or agency in these cases. The focus has to be on the
 11 themes that emerge and what can be taken from them.
 12 To assess the case studies the Inquiry has assembled
 13 a cadre of experts who will review the case papers and
 14 introduce expert reports. At least one of those we
 15 think may be in the format of an individual report but
 16 others may be in panel format.
 17 The experts have now agreed their commission from
 18 you, for this task, and I can indicate publicly that
 19 they are as follows:
 20 Firstly, Neil Basu, former senior national
 21 counter-terrorism policing lead, providing expertise
 22 obviously on policing, decision-making, escalation and
 23 disruption measures.
 24 Secondly, Dr Richard Church, consultant forensic
 25 psychiatrist, specialising in high-risk children and

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young people with complex mental health needs.
 Thirdly, Dr Monica Lloyd, forensic psychologist, specialising in terrorism and risk assessment, focusing on how risk violence fixation is identified and managed.

Fourthly, Anna Gianfrancesco, former director of Children's Services and Channel Chair, bringing extensive safeguarding and multi-agency expertise.

And fifthly, Elizabeth Swan, former headteacher and safeguarding expert with extensive experience in identifying risk in education and indeed other frontline settings.

Sir, as you touched upon earlier this morning, we will be referring throughout the Inquiry to the case studies by cipher. It bears some repetition that the reason for this is twofold.

First, it is to emphasise that our focus is on the wider themes, not as such on the facts of these individual cases. But secondly, sir, as you have indicated, but if others will forgive me for re-emphasising, we wish to avoid giving further notoriety to the offenders in question which may increase the risk that these individuals present but also the risk of copycat style behaviour.

I will however name four of the six case studies once in this opening as you have already indicated. In

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random with a knife purchased from Amazon. He had previously been adopted into Channel after accessing far-right material on a school computer. He was sentenced to custody for life with a minimum of two concurrent 35 year periods.

The subject of case study E carried out a series of violent assaults on elderly strangers in the same area, including attempting to drown one victim. He fatally stabbed a 12-year-old in a random knife attack. He was sentenced to detention for life with a minimum period of 13 years.

And the subject of case study F used a licensed shotgun to shoot and kill his mother, then shot six people in the street, four fatally. He died by suicide at the scene.

Sir, as I have said we will be using the ciphers for these case studies throughout but I can indicate the subject of case studies C, D, E and F are Nicholas Prosper, Danyal Hussein, Kian Moulton and Jake Davison respectively. The Inquiry ask that Core Participants refer to them by their ciphers whenever used in the context of the Inquiry for the reasonings, sir, that you have already made plain.

Sir, we plan to hear from the cadre of experts about these case studies and that will probably be at the

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relation to two of the six case studies, you have made the anonymity orders to which you have referred. There are significant issues concerning risk which means that it is simply not appropriate to name them nor to give any details that may lead to jigsaw identification. The terms of the order are on the Inquiry's website and those restrictions must please be respected.

Case study A is the first subject to the anonymity restrictions. Case study A relates to a convicted young offender who, in a number of respects, fits the category of a violence-fixated individual.

Case study B is the second case study subject to the anonymity restrictions. Case study B also relates to a convicted young offender who in a number of respects fits the category of a violence-fixated individual.

The subject of case study C was convicted of three murders and related firearms and bladed article offences. He planned for a firearms attack in his former primary school. The available material records fixation on mass shootings, viewing of extreme material, reconnaissance, forgery of a firearms certificate, purchase of a shotgun and planning for suicide. He was sentenced to custody for life with a minimum of 48 years following a guilty plea.

The subject of case study D murdered two women at

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start of October.

Sir, can I turn now and thirdly to an introduction to each of the topics in the Phase 2 Terms of Reference.

Could we have on the screen please ILT000111.

Sir, the Inquiry has published a document entitled "Approach to the Phase 2 Terms of Reference". This is publicly available already on our website and is the starting point for understanding the sub-issues we intend to address under each of the topics in our terms of reference. I'm not going to read every line of this, although I will come back to it in places during this opening, but for the moment that can come off the screen. Thank you.

The first of the four topics, it is important that I should first of all publicly read out the Terms of Reference.

So Topic 1 is the adequacy of arrangements in England and Wales for managing the risk from violence fixated individuals (VFIs). VFIs are individuals at risk of extreme violence, where ideology is not the primary driver. Where arrangements are considered inadequate, the Inquiry is asked to make recommendations for improvements. In particular, the Inquiry should examine:

(a) How effective are multi-agency arrangements for

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1 identifying, assessing and managing the risk posed by
2 VFIs? This includes Prevent, youth offending teams and
3 policing.

4 (b) How integrated are these arrangements with
5 wider safeguarding systems, mental health services,
6 social care and education? Could improvements be made
7 to better identify and manage VFIs?

8 (c) What interventions reduce the risk to the
9 public from VFIs? What barriers exist to delivering
10 them and how can they be overcome?

11 (d) Do other threat management systems such as
12 those for terrorism or organised crime have lessons for
13 good management of VFIs?"

14 Sir, one only needs to reflect on that first topic
15 in our Terms of Reference for a moment to recognise both
16 the complexity and the importance of the issues
17 involved.

18 Topic 1 also highlights two important
19 characteristics of this Inquiry's Phase 2 work. The
20 first is that the Inquiry is by no means the only body
21 that has been and is active in considering this
22 challenging area and as I shall outline, a number of
23 other bodies have been working in this area and have
24 issued helpful relevant reports.

25 Secondly, and importantly, this is not a policy area

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1 So if we can have on the screen please ILT000106.
2 This is Lord Anderson's report, "Lessons for Prevent",
3 it is dated July of 2025. If we can go forward to
4 page 3, please, we can see from the top paragraph that
5 in the event Lord Anderson's report was also tasked with
6 covering the killing of Sir David Amess in 2021 as well
7 as of course of the murders and attempted murders
8 committed by AR in the Southport attack.

9 Sir, I do not want to overlook chapter 3 of Lord
10 Anderson's report, which considered AR's referrals to
11 Prevent, but if we could look briefly please at page 6
12 and paragraph 8 please, we see that Lord Anderson
13 himself noted that his assessment of the Prevent
14 referrals of AR should be seen as a bridge between the
15 early Prevent learning review that had already taken
16 place and your own findings to be made in this Inquiry,
17 sir. And of course since then your Phase 1 Report has
18 considered AR's Prevent referrals in considerable
19 detail, so I don't need to go into that for the purposes
20 of this Phase 2 opening.

21 But for Phase 2 the significance of Lord Anderson's
22 report lies more for your note, sir, in his chapter 4,
23 which sets out recent Prevent developments; chapter 5,
24 with his views on the future shape of Prevent; chapter 6
25 in which he addresses a number of "Further Issues" and

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1 that the UK Government has tasked you to consider while
2 pausing its own consideration. Quite the opposite. As
3 would be expected, the Government has, we know, been
4 actively contemplating the best approach to this
5 difficult area since the Southport attack itself. Some
6 actions have already been taken, but many other policy
7 options are still, as we understand it, being formulated
8 and considered.

9 And to give proper context to this first topic,
10 I need to expand I'm afraid in some detail on both of
11 those aspects.

12 So can I start with the other bodies who have
13 carried out or are still carrying out relevant reviews
14 and there are six reports here, sir, that with your
15 permission I would like to introduce.

16 The first is Lord Anderson's report on Lessons for
17 Prevent. Sir, as is very familiar to you, on 21 January
18 last year, when the Home Secretary announced that this
19 Inquiry would be established, she also announced that
20 Lord David Anderson KC would be appointed the interim
21 Prevent Commissioner and that Lord Anderson's first task
22 would be to conduct a thorough review of the Prevent
23 history of AR to identify what changes were needed to
24 make sure serious cases are not missed, particularly
25 where there is mixed and unclear ideology.

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1 his conclusions at chapter 7 and recommendations in
2 chapter 8.

3 Taking those as briefly as I can, sir, for today
4 I wish to start just by emphasising in particular the
5 analysis of Lord Anderson in chapter 5. So if we could
6 look please next at paragraph 5.3 on page 99, we see
7 that Lord Anderson considered two critical questions:

8 "(a) Should Prevent accommodate violence-fascinated
9 individuals who lack a clear, identifiable ideology?

10 (b) Would Prevent be better as part of a general
11 violence reduction strategy?"

12 Lord Anderson said that:

13 "The first of those questions requires an urgent
14 answer. The second is an issue for the medium to
15 long-term."

16 Sir, Lord Anderson answered the first of those
17 questions "Yes". That is to say that VFI cases should
18 continue to be accommodated within Prevent, even though
19 they lack clear identifiable terrorist ideology.

20 Lord Anderson's reasoning is set out in detail in
21 his report but in the shorter summary, in coming to that
22 conclusion, Lord Anderson drew attention to the
23 seriousness and increasing trend of the nature of the
24 VFI type threat. He noted the pressure that Counter
25 Terrorism Police are under because of the increase in

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referrals and he acknowledged that one suggested solution had been that the lead management of VFIs would sit below and distinct from Prevent in a new, standalone system. Sir, that's for your note paragraph 5.16 but we don't need to turn it up.

But ultimately Lord Anderson's conclusion on this aspect was expressed in paragraph 5.23. Can we have that on the screen please? It is page 106. Since this is at the heart of matters, I will read it. So we don't probably need the footnotes, just the top please:

"The arguments in favour of what is effectively the status quo (and the current interim policy position ... under which persons displaying 'fascination with extreme violence or mass casualty attacks' are considered legitimate subjects for Channel, are in my view strong ones. In particular:

(a) The **modus operandi** of such attacks and the characteristics of the attackers bear strong similarities to those which are familiar from lone operator terrorist attacks.

(b) Attacks by such people have the potential not only to kill vulnerable victims, but to create fear and unrest on a scale comparable to that generated by terrorism.

(c) AR's story demonstrates that Channel can reach

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a general violence reduction strategy, Lord Anderson also suggested that the answer was "Yes".

To understand that a little bit more, can we look, please, on the same page at 5.30 and 5.31 and again because of its centrality I will read those passages. So he said:

"I turn now to a proposal, less urgent but more ambitious than the one just discussed, to place Prevent within a comprehensive safeguarding and violence prevention strategy, behind what is sometimes referred as a big (or wide, or agnostic) front door."

He expressed that he was "indebted to [his] deputy, Suzanne Jacob OBE, with her wide experience of safeguarding and multi-agency working for developing this idea and testing it with many of those to whom we spoke during the review."

Then he went on to the essence of the proposal and said this in an article published earlier this year, it was argued that:

"Integration of local authority safeguarding boards with Channel boards would ensure that all safeguarding cases are dealt with by a unified body, capable of determining the best intervention for a young person. By incorporating Channel into the broader safeguarding system, cases can be triaged to the most appropriate

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such people; indeed had it been clearer that this was its proper function, it would have been more likely to have done so.

(d) Above all, ideologies, fascinations and ideations are in the mind: it can be hard to tell one from the other, and not only in the immediate aftermath of a Prevent referral. Experience shows that whether an individual has a single fixed ideology, a simple violence fascination or something in between may remain obscure, even (in the case of a completed attack) up to the point of trial or beyond."

Sir, if we can look at page 108, Lord Anderson, it is the top third of the page please, in his second recommendation which flowed from this conclusion, Lord Anderson said at recommendation 2:

"Prevent should remain open to individuals falling within the existing category of 'fascination with extreme violence or mass casualty attacks'. Consistent efforts should be made to improve the quality of referrals and encourage those that are appropriate, including by providing clear and consistent messaging to potential referrers and to Prevent practitioners."

Sir, that was the first of those key questions.

On the second issue, the medium to long-term question of whether Prevent would be better as part of

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support (i.e. mental health services, social care or counter-radicalisation interventions). In many local authorities Channel will already be involved with other safeguarding responsibilities; this makes it a natural fit which also guarantees wider safeguarding duties can be effectively cross-pollinated with Prevent's counter-terrorism expertise."

You can see there just before we leave that, sir, that footnote 283, upon which Lord Anderson was relying, was an article from the Institute for Strategic Dialogue from whom we will hear in our seminars.

Sir, I'm not obviously going to go through them all but Lord Anderson's report sets out the potential advantages of such an approach. Can we just look briefly at the foot of page 109 please, and over the page to 110. Sir, they are listed there and I'm not going to read them all out.

At the foot of page 110, he also notes the existing models, areas where the government is already showing what is described as "an ambition to move to a more integrated system of safeguarding". It is the bottom of page 110. Then at page 112 please, paragraph 5.14, here sir, Lord Anderson listed a number of challenges in the way of a "big front door" approach. You will see, sir, that he said at the top of page 5.40 that they are many.

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1 It is notable that within these challenges Lord
2 Anderson principally envisaged that Multi-Agency
3 Safeguarding Hubs, MASH, in perhaps expanded form with
4 amended statutory thresholds would be the body taking
5 forward referrals at the triage stage of the big front
6 door.

7 Sir, in due course, you may need to reflect further
8 on the failures of the MASH in AR's case adequately to
9 address signs of his increased risk. And perhaps
10 consistently with that, if we could go over please to
11 the top of page 113, significantly it might be thought,
12 Lord Anderson said this at 5.40(d):

13 "The most developed MASHs, and equivalent bodies,
14 are highly functional. They deal with all age
15 categories, have a robust caseworking system, and enjoy
16 both interoperability and good working relationships
17 between agencies. However, in some areas these features
18 are not present. The ground to make up in areas with
19 less developed MASHs, both structurally and culturally,
20 will seem daunting."

21 However, on a more optimistic note, slightly further
22 down the page, he went on to say that:

23 "While these and accompanying challenges are
24 substantial, they are not insurmountable" and that "the
25 right kind of multidisciplinary team, overseen by

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1 Office, which will draw on Cabinet Office expertise,
2 that no doubt was a reference because the recommendation
3 was that it should be a Cabinet Office task force, but
4 it is now a Home Office task force which will draw
5 on Cabinet Office expertise, which will support and work
6 alongside Phase 2 of this Inquiry.

7 Sir, I regret that I am bound not to have done
8 justice to Lord Anderson's report. Its full content
9 bears detailed and repeated consideration. And of
10 course it is with this report in mind that Lord Anderson
11 has been chosen by you, sir, as an obvious key speaker
12 in our September seminars.

13 Can I turn for the second report to the independent
14 review on classification of extreme violence used in the
15 Southport attack on 29 July 2024.

16 This second report, sir, was also conducted as you
17 know as a direct result of the Southport attack and it
18 was completed by Jonathan Hall, who is of course the
19 independent reviewer of terrorism legislation. Like
20 Lord Anderson's report, Jonathan Hall's report was
21 commissioned by the Home Secretary and announced in the
22 same 21 January 2025 statement.

23 The purpose of Jonathan Hall KC's report is clear
24 from the Home Secretary's announcement when they said
25 "we need to ensure our laws keep up with the changing

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1 a Minister and staffed by officials able to be
2 open-minded, pragmatic and practical, should be able to
3 break this issue down into component parts and find both
4 quick wins and longer term improvements."

5 Sir, following and flowing from this, Lord
6 Anderson's third recommendation, can we just look at the
7 top of page 115 please, recommendation 3:

8 "A Cabinet Office task force should be established
9 to lead exploratory work into the possibility of
10 formally connecting Prevent to a broader safeguarding
11 and violence prevention system."

12 Sir, last week the Government responded to Lord
13 Anderson's report as well as to your Phase 1 Report.
14 Our reference for that, although we don't need to turn
15 it up, is ILT000112.

16 Summarising it as shortly as I may, in response to
17 Lord Anderson's recommendation 2, that is that VFI cases
18 should continue to be dealt with by Prevent, the
19 government set out a number of the improvements to
20 Prevent; it being implicit, as we understand it, VFI
21 cases will indeed in appropriate cases continue to be
22 dealt with at least for the time being by Prevent.

23 In response to recommendation 3, the Home Secretary
24 referred in her response last week to the fact that she
25 has set up the cross-government task force in the Home

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1 violent and extremist threats that we face. It is for
2 the police and CPS to decide whether individual cases
3 meet the definition set out in the Terrorism Act 2000
4 when making charges, but given the growing number of
5 cases where perpetrators are seeking to terrorise, even
6 without a clear ideology, we need to ensure that the
7 law, powers and sentencing are strong enough to cope.
8 I have therefore asked the independent reviewer on
9 terrorism powers to examine the legislation in this area
10 in light of the modern threats we face."

11 So, if we can have on screen, please, ILT000100.
12 This is Jonathan Hall's report of 13 March last year.
13 And helpfully the three key conclusions from his report
14 are set out in his very pithy executive summary. Sir,
15 he concluded firstly that the legal definition of
16 terrorism is already wide and should not be changed any
17 further.

18 Secondly he concluded that:

19 "Lessons from counter-terrorism are however relevant
20 to managing the risk from individuals who plan to carry
21 out extreme violence for its own sake or because of
22 personal grievance."

23 And thirdly he concluded that:

24 "The Government should consider a new offence,
25 adapted from terrorism legislation, to deal with

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non-terrorist mass casualty attack planning."

Sir, taking that last point first, in the initial response to your Phase 1 Report, in Parliament, the current Home Secretary said on 13 April this year that legislation for this will be brought forward as soon as parliamentary time allowed. And it was indeed part of the King's speech in May this year that the Government will "respond to the horrific attack in Southport with measures to protect the British people from extreme violence and honour the victims, the injured and their families."

Jonathan Hall's report also addressed the need for an offence of having a weapon in possession even in private with an intention to carry out an attack and that part of his recommendations the Government has sought to address already by the new offence which is included in section 28 of the Crime and Policing Act 2026, of possessing an article with blade or point or offensive weapon with the intent to use unlawful violence.

Sir, on indictment that offence is now punishable by 7 years imprisonment increased from 4 as intended at earlier stages of the bill's progression through Parliament.

In terms of Jonathan Hall recommending that no

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change to the definition of terrorism was required, notwithstanding how extreme and horrific the Southport attack was, Jonathan Hall was careful to seek to correct certain misconceptions. And if we can look please at page 3 of his report, he made clear, first of all, at paragraph 1.9, as, sir, of course is very familiar to you, that all murders, whether terrorist or not, are prosecuted as murder. There is no separate offence of terrorist murder, only murder. And then additionally at paragraph 1.10, he stressed that terrorism is not a label for the most serious offending and shouldn't be understood in that way.

And thirdly at paragraph 1.11, just a bit further down the page please, he emphasised that:

"The true purpose of the terrorism definition is to unlock special powers of early intervention based on years of counter-terrorism experience, initially in Northern Ireland and later throughout the UK, and to secure international assistance from allies and third countries because of a shared interest in countering specifically terrorism."

Can we look please in that context at paragraph 2.1 on page 8, please. This is useful because it contains a pithy, helpful and practical short form explanation of the full legal definition of terrorism.

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So, limb 1:

"There must be a use or threat of 'action' that hits a certain threshold of seriousness. An action must involve serious violence against a person, serious damage to property, endangerment to another person's life, a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or be designed seriously to interfere with or disrupt an electronic system."

Limb 2:

"The use or threat must occur on a wider scale than the personal. It must be 'designed to influence the government or an international organisation or to intimidate the public or a section of the public'. There is however no lower limit to 'section of the public' and an unanswered question over whether any intimidated group of victims is sufficient to qualify."

Then limb 3:

"The use or threat must pursue a specified objective, being 'made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, racial or ideological cause'."

Sir, as Jonathan Hall identified, for AR (and the same would apply in most other VFI cases), it is the absence of the third limb that prevents the offending from amounting to specific offences under the terrorism legislation. Mr Hall's report contains at annex 2 ten

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other lone actor cases which involve the use or threats of extreme violence but were not prosecuted as terrorism.

That serves perhaps to emphasise the gravity of the threat and we are taking up two of those examples in this Inquiry's case studies, case study D and case study F.

But if we turn please to page 19, section 4, paragraph 4.1, Jonathan Hall there sets out key reasoning against amending the definition of terrorism. So he said:

"The definition of terrorism can be compared to a tugboat pulling a container ship that gets heavier every year. The container ship holds all of the offences, investigative powers, counter-terrorism measures, policies and operational arrangements that depend on the definition of terrorism, and which are expanded year on year ..."

Then a little further down at 4.3 he said:

"Such is the functional importance of the terrorism definition, that re-definition would alter the landscape. It would risk major false positives -- the prosecution of people who by no stretch of the imagination are terrorists -- and extend terrorism liability into novel terrain. For example, any person

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1 who glorified 'extreme violence' would be at risk of
2 arrest and prosecution as a terrorist. People swapping
3 violent war footage would be at risk of encouraging
4 terrorism, resulting in unacceptable restrictions on
5 freedom of expression."

6 Sir, I won't go through, because of constraints of
7 time, the remainder of section 4, save to note that it
8 contains detailed and careful reasons against expanding
9 the definition of terrorism to encompass those who are
10 fixated with extreme violence, but without the intention
11 of pursuing a political, religious, racial or
12 ideological cause.

13 Sir, importantly for our work, on 13 March 2025, the
14 then Minister of State for Security, Dan Jarvis,
15 announced that the government accepted Jonathan Hall's
16 conclusion that no change to the definition of terrorism
17 should be made.

18 Beyond this, Jonathan Hall's chapter 5 on
19 "counter-terrorism lessons" is of direct relevance to
20 our Phase 2 work.

21 Can we have on the screen please, page 24. And it
22 is paragraph 5.8.

23 Sir, starting there, the counter-terrorism system
24 has developed over time and through deep experience of
25 terrorism in its various manifestations, a consistent

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1 research on the factors that draw young people into
2 violent extremism, and have built up experience of
3 monitoring dangerous lone actors. They have been
4 contemplating for some time the fiendish puzzle of how
5 to distinguish internet rhetoric and real-world attack
6 planning. If progress is being made, even if it is only
7 in the identification of false assumptions, can this be
8 communicated more widely to law enforcement?"

9 Then he said:

10 "Secondly, it appears likely that individuals such
11 as AR will continue to be identified within the
12 counter-terrorism system, for example, through referral
13 to Prevent. But if they are not to be managed by
14 Counter Terrorism Police, who will 'own' the risk? What
15 hand-offs will exist from and to Counter Terrorism
16 Police?

17 "Intuitively, if there is a new risk cohort then, as
18 with serious and organised crime, or sex offenders,
19 a bespoke policing response is needed. But I recognise
20 that intuition is not a sensible guide to recommending
21 organisational change and that an evidence-based
22 approach informed by the questions above is needed."

23 He then went on to address multi-agency systems. He
24 says:

25 "It has been widely accepted since 2017 that even in

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1 national model for identifying and triaging or
2 categorising national security threats with a standard
3 approach to record-keeping and accountability and
4 methodology for how the resulting risk is managed. The
5 level of intervention in ..." he names a particular
6 case, "AA's case is neither possible nor suitable for
7 every subject of interest. A key issue is
8 prioritisation."

9 Then reading on into the section "A New Cohort", he
10 says this:

11 "Having discussed these matters in some detail with
12 Counter Terrorism Police and MI5, I accept that it is
13 this standardised model for identifying and managing
14 risk that is most relevant to managing violence
15 obsessives. It is relevant if, as I believe to be the
16 case and is increasingly recognised, a new
17 internet-related threat cohort is emerging, obsessed
18 with violence, some of them qualifying as terrorists but
19 some of them, like AR, not."

20 I suggest that the following two questions need to
21 be answered:

22 "Firstly, is it possible to identify coherent
23 national standards for identifying and managing the
24 riskiest individuals within the cohort? Counter
25 Terrorism Police and MI5 are informed by the latest

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1 terrorism cases, investigators should consider the
2 potential benefits of involving local authorities, GPs,
3 mental health practitioners, charities, housing
4 associations, education providers and families (who may
5 have firsthand knowledge of escalating danger). The
6 point is to increase the number of protective factors
7 such as stable housing or regular employment.

8 "All sorts of formal and informal arrangements exist
9 within policing to coordinate information sharing and
10 joint effort such as Multi-Agency Public Protection
11 Arrangements (MAPPA) for released offenders, and
12 Multi-Agency Support Hubs for children and young adults.
13 The Clinical Consultancy Service is a collaboration
14 between Counter Terrorism Police and mental health
15 clinicians to manage and understand mental health risks
16 within Counter Terrorism Police's casework; the Fixated
17 Threat Assessment Centre (FTAC) is a collaboration
18 between police and practitioners for individuals
19 dangerously fixated on celebrities."

20 I will come back to that, sir.

21 Mr Hall continued:

22 "If it is to be suggested that existing multi-agency
23 systems are already sufficient to deal with this cohort,
24 or can be easily tweaked, I would make three
25 observations based largely on my earlier reviews of

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MAPPA and terrorism in prison:

"Firstly, the existence of multi-agency arrangements should not obscure the need for the most qualified professionals to take responsibility for public protection. This is generally the police, who understand the assertive risk management options (such as arrest or civil order) if the risk spikes.

"Secondly, information sharing must be robust and not tangled in hard-to-use data protection considerations.

"Thirdly, there is a danger of aspirational but unrealistic talk about the availability and utility of support available from charities and the wider public sector. If Child and Adult Mental Health Services (CAMHS) or Adult Social Care is to be discussed as a possible intervention, what is the waiting list? If a local authority's adult social care services are available beyond cases of severest need, how many hours in a week will a lonely and isolated but still functioning individual receive? How does therapy compete if at all with hours on an absorbing and violently transgressive internet platform?"

Sir, I make no apology for reading out significant passages of that report because Jonathan Hall is there speaking with all his experience to the very heart of

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to the different approaches that have been taken by different public inquiries. But in referring to the Home Affairs Committees' report (which is covered by parliamentary privilege), it is important to emphasise that the Inquiry is not seeking in any way to impeach or to question the proceedings before Parliament. Far from it. We are using the report to note the opinions that are expressed and we are using it as a source of helpful evidence provided to the Committee, which helps inform the issues that you, sir, are required to examine.

We would simply ask all Core Participants during Phase 2, however, to be mindful of the position on parliamentary privilege. In particular, that it is not permitted to deny, dispute or question the worth, truth, genuineness or accuracy of the content of parliamentary material and that includes evidence given through a parliamentary committee. In cases of doubt, Core Participants should liaise with the solicitor to the Inquiry. But in reality, sir, parliamentary privilege while important should not in practice be a bar to our Phase 2 work, bearing in mind why we are going to be referring to this report in evidence given to it but it is simply as well to be aware of the restrictions.

So turning now back to the substance of the report, if we can turn to page 8, please. The particular

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issues with which we need to grapple in Phase 2. And Jonathan Hall underlines in these passages from chapter 5 the benefit of lessons from terrorism cases managed under Prevent and Channel and process for addressing terrorism cases, those lessons being applied to VFIs. But one also sees in Jonathan Hall's report a clear warning against underestimating what would be involved in adapting existing multi-agency arrangements to accommodate the management of VFIs.

Sir, third in terms of significant reports directly relevant to Phase 2 and Topic 1 in particular is the report of the Home Affairs Committee: Combating new forms of extremism which was published on 1 April of this year. Could we have on the screen please ILT000099 which is the front page of the Select Committee's report.

Sir, just to divert for a moment. Since this is a Parliamentary report, I ought just to mention the position concerning Parliamentary privilege. Article 9 of the Bill of Rights of 1689 provides in modern language that "... the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament".

It is not necessary for today's purposes to get into some of the complexities to which this gives rise, nor

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relevance of this report is apparent from the introduction here in paragraphs 2 and 3. So paragraph 2:

"In April 2025, we published our report on the police response to the 2024 summer disorder which followed the murder of three children in Southport. While that report focused on the policing of disorder following the tragic events in Southport, we were also concerned that the perpetrator of the attack had been referred to Prevent three times, with each case closed on the basis that he did not meet the threshold for a terrorism risk. The final referral related to concerns about his online activity. We explored this issue further in private meetings with the National Crime Agency (NCA) and decided to examine emerging trends in extremism, the role of online spaces and what happens to individuals whose cases fall below the threshold for being at risk of radicalisation to terrorism."

"The title of this Inquiry is 'Combating new forms of extremism'. Our primary focus has been on the growing number of children and young adults, mostly male, who are being radicalised online. When we talk about new forms of extremism, we refer to the combination of the young ages of those involved, the

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diversity and fluidity of their belief systems -- that incorporate different ideologies and do not fit into traditional categorisations -- and the central role of online platforms in exposing and drawing them towards harmful content. We also note the high proportion of individuals who are neurodiverse, particularly those on the autism spectrum, being drawn into new forms of extremism."

As regards a key issue for this Inquiry in Phase 2, namely the structures for managing VFI case, can we look please at page 59, which is part of this committee's overall conclusions. Can I start at paragraph 8, please.

"The escalation in Prevent referrals involving no clear ideology and no clear signs of radicalisation to terrorism represents a significant challenge to a system designed to address the ideological roots of terrorism. Prevent and Channel are becoming saturated with such individuals, many of whom show no commitment to any particular ideology and some of whom are neurodiverse. The Home Office is allowing the Prevent system to drift beyond its remit without providing any strategic direction to meet these challenges. (Conclusion, paragraph 88)."

Then:

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safeguarding systems and significantly raising the level of training and competence among Prevent duty practitioners. (See recommendation paragraph 90)."

So, sir, you will see that that is clear support from the Home Affairs Committee for Lord Anderson's suggested approach for Prevent being connected to a broader safeguarding violence reduction system.

Just to make the link and understand that reference to recommendation at paragraph 90 can we just please turn up 51 in the same document. Sir, may I ask you just to note for your record paragraphs 88 and 89 but I won't read them out because it reflects what I have already read. But at paragraph 90 please, recommendation:

"We recommend that the Home Office makes a clear, specific statement to clarify the role of Prevent in addressing nonideological cases, and makes any necessary updates to relevant Prevent guidance and training to reflect that position. The government should also set out a plan to anchor Prevent more firmly within the wider safeguarding system. To deliver this, the Home Office should look to implement Lord Anderson of Ipswich's recommendation to connect Prevent to a broader safeguarding and violence reduction system. This will require strengthening the capacity of local safeguarding

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"Prevent is poorly adapted to deal with the digital world. We have outlined how online spaces are now central to the radicalisation process, particularly for young people, yet Prevent lacks the specialist knowledge or framework for identifying and assessing credible risk signals from online behaviour. Integration of Prevent into wider safeguarding systems is being hampered by poorly resourced, over-stretched and siloed agencies working against misaligned priorities. Against this backdrop, Prevent has become a fast-track to support, even where concerns are not terrorism related and particularly in relation to accessing mental health support. (Conclusion, paragraph 89)."

Then in paragraph 10:

"We recommend that the Home Office makes a clear, specific statement to clarify the role of Prevent in addressing non-ideological cases and makes only necessary updates to relevant Prevent guidance and training to reflect that position. The government should also set out a plan to anchor Prevent more firmly within the wider safeguarding system. To deliver this, the Home Office should look to implement Lord Anderson of Ipswich's recommendation to connect Prevent to a broader safeguarding and violence-reduction system. This will require strengthening the capacity of local

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systems and significantly raising the level of training and competence among Prevent duty practitioners."

Sir, before I turn to the Government's response to this report, can I please just place some emphasis on the significance of the evidence that was provided to this Parliamentary committee. As the Inquiry legal team has been preparing requests for statements from relevant departments and organisations, as well as arranging the seminar programme, the evidence provided to the Home Affairs Committee has proved extremely useful.

If we can just look briefly at page 62, please, you will see -- we don't need to go through it -- but you will see there is the conventional list of those who gave live evidence and of course their live evidence is publicly available. Some of those involved in giving live evidence will also be involved in the Inquiry's seminar or in the provision of Rule 9 statements and oral evidence.

But also if we can turn to page 64 -- 59 thank you -- please. You will see that there is a -- sorry, it is 64.

You will see that there is a list of published evidence received by the Committee. Sir, inevitably, with a long list like this it goes on for quite some pages and I risk doing a disservice to those I omit, but

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amongst that written evidence are contributions from the Centre for Peace & Security, Child Rights International Network, the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, the Local Government Association, Rights and Security International, Tech Against Terrorism, The Association of Directors of Children's Services and the Youth Justice Board. That really is not meant to exclude the relevance of others that I haven't listed but these are amongst the organisations from whom the Inquiry is seeking further evidence.

So I flag that up because, on any view, the publicly available written evidence and oral evidence provided to the Home Affairs Committee is a very rich vein of relevant and helpful views, sometimes starkly contrasting views.

Within that body of evidence, sir, what may broadly be termed public interest or rights groups who are critical of the Prevent programme, as I have indicated under the seminars and information on the Inquiry's Rule 9 request, the Inquiry is seeking the input from that body of organisations. We do note that the Prevent programme, its strengths and weaknesses, is not of itself part of the Phase 2 terms of reference. This is not an Inquiry into Prevent and so some of the broader critiques of Prevent are beyond the Inquiry's remit.

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replicated in the Prevent duty training packages ...

"This guidance clearly sets out that, while ideology is an important consideration, it is not mandatory for a Prevent referral. Prevent is an early intervention programme, that must consider when someone is at risk of being radicalised to terrorism, rather than limiting Prevent to cases where a terrorist ideology has already taken hold. Prevent is a counter-terrorism capability, so where there is not a concern that someone may be drawn into terrorism, alternative local support services should be considered."

The Government is considering the findings from Phase 1 of your Inquiry, sir, "alongside the recommendations made in Lord Anderson's Lessons for Prevent report. As Sir Adrian Fulford concluded, Prevent and Channel are not the answer for all such cases, however the Government has made improvements since the Southport attack ... to strengthen the Prevent programme.

"To strengthen Prevent, we have launched a new Prevent risk assessment tool, changed the approach to repeat referrals so that cumulative risk is considered, introduced new guidance and training on a range of ideologies and threats and have expanded the range of interventions available to people being supported by

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However, the question of whether Prevent is the best vehicle for tackling VFI cases is a central aspect of Phase 2 of this Inquiry. So, sir, we will want to consider the views of these groups on subjects such as their concerns about the neurodivergent as a cohort within Prevent referrals; the effectiveness of Prevent in VFI cases and also concerns around equality of treatment insofar as they are relevant to VFI cases.

Sir, the Government responded to the Home Affairs Committee and its response was published just under four weeks ago on 11 June. If we could have on screen please, ILT000105. This is the Government's response. And in dealing with the Inquiry's Topic 1, I want to focus on the response to the recommendation I highlighted a moment ago, sir.

If we can turn to page 14, please. I won't read out recommendation 4 because you will recognise it, sir, from that which I just read but the Government's response to that recommendation, including in relation to Lord Anderson's recommendation, was that:

"In February, the Home Office published clear guidance on Prevent thresholds titled Key Principles of Prevent, to help ensure there is a shared understanding of the purpose of Prevent and the circumstances in which it should be used. These messages were reinforced and

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Channel. We have also introduced the role of independent Prevent Commissioner."

Then over the page, I think:

"The Government has also strengthened the approach to knife crime, introduced stricter laws in the Crime and Policing Bill for online sellers of knives, including strengthening age verification controls and checks at sale and delivery. We are also ensuring every child caught carrying a knife will now be given a mandatory, targeted plan to tackle the root causes of their offending.

"To address harms online, the Online Safety Act is a significant step forward and one of the most robust systems globally. Platforms now have duties to identify and remove illegal content and to protect children from harmful content, with Ofcom robustly enforcing these duties."

:

"Whilst government has already begun to make improvements to help keep the public safe, there is much more to do.

"The Government will bring forward legislation to help tackle violence-fixated individuals in this parliamentary session. Proposed measures are a new offence for preparing a mass casualty attack, and

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1 measures ..."

2 I pause to mention that obviously reflects Jonathan

3 Hall's recommendation.

4 "... measures to prevent the spread of extreme

5 violence content online."

6 I will come back to that:

7 "On 20 April the Government announced its commitment

8 to set up a Home Office task force to develop a new

9 approach to tackling the risk from such individuals.

10 The task force will develop an approach to tackling the

11 risk posed by violence fixated individuals and will run

12 alongside Phase 2 of the Southport Inquiry."

13 Sir, there is then more detail on Prevent training

14 which, if you will forgive me, I will note but not read

15 out.

16 So, sir, the Government's response in relation to

17 that recommendation has been to emphasise the Home

18 Office led task force (to which I will return) and this

19 Inquiry's Phase 2 work which will be working in

20 parallel.

21 Significantly, however, the Government has not to

22 our understanding committed or made up its mind one way

23 or the other to the suggested longer term solution of

24 connecting Prevent to a broader safeguarding and

25 violence prevention system, or in short, the big front

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1 safeguarding referrals are based on all available

2 information?

3 How effectively do police forces and CTP safeguard

4 young and vulnerable people, including how they use

5 measures described in the 'Prevent' strand of the UK's

6 Strategy for Countering Terrorism 2023? That's CONTEST.

7 How effectively to police forces and CTP manage the

8 risks associated with young and vulnerable people,

9 including how they use offender management, safeguarding

10 and other measures described in the 'Pursue' strand of

11 the CONTEST strategy?"

12 Thank you. That can come down from the screen.

13 So, while there is an emphasis there on what we

14 might term more traditional terrorism, given the obvious

15 relevance of significant parts to those terms of

16 reference to our Phase 2, as you would expect, sir, your

17 Inquiry legal team have been liaising with the

18 Inspectorate. We understand that the Inspection report

19 is not yet completed but we also understand that they

20 may be able to publish a summary of their report in the

21 autumn.

22 Given that the work on that report is still in

23 train, there is little more that we can say at this

24 stage, save that it is plainly a very considerable piece

25 of work in its own right, which will undoubtedly, and

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1 door concept.

2 Sir, can I turn to the fourth report, which is the

3 significant work being undertaken by His Majesty's

4 Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services.

5 Sir, as to this, in October 2025, the Home Secretary

6 commissioned the Chief Inspector of Constabulary under

7 section 54(2B) of the Police Act 1996 to inspect how

8 police forces, Counter Terrorism Policing and partner

9 organisations safeguard young and vulnerable people.

10 Can we have on the screen please ILT000102. If we

11 can have the top half expanded please, you will see that

12 the Terms of Reference for that inspection are as

13 follows:

14 "We will examine the safeguarding measures they

15 adopt for young people under the age of 25 and other

16 vulnerable people who: may be at most risk of

17 radicalisation or exploitation by extremist groups; or

18 are under investigation for terrorism offences.

19 "In our inspection, we will address the following

20 questions:

21 "How effectively do police forces and CTP understand

22 the nature and scale of existing and emerging risks?

23 How effectively do police forces and CTP share

24 relevant intelligence between themselves and partner

25 organisations to make sure risk assessments and

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1 helpfully, add to the evidence base for Phase 2 of this

2 Inquiry.

3 One of the particular benefits of this inspection

4 report is likely to be its access to individual Counter

5 Terrorism Policing regions and case files, looking at

6 the ground level operations in a way that that

7 Inspectorate is particularly well equipped to carry out.

8 Sir, before we break for lunch, can I turn to the

9 fifth of the report, which you mentioned in your

10 statement this morning, which is the report of the

11 Independent Commission on UK Counter-Terrorism Law,

12 Policy and Practice.

13 So, sir, so far in looking at other reports

14 I focused on reports commissioned by the Government from

15 inspectors and commissioners and at the Home Affairs

16 Committee report. I turn in this report to look at what

17 is an independent report, the report of the Independent

18 Commission on UK Counter-Terrorism Law, Policy and

19 Practice.

20 The Commission is an independent one, comprising 15

21 Commissioners, chaired, sir, as you know, by the former

22 Lord Chief Justice for Northern Ireland, the Rt Hon Sir

23 Declan Morgan. Their report was published in

24 November 2025.

25 Can we have it on the screen please. It is

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1 ILT000103.

2 If we can go to page 4, just highlight perhaps the
3 top half of the page first of all. Can we just scroll
4 down a little bit so we see a longer part of the list.
5 I don't intend to read out the totality of the list, but
6 I put this on screen just so that the seniority and
7 breadth of the Commissioners is obvious and can we just
8 have the second half of the screen please.

9 And then over the page just to the top of page 5.
10 Beyond -- I won't read those out -- but the experience
11 and seniority is plain to see.

12 Sir, this is a substantial report, over 300 pages
13 long, to which again I am absolutely sure I will not do
14 justice in an opening such as this.

15 We should also note that the breadth of this report
16 means that it tackles a number of issues that clearly
17 fall outside this Inquiry's terms of reference. But for
18 the purposes of this opening, I just want to flag
19 a number of the key findings that are more on point and
20 some of the observations and recommendations in this
21 report.

22 So can we go first please to page 108. This is, as
23 you see on screen, sir, section 6 on "Reforming
24 Prevent - Towards a Multi Agency Safeguarding Model."

25 If we scroll down a little bit, again for apologies

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1 that developed further and you will see that what is
2 said there is:

3 "Our findings concur with Lord Anderson KC that,
4 until the development of a wider system to deal with
5 such violence-fascinated individuals, they should be
6 considered through Prevent. However, this risks both
7 diverting attention from ideologically-related terrorist
8 risk, for which Prevent was originally designed, and
9 failing to identify appropriate support for the root
10 issues these people face. In this chapter, we outline
11 the case for longer term reform."

12 Just pausing there, sir. That's an agreement with
13 Lord Anderson's first question, that in the short-term
14 Prevent should continue to deal with such cases but
15 a warning that it is not an appropriate, in their view,
16 long-term solution.

17 Then at section 6.3 please on page 160 we see it
18 said that:

19 "Our Inquiry, the work of Lord Anderson KC and, most
20 recently, proposals put forward by the Institute for
21 Strategic Dialogue, all suggest the need to create a
22 'big front door', to which all those susceptible of
23 being drawn into violence can be referred.

24 "The Commission sees this 'big front door' being
25 a single access point to a multi-agency safeguarding hub

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1 for reading out the text, but it is important, it says:

2 "This chapter sets out the argument for public
3 service reform to ensure Prevent is fit for purpose in
4 meeting a complex and ever-changing threat environment.
5 While Prevent should be kept as an element of a wider
6 safeguarding infrastructure, reform is necessary at
7 central and local government levels. These proposals
8 build on evidence to the Commission on multi-agency
9 approaches already working effectively in many local
10 authorities in adjacent policy areas such as violence
11 reduction, public health and children's services.
12 A first version of these arguments was given to the
13 Security Minister in September 2024. In December 2024,
14 a working paper was shared with relevant government
15 officials and Lord Anderson KC following his appointment
16 as interim independent Prevent Commissioner. Key
17 findings of Lord Anderson's report 'Lessons for
18 Prevent' -- which addresses developing an effective
19 response to significant changes in the cases referred to
20 Prevent -- largely aligns with that earlier paper. They
21 are part of the evidence suggesting broad support for
22 our proposed reforms."

23 Sir, you see there a broad agreement between this
24 Commission's views and Lord Anderson's report.

25 If we go over the page, please, to 109, you will see

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1 or forum to which referrals are made for a range of
2 concerns around susceptibility to being drawn into
3 violence, including cases that show complex needs or
4 unclear relationships to extremist ideologies or groups.
5 Those at risk of becoming involved in terrorist violence
6 would be passed to Prevent (and, if necessary, Channel),
7 while the needs of those where susceptibility to
8 terrorism is not identified would be addressed by other
9 appropriate agencies. To ensure appropriate referral,
10 these forums would include a wide range of expertise
11 including those skilled at dealing with minors, severe
12 trauma, violence fascination and extreme fringes of
13 internet culture. Counter-Terrorism Police would be
14 involved in this triaging system and, where appropriate,
15 referrals would be forwarded to Prevent.

16 "This would not involve the creation of extensive
17 new structures, but streamlines existing provision,
18 avoiding replicating existing multi-agency panels.
19 Further, it relieves pressure on Prevent as a last
20 resort for those seeking referrals for individuals about
21 whom they are concerned by allowing appropriate
22 direction to the most appropriate mainstream services
23 without diversion via Prevent. Indeed, extensive
24 programmes of work are already in existence in relation
25 to serious violence, violence against women and girls,

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knife crime and Safer Streets. We need, as the Institute for Strategic Dialogue put it, 'a sophisticated plan for knitting them together, with a policy oversight board unifying all stakeholders and strong ministerial direction and interest'."

Then a little further down this page please, towards the bottom:

"A multi-agency system to which vulnerable people can be referred should not reinvent the wheel but build on existing successful local-level MASH models where the relevant professionals already work together (or are encouraged to work together) as part of VRU, Prevent Oversight Boards, Serious Violence Boards and Community Safety Partnerships. It must account for the inevitable variability in funding, quality of collaboration and outcomes achieved from area to area. Not all new initiatives, such as Youth Futures or Family First, are equally available. The extent to which existing provision can meet the needs of adults -- both the non-terrorist murders of Grace O'Malley-Kumar, Barnaby Webber and Ian Coates by Valdo Calocane and the terrorist murder of Sir David Amess by Ali Harbi Ali was committed by adults known to local agencies -- will also vary considerably."

Then, sir, at page 118, there are key findings and

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risk.

"This chapter outlines the system, involving initial triaging through a multi-agency 'big front door'. Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs (MASH) are widely used already in local authorities and restructuring to integrate safeguarding against radicalisation into terrorism would provide a unified structure for the combined expertise of those on the panels to decide the most appropriate intervention for individuals. Previous pilots (e.g. Dovetail) demonstrated the challenges inherent in such partnership models, where they include the sharing of sensitive data between MASH and counter terrorism police. However, the experience of Dovetail [which of course we looked at in our Phase 1] means these are known challenges which can be addressed at the design stage. Moreover, our evidence shows that alternatives, such as police-led partnerships, raise significant concern among local practitioners due to their covert nature, limited external scrutiny and lack of transparency. In contrast, localised partnership-based approaches can transform counter-terrorism from a source of community tension into an effective collaborative effort."

Sir, that then leads to recommendations 19 to 23 from this Commission over the page, please. At 19:

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recommendations, and I just want to focus for our purposes today on the second, third and fourth paragraphs, please:

"This chapter has set out the argument for reforms to allow Prevent to sit within a wider safeguarding infrastructure. This is necessary due to the increasingly complex and non-ideologically related cases coming through the Prevent referral system (see chapter 5), exacerbated by the recent surge in referrals for violence-fascinated individuals. While the latter may be dealt with, temporarily, by Prevent, the long-term need for the reconfiguration of Prevent into a holistic safeguarding system, focused on the individual rather than the crime type, is widely recognised.

"This tallies with the government's commitment to 'joining up' public services. While requiring cross-ministerial strategic engagement and direction, it needs no extensive investment in new structures. Our proposals demonstrate how this reform can build on multi-agency approaches already working effectively in many local authorities in adjacent policy areas such as violence reduction, public health and children's services. Indeed, such reform could streamline existing provision, avoid replicating existing multi-agency panels and free up Prevent to focus on terrorism-related

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"Prevent should be part of a wider local authority-led multi-agency safeguarding approach, with national government providing support to ensure consistency and standards. The Government should explore ways to build on the success of Dovetail to work together with local communities to address concerns about risk management."

21.

"The Government should explore how violence preventive work, currently processed through the Prevent Strategy and Duty, might be mainstreamed into broader violence reduction strategies."

22:

"Moving to a multi-agency safeguarding model will require investment to rebuild capacity in support services in violence reduction, youth programmes and mental health services:

"23:

"The Local Government Association should be supported by the central government to deliver a programme of facilitated peer-support between local authorities as they design and implement locally appropriate multi-agency models."

Sir, that is, in very brief terms, the report of the Independent Commission on UK Counter Terrorism Law,

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1 Policy and Practice.
 2 Sir, would that be a convenient moment to take
 3 perhaps a 45-minute break for lunch?
 4 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** It certainly would Mr Moss. Thank you
 5 very much indeed. I will sit again at 1.40 pm.

6 **(12.56 pm)**

7 **(The short adjournment)**

8 **(1.40 pm)**

9 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Find a convenient moment midway,
 10 Mr Moss.

11 **MR MOSS:** Thank you, sir.

12 Sir, the sixth and final report which I wish to
 13 mention in this context is in fact the earlier
 14 independent review of Prevent by Sir William Shawcross
 15 contained in his report dated 8 February 2023.

16 Sir, that report is one that we considered at
 17 various stages in Phase 1. Aspects of this report, as
 18 you know, are controversial but it remains an important
 19 part of the recent consideration that has been given to
 20 the remit of Prevent, including in particular to those
 21 of what was at the time being described as mixed,
 22 unstable, unclear, ideology.

23 If we could look at the report please at ILT000104
 24 and then move to page 6 of this report.

25 I should just note in passing, looking at the bottom

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1 basis. The trajectory toward violence varies for each
 2 individual. Radicalisation does, however, require the
 3 adoption of, or subscription to, an ideology that
 4 reorients an individual's entire worldview through
 5 that ideological lens, becoming embedded within their
 6 identity and actions. Terrorists can only be labelled
 7 as such if an ideological motivating factor can be
 8 demonstrated. That is not to suggest that other forms
 9 of violence are any less serious. But if they lack
 10 an ideological component, then they are necessarily out
 11 of scope for counter-terrorism."

12 And at paragraph 3.6 he went on:

13 "As Lord Carlile explained, in his oversight report
 14 on the 2011 Prevent review, "challenging the ideology
 15 that supports terrorism and those who promote it [...]
 16 must be Prevent's first and main objective."

17 Then later, at paragraph 4.48, can we have on the
 18 screen please page 54, foot of the page:

19 "While it is not possible to know whether all the
 20 decisions made at each of these second and third stages
 21 of the referral process were correct, this suggests that
 22 the MUU [mixed, unstable or unclear] category is
 23 facilitating large numbers of individuals being
 24 unnecessarily referred to Prevent."

25 As to the second issue, Sir William Shawcross' views

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1 of page 6 please, that there has in particular been
 2 commentary and indeed some criticism of the view at the
 3 foot of this page where Sir William said:

4 "Prevent must address all extremist ideologies
 5 proportionately according to the threat each represents.
 6 However, my research shows that the present boundaries
 7 around what is termed by Prevent as extremist Islamist
 8 ideology are drawn too narrowly, while the boundaries
 9 around the ideology of the Extreme Right-Wing are too
 10 broad. This does not allow Prevent to reflect
 11 accurately, and deal effectively with, the lethal risks
 12 we actually face."

13 But, sir, for the issues within this Inquiry's
 14 Phase 2 Terms of Reference, the greater relevance of Sir
 15 William's report lies more in his emphasis on two
 16 things; first, the centrality, as he saw it, of
 17 ideology, and second, his caution about Prevent's role
 18 relevant to safeguarding.

19 As to the former, just by way of example, can we
 20 have on screen please page 15 of the report and it is
 21 paragraph 3.5 please, where he said this:

22 "It is right that Prevent has broadened its scope
 23 over the last decade to now include all forms of
 24 extremist ideology. It is also right that Prevent is
 25 designed to address radicalisation on a case-by-case

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1 on Prevent and safeguarding, again only by way of
 2 example, if we can have on screen please page 45, he
 3 said this at paragraphs 4.6 and 4.7:

4 "However, Prevent is primarily about stopping
 5 individuals becoming radicalised into terrorism,
 6 including many who tend to do so through their own
 7 accord rather than because they are particularly
 8 vulnerable. I am concerned that the characterisation of
 9 Prevent work as wholly focused on supporting vulnerable
 10 individuals fails to adequately identify the majority of
 11 individuals who become terrorists or support terrorist
 12 activity.

13 "Presenting Prevent as a largely safeguarding
 14 initiative may cause confusion, for practitioners and
 15 frontline professionals alike, about what it is that the
 16 scheme is seeking to do. For example, the existing
 17 framework might explain the proportion of Prevent
 18 referrals now being recorded as involving a vulnerable
 19 individual with no extremist ideology or identifiable
 20 terrorism risk."

21 So, sir, it might be thought that that is a notably
 22 different emphasis from some of the later reports, in
 23 effect warning against the dilution of Prevent's central
 24 task of ideologically driven terrorism.

25 For your note, sir, the response of the previous

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government to Sir William's report is at ILT000101, but I don't intend to turn that up for today's purposes.

So, sir, recognising that there are further relevant reports, those are the six that we wish particularly in this opening to flag up.

Sir, as you have already indicated, you are not of course bound by any of those reports but they do inform the issues and contribute towards our evidence base.

Sir, in Phase 1 you noted the focus that there had been on whether an individual's fascination with extreme violence has, additionally, led to the conclusion that they are, at least potentially, on a pathway to radicalisation.

And at paragraph 127 of chapter 8 of your Phase 1 report, you said this:

"This is a complex and difficult issue for those responsible for public safety, not least because of the risk to the Prevent programme of being overwhelmed with referrals which relate to individuals who have not demonstrated a terrorist susceptibility. The attempt to capture this latter group, at least to an extent, whilst simultaneously avoiding a change to the remit of the Prevent programme, has resulted in a description of the relevant criteria which, in my view, remains ambiguous and unsatisfactory and hard for ground level

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formally widening Prevent's scope to non-terrorist cases.

Would VFI cases sit better with a non-terrorist violence reduction approach outside of Prevent altogether? Would that permit Prevent to concentrate on more clearly ideologically motivated cases?

But alternatively, would that approach ignore a change in the threat landscape, whereby VFI type cases may be on the rise and where the public would legitimately expect a terrorism prevention type approach to VFIs to continue to apply and to apply under Prevent?

The second fundamental question is the critical structural one, whether or not VFIs may still sit within Prevent, is changed needed to ensure that cases not taken on by Prevent and Channel have a clear pathway and perhaps one that is consistent nationally rather than varying with local arrangements?

In that respect, as we have seen, a number of the reports are pressing the case for a big front door where there is an initial safeguarding triaging function carried out, which permits appropriate cases to go to Prevent and other cases to have a clearer non-terrorist violence reduction route as an alternative pathway after the front door triage.

And the third fundamental question is what should

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counter-terrorism police officers to implement consistently. Although this lack of clarity has been longstanding, the dilemma is undoubtedly significant: the wider the scope of intended appropriate subjects of Prevent, the more difficult it will be to avoid excessive referrals which itself will risk the most dangerous cases not receiving adequate focus. Ms Ellsmore candidly accepted a tension in relation to the approach of CTCAs to ideology and that the role of Prevent is part of the broader safeguarding and violence protection system is very challenging."

And I end the quote there.

So, sir, what does all this come to? Well, despite all of these reports, and perhaps the constabulary report still to come and the Government's responses to the report so far, there remain perhaps three fundamental questions:

First, whether in the longer term, VFI cases -- that is violence fixation without an ideological driver -- should sit within Prevent at all? At the moment, they still do. But they do so, it might be thought, by means of a still somewhat uncomfortable compromise. That compromise treats VFIs as susceptible to being drawn into terrorism by reason of their violence fixation, thereby keeping such cases within Prevent, but without

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that process be for cases that after triage do not go to Prevent, but need to go to some other body? It might be thought that there is at present no clear body, no clear structure, or at least none on a consistent national basis to deal with such cases.

Can I turn next, sir, under Topic 1, to the work being undertaken already by Government.

As I have already touched on, an unusual if not unique feature of Phase 2 of this Inquiry is that you are tasked with considering a number of these difficult policy areas relating to VFIs that are in parallel being actively considered by the Government.

To give one example of this, relating in fact to offensive weapons, in March of this year, just as your Phase 1 report was very close to final completion, and when you, sir, were ready to make a strong recommendation in relation to crossbows, the Government announced on 19 March that it would itself move to prohibit the sale of crossbows in future, with the introduction of a licensing scheme for existing crossbow owners.

Of course, that is not of itself a problem and we do not raise it at all critically, but it illustrates the challenges involved in the Inquiry examining issues and making recommendations in parallel with the Government's

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1 rightly own developing policy.

2 As your counsel, we wish to be clear first and
3 foremost that this overlap between the Inquiry's Phase 2
4 work and ongoing Government policy development is seen
5 by the Inquiry as a positive. Given the gravity of both
6 the Southport attack and the wider risks of VFIs, no
7 right-thinking person would expect government to stop
8 analysing the options for change and indeed pressing
9 ahead with improvements where they can be identified
10 just because a public Inquiry is in train.

11 The fact that Government is actively working on the
12 solutions to the VFI challenge in parallel with our
13 Phase 2 is exemplified by the task force on
14 non-ideological extreme violence now established by the
15 Home Secretary.

16 The Inquiry itself and our Core Participants will
17 receive much more information about that task force in
18 the witness statement being sought from the Home Office.
19 However, the following matters about the task force are
20 plain from the Government's response to the Inquiry's
21 Phase 1 report from last week and from the Inquiry's
22 liaison with the Home Office:

23 The task force has been established personally by
24 the Home Secretary; it is being run alongside the
25 Inquiry's Phase 2 work; it has been given a mandate with

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1 relate to the formulation or development of government
2 policy. That is, sir, because there is a particular
3 public interest in particular in officials being able to
4 exchange frank views about policy options, when options
5 are being formulated and assessed.

6 If Phase 2 of this Inquiry is to be effective
7 however, the Government will need to be more open with
8 its VFI thinking, notwithstanding that the government
9 policy is still being developed in this area.
10 Otherwise, the Inquiry would be at risk of considering
11 matters relatively speaking in the dark, ignorant of the
12 Government's developing thinking.

13 One aspect of this is that there may be a range of
14 views within or between government departments. In this
15 regard the Inquiry has encouraged candour from all the
16 government Rule 9 recipients. In particular, if the
17 Inquiry's Phase 2 recommendations are to be practical
18 and effective, a matter to which you gave particular
19 emphasis in your opening statement this morning, sir, it
20 is particularly important that the government
21 departments and agencies, but also all other
22 contributing witnesses, are frank and open with the
23 Inquiry about current weaknesses, about the pros and
24 cons of alternative options, as well as about financial
25 and resourcing limitations and the like.

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1 what it described as a high level of ambition; it is
2 intended to bring together policy, operational and
3 analytical partners; it is intended to establish
4 a clearer picture of the threat; to improve how risk is
5 assessed and owned; to develop a better understanding of
6 where specialist interventions are required; to consider
7 training and support for frontline professionals.

8 We are also informed that the task force will
9 develop an evidence base and options for a most coherent
10 system response to extreme violence and we are further
11 informed, and I quote, that:

12 "The task force will work to address the challenging
13 questions on accountability and culture, with a view to
14 identifying whether further changes or improvements may
15 be required in light of Phase 2."

16 I end the quote there.

17 Sir, while it is undoubtedly a positive that the
18 Government and the Inquiry are considering these issues
19 in parallel, it does bring challenges. Perhaps the most
20 obvious example is the approach to Government policy
21 still in formulation. Sir, as you know very well, in
22 many spheres, for reasons recognised under both Freedom
23 of Information principles and in appropriate cases
24 Public Interest Immunity principles, the Government is
25 able to guard against the disclosure of documents that

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1 Equally, we say, the duty of candour positively
2 requires that approach of them. Of course, many
3 inquiries have to deal with sensitive material but
4 navigating disclosure to the Inquiry and the separate
5 but also important question of what can then be onward
6 disclosed to the Core Participants, is uniquely
7 challenging when this Inquiry's Phase 2 issues are
8 rule-centred on current policy formulation in a very
9 rapidly changing area for the Government.

10 Sir, I regret that much of that no doubt sounds like
11 a homily from us as counsel to the Inquiry and I should
12 therefore make clear that in the Inquiry legal team's
13 early liaison with the government departments and
14 agencies the importance of these points and the
15 challenges involved have been appropriately recognised.
16 We are promised full and effective co-operation and to
17 date this Inquiry has received just that.

18 Still within Topic 1, I want to turn next to what of
19 necessity will be a high level introduction to some of
20 the existing services, interventions and multi-agency
21 arrangements that either could be used or to varying
22 extent are already used to manage the risk posed by VFIs
23 or in some cases to assess that risk.

24 Sir, I should say immediately that the picture that
25 this paints is of an arguably fragmented landscape of

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different services and initiatives. That, in itself, is likely to be a factor and a concern in Phase 2. To some extent the fragmented landscape may reflect appropriate regional choices and appropriate decentralisation and also that some units are in the course of being either trialled or rolled out.

In other respects, however, it may be thought to be both a weakness and a hurdle to these structures being quickly and effectively scaled up to play a bigger part in the role of the management of VFIs or the triaging of the risk that they present.

With so many different structures, there are also the key problems of information sharing and risk ownership to which the Inquiry's Phase 1 report alerted and to which you, sir, reverted again this morning.

So, with that introductory comment, I need to address, albeit briefly, ten types of service.

First, there are Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs (MASH). MASH are non-statutory entities but operate within the framework of statutory safeguarding duties under the Children's Social Care and safeguarding legislation and associated guidance. It is generally said that they operate as a front door multi-agency screening process to facilitate decision-making about vulnerable adults or children who are referred to them.

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culturally, will seem daunting.

More specifically and directly in this Inquiry's Phase 1, poor performance and poor risk assessment by the Lancashire MASH was a notable part of the failures in AR's case. Chapter 9 of the Phase 1 report sets out significant detail concerning the several occasions where the Lancashire MASH underestimated the risk that AR posed and did not seem to recognise a child's risk to others as being part of Children's Services' remit.

Second, MAPPA, that is to say Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangements -- sir, the role of MAPPA is very familiar to you. MAPPA are designed to protect the public from serious harm by sexual or violent or other dangerous offenders. MAPPA are located in each of the 42 criminal justice areas of England and Wales and the risk owners, known as the responsible authorities, are the police, the prison and probation service and there are four categories.

VFIs can fall within MAPPA category 2, that is individuals convicted of a specified violent offence who receive a custodial sentence of 12 months or more. However, as with AR, who had received a noncustodial sentence, category 2 will often not apply for children.

There is greater scope for VFIs to fall within MAPPA category 3, which is for persons who do not qualify in

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Generally their functions tend to include information sharing, risk assessment and formulating appropriate actions.

Sir, I start with MASH because, as I have already indicated, Lord Anderson has principally envisaged that Multi-Agency Safeguarding Hubs, albeit perhaps in expanded form with amended statutory thresholds, would be the body taking referrals at the big front door stage of initial triage. And Sir Declan Morgan has suggested that multi-agency systems to which vulnerable people can be referred should not reinvent the wheel but build on existing successful local-level MASH models where the relevant professionals already work together, as we saw this morning.

Of note here, however, are two linked points. First, there is a recognised variation in how MASHs are designed both within England and in the devolved nations. Not all MASH hubs deal with adult referrals to take just one example, and they most often, as the Inquiry understand it, do not hold onward case management responsibilities.

The second issue is one of quality and performance. I drew attention this morning to the fact that Lord Anderson has commented that the ground to make up in areas with less developed MASHs, both structurally and

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categories 1 and 2 but have been cautioned for, or convicted of, an offence that indicates they are capable of causing serious harm and that require multi-agency management.

As with MASH, however, it may be thought that MAPPA is far from a ready panacea for the management of VFIs. In the first place, as currently constituted, case management under MAPPA requires conviction for a criminal offence, so it is not currently set up in any way to deal with predictive cases pre-offending.

Further, and in any event, even if expanded to deal with VFIs, MAPPA is not without difficulty. The Inquiry notes that the then Chief Inspector of Constabulary said in relation to the 2022 Inspection Report on 20 years of MAPPA Arrangements:

"While we saw some innovative practice across the sector, this report draws attention to a lack of consistency and coherency in MAPPA. To keep the public safe and adequately manage high risk individuals, clear structure and governance needs to be put in place and these important arrangements regularly reviewed."

Additionally, sir, while MAPPA was not involved in AR's case, in the Forbury Gardens terror attack inquests, you will recall, sir, that your factual conclusions were strongly critical of the failure of

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1 MAPPA to provide any intervention of utility during the
2 material stages of the management of the perpetrator's
3 earlier offending in that mass casualty attack.

4 Third are Prevention Partnership Panels. Sir, these
5 are relatively new; they are being piloted in 20 years
6 starting from late last year. They are part of the
7 Government's Young Futures Programme. The Prevention
8 Partnership Panels aspect is delivered by the Home
9 Office. Their current focus is on knife crime,
10 anti-social behaviour and violence against women and
11 girls; they are multi-agency panels and their target for
12 support is children and young people who are identified
13 by the police as having been a suspect in one or more
14 crimes in the last 12 months, but resulting in no
15 prosecution or community resolution.

16 Sir these, as I say, are currently pilot screens and
17 it will bear scrutiny as to whether they may be a viable
18 candidate for a role in the triage or management of
19 VFIs.

20 Fourth, are Violence Reduction Units or VRUs. They
21 originate from the Government's 2018 Serious Violence
22 Strategy. VRUs do not have a specific statutory
23 function but they provide an infrastructure for
24 multi-agency working; the precise mix and mechanism of
25 which is locally defined, but is usually made up of

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1 understand that there is no referral process for
2 individual cases, although issues can be raised at
3 a Community Safety Partnership based on specific cases
4 to inform future strategy or raise concerns about
5 systemic local failings.

6 Sixth, there is a group of services whose current
7 remit is around tackling violence in the form of
8 domestic abuse and violence against women and girls. As
9 established multi-agency structures already dealing with
10 violence, the Inquiry will wish to look at the fact that
11 there may be scope for their role to be expanded towards
12 being involved in VFIs. But, as will be immediately
13 apparent, one obvious concern in this area is whether to
14 do so would risk diluting or distracting from the
15 current central tasks of these services: protecting
16 victims of domestic violence and violence against women
17 and girls.

18 And those, sir, as we all understand, are of course
19 also vital community safety priorities. Briefly, the
20 services in this category are, first of all, Domestic
21 Abuse Partnership Boards, DAPBs; these fulfil the
22 statutory requirements under Part 4 of the Domestic
23 Abuse Act 2021, for local authorities to provide support
24 for survivors of domestic abuse and their children,
25 refuges or other safe accommodation.

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1 police and crime commissioners, local government,
2 education and health professionals. They tend to have
3 a board which provides strategic oversight and a team
4 which implements agreed activities, such as the creation
5 of a problem profile; identifying local drivers for
6 serious violence in cohorts of people most affected in
7 the area and the funding/delivery of interventions like
8 mentoring, sports programmes and social skills training.

9 Sir, individual cases can be referred to a VRU,
10 although the referral process varies from region to
11 region and, as I have indicated, we hope to be hearing
12 from a Violence Reduction Unit speaker in our seminar 3.

13 Fifth, Community Safety Partnerships. These were
14 introduced by section 6 of the Crime and Disorder Act
15 1998. They are intended to bring together local
16 partners to formulate and implement strategies to tackle
17 crime, disorder and anti-social behaviour in their
18 communities. Responsible authorities that make up
19 a Community Safety Partnership are the police, fire and
20 rescue authorities, local authorities, health partners
21 and probation service.

22 The Inquiry understands that there are now over 300
23 in England and Wales; being locally led their structure
24 and operation in practice varies considerably. Of note
25 is the fact that for Community Safety Partnerships, we

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1 Domestic Abuse Partnership Boards are multi-agency
2 boards; they coordinate different support services but
3 they do not manage specific cases and have no referral
4 mechanisms.

5 Then there are Multi-agency Risk Assessment
6 Conferences, MARACs. MARACs are multi-agency meetings
7 to share information about the highest risk, domestic
8 violence cases and to provide a coordinated action plan
9 to increase victim safety. They involve representatives
10 from police, probation, health care, child protection
11 specialists, housing practitioners and independent
12 domestic violence advisers. An individual can be
13 referred to a MARAC from any organisation handling
14 a domestic abuse case, where there is a belief that the
15 victim is at serious risk, such as police, by healthcare
16 professionals, social workers and teachers.

17 Then there are Multi-agency Tasking and
18 Coordination, MATAC. And whereas MARAC's focus on the
19 victim of domestic abuse, MATAC are a police led
20 multi-agency structure which aims to identify and manage
21 the most harmful perpetrators of domestic abuse.

22 Seventhly, in terms of existing structures, there is
23 the differently focused unit, the Fixated Threat
24 Assessment Centre, FTAC, to which I briefly referred
25 this morning. FTAC is a joint NHS/police unit which

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manages fixated individuals who have an obsessional preoccupation with a prominent person, such as a member of the Royal Family, Members of Parliament or other public figures, or have a perceived grievance which they pursue to an irrational degree.

Sir, as will be apparent by its nature, FTAC does receive individual referrals and it is in the public domain that it receives about 1,000 a year. It then uses interventions in appropriate cases, particularly to health providers, for psychiatric care.

Sir, there is some overlap but by no means complete congruence between FTAC's focus on those with obsessional preoccupations with public figures and the wider problem of VFIs.

Eighth, in terms of current services, is the arrangements for Integrated Offender Management. Integrated Offender Management is designed to bring a cross-agency response to the crime and re-offending threats faced by local communities from the most persistent and problematic offenders. It brings together a multi-agency response with the police, National Probation Service and agencies, charities or social enterprises; working in the fields of drug and alcohol dependency, in debt, health, housing, benefits and education.

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concerning behaviours who are at risk of losing their liberty. They aim to provide psychiatrically informed plans for effective risk and harm mitigation. Here, again, the Inquiry understands that the structures and means of delivery vary in different sites; there are currently 11 in place, we understand, covering about 19 per cent of England. Their focus is currently on those already involved in the justice system and as I have indicated one of our seminar speakers will be the consultant clinical psychologist for the Gateshead NHS Vanguard site, to help give us greater insight into that.

Sir, the Inquiry is not of course limited to considering those existing services and structures and we understand that the Government's own consideration of options is not limited in that way either. The Home Office, in particular, which is now the recipient of a very extensive Rule 9 request from the Inquiry, has been asked to detail its current assessment of the pros and cons of these options as well as others, which the Inquiry will then need separately and independently to consider.

I want to touch finally, and necessarily briefly, under Topic 1, on three further aspects. The first is just to recognise the fact that there is in fact no

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It is the Inquiry's understanding at the moment that much of the focus of Integrated Offender Management is on cases of prolific theft and burglary, but that it can include those posing a risk of violence. However, the process currently only applies to those already convicted of criminal offences.

Ninth, are Potentially Dangerous Persons panels. PDP panels are a non-statutory policing led programme which aim to manage cases that do not meet the threshold for management under any of the four MAPPA categories, but whose behaviour gives reasonable grounds for believing there is a present likelihood of their committing an offence or offences that will cause serious harm.

So they can deal, obviously, with those who do not have convictions. But PDP panels do not, as we currently understand it, exist in all local areas and their primary focus, again as the Inquiry currently understands it, is likely to be on cases of predatory behaviour, or those with violent tendencies of the stalking kind.

Tenth and finally, there is the Government pilot of a programme called Integrated Care (Vanguard) sites. These are units designed to integrate services for children and young people with complex needs and

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single definition of VFIs. Our Terms of Reference refer to individuals at risk of extreme violence, where ideology is not the primary driver. That is a helpful and practical steer for the Inquiry's work. However, it is not and does not purport to be a formal, recognised, cross Government, let alone cross public sector, definition of VFIs.

Phase 2 may need to consider whether a definition of "violence fixated individuals" is required, but it is perhaps unlikely to be profitable for that to become a central focus. But it does give rise to one practical challenge that the Inquiry is already seeing and that is in the lack of firm data relating to VFIs because they are not in many spheres a defined cohort.

The second point is that there is a good deal of information on steps that the Government has taken since the Southport attack on areas relevant to Topic 1. Sir, I have already alluded to many of those in reading the Government's response or a significant part of the Government's response to the Home Affairs Committee's report.

Also, in the Phase 1 hearings, the Inquiry received evidence about these and more evidence will be obtained in Phase 2. I wish to note these various steps that have been taken by Government, but I'm deliberating not

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going to attempt to summarise them all; but they include, by way of examples only, the Key Principles of Prevent, published on 23rd February 2026; Action on Repeat Prevent Referrals; The Below Thresholds Pilot; and the End to End Review of Prevent Thresholds.

The Home Secretary's response to the Phase 1 report last week said that the Government is clear that further action is needed to address the fundamental failings set out by you, sir, as the Chair. But I wish to stress that the Inquiry's analysis will be forward looking, taking into account all of these improvements that have been made already by the Government and indeed by other bodies since July 2024; but our focus will firmly be on what more needs to be done.

Thirdly and finally, it is important we suggest to keep in mind that identifying the best options in terms of multi-agency structure to manage and assess VFI cases, is only part of the challenge. It must go along with the cultural change which I know, sir, with deliberation you included in your very first recommendation, where you said that the choice of best structure, "must be matched with cultural change so that agencies are prepared to own and manage risk appropriately, not just refer it onto others".

Sir, in light of that, one of the issues which we

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"How online disinhibition, anonymity or harmful content platforms may contribute to risk escalation.

"Current capability of agencies to detect online behaviours linked to fixation or pre-attack planning.

"Barriers to monitoring, reporting and responding to online harms and proportionate options for improvement.

"Whether there are lawful and proportionate mechanisms to identify concerning patterns of online behaviour including:

"Online browsing and searching activity; patterns of online purchasing; behaviours designed to evade safeguards such as the use of VPNs, multiple accounts or changes of names and delivery addresses.

"Whether there should be a further ability to restrict or monitor access to the internet on the part of children and young people, if a significant threshold is passed concerning the risk that they pose to others.

"Whether there should be age verification for the use of VPN software and other options to avoid VPNs being used to circumvent the age restriction protections in the Online Safety Act."

Sir, analysing what was in the Terms of Reference, those are the sub-issues that we have identified that require investigation. Thank you. That can be taken from the screen.

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are asking witnesses to consider is whether there may need to be some kind of duty holder arrangement, so that there is no doubt who owns the response to a VFI's risk at any given time.

So, sir, that is Topic 1, which of necessity I had to look at in some detail. All things are relative but I can be slightly briefer in relation to Topics 2, 3, and 4.

The second topic in our Terms of Reference is the role of the internet and social media in influencing and enabling VFIs to prepare and carry out violent attacks. Proportionate to the timetable set out below, the Home Secretary would welcome expert evidence on this subject. So that's our Terms of Reference for Topic 2.

This is further broken down in the Inquiry's approach to the phase -- Terms of Reference document. If we can have that back on the screen please. ILT000111 and page 5. At the bottom of the page please. The sub-issues we have identified are:

"The ways online platforms may facilitate fixation, fantasies of extreme violence or attack planning for individuals without ideological drivers.

"The role of algorithms, recommendation systems and niche online communities in reinforcing violent interests.

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Sir, I have already mentioned under Topic 1 the discussion of the role of online material inciting or exacerbating violence fixation. But AR's own actions provide a stark example and useful starting point for this. You will recall that over time AR stopped engaging in education; he had no other form of constructive activity; he had no social life; and engaged very little even with his own family. This meant that he spent almost all of his time alone with free and total access to the internet. You made clear this morning, sir, your particular judicial concern at that aspect of the risk in VFI cases.

The type of material that AR had viewed prior to the attack was addressed in the evidence of DCI Jason Pye to Phase 1 of this Inquiry. It included imagery of the slavery of women; anti-Islamic material, including graphic cartoons of the kind that would be grossly offensive to anybody of the Muslim faith; antisemitic material; images of extreme violence including historical acts of torture and imagery of retribution inflicted in more recent conflicts, which seem to have been inflicted as torture; bodies of the deceased following atrocities including graphic photographs; Nazi era imagery, including images of those killed by the Nazis; as well as an image of the Twin Towers. In

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1 addition, he downloaded pdfs that related to explosives
2 and detonators, extensive material relating to conflict
3 and the document, "Military Studies in the Jihad Against
4 the Tyrants: The Al-Qaeda training manual".

5 It is to be recalled that he made extensive use of
6 Virtual Private Networks; of false names, of false dates
7 of birth and prior to the attack he then deleted many of
8 his browsing histories, preventing law enforcement and
9 indeed this Inquiry from obtaining a fuller
10 understanding of his internet activity. Even during
11 supervised RT lessons at school, AR had searched for
12 information about school shootings and had been trying
13 to view images of deeply unpleasant degloving injuries
14 and an injured animal. He had also been overheard in
15 class talking to another pupil about videos of people
16 hurting themselves on YouTube.

17 The Inquiry found that it was probable that AR
18 watched a video of the stabbing of Bishop Mar Mari
19 Emmanuel, hosted on X, moments before he left the house
20 to carry out the attack. You said in paragraph 34 of
21 chapter 4 of the Phase 1 report that:

22 "It is sobering and concerning that almost the last
23 thing that AR did before committing these dreadful
24 crimes was to search for and probably view material on X
25 in relation to a stabbing carried out by another boy

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1 reported as follows:

2 "Harmful extremist content is circulated widely
3 online, driven by engagement and profit maximising
4 algorithms, influencer-led dissemination, and
5 decentralised extremist eco-systems. These systems
6 promote content designed to provoke outrage and fear,
7 often purely for commercial reasons, and the speed and
8 scale of dissemination have outpaced the capacity of
9 moderation and removal tools. Content designed to
10 attract, recruit and radicalise individuals is often
11 targeted at young people and other vulnerable users.
12 This is contributing to emerging trends in extremism,
13 including the increasing engagement of young people and
14 the rise of hybrid belief systems, nihilistic violent
15 extremism and violence fixation. The emergency of com
16 networks represents a serious and escalating threat with
17 decentralised groups incentivising violence, coercion
18 and criminality among predominantly young males. The
19 evolving and cross-cutting nature of com networks
20 requires an agile, coordinated cross Government approach
21 to avoid siloed responses that would be fragmented and
22 ineffective."

23 Sir, against that background, I want to address just
24 briefly the current legal framework before coming back
25 to the areas on which we intend to focus in Phase 2 as

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1 aged 18".

2 You emphasised, sir, in your report that you had
3 yourself viewed the full footage of that stabbing, which
4 you commented was "both graphic and horrific". Against
5 that background you concluded that:

6 "It was clear from AR's online activity that he had
7 a deep and enduring preoccupation with extreme violence
8 and the brutal deaths of others."

9 You found that AR's ability to use the internet
10 without any parameters, including any controls
11 implemented by his parents, meant that:

12 "AR was able to pursue his ongoing obsession with
13 violence and that this obsession was a substantial
14 contributor to AR carrying out the attack."

15 I should add that, in addition to the lack of
16 parental control, your Phase 1 report identified a lack
17 of parameters and professional curiosity from Children's
18 Services, from Youth Justice Services, by policing and
19 Counter Terrorism Policing in the context of his Prevent
20 referral, as well as a lack of fully effective
21 monitoring of AR's internet history by one school.

22 These kind of issues are not of course, however,
23 unique to AR. And if we can have back on the screen
24 please the Home Affairs Committee Report, it is at
25 page 58 please. Top of the page, paragraph 4. They

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1 regards Topic 2.

2 Sir, the Online Safety Act 2023 received Royal
3 Assent on 26th October 2023, but for the material
4 provisions to come into effect, Ofcom was required to
5 publish related codes of practice and the relevant codes
6 were published in 2025. The OSA was not, therefore, in
7 effect at the time of AR's attack.

8 It is still a relatively new statute, but the
9 relevant codes have now been in place for over a year.
10 The measures in the OSA are wide-ranging and complex and
11 it is an area of legislation and guidance which is
12 moving at pace but I will attempt to summarise at least
13 the key points in relation to VFIs.

14 Firstly, online platforms must have systems and
15 processes in place to identify and remove illegal
16 content and to protect their users from the illegal
17 content. Illegal content would include terrorist
18 content, but does not currently extend to
19 non-ideological violence. The OSA has measures in
20 relation to legal but harmful content, this includes
21 material which is not currently illegal, but is capable
22 of causing significant harm.

23 In relation to children, in respect of legal but
24 harmful content, regulated platforms, including social
25 media platforms, are now required to assess, first,

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whether children are likely to access the service. If a service is likely to be accessed by children, then it must assess the risk of children encountering harmful content.

Social media platforms likely to be accessed by children are then under a duty to, first, put in place proportionate systems and processes designed to prevent children of any age from encountering certain types of content, for example, content relating to suicide and self harm or material relating to eating disorders. And, second, to put in place proportionate systems and processes to protect children from other types of content that is harmful to children.

Significantly for this Inquiry, this includes content which encourages, promotes or provides instructions for acts of serious violence and/or content which depicts real or realistic serious violence or injury against a person in graphic detail. And, third, platforms that host the above content are required to have in place highly effective age assurance -- and Ofcom has set out detailed guidance on what this requires, but it could include the use of credit card data, driving licences or age estimation based on facial recognition software.

Sir, as you know, the original drafting of the Bill

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concluded that it was clear that the issue of whether legal but harmful content should be available to adults, was investigated by Parliament and that Parliament had concluded that it should not take steps to preclude adults from viewing legal but harmful content.

It should be recognised, however, sir, that this is an area which is fast moving and, therefore, will merit further consideration in Phase 2. And if we can have on screen please ILT000099 at page 58. At paragraph 5, it was noted in the Home Affairs Committee Report that:

"The Online Safety Act contains gaps that limit Government's ability to address new forms of extremism, particularly when harmful content falls below criminal thresholds."

Then at paragraph 6 please:

"The Home Office should engage more closely with [DSIT] and Ofcom to ensure effective implementation of measures around online safety for children and to ensure that extremist content is among the types of online harmful content that technology companies are expected to address and be held accountable for. In addition, the Home Office should lead a cross Government, multi-agency approach to shut down com networks, building on existing co-operation between law enforcement, security services, the Department for

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contained provisions that would have required certain platforms to conduct risk assessments in relation to legal but harmful material that could be accessed by adults. However, those provisions were removed during the Bill's passage. The Inquiry will wish to consider the impact of such content on young people who have turned 18 and who are not, therefore, caught by the current age restriction provisions of the OSA.

Sir, during Phase 1 you considered whether you should make recommendations for DSIT to consider legislating, for example, by amendment to the OSA, to include a power to require lawful but harmful content, such as the Bishop Emmanuel stabbing viewed by AR, to be removed from platforms. The advantage of such a step would be the prevention of such content being visible to adults and also the reduction of the risk that it could be viewed by children, for example, if the content has not been recognised as sensitive or if the child is able to bypass age verification checks.

But, sir, you decided in Phase 1 that it would not be appropriate to make such a recommendation at that stage, in light of the evidence you had heard concerning the political debate that took place during the passage of the OSA, including consideration of the balance to be struck between free speech and online protections. You

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Science, Innovation and Technology and other relevant departments and safeguarding partners. We expect the Home Office to update us on progress in its response to this report."

The Inquiry should also in this area consider recommendation 4 of Lord Anderson in his 2025 "Lessons for Prevent Report". Can we have that back on screen please. ILT000106 and it is page 121. Thank you very much. It is recommendation 4 towards the top of the page. So Lord Anderson said:

"All feasible and rights compliant avenues should be explored as a matter of priority to enable evidence of online activity to be effectively used: to gauge risk factors, assess risk, identify clusters and escalation and activate and manage responses; to assist in the identification of potential subjects for Prevent; and to evaluate and address the risk factors attaching to individuals referred to Prevent."

So, sir, the Inquiry will wish to consider whether evidence of online activity could be used in the same way for VFIs as it can be used in Prevent and whether, if so, that should happen via a referral to Prevent or via a different process.

But, sir, it is also important to note here, perhaps, the limitations on what could be practical and

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feasible. Some of these were set out in Jonathan Hall's report. Can we have that back on the screen please, ILT000100. Page 4, paragraph 1.14. So he said:

"Fifthly, cold realism is needed in the face of any suggestion that it is possible to reverse engineer from the atrocious online viewing of the Southport attacker, to identify a point at which he could have been stopped from knowledge of his browsing history alone.

"Online rhetoric rarely reflects offline intentions.

"Many young people view and share terrible images of violence and sexual harm online, including terrorism content, and make dreadful boasts about their intentions, but only the tiniest fraction of these will take real world steps to violence.

"There is no super computer or algorithm that can magically scan all online communications and tell us who is an attacker and who is a fantasist."

So, sir, keeping that dose of realism in mind, it is still instructive to consider the measures that Government itself has raised since the Phase 1 report and to have regard to the measures that it considers are or may be feasible.

First of all, in this context, the Government's action plan, published earlier this year "Protecting What Matters", included:

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greater use in relation to violent content used to incite violence fixated individuals.

In addition, earlier this year, DSIT launched a consultation about children's online experiences "Growing Up in the Online World". Various steps have followed, including the well publicised ban on social media companies from providing their services to the under 16's, which has been announced. In addition, the introduction of new powers allowing the Government to require internet services to prevent or restrict children's access to certain online services or features, which could include banning certain types of apps for children; certain features such as direct messaging and the use of certain apps for certain durations or certain times of the day. The Inquiry will seek to explore whether these may be of use in managing the risk in VFI cases.

Your recommendation 24 from Phase 1 was that Phase 2 should consider age verification for the use of Virtual Private Networks, VPNs, and other options to avoid VPNs being used to circumvent the age related protections in the OSA. DSIT's consultation explored whether children in the UK should be able to freely access VPNs and the potential impacts of restricting access. Again, sir, you will wish to look further at this in the context of

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"Commitments by DSIT, first, to develop options to require social media platforms to give users greater control over their algorithmic feeds; and, second, to explore regulatory options to require platforms to take stronger actions against a wider range of violent content online".

More fundamentally, perhaps, in the King's Speech a commitment was made to introduce a Bill with measures to criminalise the creation and sharing of extreme violence content. So that is intended to be a new criminal offence.

Ofcom has continued to publish guidance and regulatory tools. The OSA also gave Ofcom the power to require certain platforms to use accredited technology to deal with terrorism content and child sexual exploitation and abuse content.

As recently as 4 June of this year, Ofcom's illegal content codes of practice were laid in Parliament, which include a requirement for services to use hash matching, a type of digital fingerprint for images or equivalent measures to tackle repeat uploads of non-consensual intimate images. Hash matching has already been used for some time to remove terrorist material across different internet platforms and the Inquiry will want to explore whether such measures could be of use or

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VFIs for this Phase 2.

Finally, last week the Government's response to your Phase 1 recommendations, noted at paragraph 81 as follows:

"The Home Office is working with DSIT to ensure alignment with the regulatory regime under the Online Safety Act, including consideration of whether and how the new extreme violence content offences could be considered as priority offences under the Act. Priority offences reflect the most serious and prevalent online illegal content and activity. Platforms must take proactive measures to counter priority offences."

So, sir, the Inquiry will wish to consider whether such a course of action should, indeed, be taken. Sir, in a moment I will move on to Topics 3 and 4, but before I do so, it is important to note that the online environment, while the focus of Topic 2, inevitably features heavily and cuts across all three of our other topics. But I wonder, sir, if that might be a moment for a 10-minute break?

SIR ADRIAN FULFORD: Certainly. I will sit again just after 2.50 pm.

(2.41 pm)

(A short break)

(2.53 pm)

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1 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Yes, Mr Moss.

2 **MR MOSS:** Thank you, sir.

3 The third topic in our Terms of Reference is the
4 effectiveness of current laws and systems for
5 identifying, monitoring and disrupting the activities of
6 VFIs online and reducing the harm caused by online
7 spaces which promote extreme violence.

8 In our approach to the Terms of Reference document
9 we have divided this third topic up into sub-issues.
10 So, if we can have that back on screen please, ILT000111
11 at page 6. At the bottom of the page you will see that
12 the first two sub-issues for this subtopic are the
13 adequacy of current legislation to identify, monitor and
14 disrupt VFIs prior to harm and the effectiveness of
15 systems enabling disruption of preparatory activities
16 and management of individuals who pose a risk but fall
17 below criminal thresholds.

18 So, in relation to those issues, the principal
19 current mechanisms to identify, monitor and disrupt VFIs
20 prior to harm, are a combination of Prevent and the
21 various statutory and non-statutory structures and
22 multi-agency arrangements to which I have already
23 referred under Topic 1. As well as then, at the later
24 stage, the sanction, in disruption terms, of charging
25 under various existing criminal offences.

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1 legal framework in respect of social care for both
2 children and adults. As regards children, the key
3 statutes include the Children's Act 1989 and The
4 Children's Act 2004.

5 Taking matters very shortly for the purposes of this
6 Phase 2 opening, in Phase 1 you found that the
7 Children's Safeguarding Framework, including the 2023
8 edition of "Working Together to Safeguard Children" and
9 "The Children's Services' National Framework,"
10 understandably heavily focused on the risk of a child
11 suffering significant harm, but did not deal
12 sufficiently with the multi-agency safeguarding approach
13 to be taken where a child themselves poses a significant
14 risk of harm to others, including, as was the case with
15 AR, a significant risk of harm to other children.

16 You, sir, described this feature of the documents as
17 "something of a blind spot within the system", which had
18 a direct impact on the various decisions that had been
19 made in AR's case.

20 You recommended at Recommendation 39 that the
21 Department for Education should update Working Together
22 and the National Framework to highlight that
23 safeguarding and child protection assessments, when
24 considering what support to put in place and planned
25 multi-agency working, must also consider the risks posed

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1 From any survey of the relevant landscape, it is, we
2 suggest, obvious that there is at the moment no single
3 statute, nor dedicated system, focused upon violence
4 fixated individuals or the threat posed by
5 non-ideological extreme violence. Instead, the current
6 arrangements depend upon VFIs and their related threat
7 being caught in this lattice of overlapping coverage
8 from a variety of disparate processes, with different
9 purposes and focus.

10 In this context, it may be thought that VFIs have
11 been an emerging but relatively poorly defined cohort.
12 A key consideration for you, sir, will be whether these
13 existing ad hoc arrangements appropriately and
14 comprehensively cover the risk that they pose; whether
15 there are specific gaps that need to be filled; and how
16 this links to the broader questions that we have already
17 introduced under Topic 1.

18 In looking at the effectiveness of the current
19 systems, I have already set out under Topic 1 how the
20 Inquiry will scrutinise the effectiveness and
21 appropriateness of the use of Prevent to manage and
22 disrupt the threat posed by VFIs, but an important
23 further aspect of the effectiveness of the current
24 processes is the wider current safeguarding systems.

25 As you found, sir, in Phase 1, there is a complex

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1 by children to others in appropriate cases.

2 The Department for Education has now published
3 further iterations of both those documents, each in
4 March of this year. In Phase 2 we will take evidence
5 relating to those documents, the extent of change and
6 consider the overall sufficiency of the current
7 arrangements as now updated.

8 Back on this page that we still have on screen, the
9 next sub-issue at 3.3 is the clarity and use of existing
10 orders, eg court orders, civil injunctions, relevant to
11 those at risk of becoming VFIs and established VFIs.

12 Sir, as is becoming a familiar refrain in this
13 opening, there currently exists a relatively wide
14 variety of overlapping court orders that could have
15 a role to play in this area. However, none of them are
16 specifically focused on violence fixated individuals and
17 the risk of harm that they present. To fulfil this
18 aspect of our Terms of Reference, we will endeavour to
19 examine the most relevant orders, their scope and
20 availability and their effectiveness. This is in itself
21 quite a complex area and for today I just want to
22 provide a very preliminary introduction.

23 So, sir, the first group of orders to be
24 considered -- three orders -- that are available only
25 after a conviction for criminal offences. By

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definition, therefore, they are not capable of managing or disrupting the activities of a VFI before criminality occurs, is detected and is successfully prosecuted.

The first of these orders is a Criminal Behaviour Order or CBO, under Part 11, Chapter 1 of the Sentencing Act 2020. Criminal Behaviour Orders are available following a conviction for any offence in the Crown, Magistrate's or Youth Courts. They are the successor to the previously notorious Anti-social Behaviour Order or ASBOs. Criminal Behaviour Orders are focused on preventing individuals from engaging behaviour that causes harassment, alarm and distress. Before imposing such an order a court must be satisfied both that the offender has engaged in behaviour that caused or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to any person and that making the order will help in preventing the offender from engaging in similar behaviour in the future.

If imposed on a child under 18, a CBO must be for a fixed period of between 1 and 3 years, if imposed on an adult a CBO must be for at least two years and can be indefinite. A CBO can include both prohibitions and requirements. Prohibitions would generally be targeted at the prevention of specific acts which cause harassment, alarm or distress or preparatory acts, which

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fully in force. They are not currently available but they were piloted with an independent evaluation published in April of this year. A SVRO is a civil order made in respect of an offender convicted of an offence involving a bladed article or an offensive weapon. The order provides the police with an additional, effectively automatic power, to search a person subject to an SVRO to ascertain whether they have a bladed article or offensive weapon with them and to detain them for the purposes of carrying out that search, provided that the person is in a public place.

So those are three orders available only post-conviction. The fourth type of order is Restraining Orders. Restraining orders will also only come into play where a criminal charge has been brought to court and they may be made on conviction under section 360 of the Sentencing Act 2020. However, unlike the previous orders, they may also be made after an acquittal. They can apply in both cases for any criminal offence. The orders restrain and criminalise its subject from making any contact directly or indirectly with the individuals named within it.

However, a restraining order on conviction, a court may make an order for the purpose of protecting the victim or victims of the offence or any other person

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the offending history shows are likely to lead to offences, for example, the individual entering into a defined area. Whereas requirements would generally be directed to rehabilitative activities, for example, attendance at a course to educate offenders on alcohol and its effect.

Secondly, there are Deprivation of Property Orders, under sections 152 to 155 of the Sentencing Act 2020. Sir, we raise these because they could be relevant, for example, to weapons and indeed potentially to online considerations.

Under these provisions a court can make an order to deprive an offender of property used or intended to be used to commit or facilitate the commission of any offence, not necessarily the offence of which the offender has been convicted.

In making such an order, the court must have regard to the value of the property and the likely financial and other effects of making of the order on the offender. A deprivation order can only be made where the property has been used to commit or facilitate the commission of an offence or was intended for that purpose.

Third are Serious Violence Reduction Orders or SVROs. These orders were enacted in 2022, but are not

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mentioned in the order from conduct which amounts to harassment or will cause a fear of violence.

For a restraining order on acquittal, a court may make a restraining order if it considers it necessary to protect a person from harassment by the defendant but not from fear of violence.

Fifthly, in terms of current orders, are Serious Crime Prevention Orders. These, sir, are a hybrid type of order. They can be imposed post-conviction by a criminal court, but they can also be sought by a free-standing application to the High Court. The statutory foundation is part 1 of the Serious Crime Act 2007. Application before the High Court can be brought by the DPP or by a chief constable of a police force of the Director General of the NCA if they consult first with the DPP.

To make a Serious Crime Prevention Order, the High Court must be satisfied that the subject has been involved in serious crime and that the order will protect the public by preventing or disrupting their ongoing involvement in serious crime.

If it makes an order, the court can impose conditions considered appropriate for the stated purpose of protecting the public from serious crime. Sir, that can include prohibitions, restrictions or requirements

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on financial property or business dealings; working arrangements; with whom a person associates or communicates and the means used to do so; the premises they are allowed to use and for what purpose; the use of any item; and travel both within the UK and abroad.

Sixth and finally, there is the most intrusive available civil order, the Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures or TPIM. As will be more than familiar to you, these are the successor orders to what were previously known as control orders, which were themselves introduced in 2005 in response to the court's ruling against the detention without charge of foreign nationals suspected terrorists, who could neither be prosecuted nor deported. See the case of A 2004 UKHL56, what became known as the Belmarsh case.

Current Government guidance states that TPIMs are designed to protect the public from individuals who pose a real terrorist threat but for whom we cannot prosecute or in the case of foreign nationals, cannot deport.

TPIMs are the most onerous of all the civil orders and they require substantial resources both to impose and to oversee. They may direct where someone can live, where they may go, with whom they may or may not have contact, whether and how they can have access to the internet et cetera.

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individual's collection of such items.

There were two strands within this for AR. One related to AR's purchase of the ricin seeds, of the castor oil plant, together with associated chemical equipment. And the second relates to his pattern of buying a sledgehammer, a petrol jerrycan, materials that could be used to make Molotov cocktails, an archery bow and arrows, smoke grenades, knives and machetes.

The challenge is that these items by themselves are lawful to purchase, albeit that some of them should have been age restricted and the challenge is also that each of them had potentially lawful and benign uses.

But even without the benefit of hindsight, that combination of purchases by AR was of course deeply concerning. We will need in Phase 2 to consider how effective, if at all, current arrangements are at detecting that kind of pattern.

And finally, sir, as you see still on screen, under this topic, we will examine whether statutory powers sufficiently address modern online threats.

Clearly, sir, there is an overlap here with Topic 2. However, under Topic 3, in light of all of the previous sub-issues which I have just gone through, you will want to come back to the contrast between the nature of the online harms threat, see Topic 2, and the overall

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As would be expected, there are strict requirements before a TPIM can be imposed. They are only available against those who are reasonably suspected to be involved in terrorism related activity. The order must be necessary for protecting the public from the risk of terrorism and the individual measures must be necessary for preventing or restricting an individual's involvement in terrorism.

A TPIM may only be imposed initially for a year but that period is extendible up to a maximum of five years, scrutinised by the courts. Of course, TPIMs are not available against an individual who is fixated with violence and poses a risk of non-ideological extreme violence because they will fall outside the category of terrorists and those with terrorist motivations.

Back, please, on our approach to the Terms of Reference document. The fourth sub-issue is whether current legal powers adequately support the identification and escalation of risk arising from the acquisition of dangerous but legal items.

Sir, the background to this, of course, is that AR had accumulated a range of dangerous but legal items and attempted to obtain others. In Phase 2 the Inquiry will consider whether the current legal powers are sufficient to identify and respond to the risk that is posed by

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question of whether the statutory powers as currently enacted are sufficient to deal with them.

One related question noting the civil liberties arguments that would weigh against will be whether parameters should be placed on the online activities of someone sufficiently clearly identified as a particular risk before they have even committed a criminal offence.

Sir, Topic 4. The fourth topic is the effectiveness of policies, regulation and criminal enforcement in relation to the sale and possession of offensive weapons and articles with a point or blade. So that's Topic 4.

Under this topic, the Inquiry will be considering the following:

First, the detection of concerning purchasing behaviours. So having looked at the effectiveness of the current processes in Topic 3, we want to go on to consider here under Topic 4 the potential for further technological solutions and what more could be done through reporting requirements placed on retailers in relation to suspicious patterns of behaviour of ordering in particular what could be offensive weapons.

Secondly, whether any age limitation or other restriction should be put on the purchase of conventional archery bows. It will be recalled that there are currently no age restrictions on conventional

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1 archery equipment as opposed to crossbows and while AR
2 did not use them in the attack he had purchased
3 conventional archery equipment, undoubtedly not for any
4 legitimate archery purpose.

5 Thirdly, whether there should be further
6 restrictions on crossbows. But sir, as I have already
7 mentioned in dealing with Topic 1, Government has now
8 already announced extensive planned further
9 restrictions, albeit subject to consultation on the
10 details of their implementation. So it may be that we
11 will not need to look at that aspect with such
12 particular focus.

13 Fourthly, knives and bladed weapons. We will be
14 looking in particular at the effectiveness of current
15 controls on knife and bladed item sales, including
16 restrictions on sharp-tipped knives, including whether
17 there should be further particular high risk items that
18 are targeted.

19 We will look at whether further restrictions on
20 online sales should be considered for certain categories
21 of bladed articles. We want to look at the robustness
22 of online age verification and age-verified delivery
23 standards and the risks associated with importation of
24 bladed items with complex delivery chains involving
25 multiple subcontractors.

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1 Phase 2 liaison with the Home Office, the Inquiry is
2 aware of a number of important developments, some of
3 which are in the public domain. I'm not going to
4 attempt a comprehensive summary, but these matters
5 include the following:

6 First, the publication of the Government's plan
7 protecting lives, building hope, a plan to half knife
8 crime in April this year.

9 Secondly, the publication of the Government's White
10 Paper on new model for policing, from local to national,
11 published in January this year which has an impact in
12 this area.

13 Thirdly, the enactment of the Crime and Policing Act
14 2026. Sir, I have already referred to that, but it
15 contains on Topic 4 a number of provisions that are
16 highly relevant that are raised in Phase 1 and fall
17 within Topic 4. Can I just mention those briefly.

18 So, in the 2026 Act there are provisions
19 strengthening age verification requirements for the
20 online sale and delivery of knives and crossbows. In
21 shortest form, those require marrying up a formal
22 identification document, a passport or a driving
23 licence, with a photograph of the purchaser and the
24 identification document must also be checked at
25 delivery.

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1 May I just flag within this wide group of issues the
2 question of kitchen knives. AR's purchase of machetes,
3 evading age restriction provisions, readily illustrates
4 the importance of action in the area of high risk bladed
5 items. But it is important to remember that
6 catastrophically the dreadful multiple injuries he
7 inflicted were actually carried out with an every day
8 chef's knife. So the focus cannot just be on categories
9 of particularly "nasty" or "high risk" knives, but
10 violence fixated individuals' risk in relation to more
11 commonly available knives as well.

12 Fifthly, whether the provisions and guidance
13 relating to relevant offensive weapons and age
14 verification requires clarification and/or
15 consolidation. Sir, this is another area where
16 Government policy and operational developments are
17 moving in some respects quite significantly in parallel
18 with the work of the Inquiry.

19 A full explanation of these changes will be provided
20 in the Home Office witness statement, which is being
21 sought by a separate Rule 9 request specific to these
22 Topic 4 issues, but we know already that the Home Office
23 has done a good deal of work in relation to compiling
24 information for the Inquiry in this area.

25 I should mention in that context that from its early

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1 There is a new requirement on retailers to report
2 bulk sales of bladed articles. There is provision in
3 the Act to hold senior managers of online platforms
4 personally liable for failure to take action to remove
5 illegal content relating to knives and offensive
6 weapons. There is an increase in a number of relevant
7 minimum sentences, and there is provision in the Act to
8 enable the police to seize, retain and destroy knives
9 held in private when they are lawfully on private
10 property and the police have reasonable grounds to
11 suspect that the items will likely be used in connection
12 with unlawful violence.

13 There is also in the 2026 Act the new offence of
14 possession of a knife or offensive weapon in public or
15 private with intent to use it in unlawful violence.

16 Fourthly, the Government's consultation on
17 a licensing system for knife sellers has been completed
18 and a response to that consultation will follow. And we
19 are sure that the Inquiry will be updated on the
20 anticipated timings in that regard.

21 Fifthly, there is a new non-statutory guidance for
22 child knife possession offences. The principal effect
23 of that, sir, is that all children caught in possession
24 of a knife will now have to receive a mandatory
25 intervention plan and out of court disposals of such

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1 resolutions will require that that is the case, that
2 there is some kind of mandatory intervention plan.

3 Sixthly, as I have mentioned in the context of Topic
4 1, just before the publication of the Inquiry's Phase 1
5 report, the Government announced its intention to
6 prohibit the future sale of crossbows and to introduce
7 a licensing scheme for existing crossbow owners.
8 A consultation is expected on the details of how this
9 will be implemented and again I am sure we will be
10 updated on the timing of that.

11 Finally the work of the National Knife Crime Centre
12 has been taken forward. So, it was launched on 2 April
13 of this year. It is now the coordinating point for
14 policing activities and investigations into all aspects
15 of online, unlawful knife and weapon sales. This
16 includes improving enforcement of the Knives Act 1997
17 and its provisions on the marketing of knives and it is
18 intended that the centre will play a key role in
19 implementing the knives provisions that I have briefly
20 outlined in the Crime and Policing Act 2026.

21 Sir, partly in light of a concern about the pace of
22 progress in one area that I'm going to raise shortly, it
23 is fair and appropriate to note some positive
24 operational action that has been taken in this area.

25 The Inquiry is aware that Commander Clayman's end to
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1 these are welcome developments. Sir, you will, however,
2 recall how very troubling the evidence heard in the
3 autumn of last year was about the description of certain
4 knives and machetes that were on sale by some of the
5 online retailers from whom AR had ordered machetes.

6 You found in Phase 1 that you had very significant
7 concern about the poor enforcement of the provisions of
8 the Knives Act 1997 as regards online retailers. Your
9 recommendation 18 was that the Home Office should take,
10 and I quote "immediate action" to ensure that online
11 knife retailers are complying with the Knives Act 1997,
12 particularly regarding the marketing of knives,
13 machetes, swords and similar bladed articles.

14 Could we have in this regard on screen please
15 ILT000107 and can we have the top of the page
16 highlighted please.

17 So just by way of a reminder -- apologies for the
18 typo, it is obviously 1997 and not 1977:

19 "A person is guilty of an offence if he markets
20 a knife in a way which: indicates or suggests that it is
21 suitable for combat; or is otherwise likely to stimulate
22 or encourage violent behaviour, involving the use of the
23 knife as a weapon."

24 "Suitable for combat" and "violent behaviour" are
25 defined in section 10.

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1 end review of online knife sales revealed different
2 kinds of vulnerability. One was what might be thought
3 regular online retailers, who may not be fully compliant
4 with what the law requires. But another vulnerability
5 is grey market suppliers. That is those who use social
6 media platforms to circumvent knife marketing controls
7 all together. The latter are, for perhaps
8 understandable reasons, said to be a particular concern
9 because they tend to operate anonymously, and are
10 typically ignoring the legislative restrictions. We
11 understand that in the early work of the National Knife
12 Crime Centre, these grey market suppliers have been
13 understandably prioritised, that there have been
14 a number of significant arrests, a number of charges and
15 some convictions secured as a result.

16 In terms of regular online retailers, the Inquiry
17 has been updated that as recently as Monday of this
18 week, the policing minister wrote to online retailers of
19 knives, averting to the requirements, offences and
20 penalties under the Knives Act 1997 and what is expected
21 of online retailers in this regard. The minister also
22 referred retailers to the new provisions of the 2026
23 Act. We understand that a ministerial summit with such
24 retailers is intended to be held.

25 Sir, on any view, in light of the Phase 1 evidence,
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1 And then (3):

2 "For the purposes of this Act, an indication or
3 suggestion that a knife is suitable for combat may, in
4 particular, be given or made by a name or description:
5 applied to the knife; or on the knife or on any
6 packaging in which it is contained; or included in any
7 advertisement which, expressly or by implication,
8 relates to the knife."

9 If we can just look at the bottom of the page,
10 please. Section 10 of the 1997 Act makes clear that
11 "suitable for combat" means "suitable for use as
12 a weapon for inflicting injury on a person or causing
13 a person to fear injury."

14 Still on this page, sir, it is important that
15 I carefully stress the effect of section 2 of the
16 Inquiries Act at the bottom of the page. This Inquiry
17 does not have any power to rule on and has no power to
18 determine any person's civil or criminal liability. But
19 by subsection (2) equally an Inquiry panel is not to be
20 inhibited in the discharge of its functions by any
21 likelihood of liability being inferred from facts that
22 it determines or recommendations that it makes.

23 Sir, respecting those provisions, we do wish to
24 raise in this opening the concern that further urgent
25 action does appear necessary in relation to mainstream

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1 online knife retailers.

2 If we go to page 2 of this document please, these
3 are illustrative examples. As we have made clear at the
4 top of the page, we don't raise these because it is the
5 Inquiry's role to determine whether or not they amount
6 to criminal offences. We raise them because there are,
7 we suggest, reasonable and urgent questions about the
8 industry's current interpretation of the legislation and
9 about the enforcement of the Knives Act.

10 These illustrative examples were all accessible to
11 the Inquiry as recently as Friday of last week.

12 So the first example is this knife, black in colour,
13 with the brand name "Kombat UK" with a K and described
14 as their "Tanto tactical folding lock knife". Tanto was
15 historically the knife worn by Japanese Samurai, but in
16 modern western usage it appears to refer to a point
17 style of modern tactical knife. This knife sells for
18 under £13 and it has "Kombat UK" emblazoned on the
19 otherwise all black serrated knife.

20 The sales description, if we can put the bottom left
21 under "description" up, includes that "its Tanto-style
22 tip is crafted for precision and strength, ideal for
23 piercing and cutting tasks".

24 On to page 3, please, this is another Kombat UK
25 knife. Again all black. Again a serrated edge. It is

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1 way. But if we can just have the bottom of the page
2 highlighted, please. On the black knife the single word
3 "Frenzy" is emblazoned on the blade. Why?

4 On page 6, another example from the manufacturer
5 Cold Steel being advertised on a mainstream, easily
6 accessible co.uk website. This is the Cold Steel
7 Mayhem, an expensive knife retailing at over £250. Sir,
8 as you can see, Mayhem is the only word printed on that
9 blade. What is that meant to connote?

10 Finally on page 7, a knife again on sale through
11 another UK mainstream website. This is a Spartan blade
12 Harsay knife, a collaboration it seems between two
13 companies. The name of this knife is "Fighter Black"
14 and the description on the bottom of the page is that it
15 is "a military combat knife" and that it is "a true no
16 nonsense knife for the real world".

17 Why is a knife called the "Fighter Black" still
18 being sold and allowed to be advertised in this way in
19 this country?

20 Those interested in this Inquiry need no reminder
21 that the attack took place on 29 July 2024. The
22 two-year anniversary will be in three weeks' time. It
23 is just worth pausing and reflecting on the fact that,
24 in July 2026, UK retail websites are still calling
25 knives Fighter Black, Frenzy and Mayhem, and in many

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1 being advertised here for sale at under £9. While the
2 description in the bottom left suggests that it is
3 designed for practical outdoor use, and for outdoor
4 enthusiasts and emergency preparedness, if we go over
5 the page -- at the bottom of the previous page at the
6 bottom -- we can see that Kombat with a K and the words
7 "tactical" are marked on the otherwise jet black knife.

8 Why does a knife in the UK need to be marketed with
9 the brand "Kombat" printed on it?

10 Why is the word "tactical" allowed to be printed on
11 this knife?

12 Over the page, please. This is one of the knives
13 made by the firm Cold Steel, which is not a UK company,
14 but it is being advertised on another mainstream UK
15 website and it is marketed with the name "Cold Steel
16 Frenzy II folding knife." Again, a black knife. In the
17 sales description it is said that the black coated
18 finish adds an extra layer or protection against wear
19 and corrosion while giving the blade, and I quote,
20 "a stealthy tactical look".

21 Why does a knife on sale in the UK need "a stealthy
22 tactical look"?

23 Why is it still being advertised in this way?

24 If you look at the bottom of the page, please.
25 I apologise for bringing up images of knives in this

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1 cases printing such names on the blade.

2 So, sir, it is against that background that the
3 Inquiry will be taking a particularly close interest in
4 how the follow-up to the policing minister's
5 communications on Monday of this week play out. From
6 this kind of marketing that is still so easily
7 accessible online in the UK, it might be thought that
8 such action, and urgent action, is indeed required.

9 Sir, that concludes our Phase 2 opening statement.

10 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** I'm very grateful Mr Moss. It is quite
11 clear that in the autumn of this year we are going to
12 have quite a lot of ground to cover.

13 I think I'm right in saying that we next sit again
14 on Tuesday, 8 September.

15 **MR MOSS:** That's the plan.

16 **SIR ADRIAN FULFORD:** Right. Thank you all very much indeed
17 for your attendance today and I will see you again on 8
18 September.

19 **(3.30 pm)**

20 **(The Inquiry adjourned until Tuesday, 8 September 2026)**

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