

William Temple Foundation Annual Lecture 2017

Engaging a Politics of Hope – Economics, Belief and the Environment Jonathan Bartley

Thank you for this invitation today.

When William Temple set out to write *Christianity and the Social Order* his objectives were to vindicate the Church's right to intervene in economic questions; to show that it has something worthwhile to say; and to indicate clearly where the competence of the Church ended.

I am acutely aware that, as my colleague Caroline Lucas says often, no one has a monopoly on wisdom. And I am also going to be clear about where I think my own competence ends! Indeed, there is a habit of politicians to set themselves up as experts in everything. But of course very few, if any, are.

I am not a theologian. But I want to start not by talking about knowledge - but faith. I am a person of faith. And for me the Green Party is the natural political expression of my faith - perhaps as the Labour Party was for William Temple in his own day and age.

I am a descendent of the Quaker prison reformer Elizabeth Fry, and I believe that while Christianity has been responsible for many atrocities and so much oppression, it has, can and should be, a force for good.

This is a very interesting time for faith and belief in politics. I have never believed in privileging religion. I would like to see bishops removed from the House of Lords, disestablishment of the Church of England, and an end to the discrimination of religious schools who can select on the basis of faith.

But equally I think that the Christian faith has something important to say. And as someone who longs for the Church of England to be more progressive, I was very pleased to see the Church affirming transgender people last week.

But I am also of the view, as G K Chesterton said, that the problem with Christianity is not that it has been tried and found wanting, but rather that it has been wanted and never tried.

The Christian tradition has a wealth of ideas. In the early 1990s I was working in the House of Commons and I got a letter across my desk from someone called George Dent. He suggested a year of Jubilee in the year 2000 when the debts of the most indebted countries would be written off. I have to confess I nearly fell off my chair laughing. No one was talking about it. No party was signed up to it.

Well, just a few years later, the G8 were sitting around discussing not whether they could cancel the debts of some of the most indebted nations, but whose debts they would cancel. Whether it be the campaign to abolish the transatlantic slave trade led by Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect - opposed by some Bishops I might add - or the Christian Socialists of the early Nineteenth Century - there are some inspirational examples from history that we can draw upon.

But let me add one thing. I have been astonished to see the outcry - by some who are clearly bordering on racism - over the Tesco advert that featured a Muslim family. And similarly over Greggs for featuring a sausage roll in a crib.

For me, as a Christian, the things that I get upset about are quite different.

I get angry that this so called Christian country with a so called Christian Prime Minister would walk by on the other side of the road when there are refugee children at its border. That it would support a Syrian coalition, with weapons, that is blockading the border in Yemen while tens of thousands of children starve. And that it would weaponise a welfare state - the safety net we all rely on - against those who are mentally ill and disabled.

Those are the kinds of things my Bible teaches me to be offended by.

Big Picture

Let's zoom out. I want to start today by looking at the systems which not only enable these things to happen - but which give them legitimacy.

I am not sure if it's the same today, but when I studied economics at A-Level we were taught the theory of the firm with the demand and supply curves, basic monetarism with control of the money supply through interest rates. There were simple rules which made economics appear like a science. $X + Y$, we were told, equalled Z .

Economics was presented to us as a fact, rather than a value. Sure, there were theories and hypothesis, as there are in science. But there was little taught in the way of ethics and morality. But of course underlying it all were values; from the choice about which kind of economic theory we were being taught, through to how decisions impacted people's lives for better or worse.

Around that time, the Conservative Chancellor Norman Lamont made the famous statement that got him into a lot of trouble, saying "unemployment was a price worth paying". It was based on his monetarist approach. And such was my indoctrination by the education I had received I remember thinking to myself "of course he is right. That is self-evident."

I don't think like that now. But it wasn't until I went to the London School of Economics that I really encountered a different perspective. There I was introduced to social economics – something I didn't know even existed. It was there that I realised that every economic system and approach is laden with values. That there are all sorts of alternatives that we aren't taught at school, or for that matter presented with in universities, by politicians or in the mainstream media.

And now we see that many of those theories considered orthodoxy don't hold up anymore. Austerity was a political choice. We have seen billions created apparently out of thin air, pumped into the economy to help the banks. The longest sustained period of low interest rates. We realise too that growth is a very poor measure of wellbeing. All bets are off. We are in, in many respects, uncharted territory.

In many respects Christianity owes a great debt to the heretics. Because in their day they were prepared to say what was considered unpalatable. They rocked the boat. They spoke to the truth. And quite often what was yesterday's heresy became the next day's orthodoxy.

I believe that we are seeing that around the perceived orthodoxy of austerity right now. For seven years my own party made the case that it wasn't necessary and that it would be hugely damaging. Many called us heretics. But we have, I believe, been proved right. But that austerity has

come at a huge cost. Just last week a new study has linked austerity to 120,000 deaths. And that number may rise to 200,000 by 2020.

The political context

If we are in uncharted territory economically, we are perhaps just as much so politically. If we had been sitting in this room two years ago, few would have predicted where we stand today. A misogynist, racist, climate change sceptic sitting in the White House playing nuclear war games over twitter with North Korea. A referendum on Brexit, with a decision to leave. A resurgent extreme right across Europe. An increasingly divided country - between rich and poor, young and old, migrant and local. Disabled and non-disabled, man and woman.

Or perhaps these divisions have always been there, it's just that they are now coming to the surface?

In one sense it isn't surprising. Because when the system breaks down, when we have a generation that for the first time in anyone's memory will be worse off than their forebears, then it is no wonder that people look wistfully back to a mythical bygone age when everything was so much better - whether that be 1970s socialism, or the vision of little England provided by the Far Right.

But at another level it is puzzling. What we saw on offer at the general election was not particularly different by historical standards. It was a choice between a right wing conservative party and a Labour Party that had just returned to its traditional position as a social democratic party on the left.

The difference in spending proposals was just £48.6bn a year out of a budget of £780bn. The Conservatives wanted to spend 40% of GDP. Labour 42%. Even Angela Merkel's right wing Christians Democrats wanted to spend 44%.

Whichever party got in there was no plan to cancel student debt. They would not have provided what was needed for the NHS or Social care. Corporation Tax would still be the lowest in the G7. There would be no electoral reform. No end to subsidies for fossil fuels or the commercial arms trade. Road building would continue. No end to the detention of refugees and asylum seekers. No reinstatement of the NHS, or reversal of academisation in our school. We would still have Trident nuclear weapons and a new nuclear power station at Hinkley. There would be no alternative to the desperate pursuit of growth.

Vision, Values and Hope

But if there is one thing that characterises the rise of the SNP, the surprise move to Jeremy Corbyn, or indeed the surge in my own Party is the search for a sign of hope in dark times. There is a thirst for something different and new. People know there should be something. But they don't quite know what it looks like.

In the referendum we saw many people project their discontent and a desire for change and control onto the Leave vote. I will say more about that later. In the same way, many people projected their hopes - unexpectedly - on the Labour Party at the general election.

And today I want to offer something different. Something different in terms of both vision and values. Something radical.

I often get asked is the Green Party on the left? But the terms left and right relate to a dying system. And we need a new paradigm. A new way of looking at the world. We need to move

beyond the purely economic, and stop worshipping at its altar and recognise that there's something more. It's something that many religious people have been saying for a very long time.

One of the great puzzles for economists has been, why when our wealth has tripled in size. When we have so much technological advance, we aren't any happier. In fact we are less happy.

What does it profit a person to gain the whole world but lose their soul?

We may be in uncharted territory politically and economically. But what we do know is that we cannot go on as we are, plundering the planet of resources, fueling climate change, perpetuating inequality, it's not sustainable.

A handful of interests are calling the shots. Destroying the world. Tragically, their individual and collective impact exacts an immense negative toll, unraveling the hard-won democracy of citizens, whilst 'mining' the natural world to the point where breakdown of our basic life support systems has now become likely.

And we know that these same forces are infiltrating our education system, our health care, polluting our air, consuming with an insatiable appetite for more, to grow and to commodify everything.

Unless things change fundamentally and systemically it is likely that we will be lurching from one crisis to another for quite some time to come.

In the Spirit Level as many here will know Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett seek to show how some of the most wealthy societies are also the most unequal. And that inequality erodes trust, increases anxiety and illness, and encourages excessive consumption. It claims that for each of eleven different health and social problems such as physical and mental health, drug abuse, obesity and teenage pregnancy, things are significantly worse in more unequal, rich countries.

Add to this a growing and aging population, over consumption, growth based on illusory credit and speculative bubbles, scarce resources and a warming planet, and it's hard to see how we will avoid future economic catastrophes which will make the last financial crisis look quite tame.

The economic, and for that matter social, trajectory that we are on simply isn't sustainable.

It's time to put the living world at the heart of all we do. Or as the theologian Walter Wink has put it we need to challenge the domination system.

Economy

Every other party is committed to growth as an article of faith. My party starts from a different point. An increase in GDP isn't the solution. It isn't an answer. Because the question isn't right. The crucial question we must ask is "Who is the economy for". We need to put humankind, our wellbeing, and the natural world back at the centre. The economy should be our slave, not our master.

It should work for us - as the mechanism which ensures the needs of everyone are met within the limits of the planet. We should not be cogs in the machine.

Last week the Shadow Chancellor said in his pre-budget speech that a Labour Government would put the environment at very centre of Government, promising to have Britain's fiscal watchdog forecast the economic impact of climate change.

Putting the impact of climate change on the Government's balance sheet would be a meaningful step towards giving it the political attention it deserves. But ultimately, we need to acknowledge that our current economic system is not equipped to meet the challenges we face.

What we urgently need is an economy that sustains our life giving planet, nurtures people's aspirations, redistributes not just wealth but the sources of that wealth. We need a fundamental shift of power. Where success is measured not in terms of growth but the quality of the lives we live.

This Government is obsessed with building big things. From renewing our pointless nuclear weapons system, to giving the go ahead to a new dirty nuclear power station at Hinkley Point C, supporting the expansion of Heathrow airport, to crashing through our countryside with HS2 and churning up our earth by backing fracking.

They are symbols of the past which have no place in a future in which people and planet can thrive.

The truth is that we can't kick start a renewable energy revolution - which would create countless jobs, tackle climate change and all while making the UK a world leader in new technology - while sinking subsidies into dirty nuclear power stations and fossil fuels. We can't transform access to public transport with a mega railway that rips through local communities - or clean up our toxic air while expanding airports and roads.

The bottom line is that we can't have a healthy economy while remaining addicted to growth and the old ways of thinking.

So what would a new economy with people at the centre and in balance with the natural world look like?

Almost every day as I travel the country and meet people in my role as Green Party leader I am reminded that this future is already being written, from the neighbourhoods generating their own solar power, to those taking over local pubs as valuable community assets and setting up local produce schemes to give the poorest residents subsidised fresh food.

Close to where I live in South London is a brilliant social enterprise called the Library of Things, where you pay a small charge to borrow everything from DIY equipment to kitchenware. Ideas like this cut the cost of living, give us more choice, more space. Imagine libraries of things on every High Street liberating us from the need to own. It is a few miles away from another project. Brixton Solar. There the community invests for a small return - much needed in an era of low interest rates. Solar panels are put on top of housing estates. They generate clean, cheap energy. And the profits are put into insulation and tackling fuel poverty.

We need to think radically and differently about investing in the future that is already being written in our communities. We need too to create resilient local economies that can withstand the winds of globalisation. With local supply chains, and circular economies which keep money in the local community. When a pound is spent in a chain store the majority leaves the local economy. When it is spent in an independent shop, the majority stays there.

And of course, the world of work is changing too. Much faster certainly than I have ever known in my lifetime.

In 1930 John Maynard Keynes predicted that improving living standards would eventually see the working week drastically cut, to perhaps 15 hours a week, with people choosing to have far more leisure as their material needs were satisfied. Well, I am sure most of you here today are working far longer than that. The rise of automation hasn't meant we spend less time at work. No, for some it's meant we take it home in our pockets - while for others it's meant their specialised roles simply no longer exist.

Nobody ever says on their deathbed "I wish I'd spent more time at the office". But we cannot solve our problems with the same thinking that created them. That is why we need to start thinking seriously about real tangible changes which would readjust the economy into a force which works for people, not against them.

Like a shorter working week. This would help tackle both unemployment and underemployment by spreading work around, stop workers burning out and so boosting productivity, as well as, most importantly, giving people longer with their families, in their communities, doing what makes them happy.

Welfare

As the father of a disabled child, I know first hand that there is so much unpaid work which is not recognised by an economic system which only counts money. And I am not alone. In the UK unpaid carers provide £57 billion worth of social care. In recent months we have seen the policy of a Universal Basic Income, long championed by Greens everywhere, gain real recognition as a viable way to meet the challenges we currently face. Pilots of this scheme - which would provide a universal, non-means tested income to everyone - have sprung up in places from Scotland to Finland and even some states in America.

Our current welfare system - something which should and could support all of us - is inflicting misery, poverty and in the worst cases death on those who are already struggling.

Last week we saw the very real consequences of the Government's underfunded, poorly executed Universal Credit scheme, as a letter from a landlord threatening eviction if claimants missed rent deadlines due to delayed benefits. Meanwhile benefit sanctions place people on work related benefits, who already have to survive on a pittance, at very real risk of absolute poverty.

But imagine not just a real safety net, but a guaranteed, non means tested benefit, without the spectre of sanctions, which allowed us all to pursue our dreams and exercise our choices - whether that be to care, to set up a small business, to study or change career without fear. That is what a Universal Basic Income would do.

By launching its own UBI pilot, the Government could explore how Britain can guarantee these opportunities. With political will, a UBI pilot would see us join those leading from the front when it comes to recognising unpaid work and eliminating the poverty trap. Earlier this month the Paradise Papers revealed the huge scale of tax avoidance enabled by the offshore empire. We could claim back the taxes lost and create a sovereign fund to pay for this pilot and explore how a successful UBI could work.

Housing

We can too think in new ways about secure our housing needs to the future.

On any given night in England it is estimated more than 4,000 people sleep rough - with this figure likely to be far shy of the reality. And then there are the hidden homelessness - people who have no place to call home but who are in temporary accommodation, or the sofas and spare rooms of friends and relatives. 62% of single homeless people are thought to be hidden and may not show up in official figures.

Meanwhile property prices for first time buyers, and rent levels for those who cannot buy remain ever more out of reach.

The reason? Yes, there is an element of supply and demand. But the puzzling thing is that we actually have more rooms per head of population than we ever had.

It has been estimated by the ONS that seven in ten households in England and Wales have at least one spare room, with eight million homes having two or more. Meanwhile there are thought to be more than 2,000 brownfield sites in London alone.

It is more than anything the fact that housing has become a commodity, with large subsidies for buy-to-let landlords, which has created a speculative bubble. We have forgotten who our housing is supposed to be for.

But the homes we need are right under our noses. We can remove the subsidies. We can create community land trusts. We can introduce a land value tax, and give local authorities power to control and cap rents. We can invest in a new generation of council homes. With the right political will we can give everyone the warm and stable shelter they deserve without carving up the Greenbelt.

Education

And if we have forgotten who housing is for, we have certainly forgotten who education is for.

The money that goes to our own children in the form of their education has been slashed so heavily headteachers are asking parents to help them buy paper and pens - while the hoops their schools must jump through are being moved higher and higher.

As a father, I fought for a place in my local primary school for my disabled son. I know the need for an inclusive education that works for everyone

I know too the pressure to perform that is placed on our young people - having just dropped my eldest daughter off at university for the first time this autumn.

At the secondary school where all my children went - and two still go. An inner city school in Lambeth. When you enter the foyer you are greeted by a board. And on that board are three concentric circles. And every child's name and picture is also on that board. And if they have made three levels of progress they will be at the centre of the circles. If they make no progress they will be placed outside the circles.

My two girls were always close to the inside. My son, who is disabled, is always on the outside. That is no way to run an education system.

Meanwhile, with my Green Party hat on, teachers tell me of the pressure and strain they are under. Workloads bulging, and tested at every turn.

We need to put children at the very centre of our education system and allow them to teach one another. We need to recognise the strength in diversity. We must challenge the one size fits all mentality. In particular we must challenge the culture of competition, testing and league tables.

We must meet head on the idea that our schools our places to create economic units to compete in a global marketplace. And sadly, this is not something that the National Education Service appears to challenge.

We must put the hopes, the dreams and opportunities of every young person back at the heart of the education system.

It is the same culture and values damaging our children that are damaging our society and leading to the destruction of our environment and planet.

The future of education cannot be about turning back the clock to a mythical bygone age. It must be future facing.

We must commit to true inclusion. Not just pay lip service to it. Not just inclusion of disabled children, or children with special educational needs. But the inclusion of every child.

We must change the narrow, blinkered view of education and the values of the market that infuse it. We must equip our children to navigate together the huge change, challenges and opportunities that the 21st Century brings.

To truly put our young people at the heart of our education system, we need to ask some big questions.

What is education for? What makes a good education? What should our young people be taught? How should they learn. Is it simply about facts and figures? The information we need to get on in the world? Or is it more about flourishing, about sets of skills and experiences that equip us for life – from literacy and numeracy, through to team working and problem solving?

I will tell you one thing that's good about the school that my children attend. And that is that every year they have an international evening. There are over 90 different nationalities at that school. Together they hear one another's stories. And yes, there are challenges that come with it. But you know what? In that diversity is a richer education that you will ever get at any private school.

And there's something more. Something that's difficult to measure and all too often dismissed, when in fact it ought to underpin the entire system.

Confidence

Not the much-lauded sense of entitlement that Education Ministers seems so set on instilling in all our children in the name of tackling social inequality.

But the confidence to be interested in something and know how to find out more. The confidence to make mistakes and know that's not the end of the world. To learn lessons - not just facts. The confidence to be different. To try and not give up when things are difficult. To be open to challenge, to new ideas, to other viewpoints. The confidence to change your mind and for that to be a sign of strength, not weakness.

The confidence to take risks, pursue dreams, find your own path and keep asking questions.

What's amazing is that the debate about education so often becomes fixated on the idea of raising standards. But there isn't anyone who actually wants lower standards.

Yet still our education system isn't especially well designed for getting the best out of children. It is obsessed with measuring academic intelligence, whilst turning a blind eye to other forms of intelligence, like divergent thinking and emotional intelligence.

We need a total paradigm shift - away from schools as exam factories and instead as places that foster co-operation, creativity and individuals mapping their own educational experience.

So let's take real action which would instantly improve the lives of our children and our teachers.

Let's scrap SATs.

We don't need to subject our children to high stakes testing - we must refocus our primary and secondary schools away from constant exams and back into independent exploration and a love of learning.

Let's abolish Ofsted.

We could replace this headache for teachers with by a system of local accountability using collaborative assessment of schools working closely with local authorities.

Get rid of academies.

Multi-academy trusts, which administer dozens of schools separated by hundreds of miles across the country, must have their schools taken back into local authority control, democratically run by the communities in which they are based.

And put an end to league tables.

NHS

My Dad was a doctor in the Second World War, at Normandy and in the Far East. He spent his whole life as a doctor in the NHS at the Lambeth Hospital and also St Thomas Hospital, and died a few years ago at Trinity Hospice in Clapham – something that he had been instrumental in developing and restoring in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Like many people there at the founding of the NHS, he knew the reason why the NHS was set up.

The NHS was born out of a long-held ideal that good healthcare should be available to all, regardless of wealth.

Healthcare shouldn't be bought and sold. It should be:

Publicly funded. Publicly provided. Free at the point of use

It is simply unacceptable, that patients with more money, should be able to jump the queue and use NHS facilities ahead of others.

Looking back, as I grew up in the 1970s and 1980s, I can see now that the vultures of big business were already circling.

I remember seeing a notepad on my dad's desk at home, with a branded logo from a drugs company and the name of a particular drug. As a curious small boy I asked him what it was. He told me that the drug companies used to give him small branded things like pens and paper, to promote the sales of their products. I didn't really understand it at the time. But I do now.

It's about the culture of the NHS

The marketisation of the NHS has changed what the NHS is about.

I would often go with my Dad on Christmas day, to carve the turkey on one of his wards at the hospital. I remember getting presents from the nurses. I remember them being places where everyone knew each others name. They felt safe. Hospitals have never been frightening places for me – as they are for many people.

My Dad would come home every day from work and tell me stories of the patients that he had chatted to, that he knew, whose lives he shared. There was time to really listen. To treat the whole person. To give people the dignity they deserved.

But when there is a market in the NHS, the people who want to tell you their stories, become timewasters.

When there is a market in health care, older people become 'bed blockers'

When there is a drive to cut costs those with impairments become a drain on resources

And when the NHS is treated as a business, patients become customers and consumers

I believe there are three things we need to do.

We need to resist further marketisation and privatisation of the NHS.

We have seen with successive governments the introduction of the internal market, the purchaser-provider split, foundation trusts, GP consortia, the private finance initiative. We have seen clearly which direction everything is heading in.

We need a change of direction for the NHS. We need to get rid of those elements that are destroying it. We need an NHS reinstatement bill to put right what has gone wrong. We need to repeal the 2012 Health and Social Care Act. But I worry. Because what we have from the big parties are promises of "no top down reorganisation". But the status quo is unacceptable. If we don't reorganise. If we don't reinstate, then all that will follow is more privatisation.

The NHS needs to be properly funded. With an aging population costs are going to go up – in real terms. And we have to be honest about this. But I don't think many people are – at least in terms of the public investment that is required.

We know that the NHS is already one of the most efficient health services in the world. We can't squeeze it even tighter. They are squeezing it so tight that it is dying.

And as long as the financial pressure continues, the incentive will be there to discriminate between patients who are deemed 'deserving' or 'undeserving', to levy charges, and to favour the wealthy.

At the end of the day it's about where our values lie. Where your treasure is, there your heart will be also. You can measure a society by where it spends its money. If it values an NHS, it will spend money on the NHS.

So how do we get from where we are now, to where we need to go?

The vision I have laid out today is about putting people and the natural world back at the centre of what we do.

I believe that the route to transformation is a transfer of power in five ways.

Firstly we need to ensure that we to empower the good and disempower the bad. We need to make the right choices. That is not indiscriminate growth across every sector of the economy, but removing subsidies from the bad and investing in the good. That means no to subsidies for dirty nuclear, the commercial arms trade, road building and fossil fuels, and an emphatic yes to investing in renewable energy, local and circular economies.

For example, we could reform VAT so those things that are made and produced used renewables or recycled and recyclable resources are given tax incentives, while those that are not are penalised.

Secondly, we need to empower the sharing economy. There must be a real shift in power down to people, acknowledging that the state and the individual have a role alongside the household and the commons. The future is being written right now by communities across the country. Whether that be the Library of Things or Brixton Solar. Whether that be Uber or Air B & B. I believe we can collectively design a future where people work together, accepting the strength that comes from diversity and the need for a society which does more with less.

Thirdly, we need to empower people to take back control. We are in a new age of insecurity. While the gig economy provides the flexibility many need and deserve, it also provides new exploitation. All the more important in the context of the threat of Brexit where we stand to lose important protections. This can be done through radical reforms like a basic income. But also with participatory budgeting in local authorities, and rethinking people's stake in our public institutions like our schools.

Fourthly, we need not just income redistribution but wealth redistribution. And unless that is accompanied by a shift in power, a change in the way we design our economy, the wealth will just drift back to those who had it before. We know that our NHS, our schools, social care and the welfare state need huge investment. The question we must grapple with is where that money will come from. At the moment neither of the big parties is actually offering a solution. Yes, as the leak of the paradise papers recently highlighted, we need to clamp down on tax avoidance and the

industry that fuels it. But even that won't deliver the scale of what we need. We need a proper conversation about wealth and who controls it.

And fifthly, we need political reform. It is no secret that former health secretary Alan Milburn was recruited by PriceWaterhouse Coopers, to head up its board overseeing its healthcare practice. PriceWaterhouse Coopers are already making serious money out of overseeing the privatisation of the NHS. The South London Healthcare Trust paid PwC nearly half a million pounds for (ultimately unsuccessful) advice on how to survive a financial crisis caused in part by crippling PFI debts

Those MPs, who are receiving donations from PriceWaterhouse Coopers must be challenged. We must address the links between big business and Westminster.

It is no wonder that there is no change when the same firms who advise companies on how to avoid tax, have secondments in MPs offices. When those who fund political parties are those who have their vast wealth stationed in offshore accounts. When British Aerospace is welcomed with open arms to exhibit at Party conferences.

We need a fossil free politics. We need a politics free of vested interests. "Where your money is so your heart will be also".

And that also means electoral reform. At present elections are decided by a few hundred thousand voters in marginal seats. The reason the interests of 11 million disabled people aren't properly represented at Westminster is the same reason why climate change isn't taken seriously. It is because it isn't the thing that convinces those all important swing voters. Change the system and we change lives.

Friends the challenges are huge. There are no easy answers. But what is at stake is nothing less than our collective future. And so the solutions must involve our collective endeavour.

Thank you.