

# What will Spring be like?

## Report on the Future: a 2020 vision

*"Let justice roll down like rivers; and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream" – Amos (the Bible)*

*Make no little plans*

*They have no magic to stir the blood*

*And probably in themselves will*

*Not be realised.*

*Make big plans...deep into the future*

*Aim high in hope and work.*

*Have faith, remembering that a*

*Noble plan, once recorded, will never die*

*But long after we are gone*

*Will still be a living thing.*

*Goethe*

*"Little darling, it's been a long cold lonely winter. The smiles returning to the faces. Little darling, it seems like years since it's been here" – George Harrison*

*"For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the fig tree puts forth her green figs and the vines with tender grape give a good smell" – The Bible, Song of Solomon 2v11-13*

*"This was spring as it was experienced by our great-grandparents, insanely beautiful in its green awakening. The blossom had never been blossomier. No one could remember the sky being that perfectly blue."- 'What we've learnt from the Great Pause' Allison Pearson London Telegraph 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2020*

## Foreword

## The Big Interruption and an agenda for change

There is a mood for change so deafening you would have to be tin-eared not to pick it up.

75 years ago, the end of the War in Europe released pent-up impetus to re-build along very different lines. Even the iconic Churchill was swept from power. In the UK, the 1945 moment translated into radical social transformation. How many had picked up the growing hunger to do things differently?

Now, in the short-term, there is an urgent need to get the economy functioning after pandemic carnage. The long-term question is of an entirely different order. We are warned that the next pandemic is only a matter of time. Just like buildings can build for resilience if along earthquake fault lines, how can we build resilience into our social systems that will shape society for a generation and more? When we get something as huge as this, social and political impact is bound to be profound.

A way of life based on consumption came to a screeching halt. Not only did producers not produce so much, it turned out we didn't need so much but other things became important. To put society back together requires new thinking about social ecology as an integrated unit. A good place to start is the considering what stood out during the crisis *as being vital to value more*:

- i) the value of lives to keep the nation going (despite the inevitable trade-offs), black lives, and all versions of lives
- ii) the value of connection, arts, parks & faith as loneliness was exposed as a strategic issue
- iii) the value of the economy as the sphere on which people depended for their livelihood
- iv) the value of the natural world that had respite care and our vulnerability to it exposed

These domains came to the fore and so linked that we cannot now see each as stand-alone areas of public concern. We need a ringing 'declaration of inter-dependence'. This is not policy prescriptions but social investments and system - change to enable people and nature to flourish together:

- i) Investing in resilience and social care plus measures to even up differences in society;
- ii) Investing in social solidarity to address of loneliness, parks, public health and education;
- iii) Investing in the real economy (Main St not Wall St) and public, not shareholder value so as to create the conditions of stakeholder capitalism . The future economy is already here. It is digital. It does not require human contact in the same way
- iv) Investing in a green, healthier future for planet and people through the Green New Deal.

Detailed argument is set out in the book but could translate into the sort of agenda for action below that is hard to do without new models of social change to implement them. We will though try to capture this moment and how rising appetite to do things differently for change can be mobilised into system change through what it means to flourish and the inputs that sustain them. A chance to

re-boot comes once a lifetime. Previous pandemics have seen huge social change, most notably the Black Death that resulted in the breakdown of feudalism. Has capitalism reached its nadir? The time is coming and now is, to build new foundations for our economic and social arrangements.

The Covid crisis saw America burning. Another virus was being exposed. This is a moment of change. Satellite analysis released June 2<sup>nd</sup> 2020 by the Global Forest Watch network showed a soccer-field tropical rain forest was lost every six seconds in 2019. That day, the death of George Floyd led to millions emerging from lockdown to vent fury against undeniable reality that black people in the most powerful nation on earth are killed disproportionately by police. It sparked a global civil rights movement. Reactions to the virus in the mind massively underlined that another world is possible if the tipping point led to system change.

What is vital now is for high quality social analysts to combine with activists and show what it looks like: one where every life really does matter: where people flourish alongside each other and nature. Racism is different levels of value placed on different lives. Hierarchies of value – some on a higher level– shapes social experience. Until we acknowledge that, you get different outcomes: you won't tap everyone's potential, get fair policing, fair education for all, a fair wage or universal health care.

Our minds were infected. We didn't know we were carrying a virus. But antibodies can build up in society, to become ingrained in the body politic (Chapter 9). What do we see? Looters or people demanding justice? What you see also depends on your social experience. Time's up for all this stuff!

### **Where people and nature flourish.....**

#### **A re-appraisal of the ingredients that enable people's lives to flourish**

- Models of *universal health care* where social care & mental health is integrated in one roof
- A national health well-ness rather than sickness service hence pro-active *social prescribing*
- *Constraints on images* of what constitutes beauty and success that cripple young people
- Action on *Child poverty* that does not allow society to slip back to damaging futures
- Promoting the significance that comes through participation by *re-employing in new jobs*
- *Education* to reinforce society's grasp of tragic steps down (e.g. racism) in trashing people

#### **A re-appraisal of what constitutes economic value**

- *A stakeholder capitalism* rather than a system run for the benefit of private investors
- *A public benefit marker* in economic activity to ask 'what does this contribute to society?'
- *A wealth tax* based on clarifying how much stock market value is 'real', not artificial, wealth

- A Commission to monitor *spreading wealth* around more fairly and level up different regions
- *The dignity of work* facilitated by wealth creators in new democratised workplaces
- *Low pay*- a significant boost to address that allows gives proper reward and recognition
- *Facilitating remote working* where appropriate and the infrastructure that promotes it

#### **A re-appraisal of what constitutes environmental value**

- A transformative Green New Deal that re-employs millions in education, energy and ecology so investments advance shared goals, such as equality and sustainability
- That draw on the energy that is all around us rather than digging for it (waves, sun and wind)
- Ecology education given much greater emphasis in schools so people grow the good life
- ‘Build houses, plant gardens’ (Jeremiah 29v5) to give lungs for the people

#### **A re-appraisal of what constitutes community value**

- Free or very low cost broadband to promote social connection
- Inter-generational working so young people teach IT to the elderly who give help with CV’s
- Tackling loneliness through creativity and forms of social innovation to develop capability
- Strengthening the family and resources for social solidarity through neighbourhoods
- Bringing our communities back through building sources of hope, such as faith communities

Investments in social solidarity must involve international cooperation as our challenges are global. Estimates are that 50 million will be pushed into extreme poverty from Covid (in all, 665 million). Beneath all this is **political change** that cuts through weary polarisation and stirs imagination. Civic forum helps citizens come together to build back better. What sort of a world do we want to see?

#### **A guide to reading this Report on the Future**

It may be helpful to the reader if you know that this book offers a combination of visionary protest – a gap between how things are and how things need to be – AND informed commentary to explain it. Some of the more substantial chapters have two different sections:

- ‘Marching to a different drum’ which acts as a summary of what follows and a call to action. Where a chapter topic has this, the section is italicised for clarity.
- ‘When you think about it’ which invites sustained and developed reflection complete with informed commentary and footnotes to show where things are coming from

Although I began the book last year to show the crisis in contemporary life, it has been given its present shape by the global pandemic, this once a hundred year global crisis our great-grandchildren

will read about in history books they study at school. Such is the inflexion on this present time that it will be a defining moment.

For many they will wish it all went away and we will re-awaken into the old world we used to live in. I aim to underline how that will not be the case.

In UK terms, this is a 1945 moment: that time after the Second World War had ended when we cheered Churchill but voted Labour. The 'spirit of 45' remains an iconic moment to this day about the kind of social and political transformations that suggest how we can build back better.

It was in that spirit that I asked my very precious six year-old granddaughter about the kind of world she would like to grow up in. Translated into adult-speak, her ideas are in this book. Her painting of 'what will Spring be like?' adorns the back cover.

Some are comparing the present Emergency to war-time conditions. It may be that in due course we will emerge into a 1945 moment. If we are open to new ideas, epoch-making leadership is required that is not geared only to more of the same and effective running of a given system.

Our safe world has been overturned – until the next time. We now know that system shocks such as a pandemic or from the climate not only CAN but WILL happen. Proofing societies against it requires social as well as economic resilience. Building a social order where people and nature flourish is vital to this. There is no pre-determined pathway that says tragedy is the only legacy of this extraordinary event we have passed through. Hope is always an evergreen option.

My prayer is that my granddaughter's generation will see many fine examples of epoch-making leadership.

Chris Steed

May 2020

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## Setting the scene- ‘Little darling, it’s been a long, cold lonely winter’

This is for those who not only dream of a better world but want to build it. Only radicals and revolutionaries need apply (and politicians); to look beyond lockdown and press the re-set!

We stand on the cusp of the most far reaching change in our life-time. A different future is possible. Justice and dignity could yet come to be hallmarks of a world that runs on different lines geared to the value of people and nature. The scope for developing a new social and business model for society is only constrained by the limits of imagination. If Covid showed us anything it is that we can tolerate massive social change. People may just be listening now.

This is one of those moments such as you see on the railways. A switch point means that the train can go in a different direction. It’s been coming down the track but will not continue as it has been.

It could be ‘business as usual’, certainly in the short-term. After all, the need to get the economy going after its unforeseen heart attack will be paramount surely. It depends on the shape of recession. To default to economic activity in the form of life as we know it will be crucial short-term. Longer-term may be a very different story. How often has it happened that the world stopped spinning for three months? A sharp shock is unlikely to be short anymore than if an asteroid fell to Earth. A heart attack often precipitates a radical re-appraisal. The shock will reverberate for years.

These are times to try our souls; to test the resilience of the human spirit and of local communities. A whirlwind of news sent us reeling. A global virus had sprung from nowhere to keep us contained in and swiftly began reorienting our relationship to government, to the outside world and each other.

We had been cushioned to think that everything is predictable. Familiar life folded; the public world shrunk and we were left with our private persona framed with a stark reminder that what we are in relationship is what we are. Safe certainties and well-grounded expectations were sent packing. No one will forget where we were and what life was before the Covid bomb went off across the globe. A silent bio terrorist is unleashed. Now we see everything with 2020 vision – BC (Before Covid) or AC.

History offers some guide as to how events can upend society with dazed rapidity. In his account of the ‘World Crisis’, Winston Churchill wrote about how Cabinet deliberations of the bewildering lead up to the First World War quickly eclipsed struggles in Ireland: “*The Parishes of Fermanagh and Tyrone faded back into the mists and squalls of Ireland and a strange light began immediately, but by perceptible gradations, to fall upon the map of Europe*”.<sup>1</sup> Amazingly even Brexit has been eclipsed!

People do get through these things and life returns to normal – except that a hundred years ago in the wake both of Spanish flu and global war, there was a new normal. As Psalm 46 has it, ‘God is with us until the morning dawns’. But what sort of new day? Where is God in all this?

In a later conflict, during the Blitz, Winston Churchill’s cabinet was heartened to witness altruism, compassion and generosity of spirit and action. In the wake of profound de-stabilisation, will society revert – revert to the ‘me, me, me – get, get, culture’ that is the sworn enemy of community spirit? Will we sink under the weight of the present distress? Or will we come to a new time.

Things ARE being done differently. Structural change is here to stay. It was building up anyway. Concern about inequality in global society plus palpable eco-strain was troubling us. If you don’t get mood music about the shift in attitude towards injustice and climate change, you were tone deaf.

For at least a brief moment, shining in the darkness, solidarity broke through in new and unexpected ways. Can we shift to a more hopeful future? This book is based on the top lesson to come out of all this, namely the need to re-think our value system to re-centre on factors that promote flourishing:

1. Community – solidarity locally and with the whole human family
2. People – the lives of black people and those trapped in poverty are no less valuable than the rich people. Sharp inequality was exposed in the pandemic and those doing health care and menial jobs are the highly valuable people. Mental issues are vital
3. The economy otherwise people don’t have a job & there are no taxes to pay for health care
4. The environment and social ecology which is so tied up with well-being. The acceptance of drastic action has been accepted. We got a taste of clearer skies and fresher air.

Contemporary culture anaesthetises anything to do with tragedy or trauma into banal superficiality where everything is fun. And then came Covid; the minute enemy that ripped through the planet. The scars will last a long time. The economic shock was both deep and dramatic. Experts warned that the world is likely to face a global crisis in poor mental health after pandemic has passed.

Pandemics tend to magnify existing inequalities rather than flatten them. The most affluent managed to shelter, hide from the virus in their gardens or second homes, work remotely and get food delivered to their homes courtesy of deliveroo and on-line slots. Poverty made the experience of Covid harder to bear. It was the lower paid working communities that were harder hit, often cramped in tower blocks and homes without gardens. Plus of course the elderly and vulnerable. There was an inter-generational as well as class divide. Resilience depends on capacity. How people fared in that public health emergency was a very different experience according to social location.

The global pandemic ran its deadly course alongside existing sharp problems in societies. Among them was the spectre of Minnesota burning, an epitaph on racism in the justice system that shapes the social experience of black people in America. Clearly the richest country in the world was not the most advanced. The Mayor of Minneapolis described the vicious racism as a worse virus than Covid. It is time to change.

But there is resilience of spirit as well as economic resilience. The latter requires some spare capacity to withstand shocks to the system. When I was working for the UK Government in the early 1980's, I was closely involved with setting up a strategic stockpile of raw materials that came out of South Africa. These were the Apartheid years. Essential supply could get interrupted if the balloon went up. The counter-argument against this insurance policy was that the cost of putting resilience into the system and ensuring spare capacity outweighed the risk. It was akin to the need for snow ploughs in the south of England where I worked. They would rarely be used.

So what gets us through in such a severe shock? Intervention using the firepower of a modern State for one; dedication of those in the care professions for another. Then there was social solidarity invoking enormous kindness. But there was as well the remarkable charismatic personalities of cities and communities. Or the faith communities reaching out in tandem with mutual aid groups that multiplied everywhere but also had their own resource of hope based on another world.

There are of course many voices that will be extremely wary of anything that smacks of eco-socialism. It is true that the flood defences of economy and society were overwhelmed for a while but let's now set about re-building using familiar materials? The default could be business as usual. Yet when extreme push came to extreme shove, the hyper-individualistic market society to which we have become accustomed could not get us through something major. That is worth reflecting on.

What does it say about how society works if the vulnerable pay a higher price? Our social and business model must take stock of the fact that family, friends and neighbours were first responders, before paramedics showed up. In societies prone to unacceptable levels of pernicious loneliness, these were vital sources of solidarity and need to be strengthened by carefully crafted policies.

The need for social solidarity was exposed by this. The ideology that free markets alone will handle everything and take care of people was laid bare: moral bankruptcy of a hyper-individualistic model of society uncovered. The organic growth of community support groups has been remarkable. When combined with top-down action by the State, how can we channel this into something sustainable?

There COULD be an arc in some areas of the world towards greater authoritarianism as offering the best way forward to organise society. The Covid Emergency saw much debate about how far

authoritarian regimes could impose draconian measures and greater social control more effectively. Democracies and societies more given to soft power took longer to ramp themselves up for what was needed. A public health emergency on this scale was not only hard to prepare for, it staggered the imagination. Covid was beyond the experience of anyone alive. The only parallel for the older ones amongst us was war-time measures. Then it was accepted that this was a temporary necessity.

There is no need to throw the baby out with the bathwater. It was free markets that brought us Zoom that morphed from a conferencing App to being the social network of pandemic choice – or What's App that enabled neighbourhoods to talk to each other. The infrastructure of big tech or the global race to find solutions and pool knowledge is based on responsive and responsible industry.

Yet this is a consequential moment. Times of trauma and shock often serve their potent impact as a wake-up call. At the extreme end of social experience, near-deaths have often led to re-prioritising. Strain on old ways of doing things had proven overwhelming. Trust in the kind of institutions that are vital to a mature and secure democracy fell low in popular estimation. Now the expert has returned.

Material prosperity is not enough. Longer term, we will get through this with a new collective resolve to build a different future; a future where people come first – even those that have seem to have little value; especially those that seem to have less worth. Their lives are valuable too.

How little we needed to make us happy back then. It was the human interaction that sustained us. We can with hope build a very different value system, not based on money with its turbulent, faltering value but on the value of people and of our staggeringly beautiful world we lost sight of.

Now though, how should we even think about knowledge and values? We are used to thinking about life as a constant drama of decision-making. Increasingly, decisions are taken by algorithms. We lack philosophical models to understand such an existence. With what shall we repair crumbling edifices?

Renewal is possible if we revive our values rooted afresh in the re-invention of value for a diverse, forward-looking world. So when the inevitable social autopsy comes, will the value system be examined to ask what was it that brought us through? The only way was looking out for each other combined with a war-time level of State action. A renewed conception of the Common Good is looming based on broader imagination about what true value is and its ultimate source.

Will we see a new social model? The challenge of the hour is towards a larger, collective polity that helped us get through, a model that must include sources of hope such as faith communities that help engender spiritual stockpiling and personal resilience. Taken together, in its pain and severe social stress, the crisis could help open up society in a way that was much needed and build better.

# Chapter One

## What is the point of a wasp?

*Those are the pearls that were his eyes*

*Nothing of him doth fade*

*but doth suffer a sea-change*

*Into something rich and strange” Shakespeare The Tempest 1:2*

We understand the value of bees. We like bees. We don't like wasps because we can't see their value. What is the point of a wasp? What do they do for us?

Putting a price on something doesn't necessarily capture its whole worth. The economic value of pollination services was estimated at £690 million per year in the UK but that does not mean that £690 million can account for the total value of all the UK's bees for a year. You cannot really capture the value of a bee in economic terms in any satisfactory way. Valuation alone is not what is going to determine the fate of the species. To create the change we really need, the priority should be to take action by banning harmful pesticides and creating more suitable habitat. If we care for lives, what price do we put on human beings? What is the value that society places on its participants?

Values are debated in the context of this or that organisation or country as a way of doing things or what is important. Our times call for something further; values (plural) around the value (singular), not just of financial assets but of people, of communities and of nature in which we live, move and have our being. This book was originally a platform of observation; charting, recording, observing landscapes, watching and waiting for the stealthy march of hope. Maybe that time has now come.

We are called, however, not to be dispassionate watchers and waiters but activists; informed by what we see in order to change things and work inch by inch towards the transformation of the world. It is a platform for action; a platform for lobbyists everywhere to meet and greet and foment revolution. Its credo is a revolutionary who lived long before the march of left, right, left right; a Galilean revolutionary of love who upended the lazy assumptions of power as well as temple tables. Despite both urgency and emergency, we are required to be prophetic rather than apocalyptic in tone. Apocalyptic sees things not in terms of getting back on track but that there is no more track. It is outside history whereas prophetic probing takes place within history.

When I took up this narrative in Advent 2019, two big stories were dominating the headlines.

A man had just run amok on London Bridge, killing and stabbing the very people who had been trying to turn his life around. Usman Khan was attending a conference on rehabilitation at the chandeliered drawing room of the Fishmonger's Hall on the power of rehabilitation when he turned from delegate to murderer. Those present had been reflecting on the importance of storytelling and creative writing in reforming criminals. But here was someone who was not nearly as rehabilitated as he appeared. And here was a story that went desperately wrong leaving participants for which there was no happy ending. Like Covid, unseen, unbidden, a deadly virus had been worming through the man's mind. Evidently Usman Khan had not stopped believing that there lay a fast track to paradise; a track that sped to joyful bliss through the blood and gore of victims. There would never

be, could never be, rehabilitation of a corrupted life without restoration of a mind so badly warped. Mounting theological challenge is imperative. The warped ideology must surely be de-constructed.

The second story also concerned a killer; this time a killer whale. It was not the state of a Cetacean mind but the stomach that gave rise to the headlines. Washed up on the beach in northern Scotland, the stomach had been unable to digest a hundred kilos of rubbish, including the ubiquitous plastic bottle. What a menace we are. What are we doing to a staggering array of lives who share the world? What are we doing to the natural order of things in which we are irrevocably embedded?

For this was the weekend the nations of the world – or at least 185 of them – launched out into the deep waters of a global conference on climate change. Conference of the Parties (COP25) began to meet on a Madrid morning for two weeks of talks amid a growing sense of crisis. The President of an island nation on the frontline said it is in a "fight to the death" after freak waves inundated the capital. Gases such as the notorious carbon dioxide were acting like the glass roof of a greenhouse. According to UN Secretary General António Guterres, "the point of no return is no longer over the horizon". This too is a killer. Habits and habitats are at stake.

Pandemics are signs of disruption. A global wildlife trade teams up with agricultural intensification, de-forestration and urbanisation. But animals are partners whose health and habitats should be protected. Covid was not a random act of God. It's caused by what we do to the environment.

These are crises of the very idea of value. Reinventing value is an imperative for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Its conceptualisation and social practice must surely constitute system-wide change and re-calibration.

We had just marked 30 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall. With one bound, being told that the wall was now open, citizens in East Germany were freed from the humiliation of a surveillance society. They could take control of their own destiny and choose their leaders. In its wake came the fall of Communism. Arguments about how to organise society seemed to have been settled. Money had won as the ultimate arbiter of worth. The jury of history is less sure. The unification of humanity under a single social system might look like the end of history. But liberal capitalism is less assured as the inevitable outcome. The rise and rise of China is associated with political capitalism in which authoritarian Governments legitimise themselves by delivering economic growth to their people. A better model? Then came Covid-19 with State intervention handed out on an unprecedented scale.

We learned again that life is not guaranteed; that we are not masters of our own destiny. Life is fragile and death more real than we would wish. As Israeli historian Yuval Harari observed at the Davos gathering of international leaders at the dawn of the third decade, the usual bargain is that

philosophers have a lot of ideas, and politicians explain they lack the means to implement them. Now we are facing philosophical bankruptcy.<sup>ii</sup> Twin revolutions of infotech and biotech gave the means to create heaven or hell, except that philosophers were having trouble conceptualizing what the new heaven and the new hell looks like. That was a dangerous situation for spiritually rootless times. If we fail to conceptualize a new heaven quickly, we will be misled by naïve utopias. Fail to conceptualize the new hell and we may find ourselves entrapped there with no way out. But then came Covid. Big tech came out stronger; public saviours in providing public utilities everyone needed. The toxicity attaching itself to large digital platforms melted. Big tech re-built reputations.

Could we re-imagine how things are towards a world shaped by love and justice? Alongside many others, Christians fight for such a world. It goes under the name of the reign of God; significant influence from the kingdom that is to come erupting into the politics of the present. We don't build it. God does. Sounds pie in the sky or alternatively meal on the plate while you wait with the hungry of our times.

So take this book as a serious challenge to the value systems underpinning our troubled times. We do not need an answer but maybe a new set of questions. Communities and natural environment are interwoven. Inextricably and intimately, the social ecology is the bio-cultural sphere in which human life coheres. Only by acknowledging the context in which it operates can business be redeemed as a force for good in the community. What if we challenged the whole value system on which society in the liberal West has depended? What would we put in its place?

We dwell in a world haunted by escalating inequality and environmental degradation; a world at risk from global terrorism and impersonal forces. It is a world where the natural sphere with which we interact so profoundly has lost its sacred quality and become a resource; a world conditioned by progressive domination of a monetary scale applied impermissibly across the board. Amidst the astounding technology, the niche consumption and the financialisation that characterised much of the globe, the prevailing mood music had been that the only values we can only usefully measure were expressed in terms of economics. A near vacuum of ideals meant that incessantly, we were back to numbers, back to the balance sheet. As a result, our way of life was characterised by fragmentation and by a short-term focus on profit. Erode the economic and you erode the personal.

It is clear to any observer who both looks around and dares to peer within that the really important issues that frame the contemporary human situation are those that cannot be measured. How, to invoke Oscar Wilde, did we end up knowing the price of everything but the value of nothing? What price can be placed on time (the scarce commodity of late modernity) and on gift (the essence of

relationship)? What price on living harmoniously with nature or community (the two-fold context where we live together in our common home)? In a realm where we are more than isolated entities, measures of quantity and numbers are unavoidable. How else do you apportion scarce resources? Yet quality is also vital to human flourishing. What after all is wealth for? What kind of society do we want to be in? What price the non-quantifiable and non-economic goods that make life worthwhile?

One thing is for sure, just as the virus leaped lethally, so solidarity needs to jump across borders. A nasty pathogen exaggerating weakness? That is true of human susceptibility to Covid as it is of self-interested competitiveness in society and between superpowers. Despite the geopolitical blame game, no country had a monopoly either on pathogen or science rushing to produce a vaccine. The best route for addressing the Covid or consequences was international. The 1930's were a solemn warning of what happened when nations turned inward. Better by far for everybody is magnanimity.

This was a common planetary level threat. Nationalists and xenophobes had no answer. The global order is like a house that everybody inhabits and nobody repairs. People had been demanding change – but in which direction? And then came Covid. It was all-out war on one front. To put society back together requires new thinking about social ecology as an integrated unit. A good place to start is considering what stood out during the crisis as being vital to value more:

- i) the value of lives as keeping the nations going (despite the inevitable trade-offs) became the top priority of public policy. What price people – irrespective of class or ethnicity?
- ii) the value of the economy as the sphere on which people depended for their livelihood but shorn of the predatory form of capitalism that was about more, more and still more;
- iii) the value of the environment as the natural world had a period of respite care, our vulnerability to it exposed and unhealthy addiction to fossil fuel lined travel interrupted.
- iv) the value of mutual community and social value as the public realm was re-wired, and loneliness & disconnection exposed as a strategic issue. Arts, parks and faith were vital;

This translates into an agenda for transformative change with some serious social investments:

- A. Investing in resilience and social care plus measures to even up differences in society;
- B. Investing in the real economy (Main St not Wall St) and public, not shareholder value;
- C. Investing in a green, healthier future for planet and people through the Green New Deal
- D. Investing in social solidarity to address loneliness, parks, public health and education;

We probe how each area looks through a lens of what it means to flourish and values that sustain them. The future is something we can all create. With Spring in the air, that will be a good outcome.

# Chapter Two

## One weekend in August

*“With hindsight, I now realise that I underestimated the risks. I should have been much stronger in what I said in the report about the costs of inaction. I underplayed the dangers.”* – Lord Stern, author of the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, speaking in 2016 <sup>iii</sup>

*“It is more critical than ever that businesses in the 21st century are focused on generating long-term value for all stakeholders and addressing the challenges we face, which will result in shared prosperity and sustainability for both business and society.”* Business Roundtable on the purpose of a Corporation August 2019 <sup>iv</sup>

In this time of re-thinking society it's clear that the great questions of the day are questions of value.

Today we need a new definition of value that is not just economic and the financial bottom line but which includes the value of communities, the value of people and crucially, the value of nature. That is what this book is about – re-invention of value; the policies and values that need to be cultivated.

In complex, turbulent times, human interaction at all levels becomes very 'shouty'. When faced with conflicted demands, participants tend to scream at each other. The potential for deadlock is high. <sup>v</sup> It is vital to address a number of areas of social risk concurrently ranging from the growing blight of social isolation in our societies, societal and religious conflicts rooted in different ways of understanding the world, to inter-generational divides and the need for young people to nurture social intelligence for an automated future. Against that backcloth, achieving a broad consensus on the right approach to achieve positive outcomes seems a distant dream. Achieving a renewed sense of the co-ordination of each part of the national or international system is complex.

From economic activity to the environment; from organisations to individuals - fundamentally, these issues are about value, the worth and importance placed on people. Questions of value (singular) undergird debates and fierce warring over values (plural). Vladimir Putin can assert that traditional values should be re-emphasised; that liberal values are obsolete. Yet behind this are different scales of importance, for instance those placed on minorities. We live in strange times. It is worldwide. 'Who do I trust? Who is on the side of those I trust?' The fierce culture wars are a question of value.

'Value' is usually regarded as a financial issue – the value of property, cars, stocks and shares. In economic theory, value is generated – many would say, extracted – from human activity. In the market economy, and especially in an era of sophisticated financialisation and hedge funds, value is exploited from the labours of others rather than market operators creating it themselves. What determines value of commodities and services has been the subject of much debate in economics. There can be little argument though that achieving a better world requires the re-invention of value.

Many voices have been calling for this. Is the purpose of a company to generate shareholder profits or to enhance the value chain through wider, social purposes? Business should benefit the places where they operate (which is why the international tax system needs sorting). Economic value must be seen as far more than GDP; it cannot be divorced from the value society places on people or the environment. Nations are often interrogated on their human rights record. Increasingly, the value placed on the environment is up for sharp debate. What price do you put on an eco-system, a forest or a bird habitat? This has been a growing phenomenon in our life and times.

We had witnessed huge progress. Change had come and still was. Millennials are much less tolerant of intolerance, much more indifferent to difference. Prejudice and inequality (an increasingly ugly face of economic value) is called out. The 'Me-too' movement has gained huge traction. Yet racism and xenophobia is rampant. That is another reality. Liberal democracy is under strain. In fact the whole system had been under severe strain and been widely questioned with increased urgency.

Examples of this could be drawn from any month, any year, any continent. Here are snapshots in time drawn from a few days towards the end of August 2019 when I began to ponder this narrative.

The US reeled from continuing gun violence. A group of nearly 100 Episcopal Bishops issued a statement. "Today we are weary of witnessing the slaughter gripping our country". 21 had died in mass shootings in El Paso, Texas, a district where the majority are of Hispanic descent. Police linked that to white nationalism and anti-immigrant hate speech. The Bishops were in no doubt who had stoked this. "The President of the United States uses racist tropes and inflammatory language to incite crowds against people of colour, refugees and immigrants....as Christians we must work actively to dismantle the systemic racism that is part of our country's founding narrative and that continues to fuel mass shootings and urban gun violence today".<sup>vi</sup>

The greatest crime against humanity in the modern era was recalled in an unlikely venue. Though not as short and murderous as the Holocaust and though practiced on every continent, slavery was a murderous assault on the human spirit. That August, Glasgow University in Scotland agreed to raise and spend £20m in reparations after discovering it benefited by millions of pounds from the slave trade.<sup>vii</sup> This was the first institution in the UK to implement such a "programme of restorative justice". The money was to be spent over the next 20 years on setting up and running the Glasgow-Caribbean Centre for Development Research to sponsor research work and raise awareness of the history of slavery and its impact around the world.

As the global economy shudders, the Middle East boils and the Amazon rainforest burns, world leaders are convening on France's Atlantic coast. Great issues of value were played out at the G7 summit of global leaders during the last weekend of August 2019. The Biarritz Summit, presided over by France, focussed on fighting inequality. Five objectives were identified:

- fighting inequality of opportunity, promoting gender equality, access to education and high quality health services;
- reducing environmental inequality by protecting our planet through climate finance and a fair ecological transition, preserving biodiversity and the oceans;

- strengthening the social dimension of globalization through more fair and equitable trade, tax and development policies;
- taking action for peace against security threats and terrorism which weaken our foundations
- tapping into the opportunities created by digital technology and artificial intelligence (AI).

The G7 Summit of global leaders took place in the shadow of an escalating US trade war with China. President Donald Trump had just ordered US companies to "start looking for an alternative to China." Stock exchanges round the world were understandably jittery. The value of markets everywhere was in retreat. The Summit attracted considerable opposition. Protest organizers estimated that 15,000 people took to the streets, according to a joint statement by umbrella organizers Alternatives G7 and G7Ez. They were a mix of anti-capitalists and groups that were now familiar markers to the litany of social Protest. Their aim was to change the whole system.

In the lead up to the Summit, *forest fires* in the Brazilian *Amazon*, which accounts for more than half of the world's largest *rainforest*, surged in number by 83 per cent. The Amazon forest, which produces about 20% of earth's oxygen, is "the planet's lungs." An inferno in the Amazon, two-thirds of which is in Brazil, threatens the rainforest ecosystem and also affects the entire globe. 72,843 fires in the country had spread since the beginning of 2019, with more than half of these being seen in the Amazon region. More than one-and-a-half soccer fields of Amazon rainforest were being destroyed every minute of every day. This represented an 80% increase in deforestation in 2019 compared with 2018, according to Brazil's space research institute, INPE, there had already been 25,000 fires in August in the Amazon biome – the most since 2010, when it was hit by a drought. The Head of the Brazilian Space and climate-monitoring agency, Ricardo Galvão, had been forced out earlier that month after defending scientific findings that showed that the world's largest tropical rainforest was undergoing a sharp increase in deforestation. But the evidence was corroborated. A map created by the European Union's satellite program, Copernicus, showed smoke from the fires spreading all along Brazil to the east Atlantic coast. Smoke had covered nearly half of the country and has begun to spill into neighbouring Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay.

The pressure mounted on Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro. The fires happen each dry Amazon winter but had soared in 2019 as farmers and loggers, emboldened by Bolsonaro's anti-environment rhetoric, torched felled trees and cleared land for pasture. "I have profound love and respect for the Amazon," Bolsonaro protested. He argued that more than 20 million people who lived in the Amazon wanted "economic dynamism proportional to the riches there", ignoring the factories in a

free-trade zone in jungle city Manaus, the world's biggest iron ore mine in Pará state, and the cattle and soy farms eating into the rainforest's Southern borders.<sup>viii</sup> Nevertheless, in the face of G7 Summit and particular of criticism from France, Bolsonaro had observed to Donald Trump that some countries would press for action against Brazil. He said he would send in the army to fight the fires.

It was a very serious moment. As Carlos Nobre, a climate scientist in Sao Paulo University said, "we might be very close to tipping point. If we cross it, it's irreversible"<sup>ix</sup>. This though was a different form of value: the value of the environment. How do you put a value on more than one-and-a-half soccer fields of Amazon rainforest being destroyed every minute of every day? Would it help to monetise it, to quantify the value of the rainforest? It might well be that expressing the benefit of the Amazon in monetary terms would make people realise the value of the rainforest to the world.

There is a feedback loop between the burning of the rainforest and the pressing issue of the warming of the world. The Amazon soaks up 5% of global carbon dioxide. Turning them from precious carbon dioxide absorbing sponges into giant new emitters of greenhouse gases will further heat up the atmosphere. In those August days, children were playing in the sea in the northernmost city in the world. Alongside teenage girls wearing skirts to school and increasing mosquitoes, it is a common occurrence for the residents of Qaanaaq, in north-west Greenland, one of the world's most northerly cities situated 700 miles north of the Arctic Circle. In July alone 200 billion tonnes of meltwater poured into the Atlantic – enough to raise sea levels by 0.5mm. July 31<sup>st</sup> was the worst melt day since at least 2012 when 97% of Greenland's ice sheet suffered some loss of ice.

It is impossible to visit Greenland and not be profoundly affected by their tales of how climate change has upturned their world in just a single generation with livelihoods threatened. Sea ice now forms here two months later and melts one month earlier - as temperatures rise twice as fast as the global average. This is sharp insight into the scale of the battle now facing humanity. But what price Greenland? That month President Donald Trump sought to buy it in a classic real estate deal. While impossible to put a price on the territory, estimates range from \$1.1 trillion to \$1.7trillion depending on mining potential – thought to be enough to meet 25% of global demand in the next 50 years. <sup>x</sup>

To cap it all, the same few days of our snapshot saw market turbulence around the world. This was the age of anxiety. The world economy was still growing. Jobs plentiful, wages picking up, credit easy and hungry, especially in America – all meant that recession was not just around the corner. <sup>xi</sup> So why the anxiety? Economic and stock market value was being threatened by its old nemesis, uncertainty. It makes investors jittery and directly affects company performance.

More than their parents or grandparents, young people expect to work for an organisation that reflects their values. Companies – especially multi-nationals and the big corporations– are seen as channelling money to their shareholders that they have extracted from the world they see as a giant mine to exploit. Companies and investors are not tackling inequality or environmental disaster. Young people are far more bothered by not damaging the planet than just rewarding investors. Shareholder value is not the only goal of companies that produce the wealth. A few days before, a Business Roundtable conference attended by the great and the good of corporate America had sought to re-define the purpose that companies should serve. Companies should have a sense of purpose that includes a social mission. Injustice, environmental challenge and inequality should be on the radar of companies, not just maximising returns to their investors.

It was a strap-line that Ronald Reagan used to powerful effect. “I’m from the Government and I’m here to help”. These were, he said, dangerous words. Maybe it was now being replaced by a different line. “I’m from a company and I’m here to help”! What a step back from a relentless focus on profits. Milton Friedman proposed a guiding principle for business ethics in a New York Times article, provocatively titled: “The social responsibility of business is to increase its profits”. The guiding spirit of what became neo-liberal argued vehemently against spending shareholder’s money for anything that does not directly contribute to increasing shareholder wealth. Business has only one social responsibility, to increase its profits. It has one and only one social responsibility: to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays in the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition, without deception or fraud.<sup>xii</sup>

The shareholder model had been seen as offering the best route to the best goods and services for the public. Pursuit of profits was the optimum way of maximising employment and creating wealth. By contrast, the 2019 Roundtable Conference declared that “*CEOs work to generate profits and return value to shareholders, but the best-run companies do more. They put the customer first and invest in their employees and communities. In the end it’s the most promising way to build long-term value*”.<sup>xiii</sup> The view now was that by taking a broader view of corporate purpose, boards create long-term value, serving everyone better– investors, employees, communities, suppliers and customers. It could portend ‘homo economicus’ singing a different tune. Amidst heated debate about what a good society means in practice, we should reject a vision of humans as purely economic operators.

What is at stake in these snapshots is what sort of value should be created. Bio, personal, social, or economic? Under fierce assault our stressed times call for a re- invention of value; a quadrilateral chair with four legs. Things had been shifting that way. Then came Covid and it was time’s up.

# Chapter Three

## Time's up (the shuttered country)

*"If solutions within this system are so difficult to find then maybe we should change the system itself"*

- Greta Thunberg addresses the 2018 COP24 climate conference in Poland. @GretaThunberg  
@ExtinctionR

*"The great tragedy of the climate crisis is that seven and a half billion people must pay the price – in the form of a degraded planet – so that a couple of dozen polluting interests can continue to make record profits."* – Professor Michael Mann, October 2019 <sup>xiv</sup>

Here we were in a shuttered country. Stay inside. Keep calm and remain indoors. Don't venture out!

Time's up! Time was up for the old outdoor life; the old existence that took us into the streets.

At the dawn of the third decade of the third Millennium, country after country was in the grip of existential convulsions. People had been taking to the streets in very different ways to reject their traditional politics as a way of doing things. It was not good enough. Time's up!

The times they are a'changing. So are the values. Aren't they?

The trial of the movie Moghul Harvey Weinstein has come and gone. <sup>xv</sup> This is a cultural re-set, not just a court case that ended with a long sentence. The 'Me-too' movement has gained huge traction. Time's up for sexual harassment in the workplace. Or come to that anywhere...

Time's up for telling survivors of abuse to shut up and keep silence.

Time's up for the old racism that relegates, for the dominance of the white Anglo-Saxons that had once had power to assign different value on different people with themselves as centre.

Time's up for the vested interests of the powerful. Any meaningful policy has to upset the established power base and the wealthy. Any policy that doesn't challenge wealth and power will be useless. Unless that is, the young join them in imitation because that's how the world goes round.

Time's up for doing things that cost the earth. Or for separating environment issues from people: the world's weather will continue to become more extreme and it is people around the world who will continue to pay the price. <sup>xvi</sup> In 2018, school children demanded urgent change NOW! Time's up.

Time's up for a new normal. Things will not settle down anytime soon.

Time's up for systems wherein two billion people in world do not have access to waste management.

Time's up for those manufacturing a political reality which bears no relationship to the world we see.

Time's up for entrenched political polarisation as young people demand wisdom from their leaders.

Time's Up for further polarization, narrow thinking and the kind of quest for simplistic solutions that enables propagating rumours, misinformation and hatred.

Time's up for the gun lobby when, in March 2018 in the biggest US gun control protest in a generation, hundreds of thousands of students and children marched; some carrying homemade signs read, "Your right to bear arms doesn't override my right to stay alive," and "Your silence leads to violence." It will only be the young people that will end this Second Amendment throwback to a

bygone era when local militias were common and they did not have assault rifles. "Enough is enough!" they shouted. Though an issue of core identity for many Americans, it is time to stop now.

Today's children will be much more radical than their parents. There will be no other choice for them. The radicalism that is emerging is taking people by surprise. Racism, homophobia, disability issues – young people get passionate about them because they can't see why so many others are.

At the same time that the universe had been expanding and human significance shrinking, a new and comprehensive vision has been emerging. The struggle was costly and confusing; costly for there was much to bolt us and prevent us from rising up in protest; confusing for we did not know what song of protest we were singing and how the words went. Gradually, scattered notes began to form a pattern. 'Hang a label round each other's neck. Let the label read 'Handle with care'. Remove the false labels of names and boxes that allow you to treat another person as second class freight.

Countless scenes of battle were fought for the dignity and worth of humanity. 'Hang a label round their necks. Treat them with value (there's something special about human beings)'. Struggles for equality, dignity and justice drove contemporary agendas. A new vision- or old dressed differently?

Loud indignant protests arose against show trials without recourse; committing its victims to prison or institution, the continuing traffic in people, the struggle of the disabled wanting society to relate to them as an individual, the struggle of women to be empowered and the battle for equality at work. For centuries, Western society had been unsure about how to treat women. But a new world was coming (hopefully).

There were those angry voices raised against the economics of the day before yesterday. 'Don't measure our value by money...Tell the whole story about us'. In any enterprise, the crucial ingredient was still the human ingredient; the morale, the participation. Where people had incentives to work and the freedom to do so, wealth was created; value they had found in themselves transmuted mysteriously into gold – as long as humane working environments permit.

'Human beings are only a set of chemicals...nothing but a group of neurons... nothing but a selfish gene... a number". As if everything to be said had been spoken, the mystery flushed out. Such explanations left abandoned orphans bereaved of joys and sorrows, loves and laughter, memories and ambitions, their identity and their freedom of choice, their purpose and their meaning.

On every side, a crescendo had arisen against the injustice. "Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute. Speak up and judge fairly; defend the rights of the poor and needy". It was loud, it was defiant!

Time's up for opposing equality for it's really about everyone having the same worth (like they don't have in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere where legal testimony of women is worth only half that of men).

Young people are much less tolerant of intolerance, much more indifferent to difference.

Extreme wealth cannot be right. The world's 2,153 billionaires have more wealth than a combined 4.6 billion people. *"If everyone were to sit on their wealth piled up in \$100 bills, most of humanity would be sitting on the floor,"* its authors said. *"A middle-class person in a rich country would be sitting at the height of a chair. The world's two richest men would be sitting in outer space."*

What price wealth tax? Someone who saved \$10,000 a day since the construction of the Egyptian pyramids would still be 80% less wealthy than the world's five richest billionaires. A 0.5% increase in taxes on the wealthy would generate enough funding to create 117 million jobs in sectors like education and health, according to researchers for an Oxfam Report for Davos 2020. It urged that Governments must take steps to radically reduce the gap between the rich and the rest of society and prioritize the wellbeing of all citizens over unsustainable growth and profit. <sup>xvii</sup>

Time's up for excessive inequality and the obscenity of disproportionate unearned income (rent).

### **Optimism and human knowledge**

Having come to political consciousness in the iconic year 1968, by 1970 I was as immersed as I could be in the causes of that time. Race and Civil Rights we knew about. Prejudice we knew about. Pollution we knew about. The possibility of famine we knew about. Fifty years on, nature is declining at rates unknown in human history, with up to one million species at risk of extinction.

Unprecedented forest fires - from the Arctic to the Amazon, Africa, Australia - billions of animals, destroyed lives and wiped out huge areas of forest. Since 1970, there was a 60% average population decline across all vertebrate species. Over the same period, we lost more than half of the world's coral reefs and over a third of all wetlands. Young people care about these things.

It would be good to think that it is young people with all their refusal to accept the status quo who will ride over hill from the future and save us. There is a major problem with this aspiration though. Increasingly, the younger demographic will get their information from You Tube or social media. Under-35 year olds may be hampered from speaking truth to power because who knows what truth is. Pilate asking , 'what is truth?', will throw contemporary people into confusion. How will young people know how to sift and where to weigh? Can you change the world if you don't know the facts?

To some older detractors, young people were often depicted as unserious hedonists. Fortunately there were so many examples of serious and enthused activists who get steamed up about things on social media that this was never anything other than a weak stereotype.

I read a 1969 book called 'Famine – 1975' that had imminent and dark predictions of global famine.<sup>xviii</sup> The evidence seemed plausible enough. But it was wrong. What was left out was the Green Revolution that was already taking hold of the world's agriculture and generating far more food supply through new strains of wheat. Calls for a new growth paradigm and growth indicators were already made in the 1960's. In 1972, the seminal work by The Club of Rome, "The Limits to Growth", laid out the price of progress from socio-economic, financial to environmental tipping points. That too seemed plausible. Oil would be running out by the 1990's. We were spoiling things through greed. Perils of unbridled growth called for wholesale change in the global mindset.<sup>xix</sup>

Fifty years on, The Club of Rome is attempting to respond to the direct calls for action from citizens around the world, and to formulate a plan that will meet suitably ambitious reduction targets and ensure climate stability. It is understood that national emergencies have to be called sometimes. Governments and businesses around the world habitually set out response plans to protect their economies, jobs, cities and other crucial assets from potential disaster. All leaders were urged to acknowledge that this is the greatest existential risk facing humanity, while showing that we can emerge from emergency. The Club of Rome's Planetary Emergency Plan was set to provide a new compass for nations as they navigate through 2020. Then the Covid bomb went off!<sup>xx</sup>

As the President of the Club of Rome argued, "*history has shown humanity to be remarkably resilient. We are well adapted to respond to impending risks through cooperation and innovation. What's more, the opportunities to not only mitigate risks and avert disaster, but also to rebuild, improve and regenerate are readily available. The Planetary Emergency Plan comes at a crucial moment. A moment when the world can bend the curve, avert the impending disaster and opt instead to embark on the fastest, most exciting social and economic transformation in history*".<sup>xxi</sup>

Time's up for greenhouse gases. Not that greenhouse gases are all bad. Some are needed so heat from the sun doesn't just head back out to space.

Time's up for pessimism? For doom and gloom. Spring is coming.

In August 2018, a 15 year old schoolgirl declared she would not attend school each Friday until Sweden aligned itself with the targets of the Paris Climate Agreement. Greta Thunberg inspired a movement. A million young people in 125 countries joined School Strikes 4 Climate Action. Despite

political reaction being mixed (Donald Trump dismissing it all and urging her to chill out), the surge was unstoppable. At a press conference in Brussels, Greta told the European Commission that in order to fight climate change we need to change our political and economic systems – a message repeated in the student climate strikes around the world as young people were galvanised to action.

But what is system change? How do entire systems change? When we see “save the planet” initiatives, they often look like individual decisions that don’t cost much, like switching to a bamboo toothbrush or washing containers before you recycle them. By all means, do these things, but don’t confuse them with system change. Then came Covid. Adjustment to that needed system change!

Time’s up for just individual decisions as the solution. Time’s up for the old version of public squares.

The first half of the twentieth century was marked by a fight to the death between two versions of totalitarianism. It was social engineering on a colossal and terrifying scale, claiming their millions in order to generate a new order. The prize was a new breed of humans; the cost, violent disruption.

Then came 1968. It was the year that, on a personal note, I and thousands like me, came to political consciousness. The events are indelible: the Tet Offensive in Vietnam, the murder of Martin Luther King’s, The Prague Spring, Les Evènements of Paris, USA medallists’ Mexico Olympics black power salute, the assassination of Robert Kennedy who for many embodied hope. A youth revolt and student unrest combined with working class protest and industrial strikes to shake profoundly the established social order. With reference to leaders on the Left, *“it was this era that fundamentally shaped the radical politics for which they have become such powerful and effective advocates”*.<sup>xxii</sup>

It was an age of poetry; an age of philosophers, of the kind of civilisation could be created. The Sorbonne and London School of Economics became epicentres in a time of questioning. Politics was too important to be left to the politicians.

Fast forward the tape 50 years. The winning banner was the triumph of open, free markets and not just in economics. Liberalism had resulted in a free market of morals: a de-regulation of ways of life, not only business and banks. Word was out that using the proceeds of economic growth to combat poverty and help the disadvantaged had swept the field. That was before the politics of 2016. What now of the safe certainties we grew up with and those cosy post-war dreams of continued progress?

Time’s up for liberal optimism; that life is predictable and can only get better, subject to some blips.

Amidst the darkness, there is the flame of many candles where respect was given and kindness ruled. In every walk of life, an atmosphere based on mutual respect and imparting value to another

person made for a relaxed, orderly environment where human beings could do their best work. A movement for change is well under way. It is irresistible. It is irreversible. Demand is already there.

The twin gift of activism and passion of the younger generation must be integrated. They will have to live with the consequences of the baby-boomer legacy and the world we created. This is the same generation that is now so enraged and engaged at the vanguard of the fight against racism. As a young student told *The New York Times*: “Young people have a deep desire for radical change because we see the broken path ahead.

Equality of value is a powerful idea. There is nothing so powerful than an idea whose time has come.

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<sup>ii</sup> Yuval Harari (2020) Yuval Harari's blistering warning to Davos World24 Jan 2020

<sup>iii</sup> McKie, R. (2016, November 6). Nicholas Stern: cost of global warming 'is worse than I feared'. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/nov/06/nicholas-stern-climate-change-review-10-years-on-interview-decisive-years-humanity>

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<sup>v</sup> Power, M. (2004) *The Risk Management of Everything: Rethinking the Politics of Uncertainty* London: Demos

<sup>vi</sup> US Bishops speak out in wake of mass shootings' Church Times 9<sup>th</sup> August 2019

<sup>vii</sup> 'Glasgow University's 'bold' move to pay back slave trade profits' <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-49435041> BBC News 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2019

<sup>viii</sup> 'Brazilian protesters rail against Bolsonaro as Amazon fires rage on' *Guardian* 24<sup>th</sup> August 2019 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/24/brazilian-protesters-bolsonaro-amazon-fires>

<sup>ix</sup> Climate Scientist University of Sao Paulo

<sup>x</sup> GREENLANDIC PERSPECTIVES ON CLIMATE CHANGE 2018 – 2019, carried out by the University of Copenhagen's Centre for Social Data Science, the Kraks Fond Institute for Urban Economic Research and the University of Greenland <https://kraksfondbyforskning.dk/en/blog/gp-climatechange/>

<sup>xi</sup> 'The Age of Anxiety' *Economist* August 17<sup>th</sup> 2019

<sup>xii</sup> Friedman, M.: (1962) *Capitalism and Freedom* University of Chicago, Chicago

<sup>xiii</sup> Business Roundtable Redefines the Purpose of a Corporation to Promote 'An Economy That Serves All Americans' <https://www.businessroundtable.org/business-roundtable-redefines-the-purpose-of-a-corporation-to-promote-an-economy-that-serves-all-americans> August 19th 2019

<sup>xiv</sup> Taylor, M. & Watts, J. (2019, October 9). Revealed: the 20 firms behind a third of all carbon emissions. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/oct/09/revealed-20-firms-third-carbon-emissions>

<sup>xv</sup> January 22<sup>nd</sup> 2020

<sup>xvi</sup> *Counting the Cost 2019: a year of climate breakdown* Christian Aid Report on extreme weather in 2019

<sup>xvii</sup> Time to care <https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/time-care> 20th January 2020

<sup>xviii</sup> William and Paul Paddock (1967) *Famine 1975!* Boston, M.A.: Little Brown & Co

<sup>xix</sup> Donella H. Meadows; Dennis L. Mea (1972) *Limits to Growth* Potomac Associates <https://www.clubofrome.org/report/the-limits-to-growth/>

<sup>xx</sup> THE CLUB OF ROME CLIMATE EMERGENCY PLAN A Collaborative Call for Climate Action 23/09/ 2019

<sup>xxi</sup> *Sandrine Dixson-Declève Co-President of the Club of Rome, a member of the Climate-KIC Advisory Council, and Ambassador for the Energy Transitions Commission (ETC). Davos 2020*

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