



National Development Plan: Pathways for a Just Transition

Free State Stakeholder Dialogue Meeting

22 May 2019

Southern Sun Hotel,

Corner Nelson Mandela and Melville Drive, Brandwag, Bloemfontein

REPORT

Purpose of this report

This report provides a summary of the inputs and discussions that took place at the Free State Provincial workshop on 22nd May 2019. This workshop was the last of a series of provincial workshops that the National Planning Commission (NPC) has undertaken to engage with key stakeholders across the country regarding a just energy transition for South Africa. The aim of these dialogues is to build a consensus on a vision and pathways for an equitable and sustainable South Africa in 2050.

Welcome and Opening

Commissioner Tasneem Essop warmly welcomed participants and fellow commissioners to the workshop. Because this was the final provincial workshop it presented an opportunity for the Free State participants to make the final comment. The NPC wanted to hear the contributions of the provincial participants about the development of a vision and pathways for a Just Transition to a low carbon, climate resilient economy and society in South Africa.



Presentation on the Background and Context: Overview of the Pathways for a Just Transition Process

National Development Plan (NDP) Chapter 5: the framework

The Commissioner provided a background to a low carbon future for the country as articulated in the National Development Plan (NDP 2012), focusing on Chapter 5 (ensuring environmental sustainability and an equitable transition to a low-carbon economy), and its importance in reducing poverty and inequality. The process of developing the NDP and specifically chapter 5 (phase 1) was outlined.

The Commissioner reported that the NPC, in drafting the National Development Plan for 2030 had first carried out a diagnosis of the key problems the country faced through a year-long inclusive and evidence-based process via stakeholder engagements, research and interviews. The key problems identified were jobs, crumbling infrastructure, poor education, spatial divide, low economic growth and corruption, among others. The most pressing challenges were seen to be poverty, inequality and unemployment. Chapter 5 which deals with Environmental Sustainability and an equitable transition to a low carbon, climate resilient economy and society, outlines an end state for 2030. After a year-long process of engaging with civil society, business, the big energy users, government, labour and experts, a set of guiding principles were agreed upon which formed the basis of Chapter 5. The Chapter is not a plan for a Just Transition but rather provides a guiding framework for this.



Figure 1: The diagnostic to be solved

Pathways for a Just Transition: the project and process

The Commissioner went on to say that the NPC is now embarking on the second phase of its work, namely, developing a vision and a plan for the Just Transition towards the deepening of Chapter 5. The aim of the second phase is firstly to **review the progress of government and society in the implementation of the NDP with regard to chapter 5**. Secondly, the NPC is also seeking to **update Chapter 5 with concrete actions to achieving a low-carbon society** through the *Pathways for a Just Transition* process. This process involves conducting a series of dialogues with civil society, business, government, labour, communities and experts in all provinces, as well as holding bi-lateral meetings with various constituencies to continue the dialogue. The Commissioner emphasised that the Free

State workshop was part of the broader stakeholder engagement process that the NPC is holding in each province. **The purpose is to understand where the South African society wants to transition to by 2050 and how we are going to get there.** It is important to remember that the NDP is not a plan for government alone, but is an overarching framework for the country which considers the roles of all actors. It was noted that the transition is already happening locally and globally due to changes in the costs of energy and the advancement of technology. These shifts affect global markets and especially in South Africa as we are a coal exporting country. The Commissioner went on to state that because the transition is already occurring, South Africa needs to **focus on the transition being just and fair.** The aim of this process is to develop a vision for the country to 2050, a timeframe which is in line with global milestones on climate change, to determine how we get there and ensure that we address poverty and inequality.

The Commissioner described the *Pathways for a Just Transition* process. Initially, this year-long initiative sought to bring together a group of social partners and experts to engage in a series of high-level dialogues in order to determine the best *Pathway for a Just Transition* by dealing with some of the outstanding contested issues. The intention was that this process would run in parallel with a series of wider stakeholder engagements with participants from a wide range of sectors, namely civil society, labour, business, and government. However, at the first high level social partner dialogue, the social partners called for a bottom-up approach engaging with communities in a much stronger way, rather than focusing on high-level dialogues. Therefore, the form of these engagements has now shifted to open invitation stakeholder workshops in every province with **labour, civil society, communities, government and business.** Constituencies can also request engagements with the NPC on the just energy transition and this has been undertaken with the Energy Intensive Users Group, Sasol, South African National Energy Development Institute (SANEDI), the youth and labour.

The figure 2 below demonstrates the process involved in the stakeholder engagements.



Figure 2: 'Pathways for a Just Transition' process flow chart

The Commissioner referred to the latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2018) Special Report on Global Warming. The report states emphatically that there are only about 12 years

left (until 2030) to limit the rise in average global temperature to below 1.5°C pre-industrial levels. This implies far-reaching changes to our economies and societies. Climate change is happening at an unprecedented rate. This provides impetus for these discussions, as we need to reduce carbon emissions urgently through a swift transition.

What is a Just Transition?

Just Transition is a framework that has been developed by the trade union movement to encompass a range of social interventions needed to secure workers' jobs and livelihoods when economies are shifting to sustainable production, including avoiding climate change and protecting biodiversity, among other challenges.

It has been broadened beyond a focus on protecting the rights of the working class only but also encompasses wider society, especially the most vulnerable.

The 'Just Transition' is a concept developed by the trade unions to protect the rights of workers and secure their jobs in periods of big shifts affecting their employment. The concept has now been mainstreamed and applied with a broader scope to include society at large, especially the most vulnerable i.e. women, children, unemployed and the disabled.

In addition, said the Commission, **the NPC has adopted an economy-wide approach to a Just Transition.** Energy, water and land-use will fall within that broader lens. The reason for taking an economy-wide approach is because of the notion that jobs lost in the coal sector will be absorbed in the renewable energy sector, but that is not completely realistic. There are skills, geographical and economic differences that will drive employment and labour needs. The NPC has therefore taken an economy-wide approach because if there are job losses, the focus must be on the whole economy and new sectors of growth that might absorb unemployment.

The intention has been for each of these engagements to build on each other in an iterative manner and finally culminate in a **concluding conference** on the 29th May which will lay the foundation for a high-level Summit later in 2019. It is intended to use the outcomes of this process as a basis for a **social compact on the Just Transition** at the Summit. The point of a social compact is to put a certain degree of control within the hands of the people to promote a transition that is just. In addition to presenting results to government, the development of a social compact could be driven through NEDLAC. The outcomes of these engagements will also feed into the **review process of the NDP. The NPC has also recently agreed that climate change is an urgent and cross cutting issue and hence will not be limited to Chapter 5 but will be addressed in all chapters of the NDP**

At the concluding conference a draft vision and pathways for a Just Transition will be presented for discussion, before final agreement at a summit later in the year. This is the final provincial stakeholder workshop before the concluding conference.

The Key Challenges and Opportunities of a Just Transition for Free State (Breakaway Groups) and Feedback

All participants were asked to discuss at their tables what the challenges and opportunities were for the Free State within the context of a transition to a low-carbon economy taking into consideration the socio-cultural and economic structures and priorities of the Free State Province.

Feedback from groups on challenges

The key challenges raised are listed below:

- **Buy in and political will**
 - There is still little acceptance by social partners (business, government, and civil society and labour) for a transition that is just.
 - There is no evidence of political will - policies are contradictory and low carbon development is not being broadly implemented.
 - Social institutions are not sufficiently profiling the Just Transition. The concept of a Just Transition requires awareness on a societal level and our social institutions should be providing education and awareness to promote inclusion and participation.
- **The economy**
 - The Free State's economy is based on mining and agriculture, which are both emission-intensive. The province is suffering the impacts of climate change which include natural disasters such as droughts and floods and other extreme weather which have and will continue to affect the agricultural sector negatively.
 - The Province's position within the broader national economy is a challenge because the economic benefits that take place within its boundaries are largely distributed elsewhere. Specifically, the province often functions as a broker to other provincial economies, providing water, and minerals. Furthermore it is a thoroughfare for freight.
 - The decline of mining, for example in Welkom, have had significant and negative impacts on the economy and high unemployment. Experiences from Welkom could have been shared with other mining dependent towns by assisting in their planning for closure but this has not happened.
- **Climate-resilient infrastructure** – there is a lack of maintenance in infrastructure which will exacerbate the impacts of climate change.
- **Skills and capacities**
 - Low skill base in the province leads to poor investment in the province, high levels of unemployment and low levels of entrepreneurship and innovation.
 - Lack of municipal capacity in terms of decision-making around rural and urban planning.
 - Lack of understanding of flood lines and dam capacities have resulted in inadequate spatial planning which has put communities at risk.
 - Existing strategies and platforms that promote black business and previously disadvantaged development are not adequately preparing individuals and small businesses to be successful in the emerging global economy particularly in the light of climate change and the promotion of a low carbon economy. They are being set up for failure. The climate risks need to be factored in when helping them set up their businesses.

- South Africa is still **coal dependent and has lock-ins** with coal power stations (Medupi and Kusile).
- **Communication** challenges both vertically (including top-down vs bottom-up) and horizontally impacts social development.
- **Implementation of plans** - e.g. public transport plan has not been adopted.

Feedback from groups on opportunities

- **Buy in through incentivisation**
 - Partnerships between local authorities and businesses and communities to implement ecological solutions.
 - Tax benefits could be provided to socially / environmentally conscientious businesses coupled with fining systems for businesses that don't comply with environmental regulations.
 - Offer more government budgets to those ward councillors that are able to mobilise their communities and promote behaviour changes like recycling, use of public transport etc.
 - Government should invest in waste to energy projects; recycling and renewable energy projects.
- **Rural development:**
 - Agriculture and renewable energy provide an opportunity for providing jobs in rural areas. Government needs to support small scale initiatives.
 - Climate-smart agriculture and zero tillage must be compulsory.
 - Climate change offers the opportunity for crop diversification from maize and wheat to more high-value products such as mangoes and bananas. Studies show that the ecosystems will change and this information needs to be factored in when planning and identifying suitable commodities to be produced.
- Implement **full cost accounting** to ensure that environmental and societal externalities are included in the pricing. This should be initiated by National Treasury.
- **Green procurement** must be mandatory in all sectors of the economy.
- **Integrate climate change into planning decisions**
 - All buildings must be energy efficient, recycle and reuse materials as part of their planning and building requirements.
 - Integrate climate change mitigation with social and economic development priorities.
- **Repurposing of mining towns**
 - Old mining towns can be revitalised by attracting industries involved in the green economy. These industries could capitalise on existing infrastructure. Towns in the Free State are also centrally positioned and can easily link to green economic opportunities in Gauteng and other neighbouring provinces. The Free State could become an innovation hub for the Just Transition through the reuse of mining towns in this way. Political buy-in from the Premier is required.
 - Mining towns such as Welkom could become renewable energy producers. Transmission lines are already established and energy could easily be fed into the grid and used locally.
- **Redefine our culture and value systems** - embrace a culture of one that is caring and peaceful and environmentally conscious.
- **Promoting eco-tourism** through nature conservation and wildlife protection

- **Investing in locally produced goods** stimulates the local industry, creating jobs and reducing the carbon footprint of products
- **Groundwater harvesting** during times of drought
- **Skills development**
 - Utilise existing higher education institutions to train people for skills required for the future and to identify potential economic areas of growth and innovation.
 - The adaptation sector for instance in the UK is worth a lot of money. South Africa can use this as an inspiration and jobs can be created in weather protection, disaster risk management, and adaptation solutions. There is an opportunity to develop skills base to serve climate adaptation sector needs.
- NEDLAC should champion the Just Transition and bring it to the forefront. Climate change and the energy transition need to be integrated with social and economic development priorities.

Developing a Vision for 2050: The Possible Pathways to Reach the End State

Vision 2050: Mapping Pathways for South Africa's Transition – Through the Water, Land and Energy Lens

Commissioner Tasneem Essop provided an overview of the process that has been undertaken thus far. This included an overarching summary of the challenges and opportunities identified by the participants in the previous workshops as well as a broader definition of the concept of Just Transition and some of the thinking that has emerged in terms of the vision and pathways for energy, water and land-use.

A Just Transition is one where working people, and in particular the poor and vulnerable (including women, the disabled and the youth), are protected and do not have to shoulder the burden of shifting to a low carbon, cleaner and more climate resilient economy and society. In all provinces there was consensus that inequality and poverty will have been eradicated and there is universal access to good health and education. Informality would no longer be a permanent feature in our landscape and employment and livelihoods will be sustainable and inclusive.

Whilst the dialogues have seen much consensus in terms of a future for land-use, water and energy, contradictory views and hard questions have been raised and need that will need to be answered for this Just Transition to succeed:

- South Africa is heavily dependent on coal and the energy-intensive industries that are built around coal and historically cheap coal-fired electricity.
- This dependence contributes to climate change. South Africa has made a commitment to deal with climate change. As such, we will need to shift away from our dependence on coal and this will have direct implications on the energy intensive industries.
- There are those who still want coal to be central to our future. On the other hand there are also those who want clean and safe renewable energy. This conflict needs to be planned for and resolved.

- Rising electricity prices have an impact on the poor and business. This must be resolved so that electricity becomes more affordable, alleviating energy poverty and allowing businesses to become more competitive.
- Each sector has its own needs and positions. We will need to address the hard trade-offs.
- We will need to identify ways to deal with winners and losers in the transition. For example:
 - There is an intention to unbundle Eskom
 - Labour is against unbundling ESKOM and the coal transition, fearing job losses
 - There is an intention to grow large scale renewable energy, but what about the growth of small-scale community-owned renewable energy
 - The regulatory environment and tariff structure for municipalities will have to change

Breakaway groups: Developing A Vision 2050 With Reference To Land-Use, Water and Energy

The participants were separated into three groups to discuss the following questions, framed by the sectors of water, land-use and energy. Participants were encouraged to identify key strategic activities that put the 'Just' part of the transition at the centre, meaning that protecting and strengthening the resilience of vulnerable people is at the core. The questions are outlined below:

1. Are there gaps in the vision developed so far? If so what are they?
2. What needs to shift to get there and by when? (for water, land-use and energy)
3. Who are the key actors in making these shifts happen?
4. What do we need to do to ensure a Just Transition?
5. What are the hard decisions we need to make?

Group: Water

Facilitated by Commissioner Pulane Molokwane

Are there gaps in the vision developed so far? If so, what are they?

- Water must be acknowledged as a limited and scarce resource.
- Skills and funding are not available to ensure proper maintenance of the infrastructure.
- There is insufficient water use awareness.
- There needs to be an acknowledgement of the nexus between water, land-use and energy.

What needs to shift to get there and by when?

- **Policies and regulations**
 - New buildings need to incorporate water conservation technologies. Best practices are needed. We need to, for example, promote showers rather than bathtubs.
 - The Building Act and other building regulations need to be reviewed to make compulsory provision for building practices which promote the health of occupants. Poor health is a large burden on the state.
- **Integrated planning** must occur at all three levels of government and this needs to start immediately.
- **Building capacity within government** – government officials are not sufficiently skilled to manage policy and infrastructure relating to water adequately.
- **Institutional and financial systems** within government need to be arranged and managed more effectively. Revenue from water services at the municipal level needs to be used more

effectively. Water boards need to be paid for the water that they supply. The Constitution needs to be amended to allow for water and energy funds to go directly from National Treasury to water boards and Eskom, rather than through municipalities.

- **Interventions at the user level include**
 - Technical solutions such as reduced pressure and water limiting devices.
 - Incentives for water conservation and re-use; and penalties for water wastage.
 - Prepaid water meters should be used so that water usage at household level can be monitored.
- The provision of water needs to be looked at in a holistic way. A **systems approach to water** needs to be adopted, looking at water from all sources and matching it for different purposes (potable vs non-potable water).

Who are the key actors in making these shifts happen?

- Three spheres of government
- Consumers- active citizenry
- Educators
- Learners
- Private sector- farming sector must be told to use water efficiently

What do we need to do to ensure a Just Transition?

- The process must include proper **consultation with communities**. Consultations need to focus on understanding their priorities and allowing communities to propose solutions to their own problems.
- Vulnerable people need to have **access to clean water** to enable people to live productive and healthy lives.
- Water needs to **be distributed equitably**.
- Provide opportunities for **rainwater harvesting** in vulnerable households and teach them how to use and re-use rainwater for all non-potable needs.
- Increase water efficiency by **improving infrastructure**, thereby reducing waste and improve water management.

What are the hard decisions we need to make?

- Apply pre-paid metres and fully enforce water conservation regulations, which may include water shut-offs for extremely high water users.
- Funding for water conservation and maintenance of infrastructure and water provision must be ring-fenced.

Group: Land – use

Facilitated by Commissioner Themba Dlamini

Are there gaps in the vision developed so far? If so, what are they?

- The three spheres of government need to improve their coordination.
- Sector resilience plans are needed.
- The land needs of rural communities are not sufficiently addressed by government. Government focuses on urban areas although they occupy only 4% of the land area of the Free State Province.
- Need better regulations regarding land-use that encompass provincial interests.

What needs to shift to get there and by when?

- **Vertical and horizontal planning, including compliance and integration** is needed in dealing with issues of land-use.
- The **spatial component** in matters of provincial interest are not clearly defined, which makes the lines of authority and responsibility regarding land-use unclear. The provincial, district and local plans should be aligned to the National Spatial Development Framework (NSDF) as the leading document to promote alignment in planning.
- The development of **tools are needed to address the lack of alignment in planning**
- **National Treasury's funding should prioritise climate projects.** The criteria should be clear and transparent. There should be some guide/tool which can be used to assist in negotiating how to access funds for climate change priorities. Each intervention should be vertically aligned.
- **The Environmental Impact Assessment legislation** should make it compulsory for measures to be taken in cases where developments are not completed, and where they fall into disuse. At present the EIA does not investigate the impact on surrounding communities of such circumstances.
- Licences and approvals should require that a **fund be established at the outset (development stage)** of the development to ensure that rehabilitation can occur. Often mining companies claim bankruptcy at the end of mine lifespans so most mines are not rehabilitated.
- Resilience in mining is needed together with proper social facilitation, rehabilitation strategies and implementation plans, but a question was raised on whose responsibility is it to close this gap?
- The **NDP needs to be institutionalised throughout all three levels of government.**
- **Mandatory monitoring and reporting of climate and environmental matters** should be instituted. For example, Statistics South Africa should be mandated to report on environmental degradation and changes through satellite imaging and other relevant technologies.
- Local municipalities must be compelled to fulfil their statutory responsibilities in relation to land-use; they must be encouraged to prioritise the fulfilment of land-use responsibilities. **Planning units are needed in all departments.** Ensure that all local Municipalities in the Free State and in other provinces have land-use plans to guide and manage development and allow for the protection of the environment.
- **Capacity building** and training should be a continuous process in municipalities, COGTA and other bodies at provincial and national level.

Who are the key actors in making these shifts happen?

- Political heads and respective stakeholders.

What do we need to do to ensure a Just Transition?

- Key priorities need to be linked to the proposed vision.
- Funding needs to be allocated at national, provincial and municipal level.
- The capital investment framework should include long-term 2030 target for the NDP, 5-year plans and State of the Nation Address (SONA) discussions and ensure availability of resources on the ground for execution.
- Priorities should be aligned with Agenda 2063 which prioritises water security and land-use.
- The focus should be on the green economy which ensures green jobs.

What are the hard decisions we need to make?

- There should be a social compact between government, business and labour on a Just Transition to ensure that mechanisms are put in place to for the vulnerable.
- We need to start skilling and reskilling people now. Our education system needs to adapt to train people to become problem solvers rather than equip them with a specific skill. This will enable workers to easily migrate to other sectors. It is difficult to train learners with skills if we don't know what skills will be needed in the future.
- Professionalise the public service and ensure the appointment of competent staff.
- The Constitution of 1996 gives municipalities exclusive authority on land rights but it doesn't appear this is working – should we amend the Constitution to give provinces the responsibility or power for land-use decisions?

Group: Energy

Facilitated by Ashraf Kariem

Are there gaps in the vision developed so far? If so, what are they?

- Energy must be sustainable. Zero emissions by 2050 using zero carbon technologies. Nuclear should not be excluded but should be based on the cost of energy and job creation.
- Energy must be affordable and accessible, and the free basic electricity allocation should reach all indigent households.
- We need a more caring and just society.
- Decentralised energy should be part of generation portfolio, and these plants should be socially owned and create local jobs.
- The entire energy system must be economically sustainable – generation, transmission and distribution.

What needs to shift to get there and by when?

- **Skilling and reskilling** - The reskilling of workers in energy-intensive industries needs to start now, so that they can obtain employment in jobs that rely on renewable energy and energy efficiency.
- Need **clear policies** on the energy system.
- We need a **competitive and open market**, that at the same time ensures that energy costs are affordable and there is universal access.
- The **transport sector** needs radical shifts. Freight needs to shift from road to rail. The importation of polluting vehicles needs to be limited. Cleaner and electric cars should be encouraged through financial incentives.
- Gas was identified as a possible short term solution to the provision of energy.
- **Move away from energy-intensive products** including plastics, toward environmentally friendly substitutes.
- Need **legislative frameworks** to accommodate all of the above, and that process of redesign needs to start now.
- **Budget reprioritisation** needs to be planned now and adopted at the next budget cycle.
- **NDP targets must be aligned with the 5 year plans of government** and targets need to form part of the agreements with the new ministers.

Who are the key actors in making these shifts happen?

- NEDLAC
- National, provincial and local government – need synergies and alignment and coordination

- Big energy users and people in the coal value chain
- Business chambers
- Regulators
- Communities
- Labour organisations
- National Treasury
- Tertiary institutions

What do we need to do to ensure a Just Transition?

- Don't leave anyone behind
- Create awareness of the energy transition and how it can be 'just' if done correctly
- Balance economic growth and social justice – currently economic growth is prioritised over social development and environment
- Universal and affordable access to electricity
- Demonstration of the Just Transition – piloting of alternative methods. Collaboration and partnerships for innovation and research.
- Implementation must focus on empowering women, youth and disabled.

What are the hard decisions we need to make?

- Immediate reskilling and upskilling
- Reprioritising toward the Just Transition of funding from government (including from the DBSA); and funding from the private sector.
- Fit for purpose appointments in all sectors
- Establishing a new regulatory environment to enable a Just Transition
- Do we continue to invest in the new coal power stations?
- Enforcement of regulations in the environmental sector.
- Do we unbundle Eskom?

Wrap Up

Commissioner Essop explained that a report from this stakeholder engagement workshop will be sent to all participants including the reports from the other provincial workshops. The Concluding Conference invitation will be sent to each participant together with the draft Vision and Pathways document which draws together all the threads from each of the workshops. New contributions from this workshop will be integrated into this document. Finally, there will be further discussions and engagements following the Concluding Conference on the process and a Summit will be held later this year.

Closing remarks

Commissioner Essop closed by thanking everybody for their participation. She noted that the conversation was very stimulating, and she encouraged the province to become a Just Transition innovation hub. She expressed gratitude for the attendance of other commissioners, colleagues from the NPC secretariat and the service providers, Sustainable Energy Africa and OneWorld Sustainable Investments.

Nodumo Tyali, the Chief Director within the Premiers Office thanked Commissioner Essop for her facilitation and for bringing this discussion to the Free State. She said that the issue of the green

economy starts with the individual. She looks forward to a leading province that aims to be responsible and hardworking.

End.



Pathways for a Just Transition Briefing Note

The National Development Plan (NDP) envisages that, by 2030, South Africa will have made headway in transitioning to a society that is just, inclusive, sustainable and resilient. Chapter Five of the NDP sets out a framework and guiding principles to ensure that by 2030 South Africa's transition to a low-carbon, climate-resilient and sustainable economy and society will be well underway.

Transitioning to a sustainable and resilient economy and society will require systemic and structural changes that should also see the use of South Africa's natural resources, including water and energy, resulting in appropriate economic and social development that addresses our country's triple challenges, namely, inequality, poverty, and unemployment.

The National Planning Commission's (NPC) work is now in its second phase, which intends to ensure the implementation of the Plan by engaging relevant stakeholders. In its plan for ensuring the implementation of Chapter 5 of the NDP, the NPC has designed a process to facilitate a series of dialogues culminating in a social compact – an agreement on what the best pathway for a Just Transition to a sustainable society would be as well as agreements on the modalities for implementation.

The dialogues include building consensus on a vision for an equitable and sustainable South Africa in 2050, as well as determining the best pathway for a Just Transition towards that vision. The discourse will also consider, and address current crises impacting on our ability to ensure a Just Transition, such as energy sector job losses and the growing water crisis, amongst others.

The vision for 2050 will be built through an iterative process of engagements and will be presented at a final concluding conference in May 2019.

The current political discourse frames this process and the implementation of the Plan. President Ramaphosa in the State of the Nation Address 2018 highlighted the need for South Africans to work together *“by getting social partners in our country to collaborate in building a social compact on which we will create drivers of economic recovery”*. He further stated that *“Our country has entered a period of change. While change can produce uncertainty, even anxiety, it also offers great opportunities for renewal and revitalisation, and for progress”*.

