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The Big Idea: Next Generation of Leadership in Pakistan Needs a 'New-Think'

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Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad

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Disclaimer: This futures research spanning over the course of next 51 years have been structured along: i) The Pakistan Lens ii) The Youth Perspective and the iii) Worldview of Pakistan. Each section explores thoughts and imagination; therefore the research provided herein is to enable the reader to deliberate policy-thinking along a longer-time horizon. The researcher provides tools and instruments for the futures and narrative formulations. She has established the region's first ever Foresight Lab. While the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI) strives to provide in-depth and objective analyses; it is not responsible for the input of individuals, networks and organizations composed through the course of the futures study.

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In memory of the fallen of December 16, 2014. This paper is dedicated to the Future Generations of Pakistan.

Introduction

The worldview of Pakistan over the last decade has become deeply skewed and myopic. Historically the country has been printing problems, appearing to have knee-jerk reactions or temporary solutions while approaching a challenge. One can see the serious lack of imagination in strategic foresight narratives on matters related to a wide range of policy spectrums. For instance, the country has yet to identify jobs of the future in times when the prices of housing and food products remain relatively high, and intelligence in terms of enlightenment does not seem to be on the national horizon.

The advancements of emerging technologies and adoption rates have been exponential over the years. By 2020 approximately six billion people would have access to the internet with almost 100 billion connected devices in the Internet of Things enforcing radical hyper-connectivity. 3D/4D printing will reduce manufacturing and transportation costs, and a lot of industries in the near future will become irrelevant. According to the State of the Future 2015 – 16 annual futures findings by the Millennium-Project, the world will not need 70% of the labour force by 2050; and conscious-technology will be superseding human brain around the same decade.

There are several indications and trends that suggest that governments will be struggling to bring forth a mechanism that not only allows innovative disruptions, scientific developments, and technological dispersion but also places a greater value on human security. However, policy discussion in Pakistan is quite far from these developments; ultimately which will affect the country in a way that perhaps it may not be prepared for. If the population continues to grow at the current rate, projected up to 360 million by 2100, the challenges that are to emerge in the coming decades due to lack of foresight in the human security domain will push the state

institutions and the government to disastrous geopolitical difficulties disturbing the already vulnerable social contract. With a median age of 22, 63% of youth in Pakistan is under the age of 29 years, making Pakistan as one of the youngest nations in the world. In the next couple of years, Pakistan could possibly have an army of unemployed youth. There are going to be fewer jobs in the future. There is no mathematical equation that can provide jobs, opportunities, and creation of livelihood; however, in order for the country to accommodate the demographic transition and create room for younger entrants into the workforce, it will be required to grow more than 7 per cent.[1]

In the near future, the youth bulge, the country greatly prides over, may either become a blessing or a curse. A cynical set of younger people are seen mostly as an exploitative opportunity by hostile anti-state entities, which can genuinely disrupt the future of the country. Additionally, what is worse is that the youth demographic is not seen in mainstream policy decision-making. *This research is essentially a study to gauge how the youth sees the future of Pakistan, what role do or don't they see for themselves in that future and factors which are influencing their behaviours and decisions?* Prior foresight research into a Live Challenge 'Future of Pakistan up to 2060' established four scenarios: i) low citizen empowerment, regional integration ii) high citizen empowerment, regional integration iii) high citizen empowerment, regional fragmentation iv) low citizen empowerment, regional fragmentation – along with drivers of change, plausible scenarios and strategic narratives.[2]What transpired as a striking insight throughout the study was that those engaged in the 2060 research were unable to link or build a correlation between the youth bulge to anticipatory governance. So although, the participants who were once in leading decision-making or policy corridors having being the best of their times admitted to the country still not being fully-equipped to cope with the challenges that they are confronted with due to globalization, international systems, economic interdependence and the emerging nature and contours of world affairs; it was henceforth established that a fifth scenario should explore and ideate over transformational prospects through the lens of young Pakistanis falling between an age bracket of 18-35 year olds.

The focus of the research was spread over 51 years up to 2067, broadly. A precursor into the recommendations is that there hasn't been any significant attempt other than in the late 80s and early 90s to bring the futures discourse through a national prism creating a debate across academic, policy and professional dimensions. (Islamabad hosted: A three-day national seminar on *Pakistan 2000* in 1987; followed by a four-day South Asian Regional International Conference on *The Future of Democracy In the Developing World* in 1992).During these years we see a caring Pakistan. A country open to futures.

On *December 16, 2015; the National Assembly, the Senate and people's representatives across all assemblies unanimously recommended the Government to observe and mark the tragic and barbaric attack on the Army Public School in December 2014 as Pakistan Children's Day.*[34] **The Government of Pakistan has yet to declare this as the official day for the future generations of Pakistan.**

What is Futures?

The study of macrohistory approaches the human condition at three different levels; person systems, social systems and world systems; establishing the data of *how it actually happened* is a painstaking enterprise.[5]Macrohistory according to the theoretical framework is nomothetic, diachronic, while level-one which is the persons systems is looked through the lens of it existing as microhistory.

> *…new territories emerge which then later disintegrate, either to be re-engineered or evolved into something we may know as new. This "new kind of newness" shapes lives, communities, realities and perceptions…*[6]

Being a nation-state, Pakistan is projected through its mesohistory which is largely driven by various competing narratives stemming out of anxieties and fears in a bid to establishing an 'identity'; even though 'Pakistan' literally means the 'land of the pure' first part derived from the Persian language and the latter from Sanskrit is a blended reality which at a people level when compared

to wealth distribution and other imperfect conditions is a glaring contradiction. Amidst all these contradictions and competing narratives, there lies an opportunity to create a futures discourse for Pakistan. As the future of any faith depends on its ability to capture one generation after another and with each in succession there is a genuine responsibility to bridge the gap between man and God for itself.[7] It is the responsibility of the Government to look through this beyond the Ministry of Planning, Development and Reforms, The Higher Education Commission of Pakistan and to imagine the new need for institutional thinking required for the futures.

> *God will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in their hearts* (Quran: Surah Ar'Ard 13:11)[8]

Thought and actions required for the futures and future generations require special institutionalized frameworks. Futures, historically has not always been about astronomies, mythologies or mysticism; human intellect can also become a guiding force for a preferred future. It wasn't until the 1950s that the study of futures emerged, simultaneously in United States and in France.[9]Following this; commissions, institutes and government departments were established in Europe, Japan and the then Soviet Union. The United Kingdom, United States of America, Japan, Finland, Singapore, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Peru, China several other countries have adopted the foresight approach at academic, government, and think tanks level. Meanwhile, organizations such as Shell, National Intelligence Council, RAND Corporation, Hudson Institute, World Economic Forum among many others are using foresight tools and methodologies building on insights by developing plausible scenarios, thinking through global/regional dynamics, understanding risks and opportunities, and bringing out insights on what useful intervention points might look like. By the 1980s, it had become a global phenomenon, a sustained attempt yet to be witnessed in Pakistan.

So, is the most important knowledge the knowledge of the future?[10]

Jim Dator, Professor and Director of the Hawaii Research Centre for Futures Studies is of the view that 'any useful idea about the

futures should appear to be ridiculous.'[11]Futurists like Jim Dator, Theodore Gordon, Ziauddin Sardar, Jerome Glenn, Eleanora Masini, Peter C. Bishop or Sohail Inayatullah all have created techniques and methodologies articulating futures for governments, communities, academia and think tanks. The ecosystem of the new connected world does not have a separate space for non-profit or public platforms, fenced off from commercial space. Today, the Government, Private Sector, Academia, Media and the Civil Society are required to be not only strategic but also human-centric, well coordinated and ***prompt in service delivery.*** This convergence leads to informed choices in the domains of: information creation, knowledge generation, policy designs, strategic narratives. This is not predicting, its a prescriptive-based mechanism to test assumptions; which in itself is an ongoing process of thinking through unchartered territories forming new neural pathways to chalk out alternate possibilities. This process is continuously gauged; it reduces the element of policy failures or inaction which as a result is not only measured but is pursued using innovative means in a manner that it is possibly diminished for achieving the right outcomes using modern day scientific approaches. This scope develops better clarity amongst decision-makers about challenges confronting the communities, equipping them with tools required to create distinct opportunities to connect and enhance their constituents' abilities to access public services. Futures thinking facilitate the process of institutionalized decisions amongst the leadership corridors improving learning faculty and increases the quality of policy inputs and strategic outcomes. Creativity and imagination has important implications of how a sovereign power is implied. Pre-emption about the presence of the future are politically operationalized when we apprehend and engage with the future from the vantage point of the lived present[12]; where time is factored as unit integrated into the logic of pre-emption in its capacity as a political rationality.[13]Needless to say that prescriptive-based data visualization and augmented reality will be the underpinning for many strategic decision-makers in the near future. The Parson Institute for Information Mapping in its Journal on Imaging Possible Futures with a Scenario Space on 9/11 Commission underlines how lack of thought experiments and therefore the bureaucratization of imagination is as much a failure as the inability to anticipate and prevent the September event itself. The research goes on to propose

visualization tools to encourage and manage collective imagination. [14]'Alternative Futures for Pakistan: Beyond the Pendulum and the Landlord-Politician' published by the Institute for Ethics & Emerging Technologies (IEET) beautifully crafts the conditions, the choices of the past across deep structures and archetypes; which has fundamentally over the course of time moved the country towards a less desirable futures.[15] Further hinting towards a transformation in which Pakistan is a part of a multi-levelled futures visioning process with a true citizen anticipatory democracy.

To incorporate this degree of thinking in order to give a sense of direction, help decision-makers envision and invent alternative futures in a systematic manner. It is critical:

- To prompt cross-cutting debates based upon expert inputs
- To mobilise broad sections of all stakeholders to give collective thought on priorities and actions
- To bring together professional experts, domain specialists applying trans-disciplinary approach to brainstorm on possible impacts on policy-making
- To strengthen the capabilities interest-networks to carry out research and knowledge-related activities on foresight perspectives
- To enable a coherent trans-disciplinary framework for policy actions

> *It is necessary not only to pay attention to immediate crises, but to foresee those that will come and to make every effort to prevent them.* – Machiavelli, The Prince, Chapter III

Although Pakistan is headed towards regional socio-economic integration; which in itself is an incredible difficult journey it must unpack its incoherences and demonstrate the ability to distil long-range policy thinking - through a constant systematic process of anticipating, influencing strategic foresight which does not follow deterministic set of rules, but allows for alternatives while scanning across major trends and untapped potentials.

The Pakistan Lens

More than half of the entire world population lives in Asia; significant developments have taken place in the last couple of years that positions Pakistan as a corridor for trade, energy security and knowledge collaborations. The World Bank has projected the growth rate for South Asia to 7.5 per cent in 2016-18 driven mostly in lieu of domestic demand; this acceleration comes with the reduction in oil prices and improved investor confidence. Stronger growth and investment in Pakistan is predicated on reforms to strengthen the business climate, an improvement in overall security situation, implementation of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and an associated easing in energy constraints; but sovereign guarantees associated with CPEC could pose substantial fiscal risks over the medium term.[16] Furthermore, World Bank forecasts Pakistan's economy to grow by 4.5 per cent to 4.8 per cent in the next two years; this may contribute in terms of Pakistan transition from a frontier economy to an emerging market. The Modern Strategy Index Strategy will be reclassifying Pakistan to emerging markets coinciding with the May 2017 Semi-Annual Index Review.[17]Loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has contributed to boost in foreign exchange reserves; which was reflected by Moody's Investors Service[18] followed by Standard & Poor's raising Pakistan's credit rating outlook to positive from stable.[19] Although Pakistan's ranking improved on the Global Competitiveness Index 2015-16 of the World Economic Forum, yet the Government of Pakistan needs to improve regulatory bodies for more effective and efficient governance as corruption remains as one of the most problematic factor for doing business in Pakistan.[20]

However, the central question is whether Pakistan will have the administrative capacity and long-term political astuteness to address the alarming deterioration of its ecological and demographic profile? And will it over the next 50 years be able to create a new national narrative, an identity and resolve the issue of place of religion in state affairs?

Recently, President of Pakistan by turning down mercy plea and the Supreme Court upholding its decision to execute Mumtaz Qadri convicted of murdering the Former Punjab Governor Salman

Taseer; could this possibly be an indication in itself.

The sovereignty belongs to the people, wherein in a society of democratization of information they are competent to make decisions for their future for themselves. Transfer of technology and its use will play a fundamental role in amplifying a national narrative, one which is shared rather than one that is imposed. The future holds many opportunities; and the Government needs to create policy-thinking space to develop socio-economic policies that can benefit the people of Pakistan.

The picture at this juncture although blurry; but will have Pakistan anchoring the regional balance and global order in the next two decades which will raise substantive opportunities for the nation to attract investment expanding its growth potential, but this would require policy thinking beyond the horizon. And then a lot of *winning* in that direction. Systematic application of Pakistan's experience to the construction of political development theory in global context in longer-view maintaining the country's interests and allegiances would create the foundations of an inherent intellectual context.[21] As Pakistan hinges towards a much more impactful role in the region, it will require the next generation of leadership to create wisdom on futures.

The recent trends that will influence the changing regional environment include yet not limited to but are essential considerations for the Asian nations to rise:

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

In the 50's the United States Geological Survey identified Gwadar as a deep-sea port. In 2007, it was inaugurated by the then President General (Retd.) Pervez Musharraf after the completion of the first phase of Gwadar Port. The Premiers of Pakistan and China signed CPEC - a megaproject - and what is known to be a 'game-changer'. The Corridor is more than a network of roads and energy projects; this is an 'anchor' to Pakistan's future prospects; it will become the means of transfer of knowledge and intellectual wisdom across territories and governments. Other than the socio-economic dividends, this redefines a monumental role for Pakistan as a

gatekeeper for information and knowledge sharing. CPEC is set to be completed ahead of 2030; an extension of Beijing's One Belt, One Road Initiative; this enhanced strategic partnership with China gives Pakistan the motivation to rise from its current quagmires. The 46 billion dollars earmarked for CPEC by Beijing will witness rise of investment in infrastructure and energy. Infrastructure projects around $11 billion heavily subsidized at 1.6 per cent interest rate by the People's Republic of China are being provided by the Exim Bank of China, China Development Bank and the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China. The investment in the energy sector of $33 billion will be between Chinese and Pakistani firms as the prior would provide loans as a result of which the Government of Pakistan will purchase the electricity. China Unicom is building a new cable landing station in Myanmar, the (Asia-Africa-Europe) AAE-1 which will connect 12 countries, including Singapore, Malaysia, Myanmar, India, Pakistan, Oman, UAE, Djibouti, Egypt, Greece and France.[22]

Expansion of Exclusive Economic Zone

Continental Shelf is part of the seabed over which a coastal State exercises sovereign rights under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). In March 2015, the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf formally adopted recommendation and accepted Pakistan's case for the extension of its Continental Shelf from 200 nautical miles to 350nm gaining a maritime of more than 50,000 sq. km.[23] This gives Pakistan the right of exploring and exploiting natural resources including oil and gas deposits, as well as other minerals and biological resources of the seabed. First held in 2007, the Aman-17[24] this year organized the sixth exercise, this is a critical series of an ongoing effort to work towards combating human trafficking, narcotics, smuggling and terrorism in the region[25]. The region should therefore be following the improvements made along the commitments established engaging the local spirit in its development, coordination and communication outreach.

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

The SCO is an imperative platform for building trust amongst member and observer states that recognizes the socio-politico-economic dividends of the expansion of organization in making Pakistan a permanent member. Further opening up as a forum for 'dialogue partners' which included Azerbaijan, Armenia, Cambodia and Nepal. An intergovernmental mutual-security Eurasian organization, SCO can enable improving Pakistan's cooperation on trade and economy, science and technology, energy and ecology. The consensus approach to decision-making of the organization limits coerced cooperation and prevents it from being hijacked by bilateral disputes.[26]

Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline

The Intergovernmental Framework Declaration (IGFD) signed by the Presidents of Pakistan and Iran respectively in May 2009 laid the foundation of construction of the pipeline creating job opportunities in Balochistan and Sindh. The pipeline is to be completed by 2017[27] according to the Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources. The two countries aim to increase bilateral trade from $1bn to $5bn under a five year trade facilitation plan, reiterating for joint investment in agro-food processing and infrastructure.[28]

Afghanistan Stabilization Programme

The Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the United States and China on peace and reconciliation is an important effort for the regional progress; this effort needs to resonate with the aspirations of Afghans which is Afghan-led and Afghan-owned in nature and composition of the outcomes of the process. Although time-consuming a more strenuous effort by all members of the group is a step in the right direction denouncing violence and sharing mutual commitment towards a stable Afghanistan strengthens the Government in Kabul.

India-Pakistan Equation Incomplete Without Kashmir

Amidst one of the toughest regional economic integration, several actors and influencers will hamper the socio-economic and political progress of the Asian nations. Without a comprehensive co-operative framework (strategic empathy) it will be difficult to settle the issue of Kashmir, internationally recognized as one of the longest unresolved dispute in contemporary history. Relations between India and Pakistan in order to move beyond rhetoric will be required to chalk out a holistic way forward keeping into consideration the aspirations of the people of Kashmir, plebiscite being their fundamental right an unfinished agenda of the partition. Indian occupied Kashmir (IoK) has gradually moved from control to occupation. The human rights violation and crimes committed by the Indian forces remain unprecedented.[29] More than 90,000 people in the IoK have been killed, while over 10,000 women have been gang-raped and molested.[30] The international community continues to look the other way; the champions of democracy and human rights defenders, both have yet to establish their credibility on what happens to be one of the flashpoint in the region; which has the potential to disrupt global security. There's a complete new generation in the IoK, who are becoming a force of resistance against state aggression. At this point in history, Pakistan should first ingeniously re-examine why-how and what does it mean by extending its moral, diplomatic and political[31] to people's cause without any economic reinforcements.

South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

In 2016, to be hosted by the Government of Pakistan, the members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) had agreed on Islamabad holding the 38th Session of the SAARC Council of Ministers meeting followed by the 19th SAARC Summit in November. The Nepalese Prime Minister K P Sharma Oli had called upon the Governments of South Asia to build a collaborative framework on tackling natural disasters.[32] The Indian Premier had initially accepted the invitation by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif during Ufa but later Delhi backed out and the session had to be postponed. In terms of engaging the south region Pakistan needs a forward diplomacy which creates newer pathways for

cooperative considerations. So although, this forum is seemingly becoming irrelevant – India through aggressive posturing has found alternate avenues of economic development, this includes the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation, Bangladesh-Bhutan-India-Nepal Initiative, South Asia Subregional Economic Cooperation none of which has Pakistan as a member. This requires immediate regional introspection through an economic lens by Islamabad's decision-makers.

Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India Gas Pipeline (TAPI) and CASA-1000

In December 2015, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif along with leaders of Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India inaugurated the gas pipeline in the Karakum desert. Turkmenistan expects the project to be completed by 2018. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) is the facilitator and coordinator for the project as it covers one of its strands under the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) Programme[33] which is the regional cooperation and integration, country partners include; Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, People's Republic of China, Pakistan, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan - along with Multilateral Institution Partners which include; Asian Development Bank (ADB), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Islamic Development Bank (IDB), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and World Bank.The Strategic Framework for the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation Programme CAREC 2020 has proposed i) transport corridors, ii) building corridor nodes and iii) linking corridor nodes. This framework helps in securing country members of CAREC in rebalancing of trade and investment flows in the next decade.[34]The CAREC programme also covers CASA-1000; which is part of realizing the Central Asia-South Asia Regional Electricity Market (CASAREM) – supported by the World Bank, Islamic Development Bank, USAID, US State Department, DFID, AusAID; amongst other donor communities. The opening ceremony for CASA-1000 scheduled to be held in May will strengthen the relations between Tajikistan and Pakistan.[35]

Asia belongs to the world. For Asia to move towards a community of common destiny and embrace a new future, it has to follow the world trend and seek progress and development in tandem with that of the world. – Chinese President Xi Jinping

(This keynote address was delivered by President Jinping at the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference 2015.[36])

Having learnt newer lessons and having lived through the glories of an imagined past ignoring to honour life's aspiration; **Pakistan is on a path to become a somewhat better version of itself but through serious efforts at self-improvement over a long period of time.** Pakistan will emerge as a strong state-nations despite all its domestic limitations; according to some estimates Pakistan's external debt in 2018 will be around $85 billion.[37]The country needs an economic security doctrine for near to medium futures; which includes Pakistan's top five most problematic areas for economic activities, top five most important progressing areas or sectors; and the expected share in the global economic activities - an approach that position's the country as an economic and intellectual power hub for the world, contributing into global policy development and agendas' setting. This will happen with a stable political system that can evolve itself to implement structural reforms in a short-timeframe that is able to create and establish inherent priorities rather than be seen as being dictated by 'others'. Standard & Poor's warn that limited transparency and governance, corruption, nepotism and lack of adequate data would undermine the effectiveness of Pakistan's policymaking and political institutions; this would have a negative influence on the country's fiscal performance. The sovereign opportunity lies in the local context.[38]At the political level the priority here is therefore for the country to create more provinces on the grounds of improving the state and conditions of the people of Pakistan if it were ever to navigate through uncertainties. The rhetoric needs to be categorically isolated from genuine human needs.

The visibility and impact of tremendous global developments can be lost to the country's internal dynamics as they are tied intrinsically to the regional progress; a brief summary of which can be viewed across two verticalsi) human security ii) governance -

even though both can also be seen as an interwoven paradigm but for the sake of future generations we require a broad but a holistic, yet a neat construct to structure a renewed understanding and not struggle with the burden of past faux pas.

"…to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting the fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situation. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity." This concept defined by the Commission on Human Security is fundamentally a reflect of state's promise and commitment to its people enshrined also within the constitution of Pakistan. Five overarching contours further elaborate on the concept: i) people-centred ii) multi-sectoral iii) comprehensive iv) context specific and v) prevention-oriented.

Types of Security Threats Based on the UNDP Human Development Report of 1994

Type of Security	**Examples of Main Threats**
Economic Security	Persistent poverty, unemployment
Food Security	Hunger, Famine
Health Security	Deadly infectious disease, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic healthcare
Environmental Security	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters, Pollution
Personal Security	Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labor
Community Security	Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity-based tensions
Political Security	Political repression, human rights abuses

The table above perfectly summarizes a futures discourse to a nation's well-being and progress. The priorities of the governments and the state institutions in years to come will be required to function in a highly uncertain and challenging environment, it will

be a litmus test of political pragmatism. The next generation of the leadership should be in a position to gauge whether in the next couple of decades as to 'how happy are the people of Pakistan'. 'Survival' will predominately feature as the big question both as a nation and a state over the next decade. This mode of existence clubbed with an expectation that things will improve with the passage of time if the people patiently bear with the existing systems will be disastrous. Pakistan missing out on the very crucial millennium development goals[39], is now advancing and modifying its obligation around the sustainable development goals within the Vision 2025 document.[40]It is promising to see the vision document go a little further than 2025 and determine that the ultimate destination is to see Pakistan among the ten largest economies of the world by 2047 – the centennial year of the country's independence.

> *"The cardinal responsibility of leadership is to identify the dominant contradiction at each point of the historical process and work out a central line to resolve it."* Mao Zedong[41]

To reap benefits of regional socio-economic connectivity it is absolutely essential for the Government to leverage from these developments and be seen as an efficient state caring for its own people, addressing all the elements of human security. It needs to remain in a state of preparedness with an effective local government that ensures the growth of population is met with equal opportunities and rights. As a result of which the quality of life will have to be improved. According to the World Bank's Poverty for 2014, 21.04 per cent of population in Pakistan lives below the poverty line if the baseline is $1.25 per day; but if the line is raised to $2 than almost 60.19 per cent of the population falls below the poverty line.[42]

The continuity and strengthening of functional democratic and state institutions; without military or other forces appearing to derail it would be in the greater interest of the people of Pakistan. This would require humility and a certain level of comprehension of the vastness and darkness of the region's history and the fragility of state formations in this part of the world. A futures trust-based approach towards the country's history will help create a discourse based on a value-system which shapes an identity of a state-nations.

"Yes, they [Politicians] were guilty of many misdeeds of omission and commission; but there is one fundamental point in which, I have a feeling, they were rather sinned against than sinning. That is, they [Politicians] were given a system of government totally unsuited to the temper and climate of the country". – Muhammad Ayub Khan[43]

The leading indicator that will impact the most important strategic decisions affecting regional integration, fuelling dissatisfaction and a sense of restlessness amongst the population at an alarming rate is bad or poor governance – this will determine the decline in the states ability to govern, various government programmes will neither be prescriptive nor anticipatory; due to undermining of the institutional norms and principles leading to corruption, violation of law and order, human rights abuse. To compliment the breadth and scope of the regional dimensions, the future of Pakistan's governance rests on a wise leadership which focuses on building state capacity. Pakistan over the last 60 years have tried to create an Islamic identity for itself and has professed to give Islam a pre-eminent position in its politics and constitutional make up. This identity has been followed at the cost of many other things in national life e.g. ignoring the plurality of its populace and focus on well-being of its people. This identity has resulted in all types of complications for the state and its governance. If the current state of governance continues, and the political parties themselves do not become democratic within, then Pakistan virtually is futureless. Though there is no threat to the territorial security of Pakistan, but the country's level of preparedness needs to move from participatory to anticipatory, there is a looming likelihood of it descending into a chaotic situation if the administrative system fails. In the near future, Pakistan needs to build institutional capacity towards a modern democratic state; learning from countries like China and Singapore where even authoritarian regimes do not face the question of legitimacy as they continue delivering to their people. Pakistan does not have an image problem, it has governance issues. Institutions need to become futures-centricso challenges can be foreseen and mitigated, impact of which makes people feel protected rather than insecure.

The National Action Plan[44] has laid the foundations for Pakistan to fight terrorism and curtail any fatal events that may lead to

specific footprints to the country; but this ties in very intrinsically as to whether those at the helm of affairs are serious about a system of governance devoid of cronyism, nepotism, and community of preference. The state capacity needs to be strengthened in both absolute terms and relative to endure future challenges in the long-term. Pakistan's political corridors need to take in to consideration varied advices giving them an audience at all the appropriate levels. Media has become that avenue, the latitude of which needs to broaden. This should be modified to a limited extent through extraordinarily wise decision-making and institution-building as it happened during British colonial rule.

An increasing population and inadequate health facilities in decades to come will further put the systems of governance under tremendous stress, this internal discord will not aide the decision-makers to track the state of progress of the nation in terms of the public service delivery. The trends that would contribute to the strain will include but not be limited to: poor law and order situation, failure of the economy to serve the national aspirations, mass migration due to impact of climate change and poor urban-rural planning. This political order will be challenged over the next decade. The clarity of where the nation is and headed should be at the core institutional decision-making process if Pakistan decides to become antifragile[45]. Developed and effective institutions and governance will facilitate economic growth, create food and water balance, resulting in a strong federation.

Improving and strengthening institutions will set the direction right for other things to follow. Although this would be an on-going process for quite some time to come, the leadership needs to have the foresight as to what is really out there. Learning from Malaysia and Singapore is a starting point. Pakistan must focus on building new alliances. Pakistan must be the focal country to bring about unity within the Muslim Ummah. The Iranian Ambassador Mehdi Honardoost expressed confidence in Pakistan's decision to becoming a part of 34-nation military coalition against global terrorism.[46] Pakistan signed an agreement with Russia to purchase MI-35 'Hind' attack helicopters; this comes as Moscow earlier uplifted arms sanctions along with renewed talks on investment in the $2 billion north-south gas pipeline project carrying liquefied

natural gas from Karachi to Lahore. To facilitate the bilateral trade the Russian Ambassador revealed that the Government of Pakistan was ready to set-up a branch of National Bank in Moscow.[47]Pakistan must cultivate strong economic, diplomatic, militaristic, and regional ties with immediate neighbours along with Russia. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization provides that unique impetus for Islamabad to gradually move in a direction that would encourage the region's leadership to build state capability in addressing most pressing internal challenges; this cannot happen in isolation nor without the regional players supporting one another.

At the state-level, the signals sent out by the political and the military leadership alike need to be in-synched - unlike how it has been in the past which has drastically affected Pakistan's global position. Pakistan's foreign policies have to established, become proactive and engaging beyond immediate allies. Anything other than West is Asia. The leadership needs to understand the shift of globalisation from being west-centric to east-driven. This comprehension should trigger resolving outstanding disputes and conflicts capturing people's imagination with a greater sense of a strong connectivity both in terms of its physicality in nature as well as in gaining from dividends shaped as result of developing inherent capacities embedded in local context driving the regional economic cooperation.

Unless, the state truly believes and projects a strong sense of commitment towards the responsibility – accountability arc, nothing will change.

An observation made by one of the interviewee was, 'who will bell the cat?'.Suggesting that the reform has to be ultra-nationalist for a period of 15 years to undo to be able to redo- it will take action that requires tough decisions so that the 'reset' button can be applied successfully for a system refresh- one that can yield desired collective results to improve governance. For example, a complete overhauling of the Political System and Order- that in turn results in policy level reforms and adjustments to steer the nation to the right course of action and direction. Essentially, a change in perception and reality- a radical and swift departure of the wrongs of the past and by way of forming a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to

address all facets and aspects of national life, ideally a departure from the existing Parliamentary form of Government to Presidential form of Government - fixing of Electoral system and encouraging a new breed of technocrats to enter the realm of politics and bureaucracy, to craft and develop a hybrid form of political order to replace democracy up until a time the literacy rate of the nation can justify democracy. Meaning thereby in order to evolve in to a democracy it is therefore important for the nation to have the ability to make educated decisions and be aware of the choices available. This discontent largely prevails in the society's educated elite. There is a failure of recognition of different communities as to how they are contributing to the solution rather than becoming a problem themselves. However, in order to address internal dynamics the Government of Pakistan must focus on:

- Improving accountability mechanisms
- Transforming outcomes into impacts
- Communicating success
- Social development
- Learning opportunities for the under-privileged
- Constitutional awareness amongst masses
- Institutional Development
- Private sector engagement
- Social protection programmes and mechanisms
- Engaging the Next Generation
- Knowledge creation and transfer
- Enabling economic environment

Pakistan Turns 120: The Youth Perspective

There is negligible focus on the post 9/11 generation.

In the future, it is expected, that the majority of the population are augmented geniuses, in the self-actualization economy. The prerequisites for this are advancement in world international affairs and adoption of new technologies allowing coping with governance, climate change and its repercussions. These should go together with tapping in to demographic growth in Pakistan and stability in the economic environment. Pakistan needs to develop regional clusters

on Science, Technology and Innovation around its core strength and what it can offer to the world. Decisions by the leadership leading to economic disparities are going to be one of the main drivers of frustration amongst the young people leading to radicalisation. Pakistan will be free, progressive and prosperous if the current leadership acts as an enabler that; instils intrinsic pride as a nation, moves towards true progress of the federation, has decided meritocracy over dynastic politics, creates a self-reliant economy, implements Articles 8 to 28 of the constitution in its true spirit. A state that facilitates and introduces economic activities and opportunities aptly flanked with justice and social equality and principles of meritocracy free from all forms of corruption (moral or financial).

The youth of Pakistan play an effective role in policymaking and implementation in matters related to governance. They are much closer to the local realities and have a substantive influence on social media. The views mostly reflect an element of unhappiness with the present state of affairs. Making them an integral part of policymaking post 18th amendment can have transformational impact on the country's governance at the provincial and district levels. Millennials born in the 80's and early 90's are generations that largely have a rather utopian than a dystopian view of the future despite everyday challenges. In the information age, this is the generation which is not only creative, but is also able to imagine a long-term future. However, barriers they confront include; inequality, digital gap, climate change, poor quality education, corruption, nepotism.

Insight from the youth should be at the center of every policy decision; they are critical forces that have an impact and influence on trends and patterns. The aspirations of a young Pakistan cannot be overlooked for short-terms gains. The millennials will play a vital role in the coming elections. In 2013, the Elections Commission of Pakistan had given an 25.76 million of registered voters to be between the age group of 18-29.[48] The younger generation is far from traditional politics and are seen to be pinning their hope on a system which presents a 21st century form of good governance; where trust plays an integral role when it comes to justices, rights and equal economic opportunities. As Pakistan opens its doors to the

region and the world as a whole –the country is heading in the right direction but as it does, it still lacks an effective local government system. The youth needs to participate in the process of creating preferred futures; that frames an identity and cultivates inspiration which converges into a formidable force to be reckoned with. They would be part of the political development and cultural formation; as they manifest, ambitions may crystalize in to a newer form of politics that connects governance to public purpose[49], resilience can be the source for good governance long desired yet elusive.

> *"As a society, we are entering uncharted territory, a new world in which governments, business leaders, the scientific community and citizen need to work together to define the paths that direct these technologies (*future disruptions*) at improving human condition and minimizing the risks" – Marc Benioff Chairman and CEO Salesforce*

The youth has many different stories, they have access to platforms where they share their observations and views. Their commitment to self-development shifting from the traditional education/teaching systems is defining the cultural change they wish to see in the country. It is searching for what it means to be a Pakistani and in that quest they are reclaiming the narrative. This narrative is missing from the mainstream policy discourse; that reflects on the disconnect between the democratic institutions and the youth. At the heart of transformation lies the ability to understand and create context, operationalizing them into preferred futures beyond cult worship. The youth prefers policymakers embark on people-centric policies; expecting the institutions to be fully automated and digitized in the short-term.

The world as we see today is going to be extremely different in 2100. Concept of jobs, work, employment will change, rates of unemployment may become meaningless. It is quite possible that by 2100 there will be zero employment and without substantive political or economic structural changes more than half of the world would be unemployed by 2050.[50] The world has entered the fourth industrial revolution blurring physical, digital and biological entities. This revolution will change the ways of production, management and governance.[51] According to Rohit Talwar, a renowned futurist *'The revolution will be intelligent, automated, synthesized and*

broadcast'. The Simulated Reality Singularity (TSRS) will be a preferred drug of the future. Robots, algorithms and simulations will dominate the world in the near future. The World will move away from a monetary economy to a resource-based economy.[52] Artificial Intelligence will change the way we do business, the way nations are run, most possibly become smarter than humankind. The top-down approach is no longer relevant; the public policy and decision-making systems need to become non-linear, devolve if nations are to maintain competitive advantage. There is already an immense sense of consciousness amongst the younger generation; what is lacking is the sense of participation in reforms and development. **Engaging and collaborating with the younger generation therefore is fundamental to navigate through uncertainties.**

Policy reflections:[53]

- Policymakers need to recognize that there is a cultural sea-change (paradigm shift) occurring, namely, popular disenchantment with the dominant materialist worldview that grounds Western culture. Youth are part of this desire to see ethical and spiritual values become central to policy and action in all spheres of life
- There is not one future but a range of alternative futures. Public policy-educational policy, employment policy, cultural policy-needs to explore the full range of alternative futures. This means opening up the future, not closing it.
- Youth desires futures based on truths. Can Pakistan create a nation that incorporates integrity and authenticity? If not, of what use are the futures Pakistan is creating?

The Worldview of Pakistan

The Worldview of Pakistan[54] is quite similar to what few Pakistani usually subscribe to; which is divided into what is expected of the country across two systems level thinking: one is the 'person' and the other is the 'social'. The notions are validated usually using 'a certain-type' of historical precedent to justify a dominating narrative about the country through the language and the images or the characters confining the local context as a frustrating deviation from the global dialogue. This reflects that although

sovereign in territorial sense, it appears that Pakistan has been unable to create a forward-looking knowledge-based system in the policy-arena in over the last 68 years. Pakistan suffers from narrative trap. So therefore, much of what is written, said and done using information communication technologies are not being optimized in either times of conflict or in times of harmony. It is important to capture thoughts and ideas of people who have not physically visited Pakistan; how they project the future and what frames their contemplations. Their observations inherently helps create a matrix on factoids, tools and instruments that should provide insight to the decision-makers to build an innate capacity to recapitulate an outside view not from the spectrum to compete, but through a knowledge-base approach which has the integrity to create values; which are shared. This will help Pakistan in determining the gaps through lack of knowledge participation in the 21st Century in specific areas that improves the state of future of the country. The Worldview has been hugely western-narrative centric; which structures Pakistan as being a country that supports terrorism, has unsafe nuclear arsenals and which lacks strong democratic culture that prevents the country from becoming a secular state with a stable-inclusive-integrated society cultivating a culture of openness. So, in recent history the World looked at Pakistan through the lens of how India and its allies view the country. The trends that have shaped Pakistan's narrative in the last decade include:

- Religious extremism, ethnic discrimination, inequality
- Corporatocracy instead of true democracy
- Regional instability
- Retardation of economic development, unfair wealth distribution
- Unemployment and underemployment
- Climate Change
- Lack of mature political and institutional system
- Environmental degradation, Rise of Sea levels and Global Warming

Pakistan has shown resilience, is compassionate; but it needs a resolve. At least 80,000 Pakistanis have lost their lives in the US-led War on Terror.[55] According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2014-15 'Impact of War in Afghanistan and Ensuing Terrorism on

Pakistan's Economy', over the last 14 years direct and indirect cost incurred by the country due to incidents of terrorism amounted to $106.98 billion.

Pakistan should learn to prepare for alternative futures and learn from countries which are already doing so. The way to sustainable development is for Pakistan to fight corruption, cherish the youth, respect human responsibilities, political stability and foster Science and Technology as a key priority for state-building. In the immediate time-frame the country needs:

- Institutions across the board need to become future savvy
- Leaders equip themselves with decision-making skills defining Pakistan's role in the Futures
- Knowledge-based Intelligence Integrated System for Future Generations
- Enforce strategic-thinking and foresight mechanisms within Ministries
- Quality education framework for younger generations to prepare for their future
- Commission on the Future
- Develop State of Future Index - Pakistan[56]
- Establish a Ministry of the Future
- Cultivate public collective information system – a GFIS for Pakistan open to the people[57]
- Trans-Institution[58] as a third category of operationalizing knowledge economy
- Information Communication Technologies as means of bringing transparency in socio-political and economic systems
- Foster futures knowledge networks across nations

Conclusion

Pakistan has a narrative disorder.

In recent decades it has been categorized – de-categorized so it can fit the informed paradigm for strategic thinkers and policy interventionists.[59] Pakistan is undoubtedly a young nation; but 60 years from now it may not be as young as it is today; the country will face the challenges that stem from an aging population, urbanization, demographic shifts. It cannot replicate wisdom that will fail the local context. Pakistan is trapped in a cycle of instability with the military and the civilian political leadership destabilising each other. It is the institutional framework left behind by the British Empire which continues to provide life-support.[60]In 2015, Pakistan Foresight Initiative was launched with an aim to improve policymaking and strategic narratives on key priority areas by engaging legislators, strategists, academics, youth and the community developing shared understanding for effective implementation of decisions.[61] Pakistan needs to develop an inherent capacity to revisit assumptions, explore perceptions, elaborate future growth opportunities and risks; and what it means to generate multiple possibilities, suggesting alternate plausible scenarios in a collaborative environment. Enhancing anticipatory foresight of emerging risks and prospects examining important trends and plausible futures will improve learning achievements, and increase quality policy input and strategic outcomes – ultimately reducing the chances of policy failures.

Pakistan's future depends on the 'choices' we create today and the decisions we make for a better tomorrow but, in the 21st Century reference template we use in the public domain to create these 'choices' matter more. The tools and instruments required to create prescriptive knowledge and information management system as technological growth patterns and the social implications converge determining the shifts in security paradigms can be rationalized through efficient and effective use of technology.

The projected world population by 2100 will be 11.2 billion according to the population division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations. Globally, the number of persons

aged 60 and above is expected to more than double by 2050 and more than triple by 2100, life expectancy is projected to rise from 70 years in 2010-2015 to 77 years in 2045-2050 and eventually to 83 years in 2095-2100. Between 2015 and 2050, the top net receivers of international migrants (more than 100,000 annually) are projected to be the United States of America, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, the Russian Federation and Italy. The countries projected to have net emigration of more than 100,000 annually include India, Bangladesh, China, Pakistan and Mexico.

Pakistan's population is expected to rise to more than 360 million by 2100. A glance at the country's demographic structure and changes[62]:

Pakistan	**2015**	**2050**	**2100**
Population distribution	0-14 15-59 60+ 80+	0-14 15-59 60+ 80+	0-14 15-59 60+ 80+
Fertility	35.0 58.4 6.6 0.6	25.0 62.1 12.9 1.3	16.8 56.9 26.2 5.3
Median age (years)	22.5	30.9	41.8
Life Expectancy at birth (years)	65.9	71.3	79.0
Infant mortality rate (deaths per 1,000 live births)	63.5	31.9	9.2
Under-five mortality	78.9	39.6	11.2

Demographic changes cannot be assessed in isolation; they have to also be seen through the Lens of urbanization trends; Pakistan is projected to contribute more than 50 million of the rural population to urban settlement up to 2050. Karachi by 2030 is to house a staggering 24 million people; while Lahore 13 million.[63] Smart cities, newer provinces, drastic administrative overhaul is needed to govern the ungovernable; where the use of emerging technologies, data-driven mapping, visualization tools will play a critical role in

not only engaging Pakistan's digital generation in matters of governance, but will enhance the overall performance of the Government.

In the current circumstances, Pakistan's unemployment rate is at 8.3%[64] more than 700,000 are jobless; and as the prices of basic commodities increase due to decrease in fuel prices the consumer inflation rate has increased. Pakistan's total debt stands at Rs. 181 trillion; which means that every Pakistani owes approximate Rs. 100,000 – while millions live below the poverty line. Pakistan is ill-equipped to succeed in the emerging landscape in its local context and within the comity of nations.

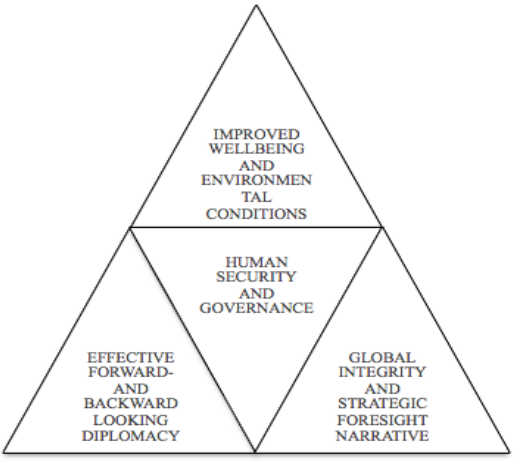
Disruption and innovation will occur; the opportunity for Pakistanit will be part of that change. Will it be the inventors of the future, or passive recipient of the words and stories of others?[65]

It is interesting to note here that many participants who hadn't undergone a futures study programme or exercise, were quite sceptical of the longer-view being over 51 years time horizon, whereas the participants of the millennium-project who are mainly futurists and the young students engaged during a futures workshop were very open and susceptible to the timeframe. This void can be eschewed.A comprehensive futures framework is therefore required to address the challenges and tap in to the opportunities and create Pakistan-versions of foresight discourse where its decisions are not past-dependent but future-oriented.

Human Security Council

It is imperative to graduate our thinking from a national security paradox to human security paradigm. But because we lack the mechanism to approach this scope, it is recommended that a council comprising of thought leaders 'custodians' from across all spectrum address Pakistan's long-term challenges. This Council should be committed to the future prosperity of the people of Pakistan; acting as a transformational catalyst for forming a Knowledge-based society converging on research and development on country's priorities; facilitating innovation and sophistication, strategic foresight, higher order thinking and deep learning. It is important to

introduce futures studies at the academic level, today it is being taught in many countries (*InstitutFutur, Free University of Berlin, Germany; International Future Studies Universidad de Denver; ICTAF - Interdisciplinary Center for Technology Analysis and Forecasting; Hawaii Research; Center for Futures Studies; Global Future Studies at California State University; Graduate Institute of Futures Studies, Fo Guan University TW; Institute of Futures Research University of Houston; The Future of Humanity Institute at the University of Oxford; The Futures; Academy, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland; Foresight and Futures Studies at Leeds Metropolitan University; The Finnish Virtual University; Frederick S. Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-range Futures; Foresight Laboratory (Sweden) Örebro University; Framtidsstudier (Universitetet if Tromso, Sweden); The Finnish Society for Futures Studies; Finland Futures Research Centre; Finland Futures Academy; Department of Innovation Studies and History of Technology; Budapest University of Technology and Economics; The Edward De Bono Institute for The Design and Development of Thinking; University of Malta; Curtin University of Technology, Curtin Business School; Department of Future Studies at the Corvinus University of Budapest (CUB); The Department of Futures Studies, Kerala Univertity, India; Centre for Scenario Planning and Future Studies, The University of Strathclyde Graduate School of Business; Centro de Estudios Estratégicospara el Desarrollo, Universidad de Guadalajara, MX; Centro de Estudios Prospectivos, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Argentina AR; Centro de Pensamiento Estratégico y Prospectiva. Universidad Externado CO; Center for the Future. Fullerton and Cypress Collegese; The Center for Futurism in Education, Ben Gurion U. of the Negev; Center for Social and Economic Strategies at the Charles University, Faculty*



of Social Sciences; Centre for Global and Futures Education, Bath Spa University; Acceleration Studies Foundation; Académiesuisse, Société pour la recherche prospective; The Australian Foresight Institute) which the think tanks in Pakistan can benefit from. The youth in Singapore show a remarkable readiness to conform to visions of the future elaborated by their ruling government; this is considered to be counterproductive. So Peoples' Action Government (PAP), rather than retarding independent thinking, imagination, and creativity, has undertaken a massive curriculum overhaul which creates more space for the students to develop independent and creative thinking skills,[66] To bring people, government and the private sector closer than ever before. This massive programme has been termed as 'Singapore 21'. The Council should facilitate development of futures ecosystems to strengthen the country's ability to look beyond the horizon and construct a strategic foresight narrative. Pakistan needs a narrative foresight[67] of its own. It needs to search for new stories linking personal and cultural, individual and archetypal, psychological and social, inner and outer with a forward-looking worldview with a new metaphor. The Council should develop a Pakistan Futures Intelligence System; which creates alternative scenarios, shows plausible links between future condition and current realities, illustrates consequences. This will not only improve governance but also contribute towards 'Anticipatory Governance'. The core value of the council should be to engage the younger generation and it should be able to integrate concerns and issues of the youth empowering them to co-create futures of their choice.

Ministry of the Future

> *"Artificial intelligence will reach human levels by around 2029. Follow that out further to, say 2045, we will have multiplied the intelligence, the human biological machine intelligence of our civilization a billion-fold"* – Ray Kurzweil, Futurist

A state's "grand strategy" is its leaders' theory and story about how to provide for its security, welfare, and identity, and that strategy has to be adjusted for changes in the context. Too rigid an approach to strategy can be counter-productive.[68] In global affairs Smart Power goes to the heart of the problem of power conversion.

This makeover is only possible if there is foresight credibility where in case of Pakistan the rise of the youth empowerment is seen in the context of power diffusion.

> *…The world is at point when power has swung more in the direction of the individual. Education sector will be both the driver and a beneficiary of the expanding middle classes. A democratic deficit is said to exist when a country's economic developmental level is more advanced than its level of governance. There is a high correlation between youth bulges and armed civil and ethnic conflict. Attributes of democracy as openness and competitiveness of executive recruitment or participation by all segments of the population in the political process are considered high risk…*[69]

The gap between the acquisition and applicability of established inherent knowledge on Pakistan is as far from the policymaking as the country is from Washington DC. As of now, unaware of future security threat possibilities there is no internationally-agreed upon legal framework to address the lone wolf (LW) phenomena.

Almost *50 countries compute national SOFI's (or something similar) to assess their future and have standing committee for the futures in national legislatures.* National foresight and decision-making can be improved. Presidents' or Prime Ministers' foresight or futures units and governments in general could be improved by:

- Creating a network of government and nongovernmental futurists on call for quick futures assessments
- Requiring a "future considerations" section in policy reporting requirements
- Adding foresight as a performance evaluation criterion for senior government officials
- Including how to connect foresight to decision-making in government training programs
- Testing proposed policies before implementation by postulating random future events of all sorts and evaluating how these might affect the policies
- Computing and publishing an annual national State of the Future Index
- Synthesizing relevant futures research for an annual state of the nation's future report
- Including 5–10 year allocations in budgets based on rolling 5–10 year SOFIs, scenarios, and strategies
- Participating in the informal long-term strategy networks to share best practices
- Establishing a permanent parliamentary "Committee for the Future," as Finland has done to provide foresight to other parliamentary committees to improve their decision-making
- Creating a collective intelligence system and connecting it to related units in government agencies and e-government systems

[Note: The Millennium-Project assists Government foresight units in developing futurist networks for fast response, require 'future considerations' section in policy reporting requirements add foresight in performance evaluation produce annual SOFI. AGAHI is a institutional partner of the Millennium-Project]

Addressing LW and (Single Individual Massively Destructive) SIMAD threat requires a complex and long-term continuous effort and cooperation of national and international authorities.[70] The thoughts of the leadership are not glocalised as it is expected to be in the 21st century.

Pakistan needs to be able to look what's lurking in the distant future. A Ministry of the Future is therefore extremely important that has the global foresight and the capacity to scan regional and industry trends across not just science and technology, but also along value and ethical systems. Strategic Foresight Units are proliferating at Government level (*Japan includes private-sector companies in the Prime Minister's long-term strategic planning unit; Prime Minister's Office of Singapore is developing an informal international network of government future strategy units; European Parliamentary Technology Assessment is a network of 18 European parliaments integrating futures into decision-making; Netherlands constitution requires a 50-year horizon for land use planning; Russian Ministries use Delphi and scenarios for foresight*). Decision support software and foresight systems are constantly improving: for example, big data analytics, simulations, collective intelligence systems, indexes and e-governance participatory systems.[71]

> *"If politics want to remain relevant and be useful to citizens, it needs to change its approach"* – Kristina Persson, Swedish Minister of the Future

The Ministry of the Future, with strategic foresight unit at the Prime Minister Office and standing committees would help politicians to think long-term. The Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull in 2015 announced '21st Century Government and a Ministry for the Future.[72] Despite opposition, Turnball's Government focuses on agility and innovation "technologies of the future".

> *"The pace of change is remarkable and we have to acknowledge that. We have to be a government…for the future."* - Malcolm Turnbull, Prime Minister of Australia

The Oxford Martin Commission for Future Generations 'In Now for the Long Term' urges the decision-makers to overcome short-

termism of modern politics.[73] The report contributes towards national and local governments, as well as international institutions to navigate through competing tensions.

There is no reason why Pakistan cannot create or re-engineer existing institutions that look beyond decades and not days; which assesses the actions society[74] can take today to shape a long-term future. The recommendation for a Human Security Council and for a Ministry of the Future come with their own set of benchmarks of excellence and an exponential degree of contextual-intellect and higher thinking order. Today, as Pakistan opens its land and seas to the world; Islamabad cannot be seen as playing catch-up. The country is heading in the right direction but as it does, it also requires institutional framework for futures which by its very nature is transcendent and dynamic.

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