



| Assessment |

Monthly Geopolitical Report: June 2025

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Scope Note

ZeroFox Intelligence is derived from a variety of sources, including—but not limited to—curated open-source accesses, vetted social media, proprietary data sources, and direct access to threat actors and groups through covert communication channels. Information relied upon to complete any report cannot always be independently verified. As such, ZeroFox applies rigorous analytic standards and tradecraft in accordance with best practices and includes caveat language and source citations to clearly identify the veracity of our Intelligence reporting and substantiate our assessments and recommendations. All sources used in this particular Intelligence product were **identified prior to 12:40 PM (EDT) on May 29, 2025**; per cyber hygiene best practices, caution is advised when clicking on any third-party links.¹

| Assessment | Monthly Geopolitical Report: June 2025

| Key Findings

- Russia is pushing a military escalation strategy in its war with Ukraine, as Western states continue to urge the two countries to end the war diplomatically.
- The Trump administration will very likely pursue alternative methods of imposing tariffs after a trade court blocked the majority of the tariffs U.S. President Donald Trump announced on April 2, 2025.
- While the situation in Gaza is unsustainable, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is likely to resist pressure to end the war with Hamas completely and instead seek alternative ways to continue the conflict at a low intensity.
- The first-ever judicial elections in Mexico will very likely harm international investment, with elected judges more likely to be perceived as being influenced by criminal groups and politics.
- Military conflict between India and Pakistan is unlikely in the short term; however, core issues remain that will manifest in hybrid forms of retaliation—like reducing shared water resources, trade bans, and cyberattacks—that risk escalating into armed conflict.

¹ Report Purpose: The purpose of this report is to provide weekly updates on significant geopolitical occurrences and logistics developments, as well as potential impacts to the global supply chain.



Europe

Russia Moves Ahead with Military Escalation as West Pursues Diplomatic De-escalation

For the first time since the early days of the conflict that began in February 2022, Russian and Ukrainian delegations held direct talks in Istanbul on May 16. Though the discussions represented a symbolic milestone, they ultimately lacked substance. The two sides agreed to the mutual exchange of 1,000 troops; however, the talks failed to produce any meaningful progress towards ending the hostilities. Ukrainian officials said the Russian delegation advanced a number of "unacceptable" demands, including territorial concessions and restrictions on Ukraine's military.² These demands underscore how Russia has maintained its maximalist war objectives throughout the conflict and adopted a strategy of seeming to engage in diplomatic processes without committing to any meaningful concessions. This strategy is likely designed to exhaust Ukrainian and Western morale and resources to exact maximum concessions, while Russia continues its attempts to advance on the battlefield.

On May 28, Russia proposed another round of talks with Ukraine in Istanbul on June 2, though as of this writing, Ukraine has not accepted Russia's invitation.³ If the two sides do meet on June 2 or another date, the talks will likely follow the same trajectory as the May 16 talks.

- **U.S. Response:** U.S. President Donald Trump hailed the May 16 discussions as a personal political victory and urged the two sides to end the conflict. After the negotiations fell apart, Trump publicly rebuked Russian President Vladimir Putin on May 25, saying Putin "has gone absolutely CRAZY."⁴ Though this statement marks a rare criticism of Putin by Trump, it does not necessarily reflect warming U.S. relations with Ukraine. In the same statement, Trump also criticized Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, saying "everything out of his [Zelensky's] mouth causes problems, I don't like it, and it better stop."⁵
- **Russian Military Offensive:** On May 28, President Zelensky warned that Russia has amassed 50,000 troops near Ukraine's northeastern Sumy Oblast and is preparing for a

² [hXXps://www.bbc\[.\]com/russian/articles/c62v7zllglyo](https://www.bbc.com/russian/articles/c62v7zllglyo)

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[hXXps://meduza\[.\]io/news/2025/05/28/rossiya-predlozhila-ukraine-provesti-vtoroy-raund-peregovorov-2-iyunya-v-stambule](https://meduza.io/news/2025/05/28/rossiya-predlozhila-ukraine-provesti-vtoroy-raund-peregovorov-2-iyunya-v-stambule)

⁴ [hXXps://truthsocial\[.\]com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114571369956761390](https://truthsocial.com/@realDonaldTrump/posts/114571369956761390)

⁵ *Ibid.*



possible summer offensive.⁶ Sumy lies across the border from Russia's Kursk Oblast, where Ukraine seized and held a large pocket of land from August 2024–March 2025.⁷ For several months, Russian officials have advocated for an incursion into Sumy to establish a buffer zone to protect Russian territory. Russia is very likely to escalate its military activities in the coming weeks, as the spring and summer typically provide more ideal conditions for ground incursions.

Poland Elections

Poland held presidential elections on May 18, though no candidate secured the 50 percent majority required to win outright in the first round. The second round of voting will now take place on June 1, between Warsaw mayor Rafal Trzaskowski of Prime Minister Donald Tusk's Civic Platform (PO) party and Karol Nawrocki of the Law and Justice (PiS) party. Trzaskowski narrowly won the first round with 31.36 percent of the vote, while Nawrocki placed second with 29.5 percent.⁸ Current polls suggest the race remains extremely close, with both candidates polling between 45–47 percent depending on the poll.⁹

- **Implications:** While the Polish president is a largely figurehead position, the President can veto legislation. The upcoming election is likely to have an immense impact on both domestic Polish politics and the European political arena. A win for Nawrocki and the conservative-nationalist PiS party would likely pose challenges for Tusk's center-left agenda. Since Tusk assumed power in 2023, he has seen numerous reforms regarding judicial policy, LGBTQ+ rights, abortion rights, and migration blocked by vetoes from outgoing PiS president Andrzej Duda. The PiS party governed most recently from 2015 to 2023 and was heavily criticized by the European Union (EU) for alleged democratic backsliding and undermining EU authority.¹⁰ A Nawrocki victory will likely signal the resurgence of another major Eurosceptic voice within Europe but will more likely operate as a block on Tusk's pro-EU reforms that make a PiS return to power in the next general elections more likely.
- **EU-Wide:** Countries across Europe are facing similar electorates. On the same day as the first round of Polish elections, both Romania and Portugal held elections. In Portugal, the Chega party, which most closely aligns with PiS, secured its best-ever finish to become the second-largest party in parliament. In Romania, a PiS-like candidate surprisingly finished second in the final round of voting after winning easily in the first round.

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⁶ [hXXps://www.themoscowtimes\[.\]com/2025/05/28/russia-amassing-50000-troops-for-sumy-offensive-zelensky-says-a89245](https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2025/05/28/russia-amassing-50000-troops-for-sumy-offensive-zelensky-says-a89245)

⁷ [hXXps://deepstatemap\[.\]live/en#6/49.4383200/32.0526800](https://deepstatemap[.]live/en#6/49.4383200/32.0526800)

⁸ [hXXps://tvpworld\[.\]com/86786377/poland-prepares-for-runoff-after-record-turnout-and-far-right-gains](https://tvpworld[.]com/86786377/poland-prepares-for-runoff-after-record-turnout-and-far-right-gains)

⁹ [hXXps://www.dw\[.\]com/en/polish-presidential-election-candidates-neck-and-neck/a-72693399](https://www.dw.com/en/polish-presidential-election-candidates-neck-and-neck/a-72693399)

¹⁰ [hXXps://europeandemocracyhub.epd\[.\]eu/the-eus-role-in-polands-democratic-turnaround/](https://europeandemocracyhub.epd[.]eu/the-eus-role-in-polands-democratic-turnaround/)



Americas

Tariff Updates

On May 28, 2025, a federal court blocked all recently announced U.S. tariffs with the exception of 25 percent national security tariffs on imported autos, steel, and aluminum.¹¹ The next day the court ruling was paused pending appeal, allowing the tariffs to at least temporarily resume, before the decision likely ends up before the Supreme Court. The blocked tariffs include the April 2 Liberation Day tariffs and the 25 percent fentanyl tariffs announced against Canada and Mexico. Liberation Day tariffs have since been temporarily lowered to 10 percent worldwide and 30 percent for China. Lawyers for the government have already appealed the decision, which states that tariffs can only be imposed by an act of Congress with certain exceptions.¹²

- Going Forward:** The Trump administration is very likely to seek alternative ways to impose these tariffs and has already appealed the tariff ruling. One possible exception could be to temporarily launch import taxes of 15 percent for 150 days on nations with which the United States runs a substantial trade deficit, known as section 122 tariff.¹³ The administration will likely also seek to reclassify some of the tariffs so they fall within a category similar to the national security tariffs that were allowed to remain in place. For example, if all the paused Liberation Day tariffs were reclassified as Section 232 tariffs (referring to the charges on steel and aluminum), then the additional 25 percent tariffs would increase the U.S. tariff rate by 7.6 percent alone, more than making up for the suspended tariffs.¹⁴
- Reduced Trade Clarity:** ZeroFox has repeatedly advised that July 8 was the next key date for global tariffs. However, President Trump recently stated more tariff rates will be announced by June, with the rest of the pause timeframe likely dedicated to appeals.¹⁵ It is unclear how the court ruling will impact bilateral negotiations related to lowering the initial Liberation Day tariffs, which were due to resume on July 9. Dozens of countries are

¹¹ [hXXps://www.cit.uscourts.gov/sites/cit/files/25-66.pdf](https://www.cit.uscourts.gov/sites/cit/files/25-66.pdf)

¹²

[hXXps://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-05-29/trump-can-offset-tariff-ruling-with-other-tools-goldman-says](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-05-29/trump-can-offset-tariff-ruling-with-other-tools-goldman-says)

¹³

[hXXps://www.euronews.com/2025/05/29/us-federal-court-blocks-trump-from-imposing-sweeping-global-tariffs](https://www.euronews.com/2025/05/29/us-federal-court-blocks-trump-from-imposing-sweeping-global-tariffs)

¹⁴

[hXXps://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-05-29/trump-can-offset-tariff-ruling-with-other-tools-goldman-says](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-05-29/trump-can-offset-tariff-ruling-with-other-tools-goldman-says)

¹⁵

[hXXps://www.politico.com/news/2025/05/16/trump-says-us-will-set-new-tariff-rates-for-countries-skirting-negotiations-00353370](https://www.politico.com/news/2025/05/16/trump-says-us-will-set-new-tariff-rates-for-countries-skirting-negotiations-00353370)



reportedly involved in talks with U.S. officials, and it is unclear if those negotiations will be suspended or continue. So far, the United States has only announced two agreements with the United Kingdom and China. For U.S. importers, this will add to the uncertainty, as they will not know what the tariff rate will be—especially as it is likely the Trump administration will announce alternative tariffs on national security grounds, which are actually higher than the reciprocal tariffs.

Bolivia: Supporters of Former President Evo Morales Threaten Indefinite Protests Through August Elections

Supporters of former President Evo Morales began indefinite protests on May 26, 2025, in support of Morales' candidacy ahead of the August presidential elections.¹⁶ Morales' ban from the election was confirmed on May 20,¹⁷ but he continues to argue he should be eligible to run. Morales has been holed up in his power base of Cochabamba due to an arrest warrant. His supporters have staged numerous disruptive protests in recent months; they previously held deeply destabilizing protests after Morales won re-election in 2019 but then fled the country following allegations of fraud that ultimately overturned the election. Morales' supporters are battle-hardened protesters capable of causing major disruptions for weeks at a time. Previous protests have taken the form of road blockages and sit-ins that severed supply chains across the country.¹⁸ Expect protests in Cochabamba and the capital, La Paz, as well as a potential blockade of the economic hub of Santa Cruz. On the fourth day of the latest round of protests, May 29, dozens of Morales supporters were arrested following violent clashes with security forces.¹⁹

- **Electoral Candidates:** Even if Morales is allowed to run, he is unlikely to win. While he was a popular president and maintains a large supporter base, his actions since the disputed 2019 elections have caused fissures with the ruling Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS) party he founded. Current President Luis Arce is a former Morales ally but has expelled Morales from MAS, and the two have become adversaries. On May 18, the MAS party nominated Interior Minister Eduardo del Castillo as its presidential candidate after President Arce declined to run for re-election. Nominating the Interior Minister is likely a strategic choice, because that is the government ministry that deals with internal protests, like the ones

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[hXXps://www.infobae\[.\]com/america/america-latina/2025/05/23/tension-en-bolivia-seguidores-de-evo-morales-convocaron-a-movilizaciones-para-exigir-la-renuncia-de-luis-arce/](https://www.infobae.com/america/america-latina/2025/05/23/tension-en-bolivia-seguidores-de-evo-morales-convocaron-a-movilizaciones-para-exigir-la-renuncia-de-luis-arce/)

¹⁷

[hXXps://apnews\[.\]com/article/bolivia-elections-evo-morales-president-arce-courts-516b20a0f5fbcfb48aedd1a1f68ble27](https://apnews.com/article/bolivia-elections-evo-morales-president-arce-courts-516b20a0f5fbcfb48aedd1a1f68ble27)

¹⁸ [hXXps://www.bbc\[.\]com/news/world-latin-america-50178188](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-50178188)

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[hXXps://www.infobae\[.\]com/america/america-latina/2025/05/30/seguidores-de-evo-morales-chocaron-con-la-policia-en-la-paz-en-el-cuarto-dia-de-movilizaciones-para-reclamar-su-candidatura-presidencial/](https://www.infobae.com/america/america-latina/2025/05/30/seguidores-de-evo-morales-chocaron-con-la-policia-en-la-paz-en-el-cuarto-dia-de-movilizaciones-para-reclamar-su-candidatura-presidencial/)



Morales supporters are holding. The internal fighting between MAS members will likely dampen turnout for Castillo or an unlikely Morales candidacy. Senate President Andronico Rodríguez, a MAS member with ties to Morales, is also being pushed as a unity candidate.²⁰

- **Economic and Political Crisis:** Arce has decided not to run because of his deep unpopularity. Morales is a key factor, as his strongest supporters view Arce as a traitor. While an economic crisis that has led to periods of dollar and fuel shortages has played the biggest role in Arce's decision, it is unclear if the opposition could mount a credible electoral challenge. Under Arce, key opposition leaders have been imprisoned—including Jeanine Anez, who served as interim president for a year after the 2019 elections, and Luis Fernando Camacho, who played a key role in anti-Morales protests.²¹ Without a key frontrunner, the election campaign will likely be tense, with a roughly even chance of a major act of violence or protests.

Mexico: Controversial Judicial Elections on June 1, 2025

On June 1, 2025, Mexico will hold elections for 880 judges following a controversial judicial reform passed in 2024. The reform mandates that all judges, including those on the Supreme Court and magistrates in Mexico, be elected rather than appointed.²² Previously, the president nominated Supreme Court justices, and the Senate elected them; critics argue this is more democratic because it requires the executive to negotiate with the opposition. Those against the reform mandate also argue electing judges will simply see voters elect judges from their preferred political party, which is usually the case in the few countries where judges are elected. In Mexico specifically, there are concerns that candidates with links to drug cartels could end up becoming judges.²³

- **Economic Implications:** When the judicial reforms were initially proposed, there were large protests.²⁴ However, the reforms were proposed by popular outgoing President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO) and remain widely supported. AMLO's successor, Claudia Sheinbaum, is even more popular, and it is very likely most elected judges will be members of her Morena party. If Morena judges control the judiciary, that will give the Morena party

²⁰

[hXXps://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-05-04/bolivia-senate-president-rodriguez-plans-to-run-for-president](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2025-05-04/bolivia-senate-president-rodriguez-plans-to-run-for-president)

²¹ [hXXps://www.pagina12.com.ar/774390-bolivia-comienza-el-juicio-a-anez-y-camacho](https://www.pagina12.com.ar/774390-bolivia-comienza-el-juicio-a-anez-y-camacho)

²²

[hXXps://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2025/05/22/ahead-of-mexicos-first-ever-judicial-elections-most-mexicans-approve-of-the-law-that-implemented-them/](https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2025/05/22/ahead-of-mexicos-first-ever-judicial-elections-most-mexicans-approve-of-the-law-that-implemented-them/)

²³ [hXXps://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/mexicos-2024-judicial-reform-politicization-justice](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/mexicos-2024-judicial-reform-politicization-justice)

²⁴

[hXXps://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/mexican-protesters-storm-senate-chamber-before-approval-of-controversial-judicial-overhaul](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/mexican-protesters-storm-senate-chamber-before-approval-of-controversial-judicial-overhaul)



(which also has a majority in the Senate) control of all three branches of government. This will likely harm international investment, with investors concerned their projects will be impacted by a lack of judicial independence—especially if their plans go against the interests of the Morena party, which has called for state ownership of certain industries like energy and utilities.

| Middle East

Gaza Offensive Triggers International Condemnation as Domestic Support Declines

On May 16, 2025, the Israeli military launched Operation Gideon's Chariots, a major offensive in the Gaza Strip. According to Israeli officials, the operation is aimed at eradicating Hamas' remaining forces in the enclave, while also pressuring the group to agree to release additional hostages.²⁵²⁶ As part of the campaign, Israeli troops intend to occupy 75 percent of Gaza "within two months," forcing the territory's entire civilian population into three isolated zones: Gaza City, central refugee camps, and al-Mawasi.²⁷ The offensive has been condemned by influential members of the international community; on May 19, 2025, France, Canada, and the United Kingdom (UK) released a joint statement calling for a halt to the offensive and threatening sanctions against Israel. On the same day, the UK announced sanctions against several Israeli entities and individuals associated with the country's extremist settler movement.²⁸²⁹ The United Nations (UN) human rights chief, Volker Türk, also described the campaign as "tantamount to ethnic cleansing."³⁰

Amid the backdrop of the escalating violence, the U.S. Special Envoy to the Middle East, Steve Witkoff, presented an approximately two-month ceasefire proposal that would see half the remaining hostages freed, along with the bodies of half of those who have died, in exchange for hundreds of Palestinian prisoners. The agreement also stipulates that the United States would ensure that Israel participates in negotiations to end the conflict during the ceasefire period. Following the proposal, several contradictory reports have emerged in recent days. Some claim

²⁵ [hXXps://www.cbsnews\[.\]com/news/israel-hamas-gaza-military-offensive-food-crisis/](https://www.cbsnews.com/news/israel-hamas-gaza-military-offensive-food-crisis/)

²⁶ [hXXps://www.bbc\[.\]com/news/articles/cwy04km1zk0o](https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cwy04km1zk0o)

²⁷

[hXXps://www.haaretz\[.\]com/israel-news/2025-05-25/ty-article/.premium/idf-75-of-gaza-to-be-seized-in-two-months-2-million-civilians-to-be-put-in-three-zones/00000197-0875-dc94-ab97-0e7dc5f00000](https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2025-05-25/ty-article/.premium/idf-75-of-gaza-to-be-seized-in-two-months-2-million-civilians-to-be-put-in-three-zones/00000197-0875-dc94-ab97-0e7dc5f00000)

²⁸

[hXXps://www.gov\[.\]uk/government/news/joint-statement-from-the-leaders-of-the-united-kingdom-france-and-canada-on-the-situation-in-gaza-and-the-west-bank](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/joint-statement-from-the-leaders-of-the-united-kingdom-france-and-canada-on-the-situation-in-gaza-and-the-west-bank)

²⁹ [hXXps://www.gov\[.\]uk/government/news/uk-sanctions-hit-west-bank-violence-network](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-sanctions-hit-west-bank-violence-network)

³⁰ [hXXps://www.theguardian\[.\]com/world/2025/may/17/israel-gaza-ethnic-cleansing-palestinian-death-toll](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2025/may/17/israel-gaza-ethnic-cleansing-palestinian-death-toll)



that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu rejected the agreement, while others assert that Hamas has refused to accept the proposal.³¹³²³³

- **Looking Forward:** The Netanyahu government is unlikely to accept any ceasefire agreement without significant pressure from the Trump administration. However, if that does come to pass, it is unlikely that Netanyahu would agree to negotiate a permanent end to the war, as he likely continues to see the perpetuation of the conflict as necessary to his political survival.³⁴ Nonetheless, it should be noted that domestic opposition to the war is rising. According to recent survey data, 55 percent of Israelis now believe that "staying in power" is Netanyahu's main motivation for the continuation of war.³⁵ Furthermore, on May 21, 2025 former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert stated that Israel's military actions in Gaza are "very close to a war crime" and that the conflict is "without purpose," suggesting a shift in elite opinion as well.³⁶
- **Disagreements with United States over Iran Nuclear Talks:** Tension has risen in recent weeks between Prime Minister Netanyahu and President Trump as the latter pursues nuclear talks with Iran. American and Iranian negotiators have reported good progress toward a potential agreement, though major obstacles remain. Both sides reported modest progress during the fifth round of talks on May 23.³⁷ While the sixth round has not yet been announced, negotiators have largely been sticking to a one to two-week cadence, with recent rounds not announced until one to two days beforehand. Further talks are very likely in June 2025.

³¹ [hXXps://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-rejects-latest-proposed-hostage-ceasefire-deal-senior-official-says/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-rejects-latest-proposed-hostage-ceasefire-deal-senior-official-says/)

³² [hXXps://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-855521](https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-855521)

³³

[hXXps://www.timesofisrael.com/witkoff-israel-prepared-to-accept-temporary-ceasefire-hamas-should-do-the-same/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/witkoff-israel-prepared-to-accept-temporary-ceasefire-hamas-should-do-the-same/)

³⁴

[hXXps://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2025/05/27/triple-trouble-for-israel-as-its-furious-allies-bail](https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2025/05/27/triple-trouble-for-israel-as-its-furious-allies-bail)

³⁵

[hXXps://www.timesofisrael.com/poll-most-israelis-think-pm-cares-more-about-holding-power-than-winning-war-freeing-hostages/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/poll-most-israelis-think-pm-cares-more-about-holding-power-than-winning-war-freeing-hostages/)

³⁶ [hXXps://time.com/7286958/israel-gaza-aid-babies-netanyahu-airstrikes/](https://time.com/7286958/israel-gaza-aid-babies-netanyahu-airstrikes/)

³⁷

[hXXps://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-white-house-iran-nuclear-program-d5bbd6659ef62eaf9a57bd8b7a9b7952](https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-white-house-iran-nuclear-program-d5bbd6659ef62eaf9a57bd8b7a9b7952)



| Asia

South Korea: Snap Presidential Elections on June 3, 2025

On June 3, 2025, South Korea will hold snap presidential elections following the impeachment and removal of former President Yoon Suk-yeol in April 2025 stemming from Yoon's December 2024 declaration of martial law.³⁸ The election will primarily be a contest between the main opposition Democratic Party of Korea (DPK) and the ruling People Power Party (PPP), with the DPK's Lee Jae-myung currently holding a considerable lead. The conservative PPP is struggling to regroup after Yoon's ouster; the party's presidential nominee is Kim Moon-soo, a former labor minister.³⁹ However, internal divisions have been evident, with attempts to form a unified conservative ticket failing.

DPK already holds a parliamentary majority, which it used to stifle Yoon's reforms, prompting him to declare martial law to try and force through new laws. Since Yoon's declaration of martial law, South Korea has been deeply polarized, with three acting presidents rotating through office.

- **Looking Forward:** South Korea's relations with the United States on both trade and security are likely to be major campaign issues. Under Yoon, South Korea moved closer to the United States—including agreeing to mend ties with its historic geopolitical adversary, Japan, in order to better combat mutual adversaries like China and North Korea. However, U.S. tariffs threaten South Korea's export-dependent economy, and Yoon's actions have made many question the utility of closer military ties with the United States and Japan.⁴⁰

India-Pakistan Tensions Simmer, but Core Issues Remain

Tensions between India and Pakistan, which flared following a terrorist attack on April 22 that killed approximately 26 people in the long-disputed region of Kashmir,⁴¹ are likely to simmer in the short term. However, the core issues between the two countries remain unresolved, and further military conflict is likely in the long term. In the meantime, India is likely to pursue alternative methods of retaliation that harm Pakistan's economy and isolate it diplomatically. Pakistan, in turn, will very likely pursue alternative alliances and trade partners.

- **India's Military Doctrine Going Forward:** When agreeing to end the latest military conflict, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi highlighted three policies for India's security doctrine: 1) Any terrorist attack on India will be met with a military response; 2) India will not tolerate or back down in the event Pakistan threatens to use nuclear weapons; and 3) India will

³⁸ [hXXps://www.yna\[.\]co\[.\]kr/election2025/index](https://www.yna[.]co[.]kr/election2025/index)

³⁹ [hXXps://www.yna\[.\]co\[.\]kr/view/AKR20250527169200001](https://www.yna[.]co[.]kr/view/AKR20250527169200001)

⁴⁰ [hXXps://imnews.imbc\[.\]com/more/search/](https://imnews.imbc[.]com/more/search/)

⁴¹ [hXXps://www.pib\[.\]gov\[.\]in/PressReleasePage.aspx](https://www.pib[.]gov[.]in/PressReleasePage.aspx)



attribute any attack originating from Pakistan to the Pakistani government, even if it was planned and carried out by terrorists with no identifiable links to the Pakistani government.⁴² These three policies will very likely determine India's response to any future terror attacks coming from Pakistan. With its latest military operations, India has established a military precedent that it will target government and military infrastructure in response to terror attacks originating from Pakistan. This is in contrast to previous episodes of conflict, when India responded on a smaller scale and only targeted terrorist infrastructure. Having already struck terrorist headquarters like Muridke and Bahawalpur, India is likely to target unconventional sites within Pakistan during future strikes, including intelligence, military, or urban locations.

- **Non-Military Retaliation:** India has begun using a number of non-military responses to keep pressure on Pakistan. India put the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) with Pakistan in abeyance in the immediate aftermath of the Pahalgam terror attack, stopping short of completely abandoning it.⁴³ India is very likely to use the IWT as a weapon of conflict—or at least leverage it—in future relations with Pakistan. There is a roughly even chance that the IWT will become the cause of new escalations that include military actions, as Islamabad has already deemed blocking or diverting water from this basin to be an act of war.⁴⁴

⁴² [hXXps://www.pib\[.\]gov\[.\]in/PressReleaseDetailm.aspx?PRID=2128270](https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleaseDetailm.aspx?PRID=2128270)

⁴³

[hXXp://thehindu\[.\]com/news/national/indus-waters-treaty-will-remain-in-abeyance-till-pakistan-stops-cross-border-terrorism-india/article69606751.ece](https://thehindu[.]com/news/national/indus-waters-treaty-will-remain-in-abeyance-till-pakistan-stops-cross-border-terrorism-india/article69606751.ece)

⁴⁴

[hXXps://www.abc\[.\]net\[.\]au/news/2025-04-25/pakistan-warns-india-indus-water-treaty-changes-act-of-war/105214372](https://www.abc[.]net[.]au/news/2025-04-25/pakistan-warns-india-indus-water-treaty-changes-act-of-war/105214372)



Appendix A: Traffic Light Protocol for Information Dissemination

	Red	Amber
WHEN SHOULD IT BE USED?	Sources may use TLP:RED when information cannot be effectively acted upon by additional parties and could lead to impacts on a party's privacy, reputation, or operations if misused.	Sources may use TLP:AMBER when information requires support to be effectively acted upon but carries risks to privacy, reputation, or operations if shared outside of the organizations involved.
HOW MAY IT BE SHARED?	Recipients may NOT share TLP:RED with any parties outside of the specific exchange, meeting, or conversation in which it is originally disclosed.	Recipients may ONLY share TLP:AMBER information with members of their own organization and its clients, but only on a need-to-know basis to protect their organization and its clients and prevent further harm. Note that TLP:AMBER+STRICT restricts sharing to the organization only.
	Green	Clear
WHEN SHOULD IT BE USED?	Sources may use TLP:GREEN when information is useful for the awareness of all participating organizations, as well as with peers within the broader community or sector.	Sources may use TLP:CLEAR when information carries minimal or no risk of misuse in accordance with applicable rules and procedures for public release.
HOW MAY IT BE SHARED?	Recipients may share TLP:GREEN information with peers and partner organizations within their sector or community but not via publicly accessible channels.	Recipients may share TLP:CLEAR information without restriction, subject to copyright controls.



Appendix B: ZeroFox Intelligence Probability Scale

All ZeroFox intelligence products leverage probabilistic assessment language in analytic judgments. Qualitative statements used in these judgments refer to associated probability ranges, which state the likelihood of occurrence of an event or development. Ranges are used to avoid a false impression of accuracy. This scale is a standard that aligns with how readers should interpret such terms.

Almost No Chance	Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Roughly Even Chance	Likely	Very Likely	Almost Certain
1-5%	5-20%	20-45%	45-55%	55-80%	80-95%	95-99%

