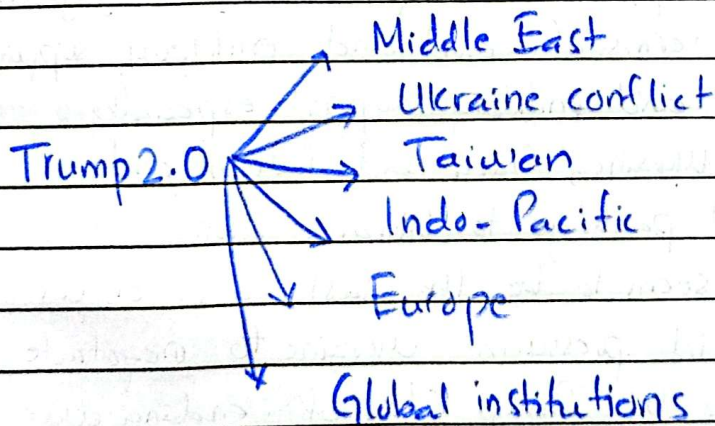


Analyse the impacts of Donald Trump Second term on global geopolitics

Trump 2.0: Victory of Populism

Probably one of the most significant election result in the year of elections 2024 was the victory of Donald Trump. Despite his controversial statements, twitter politics and ongoing cases in courts his victory is an evidence of the prevalence of messiah complex in the nation which has acted the global sheriff since 1945. Trump's victory based on his America First doctrine appeals to the masses but will have an unprecedented impact on the global affairs from west to the other corner in the East.

Trumpism and the Diplomatic waves



The era of Trump 2.0 will have significant reverberations on the global diplomatic stage.

a) Middle East

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The Trump 2 era from 2016 to 2020 was important because of two significant events. Trump withdrew from the JCPOA with Iran and presented his deal of the century. These two acts along with his constant threatening statements of Syrian Bashar al-Assad crossing the red lines were evidences of how Trump does not want to get embroiled in the Middle Eastern conflict. Yet again, with the ongoing blood bath in Middle East, Trump will try to keep US out from the political vacuum of Syria, Lebanon and other states. However, before he would support Israel and pressurize normalization of ties in return for a ceasefire. The peace solution as analyzed by scholars would be one state solution favoring a single state much to the dismay but expectations of Palestinians.

b) Fate of Russia, Ukraine and US Aid

Given the priorities of Trump, he would prefer US disengagement from Ukraine in the terms of aid and military support. The recent aid packages and military support especially the \$94 Bn aid to Ukraine, Gaza and Taiwan and \$500mn military aid package to Ukraine alone in the Biden administration seem to be the last acts of US involvement. Trump would pressurize Ukraine to negotiate and this was evidence by Trump idea of ending war on the promise of no NATO membership for Ukraine for the next 25 years. However this deferral strategy didnot work for Russia. As of recent, Trump has announced an upcoming meeting with Putin and overall sympathized with Russian stance of NATO on footsteps.

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c) Taiwan

With the era of Trump 2.0, Taiwan is definitely in uncertainty due to the unpredictable strategies of Trump. With his recent statements on Taiwan to pay more for the security assistance and allegations of stealing US chip business, Taiwan is left in **ambiguity** as reported by various scholars. Taiwan expects strict export regulations and repercussions on its silicon shield.

d) Indo-Pacific

Trump policy in the Indo-Pacific region will likely remain diverse. With respect to China, Trump 2.0 will be similar if not worse than Trump 1.0 due to his **China hawk** secretaries some of which have been severe critics of China. With respect to India, there seems to be cooperation like before to counter China and maximize gains for both countries.

North Korea will likely approach Trump again for a detente.

Other countries like **Japan** and **Australia** will now be expected to 'do more' for their security and gains rather than solely rely on US.

e) Europe

The recent Trump statement on buying **Greenland** to keep a check on Russian and Chinese ships was taken by a storm all over Europe with many warning US of a despondence. Many far right leaders in Europe such as **PM Meloni** are close allies of Trump while others fear a ghosting of Ukraine war. The future of

NATO is also in the doldrums. The general stance on Europe is that it will be fragmented with one against US and one - primarily right block - to stay as Trump whisperers. Trump 2.0 will be more focused on challenging economic security of Europe rather than guaranteeing physical security.

f) Global institutions

Trump 1.0 severely criticized **UN** and **ICJ**, criticized **IMF** and **WB** for helping China devalue its currency and **WHO** for spreading propaganda on Covid-19. As of now, US under Trump 2.0 will once again be against US involvement and support of these organizations on the cost of American people. With a war in Europe and the situation of **NATO**, a restructuring in the terms of disengagement might be on the way much to the fears of Europe. Unlike Biden, Trump is not an ardent supporter of even allies if it costs America. While Biden pushed for multilateralism throughout his presidency, it just might be the era of 'globalization' and unilateralism under Trump.

(2)

Trump 2.0 : Extension of Trade war and protectionism

The infamous US China trade war was started by Trump in 2017 with severe allegations of China stealing US intellectual property rights, manipulating its currency and pursuing debt-trap for IMF to cover up. In the coming era too, the hostility and fear of Thucydides trap seems to be true.

a) Trade war to CHIP war

Regarding US concerns on China as a hub of manufacturing chips and semiconductors with significant US dependence on semiconductors, chips and lithium batteries has led to a 100% tariff on imports from China. US has also convinced EU to impose such tariffs. Under Trump 2.0, the chip war and tariff are only going to get stricter with leading impact on the liberal economic world order that US itself built. There will be severe consequences on **Climate change** and environment as well.

b) De-dollarization and BRICS

Due to sanctions on Iran and Russia, China and India have been trading with these countries in local currencies. China has been using **Yuan** in many of its transactions for some years now. However the recent issue sparked when Trump warned BRICS against developing their own currency. Considering the rise of BRICS and middle powers there will be severe issues on dollar between these two blocks. While de-dollarization is not easy and a very long shot yet it reduces the burden of sanctions on **Iran and Russia** which is a strategic issue for USA.

(3)

Trump 2.0 : Blow to traditional and non-traditional security at global level

While Trump will be negotiating Russia-Ukraine conflict and

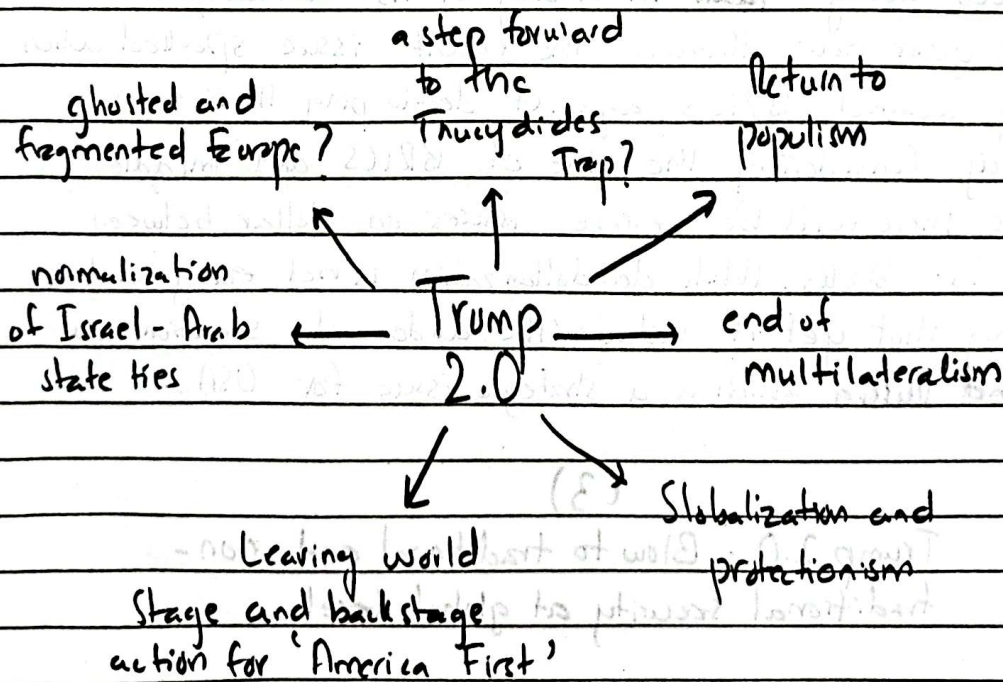
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helping Israel in Middle East to the dismay of humanity, more troubling will be his conduct in the domain of non-traditional security paradigm. The extensive use of AI and its dangers in the battlefield will be US top priority as evidenced by Trump-Musk partnership. Moreover, from withdrawing from Paris deal to being a hawkish climate denier a 'America First' under Trump 2.0 will wreck havoc on climate agenda.

(4)

Conclusion

While its difficult to predict Trump actions, it is for sure that world stage will be witnessing a change in many domains. The puppet master will shuffle many characters and change the scene for the next four years. Some of the changes might be -



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Question 1

The recent border skirmishes Critically evaluate the reasons behind the current sour relationship between the two countries and how Pakistan can protect its security and socioeconomic interests from the Taliban led government in Afghanistan.

'Cousins at war': The Bumpy road of Pak-Afghan relations

The recent skirmishes on the Pak Afghan border is a crucial moment of the troubled history of both nations. The martyrdom of sixteen Pakistani soldiers in a recent attack led to Pakistan's strikes on TTP hideouts in Paktia Afghanistan which prompted retaliation on 'several points on the other side of the hypothetical line' as per Afghan ministry. The sour relations being observed in 2025 date back to myriad factors from way beyond 1947. However, the geographical proximity, common faith and ethnic similarities bind both countries closer than what has been observed. A thoroughly crafted diplomatic strategy can help straighten the creases and re-identify the bilateral relations.

'Sour relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan': What went wrong?

The current animosity and hostile aspirations between the two countries can be traced back to various factors stemming in the distant history. Some of the major factors are :

1) Historical and Political Factors

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The two countries were off to a sour start when Afghanistan became the only country to **veto** the membership of newly created Pakistan. Due to issues on the 1893 Durand Line legality and Afghanistan's ethnic similarities of with Pashtun factions in Pakistan the former has laid claims on Ex Fata and KP province. This emotion was visible in the recent Afghan tweet calling Durand line a hypothetical line. The 1950s saw an intense Pashtun sentiment growing on both sides of the border due to Afghan involvement. The **Balkanization** of the region has always been a threat to Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

2) Lack of Economic Interdependence

The lack of formal economic relationships between the two countries is a critical loophole in their relationship. Owing to the geostrategic location and needs of both countries, economic activity and trade can prove to be very beneficial of human development and progress. On the contrary, Pakistan is grappling with **illegal trade** and smuggling through the porous border. Not only does illegal trade affect Pakistan but also creates tensions with China and Europe due to farmers use for **drug trafficking** to the developed world. Apart from smuggling and trade deficits, the massive economic strain on Pakistan for its hospitality for **Afghan refugees** has also been unacknowledged for decades consequently deteriorating bilateral relations. The lack of economic activity due to cross border smuggling, terrorism and illegal activities has hindered normalization of relations.

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3) Threats to Sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan

Pakistan has been a prey to attacks on its sovereignty and territorial integrity since 1950s. The situation worsened in 1979 when Pakistan became a front line ally of US against USSR in Afghanistan. The graveyard of empires due to its rugged terrain and ethnic tribal makeup swallowed all enemies and became a breeding ground for the non state actors. Since the Afghan Taliban government in 1996 the relationship soured and Pakistan saw severe terrorism and militant activities in the second decade of the 21st century. With over **70,000 civilians** losing their lives in terrorism activities to increasing sectarian divide, Afghanistan offered sanctuary to violent groups of TTP and Al Qaeda who distorted religion to wreak havoc in West as well as muslim states. As per **UN reports**, even today Afghan Taliban are providing logistical support to such groups. Al Qaeda is building its operational capabilities and Afghan Taliban and TTP have cultivated a '**strong and symbiotic relationship**'. The escalation in **Dec 2024** can be attributed to TTP in Afghanistan. Commenting on this state of affairs, the **PM Shehbaz Sharif** said that "Pakistan desires strong relationship with Afghanistan but TTP should be stopped from killing our innocent people."

4) Disruption of the Social makeup of society

Various factors led to the deterioration of Pakistan's societal make up. From the infiltration of Afghan refugees to the polarization of society, various reports have found increased

crime rates, Klashinkoff culture, losing of small business opportunities to seats in universities. Afghan refugees were found in many political adventures only to cite the recent currents in PTI protests in Islamabad. Such a situation has not only alienated the Afghan refugees but also soured relationships with Pakistani society who now criticized the over stay of refugees. The calls for repatriation of Afghan refugees last year invoked an applause from the society marking a crucial change in attitude over the years.

5) Geopolitical and regional mayhem

The location of both countries is such that Pakistan has suffered whenever anything happened in Afghanistan. The invasion of USSR, US for twenty years, government of Ashraf Karzai to the fall of Kabul in 2021 all have impacted the fate of Pakistan. With the humanitarian issues and untapped resources in the country, the coming years will observe a tug of war between China and India further provoking hostility on both borders of Pakistan. From the internal factional fighting to Afghan relations with India, Pakistan will be impacted by virtue of its 2000 km border as always.

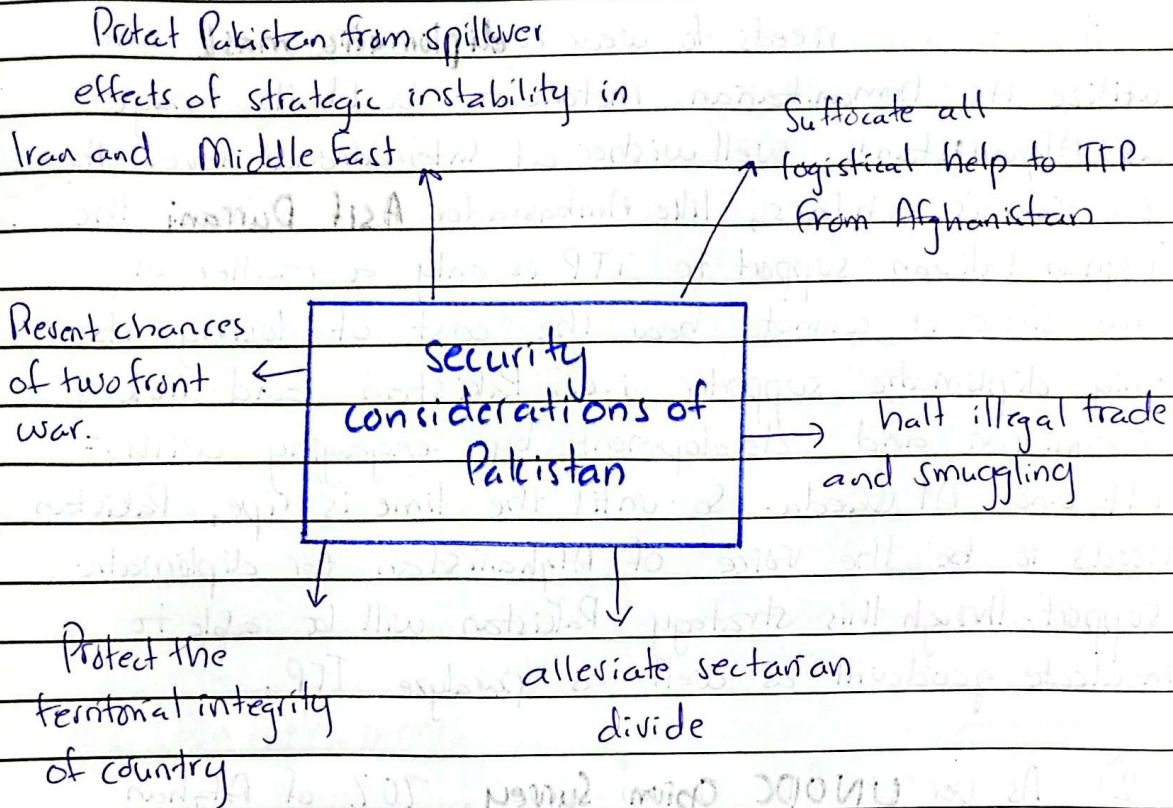
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Way Forward for Pakistan to protect security and socio economic interests

While the situation in Afghanistan seems to be against the interest of Pakistan, it can still tilt the balance in its

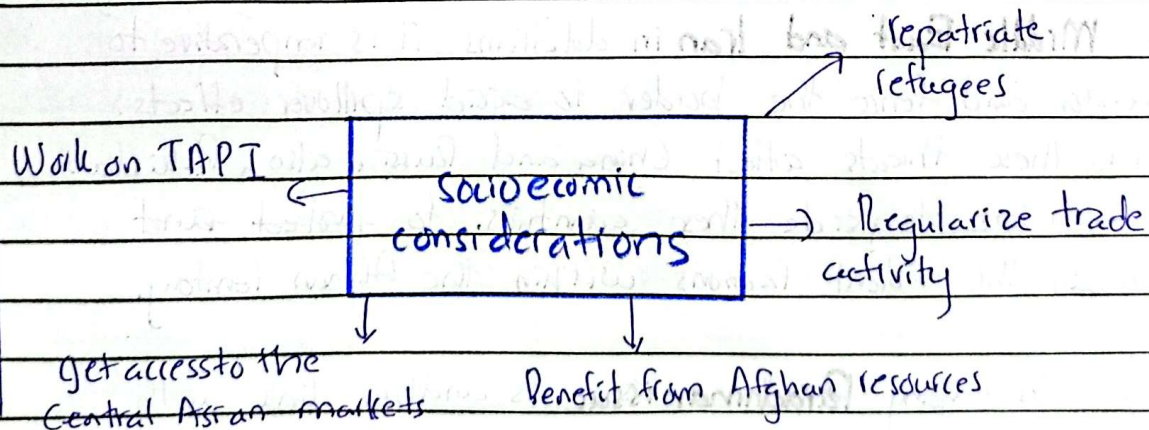
favour by diplomatic tools.

a) Security Interests of Pakistan



As established, Pakistan is facing a plethora of threats to its security from Afghanistan.

b) Socioeconomic interests of Pakistan



Policy Measures for Pakistan

1) Pakistan needs to wear a **diplomatic mask** and utilize its humanitarian rhetoric to build its image as Afghanistan's well wisher at international level. As per various scholars, like Ambassador **Asif Durrani** the Afghan Taliban support to TTP is only a matter of time since it cannot bear the cost of losing its only diplomatic supporter i.e., Pakistan and risk recognition and development by engaging with TTP and Al Qaeda. So until the time is ripe, Pakistan needs to be the voice of Afghanistan for diplomatic support. Through this strategy Pakistan will be able to inculcate goodwill as well as paralyze TTP.

2) As per **UNODC Opium Survey**, 70% of Afghan opium is grown alongside borders of both countries in districts like Helmand and Kandahar. Moreover, the porous border helps easy movement of TTP and IMU on our side and support to Al Qaeda for its activities in West and Middle East while allowing support to ETIM in western side or in China. With the instability in **Middle East and Iran** in addition it is imperative to monitor and fence the border to avoid spillover effects. Since these threats affect China and Russia also, Pakistan can work alongside these countries to **protect and contain** the violent factions within the Afghan territory.

3) The ongoing **Parachinar issue** is another link with

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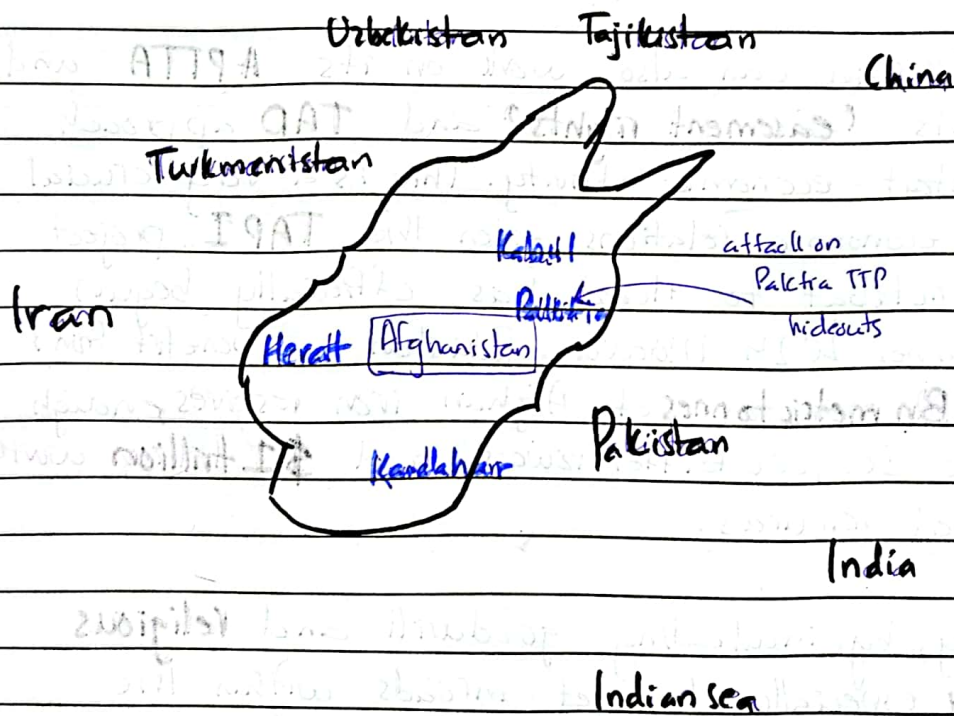
Afghanistan. The ambush and killing of 52 Shia travellers in the area in December 2024 is a threat to Pakistan's peace. Around 133 people died due to sectarian issues in Parachinar in November 2024 as per year end press conference of DG ISPR while intelligence points to no terrorism involvement in recent issues, the overall optics of events is very dangerous and sensitive for Pakistan. Pakistan needs to inculcate good relations with Afghanistan for protecting its internal sovereignty.

4) Pakistan can also work on its **APITA** and restart its 'easement rights' and **TAD** approach to kickstart economic activity. This is a very crucial time for economic relations given the **TAPI** project from Serhetabat to Herat has officially begun in September 2024. Moreover, Pakistan can benefit from the **\$2.2 Bn metric tonnes** of Afghan iron reserves, enough to produce 200,000 Eiffel towers and **\$1 trillion** worth of untapped resources.

5) Lastly, by inculcating goodwill and **religious diplomacy** especially to get inroads within the more ideological factions in Kandahar while maintaining economic relations with Kabul, Pakistan can capitalize on faith and leverage Afghan reliance on **education and health sector** needs to protect peace on western border. Such an action can help Pakistan to not become prey to two front war. Also, by including China in this strategy, all three countries can maximize on economy, peace and development.

Conclusion

Pakistan needs to reconceptualize its relation with Afghanistan from a narrow security centered lens to a more broader economic relationship. A consistent, well crafted and strategic diplomatic move is all that is needed to realign interests and maximize profits for both countries.



interest of Pakistan, it can still tilt the balance against the

Question 2

Political instability in Pakistan is threatening the very existence of State. Discuss

The State of Pakistan and the haunting genie of Political instability

Since its creation in 1947, Pakistan has been haunted the genie of political instability. The landlords and elite of All India Muslim League were successful in blowing the soul of Pakistan in the territory we live in today but the political instability that followed has shaken the very existence of state. Unfortunately within the 7 decades of birth of Pakistan, all the four elements of our statehood have been assaulted by internal political challenges.

The Factional Politics of 1947 and the first ten years of Pakistan

The political instability of today was also founded on the 14th August 1947 when Muslim League was presented the question of what next? The elite and landlords who put up the case of separate homeland were supported by the common men and but the creation of Pakistan and the sudden demise of Quaid and Azam, the hope of a bright future was lost. The assassination of Liaqat Ali Khan was the final blow to hopes of stability.

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Further blows to the future of Pakistan were the the creation of **All Pakistan Awami Muslim League Party** in 1949, **Jinnah Muslim League** and **Republican Party** in 1951. While the emergence of political parties is a testament to healthy and inclusive political situation of a country and the soul of democracy yet the situation in which these parties were created in the early years of Pakistan point out the deficiencies and weakness of Muslim League.

Within the first years of Pakistan around four new political parties were created and two key leaders lost. Within the next five years from 1951 to 1956, the politics of constitution had begun further showcasing the divide between Islamic and secular voices, deprived East Pakistan as evidenced by winning of United Front in 1954 provincial elections and the case of Khwaja Nazimuddin.

In brief, the genre of political instability was present since the first day of Pakistan and since then has been draining the state and its people. The several ways in which political instability has hampered progress and come to threaten the existence of Pakistan is as follows:

1) Economic Inequality and deprivation

The prevalence of political instability in the country has led to economic instability. The political turmoil of the initial years prevented any progress towards economic development and paralyzed the country for years to come. The elite capture of political and economic institutions propagated a vicious cycle of extractive institutions as explained by Acemoglu in his famous book: **Why Nations Fail?** As per the **UNDP report of 2021**,

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the feudal lords own 23% of the irrigated arable land in the country. Similarly WEF reports that the wealthy 1% of Pakistan have access to 24% of the country wealth.

The economic plight can be evidenced by the recent 24th IMF bailout package last year. The slowing down of BRI with China since 2013, lack of FDI and Pakistan being the only Asian country ranked 'authoritarian' in 2023 democratic index all have been the results of political instability in the country.

2) Fragile Security and Border skirmishes

Pakistan fought its first war in 1948 and then a series of border skirmishes and wars with India. At the same time, the western neighbor vetoed membership to the UN and eyed the Pashtun regions of the country. Both the India and Afghanistan factors were exacerbated by the political instability within the country. Indian PM Nehru had remarked that 'I do not change clothes as much as Pakistan changes its political leadership.' The internal issues were the major reason Pakistan lost its eastern wing now called Bangladesh. The conflicting interests of political players, vested aims and local view led to disagreements and exacerbated the security issues of country.

3) Societal polarization and violence

The political instability of Pakistan has polarized the society and exacerbated the deep divisions between haves and have-nots as well as Islamic and secular groups. The anti Ahmediys

riots in Lahore, sectarian divide of Shia and Sunni as well as the poor situation of minorities be it from forced conversions in Sindh to religious Blasphemy cases and from burning down of Christian houses in 2023 to mob attack on a Sri Lankan worker in Sialkot all can be traced back to the instability of political leadership. The distracted leadership in their own tug of war ignored the actualization of the very ideas that Pakistan was created. The fissures and animosities developed since the discussion on 1949 **Objectives Resolution** started are deeply embedded today. According to many scholars, a little more understanding, behavior & compromise in the beginning years could have consolidated the people rather than dividing them.

4) Provincial Animosity

The language issue with East Bengal led to a major obstacle in nation building and eventually lost of East Pakistan. The critique on centralization of power by **Mussain Shaheed Suhrawardy** of East Pakistan and Sindh nationalist **Q.M. Syed** were just two of the many silenced voices for provincial autonomy. The ignorance of **Balochistan** and dissolution of Atallah Meral government also sowed the seeds of provincial animosity. Even today, this animosity has only increased as evidenced by the recent killings of South Punjab laborers and travellers in Balochistan. The political elite of the early years did not create an optimum environment for all provinces and hence even today the provinces stand fragmented and unequal in development.

5) Institutional imbalance and hostility

The very beginning of institutional imbalance in Pakistan started when the **Constituent Assembly** of Pakistan was dissolved. The political agendas of individual took precedence over the very core and important institution. What followed next was the hostile imbalance among all institutions of Pakistan. The use and abuse of **Doctrine of Necessity** by judiciary, suspension and abeyance of constitutions, political invitations to military for power, coups and tug of war between the three branches of government. Had it not been for political instability, the present of Pakistan would have been very different.

6) Human Development and governance

Pakistan's political instability from 1947 to the turn of century and today created security and economic hurdles at the cost of human development. The very famous **Dr. Mehboobul Haque** who coined the term of human security once said = "What the people of Pakistan want? Development and or Democracy? Prompt came the response: if democracy brings development then democracy; if it does not they want development." Pakistan is doing very poor in various human development indexes according to global reports. Pakistan ranks 133rd on **Corruption Index** according to Transparency International. According to the **Global Peace Index 2024** it ranked 140 out of the 163 countries and was placed in the low category. Such poor performance on the global indicators is the evidence of poor stability.

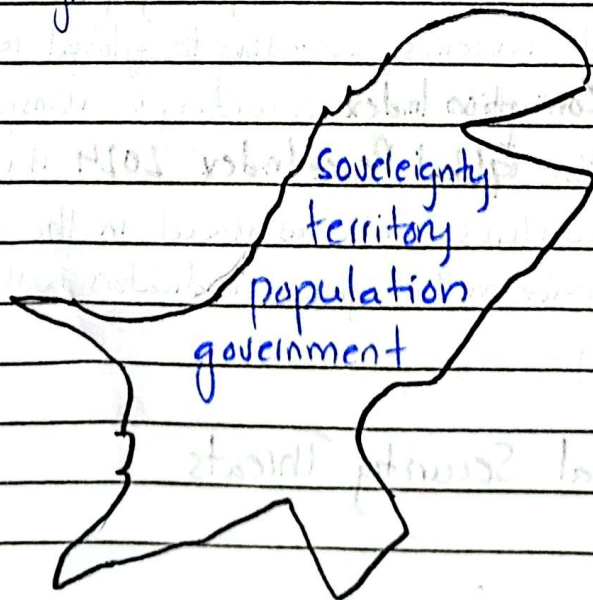
7) Non Traditional Security Threats

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While Pakistan was battling the internal tug of war and wars on the eastern border & threats from the Western side it could not effectively focus on the shifting nature of threat spectrum. Today Pakistan is a victim of the 5th generational warfare and cyber attacks. The **Pygasus software** issue of 2021 and the **EU DisinfoLab** are just two of the many cyber threats facing the country. Moreover, the **2022 floods** of Pakistan and severe food and water shortages along with smog issue have ~~st~~ lowered progress on the economic scale.

Way Forward towards political stability

While the history of Pakistan is grappled with political instability and its spill over to various other domains from economic backwardness to violence, there is still hope in the future. The democratic transitions of governments since 2008, successful military operations and modernization to keep threats at bay and inclusion of non traditional security dynamics in National Security strategy is a step in the right direction.



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A four pronged strategy to strengthen the existence of state is needed. By virtue of the term, a state comprises of four elements: sovereignty, territory, population and government.

1) Sovereignty

Pakistan has been focusing its security framework due to the eastern and western threats. Pakistan has fought wars to protect its **external** sovereignty from other states and present itself an independent country. With respect to its **internal** sovereignty, it was grappled with various challenges from minorities to provinces to and this will continue to happen until a sound and sustainable political set up is created. There is need for a reconceptualization of political socialization and culture and move towards a ~~sensete~~ sensible, issue based discussion rather than negative rhetoric and vitrol as per Malcha Lodhi

2) Territory

Pakistan lost its territory in 1971 and after that it has developed a strong tendency and potential to protect its territory. The doctrine of **strategic depth** has been re-centered towards South and an ally on north has alleviated some burden for the country. Pakistan has maintained a strong stance on **Kashmir** in successive governments and voiced concerns over foreign elements in Baluchistan and **Surgical Strikes**.

3) Population

While Pakistan is facing a decline in the population quality human resource due to education disparities, poor lifestyle and brain drain, a positive factor is the rise in the urban middle class which now constitutes around 50 Mn and 27% of total population. With proper focus on social development, the population can be made a valuable asset.

4) Government

Lastly, the fourth pillar is the government. It is the engine of the state and the major issue of Pakistani state. The lack of proper separation of powers, interference of the three branches in each other affairs has paralyzed the state. But with the latest 26th amendment, an effort has been made to delineate the functions of the three branches of the government.

Conclusion

The major discontent among the Muslims of the sub-continent was ignited when their demand of separate electorate for a true and representative government was not fulfilled. It led to a path for creation of a state that allows them to practice Islam, live by freedom and prosper. However the weak foundations of Muslim League created space for a long race and tug of power which led to political chaos till 2008. Till now, the lack of political stability is threatening the existence of state.