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Iran Pursues US at UN After Trump Admits he Was 'in Charge of' June War ▶ Page **3** 

#### How Lebanese actors empower Israel

BEIRUT — Washington's pressure campaign against Hezbollah is not new, but its latest tone is unmistakably

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During a recent meeting with Lebanese figures, a U.S. delegate warned that if Lebanon does not help "dry up" Hezbollah's financing, specifically by targeting institutions like al-Qard al-Hassan, Israel will "act on its own."

What is striking is not the threat itself, but the eagerness of certain Lebanese politicians to embrace it. Their reactions illuminate a deeper and more dangerous dynamic: local complicity feeding external aggression, all while Western-backed media normalize the process.

MP Nadim Gemayel's reply encapsulated this trajectory. When he said, "We've been waiting for this moment for 40 years," he was not merely expressing a personal opinion.

Gemayel is the son of Bashir Gemayel, the notorious wartime leader who collaborated openly with the Israeli regime and pursued normalization during the 1982

#### U.S. proposal for Gaza: 'Board of Peace' or cover for occupation?

TEHRAN – President Donald Trump's 20-point plan for Gaza, presented by Washington as a blueprint for stability and reconstruction, has drawn significant criticism for functioning as political cover for Israel's ongoing military

A central feature of the U.S. diplomatic push has been its draft resolution at the UN Security Council, urging members to authorize a long-term international stabilization force (ISF) and establish a transitional governance arrangement. The United States has negotiations stall.

#### Post-election Iraq review

#### By Wesam Bahrani

TEHRAN – As Iraq concludes a hard-fought election, attention is now turning to the challenge of forming a new

Preliminary results from the Independent High Electoral Commission show that Prime Minister Mohammad al-Sudani's Reconstruction and Development alliance secured the most votes, winning 45 seats. But the tally falls far short of the 165 seats required for an outright majority in Iraq's 329-seat Council of Representatives.

No party has ever reached that threshold since elections began in 2005. In fact, in the contests of 2021, 2018, 2014, and 2010, the party that won the most seats did not ultimately form the government, often due to pushback from rival factions.

showing at the polls does not guarantee Sudani a second term.

Coalition talks are already underway among the major winners, including Sudani's alliance; former parliament speaker Mohammed al-Halbousi's Progress Party; former prime minister Nouri al-Maliki's State of Law coalition, placed second and third respectively; and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) led by the Barzani family.

▶ Page **5** 

## By Sondoss Al Asaad By Shahab Sarmadi

Despite the October 10 ceasefire agreement between Israel and Hamas, Israeli strikes and operations in Gaza have continued. This persistent violence undermines claims of de-escalation and suggests that the plan is being used to advance U.S. and Israeli strategic objectives rather than to genuinely protect Palestinian of

pressed for swift action, warning of dire consequences if

#### Iran, Turkey stress strengthening bilateral ties and regional peace

TEHRAN - Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi held a telephone conversation with Turkey's Foreign Minister Hakan Fidan on Thursday to discuss bilateral relations, regional developments, and international issues.

During the call, the two foreign ministers reviewed the state of Iran-Turkey ties and emphasized the importance of strengthening and expanding cooperation across all areas of mutual interest. Araghchi welcomed recent efforts to reduce tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan and stressed the significance of continuing consultations to safeguard regional peace and stability. He also expressed Iran's readiness to provide assistance in these efforts. ▶ Page 2

#### Over 70 countries attend Intl. **Combinatorics** Olympiad in Tehran

TEHRAN - The fifth International Combinatorics Olympiad (ICO 2025) took place in Tehran on October 30 and 31, bringing together approximately 5,000 competitors from over 70 countries both in person and

Combinatorics is an area of mathematics primarily concerned with counting, both as a means and an end in obtaining results, and certain properties of finite structures.

ICO is an annual competition focusing on high-quality problems related to combinatorics. The primary objective is to help students become familiar with combinatorics as a creative, broad, and enjoyable topic in a fun and engaging manner, and provide them with the opportunity to compete with students from other countries. ▶ Page 7

#### Mining, metals exports rise to \$7.1b in H1

TEHRAN - Iran's mining and metals sector exported more than \$7.1 billion worth of products in the first six months of the current Iranian year (March 21-September 22), marking a solid increase in both volume and value, according to new data from the Iranian Mines and Mining Industries Development and Renovation Organization (IMIDRO).

The Economic Management and International Relations Office at IMIDRO said customs statistics show that during the six-month period, the sector exported 38.53 million tons of products valued at \$7.107 billion.

In the same period last year, exports stood at 31.07 million tons worth \$6.478 billion.

The comparison reflects a roughly 24 percent rise in export volume and a 10 percent increase in export value. ▶ Page 4

#### When pressure fails: Assessing Israel's approach to Iran

#### By Xavier Villar

MADRID - In West Asia, the illusion of control often proves more compelling than control itself. Policy toward Iran, marked by external pressure and an obsession with "regime change", has repeatedly shown that simple solutions are, in reality, dangerous mirages.

The recent leak to the Israeli public broadcaster KAN-in which a senior official called for "toppling the Iranian regime" before the end of the Trump administration in January 2029-adds a new chapter to a strategic playbook whose ineffectiveness has been repeatedly demonstrated. Behind the bellicose rhetoric, however, a more sober argument emerges: Israel's strategy, founded on coercion and destabilization, is not only failing but actively strengthening the very system it intended to destroy. What remains is a desperate bet, a show of force launched after Israel had expended its capacity for surprise during the June war, without provoking a single significant defection. ▶ Page 3

#### Tehran Symphony Orchestra performs with first-ever female conductor

TEHRAN - The Tehran Symphony Orchestra performed "Simorgh's Abode" concert on Wednesday and Thursday at Tehran's Vahdat Hall, where it was led by the guest conductor Paniz Faryousefi.

Iranian musician, violinist, and conductor Paniz Faryousefi became the first woman to conduct a performance of the Tehran Symphony Orchestra during its history, IRNA reported.

The concert presented a blend of Iranian and global artistry, including works by Iranian female composers Aftab Darvishi and Golfam Khayam, as well as globally-renowned Franz Schubert, Jean Sibelius, and Aram Khachaturian. ▶ Page 8



#### Iran's men's volleyball win gold: 2025 Riyadh

TEHRAN – Iran's men's volleyball team defeated Turkey 3-1 (25-20, 25-20, 17-25, 25-17) at the 2025 Islamic Solidarity Games (ISG) final on Thursday.

Bahrain also defeated Oatar to win a bronze

Iran had also defeated Turkey 3-1 in

Earlier in the day the Iran's women's team defeated Tajikistan in straight sets (25-2, 25-7, 25-8) in the third-place match.

The 6th Islamic Solidarity Games, known as Riyadh 2025, are an upcoming inter-continental multi-sport event organized by the Islamic Solidarity Sports Association (ISSA), and will be held from Nov. 7 to 21, 2025 in Riyadh, Saudi

The event has brought together more than 3,000 athletes from 57 nations, competing across 25 sports in pursuit of glory at one of the Islamic world's premier multi-sport events.

## **POLITICS**

NOVEMBER 15, 2025
Straight Truth
TEHRAN TIMES

#### TEHRAN PAPERS

In the following column, we take a look at some important contents and views in the Thursday Iranian newspapers.

## The importance of upcoming IAEA board meeting

Shargh, in an analysis, examined the upcoming Board of Governors meeting and the uncertain path of Iran's engagement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The paper states that the next session of the IAEA Board of Governors holds particular significance, as it will be the first meeting following the activation of the snapback mechanism by the European troika. These two developments, along with conflicting reactions from involved countries, have created an unprecedentedly complex atmosphere for the meeting. Beyond its legal importance, the board meeting is also politically sensitive. The IAEA's reporting approach, the potential referral of the Iran case to the UN Security Council, and member states' responses could all shape the way of diplomatic pressure and engagement between Iran, the IAEA, and the West. Russia and China, due to their influence, could block new sanctions or delay the sanctions committee process, while Western countries are likely to use the case as a tool for political pressure and negotiation. Contradictory interpretations among board members regarding how to handle the Iran file have made the upcoming session tense and ambiguous. In such circumstances, any report or stance taken by Grossi could directly affect Iran's level of cooperation with the IAEA and determine the future course of this sensitive case.

#### Javan: US had no justification for military aggression

Javan interviewed Hesameddin Boroomand, an international affairs expert, regarding Trump's admission that he was "very much in charge" of Israel's 12-day attack on Iran in June that his military also joined. The analyst states: Trump admitted that the U.S. played a significant role in Israel's attack on Iran during the 12-day war. This admission by the U.S. President is enough for the world to recognize America as the main partner of the criminal Zionist regime. Just as the crimes and genocide committed by the Zionist regime in Gaza have been supported and directed by the U.S., this confession further exposes the falsehood of Washington's claims to diplomatic commitment. This confession, more than anything else, revealed U.S. officials' lies about their commitment to diplomacy, and once again, it became clear that they are accustomed to deception and that even when they are in the middle of negotiations with a country, they carry out attacks and commit crimes. Trump's explicit acknowledgment of orchestrating and preparing the Zionist regime's assault on the Islamic Republic of Iran implies that the U.S. accepts it had no legal justification for military aggression. In this context, the notion of

"legitimate self-defense" lacks legal standing, and the attack was not authorized by the UN Security Council. Given this blatant aggression, the U.S. must accept responsibility for the military strike and is obligated to provide full compensation for any material or moral damages resulting from its unlawful actions.

#### Farhikhtegan: A profitable corridor

Farhikhtegan, in an interview with Mehdi Seif Tabrizi, a Russia affairs expert, discussed the maritime consortium between Iran and Russia. He believes that both the arrival of the first Russian freight train in Iran and the formation of the maritime consortium are forward-moving steps in advancing the North-South Corridor. These routes are highly profitable for Iran, especially if the maritime line is activated more rapidly. The advantage of the sea route is that it faces no opposition, meaning no country like Azerbaijan is involved, which would otherwise require Iran to pay customs duties. Additionally, the cost of container transport by ship between the two countries is significantly lower than the cost incurred by rail for the same volume. If the central segment of this maritime corridor becomes operational, its benefits will far exceed rail and road lines. Therefore, this is a progressive step, fully aligned with the treaty signed with Russia. Despite ongoing developments within the government, it can be said that a step forward has been taken in implementing the maritime consortium and advancing the corridor initiative.

#### Hamshahri: A ridiculous project

Hamshahri, in an article, addressed the absurd act carried out by two individuals posing as military personnel in the Tehran metro. It wrote that following this ridiculous act, media outlets affiliated with the Pahlavi terrorist group began inciting unrest. Simultaneously, Gila Gamliel, the intelligence minister of the Zionist regime, notably shared an image of the two impostors in the Tehran metro, captioned "This is how it begins." This tweet clearly signals a joint project between the Zionist regime and the Pahlavi terrorist group aimed at destabilizing Iran. Reza Pahlavi had also supported the Israeli regime's aggression against Iran and its attacks on civilians during the 12-day war, calling it a golden opportunity to overthrow the Islamic Republic. Evidently, the goal of this ridiculous act is to lend credibility to the monarchists' ambitions and provoke uninformed segments of society. This action now enjoys open support from the Zionist regime, ultimately serving its aim of inciting chaos and paving the way for another military assault on Iran.

## US targets 32 entities in new round of sanctions over Iran's missile, drone capabilities

TEHRAN – The U.S. Department of the Treasury on Wednesday announced a fresh round of sanctions targeting individuals and organizations with alleged ties to Iran.

According to official sources, the Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) has designated 32 individuals and entities located across Iran, the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, China, Hong Kong, India, Germany, and Ukraine. The U.S. accuses them of operating procurement networks that support Iran's production of ballistic missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).

John K. Hurley, Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Financial Intelligence, reiterated Washington's position, claiming that "Iran continues to exploit the international financial system to procure components for its nuclear and conventional weapons programs." He added that, under presidential guidance, the U.S. is pursuing a "maximum pressure" campaign aimed at neutralizing what he called "the nuclear threat" from Tehran. The U.S. bombed Iran's nuclear facilities in June. President Donald Trump has claimed that the attacks "obliterated" Iran's nuclear capabilities

Iranian officials have consistently rejected these allegations, maintaining that the country's missile and drone programs are strictly defensive. They also emphasize that Iran's nuclear activities are carried out under the super-



An Iranian Shahed-238 drone is seen during a National Aerospace Park tour for journalists in August 2024.

vision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and are entirely for peaceful purposes.

The latest U.S. action comes as Iranian officials say the country has grown increasingly resilient to unilateral American sanctions, boosting oil revenues and expanding infrastructure investment despite economic pressure. Tehran also notes that it has developed advanced indigenous defense capabilities to respond to hostile threats.

Just last week, energy monitoring firm TankerTrackers reported that Iran's oil exports reached an estimated 2.3 million barrels per day in October—marking the highest volume in seven years for the heavily sanctioned nation.

# Tehran hails peaceful Iraqi elections, pledges closer ties with Baghdad

TEHRAN – Iranian officials have felicitated the Iraqi government and people on the successful holding of the November 11 parliamentary elections in the country.

In a post on his X account, Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi wrote, "Congratulations to the brotherly people and government of Iraq for successful management of peaceful parliamentary elections."

"The election was a significant step forward in consolidating the democratic process in Iraq and in safeguarding the sovereignty and security of the nation," Araghchi further said.

"The Islamic Republic of Iran is determined to further strengthen its cordial relations with Iraq in all areas of mutual interest," he added in his post.

Spokesperson for the Iranian Foreign Ministry Esmaeil Baqaei also hailed the increased turnout of Iraqi voters and the peaceful holding of the elections, calling these developments valuable. He further expressed hope the legislative vote would set the stage to further cement solidarity, security and progress in neighboring Iraq.

A third message came from Aliakbar Velayati, an advisor to Leader of the Islamic Revolution Leader Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei, who also expressed congratulations, saying a bright future awaits cooperation between the two brotherly nations.

Iraqi Prime Minister Mohammed Shia al-Sudani's supporting Reconstruction and Development list has scored "a major victory" in the November 11 parliamentary elections. The Independent High Electoral Commission said on Wednesday that al-Sudani's coalition received 1.3 million votes, about 370,000 more than the next



Supporters of incumbent Prime Minister Mohammed Shiaa al-Sudani wave national flags before a screen bearing his portrait as they celebrate preliminary results in Baghdad on November 12, 2025.

closest contender.

Iraqis voted for a new parliament on Tuesday. The Independent High Election Commission announced that a total of 12,003,143 nationals, out of 21,404,291 eligible voters, cast their ballots.

Speaking after the initial results were announced, al-Sudani said the voter turnout of 56 percent was "clear evidence of another success" that reflected the "restoration of confidence in the political system."

The current parliament, dominated by Shia parties and blocs, began its term on January 9, 2022. The term ends on January 8, 2026. By law, Iraq must hold legislative elections at least 45 days before the end of the parliament's term.

While al-Sudani's list secured the highest number of votes, it is not clear whether he would once again be elected Prime Minister, according to West Asia analyst 60 seats, even if it still can't form Other groups can to create a coalition es it," Majidi added.

Alireza Majidi.

"The winner of the election doesn't always determine who becomes Prime Minister," Majidi explained. "After the results are announced, the leaders of the various lists negotiate to form the largest parliamentary faction, and it's this faction that decides who will be Prime Minister, not necessarily the list that received the most votes."

The analyst further explained the structure of the Iraqi Parliament, which has 329 seats. Nine seats are reserved for minorities, while the remaining 320 are divided among about 20 different lists: twelve Shia, four Kurdish, and four Sunni. In this situation, no single list typically holds a majority.

"If a list receives fewer than 60 seats, even if it leads in votes, it still can't form a government. Other groups can come together to create a coalition that surpasses it," Majidi added. The election results are widely viewed as a major victory for Iraqi Shias and the Resistance factions within the country, according to analyst Hossein Kazerooni, writing on his Telegram channel. This outcome occurred despite significant diplomatic and propaganda efforts by the United States aimed at preventing the election of individuals sympathetic to the Resistance groups—groups that form a main pillar of Iraqi security and heroically spearheaded the fight against Daesh terrorists in

"The results of the Iraqi parliamentary elections show an unexpectedly strong performance by factions aligned with the Resistance Axis," Kazerooni wrote. "While al-Sudani still needs to form a coalition with other groups to establish a government, his winning list includes figures and parties that are fundamentally supportive of the Resistance."

#### 'Baseless and irresponsible': Tehran slams G7's backing of pressure against Iran



G7 foreign ministers pose at the Niagara-on-the-Lake meeting, Nov. 11, 2025.

TEHRAN – Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman Esmaeil Baqaei on Thursday firmly rejected the latest anti-Tehran allegations contained in a statement issued by the Group of Seven (G7), dismissing the claims as "baseless and irresponsible."

His remarks came in response to a joint communiqué released Wednesday following the G7 foreign ministers' meeting in Canada's Niagara region. In their statement, the G7 foreign ministers accused Iran of supplying military assistance to Russia in the Ukraine conflict and urged Tehran to comply fully with its commitments under UN Security Council resolutions and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). They also called on Iran to restore full cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), including by granting access for inspections across all nuclear sites and

materials

The G7 further pressed Iran to enter direct negotiations with the United States—supported by the E3 (France, Britain, and Germany)—and insisted that all UN member states must implement the sanctions that were reimposed on Iran in September through the activation of the so-called snapback mechanism.

On September 19, the UN Security Council voted against permanently lifting pre-JCPOA sanctions on Iran. Just eight days later, the Council also rejected a resolution submitted by Russia and China—both signatories to the JCPOA alongside Iran—seeking to delay the measure. The following day, the E3 announced that all UN sanctions against Iran had officially been reimposed.

This decision effectively dismantled one of the last remaining pillars of the 2015 accord.

Baqaei condemned the G7 for endorsing the "illegal and unjustified" attempt by the United States and the E3 to misuse the JCPOA dispute-resolution process to reinstate UN Security Council sanctions that had been lifted under the 2015 nuclear agreement. Such support, he said, amounts to backing an internationally unlawful measure.

He also drew attention to the "illegal acts of aggression" by Israel and the United States against Iran's peaceful nuclear facilities. "For the G7 to urge Iran to cooperate with the IAEA while ignoring this joint Israeli-U.S. crime is nothing short of hypocritical and interventionist," the spokesman said.

U.S. and Israeli airstrikes in June targeted Iranian nuclear facilities—the very sites safeguarded under the JCPOA framework. The attacks were condemned worldwide as a blatant act of aggression.

Baqaei went on to reject the G7's Ukraine-related accusations as "repetitive and unfounded," reiterating Iran's long-standing position of opposing war and advocating a diplomatic solution to the conflict through dialogue and negotiation.

## Iran, Turkey stress strengthening bilateral ties and regional peace

From page **1** ► Fidan highlighted the close link between regional peace and security and called on all countries to remain committed to maintaining stability in the region.

Araghchi also offered condolences over the deaths of Turkish citizens in a military plane crash, expressing sympathy to their fafamilies.

The crash of a C-130 military cargo aircraft on the Azerbaijan–Georgia border on November 11 killed all 20 personnel aboard.

In a separate telephone conversation with Qatar's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdullah Al Thani, Araghchi discussed bilateral relations and regional developments, emphasizing the importance of continuing efforts to strengthen cooperation in all areas of mutual interest

Both sides expressed concern over tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan and stressed the need for continued regional collaboration to preserve peace and stability.

The Iranian and Qatari foreign ministers also discussed recent developments in Gaza and the U.S. draft resolution submitted to the UN Security Council. They underlined the importance of ongoing consultations to protect the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, particularly their right to self-determination.

On November 4, the United States circulated a draft resolution at the UN Security Council

proposing the creation of a "temporary international force" in the Gaza Strip for a minimum of two years, despite Palestinian concerns over foreign involvement in the territory.

The proposed "International Stabilization Force (ISF)" would be composed of personnel from the U.S., Turkey, Qatar, and Egypt—the same countries that facilitated the negotiations leading to last month's ceasefire agreement between Israel and Hamas in Gaza.

The deal seeks to implement the first phase of a 20-point plan by Donald Trump that the U.S. president claims is aimed at ending the Israeli regime's two-year-plus war of genocide on Gaza.

# Iran pursues US at UN after Trump admits he was 'in charge of June' war

By Soheila Zarfam

TEHRAN – "Anything you say can and will be used against you in a court of law." That is the warning U.S. police give criminal suspects when they are arrested. Its repetition in American movies and TV has made the notion — that your words can be used against you — familiar to most citizens. Yet some in the U.S. seem to believe words lose their bite when spoken by someone in the position of power.

There was a reason the U.S. administration insisted it had no part in the June 13 Israeli strikes on Iran. "Tonight, Israel took unilateral action against Iran. We are not involved in strikes against Iran," Secretary of State Marco Rubio said in a statement hours after the attacks happened. President Donald Trump, however, appeared more intent on boosting his ego than on weighing the consequences of his words when, in early November, he told a room of reporters at the White House that he was "very much in charge of" the Israeli assaults, saying it with a smug expression.

The remarks drew an almost instant reaction from Tehran. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Esmaeil Baghaei said that "from the very beginning, it was clear that the United States was a full participant in Israel's crime of aggression against the nation of Iran".

The American-Israeli war against Iran ended on June 24 after 12 days of strikes. Nuclear, civilian and military infrastructure across Iranian territory were targeted, and more than 1,100 Iranians — including commanders, nuclear scientists and civil-



Civilians injured after a US-Israeli strike in Tehran on June 16, 2025.

ians — were killed. Analysts believe the U.S. and Israel stopped only after Iran's missile strikes caused mass destruction in the occupied territories and hit a U.S. airbase in Qatar; otherwise, they say, the offensive would likely have continued until the government was toppled, internal chaos intensified and the country was plunged into prolonged political and security mayhem.

Just days after Baghaei's post on X, Iran's Ambassador to the UN urged the Security Council in a letter to act and hold the Americans responsible. This was followed by another letter delivered this Thursday to UN Secretary-General António Guterres, in which Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi condemned the US-Israeli strikes, noting they were in contravention of international law.

"The strikes violated multiple

international legal frameworks, including Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, IAEA resolutions, and UN Security Council Resolution 487 (1981)," Araghchi wrote. "Responsibility for these violations rests not only with the Zionist regime, but also with the U.S., which – in line with Trump's admission – directed and con-

Araghchi's letter formally called on Washington to provide full reparation for the damages caused, including both material and moral compensation, as required under established international law.

trolled the Israeli aggression."

According to Dr. Hesamuddin Boroumand, an international law expert and scholar, Iran has a clear right to seek compensation following the admission by the President of the United States, which constitutes an international acknowledgment.

"In this regard, Iran should utilize international legal mechanisms, such as filing a complaint with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Security Council. This process has already begun with Iran's permanent representative to the UN, and now the foreign minister," he explained.

The expert added that Iran could also consider filing a complaint with the UN Human Rights Council, as during the 12-day aggression, numerous civilian facilities - including residential areas, media centers, prisons, and public buildings - were targeted, which clearly violates the Geneva Conventions. "Tragically, 1,100 of our fellow citizens lost their lives, which is a serious infringement on the 'right to life,' one of the most fundamental human rights. This situation creates international criminal responsibility for the commanders and officials involved in the U.S. actions," Dr. Boroumand stated

The most recent high-profile case in which an official's own remarks were used against them in a court of law occurred last year, in South Africa's genocide case against Israel at the International Court of Justice (ICJ). In a packed courtroom in The Hague, South Africa argued that statements by Israeli leaders and lawmakers conveyed an intent to commit genocide. The ICJ has not yet issued a final ruling, but the International Criminal Court (ICC) cited some of those remarks when issuing arrest warrants for two Israeli figures, including Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former War Minister Yoav Gallant.

## When pressure fails: Assessing Israel's approach to Iran

Frome Page **1** The dominant narrative in Washington and Tel Aviv portrays the Islamic Republic as a colossus with feet of clay, always on the verge of internal collapse. It is a dangerously simplistic reading.

Iran's political system has repeatedly demonstrated resilience that is often overlooked. To assume that a combination of threats, sanctions, and targeted attacks could precipitate its fall is to ignore four decades of adaptation and consolidation under near-constant external pressure. Far from crumbling, the Islamic Republic has learned to transform external aggression into a source of internal legitimacy, as each challenge is not seen as an attack on its power but as an assault on the nation's revolutionary sovereignty.

The June 2025 war marked a turning point, an event that deserves a dispassionate examination beyond the headlines. The attacks, undoubtedly significant, were presented as a devastating blow to Iran's capabilities. Yet what happened afterward proved more revealing than the impact of the bombs themselves: there were no popular uprisings, no protests demanding the dismantling of the defense program, and no signs of fracture in institutional loyalty.

The state's response, by contrast, was methodical: reconstruction of facilities, relocation of critical infrastructure, and acceleration of underground programs. Satellite images of the craters at Natanz, now covered with soil, do not symbolize defeat but a will to resist and recover—something Iran's adversaries appear incapable of accurately assessing.

This episode highlighted a major strategic failure for Israel. For

decades, Israeli security doctrine has relied on credible deterrence through overwhelming military superiority.

However, the large-scale June attack exposed the limits of that approach: it did not deter Iran from continuing its nuclear activities within the framework of its civilian program, nor did it alter Tehran's strategic resolve. Worse, it may have had the opposite effect, accelerating and reinforcing Iran's defense program, now more dispersed, protected, and determined than ever.

subsequent intimidation campaign, notable both for its scope and its ineffectiveness. According to widely reported accounts, the Mossad resorted to cold calls to Iranian officials, with direct threats extending even to their families.

More attacks against Iran could trigger a regional war of catastrophic proportions, far exceeding the scale of the June war

This level of pressure—more reminiscent of a spy thriller than realistic security operationsfailed to achieve its objective: it did not provoke defections, leaked recordings, or visible signs of panic. On the contrary, it likely reinforced the resolve of its targets. When coercion reaches such extremes and still fails, it signals that it has met a wall of resistance far stronger than anticipated. This episode underscores an uncomfortable truth: the loyalty of Iran's security establishment to the system is stronger than any external



Photo shows an anti-Israel banner displayed in Tehran

Israel's strategy appears to be based on a fundamental misdiagnosis: it confuses the existence of internal tensions with national disloyalty. True, there are frictions within Iranian society linked to the economy and government management. But recent regional experience, from Iraq to Libya, offers a clear warning: external intervention, especially by actors perceived as hostile, tends to consolidate a sense of unity in the face of foreign pressure. The majority of Iranians do not wish their future to be decided from Tel Aviv or Washington. Sovereignty remains a central pillar of modern Iranian national identity.

The nuclear issue exemplifies this clash of narratives. From Tehran's perspective, its uranium enrichment program and missile development are essential components of its autonomy and deterrence doctrine, respectively. This stance is rooted in lessons learned from the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s, when the world largely ignored the use of chemical weapons against the country,

and from the subsequent invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, which surrounded Iran with U.S. forces.

When President Masoud Pezeshkian asserts that "we seek peace, but we will not be coerced into abandoning our nuclear science or our right to self-defense," it is not empty bravado. He is articulating a national security posture deeply rooted in a traumatic historical experience.

Iran's refusal to grant unrestricted access to facilities such as Fordow to IAEA inspectors must be understood in this context. It is not merely an act of opacity but a calculated response to what is perceived as covert espionage under the guise of verification. Every location data point, every structural blueprint, could, in Tehran's logic, be used to plan a potential attack. In an environment perceived as an existential threat, full transparency is considered strategic suicide.

(See full text at tehrantimes.com)

## IRAN IN FOCUS

Straight Truth
TEHRAN TIMES

#### SPORTS

#### Iran's women's karate athlete Golshadnezhad takes gold

TEHRAN – Iranian woman karate athlete Atousa Golshadnezhad won a gold medal at the 2025 Islamic Solidarity Games (ISG) on Wednesday.

She beat Turkey's Wafa Mahjoub 7-4 in the women's -61kg final.

Cameroon>s Dzeu Youmbi Nelly defeated Sudan's Ramatoulaye Sylla 6-4 in the bronze

Saleh Abazari of Iran also won a silver after losing to Saudi Arabia's Sanad Sufyani 4-0 in the men's +84kg final.

The 6th Islamic Solidarity Games, known as Riyadh 2025, are an upcoming inter-continental multi-sport event organized by the Islamic Solidarity Sports Association (ISSA), and will be held from Nov. 7 to 21, 2025 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

The event has brought together more than 3,000 athletes from 57 nations, competing across 25 sports in pursuit of glory at one of the Islamic world's premier multi-sport events.

# Women's volleyball win bronze: 2025 Riyadh

TEHRAN – Iran's women's volleyball team won a bronze medal at the 2025 Islamic Solidarity Games (ISG) on Thursday.

Team Melli defeated Tajikistan in straight sets (25-2, 25-7, 25-8) in the third-place match.

Turkey defeated Azerbaijan 3-0 in the final.

The 6th Islamic Solidarity Games, known as Riyadh 2025, are an upcoming inter-continental multi-sport event organized by the Islamic Solidarity Sports Association (ISSA), and will be held from Nov. 7 to 21, 2025 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

The event has brought together more than 3,000 athletes from 57 nations, competing across 25 sports in pursuit of glory at one of the Islamic world's premier multi-sport events.

#### Iran defeat Cape Verde at Al Ain International Cup

TEHRAN – Iran defeated Cape Verde 5-4 in penalty shootouts at their opening match of the Al Ain International Cup Thursday night.

The match ended in a goalless draw at the Hazza bin Zayed Stadium.

Team Melli will play the winners of Egypt and Uzbekistan on Tuesday in the final match.

Egypt, knows as he Pharaohs, will face Uzbekistan on Friday.

The tournament serves as preparation for the 2026 FIFA World Cup.

#### Iran to face S. Korea at 2025 IWBF Asia Oceania Championships

TEHRAN – Iran's men's wheelchair basketball team will face South Korea on Saturday at the 2025 IWBF Asia Oceania Championships bronze medal match.

Team Melli lost to Japan 65-55 on Friday and failed to book their place at the final. The competition started on Nov. 7 at the Centara Life Government Complex and Convention Center in Bangkok, Thailand and will run until Nov. 15.

Bringing together the top men's and women's wheelchair basketball teams from across the Asia Oceania region, the Championships will serve as a key qualification tournament for both the 2026 IWBF World Championships and the 2026 Asia Para Games.

The championship has brought Afghanistan, Australia, China, Chinese Taipei, India, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Korea, Kuwait, New Zealand, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Thailand together in the men's division.

Australia, Cambodia, China, India, Iran, Japan, Laos, Philippines and Thailand compete in the women's division.

#### Shahsavari snatches gold at table tennis

TEHRAN – Neda Shahsavari of Iran claimed a gold medal at table tennis of the 2025 Islamic Solidarity Games (ISG) on Thursday.

She defeated Syria's Hend Zaza 4-2 in the women's singles final.

The 6th Islamic Solidarity Games, known as Riyadh 2025, are an upcoming inter-continental multi-sport event organized by the Islamic Solidarity Sports Association (ISSA), and will be held from Nov. 7 to 21, 2025 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

The event has brought together more than 3,000 athletes from 57 nations, competing across 25 sports in pursuit of glory at one of the Islamic world's premier multi-sport events

#### Long-serving sports journalist Vesal Rohani dies

TEHRAN – Iran's long-serving sports journalist Vesal Rohani passed away on Wednesday in Tehran at the age of 68.

Rohani died from an embolism after surgery.

He was translator, writer, and journalist in the fields of sports and cinema and was known among sports writers for his constant work.

Rohani worked for many years in Iranian newspapers and magazines, namely Iran Varzeshi, Donyay-e Varzesh, Shargh newspaper and Film magazine.

The Tehran Times extends its deepest sympathies to Rohani's family, loved ones, and friends during this time of loss.

## Men's handball lose to Qatar

TEHRAN – Iran's men's handball team lost to Qatar 39-23 at the 2025 Islamic Solidarity Games (ISG) on Friday.

Team Melli will face the Maldives in Group A on Sunday and play the UAE two days later.

Group B consists of Bahrain, Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

The 6th Islamic Solidarity Games, known as Riyadh 2025, are an inter-continental multisport event organized by the Islamic Solidarity Sports Association (ISSA), held from Nov. 7 to 21 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

The event has brought together more than 3,000 athletes from 57 nations, competing across 25 sports in pursuit of glory at one of the Islamic world's premier multi-sport events.

## Iran's women's table tennis doubles take gold

TEHRAN – Iran's Neda Shahsavari and Shima Safaei won the gold medal at the 2025 Islamic Solidarity Games (ISG) on Thursday.

Team Melli defeated Turkey's Özge Y?lmaz and Ece Haraç in the women's doubles final 3-1.

The 6th Islamic Solidarity Games, known as Riyadh 2025, are an upcoming inter-continental multi-sport event organized by the Islamic Solidarity Sports Association (ISSA), and will be held from Nov. 7 to 21, 2025 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

The event has brought together more than 3,000 athletes from 57 nations, competing across 25 sports in pursuit of glory at one of the Islamic world's premier multi-sport events.

## **ECONOMY**



#### Solar power capacity in industrial parks surges to 400MW



TEHRAN – Solar generation capacity across Iran's industrial parks has expanded sharply over the past year, rising from 23 megawatts to 400 megawatts as part of a broader plan to supply these zones entirely with renewable electricity, according to the head of the Small Industries and Industrial Parks Organization (ISIPO).

Reza Ansari, speaking on the sidelines of the power industry exhibition, said a major national effort to ensure stable energy supply for industrial zones has taken shape over the past year. Solar output in these areas, which stood at about 23 megawatts last year, has now climbed to 400 megawatts, signaling a significant leap in renewable capacity within the country's industrial network.

He said Iran's industrial parks and zones currently have a combined 5,100 megawatts of nominal stable power capacity, including small-scale combined heat and power (CHP) systems and solar units. Of this total, about 1,100 megawatts are operational, including roughly 400 megawatts of solar power and around 700 megawatts of CHP.

With electricity demand in industrial parks estimated at nearly 4,000 megawatts, Ansari said the long-term goal is to meet all consumption through solar power.

To support that target, the organization has signed an agreement with the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Organization (SATBA) to build 500 megawatts of new solar plants inside or adjacent to industrial towns by the end of the year.

He said pilot projects are underway in three provinces. At Shamsabad Industrial Park, construction of a solar facility has already started, while in Khorasan Razavi, authorities have acquired a 1,000-hectare plot across from the province's main industrial town to host one of Iran's largest solar parks.

Ansari said rooftop solar installations for industrial units are also being phased in, alongside plans for a shared solar-energy

He said small and medium-sized enterprises lack the financial and institutional resources of large companies, which makes them more vulnerable to outages. Power cuts of two to three days a week raise production costs by around 10 percent, he said, adding that these increases feed directly into consumer inflation. Point-to-point inflation in the food and beverages sector is now above 60 percent, with higher electricity-linked costs acting as a contributing factor.

Ansari said Iran has more than 880 industrial parks and 50,000 active production units, many involved in food and beverage manufacturing. Any disruption to electricity supply in these zones directly affects prices of essential goods, he said, calling for a more protective approach to power management in the sector.

Iran's renewable energy capacity is hoped to reach 4,000 megawatts (MW) by the end of the next Iranian calendar month (December 21), according to Mohsen Tarztalab, deputy energy minister and head of the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Organization (SATBA).

In his recent press conference, Tarztalab said that the capacity of the country's renewable power plants has reached 2,720 megawatts by October 27, whereas at the beginning of the administration, the figure was approximately 1,300 megawatts.

He added that by the end of the current Iranian month, an additional 420 megawatts will be added to this capacity, and if financial resources are provided on time, it is hoped that we will reach 4,000 megawatts by the end of the next month.

Tarztalab emphasized that if this goal is realized, the path to achieving 7,000 megawatts by the end of the year (March 20, 2026) will be feasible; however, if there are delays in financial measures, the final figure will be a maximum of 5,200 megawatts.

In order to develop renewable energy, enhance energy productivity, and support sustainable employment in rural areas, a joint cooperation memorandum was signed, in late October, between the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Organization (SATBA) and the Headquarters for the Development and Progress of 4040 Rural Clusters.

This memorandum was signed in line with the implementation of the general policies of the system and the provisions of the Seventh Development Plan law, aiming to maintain and attract the rural population, create local employment, strengthen the rural economy, and expand the use of clean and renewable energy nationwide.

Based on the terms of the memorandum, the parties committed to increasing renewable electricity generation capacity by up to 800 megawatts by constructing small-scale renewable power plants in the country's villages within the framework of SATBA's development models and by signing long-term guaranteed electricity purchase contracts with the private sector and people's cooperatives.

The duration of this memorandum is set for five years, and its extension or revision will be done by mutual agreement and based

According to the stipulated commitments, SATBA is obligated to support the private sector and people's cooperatives in constructing renewable power plants, undertake regional planning, introduce qualified contractors, provide technical standards, train operators, and exercise supreme supervision over the construction and operation of the power plants. Furthermore, SATBA is committed to signing 20-year guaranteed electricity purchase contracts, facilitating the connection of power plants to the grid, and making timely payments for invoices.

On the other hand, the Headquarters for the Development and Progress of 4040 Rural Clusters is tasked with creating coordination mechanisms among executive bodies, identifying local capacities, informing rural municipalities and cooperatives about the plans, and pursuing financing through agent banks to facilitate the implementation of renewable projects in the target areas.

The parties also emphasized conducting joint visits, developing executive bylaws, documenting actions, and forming national and provincial steering committees to follow up on the projects. Based on the signed memorandum, the joint action plan will be implemented in the first year in the provinces of Lorestan, Kohgiluyeh-Boyer Ahmad, Golestan, Khuzestan, South Khorasan, Kerman, West Azarbaijan, East Azarbaijan, Isfahan, and Hamedan.

### Mining, metals exports rise to \$7.1b in H1

TEHRAN - Iran's mining and metals sector exported more than \$7.1 billion worth of products in the first six months of the current Iranian year (March 21-September 22), marking a solid increase in both volume and value, according to new data from the Iranian Mines and Mining Industries Development and Renovation Organization (IMID-

The Economic Management and International Relations Office at IMIDRO said customs statistics show that during the six-month period, the sector exported 38.53 million tons of products valued at \$7.107 billion.

In the same period last year, exports stood at 31.07 million tons worth \$6.478 billion.

The comparison reflects a roughly 24 percent rise in export volume and a 10 percent increase in export value.



The largest share of first-half exports came from the production chains of steel, aluminum and copper. Combined, these three product groups accounted for 23.02 million tons valued at \$5.465 billion.

This marked a 45 percent increase in volume and a 12 percent rise in value compared with the same period a year earlier, when Iran Mine House, the country re-

exports totaled 15.85 million tons worth \$4.882 billion.

According to the report, the share of mining and mineral industries in Iran's total exports grew noticeably in the first half of the year, rising 16 percent in volume and nine percent in value.

As stated by the head of the

quires about €55 billion (around \$59 billion) in new investment to achieve its planned 13 percent growth target for the mining sector under the 7th National Development Plan.

Mohammad Reza Bahraman, speaking at a press conference ahead of the 19th Iran ConMine Exhibition on mining, mineral industries, machinery and related equipment, emphasized the importance of joint investment frameworks with neighboring countries to boost development in the sector.

He said the mining industry must explore new markets to ensure its long-term sustainability, calling for closer cooperation between government and private stakeholders.

"For the mining sector to thrive, policy and economy must work hand in hand," Bahraman

#### Iran, CACCI leadership discuss trade's role in regional stability at Colombo meeting

TEHRAN - Ghadir Ghiyafeh, deputy head of the Iran Chamber of Commerce. Industries. Mines and Agriculture (ICCIMA), met with Peter McMullen, president of the Confederation of Asia-Pacific Chambers of Commerce and Industry (CACCI), on the sidelines of the CAC-CI International Conference in the Sri Lankan

The meeting focused on the role of trade in strengthening regional stability and maintaining economic continuity during periods of geopolitical tension.

The two sides exchanged views on current regional developments and the contribution

of chambers of commerce to safeguarding economic stability. McMullen highlighted the organization's recent diplomatic initiatives, noting that CACCI – supported by the efforts of Alireza Yavari, CACCI vice president, and the organization's senior leadership - has opened formal communication with the United Nations secretary-general to encourage measures that support a ceasefire and prevent disruption to trade flows.

Ghiyafeh invited McMullen to make his next regional visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran, proposing stops in Tehran as well as the cultural and economic centers of Shiraz and Isfahan.

He underlined Iran's extensive industrial, commercial and cultural capacities and emphasized the constructive role that trade can play in promoting peace and stability across

Both sides reiterated their willingness to expand cooperation among chambers of commerce in Asia and the Pacific and to build on the organization's existing networks.

The meeting concluded on a positive note, with agreement on the importance of sustained engagement to strengthen economic ties and support broader regional stability.

#### Regional IOSCO meeting in Abu Dhabi highlights deeper capital market cooperation

TEHRAN - Regulators from more than 20 countries gathered in the United Arab Emirates for the annual meeting of the Africa and Middle East (West Asia) Regional Committee (AMERC) of the International Organization of Securities Commissions (IOSCO), where participants emphasized the need to expand cross-border collaboration and strengthen market oversight. Iran took part in all main sessions and underscored its commitment to regional engagement and alignment with international capital-market standards.

The opening session featured Walid Saeed Al Awadhi, chair of AMERC and chief executive of the UAE Securities and Commodities Authority, alongside Emmanuel Givanakis, chief executive of the Abu Dhabi Financial Services Regulatory Authority.

Speaking at the opening session, IOSCO deputy secretary-general Tajinder Singh outlined the organization's priorities, including tackling digital-market risks and advancing the I-SCAN initiative aimed at improving supervision of online securities ac-

The meeting centered on five strategic themes of IOSCO: technology and resilience, developments in public and private markets, investor protection, market and data resilience, and enhanced regulatory cooperation. These themes formed the basis for broad policy discussions among regional authorities seeking greater harmonization of rules and supervisory practices.

four specialized panels convened. Officials from Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Kuwait, Oman and Saudi Arabia discussed efforts to expand and diversify capital markets. Regulators from Ghana, Nigeria

Union described initiatives to deepen cross-border integration. Supervisory authorities from Dubai, Morocco, South Africa and the UAE examined best practices

and the West African Monetary

A final panel brought updates on regulatory reforms and market trends from Dubai, Morocco

in cross-border regulatory coop-

and the West African union. Bilateral engagements formed

a significant part of the program. Hamid Yari, who headed the Following the adoption of the Iranian delegation, held meetings agenda and presentation of the with several counterparts. Giva-AMERC annual activity report, nakis welcomed Iran's construc- supervision.

tive participation. Qatar's regulator, Tamim bin Ahmed Al-Banali, called for continued technical cooperation and expert exchanges.

Morocco's newly appointed chief regulator, Tarek Senhaji, discussed upcoming IOSCO events and expressed interest in attending Iran's Islamic Capital Markets Conference. Ghana's regulator, Klotse Avedzi, reaffirmed plans to operationalize an existing cooperation agreement and establish a joint working group. Further discussions were held with representatives from Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Mauritius, Nigeria and the Central Bank of Bahrain.

The first day concluded with broad exchanges of experience and a shared commitment to expanding regional cooperation in capital-market development and

#### 'Maritime-based economy plan has a deep developmental vision'

TEHRAN- The former head of Iran's Ports and Maritime Organization (PMO) said the comprehensive plan of maritime-based economy has a deep developmental vision and is intended to be the basis for all future deci-

Ali Akbar Safaei also noted: "The realization of a maritime economy does not require waiting; we have the expertise, experience, and sufficient capital to take action."

On October 29, the representative of the president for coordinating maritime-based development policies said the government has completed and approved a comprehensive plan for sea-based development consisting of 56 articles, aimed at strengthening the participation of the public and private sectors alongside the government.

Ali Abdolalizadeh told IRIB that following six months of expert work and numerous coordination meetings, the plan has been approved by the Secretariat's Coordination Working Group for maritime-Based Development.

It is now ready to be submitted to the Sea-Based Development Coordination Council and subsequently to the Cabinet for final approval,

He noted that the new plan revises the version drafted during the 13th administration, which contained 44 articles. The updated version adds 12 new articles and revises 35 others, leaving only nine articles unchanged.

Abdolalizadeh emphasized that the new framework envisions a greater role for citizens and civil organizations in maritime development efforts.

In addition to state bodies, it formally includes non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as private and public jointstock companies, to participate in achieving maritime-based economic goals.

Iranian deputy oil minister for engineering. research, and technology has stressed that maritime-based economy is a national mis-

Speaking at a specialized meeting on the IMO's carbon emission reduction requirements, Omid Shakeri announced the new requirements set by the International Maritime Organization (IMO) to reduce carbon emissions in the shipping sector, stating: "The policies for developing a maritime-based economy, which were issued by the Leader in November 2023, have opened new horizons for the oil industry, maritime transportation, and modern technologies."

He noted that these regulations could be both a threat and an opportunity, emphasizing, "If we aim to expand international trade, maritime transportation in compliance with global standards is inevitable. We believe that through timely action and reliance on engi-

neering and research capabilities, we can turn this threat into an opportunity."

Iran's Ports and Maritime Organization (PMO), in a report, has underlined the importance of the country's maritime capacities and the role that the sector can play in developing the country's economy.

According to the report, maritime sector in Iran has very high capacity in various fields including trade, ports and shipping due to the country's strategic location, long coastal strip in the north and south and access to open waters, and can bring economic prosperity to the

"About a third of the country's borders are water borders, so we cannot ignore port and shipping activities because for a country that has long water borders and access to open waters, the prosperity of shipping and maritime trade is essential. Therefore, the government should pay full attention to the strengths and weaknesses of this sector and make the best use of the current capacities with proper planning," the report read.

Increasing the share of the maritime sector in the country's gross domestic product (GDP) under the framework of the newly proposed maritime-oriented policy should be one of the most important concerns of the government, which can be achieved with proper planning, the PMO said.

## Post-election Iraq review

From page 1 ▶ There have also been exploratory meetings involving Qais al-Khazali of Sadiqoun, Hadi al-Amiri's Badr Organization, and other influential groups that performed well.

In 2021, Shia parties formed the Coordination Framework, which ultimately chose Sudani, then a relatively unknown former mayor, as prime minister.

This year, those parties within the Coordination Framework ran separately, but there are signs they may be edging toward reuniting. Still, based on early numbers and political signals, the next government may require a broader parliamentary coalition that extends beyond Shia factions to include Sunni and Kurdish partners.

Reports suggest that major components of the Coordination Framework have secured about 93 seats without Sudani.

On other hand, Halbousi's Progress Party performed strongly, ranking second in Baghdad, the country's political center. For many, the ideal outcome would be a tripartite alliance strong enough to swiftly shape parliament, form a government, and



select a president.

Before the vote, some in the Coordination Framework were reportedly opposed to renewing Sudani's mandate. But after the polls, Sudani emerged as the strongest winner among the Shia parties in several provinces, giving him leverage as coalition negotiations begin. He now has a credible claim to lead talks with Shia, Sunni and Kurdish

This election could break old patterns but Iraqi politicians are well aware that the largest party that emerges as winner rarely forms the government, even when it leads in multiple provinces.

Much will depend on whether Shia parties can assemble a unified and coherent coalition. If they do, Sudani's chances of a second term will improve. If not, a consensus candidate acceptable to Sudani's Alliance for Reconstruction and Development, which led Shia voting in Baghdad and other areas, could emerge instead.

For now, all scenarios remain on the table.

Under Irag's power-sharing system, the premiership must go to a Shia Arab, the parliamentary speakership to a Sunni Arab, and the presidency to a Kurd.

For ordinary Iraqis, the priority is ensuring the country avoids a constitutional vacuum, and with it, another stretch of weak caretaker governance unable to make meaningful decisions.

Many remember the year-long paralysis that followed the 2021 election, when the Sadrist movement won the most seats but failed to form a government amid record-low turnout. The resulting deadlock ultimately erupted into deadly street clashes between Sadr's supporters and government forces inside Baghdad's Green

Voters want a swift, stable government formation process capable of addressing domestic needs and safeguarding Iraq's sovereignty. The mandate handed to these newly elected politicians reflects that hope.

#### How Lebanese actors empower Israel

From page 1 ▶ That legacy is not a historical footnote, it is the ideological backbone of a political camp that continues to see foreign intervention as an opportunity rather than a threat.

Today, that legacy reemerges through politicians who view external pressure against the Resistance as a strategic tool to reshape Lebanon's internal landscape.

This behavior has consequences. For years, Lebanese actors have supplied Western embassies with distorted accounts, exaggerations, or outright fabrications, hoping to weaponize foreign power against their domestic rivals.

These narratives travel from Beirut salons to Washington think tanks, to European diplomats, and ultimately to Tel Aviv, where they are repackaged as "evidence" to justify sanctions, military escalation, or political isolation of the

President Michel Aoun once cautioned against Lebanese personalities "spreading poison in the United States"—a phrase that many dismissed at the time, but which now appears prescient. What Aoun described is not a marginal phenomenon; it is a structural trend.

Equally alarming is the role of Western-funded media institutions that echo, sanitize, and amplify these narratives. Their reporting routinely aligns with embassy talking points: vilifying the Resistance, legitimizing American intervention, and presenting Israeli threats as rational consequences of Lebanese "misbehav-

Backed by grants, workshops, and diplomatic access, such outlets manufacture a soft consensus that foreign pressure is both necessary and inevitable.

Together, these forces push Lebanon toward a profoundly dangerous moment. They chip away at national sovereignty, embolden the Israeli enemy, and fracture internal unity at a time when regional tensions are already boiling. The stakes are no longer merely political. They are existential.

As Lebanon marks its Independence Day on November 22, the country faces another test of sovereignty, this time in the cultural sphere. Casino du Liban's decision to celebrate the occasion with three performances by French singer Kendji Girac has stirred intense controversy.

Girac's public positions and associations reflect clear sympathy toward the Israeli entity, prompting many Lebanese to question how a national holiday rooted in liberation and dignity could feature an artist aligned with narratives

Independence Day is not a neutral festivity; it is a symbol resistance against French occupation and Western hegemony.

Hosting an artist who, through statements or affiliations, legitimizes the very entity responsible for decades of aggression against Lebanon challenges the moral and historical meaning of the day. The issue transcends artistic taste.

#### Poll: Americans oppose Trump's aggression against Venezuela

A Reuters/Ipsos poll published Friday found only 29% of Americans support using U.S. military force to kill suspected drug traffickers without a judge — a striking public rebuke of an administration strategy that has already staged roughly 19-20 strikes in the Caribbean and eastern Pacific and, by Reuters' count, killed scores of people.

The survey, conducted online of

1,200 adults from November 7-12, also showed just 35% back using U.S. forces in Venezuela to combat trafficking and only 21% favor military action to remove President Nicolás Maduro, underscoring reluctance to broaden a campaign critics call extrajudicial and dan-

Washington frames the operations as a wartime response to car-

tels; human-rights organizations and legal analysts warn the strikes risk breaching international law and normalizing bypassing courts.

administration's recent steps — including CIA authorities for covert operations in Venezuela and a \$50 million reward for information on Maduro — have amplified Caracas's warnings and prompted Venezuela to mobilize

defenses as U.S. carrier forces enter the region.

Taken together, the poll and the regional deployments expose both a domestic political cost and a legal-strategic dilemma: a U.S. policy that sacrifices established interdiction and prosecution norms risks inflaming a regional confrontation while enjoying only limited public backing at home.

#### Pakistan accuses Afghan nationals of twin suicide bombings

Pakistani authorities on November 13 accused Afghan nationals of carrying out two suicide bombings that struck the South Asian nation earlier this week, including one in Islamabad, The Cradle reported Friday.

Interior Minister Mohsin Naqvi told his country's parliament on Thursday that both bombers involved in the attacks have been identified as

The Taliban government in Kabul has not responded to the accusation.

On Tuesday, a suicide bomber targeted a police patrol outside a court in Islamabad, killing 12 people and wounding 27 others.

The day before, another suicide bomber rammed his vehicle into the main gate of a military school in the South Waziristan district, killing three people.

The attack opened the way for heavily armed militants to enter the school, where they battled Pakistani soldiers for more than 24 hours before

being killed.

Roughly 500 civilian students and staff remained trapped in another part of the complex during the fighting.

No group claimed responsibility for the Tuesday attack. Still, Islamabad says Kabul is harboring militants within its territory from the Pakistani Taliban and using them as a proxy to carry out terror attacks in Pakistan.

Islamabad also blames India for supporting the militants.

The Pakistani Taliban, formally known as Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), denied involvement in the attacks.

"We are in a state of war," said Pakistani Defense Minister Khawaja Muhammad Asif after the attacks. "Bringing this war to Islamabad is a message from Kabul, to which Pakistan has the full power to respond," he stressed.

Tensions between Islamabad and Kabul have

deepened after talks between the two sides collapsed earlier this week. The two sides began peace negotiations following 10 days of intense border clashes in early October.

Afghan Foreign Minister Amir Khan Muttaqi said negotiations failed after Pakistan made "unreasonable" demands that Kabul guarantee security inside Pakistan.

He accused Islamabad of using trade and refugee issues as political leverage while attempting to link its domestic unrest to Afghanistan.

The meetings, mediated by Turkey and Oatar in Istanbul, ended without agreement as Pakistan pressed Kabul to curb the TTP, an issue Afghan officials say lies beyond their control.

Pakistan also fought a brief war with India in May, after New Delhi launched airstrikes on Islamabad following a terror attack by unknown militants that killed 26 Indian tourists in the Pahalgam valley region of Indian-occupied Kash-

#### Kyiv ablaze after overnight barrage as Ukraine and Russia trade long-range strikes Russian outlets framed the

A heavy overnight missile-and-drone barrage struck Kyiv and other Ukrainian cities late Thursday into Friday, igniting fires in residential areas, damaging energy facilities, and prompting rolling blackouts.

Authorities reported five deaths and more than 34 wounded amid intense air-defense activity, with Kyiv's mayor describing it as one of the largest recent attacks.

as countermeasures against Ukrainian attacks on logistics and energy sites inside Russia, reporting large numbers of Ukrainian drones intercepted. Kyiv disputes those figures but confirmed reciprocal long-range strikes on Russian refineries and depots.

On the front, independent battlefield assessments noted Thursday that Russian units are pressing toward Pokrovsk and Myrnohrad, raising the prospect of encirclement of Ukrainian formations and threatening a key rail hub.

Ukrainian commanders are fighting to halt the advance, aware that a collapse of supply lines could have strategic consequences, according to the Institute for the Study of War.

The exchanges reflect a widening pattern: mutual targeting of civilian-facing infrastructure and an expanded use of domestically produced long-range missiles and

Millions have already endured power cuts earlier this week, and humanitarian strain is expected to intensify as winter approaches and diplomacy remains stalled.

## INTERNATIONAL

**NOVEMBER 15, 2025** Straight Truth TEHRAN TIMES

## U.S. proposal for Gaza: 'Board of Peace' or cover for occupation?

From page 1 ▶ The proposal envisions a foreign security presence through 2027, with broad authority over Gaza's borders, humanitarian corridors, and demilitarization efforts. Crucially, it sidelines the Palestinian Authority and excludes any representative Palestinian role during the transition.

One of the most controversial components of the plan is the creation of a "Board of Peace," a transitional governing body intended to oversee Gaza's administration and reconstruction. This board would supervise a "technocratic, apolitical Palestinian committee" and would hold sweeping authority until externally defined conditions for "Palestinian reform" are met. The structure raises serious concerns about sovereignty and democratic legitimacy. It effectively places Gaza's future under the supervision of an internationally imposed body rather than under Palestinian control. The design appears to centralize decision-making in the hands of external powers, aligning closely with U.S. and Israeli political objectives.

The economic dimension of the proposal, often described as the "Riviera Plan," further reflects this approach. By envisioning Gaza as a future hub for tourism and investment, the plan reframes reconstruction as a commercial project rather than a political process grounded in rights and self-determination. Critics argue that such visions attempt to substitute economic promises for genuine liberation and gloss over the structural realities of occupation and block-

In contrast, Russia and China have articulated more balanced and sovereignty-focused positions within the UN. Both countries have rejected the idea of the Board of Peace and have opposed externally imposed governance arrangements that exclude Palestinians from shaping their own political future. Russia has proposed an alternative resolution calling for the UN Secretary-General to independently assess options for a stabilization force, while China has emphasized the primacy of Palestinian sovereignty, international law, and the need for a credible path toward statehood. Their stance provides an important counterweight to attempts to consolidate U.S. influence over Gaza's postwar trajectory.

Taken together, the Trump plan appears less a genuine peace initiative and more a framework designed to entrench existing power structures while granting Israel and the United States substantial control over Gaza's future. Any sustainable peace must center Palestinian rights, representation, and self-determination, not replace them with externally imposed mechanisms presented as diplomatic solutions.

### 'Knew about the girls:' New emails shatter Trump's Epstein façade

By Garsha Vazirian

TEHRAN – Just days after the U.S. government shutdown ended, the House Oversight Committee released roughly 20,000 pages of documents from Jeffrey Epstein's estate that have reignited a scandal some thought closed.

The documents include emails in which Epstein claims President Donald Trump "knew about the girls," and a 2015 note to a New York Times reporter that reads, "Would you like [a] photo of Donald [Trump] and girls in bikinis in my kitchen," lines that critics say confirm long-standing allegations about Trump's deep connection to Epstein.

Many observers and the committee itself say the material merits urgent scrutiny; the White House calls the release a politically motivated smear.

The emails show that Epstein, in venomous asides to Obama's ex-deputy counsel Kathy Ruemmler, dubbed Trump "so gross... worse in real life and up close," and to Larry Summers: "Not one decent cell in his [Trump's] body."

Yet proximity bred complicity: Trump spent "hours" sequestered with victim Virginia Giuffre at Epstein's manse, per a 2011 dispatch, though she later cleared him of abuse — a "dog that didn't bark," Epstein gloated, hinting at unspoken lever-

In a 2017 email to his attorney, Epstein claims he arranged "a \$30 million loan from the casino to Donald Trump," described as backdated, and instructs counsel to "have one of your cronies ask to see the mortgage to Mar-a-Lago... cash from the electricians' union" — adding that "his driver Matt was the bag man, later made an exec at the public

Post-2016 victory, Epstein haunted Trump Tower. Epstein, whose 2019 suicide in a Manhattan cell preempted his trafficking trial, wasn't merely a lone wolf of Wall Street vice.

Beyond the most lurid snippets, an arguably more consequential strand of the files — first as-

sembled and reported in detail by investigative outlet Drop Site News — connects Epstein to former Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak and to a senior Israeli intelligence operative, Yoni Koren.

As revealed in leaked emails analyzed and published by Drop Site News, calendars and hacked Barak emails show Koren staying at Epstein's Manhattan apartment on multiple occasions between 2013 and 2016, bank-transfer details routed through Epstein, and exchanges suggesting Epstein helped broker security and surveillance projects involving Israel internationally.

Those reports portray Epstein as a facilitator not only of sex trafficking but of influence and intelligence-adjacent operations.

Drop Site's series goes further: it documents emails in which Epstein drafted talking points for Barak, discussed potential backchannels to Russia during the Syrian civil war, and pushed security deals in places such as Mongolia and Côte d'Ivoire claims that, if corroborated, would recast Epstein as a geopolitical intermediary with unusually intimate ties to Israeli officials.

Despite months of cover-up efforts by the Trump administration, the disclosures have triggered a volatile showdown over secrecy and accountability in Washington.

House Democrats cast the release as proof of deliberate concealment, while key Republicans split: Thomas Massie broke ranks and demanded full, unredacted transparency, even filing a bipartisan measure to force the remaining files into the

Survivors and advocates say the documents reopen painful questions about who protected Epstein and why.

What emerges from the flood of pages is a portrait of a man who trafficked young women while simultaneously cultivating corridors of power that spanned finance, politics, and Israeli intelligence ties now exposed as undeniable through investiga-

#### Capitalist expansion and US intervention in Latin America

By Batool Subeiti

LONDON - The United States is going through a major economic crisis, which is why Trump talks about controlling places like Greenland or the Panama Canal, and makes threats of military action against the oil-rich Venezuela, and even talking about annexing Canada.

This is because the financial crisis in America is enormous and its debt has topped \$38 trillion. Therefore, it looks for control over new, resource-rich lands and new investments.

This is the nature of capitalism, when it exhausts itself within certain limits, it starts thinking about expansion to strengthen the capitalist system. It is not satisfied with just fi-

nancial dominance over the global financial system; it needs land and new investments.

Among the countries that say "no" and want to be free and sovereign over their own wealth are those that Trump and the U.S. administration dislike. The same goes for Iran, or any other country that opposes Washington's control and interference in strategically important regions for Western interests, like West Asia.

The same situation applies to northern South America, the countries that aren't loyal to the United States and oppose its dominance over their resources and politics. The U.S. wants to change their systems and make them subordinate.

(See full text at tehrantimes.com)

## **TOURISM**

**TEHRAN TIMES** 

#### Handicrafts, important capacity for developing experience-based tourism in Kish

TEHRAN—Handicrafts are considered as major potential for boosting the experience-oriented tourism in Kish Island, Hormozgan province, Deputy Minister of Handicrafts Maryam Jalali-Dehkordi has said.

Pointing to the identity-based economy, she said that Kish Island can be the best place to display Iranian handicrafts, IRIB reported.

Stating that handicrafts are an identity-based economy, he added that Kish, as a free economic zone, should benefit from this identity element, and fortunately, the capacity exists in this southern island.

Jalali-Dehkordi noted that tourism and handicrafts are the two main wings of the development of creative industries, and every hotel, ecotourism, restaurant, entertainment center, or commercial location that is launched in Kish can benefit from handicrafts to provide distinctive services to the tourists, because each handicraft product has a special story and narrative.

She referred to the consultations with the Kish Free Zone Organization and said: "Our goal for Kish is to be a window for introducing the handicrafts throughout Iran, and a new approach is being formed in this direction both in the economic field by completing the value chain and in the cultural field and storytelling for tourists."

Referring to the importance of narrative in the experience-based tourism, she stated that in a world where stories and experiences are the main factors in attracting tourists, handicrafts can be a new tool for identifying the Kish brand; especially during Kish Week, which is a symbol of the identity of Kish Is-

Jalali-Dehkordi pointed to the vast potential of Iranian handicrafts in modern fields and said that from theme and cultural parks to urban furniture, handicrafts can play a role, and Kish artists can also lead the way with their unique talent.

Referring to the provision of new financial facilities to the applicants, she added that in Note 15 of current year's budget, very good facilities have been considered for the employment of handicrafts activists, and its interest rate has decreased significantly compared to the previous years.

She said that efforts have been made to transform the handicrafts from an individual-oriented activity to an organizational and association-based field so that the industrial clusters can develop the business environment while maintaining the authenticity.

The deputy minister also announced the compilation of a comprehensive handicrafts management value chain document, adding that this document is being reviewed by the Government's Cultural Commission and could lead to greater cooperation and convergence in the field of handicrafts.

Given the concentration of decision-making in free zones, this area could have better results in Kish, she added.

## Tehran hosts expert meeting on entrepreneurial skills for nomadic women

TEHRAN - Iran has played host to an expert meeting aimed at developing entrepreneurial skills among female bearers of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) from nomadic communities, officials

The "Expert Meeting on Developing Entrepreneurial Skills among Female ICH Bearers from Nomadic Communities for Improved and Sustainable Livelihood" was held in Tehran on Wednesday with participants discussing the role of nomadic women in cultural transmission, livelihoods, and sustainable development.

Ali Darabi, deputy minister of cultural heritage and chair of the Tehran regional center for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, said nomadic women are "not only the guardians of language, art, and ritual, but also key actors in the social and economic sustainability of nomadic communities."

He said Iran seeks to form an international network to support experience-sharing and cross-border cooperation among women ICH bearers.

Darabi said the project on empowering nomadic women in West and Central Asia, recently approved, aims to strengthen local communities, gather and transmit traditional knowledge, and reconnect policy-making with cultural

UNESCO 2003 Convention Secretary Fumiko Ohinata, in a message to the meeting, said nomadic and pastoralist heritage remains a

"dynamic part of the cultural fabric of West and Central Asia." She said traditional skills, crafts, and livestock-related knowledge play a central role in addressing sustainable development issues, including livelihoods and food security. Ohinata said the United Na-

tions has designated 2026 as the International Year of Rangelands and Pastoralists. She added that safeguarding nomadic heritage requires adapting transmission methods to modern life while avoiding over-commercialization. She said women play a fundamental role by sustaining livelihoods and transferring knowledge and practices to younger generations.

Maryam Jalali, deputy minister for handicrafts, for her part, said sustainable development rests on "well-being, satisfaction, and meaning," and that nomadic communities reflect these elements through their adaptation to nature and defined social roles. She said children in nomadic families learn skills from early life and that women serve as "teachers of resilience and craft," contributing to economic activity through weaving, dairy production, and traditional food preparation.

Atousa Momeni, head of the regional center, said studies on nomadism reflect "the lived knowledge of people who practiced sustainability long before the term existed." She said nomadic traditions provide insights into climate resilience, adding that "indigenous knowledge offers answers to today's environmental challenges."

Seyyed Zia Hashemi, deputy for cultural and social affairs in the vice-president's office, said nomadic communities maintain strong cultural and emotional ties, adding that their close relationship with nature makes their heritage relevant for contemporary policy. "Nomadic culture can be a guide for sustainable living," he said.

Several other participants to the meeting also held discussions focused on strengthening entrepreneurial skills, improving livelihood opportunities, and enhancing the visibility of women who safeguard intangible cultural heritage across nomadic communities in West and

### Khorasan Razavi tourism chief emphasizes importance of interaction between regional countries



TEHRAN--Director General of Khorasan Razavi Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts Department Seyyed Javad Mousavi emphasized the importance of cultural interaction between the countries of the region on the sideline of his visit to Kyrgyzstan.

He said: "One of the valuable capacities of cooperation between ECO member countries is holding joint cultural weeks. We can organize a joint cultural week in Khorasan Razavi province, especially in Mashhad city, in coordination with the member countries and invite all ECO member countries to it. We can also have a joint plan to hold a Nowruz cultural week of the member countries that are located on the Silk Road. These measures can be very effective in developing cultural exchanges and tourism," ISNA reported.

Mousavi added that Kyrgyzstan has significant capacities in the field of ecotourism, geoparks and natural landscapes, and it has been decided to make a special plan for the joint use of these capacities.

Regarding the visit of Khorasan Razavi delegation to Osh Cave Museum in Kyrgyzstan, he said: "This trip included a visit to one of the country's world-class historical monuments, for which appropriate infrastructure had been provided. In the field of handicrafts, significant activities have been carried out in the field of felt and pottery. Of course, in terms of standardization and training, the country's accommodation capacities are still limited,

and it is necessary to cooperate in training the international standards in this field."

Mousavi continued by saying about the impact of foreign trips on the development of tourism in Khorasan Razavi: "Such trips play an important role in the development of tourism in the province. The experience of previous trips has also shown that these opportunities can be used in the direction of tourism diplomacy and regional interactions. Given the current conditions of the country, the best opportunity to strengthen diplomacy is interaction with neighboring countries, and we must benefit from these capacities in a desirable way."

He added: "During our previous trip to Pakistan, we visited the provinces of Karachi and Lahore, and there is a great potential for cooperation there. Pakistan has about 40 million passengers, and given the significant Shia population, this unique capacity can play an important role in the development of pilgrimage tourism. Fortunately, over the past year, flights between Mashhad and Pakistan have increased to four, which has also provided a very good opportunity for rise in trade and exports."

Mousavi stated: "Regarding Uzbekistan, preparations have been made for direct flights from Mashhad to Samarkand and Bukhara, and we hope to be able to expand these interactions and communications in other countries in the region as well."

### Ardabil to offer 110 tourism investment opportunities at intl. forum

TEHRAN - Ardabil will present 110 identified tourism investment opportunities at an international forum scheduled to be held in the northwestern Iranian province, the provincial tourism chief said on Thursday.

Jalil Jabari, director-general of the Ardabil Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts Department, told reporters that the opportunities have been prepared for introduction to potential investors ahead of the international investment

He said Ardabil's natural, historical and cultural assets including Mount Sabalan, mineral hot springs, historical monuments such as the UNE-SCO-registered Sheikh Safi al-Din Khanegah and Shrine Ensemble, local customs, tourism model zones and target villages, make tourism one of the province's main development pillars.

Jabari said Ardabil hosts about six million tourists annually and has more than 15,000 accommodation beds, making it one of the country's major tourism hubs. He then underlined that provincial development policies define tourism as a foundation for sustainable growth. so far expressed readiness to implement proj-spells lasting into late spring.

The official noted that the department, in cooperation with other bodies and through a specialized tourism committee, has identified 110 defined investment opportunities and about 24 special potential projects for presentation at the

According to Jabari, the projects include hotels, recreational and accommodation complexes, hydrotherapy centers, apartment hotels and eco-lodges. He said required clearances have been obtained from agencies including utility providers of gas, electricity and telecommunications companies, and the projects are ready for investor engagement.

Jabari said successful investment cases in the province will also be showcased at a side exhibition to help investors assess the environment. An investment advisory desk will address legal, tax and technical questions, and a specialized tourism meeting will introduce unnamed opportunities and legal incentives.

Elsewhere in his remarks, the official said that eight national tourism holding companies have ects worth about 200 trillion rials (\$200 million) in the province, including five-star hotels, wellness villages, tourism complexes and inbound tour programs. Some projects will be launched or formal cooperation agreements will be signed during the forum, he added.

Jabari said between 350 trillion and 400 trillion rials (\$350 million to \$400 million) have already been invested in tourism projects in Ardabil, with progress in some cases ranging from 20% to 70%. He said 90 projects are currently underway, providing an estimated 4,000 direct and indirect jobs.

In addition, the official highlighted rising investor demand reflects confidence in the sector's outlook. Provincial authorities and service agencies have increased support to expand domestic and foreign tourism investment, he add-

Ardabil, the provincial capital, is located in northwestern Iran about 61 km from the Caspian Sea on a high plain 1.400 meters above sea level. just east of Mount Sabalan. It experiences cold

#### Saveh holds Samanu-Pazan ritual to mark Hazrat Fatemeh Zahra martyrdom

TEHRAN--Samanu-Pazan ritual is held by the people of Saveh city in Markazi province, during the mourning days of martyrdom of Hazrat Fatemeh Zahra (SA) as in previous years.

Samanu is a traditional Iranian sweet paste made entirely from mashed germinated wheat. This year, the historical house of Moghaddaszadeh in Saveh is hosting this ceremony, ISNA reported.

Samanu-Pazan ritual is performed to commemorate Hazrat Fatemeh Zahra (SA) and the five members of Prophet Muhammad's Household (The five members of Al-Aba refer to the Prophet of Islam himself, his beloved daughter Hazrat Fatemeh (SA), his son-inlaw Imam Ali (AS) and his grandchildren Imam Hassan (AS) and Imam Hussein (AS).

The historic Moghaddaszadeh House, a Qajar mansion with a pomegranate garden and tiled veranda (iwan), hosted hundreds of citizens on Wednesday night who rolled up their sleeves to boil the Samanu pot for the tables of their neighbors, but the turning point of the ceremony was the arrival of the caravan of Razavi honorary servants from Imam Reza (AS) Holy Shrine.

The Razavi servants, participating in the Samanu-Pazan ritual, blessed the Samanu pots with the blessing of the shrine and mixed the tears of joy of the mourners of Hazrat Fatemeh (AS) with the whispering the special prayer.

The servants first circled the copper pots, recited Salawat Khase (special prayer) of Imam Reza (AS) loudly, and then sprinkled the pure rose water of the shrine on the wheat sprouts. Every stirring of the Samanu pot was accompanied by sending blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and every boiling of the Samanu was accompanied by the mention of 'Ya Fatemeh'. People were shedding

Saveh Mayor Reza Mesbahi said that Samanu-Pazan is not just a ritual; it is a practical class in em-

He added that the municipality played the role of facilitator in the Samanu-Pazan ritual so that the people themselves could be the stage directors.

From providing the infrastructure to preparing the courtyard of the historic Moghaddaszadeh house, everything was done so that the citizens could feel that this ceremony belonged to them, he pointed out.

Also, Head of Saveh Islamic City Council Saeed Karimi referred to the enthusiastic presence of the youth and said that this ritual means that the Samanu-Pazan during the martyrdom days of Hazrat Fatemeh (AS) is a living tra-

He announced the approval of a special budget for Saveh's Native Events Calendar, adding that Samanu-Pazan, Yalda night (Shab-e Chelleh), and even the Rain Prayer ritual are all included in the council's annual program so that the identity of Saveh can be passed on from generation to generation.

The religious rituals, regardless of their religious dimensions, are an important part of the historical and cultural traditions of this land and are valuable and worthy of preservation as intangible heritage, and hosting the Samanu-Pazan ritual during the mourning days of Hazrat Fatemeh Zahra (AS) in one of the historical monuments of Saveh has resulted in the synergy of the identity elements of this city.

The tradition of Samanu preparation is deeply rooted in family heritage, with recipes passed down from grandparents to grandchildren. Remarkably, the Samanu made in this region can last up to two years without refrigeration, a testament to its unique quality and preservation techniques.

The ritual not only celebrates this local product but also aligns with the spirit of Nowruz, the Iranian New Year, where Samanu is one of the seven items placed on the Haft-Seen table, symbolizing renewal and the arrival of spring.

## Over 70 countries attend Intl. **Combinatorics Olympiad in Tehran**

tional Combinatorics Olympiad (ICO 2025) took place in Tehran on October 30 and 31, bringing together approximately 5,000 competitors from over 70 countries both in person and online.

Combinatorics is an area of mathematics primarily concerned with counting, both as a means and an end in obtaining results, and certain properties of finite structures.

ICO is an annual competition focusing on high-quality problems related to combinatorics. The primary objective is to help students become familiar with combinatorics as a creative, broad, and enjoyable topic in a fun and engaging manner, and provide them with the opportunity to compete with students from other countries.

ICO is the first competition in the field of combinatorics, which includes online scoring and ranking. Participation is open to anyone interested in mathematics or computer science, from high school students to any other educational level.

On the first day of the competition, students attempted to answer 15 short-answer questions within a two-hour time frame. On the second day, the participants responded to seven long-answer questions within five hours, IRNA

TEHRAN – Burkina Faso's Security Minister

Mahamadou Sana has voiced the country's will-

ingness to benefit from Iran's anti-narcotics

He voiced Burkina Faso's readiness for the

expansion of collaborations with Iran in differ-

ent sectors, particularly sharing experiences

and knowledge, as well as providing laboratory

equipment and drug detection dogs, IRNA re-

Sana made the remarks in a meeting with

Iran's anti-narcotics police chief, Iraj Kakavand.

The official met on the sidelines of the 22nd

International Exhibition of Police Security and

Safety Supplies and Equipment (IPAS), held

For his part. Kakayand said that a decisive

There will be no positive results and success

Highlighting Iran's capabilities and educa-

tional capacities, including an international

training center that covers various specialized

fields such as training drug detection dogs,

drug testing laboratories, and domestic drug

detection tools, Kakavnad announced the coun-

try's readiness to share knowledge with Burki-

na Faso through signing a memorandum of un-

unless all countries take effective steps to con-

front drug trafficking decisively through boost-

and targeted fight against drugs is a demand-

ing task requiring actions that go beyond na-

ported.

from October 13 to 16.

tional and regional boundaries.

ing their cooperation, he added.

police expertise in the fight against drugs.



the United Nations Educational,

Scientific and Cultural Organi-

zation (UNESCO), the competi-

tion brought together 310 stu-

dents, forming 80 teams, from

63 countries and territories

including Poland, France, Iran,

Australia, Brazil, Hungary, China,

Mexico, the United Arab Emir-

ates, India, Serbia, Russia, Japan,

Singapore, the United States, and

Arash Yousefnejad and Ali

Shayan claimed the silver med-

als, while Parsa Golestani and

Radin Rahmani-Nodehi won the

Iran won two silver medals and

two bronze medals at the Eighth

International Economics Olympi-

ad (IEO) 2025, held from July 20

to 29, in Baku, Azerbaijan. This

year, 68 countries participated in

Bronze medals, IRIB reported.

Moreover, the 12th Iranian Geometry Olympiad was held on October 17, in person and online, attracting 10,000 students from 50 countries.

The Iranian Geometry Olympiad is an annual international competition that assesses students' skills in solving geometry problems. It enhances logical thinking, imagination, and analytical thinking by using creative and innovative issues in geome-

#### Achievements in Olympiads

The Iranian team, compris-

three gold medals and a silver medal at the 36th International Biology Olympiad (IBO 2025). held from July 19 to 27 in Quezon City, Philippines, ranking second among 81 countries, up from third in 2024.

Four Iranian students clinched

Five Iranian students secured silver medals at the 55th International Physics Olympiad, ranking 11th globally.

Held from July 18 to 24 in Paris, the IPhO 2025 brought together 440 candidates from over 90

Iran secured two gold medals, three silver medals, and a bronze medal at the 66th International Mathematical Olympiad (IMO 2025), held from July 10 to 20 in Australia.

The event drew more than 600 high school students from 112 countries.

At the second International Mathematics Olympiad for high school students in Turkmenistan, Iranian students won seven bronze medals. The event was held from April 21 to 26.

More than 230 talented students from 15 countries, including Russia, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Iran, Armenia, Bulgaria, Nepal, China, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Vietnam, Qatar, and Turkmenistan, took part in the competition.

**NOVEMBER 15, 2025** Straight Truth TEHRAN TIMES

#### IFRC official: IRCS is a key humanitarian actor

TEHRAN - Hossam Elsharkawi, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), has highlighted the role of the Iranian Red Crescent Society (IRCS) as one of the region's and the world's active humanitarian actors.

Lauding the IRCS efforts, Elsharkawi congratulated Pirhossein Kolivand's re-election as the head of the IRCS, saying that the IRCS decisions are highly effective at international levels, IRNA report-

The official made the remarks in an online meeting with Kolivand on Thursday. During the meeting, the two officials discussed ways to foster collaborative efforts, develop rescue systems to enhance the country's preparedness and response capabilities, and conduct international meetings and conferences in Iran.

The IRCS proposed hosting an international Islamic youth conference and the conference of leaders of national societies from Islamic countries.

The two sides also emphasized the need to implement the previously signed memoranda of understanding between the two organizations to lay the ground for promoting educational, operational, and logistic collab-

The IRCS also suggested introducing an expert to follow up on managerial and technical cooperation with the Regional Office for

#### Joint efforts

On September 8, the IRCS, in cooperation with the IFRC and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), held a workshop on the vital importance of rehabilitation.

"Rehabilitation is not just about providing medical services. It restores lives," the head of the IFRC delegation in Iran, Faisal Mah-

"We are here since we have a shared mission that is helping people to regain dignity, independence, and hope through health and rehabilitation," the IRCS website quoted Mahboob as saying.

The official made the remarks online while addressing a workshop on becoming familiar with the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement services in the treatment and rehabilitation sectors.

The official went on to say that "Strategy 2030 reminds us of three key priorities: strengthening local measures so that societies can rely on their strengths and capabilities, investing in the future so that young people and volunteers get ready for leadership, and promoting collaborative efforts since no one society can face a crisis alone."

Attending the workshop, Cassard said, "This initiative highlights our joint commitment and mutual understanding within the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement: it underscores the critical role we

play in delivering humanitarian action."

In March, the IRCS and the ICRC discussed ways to expand collaborations to promote supportive and medical services, particularly rehabilitation services across the country.

During a meeting held on March 13, Cassard stressed the need to prevent disabilities and develop psychosocial support services in less privileged areas. These valuable actions can pave the way for further cooperation.

For her part, Razieh Alishvandi, the director of the IRCS for international affairs, highlighted the successful partnership between the two organizations. Lauding the ICRC's endeavours in the country, the official stressed the importance of holding training courses on international humanitarian law (IHL) and the need to get acquainted with the Red Cross movement.

The IRCS has taken various measures to serve the people utilizing the capacity of 270,000 personnel, relief workers, and volunteers, she noted.

Cassard commended the IRCS for taking measures during the Nowruz holidays and announced the ICRC's readiness to support the IRCS in organizing the World Red Crescent Day and expanding medical, rehabilitation, and humanitarian services in underpriv-

In February, the IRCS and the ICRC agreed to establish a joint secretariat on rehabilitation services in Tehran.

During a meeting in Tehran to prepare for the first international conference on physical disability and rehabilitation, Kolivand said that rehabilitation is an essential part of universal health coverage.

"Due to war and other accidents, rehabilitation services are greatly needed in the country. That's why the Society started providing rehabilitation services and manufacturing prostheses and orthotics. Currently, 200 rehabilitation centers are operating in Iran, and the conference will focus on the activities of these centers," he added.

ing four high school students. grabbed two silver medals and two bronze medals at the International Olympiad in Artificial Intelligence (IOAI), held from August 2 to 9 in Beijing, China.

Hosted by Beijing National Day

derstanding (MOU).

#### **UNODC** lauds Iran's efforts

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) lauds the Iranian government for its substantial efforts and steadfast commitment to tackling drug trafficking.

Burkina Faso seeks Iran's expertise in combating drugs

In December 2024, Alexander Fedulov, the UNODC Iran Country Representative, attended a high-level meeting which was held at the DCHQ on the occasion of the successful seizure of 2,400 kilograms of methamphetamine in Sistan-Baluchestan Province.

During the meeting, Brigadier General Ahmad Ali Goudarzi, the commander of the Iranian Border Guard, shared details of a major drug seizure in Sistan-Baluchestan Province.

In September 2024, Iranian forces successfully seized 2,400 kilograms of methamphetamine. This operation underscored the relentless commitment of Iran's border forces, who are at the forefront of combating the production and trafficking of drugs, particularly those originating in Afghanistan.

Brigadier General Goudarzi emphasized that the seizure not only reflects the escalating challenges posed by methamphetamine production in the region but also the dedication of Iran's border guards, law enforcement, and customs officials in addressing this issue.

Fedulov, for his part, expressed his gratitude to Iranian authorities for their invaluable contributions to this global challenge.

Fedulov stressed the importance of strengthened regional cooperation and emphasized the need for further international support to bolster collective efforts in combating drug trafficking across West Asia.

The UNODC Country Representative stated that this successful operation will be presented to the international community as a testament to Iran's noble resolve in combating drug trafficking and its dedication to regional security.

To enhance the operational capacity of the Iranian Anti-Narcotics Police, the UNODC has provided them with two Medical Devices, including a portable Doppler sonography and a veterinary anesthesia machine, to support drug supply reduction activities in Iran.

In this regard, an event was organized at the premises of the DCHQ in Tehran, with representatives from the UNODC Iran, DCHO, and Iranian Anti-Narcotics Police (ANP) in attendance, the UNODC website announced in a press release on November 18, 2024.

Iran remains one of the major transit routes for drug trafficking from Afghanistan to European countries. UNODC has built a strong partnership with the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran in several areas, including the capacity building for the Iranian law enforcement forces, and has been providing technical assistance to the Iranian Government in its fight against the illicit trafficking of drugs and

#### **ENGLISH IN USE**

LEARN NEWS TRANSLATION

#### Special clinic to relieve bereaved coronavirus families

A special clinic will be opened for the first time in the country to provide free psychological services to families who have lost their loved ones during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The clinic is called "Soog" (literally meaning mourn) will be inaugurated at Shahid Beheshti Educational and Medical Center in Zanjan province on Wednesday.

The outbreak of coronavirus has changed the lifestyle of many families.

Sudden changes in life cause stress, while the coronavirus itself has doubled the stress due to its contagion and the number of lives it has claimed in the world to date.

#### افتتاح 'کلینیک سوگ' برای تسکین خانوادههایی که اعضای خود را بر اثر کرونا از دست دادهاند

نخستین کلینیک سوگ در کشور برای ارائه خدمات رایگان روانشناختی به خانوادههایی که اعضای خانواده خود را به دلیل ابتلا به کرونا از دست دادهاند افتتاح خواهد شد. این کلینیک ۲۳ مهرماه امسال در مرکز آموزشی درمانی شهید بهشتی زنجان کار خود را آغاز خواهد کرد. شیوع ویروس کرونا باعث شده است تا سبک زندگی بسیاری از خانوادهها دچار تغییر شود. ایجاد تغییرات ناگهانی در زندگی باعث ایجاد استرس می شود، این در حالی است که خود ویروس کرونا به دلیل واگیردار بودن و نیز آمار فوتیهایی که تا به امروز در دنیا به جا گذاشته، این استرس را

#### **ROPME** approves Iran's three initiatives

TEHRAN - The Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine Environment (ROPME) Executive Committee has approved three initiatives proposed by Iran.

ROPME held a meeting in Kuwait on Thursday, with the participation of member states including Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain, doe. ir reported.

Iran's three proposals included holding joint maritime research patrols with the participation of Iran and adopting similar initiatives by other member states, dispatching experts from member states to the ROPME secretariat to promote technical capacities and support for the implementation of approved projects, and establishing a regional center in Iran to train experts in the marine environment and coastal wetlands.

During the meeting, several other issues, including the organization's strategic direction for 2026 to 2030, were discussed, and financial reports for 2021 to 2024 were reviewed.

Iran also presented an atlas of the country's wetlands, which has been recently developed by the Department of Environment, to the ROPME Executive Committee.

At the 38th meeting of the ROPME executive committee, Iran proposed incorporating a plan to combat sand and dust storms (SDSs) into the Organization's strategic plan.

The meeting was held on February 13 in Kuwait. Ahmad-Reza Lahijanzadeh, an official with the Department of Environment (DOE), represented the country in this year's

During the meeting, participants discussed the strategic plan focusing on three main axes: Persian Gulf pollution, climate change, and the preservation of biodiversity. They also agreed to follow up on Iran's offer in expert meetings, ISNA reported.

Even if SDS is not approved as the fourth axis of the strategic plan, it will be added to the climate change issue, Lahijanzadeh not-

It was also decided to follow up on designing a strategic plan through holding consistent virtual meetings, Lahijanzadeh added.

On the sidelines of the meeting, the Iranian and Kuwaiti officials discussed joint marine

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**NOVEMBER 15, 2025** 

#### **GUIDE TO SPIRITUAL AWAKENING**

Be afraid of a gentleman when he is hungry, and of a mean person when his stomach is full. Imam Ali (AS)

Prayer Times » Noon:11:49 Evening: 17:17 Dawn: 5:14 (tomorrow) Sunrise: 6:41 (tomorrow)

#### What's in Tehran art galleries



#### Painting

\* Mojdeh Gallery is playing host to an exhibition of paintings by Mendi Sahabi and Manouchehr Safarzadeh.

Entitled "Time Regained", the exhibit will run until November 21 at the gallery located at No. 27, 18th Alley off North Allameh Blvd. in the Saadatabad neighborhood.

An exhibition of paintings by Afshin Nikravesh is currently underway at Atbin Gallery.

The exhibit named "Wedding" will continue until November 25 at the gallery that can be found at 42 Khakzad Alley, Vali-e Asr Ave. near the Parkway Intersection.

'Paintings by Zahra Rezadoost are on display in an exhibition at Doost

Entitled "The Sound of Silence", the exhibit will be running until Decem-

ber 8 at the gallery, which can be found at No. 4, 4th St. off Eshqyar St., Khorramshahr Ave.

ZAHRA REZADOOST The Sound of Silence

\* Paintings by a group of artists are currently on view in an exhibition at Liam Gallery.

The exhibition named "Inflorescence" runs until November 24 at the gallery located at No. 118, Fathi Shaqaqi St. near Salmas Square.



\* An exhibition of paintings by Somayyeh Dadras is underway at Ebteda Gallery.

The exhibition titled "The Birds Language" will run until November 25 at the gallery located at 35 Farrokhi Alley, near Vali-e Asr Square.

\* Shamis Gallery is showcasing paintings by Marjan Khezli in an

The exhibit named "Body Memory" will run until November 28 at the gallery located at 8 Daniali St., Andarzgu Blvd. in the Farmanieh neighborhood.



\* Sharif Gallery is playing host to an exhibition of paintings by Ghaza-

The exhibit entitled "The Interval of Being" will be running until November 28 at the gallery that can be found at 11 Mahruzadeh Alley, Sha-

riati Ave. near Quds Square.

\* An exhibition of paintings by a Hojat Amani is underway at E1

The exhibition will run until November 28 at the gallery located at 1 Hamid Dead End, off Lesani Alley, Jebheh St., off Mahdieh St. in the Elahieh neighborhood.



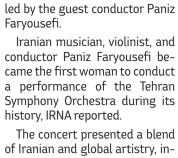
\* An exhibition of paintings by Iraj Shafei is underway at Kavin Gal-

The exhibit named "Blue White" will be running until November 28

at the gallery located at No.24, Pesian St. Zaferanieh Neighborhood.



The exhibit titled "The Blind Elephant" will be running until November 28 at the gallery located at 6 Bidar St., off Fereshteh St.



TEHRAN - The Tehran Sym-

phony Orchestra performed

"Simorgh's Abode" concert on Wednesday and Thursday at Teh-

ran's Vahdat Hall, where it was

The concert presented a blend of Iranian and global artistry, including works by Iranian female composers Aftab Darvishi and Golfam Khayam, as well as globally-renowned Franz Schubert, Jean Sibelius, and Aram Khacha-

Speaking at the end of the performance, Faryousefi credited the Rudaki Foundation and the orchestra's artistic council for selecting her, calling the appointment a sign of confidence and support for women in Iran's classical music scene.

Faryousefi expressing gratitude to Nasir Heydarian, the permanent conductor of the Tehran Symphony Orchestra, "for being with me and the orchestra in a fatherly and compassionate manner during this time to ensure that this concert would be held in the best way possible".

"I would like to dedicate tonight's concert to all Iranian women and mothers, especially my mother, who always wanted to see me as a leader," Faryousefi

At the end of the concert, the Rudaki Foundation honored Paniz Faryousefi, Golfam Khayam and Aftab Darvishi by presenting them a plaque of appreciation and gifts.

A graduate of the Tehran Music Conservatory and the Komitas State Conservatory of Yerevan, Paniz Faryousefi, 42, is concertmaster with the Tehran Philharmonic Orchestra.

She is also the founder and leader of the Novak String Quartet, and has appeared as an invited guest violinist with the New York Philharmonic.

Born in Tehran, Golfam Kha-

proviser. Her career reflects her unique musical language through the integration of her native musical elements within a contemporary experimental mu-

sical framework.

yam, 43, is a composer and im-

She holds "Master of Music" from the College-Conservatory of Music, University of Cincinnati, the U.S. She continued her studies at the HEMGE (Switzerland), Interprétation Specialisée Solist and acquired the degree of Master of Composition. She is guest Assistant Professor at Art University of Tehran.

Khayam has appeared extensively as performer, composer, and her music is being performed worldwide, spreading her musical message in various projects which has been featured as in Elbphilharmonie, NPR "songs we love," Danish Cultural Radio, BBC3, Deutchewele, Royal Festival Hall, and Ojai festival.

Winner of numerous competitions, scholarships, and prizes, she has been named as the selected composer at the International Music Council, Rostrum of composers in the "Windows on the World" category in 2016 based in Paris.

She received HES-SO full fellowship award for the research project of "New Vocabulary" shedding light on the concept of synthesis and cross culture fusion in contemporary music.

Tehran Symphony Orchestra performs

with first-ever female conductor

She has been actively giving workshops on the subject of improvisation and synthesis as guest lecturer which includes Aarhus Royal Academy, Copenhagen Royal Music Academy, Geneva University, Luzern Music University.

Aftab Darvishi, 39, was born in Tehran. She began playing the violin at the age of five, later switching to classical piano. She also learned several traditional Persian instruments including the kamancheh and setaar, in part thanks to the influence of her father, the renowned composer and music scholar Mohammad-Reza Darvishi.

After studying piano at the University of Tehran, she moved to the Netherlands, studying composition for film in Amsterdam and contemporary composition in The Hague. She is currently studying for a PhD in composition at the University of Birmingham, and is a regular guest lecturer at the University of Tehran.

Darvishi's music combines aspects of her Western training with the deep influence of Persian music – sometimes through the use of traditional instruments, structures, modes or harmonies - reflecting a rich multiplicity of influences.

She has written music for film, theater, and concerts, and especially relishes multidisciplinary projects. Her work has been heard around the world. She has worked with ensembles including BBC Singers, Kronos Quartet, Orkest de Ereprijs, Helsinki Chamber Choir, Latvian Radio Choir, Riccioti Ensemble and Oerknal. Darvishi was the first non-European female winner of the Tenso Young Composers Award in 2016.

The Tehran Symphony Orchestra, founded in 1933, is Iran's oldest and largest symphony orchestra. It was founded as the Municipality Symphony Orchestra by Gholamhossein Minbashian, before entering its modern form under Parviz Mahmoud in 1946.

In the years that followed, conductors such as Rubik (Ruben) Gregorian, Morteza Hannaneh, Haymo Taeuber, Heshmat Sanjari, Farhad Meshkat, and Fereydoun Nasseri took over as the conductors of the orchestra.

Performing pieces by acclaimed Iranian and international composers, the orchestra held more than 20 concerts last year at Vahdat Hall.

#### Iranian young artists shine at 11th Intl. Festival of Paintings for Pediatric Patients

TEHRAN- The winners of the 11th Intermarking a significant achievement for Iran's young artists.

The ceremony, held in Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil, celebrated the creativity and resilience of children through the universal language of art, fostering hope and joy among young patients worldwide.

national Festival of Paintings for Pediatric category, five-year-old Iranian artists Anahi- Naghavi and Reyhaneh Ali Panahi claimed top Patients (IFPPP) were announced last week, ta Samae, Avin Rozian, and Zhania Omidi secured top honors, showcasing their remark able artistic abilities.

> For children aged seven to ten, Iran's Janan Pezeshki stood out as the first-place winner. The competition also featured talented artists aged 11 to 14, with Ava Moarefi Shalheh, Zahra Assarian, and Amirali Mirjalili earning recognition for their compelling works. Addi-

Among the top winners in the youngest tionally, in the 15 to 18 age group, Iran's Nazli honors.

> The festival, which aims to promote hope, friendship, and the healing power of art among pediatric patients, attracted entries from numerous countries around the world. The event's main goal is to uplift children battling illness through creative expression, fostering an environment of positivity and

#### Leo Strauss' "Thoughts on Machiavelli" published in Persian

TEHRAN – The Persian translation of the book "Thoughts on Machiavelli" written by Leo Strauss has been released in the bookstores across Iran.

Shervin Moghimi has translated the book and Qognoos Publishing House has brought it out in 520 pages, ILNA reported.

In the book, originally published in 1995, Leo Strauss argued that the most visible fact about Machiavelli's doctrine is also the most useful one: Machiavelli seems to be a teacher of wickedness. Strauss sought to incorporate this idea in his interpretation without permitting it to overwhelm or exhaust his exegesis of "The Prince" and the "Discourses on the First Ten

writes, "with the simple opinion about Machiavelli [namely, the only because it is wholesome, but above all because a failure to take that opinion seriously prevents one from doing justice to what is truly admirable in Machiavelli: the intrepidity of his thought, the grandeur of his vision, and the graceful subtlety of his speech." This critique of the founder of modern political philosophy by this prominent twentieth-century scholar is an essential text for students of both authors.

Leo Strauss (1899-1973) joined the University of Chicago as professor of political philosophy in 1949 and was later named Robert Maynard Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus in political science.

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) was a Florentine diplomat, author, philosopher, and historian who lived during the Italian Renaissance. He is best known

wickedness of his teaching], not for his political treatise "The Prince," written around 1513 but not published until 1532, five years after his death. He has often been called the father of modern political philosophy and political science.

> For many years he served as a senior official in the Florentine Republic with responsibilities in diplomatic and military affairs. He wrote comedies, carnival songs, and poetry. His personal correspondence is also important to historians and scholars of Italian correspondence.

After his death, Machiavelli's name came to evoke unscrupulous acts of the sort he advised most famously in his work, "The Prince". He concerned himself with the ways a ruler could succeed in politics, and believed those who flourished engaged in deception, treachery, and violence. He advised rulers to engage in evil when political necessity requires it, at one point stating that successful founders and reformers of governments should be excused for killing other leaders who would oppose them. Machiavelli's "Prince" has been surrounded by controversy since it was published. Some consider it to be a straightforward description of political reality. Many view "The Prince" as a manual, teaching would-be tyrants how they should seize and maintain power.

His works were a major influence on Enlightenment authors who revived interest in classical republicanism, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and James Harrington. Machiavelli's philosophical contributions have influenced generations of academics and politicians, with many of them debating the nature of his ideas.

