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Trump's Iran war: A \$40 billion catastrophe that hurts Americans most

TEHRAN- When Donald Trump last week declared victory in his war against Iran, he painted a picture of American triumph. "OIL IS FLOWING, IRAN CAN NEVER HAVE A NUCLEAR WEAPON... PRICES ARE DROPPING," he boasted on social media. But a comprehensive CNN analysis of the 100-day conflict reveals a devastating reality that the President's all-caps pronouncements cannot obscure: this was a war that bankrupted American taxpayers, emptied the nation's strategic reserves, and inflicted economic pain on ordinary families—all while killing more than 7,500 civilians in the region. ▶ Page 4

Germany's Security Council defeat: A global referendum on Berlin's foreign policy

TEHRAN - On 3 June 2026, one of the most unexpected outcomes in recent United Nations history unfolded. Germany, a country that for decades had regarded itself as a leading contender for a greater role in the world's premier security body—and an aspiring permanent member of the UN Security Council—failed in its bid for a non-permanent seat. In the General Assembly vote for the 2027–2028 term, Portugal secured 134 votes and Austria 131, winning the two seats allocated to the Western European and Others Group (WEOG). Germany, by contrast, received only 104 votes and was eliminated in the first round. ▶ Page 5

How war is reshaping Iranian readers' literary tastes?

By Hanie Shahrabi

TEHRAN- I had missed books in a way that felt almost physical, like the absence of a familiar scent. That feeling drew me back to Enghelab Street in Tehran, the city's long-standing artery of print, where ideas have circulated for decades between students, writers, and quiet, attentive readers.

It was late spring. In the central districts of the capital, heat hovered above the pavement, and sunlight pressed down with a steady force, as if rehearsing for summer. The smell of street food and sweets moved slowly through the crowd. Young people drifted between bookshops in the old street, pausing to compare titles and turning books over in their hands. At first glance, the scene appeared unchanged. The same dense shop windows, the same stacked displays, the same restless circulation of visitors. But the impression of continuity did not last. ▶ Page 8

Hajj Ramadan, from Gaza in the midst of the flood to martyrdom in Qom



▶ Page 5



Epic Ali Beiro, Stands Tall

Iran Show Resilience Against Belgium

▶ Page 6

IOF manpower crisis: A battle over identity, not tanks

By Wesam Bahrani

TEHRAN - The Israeli occupation regime's military is facing a severe manpower crisis that threatens its very collapse, amid a deep struggle over its identity and future.

In a striking paradox, a shortage of 12,000 soldiers threatens the collapse of the Israeli army, according to its chief of staff, while protests from 45 Religious Zionist institutes (hesder yeshivas) threaten the loss of thousands of elite soldiers.

The Israeli occupation forces (IOF) need everyone, yet the rabbis reject the deployment of women in tank crews.

The chief of staff declares "no integration within teams," but the real battle is not over the tank, it rages in the deeper question of the IOF's identity.

The Chief of Staff, Eyal Zamir, has renewed an unprecedented warning to the political leadership, asserting that the IOF will "collapse" if mandatory service is not extended to 36 months. The warning came during a recent cabinet meeting, where he told ministers plainly: "I am raising twelve red flags, and the army will collapse upon itself." ▶ Page 5

London Bridge is finally falling down. No fresh sacrifices can save Britain.

By Garsha Vazirian

TEHRAN — The children's nursery rhyme has been sung for centuries, its jaunty rhythm masking a foundational horror.

"London Bridge is falling down, falling down, falling down..." What the melody glosses over is the grim medieval folklore of immurement, the belief that a grand structure could only be preserved from collapse if a living soul, often a child, was entombed alive within its masonry.

For generations, the British political and financial establishment has maintained its structural integrity through a modern, clinical variation of this exact logic.

On June 22, Keir Starmer became the seventh prime minister in a single decade to be chewed up and discarded by a cannibalistic system. The bridge, built on an ever-accumulating mountain of systemic casualties, is finally splintering beyond repair. ▶ Page 5

Iranian and Iraqi cities prepare to hold funeral ceremonies for Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei

TEHRAN - Iraqis are preparing to hold funeral ceremonies for Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei alongside the Iranian people to bid farewell to the martyred Leader.

The headquarters for the commemoration of Iran's late Leader said a six-day funeral program will be held across five cities. The ceremonies will begin with a farewell event at Tehran's Grand Imam Khomeini Mosalla on July 4–5, according to the headquarters spokesperson. ▶ Page 2

Qaani warns Israel of another forced withdrawal from southern Lebanon

TEHRAN - Commander of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps (IRGC) Quds Force Brigadier General Esmail Qaani has warned Israeli forces operating in southern Lebanon that continued military action and occupation could lead to a repeat of Israel's withdrawal from the area in 2000.

In a message published on his X account, Qaani addressed "Zionist aggressor and terrorist soldiers," stating that Israeli forces had suffered 100 casualties in less than four days of fighting.

"If you do not withdraw from southern Lebanon on your own feet, the epic of the year 2000 will be repeated once again," Qaani wrote, referring to Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon in May 2000 after more than two decades of occupation. ▶ Page 3

Iran proposes 'Islamic Security Belt'

TEHRAN- Iran has proposed the creation of a regional security framework involving major Muslim nations, arguing that closer defense and security cooperation among Islamic countries is essential to counter Israeli aggression and promote long-term stability across the region.

The proposal was raised during a telephone conversation between Iran's caretaker Defense Minister, Brigadier General Majid Ebnolreza, and Pakistan's Defense Minister, Khawaja Muhammad Asif. The Iranian minister began the call by expressing condolences over the deaths of several Pakistani military personnel in a recent helicopter crash and thanked Islamabad for its support and solidarity with Iran during recent regional tensions.

Ebnolreza praised Pakistan's positions on regional developments, particularly its condemnation of attacks against Iran and its support for Tehran in international forums, including meetings of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. He said the Iranian government and people would not forget the support shown by friendly nations during difficult circumstances. ▶ Page 3



Iran, US advance post-war diplomacy as Swiss talks yield roadmap toward final agreement

TEHRAN - Iranian officials have described the latest round of indirect negotiations with the United States in Switzerland as a significant step toward implementing a recently signed ceasefire memorandum and laying the groundwork for a comprehensive agreement aimed at ending months of regional tensions and military confrontation.

The Iranian delegation, headed by Parliament Speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf and including Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi and other senior officials, returned to Tehran on Monday after nearly 18 hours of intensive consultations in Bürgenstock, Switzerland. ▶ Page 3

'The street belongs to the people'



▶ Page 2

Scan this QR code to watch the video.



TEHRAN PAPERS

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

Military power and diplomacy within Iran's negotiating team

Siasat-e-Rooz, in its editorial, highlighted the combined military and diplomatic strength of Iran. Iran's negotiating team represents both power and diplomacy: Ghalibaf is a politician who understands political and military dynamics. The foreign ministry and government members are optimistic about the outcome of the talks. However, it is too early to express optimism publicly; doing so creates expectations among the public that could have negative consequences if the negotiations reach a dead end. The hope is that the talks will successfully implement the initial understanding and then move toward a final agreement. The heavy, exhausting work will begin once the negotiations enter their main phase. Therefore, the team must be supported to reach the goal.

Javan: Iran did not take the US seriously

Javan, in a commentary, discussed why the Iranian delegation walked away from the negotiating table. Throughout the talks, Trump repeatedly tweeted threats against the Iranian negotiators—something resembling hostage-taking or even death threats—and insulted Iran's president, even threatening a return to war. It is obvious that these are the words of a defeated madman whose fate in a forty-day war became clear. But the negotiating team knows that one of the first clauses of the agreement is that neither side should threaten the other. Perhaps for this reason, when these threats were issued, the Iranian delegation left the venue to impose a procedural pause. Iran showed its upper hand to the United States: first by shifting the agenda from a "memorandum of understanding" to "ending the Lebanon war," then by refusing to take a group photo with the American delegation at the end of the first round, and finally by temporarily leaving the talks in response to Trump's repeated threats—demonstrating who is stronger.

Kayhan: The enemy is testing our resolve

Kayhan wrote that the value of the memorandum of understanding lies not in signatures but in repelling enemy threats and demanding compensation for damages. If this is achieved, the agreement has value; otherwise, it does not. A major concern is that some officials involved in the negotiations may fall into a grave miscalculation—believing they are merely pursuing the release of frozen assets—and thus become hesitant or passive, backing down from firmly demanding implementation of the first clause. According to the memorandum, frozen assets should have been released immediately upon implementation. Kayhan warns that the US used empty promises during the

JCOA to keep Iran at the table and prevent it from walking away or halting unilateral implementation. That lesson must not be repeated. Falling into the enemy's trap of coercion and deception only emboldens it to violate commitments and inflict new damage. The enemy is testing Iran's determination, and the same firm resolve that pushed it back must continue—without waiting for promises.

Etemad: A document acknowledging the failure of the strategy to eliminate Iran

Etemad focused on the enemy's failure in the war with Iran. It argues that the resistance of the Iranian people, defensive deterrence, and crisis management reversed the course of the war and changed the initial calculations of its planners. The most important strategic outcome of the Ramadan War is the confirmation of a fundamental reality: Iran cannot be eliminated. A country with deep history, exceptional geopolitical position, vast human resources, and extensive energy reserves cannot be removed from regional equations. The past four decades have shown that maximum pressure, military threats, and economic isolation have not changed Iran's behavior; in many cases, they have strengthened domestic capacities and increased self-reliance. The Islamabad memorandum should be seen as a product of this new understanding—a document that acknowledges the failure of the "eliminate Iran" strategy and shifts toward a strategy of "managing the reality of Iran."

Sobh-e-No: The return of MAGA?

Sobh-e-No examined J.D. Vance's opportunism in the current situation. According to the paper, by taking the risk of supporting an agreement with Iran, Vance is trying to turn a political crisis into a golden opportunity for himself. He wants to be seen as a pragmatic figure in contrast to warmongers and to solidify his succession within the MAGA movement. On the other side, the MAGA movement—using Vance as its banner and his role in the Iran agreement—is seeking to rebrand itself and create balance inside the White House in response to criticism of Trump and the "America First" slogan. The movement, which had sought media-driven branding, was sidelined by Trump's war against Iran and was even ostracized by him with unprecedentedly harsh language simply for opposing war. As Trump gradually turned into an anti-MAGA figure, the movement is now trying to rebrand itself through Vance, by distancing itself from Israel and playing a role in the negotiations and agreement with Iran.

Iranian and Iraqi cities prepare to hold funeral ceremonies for Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei

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The main funeral procession in Tehran is scheduled for July 6. On July 7, funeral ceremonies will be held in the holy city of Qom, where prayers will be offered over the Leader's body.

The procession is then expected to travel to Iraq on July 8, following requests from Iraqi tribes, scholars, and religious and political figures. Funeral rites are planned in the cities of Najaf and Karbala, with Iraqi authorities set to announce specific timings and locations.

Organizers expressed appreciation to Iraq's religious authorities, government, and people for their requests to hold ceremonies at the holy shrines in Najaf and Karbala. The procession will later move to Mashhad, where the burial is scheduled for July 9 at the Imam Reza Shrine.



Official delegations, political figures, and international elites are expected to attend, with further details to be announced by Iran's Foreign Ministry.

Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei was martyred on the first day of the joint US-Israeli aggression on February 28 in his office in Tehran. Several family members and senior military commanders were also killed in the same strike.

Iran's Assembly of Experts subsequently elected Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei as the third Leader of the Islamic Revolution on March 8. Since his election, he has emphasized continuing his father's path and preserving national unity and solidarity.

'The street belongs to the people'

Author and cultural expert explains the social unity that emerged in Iran after US-Israeli invasion

By Mona Hojat Ansari

TEHRAN - In the weeks following the U.S.-Israeli invasion of Iran, an unexpected social phenomenon began to take shape across the country. Night after night, in cities large and small, people gathered in streets and public squares. What began as spontaneous assemblies gradually turned into vigils that continued for more than one hundred consecutive nights despite security risks, air raid warnings, and even occasional attacks.

These gatherings brought together people from a wide range of social backgrounds. Participants sang, mourned, talked, and simply stood together. For many observers, the persistence and diversity of these nightly gatherings raised important questions about collective identity, social cohesion, and the ways societies respond to external threats.

To better understand this phenomenon, the Tehran Times spoke with Kurosh Alyani, an Iranian cultural expert and author known for his work on narrative and collective memory.

Below is the full text of the interview:

Since the beginning of the war, people have come out into the streets and squares in both large and small cities. In some cases, the enemy even attacked these gatherings. Yet even then people did not leave the streets, and for more than a hundred nights they continued without interruption. In your view, where does this energy and motivation come from?

I think there is something fundamentally shared among all human beings and that's the desire to survive. In fact, it's not only humans; every living creature has a drive for survival. In different cultures this drive manifests in different ways, sometimes individually and sometimes collectively.

Because we have a long civilizational and cultural history, we possess many accumulated experiences, and these experiences help us better understand the value of collective survival. In other words, we understand that survival cannot be achieved alone; we survive together.

These gatherings were essentially a declaration that we want to survive together. To survive together means to live together, to shout together, to laugh together, to cry together, to sing together, to mourn together. The gatherings were an expression of collective life.

But they were not only about collective life; they were also about reclaiming space. We reclaimed the city and the streets from institutions. There was a time when if you gathered in the street, people would ask, "What are you doing here?" Now everyone knows what people are doing there. Everyone knows the street belongs to the people.

This process of reclaiming public space intersected with that collective instinct for survival. I remember that on the very first night there were announcements saying that people should evacuate large cities because there was danger. But people didn't listen; instead, they poured into the streets.

A couple of times I personally witnessed situations where there was real physical danger. Air defenses were operating, and from the other side things were coming in. Sometimes the defenses intercepted them, sometimes explosions were heard—and the crowd only grew larger. Once, while I was returning home from a gathering, one of these incidents happened. I noticed that almost the entire street was moving in the opposite direction from me—toward the gathering. People who had been at home heard the explosions and came out into the streets instead of hiding.

To me it was the convergence of three things: a kind of collective awareness, a desire for collective life, and this movement to reclaim public space.

These gatherings seemed to include a wide range of social groups—different types of people, likely with different beliefs and opinions. What did you observe, and how do you analyze this diversity?

The desire for survival, and the



awareness that survival can only be preserved collectively, created this situation. People know that others around them are different. They know there are many disagreements between them, issues that ideally should be resolved, or at least managed so they don't turn into conflict. But at this moment there is a shared national objective.

This collective national goal has been understood clearly enough that it prevents disagreements from turning into confrontations. Differences are visible. People might discuss them calmly with one another. But they do not escalate into clashes. What struck me was that, despite the enormous diversity present at these gatherings, there were almost no reports of conflicts among participants.

One notable feature of these gatherings seems to be the strong presence of women and girls. What were your observations and thoughts about this?

This again connects to the movement of reclaiming the street. For a long time, there was a common attitude: if someone asked, "Why are you in the street?" a man could say, "I'm working," but a woman was often expected to stay at home. People would simply say, "Stay home."

Contrary to what many people assumed, this expectation was not necessarily based on ideology or religion. Even families that were not ideological often behaved this way in everyday life. At some point women demonstrated that if they want to be present, they can be. Until now perhaps they didn't want confrontation or unnecessary arguments. But now they are there.

At midnight, on an ordinary night, you see women in the streets with an active presence—often even more active than the men. And they come from extremely diverse backgrounds: from the most religious groups to the most secular, from the most traditional to the most modern. Everyone is present together. No group is marginal in terms of presence.

At a time when many people believed there was some powerful force of repression, whether tradition or ideology, preventing such participation, these gatherings showed something else, and that was that either such a force does not really exist, or if it does exist, it is incapable of stopping people.

Do we see anything similar to this social phenomenon in the contemporary history of other countries?

People gathering together for social reasons—especially in response to threats—is not unusual. But I think what we saw here had a particular beauty to it. I'm not saying that simply because I'm Iranian and want to praise Iranians; I genuinely think it was beautiful.

I remember the gatherings of two different political groups in Beirut's Martyrs' Square—the supporters of Saad Hariri and the supporters of Hezbollah. For weeks and months, they lived in tents in the streets to make their voices heard by their fellow citizens and by the world. So, this kind of phenomenon is not unprecedented. In the 1960s and 1970s it was even more common, though it took different forms.

In recent decades the world seemed to accept the dominance of individualism. But now it feels as if collective action is suddenly re-emerging from beneath that surface.

You could see something similar after the events of October 7. Around

the world people gathered to protest the massacre carried out by Israel. Those demonstrations were themselves very diverse. We have had Christians, Jews, and Muslims standing together, alongside leftists who are strongly antireligious.

Logically and practically, these gatherings cannot continue forever and will eventually end. In your view, how can this social capacity be sustained and used constructively?

When strange historical events occur—like when the Pope crowned a German ruler as the Holy Roman Emperor—many people at the time probably thought the situation would last forever. And in some sense, it did continue.

So perhaps these gatherings will continue longer than we expect. We don't know.

But regarding the social capacity you mentioned, what has emerged is a network. We now have a network with its own nodes and connections. Relationships have formed neighborhood by neighborhood. This network could become a powerful resource for improving collective life. Even in simple ways, people can help one another. Someone might say, "Does your child need help with school? I'm a teacher." Another says, "I'm a doctor." Someone else says, "I'm a plumber," or "I'm a baker."

People can support each other. Some may be good at navigating bureaucratic processes. If someone in their neighborhood has a problem with the municipality, the water authority, or the electricity office, they can help follow up. So, these networks could be directed toward improving everyday life.

They could also become networks of awareness. Right now, these gatherings are largely centered around mourning. The main theme is that we have been struck by shameless blows, and we are mourning those losses. In English, if I'm not mistaken, this kind of gathering is sometimes called a vigil.

Our awareness at the moment is largely intuitive rather than analytical. These gatherings could gradually become circles of awareness—spaces where people exchange, correct, and distribute knowledge.

People can discuss questions such as: Why does the United States behave so brutally? What allows them to act this way? Does it relate to the history of colonialism? Or is it related to the Middle East—or should we call it West Asia? Does that terminology actually affect how conflicts unfold, or is it merely an obsessive sensitivity?

These and many other issues could be explored through such circles of awareness.

The United States and Israel claim they have significant influence inside Iran, and some evidence—such as sabotage or assassinations—may support part of that claim. We know that their main plan was to connect airstrikes with street unrest and eventually push the situation toward regime change. But the opposite seemed to happen, and social unity actually increased. How do you analyze the gap between their claimed influence and this apparent miscalculation about Iranian society?

We, as Iranians, have roughly seven thousand years of civilizational history. That means we have accumulated a great deal of experience.

When the Mongols came and besieged Nishapur, people resisted and refused to open the gates. Eventually some people concluded that resistance could not continue forever.

They decided to negotiate in order to save themselves—essentially sacrificing the city so that they and a few associates could preserve their own position and prosperity. According to the widely held popular narrative, they secretly agreed to open the gates of the city to the Mongols. When the Mongols entered, however, the first people they executed were those very collaborators. Their reasoning was that anyone who betrays their own country will eventually betray us as well. Better to eliminate them immediately.

Whether or not every historical detail is perfectly accurate is not the point. What matters is that this story has remained in the Iranian collective imagination. It reinforces the idea that survival is collective, especially when there is an external threat.

When those powers assumed they could attack Iran, threaten it, and create internal division, they failed to estimate how Iranians react to external threats. They did not properly assess how Iranian responses differ from those of Americans, Spaniards, Norwegians, or others.

When you lack such an assessment, mistakes are inevitable. It is not mysterious. Miscalculations happen because they lacked a proper understanding.

We live in a world that ultimately runs on calculations. You cannot calculate based on guesses—especially guesses about another culture. If you are guessing the density of iron, you might get close. But human societies are not like that. Cultures do not all behave with the same "specific gravity."

You have studied narrative and even written a book about it. I'd like you to analyze this from a narrative perspective as well. What is the significance of the story of these nightly gatherings, and how should it be told to nonIranian audiences?

If I answer this question carelessly, I could say that anyone can tell the story however they want. But if I answer it carefully, the issue becomes more complicated.

In the strict sense, narrative is often something that forms unconsciously in the human mind. We do not fully control it. We can express or transmit narratives, but we do not completely create them. So perhaps the decision is not entirely ours.

There is a story in Rumi's Masnavi: a man dreams that a spiritual figure tells him to go to a hill the next day, shoot an arrow, and wherever the arrow lands he will find a treasure. The next day he goes to the hill, draws his bow, and then realizes the figure never said which direction to shoot. He shoots north, digs—nothing. He shoots south, digs—nothing. He tries every direction, digging everywhere, but finds no treasure.

The king sees him digging holes everywhere and assumes he must be searching for treasure. The man is arrested and tortured so he will reveal where the treasure is hidden. Eventually he insists that he knows nothing; he only followed a dream. The king concludes he is simply a fool and releases him.

Afterward the man dreams again of the same spiritual figure and complains that the dream ruined his life. The figure replies: I gave you a precise instruction. I told you to release the arrow. I did not tell you to draw the bow first. If you had simply released it, it would have fallen at your feet—and the treasure was right there.

Often, we feel compelled to pull the bow—to force things toward perfection. But sometimes what is needed is simply to let the arrow fall. Perhaps we should resist the urge to manipulate events for the sake of a perfect narrative. Instead, we should simply convey what exists.

Life does not require our artistic direction. What matters is that we transmit what is happening without distorting it.

Pezeshkian to go to Pakistan on a one-day visit Tuesday

TEHRAN - President Masoud Pezeshkian will leave for Pakistan on Tuesday to hold consultations and exchange views with Pakistani officials.

Habibollah Abbasi, Director of Public Relations at the President's Office, announced that Masoud Pezeshkian, the Islamic Republic of Iran's President, will leave for Pakistan tomorrow.

Expressing gratitude to Pakistani Prime Minister

Shehbaz Sharif for his mediation between Iran and the United States, the continuation of consultations between officials of the two countries at the highest levels, the continuation of cooperation and consultations between them, and the review and follow-up on previous economic agreements are among the most important programs during the Iranian president's one-day trip to Pakistan.



Iran, US advance post-war diplomacy as Swiss talks yield roadmap toward final agreement

From Page 1 ▶ The team included Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi and other senior officials.

The talks, facilitated by Pakistan and Qatar, brought together Iranian and US representatives in a series of bilateral and quadrilateral meetings focused on implementing provisions of the Islamabad Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), which was signed on June 17 following several weeks of negotiations.

In a joint statement issued after the talks, Pakistan and Qatar announced that the parties had agreed on a 60-day roadmap toward a final agreement, the establishment of specialized working groups, and the continuation of expert-level and technical negotiations. The mediators also outlined mechanisms for monitoring implementation, maintaining communication channels, and addressing regional issues in support of diplomacy and de-escalation.

Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi said the negotiations had produced tangible progress on several issues that Tehran had identified as prerequisites for advancing discussions toward a final settlement.

On Monday, Araghchi announced significant progress in ending the war in Lebanon, largely due to the tireless mediation efforts of Pakistan and Qatar.

According to Araghchi, measures linked to the lifting of restrictions on Iran's oil and petrochemical exports have begun to take effect, portions of Iran's frozen assets have been released, and plans have been launched to support reconstruction and economic recovery following the damage caused during the February war.

Araghchi also highlighted the Lebanon deconfliction cell as the "1st real test."

Iranian officials have repeatedly emphasized that implementation of these commitments is essential before negotiations on a broader agreement can formally begin.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Esmail Baqaei reiterated that Tehran's approach remains based on the principle of "commitment for commitment," stressing that Iran will closely monitor the implementation of obligations by the other side while fulfilling its own responsibilities under the agreement.

"The basis of our work is com-



mitment in exchange for commitment," Baqaei said, adding that Iran would utilize all available mechanisms to ensure that agreed commitments are implemented in practice.

Iran maintains cautious optimism as domestic support for diplomacy grows

Iranian officials have expressed cautious optimism following the latest round of negotiations with the United States in Switzerland, while emphasizing that any progress toward a final agreement will depend on the implementation of commitments already outlined in the recently signed memorandum of understanding.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Baqaei said the Iranian delegation clarified on Tehran's positions "clearly and unequivocally" during the talks and stressed that discussions on a comprehensive settlement, including nuclear-related issues, cannot begin until key provisions of the agreement are put into effect.

According to Iranian officials, the negotiations included an exchange of views on sanctions relief and the nuclear issue. Tehran, however, emphasized that these discussions did not constitute formal negotiations on a final agreement and reiterated that the complete lifting of U.S. sanctions remains one of its principal objectives.

Despite describing the Geneva talks as constructive, Iranian authorities continue to approach the diplomatic process with caution. Abdollah Haji Sadeghi, the Leader's representative to the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps (IRGC), said the Islamic Republic is negotiating from a position of strength, placing its trust in Iranian negotiators rather than in the United States or other adversaries. He added that while

Iran remains committed to diplomacy, it possesses the capability and determination to safeguard its rights through other means if necessary.

The diplomatic process has also received support from figures across Iran's political spectrum, reflecting a broad domestic consensus in favor of pursuing negotiations while remaining vigilant regarding Washington's compliance with its commitments.

President Masoud Pezeshkian said Iran entered the negotiations "with dignity, confidence, and without making concessions," adding that Tehran had secured the provisions it sought and would firmly defend its rights throughout the process.

Iran's caretaker Defense Minister, Brigadier General Majid Ebnolreza, also in a telephone conversation with Pakistan's Defense Minister, Khawaja Muhammad Asif, stressed that Tehran remains cautious despite the signing of the MoU, emphasizing that Iran's Armed Forces would respond to any violation of the agreement decisively.

Alireza Novin, a parliamentarian, likewise argued that the understanding reached with the United States was achieved from a position of strength rather than necessity. He said Iran's strategic capabilities and public support have strengthened its position in both regional affairs and diplomatic negotiations.

Reformist politician Esmail Gerami Moghaddam, chairman of the National Trust Party, also voiced support for the negotiating team despite longstanding concerns regarding US reliability. He stressed that any agreement would proceed within Iran's established decision-making framework and warned against attempts to politicize the nego-

tiation process.

The comments highlight a broader convergence among Iranian political currents on the need to continue diplomatic engagement while carefully monitoring the implementation of commitments by the United States.

The latest negotiations come after months of heightened tensions and military confrontation involving Iran, the United States, and Israel. The memorandum of understanding signed on June 17 established the first formal framework for ending hostilities and opening a pathway toward broader political and security negotiations.

Iranian officials have repeatedly pointed to the experience of the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) as a reason for their cautious approach. Tehran argues that shortcomings in the implementation of previous agreements underscore the importance of effective verification mechanisms and reciprocal commitments in any future settlement.

While the Geneva talks have generated diplomatic momentum, analysts say significant challenges remain. Future negotiations are expected to focus on sanctions relief, the release of frozen Iranian assets, regional security arrangements, and the nuclear-related issues that are likely to require complex technical discussions and sustained political engagement.

For now, Tehran and the mediating countries have portrayed the Swiss negotiations as an important step toward transforming a fragile ceasefire into a durable diplomatic process, while acknowledging that considerable work remains before a final agreement can be reached.

riched uranium reserves. Instead, a compromise was reached under which Iran will lower the enrichment level while the material remains stored underground.

On the Strait of Hormuz, Dar said that for 60 days, no tariffs will be received, and commercial vessels may transit freely in both directions, paying only standard navigation or service fees. China backs the arrangement, he added.

Dar confirmed that Iran's oil and petrochemical sanctions have been suspended, the naval blockade lifted, and some frozen assets released. He stressed that provocative Israeli attacks on Lebanon must cease.

CBI governor reports progress in Switzerland talks on assets and oil sanctions

The Governor of the Central Bank of Iran, Abdolnasser Hemmati, said negotiations in Switzerland on the release of frozen Iranian assets and easing of oil sanctions made measurable progress within a 14-clause framework. He noted the talks were difficult but productive, adding that memorandums were signed under the Doha understanding to enable gradual activation of blocked resources under Central Bank directives. Regarding oil exports, he said an OFAC waiver under the Iran-US understanding would reduce sanctions costs, allowing smoother exports.

LATEST NEWS

Iran's Parliament Speaker Qalibaf departs for Oman for high-level talks

Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf, Speaker of the Iranian Parliament and head of the negotiating delegation, has departed Tehran for Muscat, the capital of the Sultanate of Oman, on an official visit.

During his visit to Oman, Qalibaf is scheduled to meet with Sultan Haitham bin Tariq to discuss bilateral cooperation and to coordinate efforts to stabilize Iranian-administered arrangements for the Strait of Hormuz.

Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi is accompanying Qalibaf on this diplomatic mission.

Iran ready to respond to any potential threats: official

A senior Iranian security official has warned that, despite ongoing negotiations with the US, its military forces remain on alert and ready to address any threats.

Ghadir Nezami, Iran's deputy secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, made the comments while in New Delhi, India, to attend a meeting of the national security advisors of BRICS member states on Monday.

Nezami also met with Wang Yi, the Chinese foreign minister, who was attending the New Delhi meeting.

China welcomes progress in Iran-US talks

China has said it hopes that both Iran and the United States will try hard to achieve positive results in the talks that follow the signing of the memorandum of understanding (MoU).

China supports the mediation efforts made by Pakistan, Qatar and other parties, and hopes that both Iran and the US will sustain the momentum of negotiations, continue to work towards each other, and strive for positive progress in the talks, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Guo Jiakun said on Monday, in response to an inquiry that mediated by Pakistan and Qatar, Iran and the US reached a consensus on Monday to establish communication line to safeguard shipping through Hormuz Strait and de-escalating the conflict in Lebanon, Global Times reported.

Pakistan FM reveals details of Iran-US talks

Pakistan's top diplomat said Monday that Iran will lower its enrichment level instead of shipping uranium out, and that three technical working groups will now work on the nuclear file, frozen assets, and Lebanon.

Speaking to Al-Arabiya and Al-Hadath, Ishaq Dar said the United States had originally demanded the removal of Iran's en-

IRAN IN FOCUS

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Straight Truth
TEHRAN TIMES

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Qaani warns Israel of another forced withdrawal from southern Lebanon

From Page 1 ▶ The senior IRGC commander warned that any continued military presence in southern Lebanon would ultimately result in defeat. "If you persist in aggression and occupation, you will be driven out in humiliation and defeat," he said, concluding his message with the phrase, "The choice is yours."

Qaani's remarks come amid continuing regional tensions and as developments in Lebanon remain a key issue in ongoing indirect talks between Iran and the United States in Switzerland.

The future of southern Lebanon has emerged as a central topic in diplomatic discussions, with Tehran repeatedly emphasizing that the implementation of the recently signed Islamabad Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) depends on an end to hostilities across all fronts, including Lebanon.

Iranian officials have maintained that any lasting regional settlement must include the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory and the cessation of military operations in the country. The issue has been closely linked



to broader efforts to consolidate the ceasefire framework established under the memorandum and advance negotiations toward a comprehensive agreement.

Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon in 2000 remains a powerful symbol in regional political discourse. Lebanon commemorates the event each year on May 25 as Liberation Day, marking the end of 22 years of Israeli occupation in the south of the country.

Iran proposes 'Islamic Security Belt'



From Page 1 ▶ The Iranian minister also commended the Pakistani government and armed forces for their role in facilitating diplomatic efforts and recent understandings aimed at reducing regional tensions. At the same time, he stressed that Tehran remains cautious despite the signing of a memorandum of understanding, emphasizing that Iran's Armed Forces would respond decisively to any violation of the agreement.

Referring to Israeli military actions in Gaza, Lebanon, and Syria, Ebnolreza argued that continued instability in the region serves Israeli interests and called on Muslim countries to adopt a unified approach to confront 'Israeli aggression and expansionist policies.'

As part of that strategy, he reiterated Tehran's proposal for the establishment of a "Regional Security Belt of the Islamic World," comprising countries including Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, and other Muslim states. According to the Iranian minister, the initiative would provide a platform for enhanced security coordination, regional dialogue, and collective efforts to address common challenges facing the Islamic world.

He also announced Iran's readiness to begin consultations with regional governments regarding the proposal.

For his part, Pakistan's defense minister praised the 'Iranian nation's resilience in the face of recent attacks,' saying the country's response demonstrated determination and national unity. He added that the resistance shown by the Iranian people and Armed Forces would be remembered as a significant chapter in regional history.

Khawaja Muhammad Asif described relations between Iran and Pakistan as deeply rooted and fraternal, emphasizing that the people of Pakistan maintain close ties with the Iranian nation and have consistently supported Iran during challenging times.

Welcoming Tehran's proposal for a regional security framework, the Pakistani minister expressed hope that once regional conditions stabilize, a new phase of cooperation among Islamic countries could emerge. Such cooperation, he said, could contribute to the development of collective security arrangements aimed at preventing aggression, strengthening regional stability, and promoting lasting peace.

Asif also condemned Israeli actions in Gaza, describing the situation as one of the region's most pressing humanitarian and security challenges, and called for greater unity among Muslim nations in addressing regional crises.

The exchange reflects growing calls within parts of the Islamic world for stronger regional cooperation mechanisms amid continuing conflicts and geopolitical tensions across West Asia.

NYT spills the beans on Trump's failed Iran strategy: 'US bit off more than it could chew'

TEHRAN - The New York Times has acknowledged that Washington failed to achieve its objectives through either military action or diplomacy in the aftermath of the joint US-Israeli war against Iran, which began nearly four months ago.

The United States and Israel launched the war on February 28 with the stated aim of crippling Iran's military capabilities and reshaping the country's political landscape in their favor. However, President Donald Trump ultimately agreed to a ceasefire on April 8 without securing those objectives.

Last week, Trump also signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) with Iran that does not address Tehran's missile program or its regional influence. Notably, Trump referred to the agreement as being with the "Islamic Republic of Iran," a formulation that underscores the failure of efforts aimed at regime change.

Citing analysts, the NY Times said in a report published on Sunday that "neither the war nor the agreement" has eliminated what Washington and Tel Aviv describe as Iran's threats.

Caitlin Talmadge, a professor at MIT who

specializes in Persian Gulf security issues, told the American newspaper that the US acceptance of the MoU reflects a miscalculation of American leverage. "I think it's a document that has resulted from the fact that the United States bit off more than it could chew and doesn't want to escalate," she said.

The report added that Iranian retaliatory attacks on US military bases in Persian Gulf countries caused significant damage and undermined perceptions of their invulnerability.

Trump has since lashed out at The New York Times report, calling it "treasonous" and saying it would be added to his lawsuit against the paper.

Separately, CNN and other US media outlets have reported that Trump's claim of destroying Iran's military capabilities does not hold up. Citing intelligence assessments, they said a large portion of Iran's missile launchers remains intact despite US-Israeli strikes during the 39-day war.

Earlier this month, Israel Hayom reported that Iran has emerged stronger from the war, while Israel has become weaker, describing Iran as the strategic winner of the conflict.

Iran emerges as critical transit link between Iraq, Afghanistan, South Asia

By Mahnaz Abdi

TEHRAN- Recent developments in Iran's transport and logistics sector have underscored the country's growing importance as a regional transit hub connecting the West Asia with Central and South Asia.

Two major announcements over the past week, the successful completion of the first liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) export operation from Khorramshahr Port to Afghanistan and Pakistan via multimodal transport, and the launch of the first combined rail transit shipment from Iraq to Afghanistan through western Iran, demonstrate Tehran's strategic efforts to capitalize on its geographic position and strengthen its role in regional trade.

The first development came from Khorramshahr Port, where authorities announced the successful completion of the first LPG export operation using combined transport methods to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Located near the head of the Persian Gulf, Khorramshahr serves as one of Iran's key maritime gateways. The new operation combines maritime, rail, and land transportation networks to move energy products more efficiently to regional markets.

This achievement demonstrates Iran's increasing focus on multimodal transport systems, which are becoming essential for modern supply chains. By integrating ports, railways, roads, and border crossings into a unified logistics framework, Iran is attempting to increase cargo volumes, reduce transportation costs, and improve delivery times for regional trade partners.

Officials described the operation as an important step in strengthening Khorramshahr's position within the country's logistics network and expanding export routes to neighboring countries. The project also aligns with broader national plans to increase the role of rail freight and develop combined transport solutions across Iran's trade corridors.

The second major development came from Kermanshah Province, where Iranian railway authorities operationalized the first combined rail transit shipment originating in Iraq and destined for Afghanistan. The cargo entered Iran through its western border crossings, underwent logistics processing at Kermanshah freight station, and was then integrated into the national railway network for transport toward Afghanistan through the country's eastern frontier.

While the shipment itself represents a logistical achievement, its broader significance lies in what it reveals about Iran's evolving role in regional connectivity. For years, Iran has sought to position itself as the shortest and most efficient land bridge linking neighboring economies. The successful movement of Iraqi cargo across Iranian territory demonstrates Tehran's ability to provide reliable transit services and facilitate regional commerce.

Kermanshah occupies a particularly strategic position in this vision. Sharing more than



370 kilometers of border with Iraq and serving as one of the principal gateways for bilateral trade, the province has long been viewed as a potential logistics hub. The activation of a rail-based Iraq-Iran-Afghanistan corridor marks a significant step toward integrating western and eastern regional markets through Iranian infrastructure.

Taken together, the two developments reveal a broader strategy. Rather than merely serving as a producer and exporter of goods, Iran is seeking to become an indispensable transit state connecting multiple economic regions. The emerging corridors link Iraq's markets and resources to Afghanistan's growing demand and Pakistan's large consumer base, with Iranian territory serving as the central connector.

The timing is particularly noteworthy. Recent regional tensions and disruptions to traditional trade routes have increased interest in alternative transportation corridors. Countries across the region are seeking diversified logistics networks that can provide stability, flexibility, and reduced dependence on vulnerable maritime routes. Iran's extensive railway system, strategic border crossings, and access to both the Persian Gulf and the Caspian region provide it with significant advantages in this environment.

Moreover, these projects align with Tehran's long-term economic objectives. Expanding transit revenues, increasing railway utilization, attracting foreign cargo, and strengthening trade relations with neighboring countries are all central elements of Iran's economic development strategy. Every successful transit operation enhances the country's credibility as a logistics partner and strengthens its position within emerging regional trade architectures.

The Khorramshahr multimodal export route and the Iraq-Iran-Afghanistan rail corridor may still be in their early stages, but they offer concrete evidence that Iran is steadily transforming its geographic location into strategic influence. As regional commerce evolves, Tehran appears increasingly determined to establish itself not merely as a participant in regional trade, but as one of its principal facilitators.

In this sense, the significance of the week's developments extends beyond transportation. They represent another step in Iran's broader effort to leverage connectivity, infrastructure, and logistics as instruments of economic resilience and regional integration, reinforcing its role as a critical bridge between the West Asia, Central Asia, and South Asia.

Iran, Kurdistan region agree to organize trade at Kermanshah border

TEHRAN- In a joint meeting between officials of Iran and the Kurdistan Region of Iraq at the Sheikh Saleh border in Salas-e Babajani county, Kermanshah province, solutions for organizing border exchanges, facilitating the entry of goods, and examining the possibility of expanding agricultural product exports were discussed.

According to a report by IRNA on Monday, this meeting was held with the presence of the Governor of Salas-e Babajani county, the Special Assistant to the Governor of Kermanshah for Iraqi Affairs, the Head of the Sheikh Saleh Border Customs, and the official in charge of customs for the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, during which solutions for developing economic cooperation and removing obstacles to border trade were examined.

Mehdi Ramezani, Head of the Sheikh Saleh Border Customs, emphasizing the necessity of synchronizing border processes, said: "To prevent the stoppage of goods and expedite exchanges, it is essential to strengthen bilateral coordination, especially regarding adjusting the working hours of the border market and joint planning during the official holidays of the two countries."

Stating that precise and continuous monitoring of sensitive goods and fuel is one of the requirements for organizing border trade, he continued: "The issue of establishing a specific procedure for the entry of goods subject to kolbari (cross-border trade) has been pursued with the follow-up of the representative of Salas-e Babajani county in the parliament and the issuance of permission from the Customs Administration of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and has been welcomed by the Iraqi side."

In the continuation of this meeting, requests were raised by the Iraqi side regarding the establishment of passenger procedures and the provision of necessary conditions for the export of agricultural products, including fruits and vegetables, and it was decided that in future technical and executive meetings, the feasibility study and examination of the necessary conditions for facilitating this matter would be carried out.

Also, the two sides emphasized ensuring the security of traders and drivers at the border, and it was decided that joint meetings would continue regularly to follow up on foreign trade issues and strengthen border capacities.

Trump's Iran war: A \$40 billion catastrophe that hurts Americans most

TEHRAN- When Donald Trump last week declared victory in his war against Iran, he painted a picture of American triumph. "OIL IS FLOWING, IRAN CAN NEVER HAVE A NUCLEAR WEAPON... PRICES ARE DROPPING," he boasted on social media. But a comprehensive CNN analysis of the 100-day conflict reveals a devastating reality that the President's all-caps pronouncements cannot obscure: this was a war that bankrupted American taxpayers, emptied the nation's strategic reserves, and inflicted economic pain on ordinary families—all while killing more than 7,500 civilians in the region.

The staggering price tag

According to preliminary figures from the Center for Strategic and International Studies obtained by CNN, the war has cost the Pentagon approximately \$40 billion. But this is merely the "sticker price." The Pentagon has already submitted a request for \$80 billion in supplemental funding—more than double the official figure—with less than \$20 billion even directly related to immediate war needs. The rest, sources told CNN, represents hidden costs the administration is desperate to conceal.

The munitions bill alone stands at \$26 billion. The US fired approximately 1,000 Tomahawk missiles, each costing \$2.5 million, in what experts described to CNN as a "high use" of sophisticated, expensive weaponry. The first 100 hours of the conflict burned through \$3.7 billion. By day 12, the cumulative cost had



reached \$16.5 billion.

American families pay the price

While Trump celebrates, American households are bleeding. Brown University's energy cost tracker found that families have spent \$253 more on gasoline than they would have without the war—a direct result of Trump's aggressive policies. Diesel prices, which affect everything from food delivery to farming, forced Americans to spend an additional \$27.1 billion.

The national average gas price exceeded \$4 per gallon for much of the conflict, and despite Trump's claims of "affordability," the US average stood at \$3.97 on Friday—only recently dropping below \$4 for the first time since March 30.

Strategic reserves depleted to 1983 levels

Perhaps most alarmingly, the nation's Strategic Petroleum Reserve—America's emergency oil

supply stored in Gulf Coast salt caverns—has fallen to its lowest level since 1983. Trump's war, following the Biden administration's drawdowns during Russia's invasion of Ukraine, has left America dangerously exposed. The critical Cushing, Oklahoma, oil hub has just 20 million barrels remaining—what experts described to CNN as the "operational stress level."

Trump himself acknowledged the crisis at the G7 summit in Versailles, warning: "You want to see bedlam? We run out of reserves in about four weeks."

Global supply crisis

The world lost 1.15 billion barrels of oil supply during the conflict, CNN reported. While the Trump administration scrambled to de-sanction Russian and Iranian oil and coordinated the largest emergency stockpile release in history, it wasn't enough. Venezuela and Brazil ramped up production, but the damage was done.

ICCIMA board of representatives presents reports in trade, currency, transport, transit

TEHRAN- During the 33rd session of the 10th term of the Board of Representatives of the Iran Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture (ICCIMA) while issuing a statement centered on appreciating the warriors and veterans of the Ramadan War and supporting the negotiation process and the agreement, entrepreneurs hosted Mohammad Reza Aref, the First Vice President of Iran.

In the latest meeting of the Board of Representatives of the Iran Chamber, which was held with the presence of the First Vice President, in addition to three reports being presented in the areas of trade and currency, transportation and transit routes, and how to optimally utilize resources that are likely to be freed up, the members of the Board of Representatives issued a statement regarding the appreciation of the warriors and veterans of the Ramadan War and support for the negotiation process and the agreement.

In this meeting, Samad Hassanzadeh, head of the Iran Chamber, cited the measures and recommendations of the heads of chambers across the country to economic enterprises regarding maintaining production and employment capacity during the recent imposed war as important factors in maintaining social stability and noted: "During the 12-day war and the Ramadan War, we witnessed epics created by economic activists in the continuation of production, especially in the production of basic goods, and today no problems are seen in the people's livelihood and the supply of essential needs, and this is due to the support of economic activists, all officials of the country, ministers, and heads of all organizations that have always provided great cooperation."

Iran Chamber's plans for post-war and reconstruction era

In another part of his speech, the head of the Iran Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture, spoke about the Iran Chamber's plans for the post-war period, saying: "The Iran Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture has made plans for the post-war era, the recent agreement, and negotiations with the United States, aimed at rebuilding Iran and compensating for the damages suffered by entrepreneurs and enterprises during the war, which have caused production difficulties."

He stated that the Iran Chamber's plan for the reconstruction period will soon be sent to the heads of the three branches of government and other senior officials of the country.

Appreciating the sincere efforts of the

negotiating team and announcing the full support of private sector for peace and security, he said: "Entrepreneurs have always announced their rational support for the policies and programs of the serving government, and alongside the government, with national consensus, they have provided support in the field of economic activities aimed at creating peace, security, tranquility, and improving the livelihood and lives of the people."

Referring to the conditions of sanctions, restrictions, and problems that the country's economy has been grappling with for several years, Hassanzadeh said: "Despite all the problems, to this day, with the prudence of all officials, conditions have been created so that problems are solved scientifically and expertly. However, in some issues, entrepreneurs have problems that we are interested in solving through dialogue and consultation, and measures should also be taken to resolve ambiguities."

Stating that some economic activists are concerned about fulfilling foreign exchange commitments due to the increase in the exchange rate, he continued: "Therefore, economic activists who have exported and today want to fulfill their foreign exchange commitments do not have the ability to provide these amounts, and it is necessary, in consultation with the Governor of the Central Bank and the Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, to reconsider the issue of fulfilling foreign exchange commitments, especially in the field of technical and engineering services, which have faced problems in this area for several years."

In another part of his speech before the Board of Representatives of the Iran Chamber, in the presence of the First Vice President, Hassanzadeh said: "Good approvals, decisions, and circulars are issued in the country, but they face very big problems in implementation – meaning they are either not implemented at all or are implemented insufficiently. Therefore, a central command for decision-making on some important economic issues in the country is strongly felt, and it is necessary for you, Excellency, to pay more attention in this regard."

Country's governance in post-war conditions is different from the past

Mohammad Reza Aref, the First Vice President, also emphasized the decisive role of the "technology front" in the third imposed war, saying: "The achievements of this war are owed to the officers of the science and technology front, and Iran stood firm against pressures to stop nuclear technology, be-

Inflation eats wages

Annual inflation surpassed 4 percent for the first time in three years, driven entirely by energy prices. The Federal Reserve, now led by Trump's hand-picked Chairman Kevin Warsh, refused to cut interest rates despite presidential pressure. Most damningly, inflation has now outpaced wage growth—meaning American workers effectively took a pay cut in April and May, the first time since 2023.

Trump has dismissed these concerns, bizarrely declaring "I love the inflation" and claiming prices would "come down like a rock." But economists note the difference between slowing inflation and actual price decreases—a distinction Trump either fails to grasp or deliberately obscures.

A hollow victory

Consumer sentiment rose slightly in June after three months of decline, according to the University of Michigan, but remains near historic lows. Meanwhile, 13 American service members and over 7,500 civilians lost their lives.

The CNN report paints an unmistakable picture: Trump's war was not a victory—it was a catastrophic miscalculation that drained American resources, depleted strategic reserves, crushed working families, and left the nation more vulnerable than it has been in decades. The President may claim Americans have "won," but the numbers tell a very different story.

cause being limited in this area could have led to the cessation of other advanced technologies."

He also stressed: "The country's governance in post-war conditions is different from the past, and the Chamber of Commerce, as the parliament of the private sector, has an important responsibility in realizing the country's progress goals."

Referring to the activity of five fronts – the battlefield, diplomacy, service, the streets, and technology – during the war, Aref considered the technology front to be one of the main factors of the country's success and said: "Iran, relying on its scientists and elites, has achieved important accomplishments in fields such as nuclear technology, nanotechnology, biotechnology, and radiology."

The First Vice President also said: "Iran has never retreated from its red lines and national interests in the negotiations, and 'surrendering is not in the nature of Iranians.'"

According to him, the enemy was forced to retreat due to weakness in the diplomatic arena, and its opposition to Iran's nuclear program stems from concerns about the country's technological progress, not the issue of nuclear weapons.

Also referring to the new conditions after the war, Aref emphasized utilizing national capacities, including the Strait of Hormuz and receiving transit rights, and concluded: "To achieve the region's top position in advanced technologies, appropriate internet without development-impeding restrictions must be made available to economic activists and technologists."

Statement by Iran Chamber's Board of Representatives regarding support for the agreements

Following this meeting, the statement of the Board of Representatives of the Iran Chamber was read. In this statement, it is stated: "The community of private sector economic activists of the country believes that prudence, rationality, and the preference of the supreme national interests necessitate welcoming any initiative, understanding, and agreement that can lead to the end of hostilities, reduction of tensions, stabilization of security, and opening new horizons for the country's economic and commercial interactions."

Based on this statement, the Iran Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture condemned the unjustified unilateral sanctions imposed on a number of entrepreneurs, traders, and private enterprises of the country.

London Bridge is finally falling down. No fresh sacrifices can save Britain.

From page 1 ▶

The revolving door of Downing Street

Starmer's downfall was engineered by Andy Burnham, the former mayor of Greater Manchester, who secured a parliamentary seat via a highly calculated by-election designed for a hostile party takeover. Yet Starmer will not vacate office until September.

This manufactured delay is the deep state catching its breath. While the political stage sits empty, the unelected machinery, intelligence chiefs, Whitehall mandarins, and City of London bond traders will spend the summer locking in the very policies the British electorate never voted for.

Unconditional military underwriting of the Ukraine war, the expansion of mandatory digital identity tracking, the quiet reversal of Brexit milestones, and compliance with dictates from Washington and Tel Aviv will be set in stone long before Burnham ever crosses the threshold of Downing Street.

Burnham, a less-experienced version of Starmer in a black T-shirt who pretends to be an outsider, will inherit a cage whose bars have already been reinforced.

This hyper-turnover of leadership is the design, not a systemic malfunction. David Cameron, Theresa May, Boris Johnson, Liz Truss, Rishi Sunak, and now Keir Starmer, not one has completed a full traditional term over the last 10 years.

The faces are rotated to provide the illusion of public accountability, while the City of London, an ancient corporate entity operating with historical autonomy, dictates the regime's economic baseline from behind its medieval boundaries.

===== A foreign policy built on rubble

Under Starmer's leadership, the British government provided comprehensive diplomatic, legal, and military camouflage for the genocidal devastation of Gaza.

Royal Air Force assets logged over 600 surveillance missions to assist operations over the strip, while the cabinet consistently approved weapons export licenses to the occupying Israeli forces.



When independent United Nations experts warned of catastrophic international law violations, Starmer utilized his background as a human rights lawyer to manufacture domestic consensus, reframing mass slaughter as a measured security strategy.

This alignment was heavily institutionalized. Significant portions of Starmer's front bench, including the core foreign policy and economic teams, operated with the backing of prominent lobbying networks and millionaire donors such as Trevor Chinn, a vice president of the ultra-Zionist "Jewish Leadership Council."

Starmer signed every diplomatic blank check demanded of him. He authorized the bombing of Yemen without seeking parliamentary approval, targeting the poorest population in the region to safeguard the maritime routes between the global capital and Israel.

Simultaneously, his administration escalated sanctions against Iran, prioritizing Washington's aggressive strategy over Britain's own diplomatic interests.

In the vocabulary of modern Westminster, international law is not a shield for the vulnerable, but a silencer for the powerful.

The moral rot of the establishment

The metaphor of immurement in the London Bridge nursery rhyme becomes literal when examining the internal moral architecture of the British state.

During his tenure as Director of Public Prosecutions, Starmer oversaw a Crown Prosecution Service that witnessed the destruction of

investigative files on Jimmy Savile, dissolving evidence into bureaucratic obscurity.

Savile was a deeply embedded fixture of the royal household, acting as a close personal advisor to Charles, now the so-called King and then the Prince of Wales, who regularly sought his counsel and exchanged private letters with him for decades.

By letting the paper trail of a predator with the highest tier of royal patronage vanish, the legal machinery preserved the structural sanctity of the Crown itself.

Starmer's office also pursued the relentless oppressive legal hounding of Julian Assange for exposing Western war crimes, while systematically declining to prosecute intelligence officers implicated in international torture and extraordinary rendition programs.

This institutional instinct reached its zenith with the appointment of Peter Mandelson as Britain's ambassador to Washington. Mandelson's deep ties to the convicted financier Jeffrey Epstein, including documented stays at Epstein's Manhattan residence after his initial 2008 conviction, were flagged within confidential Cabinet Office briefs.

When the subsequent political scandal forced Mandelson's removal, it was handled as a public relations inconvenience rather than a criminal matter. The elite protected its own, demonstrating once again that the system preserves its architects by sacrificing its victims.

The market cage and the final verse

The economic mortar holding this system together is failing. The City of London continues to function as a sovereign financial laundromat for global wealth, leaving successive Chancellors to govern within a fiscal straightjacket.

The domestic formula has remained unchanged since the late 20th century: structural austerity for the public, and institutional bailouts for the financial sector.

Strategic anxieties around issues such as immigration are routinely weaponized by the media to redirect domestic anger away from the oligarchy.

Even figures such as Nigel Farage and Rupert Lowe offer an artificial brand of anti-establishment rebellion that ultimately leaves the financial elite's deregulated playground untouched.

The international financial community has begun pricing Britain's chronic political instability as a severe economic liability rather than a localized soap opera.

Real-time market data shows UK gilt yields climbing rapidly, outstripping the borrowing costs of the United States, France, and Germany. The European Union has already begun reassessing its upcoming diplomatic summits, citing a total lack of clarity regarding Britain's economic trajectory.

When Burnham finally enters Downing Street, he will be met by a permanent bureaucracy that will lay bare the terms of his tenure.

If he deviates from the established script on foreign military commitments, digital infrastructure, or financial deregulation, the bond markets possess the leverage to trigger a sovereign debt crisis, breaking the currency and stripping away the last pretenses of parliamentary sovereignty.

The old nursery rhyme is approaching its final stanza.

For centuries, the managers of the British regime immured the innocent, from families under rubble in the Middle East and elsewhere to working-class communities abandoned to decaying domestic infrastructure, to keep the facade stable. Now, the fissures are too wide to plug, and the foundations are sliding into the river.

JUNE 23, 2026

Straight Truth
TEHRAN TIMES

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Hajj Ramadan, from Gaza in the midst of the flood to martyrdom in Qom

By Majid Abdullah, a senior resistance commander in Gaza

As we faced a barbaric aggression in Gaza, overflowing with Talmudic hatred and Nazi-like conduct, and as we waited every moment for heavy, devastating, and incendiary bombs to strike without warning, [at the onset of the 12-day war in June 2025,] we watched with deep anguish the Zionist-American aggression against a Muslim country that had stood beside us.

This country supported, backed, and defended our rights in the face of Zionist oppression and American arrogance. They demolished its buildings, killed its people, and destroyed its capabilities.

While we caught scraps of news about the targeting of scholars alongside military and political leaders, my ear was seized by the name of one of those great men.

It left me confused and deep in thought. I kept repeating to myself: Could it be him? Then I would pray to my Lord that it was not him.

Only hours later, his true identity was revealed. The news was as weighty as his role in supporting the resistance over two decades or more. You might ask: Who is this man?

He is the man I came to know 20 years ago. He devoted his life and time to the path of God and lived as a mujahid for the sake of al-Quds and Palestine. I bear witness that he was a man of upright character and faith who thought deeply, planned deliberately, built silently, and struggled relentlessly.

The Zionist enemy could never overlook him and never tired of hunting him. He is the man who stood tall on the mountains of southern Syria, gazing toward Palestine with eyes that silently declared, "We are coming, God willing."

Then, defiant on the shore of Naqoura in Lebanon, he proclaimed that we will shatter your dreams, you usurping occupiers. Afterward, he would remain stationed in Damascus at times and in Beirut at others.

His only concern was al-Quds and Palestine, and he persisted until he worked miracles that immortalized his memory after his departure. The poet's words proved true for him: Be a man who, when they come after him, they say he passed, and this is the mark he left.

He is the man beloved by the martyred Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei.

The Leader set aside a special place for him in his heart and often praised him and his efforts in the Palestine file, keeping him in his post without ever replacing him until God chose him as a martyr.

He is the man who pursued the enemy until the enemy pursued him and finally caught up with him; may God grant him vast mercy. He is the martyr. We reckon him as such, though we claim purity for no one before God.

He is Major General Mohammad Saeed Izadi (Hajj Ramadan), who was martyred on June 21, 2025, in the city of Qom.

He fell as a result of the brutal Israeli aggression against Iran in the inferno of the war that began on June 13, 2025. He departed this world in body but remains immortal through his deeds and his struggle within the Resistance Front for al-Quds and Palestine.

My acquaintance with him, who was often described as "the man of the shadows," began in Damascus around 2005 when he served as a coordinator of relations between Resistance factions.

Our relationship and mutual understanding continued for many long years. My final meeting with him took place in Haret Hreik in the southern suburbs of Beirut in 2022.

Reaching him was never easy because the enemy classified him as a dangerous man, making it the duty of his Hezbollah hosts to protect him. I entered his presence that day alongside several brothers from al-Qassam in Gaza [Hamas's military wing] to discuss specific issues concerning the resistance. I grew even more certain of what I already knew: he was a man of few words and many deeds.

His tongue never ceased praising God, and in his gaze, one could see a profound dedication to his work and a passion for accomplishment.

My attention was caught by a picture

hanging on the glass door of a cabinet opposite the dining table. It showed him with Dr. al-Rantisi [Palestinian political leader and co-founder of Hamas], may God have mercy on him.

He proudly told us the photo was taken in Marj al-Zuhur [a Syrian village located in Jisr al-Shughur Nahiyah in Jisr al-Shughur District, Idlib], confirming for me just how deeply sincere and true his belonging to Palestine and its people really was.

I learned that his visit to the exiles in Marj al-Zuhur was a mission of support and solidarity, undertaken both in his own name and on behalf of the Islamic Revolution Guard Corps and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The visit concluded with a warm welcome and a sincere promise to back the resistance and its men with all forms of assistance, exactly as we had always expected of him.

His efforts in supporting and developing the Resistance and the al-Quds Axis

Hajj Ramadan devoted his time to serving the mujahideen across multiple fields. He was a true partner in backing the Palestinian resistance in all its factions.

Indeed, his fingerprints are unmistakable in the development of its manufacturing and technological capabilities, particularly regarding rockets, guidance systems, and drones of all types.

He coordinated and supervised hundreds of military courses designed to build and prepare fighters for various Palestinian groups. He also worked diligently to establish a resistance project in southern Lebanon.

The Radwan Force [a special forces unit of Hezbollah] was the direct result of his insistence on driving forward the quantitative and practical buildup of Resistance forces to ensure full readiness for whatever the future might demand. He also contributed to advancing the military understanding of Resistance figures both inside and outside Palestine. One of his most vital coordinating efforts was setting up a command and staff course for the military and security leadership of Hamas.

This course lasted nearly two years, with trainees moving back and forth between Damascus and Tehran until its completion. It stands among his lasting good deeds and enduring impacts.

I will never forget that the academic material produced in this course directly benefited the resistance in Gaza and Palestine when it was integrated into the curricula of the military academy of the Martyr Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades.

He was a crucial partner in logistical operations, supplying the resistance with various types of weapons. This made him a genuine heir to the approach of Hajj Radwan [martyred Lebanese resistance leader Imad Mughniyeh], may God have mercy on him, a man we also knew for his boundless devotion to al-Quds and Palestine.

Hajj Ramadan's constant concern was figuring out how to deliver massive and diverse quantities of weaponry to the resistance forces in Gaza. To achieve this, he spent vast sums of money opening logistical routes and building warehouses in different locations to guarantee the weapons reached their destination.

Therefore, an important part of the resistance's arsenal was built through his dedicated financing, planning, and supervision, earning him a real share in the battles of the mujahideen against the Zionist enemy.

Hajj Ramadan did not confine himself solely to supply, training, and base-building. We also found him eager to participate directly in monitoring the confrontations between the resistance forces and the Zionist enemy.

He advised, guided, carried funds, and mobilized every possible resource for the Resistance during active clashes. He would remain stationed in the follow-up cell, whether in Beirut or Damascus, until he was completely reassured that all necessary provisions were secured.

One of the most notable examples of this dedication was his daily participation in the crisis cell established by the External Military Operations Department to monitor the Battle of al-Furqan [the Zionist regime's campaign of military aggression against Gaza that began on December 27, 2008, and ended on January 18, 2009].

(See full text at tehrantimes.com)

Germany's Security Council defeat: A global referendum on Berlin's foreign policy

Reflections on Germany's first-ever failure to secure a non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council

From page 1 ▶ It was the first time in UN history that Germany had failed to win election to the Security Council, bringing an abrupt end to what many in Berlin had long considered a virtually assured outcome.

The significance of this outcome extends far beyond the loss of a single seat. The UN Security Council remains the world's foremost decision-making body on international peace and security, tasked with determining responses to major global crises, authorizing peacekeeping missions, and imposing sanctions. Membership, therefore, is not merely a ceremonial distinction; it serves as a measure of a country's diplomatic standing, political influence, and ability to mobilize international support.

For Germany, the contest carried particular symbolic weight. For more than three decades, Berlin has positioned itself as a leading advocate of Security Council reform and a prominent contender for a permanent seat. Yet this time, it failed to secure even a temporary seat against Austria and Portugal. Many observers viewed

the result not simply as an electoral setback, but as evidence of a widening gap between Germany's perception of its own global role and the way that role is viewed by much of the international community. The question now being asked in diplomatic and political circles is: Does the world still perceive Germany the way Germany sees itself?

Beyond the conventional narratives: Why did Germany lose?

Following the announcement of the election results, German and international media outlets, diplomats, and foreign policy observers rushed to explain the reasons behind Berlin's unprecedented defeat. From the very first days, a range of political, diplomatic, and geopolitical factors were put forward to account for Germany's failure—factors that were repeatedly cited in news reports, commentaries, and policy analyses, gradually solidifying into the dominant narrative surrounding the outcome.

Some German media outlets described the result as a "heavy defeat" (herbe Niederlage),

a "crushing failure" (krachend gescheitert), "a slap in the face for Germany" (Eine Ohrfeige für Deutschland), or even a "political bombshell" (Paukenschlag). Such characterizations reflected a widespread perception in Berlin that far more than a non-permanent Security Council seat had been lost.

Within these prevailing narratives, the reasons for Germany's defeat—notwithstanding its record of six previous victories in Security Council elections—revolve around a largely consistent pattern: its late entry into the electoral race, Russia's active campaigning against the German candidacy, cuts in development and humanitarian assistance, an over-reliance on its economic and political weight, weak diplomatic lobbying, coalition-building and networking, the limited engagement of senior German leaders in the campaign, declining influence across the Global South, and an inability to build partnerships with non-aligned states, particularly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

(See full text at tehrantimes.com)

IOF manpower crisis: A battle over identity, not tanks

From page 1 ▶ This repeated warning comes amid a severe manpower shortage. The IOF, by its own admission, suffers a deficit of more than 12,000 soldiers, including 7,500 combat troops.

More urgently, mandatory service is expected to return to 30 months in January 2027, creating a gap equal to an entire recruitment cycle, roughly one missing company per battalion from that point onward.

From the IOF's perspective, the

coming weeks represent the final opportunity to amend the conscription law and extend service to 36 months before the dissolution of the Knesset and the move to elections, which would freeze legislation for an extended period.

The bill passed its first reading in July 2024 and includes extending the service for all enlistment cohorts, alongside financial incentives for longer service.

According to the Israeli regime's military, extending compulsory

service is intended to close the manpower gap and reduce repeated reliance on reserve forces, thereby easing pressure on both soldiers and the economy. Additional recommendations under consideration include shortening preparatory study periods in hesder yeshivas and extending the service of their students, who currently serve only one year and four months compared to their peers who serve significantly longer terms.

At the core of the crisis lies a contradiction between the army's dire need for every available male and female combat soldier, given the acute shortage, and the rabbis' rejection of mixed-gender service, which they see as incompatible with religious beliefs.

The army needs female combat soldiers as much as it needs hesder students, who form an essential part of its command structure, especially in infantry and armored units.

(See full text at tehrantimes.com)

Iran show resilience against Belgium

TEHRAN – Iran produced a disciplined and courageous performance to hold Belgium to a goalless draw in Group G, with goalkeeper Alireza Beiranvand emerging as the hero of the night. Yet despite earning a valuable point against one of the tournament favorites, Team Melli may ultimately look back on the result as a missed opportunity.

Beiranvand, making his third consecutive World Cup appearance, delivered a commanding display between the posts and was deservedly named Man of the Match. The experienced goalkeeper repeatedly denied Belgium's star-studded attack, keeping out the likes of Romelu Lukaku, Kevin De Bruyne and Leandro Trossard as Iran secured an important clean sheet.

The result demonstrated Iran's defensive organization and resilience. Throughout the match, Amir Ghalenoei's side remained compact and disciplined, frustrating a Belgian team that struggled to create clear-cut opportunities despite its abundance of attacking talent.

However, the draw also left a lingering sense of what might have been. Victory would have put Iran on the brink of making history and securing qualification for the knockout stage for the first time in the nation's football history. Instead, Team Melli must now wait for a decisive encounter against group leaders Egypt to determine their fate.

Egypt moved to the top of Group G following an impressive 3-1 victory over New Zealand and now hold the advantage heading into the final round of matches.

Iran's inability to capitalize on Belgium's numerical disadvantage may prove costly. Nathan Ngoy's dismissal in the 66th minute gave Team Melli a golden opportunity to seize control of the match. Yet Iran continued to approach the game cautiously, rarely committing significant numbers forward.

The absence of a convincing Plan B was evident. While Iran's defensive structure remained intact, there was little tactical adjustment designed to exploit the extra man. A more adventurous approach, combined with bolder substitutions from Ghalenoei, might have turned one point into three.

There were also factors beyond football that may have affected the team's performance. Iran have faced a demanding travel schedule throughout the tournament due to logistical and security regulations in the United States. The squad has been required to return to its base in Tijuana immediately after matches, limiting recovery time and adding to physical fatigue.

From a technical perspective, Iran's strengths and weaknesses are becoming increasingly clear. Defensively, the team looks solid and well organized, with Beiranvand providing leadership and confidence from the back. Yet in midfield and attack, Iran have struggled to demonstrate the creativity and authority needed to dominate opponents and create consistent scoring opportunities.

Iran have certainly shown they belong among the world's best. The challenge now is to prove they can take the next step. As Team Melli prepare for a decisive showdown with Egypt, the question remains whether defensive resilience alone will be enough to secure a historic place in the knockout rounds during the nation's seventh World Cup appearance.

Nemati delighted to claim first Asian karate gold

TEHRAN – Iranian karateka Morteza Nemati expressed his delight after winning his first senior Asian Championship gold medal at the Asian Karate Championships in Bali, Indonesia.

Nemati captured the gold medal in the men's -75kg category after defeating Kazakhstan's Nurkhan Azhikanov in the final. The triumph marked a major milestone in the Iranian fighter's career, as it was his first continental title at senior level.

Adding to Iran's success, Nemati's brother, Mahmoud Nemati, also stood atop the podium after winning gold in the men's +84kg division.

Speaking exclusively to the Tehran Times, Nemati reflected on his achievement.

"The Asian Championships were held in Bali, Indonesia, and I competed in the -75kg weight category. To win the gold medal, I defeated opponents from Uzbekistan, Kuwait and Japan," he said.

"This is my first gold medal in the senior division, and I am very happy about it."

Iran also enjoyed a strong showing in the team

competition, where Nemati played an important role in helping the national team reach the final.

"In the team event, we defeated Nepal, Vietnam and Japan," he said. "Unfortunately, we lost to Jordan in the final and had to settle for the silver medal."

Nemati praised his teammates for their efforts throughout the tournament.

"I would like to congratulate all the members of the team for their hard work and commitment. They all deserve credit for this achievement," he added.

Karate made its Olympic debut at the Tokyo 2020 Games but was not included in the Paris 2024 Olympic program. Asked whether he believes karate could one day return to the Olympics, Nemati remained hopeful.

"I hope that one day karate will return to the Olympic Games," he said.

Henry praises Iran's performance

TEHRAN – Former France star Thierry Henry praised Iran's performance against Belgium while working as a pundit for Fox Sports.

Team Melli and Red Devils shared the spoils in a goalless draw in Group G Sunday night.

"When you watch this game, you have to start with Iran. You have to give them credit," Henry said. "They came into the game knowing exactly what they needed to do. They stayed compact, stayed organized and made life very difficult for a very good Belgian team. That's not easy to do at this level."

Henry emphasized that Iran's result was no accident.

"When you take a point against a team like Belgium, it doesn't happen through luck. It comes from organization, belief and a willingness to suffer together as a team when the game demands it."

The former Arsenal striker also praised Iran's maturity and discipline.

"They defended collectively, stayed patient and didn't panic when important moments arrived. That's maturity. That's growth."

For Henry, the draw represented more than just a point.

"This result is huge for Iran. Not only because of the point, but because of what it represents: belief, resilience and the feeling that they belong on this stage. When you make a team like Belgium drop points again in a tournament, you're no longer here by accident."

Iran played 'beautiful game' under 'worst' conditions

TEHRAN – Iran coach Amir Ghalenoei said his team played a "beautiful game" under the "worst possible conditions" in their 0-0 draw with Belgium at SoFi Stadium on Sunday.

Among the reasons Ghalenoei listed that made life difficult on his team were short travel windows, visa complications entering the United States and Mexico in recent weeks, almost no time to properly prepare the team ahead of the tournament and a world-class opponent in Belgium, FIFA's No. 10-ranked team.

"We came into the World Cup under the worst possible conditions," Ghalenoei told reporters after the Group G game left Iran on two points from two matches. "And still we got a result against a great team and a great manager. We played a beautiful game."

Iran, whose travel from their base in Tijuana, Mexico, into and out of the U.S. has been restricted, landed in the U.S. on Saturday night, played Sunday and were due to return to Mexico on Sunday night.

"We had two great games without losing," Ghalenoei said, alluding to his team's opening 2-2 draw with New Zealand. "Tonight, we celebrate. Tomorrow, we focus on Egypt, which is a very strong team."

"We need to recover and then ... we have to fly back. We don't even have enough time to recover. Tomorrow, we will look at [today's] game and look at the game with Egypt."

"Right now, we need recovery," he continued. "Sixteen hours, two flights and a heavy game. I don't think anyone could have endured this. And our players have given everything. What we need the most now is to recover."

Iran proposes tourism cooperation reforms at OIC meeting in Tashkent

Iran has presented six proposals to expand tourism cooperation among member states of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) during a coordination committee meeting held in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, Miras-e Aria reported on Monday.

The proposals were put forward at the 10th meeting of the OIC Tourism Coordination Committee, where delegates also reviewed the selection process for Islamic tourism capital cities for 2028-2030.

Iranian representatives called for a revision of the current mechanism for selecting the "OIC Tourism Capital" to ensure broader regional participation and more balanced distribution of benefits among member states.

Iran's delegation included Moslem Shojaei, director-general for foreign tourism marketing and development at the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts of Iran, and Seyyed Javad Mousavi, director-general of cultural heritage, tourism and handicrafts for Iran's Razavi Khorasan province, according to the report.

The meeting was attended by senior tourism officials from OIC member states and focused on strengthening multilateral cooperation and increasing tourism exchanges among Islamic countries.

Key discussion areas included cultural and historical tourism, Halal tourism, medical tourism,



visa facilitation and the use of shared tourism capacities across member states.

One of the main agenda items was the evaluation of candidate cities for the title of "OIC Tourism Capital" for 2028, 2029 and 2030. Iran is one of 10 members of the evaluation committee and participates in the selection process.

Under the OIC's regional rotation system, the 2028 title is allocated to African countries, 2029 to Arab countries and 2030 to Asian countries. Final decisions are expected at the 13th

OIC Tourism Ministers' Conference scheduled for December 2026 in Doha, Qatar.

The OIC said the designation of a tourism capital can contribute to increased investment, infrastructure development and promotion of cultural and historical assets across its 57 member states.

Shojaei said Iran is ready to take part in joint initiatives and presented six strategic proposals, including the development of Islamic heritage tourism routes, the creation of an OIC Halal tourism network, annual tour-

ism exhibitions, visa facilitation, expansion of medical tourism cooperation and a review of the tourism capital selection mechanism.

He also proposed that, given the OIC's three regional divisions, one city from each region could be selected annually as tourism capital, instead of the current single-city system.

He said the proposal could improve regional balance and allow more countries to benefit from tourism-related economic and cultural opportunities.

Iran attends Asian green tourism meeting in Baku



TEHRAN – Iran has taken part in a specialized green tourism meeting of Asian countries in Baku, where it plans to present its achievements and capacities in sustainable tourism.

The participation follows the signing of a cooperation memorandum on the development of green tourism and support for the construction and upgrading of sustainable tourism facilities, according to the Mehr news agency reported on Monday.

The agreement was signed in the presence of Anoushirvan Mohseni Bandpei, Iran's deputy minister for tourism at the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts of Iran,

along with representatives of domestic tourism development bodies and private-sector partners, the report said.

Mohammad Jahanshahi, secretary of Iran's national committee for nature tourism and green tourism and facilitator of the agreement, said the memorandum aims to establish mechanisms for expanding green tourism through support for the construction, renovation and modernization of tourism infrastructure based on sustainability principles, resource efficiency and environmental protection.

He said the agreement also includes educational and promotional programs targeting tour-

ism facilities across Iran, including roadside tourism complexes, with more than 3,200 small and large units expected to be involved.

Jahanshahi said the green tourism framework focuses on indicators including energy efficiency, water consumption management, use of renewable energy, waste management, wastewater recycling, indoor and outdoor environmental quality, sustainable materials and integrated facility management.

He said private-sector tourism associations will work with technical consultants to implement these standards, while internal tourism development authorities will supervise and support implementation.

The memorandum also includes national projects such as a solar energy initiative for tourism facilities and the second edition of Iran's "green hotel award" program, he added.

Jahanshahi said that after finalizing the agreement process, he will represent Iran at the green tourism meeting of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Mea-

sures in Asia (CICA)), hosted in Baku on 22-23 June.

Green tourism, also known as sustainable tourism or eco-tourism, refers to responsible travel that minimizes negative impacts on the environment, culture, and local communities while promoting conservation and sustainable development. It encourages tourists to make environmentally friendly choices, such as reducing waste, conserving water and energy, using sustainable transportation, and supporting local businesses.

The main goal of green tourism is to protect natural and cultural heritage for future generations while allowing visitors to enjoy authentic travel experiences. It often involves visiting natural areas, staying in eco-friendly accommodations, respecting local traditions, and participating in activities that contribute to environmental conservation. As concerns about climate change and environmental degradation grow, green tourism has become an important approach for making the tourism industry more sustainable and ensuring that travel remains beneficial for both people and the planet.

Digital intl. driving license launched with online verification

TEHRAN – Iran has introduced a digital version of its international driving license that allows applicants to access the document alongside the physical copy and verify its authenticity online, Mehr news agency reported on Monday.

The Touring and Automobile Club of the Islamic Republic of Iran said the new service was designed to simplify travel procedures and improve access to essential documents for Iranian travelers abroad.

Hourivash Askari, head of international documents issuance at the club, said the digital license was launched as part of efforts to expand smart services and use new technologies to improve customer access and service delivery.



He said holders of international driving licenses can now access a dedicated link to view their digital document in addition to carrying the physical version.

The system includes online verification capabilities and provides identity and license information in a secure and standardized format, according to Askari.

He said the international driv-

ing license is considered one of the key travel documents after passports in many countries and that the digital version would help reduce delays and improve access during travel.

Asgari added that the system is intended to reduce the risks associated with loss or unavailability of physical documents, improve data security and expand electronic services.

The initiative was developed as part of broader digitalization efforts by the Touring and Automobile Club, which serves as the only official body authorized to issue international driving licenses in Iran, according to the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts of Iran.

'Environmental protection should safeguard rights of future generations'

TEHRAN – President Masoud Pezeshkian has emphasized the need for environmental protection and the sustainable use of biological resources, with an emphasis on safeguarding the rights of future generations, Shina Ansari, the head of the Department of Environment, has said.

"At a time when our beloved country is facing the economic consequences of two unjustly imposed wars, President Pezeshkian's emphasis on environmental protection, the sustainable use of biological resources, and environmental justice grounded in the rights of future generations is a source of encouragement and serves as our guiding principle at the Department of Environment," Ansari wrote on her X account.

On Sunday, Pezeshkian paid a visit to the Department of Environment to review the latest environmental challenges in the country, particularly those caused by the recent imposed wars, international measures, and the plans for the post-war period.

During the meeting, Ansari detailed widespread environmental destruction and ecocide in the US-Israel aggression against the country, noting that before the war, the DOE had corresponded with its counterparts in the region, the international organizations, and the United Nations Environment Program, warning of the consequences, ISNA reported.

The official highlighted that the DOE has documented all environmental destruction, and a detailed assessment of the extent of the damage is underway.

The DOE has recently held a meeting with the Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), Inger Andersen, discussing ways to expand cooperation on documenting war environmental impacts in the country, she noted.

She also expounded on a new campaign, titled 'green Muharram', which has kicked off with the beginning of the first lunar month. The campaign aims to save energy consumption, manage waste, and utilize the potential of religious rituals of Muharram to promote social responsibility and develop the culture of environmental protection.

The official went on to say that the future plans of the DOE rest



on utilizing up-to-date knowledge, scientific capacities, and public participation to improve the environmental condition of the country.

'We are all responsible for environmental protection'

On the occasion of World Environment Day, observed on June 5 every year, and National Environment Week, marked from June 6 to 12, President Pezeshkian underscored the shared responsibility of each individual for the protection of the environment, saying, "We all bear the responsibility to care for the environment," underscoring Article 50 of the Constitution, which regards the protection of the environment as a public duty, IRNA reported.

"World Environment Day and Week warn about the present and the future of life on Earth," he wrote on his X account.

All governments and societies need to prioritize the sustainability of natural infrastructures in any decision and action, he added.

Adopted measures

In an online meeting on Friday, Ansari and Andersen, discussed ways to expand cooperation on documenting war environmental impacts in the country.

During the meeting, Ansari detailed the environmental impacts of the war on the country, IRNA reported.

Air strikes on Shajareh Tayyeb school (in Minab, Hormozgan province), oil storage facilities, petrochemical plants, and industrial centers have led to widespread fires, dissemination of toxic pollutants and greenhouse gases, soil and water pollution, degradation of natural ecosystems, and decline in biodiversity, she said.

Highlighting the role of UNEP in supporting the environment amid conflicts, Ansari called on UNEP to support the DOE

through holding training courses for experts affiliated with the department on documenting the environmental damage and pursuing legal actions against perpetrators

The official also invited UNEP international experts and technical teams to pay a field visit to Iran and assess environmental damage first-hand.

For her part, Andersen censured the US-Israeli strikes on Iran's environment and environmental facilities.

The official said that the UNEP, in cooperation with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), is ready to hold specialized training courses on documenting environmental impacts of war for Iranian experts and provide technical support to them.

The DOE is supposed to introduce a group of experts to the UNDP secretariat to follow up on the discussed issues, and Iran's ambassador to Kenya will also do needed arrangements.

Hamid Zohrabi, an official with the DOE, in an official letter to the executive secretary of the Convention on Biological Diversity, has elaborated on the detrimental impacts of the war on the biodiversity, and irreparable damage to ecosystems.

The letter has confirmed clear violations of the articles of the convention, considerations of human rights, and the goals of Kunming Montreal global biodiversity framework, calling on the executive secretary to take a more active role in protecting biodiversity, and release a formal statement to censure this war and its environmental impacts during the 17th meeting of the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the Convention on Biological Diversity, which will be held in October in Yerevan, Armenia.

Iran has already launched a comprehensive legal and techni-

cal inquiry into the extensive environmental degradation caused by the recent American-Israeli campaign of aggression, characterizing the strikes as a calculated assault on the nation's ecological health and natural heritage.

Attending the 6th Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) Ministerial Meeting on Environment, held on June 3 in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, elaborated on the 40-day US-Israel attacks on Iran's environment and civilian infrastructures, describing the assaults as war crimes with irreparable damage to protected areas, the Persian Gulf, and the Sea of Oman.

She urged the international community to condemn these attacks and take action to stop such measures, saying that inaction in the face of such crimes would weaken confidence in international mechanisms.

"Strengthening regional multilateralism and cooperation among member states will contribute to keeping destructive trans-regional forces away from the Economic Cooperation Organization member states," she added.

Ecocide in an unjust war

According to Article 55 of the 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions, the natural environment must be protected against widespread, severe and long-term damage in armed conflict. The 1976 Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Hostile Use of Environmental Modification (ENMOD) also prohibits any hostile use of environmental modification with widespread, long-lasting or severe effects.

Nevertheless, the US-Israeli attacks, with the widespread explosion of oil storage facilities in Tehran and Alborz provinces, the release of large amounts of air pollutants, and the encirclement of Tehran with a layer of smoke, are a clear example of "ecocide" or "environmental crime."

Destruction of infrastructure, explosions, fires, and pollutants from military operations have severe and long-term effects on soil, water, air, and wildlife.

According to Ansari, this inhumane act represents a serious threat to the lives of innocent people and civilians who, in addition to severe mental and emotional trauma, must endure the dangerous environmental consequences of this unjustly imposed war.

More than 10,000 teams provided emergency social services, conduction 3,000 missions since the war outbreak.

The official went on to say that the Organization has updated 70 guidelines for its centers, and has produced 46,000 educational contents nationwide for different groups such as children, the elderly, disabled people, pregnant women, and ordinary people.

With the beginning of the war, the Welfare Organization organized a network of some 20,000 of volunteers to help provide a wide range of services, particularly medical and welfare services, to people affected by the US-Israeli aggression.

The network includes ordinary people, medical specialists, psychologists, and social workers.

The Welfare Organization has held several meetings with the volunteers in different provinces of the country to plan and coordinate their activities, and derive maximum benefits from their high capacity.

The result has been great, and the volunteers provide services to different strata of society.

71 Iranian scholars dispatched to Chinese scientific centers via TYSP

TEHRAN – The Iran-China Talented Young Scientist Program (TYSP) has so far facilitated the dispatch of 71 Iranian scholars to the top Chinese scientific center to conduct research, laying the groundwork for expanding scientific and research cooperation between the two countries.

The TYSP is an international mobility scheme funded by the Chinese government aimed at cultivating future leading scientists, together with other countries.

According to the Vice Presidency for Science, Technology, and Knowledge-Based Economy, the two countries started the young scientists exchange program in 2017, IRNA reported.

The program, which includes scholarships and financial support from Chinese universities, as well as educational and research institutes, came to a halt following the Covid-19 pandemic. The program restarted in October 2024.

The new edition of the Iran-China TYSP, announced in January 2025, opened up 53 opportunities for young scientists from the two countries.

The majority of Iranian applicants are associate professors or those with higher degrees, and the rest are selected among faculty members and researchers.

TYSP offers sponsorship for talented young scientists from other countries to work in China on a full-time basis for 6 or 12 months together with China's team; the Ministry of Science and Technology of China has allocated 12,500 yuan per month to support the implementation of research activities of the young talented scientists in China.

Iranian scholars are primarily working with the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Tongji University, Nanjing University of Science and Technology, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, and China Agricultural University.

Agricultural sciences and plant protection, earth sciences and natural hazard management, physics and optics, mathematics and computer science, materials science and engineering, energy, and bioinformatics are among the most important scientific fields in the TYSP program.

TYSP promotes cross-border exchanges of excellent young scientists, scholars, and researchers. The program also enhances cooperation among research institutes, universities, and enterprises.

When the program is over, participant will receive a TYSP Certificate based on their performance evaluation.

The executive agency will continue to follow up on the project management, encourage foreign experts and their host institutes to continue cooperation, and apply for bilateral inter-



governmental joint research projects.

INSF, NSFC to support joint research projects

Iran and China will support the implementation of five out of 190 research projects proposed in the Traditional Medicine and Medicinal Plants, and Energy sectors after the fifth joint call by the Iran National Science Foundation (INSF) and the National Natural Science Foundation of China (NSFC).

The grant, amounting to 40 billion rials (some 30,000 dollars) for each research project, will be allocated to the following fields.

1. Traditional Medicine and Medicinal Plants: Evidence-based integration and standardization of traditional Chinese and traditional Persian medicine for major diseases; Sustainable medicinal plants: eco-cultivation, biodiversity, and resilience; and the Application of Digital and AI Tools in the Classification, Analysis, and Clinical Research of Traditional Medicine and Medicinal Plants.

2. Energy: Renewable Energy; High-efficiency Utilization of Conventional Energy; Energy-Related Materials; Storage Technologies; and the Application of Artificial Intelligence in the Energy Field.

Supported by the INSF and the NSFC, an Iranian-Chinese workshop was held from November 10 to 12, 2025, focusing on new technologies for decarbonization and the sustainable built environment.

Organized by Sharif Energy, Water, and Environmental Research Institute and Chongqing University, China, the three-day event is being conducted in English, with participants attending the workshop in person and online, IRNA reported.

It was centered around pathways toward a net-zero and decarbonized energy future, sustainable sectors, and carbon efficiency, as well as innovation and digitalization for the energy transition, and the development of climate-resilient and resource-efficient cities.

The workshop served as a valuable step towards expanding scientific ties between the two countries to lower carbon dioxide emissions and develop a sustainable environment.

Public donations to Welfare Organization rise by 500% during 40-day war

TEHRAN – Donations by benefactors to the Welfare Organization during the 40-day US-Israeli war against the country increased by over 500 percent, amounting to 17.5 trillion rials (about 11 million dollars), Javad Hosseini, the head of the Organization, has said.

"Contrary to expectation, the conflict not only did not drop charitable donations, but led to a surge in social support," IRIB quoted Hosseini as saying.

The official made the remarks on Saturday at a meeting with benefactors who support people with disabilities.

Compared to the Iranian year 1403 (2024-2025), donations this year recorded a 518-percent rise, Hosseini added.

He went on to say that the expansion of a charity foundation for individuals with disabilities is on the agenda; the Welfare Organization aims to establish branches of the charity foundation for people with disabilities in 31 provinces of the country.

Services during war

Since the beginning of the war on February 28, the Welfare Organization has been providing numerous services to its beneficiaries across the country with the help of benefactors.

Till April, the benefactors donated two tril-

lion rials (almost 1.45 million dollars) to the Welfare Organization; "thanks to their contributions, 140,000 packages of basic food have been so far distributed among the beneficiaries," IRNA quoted Hosseini, as saying.

"Currently, 5,200 centers affiliated with the Welfare Organization are operating across the country, providing round-the-clock services to some 200,000 beneficiaries including street children, the elderly, people with mental illnesses, disabled people, and kids," the official said.

In the beginning days of the war, 18 centers had to be relocated, and 22,000 individuals were united with their families. Some 10,000 centers are providing daily remote rehabilitation services, and community-based rehabilitation (CBR) groups are strengthened to support people in each neighbourhood.

They provided 60,000 rehabilitation services in person. The groups empowered 40,000 families through boosting their resilience.

Rebuilding damaged houses, evacuating and providing emergency shelters, supporting the treatment of 12,000 individuals, and distributing 60,000 items of clothing are among other measures carried out, Hosseini added.

Referring to psychological services, the

official said 95,000 people have benefited from free psychological supports, out of which 6,000 were individuals affected by war impacts.

More than 10,000 teams provided emergency social services, conduction 3,000 missions since the war outbreak.

The official went on to say that the Organization has updated 70 guidelines for its centers, and has produced 46,000 educational contents nationwide for different groups such as children, the elderly, disabled people, pregnant women, and ordinary people.

With the beginning of the war, the Welfare Organization organized a network of some 20,000 of volunteers to help provide a wide range of services, particularly medical and welfare services, to people affected by the US-Israeli aggression.

The network includes ordinary people, medical specialists, psychologists, and social workers.

The Welfare Organization has held several meetings with the volunteers in different provinces of the country to plan and coordinate their activities, and derive maximum benefits from their high capacity.

The result has been great, and the volunteers provide services to different strata of society.

Iran shakes with 89 earthquakes in a week

TEHRAN – A total of 89 earthquakes have been recorded across the country in a week from June 13 to 19, according to the seismological networks of the Institute of Geophysics of the University of Tehran.

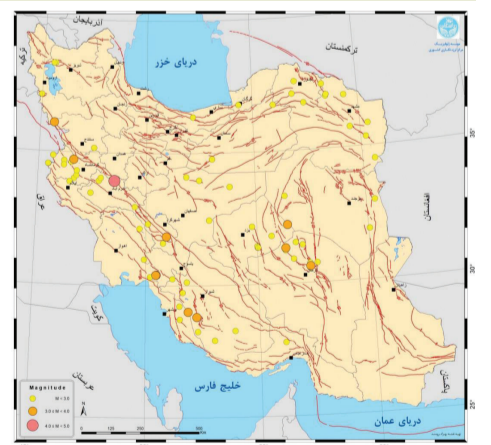
Statistically, 78 earthquakes with magnitudes smaller than 3, 10 earthquakes with a magnitude between 3 and 4, and one earthquake with a magnitude between 4 and 5, have occurred in the country, IRNA reported.

Of the total quakes, one had a magnitude of 4 on the Richter scale, which occurred on June 19 in Lorestan province.

Among the provinces of the country, Kerman experienced the highest number of earthquakes, with 11, followed by Kermanshah and Yazd, each with 10 earthquakes, Lorestan, with 9 earthquakes, and Khorasan Razavi with 8 earthquakes.

During the same period, no earthquakes were recorded in Tehran, West Azarbaijan, Ardabil, Alborz, Zanjan, Sistan-Baluchestan, Qom, Qazvin, Gilan, Markazi, and Hamedan provinces.

A total of 2,380 earthquakes with a magnitude of more than 2.5 on the Richter scale were recorded across the country over the past calendar year (March 2025–March 2026), according to the Seismological networks of the Institute of Geophysics of the University of Tehran,



Mehr news agency reported.

Out of recorded earthquakes, 910 had a magnitude greater than 3, 130 had a magnitude greater than 4, and 15 had a magnitude greater than 5 on the Richter scale.

The Iranian plateau is located in a very seismically active region of the world and is known not only for its major catastrophic earthquakes but also for the disasters relating to natural hazards, especially earthquakes.

About 2 percent of the earthquakes in the world occur in Iran, but more than 6 percent of the victims of the world's earthquakes during the 20th century are reported from Iranian earthquakes.



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GUIDE TO SPIRITUAL AWAKENING

Do not offer your friendship to someone who is not loyal.
Imam Ali (AS)

Prayer Times > Noon:12:07 Evening: 19:45 Dawn: 3:03 (tomorrow) Sunrise: 4:49 (tomorrow)

Iranshahr Theater to host Antonio Buero Vallejo's "In the Burning Darkness"

TEHRAN – Iranshahr Theater will host the play "In the Burning Darkness" by the Spanish playwright Antonio Buero Vallejo from June 28.

Houshmand Honarkar has directed the play, which has Nahid Moslemi, Kazem Hazhirazad, Siavash Khadem Hosseini, Parisa Sharifi, Sarina Soltanlou, and Mahyar Mirzaei in the cast among others, Mehr reported.

A play in three acts, "In the Burning Darkness" was written in 1947. The story centers on the unfortunate Ignacio, blind from birth, who is forced to enter an institution for the blind, run by Don Pablo. There he encounters a group of seemingly happy blind people, whom he nevertheless infects with his sense of misery at the loss of the most wonderful of senses.

Despite the attempts of Carlos, one of the students at the institute, who is suspicious of the friendship between Ignacio and his girlfriend Juana, Ignacio refuses to leave the institution. One fateful day, Carlos murders Ignacio on the playground swings. It seems that the blind can finally be happy again; however, Carlos's last words lead us to believe that Ignacio's influence has changed his way of thinking forever.

In "In the Burning Darkness," Buero represents the stark confrontation with a reality that cannot be hidden or disguised. Through the physical affliction of blindness, he symbolizes human limitations. Thus, he is a symbol of imperfection, of the lack of freedom to understand the mystery of our being and our destiny in the world. Man is not free because he cannot know the mystery that surrounds him.

The play has been interpreted by some critics as an allegory, with the blindness of the students seen as a metaphor for the Spanish people's "blindness" in their passive acceptance of the Francoist State. The role of Carlos in the play is analogous to that of Franco: like the caudillo, Carlos convinces the blind students into believing they are happy with their current state. Carlos also murders the resistance (i.e., Ignacio), much as Franco ordered the assassination of republican resistance leaders.

Antonio Buero Vallejo (1916 – 2000) was winner of the Lope de Vega Prize in 1949 and the Cervantes Prize in 1986.

He is considered to be the best playwright of the 20th century. His plays continue to be represented in theaters all over the world, and even some schools stage his plays.

Buero was the most important Spanish dramatist of the post-Civil War period. In his long career as a playwright, he published thirty original plays.

The common theme that links all his work is the tragedy of the individual, analyzed from a social, ethical, and moral perspective. The main problems that afflict humankind are already present in his first work, "In the Burning Darkness," and continue in later works. Critics have classified his work into symbolist theater, social criticism theater, and historical dramas.

"In the Burning Darkness" will remain on stage through July 30 at Iranshahr Theater, located at the Artists Park, North Mousavi Street, Taleqani Street.

Cartoon of Day



Israel's far-right National Security Minister Itamar Ben Gvir calls to "Burn All of Lebanon". X flags it as a violation but leaves it up.

Cartoonsit: Kamal Sharaf from Yemen

How war is reshaping Iranian readers' literary tastes?

A walk along Tehran's Enghelab Street, the capital's booksellers' district

By Hanie Shahrabi

TEHRAN- I had missed books in a way that felt almost physical, like the absence of a familiar scent. That feeling drew me back to Enghelab Street in Tehran, the city's long-standing artery of print, where ideas have circulated for decades between students, writers, and quiet, attentive readers.

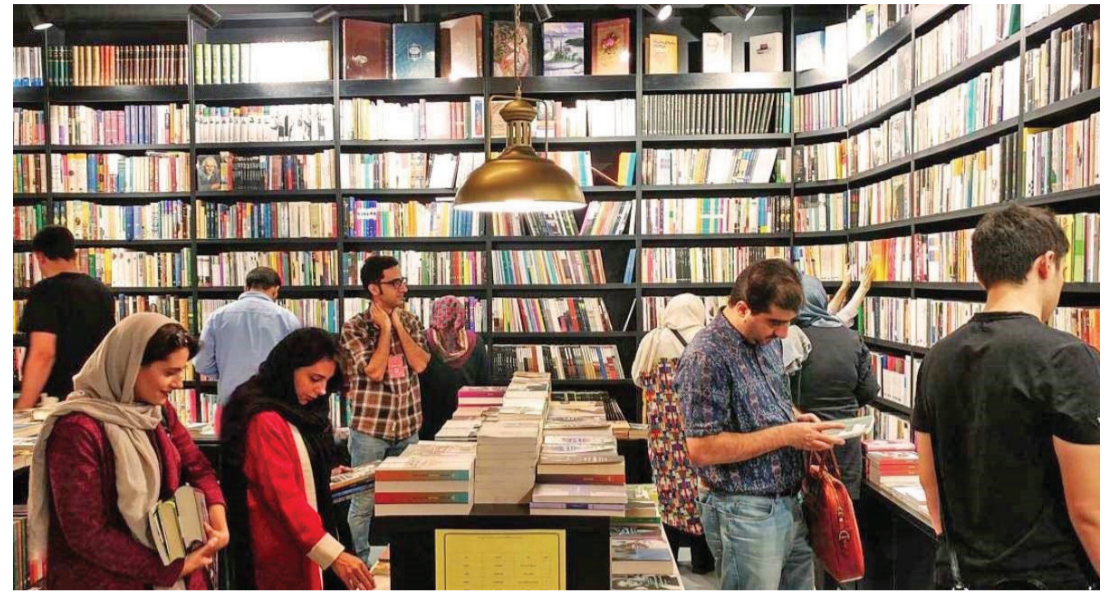
It was late spring. In the central districts of the capital, heat hovered above the pavement, and sunlight pressed down with a steady force, as if rehearsing for summer. The smell of street food and sweets moved slowly through the crowd. Young people drifted between bookshops in the old street, pausing to compare titles and turning books over in their hands. At first glance, the scene appeared unchanged. The same dense shop windows, the same stacked displays, the same restless circulation of visitors. But the impression of continuity did not last.

A short distance away, traces of recent conflict were still visible. Some buildings remained under repair. Walls carried layers of liberal art and public notices, fading unevenly with time. These signs were part of the everyday landscape. People passed them without comment, or with only a brief glance. The presence of war was not always explicit, but it shaped the rhythm of the street, the pace of movement, and the hesitation behind everyday choices.



Inside the bookshops, the changes were quieter but more structural. Prices had risen; sometimes twice, up to thrice and more. The range of available titles had limited. And the behaviour of readers had shifted.

Between two narrow corridors, a man in his early fifties sat on a small wooden stool, reading a book. His books were arranged beside him, all marked at half price. He told me he had once worked in publishing, including editing.



"I used to argue over small details in manuscripts," he said, with a brief smile. "Now I sell them, over thirty years with books in total."

The book in his hands was an imperfect edition of Viktor E. Frankl's "Man's Search for Meaning." When this was mentioned, he nodded without surprise.

"Better editions are expensive now," he said. "If you already know how a text should sound, you can reconstruct it in your mind. I prefer to buy more than one book." Reading, in his case, had become an act of internal completion.

When asked for recommendations, he first suggested a widely circulated title from South America, then paused and selected another book instead, "Saadi's selected works", recently purchased

novels," she said. "Now I want something that helps me pass my tests with better results."

The shift was not presented as loss, but as adjustment. The decision to buy a book carried more weight than before, shaped by cost and necessity rather than preference alone.

A shop owner who had worked on the street for over two decades described the change in simpler pattern. He explained that foot traffic had not disappeared, but it had become less decisive. Customers browsed longer, asked more questions, and often left without purchasing. Many now prefer to order online or by phone, avoiding cost, danger and uncertainty.

The shift from physical to online book exhibition had deepened that evidences. Several people mentioned it without prompting. The event still existed, but something essential had been lost.

"It is not only about buying a book," one visitor said, holding a copy of "Da" (Mother). "It is about being there with your beloved ones or enjoy yourself."

There are some people every weekend who had travelled from other cities just to walk along Enghelab Street. For these people, the experience itself could not be replaced by a screen, it is a place to return.

Later, on the metro station, a single word appeared on a sign: "Free." Public transport, at least for now, cost nothing. Movement across the city had become easier. At the same time, a book in your hands had become more expensive. That contrast stayed with me.

Over time, a broader pattern emerged from repeated conversations and observation. Readers had not disappeared. They had recalibrated. Those who once

preferred literary fiction increasingly turned to narratives with clearer resolution.

Younger readers showed greater interest in darker and more violent forms of storylines, perhaps because they already had more experiences in reality.

Readers of philosophy shifted toward religion, psychology, and self-help, searching for something immediate and usable. Those once focused on political analysis were moved toward history and geography, looking for longer context rather than constant updates. Interest in art and education gave way to economics. Readers of science increasingly turned to sociology, attempting to understand the human structures underlying broader systems.

These shifts, reflected a society adjusting under sustained pressure, with reading habits.

As the train moved through the city, Enghelab Street appeared less as a book market for me, it is a symbol of adaptation now. Each and every detail reflected a small adjustment within a larger transformation. None of those readers had stopped reading. That persistence is what stays with me, the refusal to let reading disappear.

On my way home, broken window's glass crunched softly under my feet; a reminder of what have the late bomb had done and the materials shaping the city. I found myself wondering whether suffering ever ends, or continues beneath. I am no longer where I had been, but I am not sure where I was going. Even if not fully, at least slightly hopeful after this experience, maybe. Whether we return to who we were before, or become something else entirely. Here is clear: I'll keep turning the pages, many things are waiting to be read.

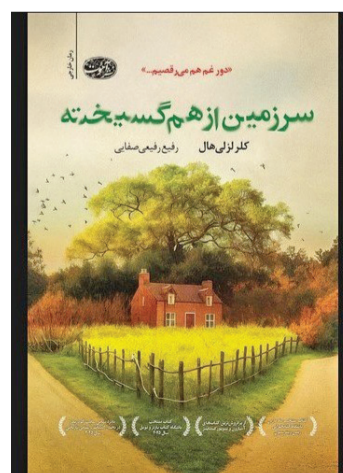
"Broken Country" appears at Iranian bookstores

TEHRAN- "Broken Country" by British novelist Clare Leslie Hall has been published in Persian.

Amut is the publisher of the book translated by Rafi Rafiei Safai.

Published in 2025, "Broken Country" is a sweeping narrative that balances intimate romance with legal suspense.

The story is structured across two distinct eras, alternating between the 1950s and the 1960s. The narrative begins in 1955 in the rural landscape of Dorset, where seventeen-year-old Beth, a working-class girl, meets Gabriel, a boy from the landed upper class. Their whirlwind romance is fueled by shared intellectual ambitions and a mutual dream of becoming writers. However, their trajectories diverge when Gabriel leaves for Oxford University, leaving Beth behind in the village—a separation that fractures their relationship and leaves their shared dreams unfulfilled.



Thirteen years later, in 1968, the novel finds Beth in a precarious emotional state. She has set aside her poetic aspirations and is married to Frank, a sheep farmer. Their union is strained by the profound tragedy of losing their nine-year-old son, Bobby, two years prior; Frank's inability to support Beth in her grief has created a cold void in their marriage. The arrival of Gabriel, now a bestselling novelist, disrupts

this fragile status quo. Returning to the village with his own son, Leo, Gabriel represents a life that might have been. Beth finds herself caught in a complex love triangle, while simultaneously bonding with Leo, who serves as a heartbreaking reminder of her lost son. The emotional tension reaches a breaking point in 1969, when the murder of a local farmer leads to a high-stakes trial in London, thrusting those closest to Beth into the center of a legal storm.

The genesis of "Broken Country" was sparked by a visceral real-life encounter. Hall was inspired by an incident in which a farmer threatened her son's puppy during a straying incident in a field of lambs. This moment of tension, contrasted with the sight of a young boy reminding the farmer of a lost child, provided the seed for the novel's themes of loss and unexpected attraction. Hall's commitment to authenticity is evident in her research; she spent extensive

time with farmers, even learning to milk cows, to capture what she describes as the "beauty and brutality of pastoral life." Furthermore, the novel's transition from a contemporary romance to a period piece was a deliberate choice made two years into the writing process. To ensure the courtroom drama felt authentic, Hall spent a week observing proceedings at the Old Bailey.

Since its release, the novel has become a cultural phenomenon, spending twenty-six weeks on the New York Times Hardcover Fiction Best Seller List and being selected as a Reese Witherspoon book club pick. It earned nominations for the Goodreads Choice Awards and the Audie Awards, with critics praising the "fascinatingly complex" character of Beth and the "achingly beautiful" prose. The story's reach is set to expand further through a film adaptation, produced by Sony's 3000 Pictures and Hello Sunshine.