

## Is the Israel/Iran Ceasefire Real?

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Glenn Greenwald (GG): So there's a lot of news to cover today, a lot of very significant news in this war that Israel last week started, ten days ago or so, with Iran when they attacked Iran using fighter jets and missiles and bombs of all kinds, as well as on-the-ground assault operatives that they had deployed in Iran, blew up a lot a things, killed a bunch of people. And the US ultimately joined that war; really was a joint US-Israeli action from the start. But Donald Trump over the weekend made the US a direct belligerent by dispatching multiple aircraft, including B-52s that are these aircrafts that carry bunker busters from very far distances, and bombed the underground nuclear facility at Fordo. There's been a lot of triumphalist claims about how this has obliterated the Iranian nuclear programme. There's no way we could actually know that. There's been no damage assessment yet of these facilities, including at Fordo. Nobody has any idea whether Iran, knowing that this was coming, and certainly, it was a very high possibility that it was – it was openly discussed – whether they removed heavily enriched uranium in centrifuges prior to these attacks, but certainly, it damaged or impeded these facilities, and the killing of nuclear scientists that the Israelis did, the assassination of scientists, combined with it, I'm certain had a deleterious effect and Iran's ability to develop nuclear energy to say nothing of nuclear weapons. How much it damaged it, how much impeded it, we actually don't know and won't know for a good while if we ever really know.

So that was obviously the main news that we had planned to cover but then Iran, as expected, as pretty much they were required to do, launched a retaliatory counter-strike today in response to the US bombing against a US military base, a gigantic military base in Doha, Qatar. We often hear that Qatar is this enemy of the United States, that it's the menace of the Middle East, when in reality, it hosts the largest military base, US military base that you have in the region. If you go to Doha, as I've done, you will be amazed at how sprawling this military base is. Everywhere you go, you see US military officials. It's a major important base for the United States in the Middle East. We of course have military bases in countless countries around the world and you can question why we need to have that when China doesn't, most other countries don't. But the US does have a major one in Qatar and there were only six missiles that the Iranians sent, which they said they was a number they picked

because that was how many bunker buster bombs the US dropped on Fordo and so they said it was symmetrical. But it was not just designed to do no damage and kill nobody, it was actually coordinated with, or at least the Qataris and the Americans, had advanced notice that it was going to be done. The base was evacuated. The Iranians really needed to do something to show its people and the world, look, we don't just allow countries to attack us, but they also wanted to prevent Donald Trump from being forced to go and be even more destructive in their country to escalate the war, and this was how they did it.

After that happened, and President Trump, as we'll show you, kind of mocked the Iranians for what was a very weak and deliberately harmless, benign counter-strike, and said that it was done in advance, and he said, as far as we're concerned, the Americans, we don't need to counterattack, we did what we want to do. There'll be no more war between the US and the Iranian, assuming they do nothing else. He then went and announced, he earlier today said: I'm encouraging the Israelis to end the war with Iran, too. And then just a little bit ago, maybe 30, 45 minutes ago, he went to Truth Social and posted this, quote: "Congratulations to everyone. It has been fully agreed by and between Israel and Iran that there will be a complete and total ceasefire in approximately six hours from now when Israel and Iran have wound down and completed their in-process final missions", meaning they're gonna bomb each other in the next six hours. "That ceasefire will last 12 hours" at which point the war will be considered ended. Officially, Iran will start the ceasefire, and upon the 12th hour Israel will start the cease fire, and upon the 24th hour an official end to the 12-day war will be saluted by the world". In other words, Israel has 12 hours to keep bombing, Iran only has six. After six hours, the Iranian ceasefire begins. Another six hours later, the Israelis begin, and the Israelis have been issuing evacuation notices in Tehran during this time. They obviously intend to use that 12 hour window before the ceasefire begins to be as destructive as possible. We saw them do that in Gaza as well when President Trump fostered a ceasefire, when other ceasefires happen, the Israelis just keep bombing and killing right up to the last minute. President Trump went on, quote, "During each ceasefire, the other side will remain peaceful and respectful. On the assumption that everything works as it should, which it will, I would like to congratulate both countries, Israel and Iran, on having the stamina, courage, and intelligence to end what should be called the 12-day war. This is a war that could have gone on for years and destroyed the entire Middle East, but it didn't and never will. God bless Israel. God bless Iran. God bless the Middle East. God bless the United States of America. And God bless the world."

So, that's a very triumphalist statement. He's obviously proud of the work he did to facilitate and end this conflict. And this conflict wouldn't have started had President Trump not authorised the Israelis to do it, not plotted and planned with the Israelis to do it, they launched an unprovoked attack on Iran, unprovoking that Iran wasn't planning on attacking anybody, hadn't attacked anybody. This is exactly like the Iraq war. It wasn't even a preemptive war where we were preempting an attack. They came up with a new term, preventative war, like we're trying to prevent them from some time away in the future, attacking us with weapons they don't yet have. Or that we claim they have, but it turns out they didn't. There's a brand new way of thinking about war that you don't have to wait for a country to attack you or

imminently attack you or even threaten to attack you in a real way, just if you feel like it, you just go and start a war. That war killed a lot of people in Iran, killed some people in Israel. So there's death, a good amount of death in the wake. But it is true that if all of this plays out as President Trump announced it would and envisions it will, he will have acted to ensure that this war, which had a very high potential for going up the escalation ladder, for involving other countries, for entailing far more destruction, ended relatively quickly as compared to wars, which is why he wants this war to be called the 12-day war.

I still think President Trump and the Israelis have a lot of blame for starting the war based on absolutely no basis, but it's also true that if everything goes as President Trump says it will go, he will have ensured that the war, which again is between two sworn enemies with a lot of weapons, will actually end in only 12 days. And there's a lot of reasons why both sides would want an end to this war. Over the last couple of days, we've seen that Iran was able to have its missiles land and detonate in Tel Aviv and other places in Israel, even though they were sending fewer and fewer missiles, because clearly Israel's air defences and Iron Dome was starting to become depleted, and that was always the race in this war who would determine who would win. Would the Israelis run out of air defences before the Iranians ran out of ballistic missiles or vice versa? And so the Israelis are spending a huge amount of money. They have suffered damage. They're having their citizens killed. They still have an ongoing utterly just obscene destruction of Gaza, killing 100 or 150 or 200 Palestinians a day, including just massacring them at aid sites where they go to try and get some food, flour and the like. So there's benefits for the Israelis, there's benefits for Iran, obviously, having an end to this war. And then President Trump, obviously as well, gets to give himself credit and take credit and probably will get credit for manoeuvring the war so that it didn't last nearly as as long as it could have.

Now, there have been some doubts about whether this ceasefire is actually finalised. Here from CNN. There's the headline: *Iran has not received any ceasefire proposal, senior official says*. And the text of this article is, quote, "The official said Iran would continue to fight until it achieves lasting peace and that it would view remarks from Israel and the US as a, quote, 'deception' intended to justify attacks on Iran's interests. Quote, 'At this very moment, the enemy is committing aggression against Iran, and Iran is on the verge of intensifying its retaliatory strikes with no ear to listen to the lives of its enemy', the official said."

Professor Seyed Marandi, who's been on the show a couple of times now, he's an Iranian-American professor, he has been close to the government in Iran, he's in Tehran, he after President Trump announced this, took to X and he said, quote: "No ceasefire. Fake news. Zionists are in trouble." So at least some Iranians were denying that there is, in fact, a ceasefire. Just a couple of minutes before we went on the air, there was a conflicting report, this one from Amwaj Media, which is a Persian language, Iran-based media outlet. And they have this headline: *Exclusiv: quote, 'Conclusion' to Iran-Israel war agreed after Iranian retaliation over US bombings*. Quote, "Iran and Israel are set to end their war, informed Iranian sources have told Amwaj media. Israel is expected to stop firing at 3:30 a.m. Jerusalem time on June 23rd with the anticipation that Iran will respond by also ceasing

offensive military operations. Soon afterwards, the truce will transition to a, quote, 'conclusion' of the conflict, a senior source in Tehran explained. Confusion initially emerged over whether there was an agreement between the two sides, which has been denied by some Iranian sources. The denial of the existence of an accord is likely tied to Tehran's principled stand that it will not only resume talks with Donald Trump once Israel has stopped firing, and that since Iran was not the party that initiated the conflict will not be the ones to end it."

So there is some confusion. I have to be honest; certainly we've seen President Trump saying things before that were likely untrue, including his claim that President Xi of China had called him and they spoke because China was seeking to reach a deal on the trade war and the tariffs and China vehemently denied it. And Xi said, I haven't talked to Trump about this at all – who knows who's telling the truth. But Donald Trump is, like any politician, prone to disinformation, prone to lying. Right up until the Israeli attack, he was saying, I hope to resolve this diplomatically, when he knew he had already authorised the war with Israel and that those statements made to the public were false, that he hoped to resolve it diplomatically. It was just a ruse to lure the Iranians into a sense of security that no attack was coming so that there'd be some element of surprise. But at the very least, there is some basis for seeing this. We'll know in six hours one way or the other. There's really no need to speculate. I just wanted to give you what side they're saying about whether there's a ceasefire. This is always very touch and go. Anytime there's a ceasefire, the Israelis go much further than they've gone, that could undermine it – the Iranians do the same thing. But Trump is insistent that this has happened and we will see if it's true.

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