

OPEN-SOURCE PRESS INTELLIGENCE

Iranian Press Monitor

Daily Front-Page Intelligence

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THE 'EMPTY GUN' ECONOMIC-WAR EDITION

12 Iranian front pages surveyed: nine Persian print titles read from scan (Hamshahri, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Sazandegi, Charsou, Ta'adol, Etemad, Jomhouri Eslami) plus Iran Daily in English from scan, and two dailies read from their own channels (Kayhan, Iran); Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News monitored for corroboration; Tehran Times was unavailable at the time

Front pages published the morning of 22 August, reflecting events through late 21 August local

Defensive open-source press-intelligence. Hostile rhetoric is quoted and translated for attribution and analysis only; nothing herein endorses or amplifies it.



Executive Summary

The 22 August batch pivots decisively from the Gulf-coercion cycle of the prior week to a single dominant story: a newly declared US economic offensive against Iran, and its coordinated dismissal as futile. Fars News reports Trump claiming Washington has launched 'the most crushing economic operations in history,' and the front pages answer in near-unison that the weapon is spent. Hamshahri renders it as a revolver with an empty cylinder ('the empty gun: sanctions'), Vatan-e Emrooz as 'burned tools' deployed only 'after Trump's defeat in the military war,' Ta'adol as 'economic war after military defeat,' and Iran Daily, in English, as 'economic terrorism.' The common structural claim, that sanctions are what a defeated adversary reaches for, is carried across separately owned titles closely enough to indicate shared message discipline rather than organic convergence, and it is bolstered by a repeated 'China and Russia said No' line (Hamshahri, Javan, Iran Daily).

The escalatory hook beneath the dismissal is territorial. Fars News quotes Trump declaring, 'I now consider the Strait of Hormuz American territory,' which Iran's Foreign Ministry answers as an attempt to impose extraterritorial US sovereignty over independent UN member states. The economic tier turns this into leverage rather than threat: Ta'adol names 'China and the Strait of Hormuz' as 'the determining links of this battle,' and the government daily Iran, citing The Guardian, argues any real sanctions escalation would force Washington to target Beijing, complicating diplomacy ahead of an expected Xi Jinping visit to the US. The chokepoint contest the monitor has tracked for weeks is thus reframed from a maritime standoff into a test of great-power alignment, with China positioned as the factor that makes the US threat 'empty.'

Against that external front, the edition surfaces a striking domestic convergence: a joint government-and-Parliament 'peace from a position of strength' line. Etemad prints President Masoud Pezeshkian and Speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf together, the President saying 'it is better that we end the war from a position of strength' and the Speaker that 'only one who has fought knows the value of peace'; Jomhuri Eslami runs the President's fuller formulation, 'now that we are in power and dignity, it is better to end the war,' and Iran Daily broadcasts the same to a foreign audience. The message runs in parallel with, not instead of, deterrence signaling: Charsou prints Maj. Gen. Abdollahi, identified as Chief of the General Staff, warning that 'the enemy's miscalculation will meet a devastating response,' while Defa Press claims defense production has doubled and Nour News carries a bounty offer for capturing or killing US soldiers. The composite is a dual-track posture, consolidate the ceasefire while advertising the capacity to resume fighting.

The accord dispute the monitor has followed did not recede; it migrated onto the economy, and the same data now serves two opposite arguments. Kayhan fronts 'the accord was a mirage,' quoting Central Bank governor Abdolnaser Hemmati that 'not even one dollar' has been released under the memorandum, and builds from there to a charge of governmental miscalculation and a demand to preserve deterrent capability rather than trust diplomacy. The reformist and economic titles read the identical distress in the opposite direction: Sazandegi fronts 'oil exports: zero' and the currency crunch as the reason 'the war must end,' Charsou documents a promised food-coupon top-up an order of magnitude below actual food inflation and an economist pinning 90 percent of the currency's collapse on domestic policy, and Ta'adol insists 'the main battle is in the field of inflation and livelihood.' Where the hardline flagship weaponizes the economy against the deal, the reformist-economic lane uses it to argue for locking the ceasefire in.

Regionally, Iran continued to build the axis counter to US pressure while the active kinetic front stayed at the margins. Sobh-e No fronts 'Brothers,' reading Speaker Qalibaf's trip to Iraq as deliberate Tehran-Baghdad alignment, and casts a prospective Israeli operation in Syria as 'part of Netanyahu's electoral ambush' rather than strategy. Israel and Lebanon otherwise recede even as the toll mounts: Kayhan and Fars News report

Israeli shelling of southern Lebanon, and the government daily Iran carries a Lebanese health-ministry tally of more than 16,000 casualties since early March. The subordination of a live front with rising casualties to the economic-war narrative is itself an editorial choice worth logging.

Leadership again appears by absence. No message from the sitting Supreme Leader, Mojtaba Khamenei, features on any front page, and khamenei.ir was unavailable for independent check; the leadership register is carried by a commemorative Razavi-shrine gathering for a 'martyr of the revolution' on Jomhuri Eslami. Consistent with recent cycles, the current Leader's editorial silence, on a day of visibly coordinated messaging, is recorded as a finding rather than as missing content.

Net assessment: this is an economic-war edition in which Iran reframes a fresh US sanctions escalation, and a provocative US claim on the Strait of Hormuz, as evidence of American weakness rather than strength, insulated by a China-and-Russia refusal and a China-plus-Hormuz leverage argument. Beneath the unified external dismissal, the domestic picture is unusually candid: a joint executive-legislature push to end the war from claimed strength, a hardline flagship using the currency collapse to bury the accord, and an economic tier conceding oil revenue near zero and the binding constraints as domestic. The threads to watch are whether the 'end from strength' line hardens into a formal move to consolidate the ceasefire or draws open hardline resistance; whether the Hormuz-as-American-territory claim triggers a maritime incident; whether the China-leverage bet holds as Washington weighs secondary measures; and whether the Leader's continued silence outlasts this coordinated cycle.

BOTTOM LINE Iran met Trump's newly declared economic offensive, and his claim on the Strait of Hormuz, with a coordinated 'the sanctions gun is empty' dismissal and a China-and-Russia 'No,' while the government and Parliament jointly pushed an 'end the war from a position of strength' line, and the reformist-economic tier and hardline Kayhan alike turned the same near-zero oil-revenue and currency data to opposite conclusions: to argue for locking in the ceasefire, and to indict the accord that produced it.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Twelve titles surveyed: nine Persian print front pages from scan (Hamshahri, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Sazandegi, Charsou, Ta'adol, Etemad, Jomhuri Eslami), Iran Daily in English from scan, and Kayhan and Iran from their own channels; Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News monitored for corroboration and threat-signaling only. Tehran Times was unavailable at the time. Every claim is attributed and none adopted as fact: Trump's quoted lines, Iranian battlefield and capability claims, the Nour News bounty item and the Defa Press 'production doubled' figure are reported as claims of their sources. Named figures were read against the pages: Pezeshkian and Qalibaf are confirmed on Etemad and the Iran Daily caption; Hemmati is reported as the papers label him (Central Bank governor); the 'devastating response' warning is attributed to Maj. Gen. Abdollahi, whom Charsou identifies as Chief of the General Staff. A critical Javan international-section item referring to an address by 'Mr. Khamenei' could not be resolved with confidence at scan resolution and is deliberately excluded rather than characterized.

Macro Trend Analysis

① The US economic offensive reframed as a spent weapon

A newly declared US sanctions push, which Fars News reports Trump calling 'the most crushing economic operations in history,' is met with coordinated dismissal: Hamshahri's 'empty gun,' Vatan-e Emrooz's 'burned tools' deployed 'after Trump's defeat in the military war,' Ta'adol's 'economic war after military defeat,' and Iran Daily's 'economic terrorism.' The near-identical 'sanctions are what a beaten adversary reaches for' construction across separately owned titles indicates centrally guided messaging, reinforced by a repeated 'China and Russia said No.'

② Hormuz escalates from a chokepoint to a great-power alignment test

Fars News quotes Trump declaring the Strait of Hormuz 'American territory'; Iran's Foreign Ministry calls it an attempt at extraterritorial sovereignty. Ta'adol names 'China and the Strait of Hormuz' as the 'determining links' of the fight, and the government daily Iran (citing The Guardian) argues any real escalation must target China, complicating US diplomacy before an expected Xi visit. The maritime standoff is recast as a contest over great-power alignment.

③ A joint 'peace from a position of strength' line from the executive and Parliament

Etemad prints President Pezeshkian and Speaker Qalibaf together on ending the war 'from a position of strength'; Jomhuri Eslami runs the President's 'now that we are in power and dignity, it is better to end the war'; Iran Daily carries it in English. The line signals intent to consolidate the ceasefire while claiming the upper hand, and is carried jointly across the two branches rather than by one camp.

④ Deterrence runs on a parallel track to the peace line

Charsou prints Maj. Gen. Abdollahi, identified as Chief of the General Staff, warning of a 'devastating response' to enemy miscalculation; Defa Press claims defense production has doubled; Nour News carries a bounty offer for capturing or killing US soldiers in the event of a ground invasion. The martial register persists alongside the de-escalation message, producing a deter-and-negotiate posture (single-source agency items flagged as claims).

⑤ The accord fight migrates onto the economy; one data set, two verdicts

Kayhan fronts 'the accord was a mirage,' quoting Hemmati that 'not a dollar' has been freed, to indict the memorandum and its signatories. The reformist-economic tier reads the same distress the other way: Sazandegi's 'oil exports: zero,' Charsou's food-coupon-versus-inflation gap and '90 percent of the currency collapse is domestic policy,' and Ta'adol's 'the main battle is inflation and livelihood.' The economy is now the terrain of the accord dispute.

⑥ Axis-building via Iraq; Israel and Lebanon at the margins

Sobh-e No's 'Brothers' reads Qalibaf's Iraq trip as deliberate Tehran-Baghdad alignment and frames a possible Israeli Syria operation as Netanyahu electioneering. The active front recedes even as casualties mount: Kayhan and Fars report Israeli shelling of southern Lebanon, and Iran carries a Lebanese health-ministry tally exceeding 16,000 casualties since early March, subordinated beneath the economic-war lead.

⑦ Leadership by commemoration; the sitting Leader again silent

No message from Mojtaba Khamenei appears on any front page; the leadership register is carried by a Razavi-shrine commemoration for a 'martyr of the revolution' (Jomhuri Eslami). On a day of visibly coordinated messaging, the current Leader's continued editorial silence is logged as negative evidence in the succession picture.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 [HIGH] The edition's lead is a coordinated dismissal of a newly declared US economic offensive as futile after military failure. Fars News reports Trump calling it 'the most crushing economic operations in history'; the front pages answer with Hamshahri's 'empty gun,' Vatan-e Emrooz's 'burned tools' (deployed 'after Trump's defeat in the military war'), Ta'adol's 'economic war after military defeat,' and Iran Daily's 'economic terrorism,' each paired with a 'China and Russia said No' line. Significance: the near-identical 'sanctions equal a beaten adversary's last resort' construction across separately owned titles indicates

centrally guided message discipline; the open question is whether that confidence survives the domestic economic data the same batch prints.

KJ-2 [MODERATE-HIGH] Trump's claim that the Strait of Hormuz is 'American territory' escalated the standing chokepoint thread, and Iran answered with a China-plus-Hormuz alignment argument rather than a maritime threat. Fars News carries the Trump quote and the Foreign Ministry's 'extraterritorial sovereignty' rejection; Ta'adol calls China and Hormuz the 'determining links,' and the government daily Iran argues (via The Guardian) that escalation must target Beijing before an expected Xi visit. Significance: the contest over the strait is being reframed from a naval standoff into a test of great-power alignment, with China cast as the factor that renders the US threat empty; a maritime incident remains the tail risk.

KJ-3 [MODERATE-HIGH] A joint government-and-Parliament 'end the war from a position of strength' line emerged in unison across the print spectrum. Etemad prints Pezeshkian and Qalibaf together; Jomhour Eslami runs the President's 'now that we are in power and dignity, it is better to end the war'; Sazandegi and Iran Daily carry the same. Significance: the message signals intent to consolidate the fragile ceasefire while claiming the upper hand, and its joint executive-legislature sourcing suggests institutional weight behind it; watch for hardline pushback, of which Kayhan's accord-as-mirage front and Javan's skepticism are the opening shots.

KJ-4 [MODERATE-HIGH] The accord dispute migrated onto the economy, with the currency and oil-revenue collapse marshalled to opposite ends. Kayhan fronts 'the accord was a mirage,' quoting Central Bank governor Hemmati that 'not a dollar' has been freed, to indict the deal; Sazandegi ('oil exports: zero'), Charsou (a food-coupon top-up far below food inflation; 90 percent of the currency loss attributed to domestic policy) and Ta'adol ('the main battle is inflation and livelihood') read the same distress as the case for ending the war. Significance: the hardline camp weaponizes economic pain against the memorandum while the reformist-economic tier uses it to argue for peace, converting a foreign-policy split into a contest over the domestic causes of the crisis.

KJ-5 [MODERATE] Deterrence signaling ran on a parallel track to the peace line, producing a deliberate deter-and-negotiate posture. Charsou prints Maj. Gen. Abdollahi, identified as Chief of the General Staff, warning that 'the enemy's miscalculation will meet a devastating response'; Defa Press claims defense production has doubled; Nour News carries a bounty offer for capturing or killing US soldiers. Significance: Iran is advertising the capacity to resume fighting even as its officials argue for ending the war, hedging the de-escalation message; the bounty and production claims are single-source agency items and are treated as claims, not verified facts.

KJ-6 [MODERATE] Iran deepened its regional-axis counter to US pressure through Speaker Qalibaf's engagement with Iraq. Sobh-e No's 'Brothers' reads the trip as deliberate Tehran-Baghdad alignment, and analysts it cites call the visit 'strategic'; the framing extends the standing 'post-American regional order' thread through Baghdad. Significance: with the Gulf-warning cycle of the prior week now behind it, Iran is consolidating friendly capitals as the durable counterweight to the US economic campaign, a slower-moving thread than the sanctions story but the structural one.

KJ-7 [LOW-MODERATE] Negative-evidence finding: the active Israel-Lebanon front receded to the margins even as casualties mounted. Kayhan and Fars News report Israeli shelling of southern Lebanon; the government daily Iran carries a Lebanese health-ministry tally of more than 16,000 casualties since early March; only Sobh-e No fronts an Israel angle, and it frames a prospective Syria operation as Netanyahu

electioneering rather than a strategic escalation. Significance: the front pages subordinate a live kinetic front with rising casualties to the economic-war narrative, an editorial prioritization that itself signals where the regime wants attention this cycle.

KJ-8 [MODERATE] Negative-evidence finding: the sitting Supreme Leader again issued no message of his own and was present only by commemoration. No statement from Mojtaba Khamenei appears on any front page, khamenei.ir was unavailable for check, and the leadership register is carried by a Razavi-shrine memorial for a 'martyr of the revolution' (Jomhuri Eslami). Significance: on a cycle of visibly coordinated messaging around the sanctions offensive and the 'end from strength' line, the current Leader's continued editorial silence remains a standing marker in the succession picture and is logged as negative evidence, not absence of content.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Donald Trump	US President	Declared 'the most crushing economic operations in history' and called the Strait of Hormuz 'American territory' (Fars News); across the batch cast as reaching for spent sanctions after military defeat	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Masoud Pezeshkian	President of Iran	'It is better that we end the war from a position of strength' / 'now that we are in power and dignity, it is better to end the war' (Etemad, Jomhuri Eslami, Iran Daily)	WATCH
Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf	Speaker of Parliament	'Only one who has fought knows the value of peace' (Etemad); trip to Iraq read as axis-building (Sobh-e No)	WATCH
Abdolnaser Hemmati	Identified by the papers as Central Bank governor	'Not a dollar has been released' under the accord (Kayhan); frankest remarks on the currency crunch and 'oil exports: zero' (Sazandegi, Ta'adol)	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Maj. Gen. Abdollahi	Identified by Charsou as Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces	'The enemy's miscalculation will meet a devastating response' (Charsou); attributed deterrence claim	WATCH
Xi Jinping	President of China	China's refusal foregrounded as the counter to the US economic war; an expected Xi visit to the US cited as constraining Washington (Iran, via The Guardian)	WATCH
Benjamin Netanyahu	Israeli Prime Minister	A prospective Israeli operation in Syria cast as 'part of Netanyahu's electoral ambush' (Sobh-e No)	TARGET FRAMING
Abbas Araghchi	Iranian Foreign Minister	Discussed the Strait of Hormuz and resuming negotiations with Oman's Badr al-Busaidi (Defa Press), the diplomacy track beneath the confrontation	WATCH
Mojtaba Khamenei	Supreme Leader	No message on any front page; present only by commemoration (Razavi-shrine memorial,	absence noted

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
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Jomhuri Eslami)

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Hamshahri	The empty gun of sanctions	Tehran municipality daily, centrist	US economic threat framed as hollow; China and Russia's 'No'	MODERATE: US threat framed as spent, not kinetic
Vatan-e Emrooz	Burned tools	Hardline / principlist	Sanctions as proof of US military defeat; 'two nations, one enemy'	MODERATE-HIGH: sanctions cast as post-defeat desperation
Iran Daily	New US sanctions amount to 'economic terrorism'	Official English-language state daily	Sanctions branded terrorism for external audiences; end war from strength	MODERATE: 'economic terrorism' framing in English
Kayhan	The accord was a mirage; Hemmati: not a dollar released	Ultra-hardline flagship (channel)	Currency crunch weaponized against the ceasefire memorandum	MODERATE-HIGH: accord attacked via the economy
Ta'adol	Economic war after military defeat	Economic / business	China and Hormuz as the 'determining links'; inflation the real front	LOW-MODERATE: economic war anchored to China-Hormuz leverage
Iran	Clear, sunny skies on the final day of Mordad	Official government daily (channel)	Sanctions futility via Western press; China leverage; Lebanon toll	LOW-MODERATE: US failure sourced to Western outlets
Etemad	Peace from a position of strength	Reformist	Pezeshkian and Qalibaf jointly on ending the war; 'economic terrorism'	LOW-MODERATE: consolidate the ceasefire from claimed strength
Jomhuri Eslami	Now that we are in power and dignity, it is better to end the war	Traditional / establishment	President's fullest 'end from strength' line; commemoration	LOW: end-the-war message; leadership by rite
Sazandegi	Oil exports: zero	Reformist / Kargozaran	Oil-revenue halt and currency crunch as the binding constraint	LOW-MODERATE: economic distress marshalled to end the war
Javan	And what if they are not seeking to end the war?!	Hardline / IRGC-affiliated	Distrust of a US off-ramp; deterrence-first; 'China's No'	MODERATE-HIGH: warns against trusting a US off-ramp
Sobh-e No	Brothers	Principlist	Qalibaf's Iraq trip as axis-building; Israel as Netanyahu electioneering	MODERATE: axis-consolidation via Iraq
Charsou	A food-coupon rise dwarfed by 8.5-million food inflation	Economic / business	Cost-of-living gap; a general's 'devastating response' warning	MODERATE: deterrence line amid economic strain

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

Official English-language state daily

"Iran: New US sanctions amount to 'economic terrorism'"

MODERATE: sanctions branded 'economic terrorism' for external audiences



- Main: The government's English shop window leads with 'Iran: New US sanctions amount to economic terrorism,' decked 'China says US sanctions, pressure on Iran not a solution,' setting the sanctions-as-terrorism frame for an external readership.
- Main: A centerpiece, 'President says time to end war while in position of strength,' over a photo captioned as President Masoud Pezeshkian addressing the Islamic Association of the Iranian Medical Society in Tehran on 21 August, carrying the peace-consolidation line in English.
- Op-ed: An 'exclusive interview' analysis, 'Economic pressure cannot guarantee US political gains in Iran,' by staff writer Behrooz Ahmadi, arguing the sanctions turn signals US desperation rather than leverage.
- Sub-item: 'Iran-Oman preferential trade agreement sent to Parliament for final review,' and a top-corner item on Iran urging stronger heritage protection at a BRICS meeting after damage to 149 sites.
- Sub-item: Softer culture and sport items, including a book-engagement interview and an Iranian sports victory, round out the page below the fold.

ANALYST NOTE Iran Daily is the regime's designated English carrier of the two headline lines at once: the sanctions are 'economic terrorism' and 'not a solution' (with China's endorsement quoted), while the President's 'end from a position of strength' message is broadcast to a foreign audience. The Oman trade item and the BRICS reference are the constructive counterpoint, signaling that Iran presents itself as open for business with partners even as it denounces US coercion.

«تفنگ خالی؛ تحریم» "The empty gun of sanctions"



- Main: The masthead pairs a photo-montage of Donald Trump aiming a revolver with an empty (bulletless) cylinder at the reader with the headline 'The empty gun: sanctions' (تفنگ خالی؛ تحریم), the edition's signature image of the US economic threat as a hollow one.
- Sub-item: Kicker: 'Trump's new economic threat against Iran met a firm No from China and Russia' (تهديد تازه اقتصادی ترامپ علیه ایران با «نه» قاطع چین (و روسیه روبه‌رو شد); the deck states American media themselves say Trump's hand is 'empty' for intensifying the economic war (دست ترامپ برای تشدید جنگ اقتصادی علیه ایران خالی است).
- Right rail: Three boxed foreign-press citations, attributed to Bloomberg, the New York Times and the Washington Post, are each summarized as concluding that a renewed sanctions push will achieve little and signals desperation rather than a return to war.
- Op-ed: 'Trump's last card, and what is to be done?' (آخرین برگ ترامپ و چه باید کرد؟), an analysis treating the sanctions turn as the endgame of a losing hand.
- Sub-item: Domestic lower-front items on the online 'virtual Naser Khosrow' drug-smuggling bazaar (جولان قاچاقچیان در ناصرخسروی مجازی) and a Tehran metrobus rollout for the autumn.

ANALYST NOTE Hamshahri, a municipal centrist title, supplies the edition's most memorable visual and its thesis in one image: the US economic offensive as a gun with no bullets. Its heavy reliance on named Western outlets (Bloomberg, NYT, WaPo) to carry the 'empty' verdict is the softer, deniable register of the same message the hardline flagships push more bluntly; it lets the paper frame US weakness as an external, market-consensus finding rather than a regime claim.

«ابزارهای سوخته» "Burned tools"



- Main: 'Burned/spent tools' (ابزارهای سوخته), over a Vatan-e Emrooz report on Washington's policy of intensifying economic pressure on Iran 'after Trump's defeat in the military war' (پس از شکست ترامپ در جنگ نظامی), reframing the sanctions turn as an admission the kinetic campaign failed.
- Banner: A top masthead strip reads 'Two nations, one enemy' (ملت یک دشمن) beside armed fighters, welding an Iran-Iraq/resistance-axis framing to the anti-US line.
- Kicker: 'Trump in a psychological strait' (ترامپ در تنگه روانی), a pun on the Strait of Hormuz (تنگه), introduces a breakout examining 'six objectives of the US media operation in the sanctions file.'
- Op-ed: 'How America lost the Middle East' (آمریکا چگونه خاورمیانه را باخت), a signed note by Mehdi Mohammadi (مهدی محمدی), plus boxed items 'A costly lesson' (درس عبرت گران) and 'Ba'athist forgery!' (با جعل بعثی!).
- Sub-item: A closing 'From defense to development' (از دفاع تا توسعه) feature on reconstituting war-affected domestic industry, continuing the paper's post-war 'reconstruction' register.

ANALYST NOTE Vatan-e Emrooz carries the hardline core of the day's line: the sanctions are 'burned tools' precisely because the military war was already lost, a sequencing that lets the paper claim victory in both domains at once. Mehdi Mohammadi's bylined 'how America lost the Middle East' and the 'two nations, one enemy' banner keep the standing 'post-American regional order' thesis alive, now migrated from the Gulf-warning frame of the prior cycle onto the economic-war terrain.

«اگر دنبال پایان جنگ نباشند چه؟!» «And what if they are not seeking to end the war?!»



- Main: Over a photo of Donald Trump and Vice President JD Vance in formal dress, 'And what if they are not seeking to end the war?!' (اگر دنبال پایان جنگ نباشند چه?!), a caution against reading the US economic turn as a genuine move toward de-escalation.
- Sub-item: 'China's No to America's economic war on Iran' (نه «چین به جنگ» (اقتصادی آمریکا علیه ایران), carrying the same great-power-refusal line the centrist and government titles foreground.
- Sub-item: An item framing Iran and Iraq as needing to avoid becoming a 'footnote to others' narratives,' pairing with a piece that culture can be the unifying language of the resistance-front nations (فرهنگ می‌تواند زبان اتحاد) (ملت‌های جبهه مقاومت باشد).
- Op-ed: An international-section commentary and signed columns on war-and-peace calculus; the paper's register keeps war-readiness, not negotiation, as the organizing frame.

ANALYST NOTE Javan is the batch's designated skeptic of the peace signaling: where the government tier reads Trump's sanctions pivot as evidence he wants out, Javan warns the adversary may not be seeking to end the war at all, keeping deterrence-first doctrine in play against the 'end the war from strength' line running elsewhere. Its amplification of 'China's No' shows the great-power-alignment counter is shared discipline across the factional spectrum, not a reformist talking point.

«برادران» "Brothers"



- Main: 'Brothers' (برادران), over a Sobh-e No examination of the dimensions of Speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf's trip to Iraq (سفر محمدباقر قالیباف به عراق), illustrated with an image of Iraqi armed formations, foregrounding Tehran-Baghdad alignment.
- Sub-item: Analyst lines that the Qalibaf trip is 'strategic' (Hassan Hanizadeh) and 'can bring the positions of Tehran and Baghdad closer' (Seyyed Reza Sadr al-Hosseini), framing Iraq as a deliberate axis-consolidation move.
- Right rail: 'The attack on Syria is part of Netanyahu's electoral ambush' (حمله به سوریه بخشی از کمین انتخاباتی نتانیاهاو), beside portraits of Benjamin Netanyahu and Recep Tayyip Erdogan, arguing Israel seeks to open a new front and continue an endless war.
- Op-ed: 'Retreat to the point of failure' (عقب‌نشینی به نقطه شکست) and 'An economic-political uprising against Trump' (قیام اقتصادی سیاسی علیه ترامپ), by Abolfath, arguing US elections are the real cause of Trump's shift to economic pressure.

ANALYST NOTE Sobh-e No fuses the two regional counter-moves of the cycle: it reads Qalibaf's Iraq trip as deliberate axis-building ('brothers') and casts a prospective Israeli operation in Syria as electioneering by Netanyahu rather than strategy. Its Abolfath op-ed supplies the edition's causal thesis, that domestic US electoral pressure, not Iran, is driving the sanctions turn, the mirror image of the government tier's 'end from strength' read.

«صادرات نفت؛ صفر» "Oil exports: zero"



- Main: 'Oil exports: zero' (صادرات نفت؛ صفر), presented as the frankest remarks yet by Abdolnaser Hemmati, whom the paper identifies as governor of the Central Bank of Iran, on the country's foreign-currency squeeze (تنگنای ارزی کشور).
- Main: The paper asks what the halt in oil revenue means for trade, production, firms' earnings and household livelihoods, and why the government cannot easily offset the shortfall, positioning the constraint as structural and domestic.
- Banner: 'The war must end' (جنگ باید تمام شود) attributed to the President, paired with a Speaker line that 'we cannot endure like this' (این گونه دوام), tying the economic emergency to the case for consolidating the ceasefire.
- Op-ed: A signed column and a masthead kicker, 'From a brilliant accord to a dark horizon' (از توافقی درخشان تا افقی تاریک), reading the memorandum's economic promise as unrealized.

ANALYST NOTE Sazandegi is the sharpest economic-realist voice of the day: by fronting an official 'oil exports: zero' figure and the currency crunch, it rebuts the hardline framing of sanctions as a harmless 'empty gun,' insisting the binding damage is already domestic. Its pairing of the President's 'the war must end' with the Speaker's 'we cannot endure like this' turns the economy into the argument for locking in peace, the reformist counterpart to Kayhan's use of the same currency data to attack the accord.

«وعدۀ افزایش ۲۳۰ هزار تومانی کالابرگ پس از گرانی ۸.۵ میلیونی مواد غذایی»
 «A promise of a 230,000-toman food-coupon increase after 8.5-million food inflation»



- Main: A bar-chart lead contrasts a promised 230,000-toman rise in the food-coupon (کالابرگ) allotment against roughly 8.5 million tomans of food-price inflation, arguing the compensation is dwarfed by the cost-of-living gap.
- Sub-item: An economist interview asserting that '90 percent of the national currency's loss of value is due to wrong economic policymaking' (۹۰ درصد کاهش ارزش پول ملی به دلیل سیاست‌گذاری‌های غلط اقتصادی است), locating the crisis in domestic policy rather than external pressure.
- Main: Attributed to Maj. Gen. Abdollahi, identified by the paper as Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces: 'the enemy's miscalculation will meet a devastating response' (خطای محاسباتی دشمن با پاسخ ویرانگر مواجهه می‌شود), a deterrence line printed alongside the economic distress coverage.
- Analyst note: The juxtaposition of a devastating-response military warning with a food-coupon-versus-inflation lead captures the day's split screen of deterrence rhetoric over deepening household hardship.

ANALYST NOTE CharSou, a business title, quantifies the gap the front-page bravado elides: a coupon top-up an order of magnitude below actual food inflation, and an economist pinning nine-tenths of the currency collapse on policy, not sanctions. Its placement of Maj. Gen. Abdollahi's 'devastating response' warning next to that data is inadvertently the edition's clearest statement of the deter-abroad, hurt-at-home tension; the general's threat is logged as an attributed claim, and the office title as the paper labels it.

"Economic war after military

LOW-MODERATE: economic-war framing anchored to China and Hormuz leverage

defeat" «جنگ اقتصادی بعد از شکست نظامی»



- Main: 'Economic war after military defeat' (جنگ اقتصادی بعد از شکست نظامی), with the deck 'China and the Strait of Hormuz are the determining links of this battle' (چین و تنگه هرمز حلقه‌های تعیین‌کننده این نبرد هستند), casting deterrence against sanctions in terms of great-power alignment and the chokepoint.
- Main: A central feature asks 'what is Hemmati's roadmap for the coming months?' and answers that 'the main battle is in the field of inflation and livelihood' (نبرد اصلی در میدان تورم و معیشت), foregrounding the Central Bank governor as the day's economic protagonist.
- Sub-item: Markets coverage, 'A broad-based rise of the bourse' (صعود فراگیر بورس) and a note that 'the price of money in Iran is several times the world's' (بهای پول در ایران چندین برابر جهان است), flagging punishing real interest rates.
- Banner: Housing item that renters are being pushed 'from the neighborhood to the margins' (مستاجران به حاشیه رانده می‌شوند), extending the livelihood theme.

ANALYST NOTE Ta'adol supplies the analytic bridge of the edition: it accepts the 'economic war after military defeat' framing but immediately domesticates it, naming China and Hormuz as Iran's external leverage while insisting the decisive front is internal, inflation and livelihood. Its centering of Hemmati's 'roadmap' matches Sazandegi and Kayhan in making the Central Bank chief the figure through whom both the accord's failure and the recovery case are argued.

«صلح از موضع قدرت» "Peace from a position of strength"



- Main: 'Peace from a position of strength' (صلح از موضع قدرت), a kicker attributing to President Masoud Pezeshkian and Speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf the shared theme of the importance of moving past the war, over a photo of the two men walking together.
- Sub-item: President's line, 'it is better that we end the war from a position of strength' (بهتر است در قدرت جنگ را پایان دهیم); Speaker's line, 'only one who has fought knows the value of peace' (قدر صلح را کسی می‌داند که جنگیده باشد).
- Op-ed: 'America's economic terrorism' (تروریسم اقتصادی آمریکا) as an internet-section package, matching the government English daily's framing of the sanctions turn.
- Sub-item: 'The city after the fire' (شهر پس از آتش), a security-and-recovery report, and 'FATF exit: a pressure tool or a real decision?' (خروج از FATF: ابزار فشار یا تصمیم واقعی?), reopening the financial-standards fight.
- Right rail: 'The resilience test of Iran and America' (آزمون تاب‌آوری ایران و آمریکا), an interview framing the sanctions round as a contest of endurance.

ANALYST NOTE Etemad gives the 'end the war from strength' line its clearest front-page statement and, unusually, prints President and Speaker in unison, evidence the peace-consolidation message is being carried jointly across the executive and legislature rather than by one camp. That it simultaneously adopts the 'economic terrorism' label shows the reformist tier is not dissenting from the anti-sanctions frame, only attaching it to a de-escalation conclusion the hardliners reject; the FATF item keeps the standing financial-standards dispute live.

«امروز که در قدرت و عزت هستیم بهتر "Now that we are in power and dignity, it is better to end the war" است جنگ را پایان دهیم»



- Main: The President's words as the lead: 'now that we are in power and dignity, it is better to end the war' (امروز که در قدرت و عزت هستیم بهتر است), the fullest print rendering of the 'end from strength' message.
- Sub-item: 'Domestic and foreign reactions to America's move to launch economic war on Iran' (واکنش‌های داخلی و خارجی به اقدام آمریکا در آغاز جنگ), the paper's aggregation of the sanctions response.
- Sub-item: 'The 2026 Konkur held with more than one million applicants' (برگزاری کنکور ۱۴۰۵ با رقابت بیش از یک میلیون داوطلب), a routine national-life lead carried alongside the war coverage.
- Banner: A commemorative image and caption for a memorial gathering for a 'martyr of the revolution' held at the Razavi shrine in Mashhad and across the country, the leadership register carried by rite.
- Op-ed: 'Economic war and the blight of the everyday' (جنگ اقتصادی و آفت), a signed column, plus a closing tribute to 'the oppressed station of Ayatollah Beheshti.'

ANALYST NOTE Jomhouri Eslami, an establishment title, prints the President's 'end from strength' line in its most expansive form, reinforcing that the peace-consolidation message has cross-factional print backing. Its commemorative Razavi-shrine banner again supplies the leadership register by ceremony rather than by any message from the sitting Leader, continuing the monitor's standing observation that Mojtaba Khamenei is present through rite, not voice.

Iran

Official government daily, read from the IranNewspaper channel

"Clear, sunny skies on the final day of Mordad" «آسمان صاف و آفتابی در آخرین روز مرداد»

LOW-MODERATE: US failure and disunity sourced to Western press

- Main: The government daily's front-page display item is a benign weather lead for the last day of Mordad, a deliberately low-key top-of-page for the state paper on a high-tension news day.
- Sub-item: Foreign-press aggregation citing The New Yorker that Trump entered the Iran confrontation with 'false confidence and pride' and now cannot end a war the region did not start, and that Washington is seeking ways to deny Iran control of the Strait of Hormuz.
- Sub-item: The Guardian is cited that any new economic measures would force Washington to target Iran's partners, above all China, complicating diplomacy ahead of an expected Xi Jinping visit to the US (analyst Gregory Brew).
- Sub-item: US House Democratic leader Hakeem Jeffries is quoted calling the war on Iran an 'epic failure' and arguing taxpayer money should serve domestic needs, not 'endless conflict in the Middle East.'
- Sub-item: A Lebanon casualty tally attributed to the Lebanese health ministry: 4,348 killed and 12,307 wounded, more than 16,000 casualties since early March 2026, from Israeli operations.

ANALYST NOTE Iran, the executive's own daily, runs a soft weather lead while carrying the sanctions story through named Western outlets, the government tier's preferred deniable register: US failure and division are quoted from The New Yorker, The Guardian and a Democratic leader rather than asserted. Its China-and-Hormuz thread (any sanctions escalation must hit Beijing) supplies the semi-official grammar for Ta'adol's 'determining links' framing, and its Lebanon tally is the batch's rare quantified acknowledgment of the still-active front.

"The accord was a mirage;

MODERATE-HIGH: accord attacked via the economy; US cast as in disarray

Hemmati: not even one dollar has been released" «تفاهم نامه سراب بود/ همتی: حتی یک دلار هم آزاد نشده»

- Main: The front lead, 'the accord was a mirage' (تفاهم نامه سراب بود), quotes Central Bank governor Abdolnaser Hemmati that 'not even one dollar' of blocked funds has been freed under the memorandum, marshalling the currency crunch as proof the ceasefire deal delivered nothing.
- Op-ed: A political-service front note (unsigned in the retrieved channel post) argues the government made economic 'calculation errors' and that today's hardship reflects an ongoing economic and psychological war by the adversary, insisting defense capability must be preserved.
- Sub-item: 'Trump's contradictory statements against Iran,' mocking claims that Iran lacks naval and air forces while alleging US forces took defensive precautions out of fear of Iranian retaliation.
- Sub-item: Foreign-affairs items claiming a US 'missile crisis' (attributed to analyst Scott Lucas) and the resignation of a US deputy defense secretary amid tension with the Pentagon chief, both used to depict US disarray.
- Right rail: 'Israeli army shells southern Lebanon' (heavy bombardment around Ali al-Tahir and the Dabsha heights), keeping the active kinetic front on the page as an attributed report.

ANALYST NOTE Kayhan turns the day's economic data into a weapon against the accord: by fronting Hemmati's 'not a dollar released,' it converts household pain into an indictment of the memorandum and, implicitly, of the government pushing 'peace from strength.' Its US-disarray items (missile crisis, a resignation, Trump's 'contradictions') build the companion thesis that the sanctions turn is bluster from a losing hand, the flagship's harder-edged version of Hamshahri's 'empty gun.'

A. The Leader's message: an absence on the record

Front-page survey of the 22 August batch; khamenei.ir

No message, sermon or statement from the sitting Supreme Leader, Mojtaba Khamenei, appears on any front page in this edition, and khamenei.ir was unavailable at the time of compilation, so none could be independently retrieved. Consistent with the monitor's standing observation across recent cycles, the leadership register is carried by commemoration rather than by the Leader's own voice.

Jomhouri Eslami fronts a memorial gathering for a 'martyr of the revolution' held at the Razavi shrine in Mashhad and across the country; the martyred predecessor, Ali Khamenei, and the language of martyrdom continue to fill the space a living leadership message would otherwise occupy. This appendix records that absence as a finding, not as missing content: on a cycle of visibly coordinated messaging around Trump's economic offensive and the 'end the war from strength' line, the current Leader's continued editorial silence is itself a signal in the succession picture.

Analyst flag: negative-evidence entry. The absence is logged; no message is reconstructed or attributed, and nothing is placed in the Leader's mouth.

B. Flagged editorial: Kayhan's front note, 'The accord was a mirage'

Kayhan (kayhan_online channel), front-page political-service note, 31 Mordad 1405

Kayhan's front-page note leads with the verdict that the memorandum 'was a mirage' (تفاهم نامه سراب بود) and quotes the Central Bank governor, Abdolnaser Hemmati, that 'not even one dollar' of blocked Iranian funds has been released under it. The argument runs from that fact to a claim of governmental miscalculation: the state, the note contends, overestimated the accord's economic dividends, and the hardship now visible in the currency and prices proves the point.

From there the note reframes the pain as adversary action rather than policy failure: the present distress, it argues, is the product of a continuing economic and psychological war, and the correct response is not further reliance on diplomacy but preservation of Iran's defensive and deterrent capability. In the edition's context this is the hardline counter to the government-and-Parliament 'peace from a position of strength' line: where Etemad, Sazandegi and Jomhuri Eslami use the same economic data to argue for consolidating the ceasefire, Kayhan uses it to indict the deal and the officials who signed it.

Verification note: this is a faithful summary of the retrieved channel post, not a verbatim full translation, which could not be cleanly extracted from the channel preview. Crucially, no author byline appeared in the retrieved post; Kayhan's front notes are frequently unsigned 'political service' items, so authorship is NOT verified and is expressly NOT attributed to managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari. Source line: Kayhan, front-page note, 31 Mordad 1405 (22 August 2026).

C. Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline

Coverage: twelve Iranian titles were surveyed. Nine Persian print front pages were read from scan (Hamshahri, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Sazandegi, Charsou, Ta'adol, Etemad, Jomhuri Eslami) alongside Iran Daily in English from scan; two dailies were read from their own channels (Kayhan, Iran). The wire agencies Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News were monitored for corroboration and threat-signaling only, not treated as front pages. Tehran Times was unavailable at the time and is not represented.

Attribution firewall: every claim is attributed to its outlet or speaker and none is adopted as fact. Iranian and adversary battlefield or capability claims are labelled as claims. Trump's quoted lines ('the most crushing economic operations in history'; the Strait of Hormuz as 'American territory') are reported as carried by Fars News, not independently verified. The Nour News item on a bounty for capturing or killing US soldiers, and Defa Press's claim that defense production has 'doubled,' are single-source agency claims flagged as such and folded into the threat register, not the front-page analysis.

Named-figure verification: printed names were read against the source pages. President Masoud Pezeshkian and Speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf are confirmed on Etemad and via the Iran Daily caption. Abdolnaser Hemmati is identified by Sazandegi, Ta'adol and Kayhan as Central Bank governor and reported as those papers label him. The 'devastating response' warning is attributed to Maj. Gen. Abdollahi, whom Charsou identifies as Chief of the General Staff; the name is read from the page and the office is given as the paper labels it. A critical international-section item on Javan referring to an address by 'Mr. Khamenei' could not be resolved with confidence at scan resolution and, given the accuracy stakes around the leadership, is deliberately excluded from this edition rather than characterized.

Standing context: per the project's fixed reference, Ali Khamenei was assassinated on 28 February 2026 and his son Mojtaba Khamenei is the sitting Supreme Leader; a fragile ceasefire memorandum signed 17 June 2026 remains the disputed reference point across the factional press. Day number (172) is the authoritative war-day counter (Day 118 = 29 June 2026), independent of the hand-authored reference reports.

Open-source material only. All translations from Persian/Arabic originals. Iranian claims are labelled as claims. Prepared for analysis and early warning; hostile content is documented for defensive assessment only, not endorsed.