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THE LANGUAGE OF POWER EDITION

Front pages published the morning of 2 September, reflecting events through late 1 September local, dominated by a Speaker's 'siege' interview, the Leader-anchored memorandum question, and turbulence in the US defense establishment

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Front page: Etemad

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of the cycle is that the two-track posture the previous edition flagged (trumpet-and-hedge) has hardened into a coherent doctrine with a name the papers supply themselves: 'the language of power' (Etemad's zaban-e qodrat). The organizing text is a video interview by Speaker Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf that three titles work in different directions. Javan banners his conditional threat, 'محاصره تشدید شود پاسخ نظامی می‌دهیم' (if the siege intensifies, we will give a military response); Sobh-e No amplifies his claim that Iran has rebuilt its military capacity 'beyond the enemy' and that criticizing commanders is 'haram'; and Etemad reframes the whole interview as leverage in service of diplomacy, with the decisive subhead that Iranian policy, 'per the order of the Leader of the Revolution,' is the fulfillment of the memorandum's conditions. The same interview is thus rendered as a war tripwire, a rearmament boast, and a diplomatic instrument, depending on the lane.

The single most consequential item of the batch is that leadership line. Etemad places the sitting Leader (per standing context, Mojtaba Khamenei) behind a memorandum-conditional policy: even a 'different response' to the 'siege' is presented as action within the ceasefire framework, not outside it. This is a shift in register from the previous cycle, where the Leader appeared first with a unity decree and then in an administrative clemency role; he now appears as the guarantor of the diplomatic track. Jomhouri Eslami supplies the matching off-ramp, printing 'Washington should return to the Islamabad memorandum' as an explicit 'Iran's proposal to America,' and Iran Daily tells its English readers that Pezeshkian 'voices Iran's readiness to return to the peace memo with US.' The memorandum, not fresh escalation, is the batch's proposed exit.

That diplomatic track is contested from the hardline flank. Kayhan sustains the Hormuz-sovereignty maximalism of the prior cycle ('Iran's control of the Strait of Hormuz has brought the enemy to its knees') and its managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari's on-record doctrine that the Strait is leverage 'more powerful than Iran's missiles,' non-negotiable, and a lever for extracting compensation. Chahar Sough runs the sharpest anti-memorandum satire of the batch: a cartoon of an official (captioned as Abbas Mousavi) declaring 'I have a good feeling about Trump's signature,' beside a placard listing 'the crimes bearing Trump's signature,' headed by the assassination of the late Supreme Leader. The front pages therefore stage an intra-system argument over whether a US signature is worth anything at all.

A new thread enters the frame this cycle: turbulence in the US defense establishment. Vatan-e Emrooz gives its entire front page to 'the collapse of the generals,' built on the resignation of US Army Secretary Dan Driscoll; Kayhan reads the same event as 'the war's aftershock reaching the Pentagon'; Jomhouri Eslami calls it 'a fresh blow to Trump.' The underlying event is real and independently confirmed (Driscoll tendered his resignation on 31 August amid reported friction with Defense Secretary Hegseth), but the Iranian framing of it as a consequence of Iranian pressure is inference, not fact, and marks a shift in the hardline message from battle-damage triumphalism toward psychological-attrition narrative.

The eastern-alignment thread, prominent since the late-August China editions, is carried this cycle by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization heads-of-state summit and its bilaterals. Javan fronts a Pezeshkian-Xi meeting under 'the opportunities of standing with the East'; Etemad and Iran Daily foreground a Pezeshkian-Putin handshake with 'Putin reaffirms support for Tehran after new sanctions'; Jomhouri Eslami reports SCO members condemning the US attacks; Ta'adol reads the summit as 'creating a just multipolar order.' Where the previous edition logged a reformist skeptic's question of whether the East would 'pay a cost to defend Iran,' this cycle's 'Putin reaffirms support' line is the nearest the bloc comes to an answer, though it remains a verbal reassurance rather than a commitment.

Two pressure threads hold their front-page space against the diplomacy-and-war narrative. The economic lane splits: Chahar Sough indicts central-bank chief Abdolnaser Hemmati as 'the nightmare of the national currency' with a chart placing him worst among recent governors, while Ta'adol chooses a calmer 'banking network in a resilience test' frame around the economy minister's and central-bank governor's parliamentary testimony on 'the hard days of the economy'; Kayhan and Iran Daily both carry Hemmati's reserve-adequacy reassurance, which the economic dailies exist to contest. And a new grievance thread, sanctions on science, appears on Sazandegi ('academic pressure') and Iran Daily: the suspension of TOEFL and GRE testing for Iranians, which Science Minister Hossein Simaei-Sarraf calls 'stone age' behavior, a confirmed consequence of the 24 August US sanctions package.

Net assessment: this is a doctrine-consolidation edition rather than an escalation edition. The overt material is mixed, Hormuz maximalism and fresh strike claims on one side, a Leader-anchored memorandum off-ramp on the other, but the through-line is that both are now being spoken as one posture, 'the language of power,' in which leverage exists to be converted into terms. The consequential findings are that the sitting Leader has been placed behind the memorandum track, giving the diplomatic lane top cover it lacked; that the hardline flank is openly resisting that track with anti-signature polemic; that US-Pentagon turbulence is being harvested as a morale narrative on a factual but misattributed basis; and that the economic and science-sanctions lanes continue to price the war's domestic cost the hardline optimism cannot close. The threads to watch are whether the Leader's memorandum directive produces any movement or remains rhetorical; whether the anti-signature hardliners force the diplomatic track back off the page; whether Israel and Lebanon, still near-absent from the front pages but resurfacing on the wires via a claimed Hezbollah drone strike, return to the lead; and whether the East's 'reaffirmed support' ever acquires substance.

BOTTOM LINE The batch documents Tehran consolidating a two-track posture around a single word, 'siege,' and a single instrument, the ceasefire memorandum: the hardline titles run Hormuz maximalism, fresh strike-and-retaliation claims and a Speaker's rearmament boast, while the reformist and English titles present that same 'language of power' as leverage in service of a Leader-sanctioned, memorandum-conditional diplomacy, and the economic press refuses to let the collapsing currency drop off the page.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Compiled from nine Persian front-page scans (Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Kayhan, Sazandegi, Chahar Sough, Jomhouri Eslami, Etemad, Ta'adol) for 11 Shahrivar 1405 and one English front page (Iran Daily), with wire corroboration from the Kayhan, Nour News, Fars News and Defa Press channels. Tehran Times was unavailable at compile time. All Iranian military and battle-damage material, the claimed fresh US strikes on southern provinces and the Iranian drone-and-missile retaliation on Gulf bases, is attributed, unconfirmed claim drawn from Iranian state and IRGC-aligned wires and is documented for defensive assessment only; the Hezbollah drone item is attributed by Kayhan to Hebrew media and doubly flagged. Verified separately: the resignation of US Army Secretary Dan Driscoll (31 August, effective 3 September) is confirmed, but its framing as a war 'aftershock' is the outlets' inference; the TOEFL and GRE suspension for Iranians is a confirmed consequence of the US Treasury's suspension of General License G within the 24 August sanctions package. The Chahar Sough cartoon caption naming Abbas Mousavi is reproduced as printed and not independently verified. Named-figure identifications are checked against the pages. Prepared for analysis and early warning; hostile content documented for defensive assessment only.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 The two-track posture hardens into a named doctrine, 'the language of power'

The trumpet-and-hedge posture flagged the previous cycle now has a self-supplied name (Etemad's zaban-e qodrat) and a single organizing text: a Ghalibaf video interview rendered three ways. Javan banners the conditional 'if the siege intensifies, we respond militarily'; Sobh-e No amplifies 'we rebuilt our military capacity beyond the enemy'; Etemad reframes the same interview as leverage for a Leader-sanctioned, memorandum-conditional diplomacy. The deterrent claim and the diplomatic signal are no longer separate tracks but two registers of one posture.

2 The sitting Leader is placed behind the memorandum track

Etemad's subhead attributes to the Leader of the Revolution (per standing context, Mojtaba Khamenei) the directive that Iranian policy is the fulfillment of the memorandum's conditions. This shifts the Leader from the prior cycle's unity-decree and clemency registers into the role of guarantor of the diplomatic line, giving the reformist and establishment off-ramp, Jomhouri Eslami's 'Washington should return to the Islamabad memorandum' and Iran Daily's 'readiness to return to the peace memo,' top cover it previously lacked.

3 US-Pentagon turbulence is harvested as a psychological-attrition narrative

Vatan-e Emrooz devotes its whole page to 'the collapse of the generals,' Kayhan calls the Driscoll resignation 'the war's aftershock reaching the Pentagon,' and Jomhouri Eslami calls it 'a fresh blow to Trump.' The event is real and confirmed, but its attribution to Iranian pressure is inference. The hardline message is migrating from last cycle's battle-damage triumphalism, whose claims were internally inconsistent, toward exploitation of genuine US command turnover, a harder-to-refute morale line.

4 The eastern pivot receives a verbal, not material, answer at the SCO summit

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization summit and its bilaterals carry the alignment thread: Pezeshkian-Xi (Javan), Pezeshkian-Putin with 'Putin reaffirms support for Tehran after new sanctions' (Etemad, Iran Daily), SCO condemnation of the US strikes (Jomhouri Eslami), and a 'just multipolar order' economic reading (Ta'adol). Set against the previous edition's reformist question of whether the East would 'pay a cost to defend Iran,' the 'reaffirmed support' line is the nearest the bloc comes to answering, but it stays a reassurance rather than a defense commitment.

5 The anti-memorandum hardliners contest the diplomatic track head-on

Kayhan's Hormuz-non-negotiable maximalism and Chahar Sough's satire of trusting 'Trump's signature,' beside a placard of 'the crimes bearing Trump's signature' headed by the assassination of the late Supreme Leader, are the front-page face of the camp that rejects any US-signed instrument. The batch therefore stages an open intra-system argument over the memorandum's worth, with the Leader-anchored diplomacy line on one side and the anti-signature hardliners on the other.

6 The domestic-cost lanes, currency and now science, hold their space

The economic lane splits between Chahar Sough's currency-collapse indictment of central-bank chief Hemmati and Ta'adol's calmer 'resilience test' framing of parliamentary testimony on 'the hard days of the economy,' with Hemmati's reserve-adequacy reassurance carried, and contested, across the hardline and English titles. A new grievance thread, sanctions on science, enters via Sazandegi and Iran Daily: the suspension of TOEFL and GRE testing for Iranians, which the science minister calls 'stone age' behavior. Both lanes keep the war's domestic cost on the page.

Key Judgments

> **KJ-1** [HIGH] The two-track posture has hardened from parallel messaging into a single named doctrine, 'the language of power,' organized around one Ghalibaf interview. Evidence: Javan banners his 'if the siege

intensifies, we respond militarily'; Sobh-e No amplifies 'we rebuilt our military capacity beyond the enemy'; Etemad reframes the same interview as leverage in service of diplomacy under the headline zaban-e qodrat. Significance: the deterrent claim and the de-escalation signal are now delivered as two registers of one posture rather than as competing tracks, indicating centrally-coordinated message discipline in which leverage is explicitly framed as existing to be converted into terms; whether the two registers stay fused is the primary thing to watch.

KJ-2 [HIGH] The sitting Leader has been placed behind a memorandum-conditional policy line, the most consequential single item of the batch. Evidence: Etemad's subhead states that Iranian policy, 'per the order of the Leader of the Revolution,' is the fulfillment of the memorandum's conditions, and frames Ghalibaf's 'different response' as action within that framework; Jomhouri Eslami prints 'Washington should return to the Islamabad memorandum' as Iran's proposal, and Iran Daily reports Pezeshkian's 'readiness to return to the peace memo.' Significance: attaching the Leader's authority to the ceasefire memorandum gives the diplomatic track top cover and signals that Tehran's preferred exit is the existing framework, not open-ended escalation; the attribution rests principally on the Etemad rendering and is logged as a single-sourced but high-salience leadership signal.

KJ-3 [MODERATE-HIGH] The Iranian press is converting genuine US defense-establishment turnover into a psychological-attrition narrative on a factual but misattributed basis. Evidence: Vatan-e Emrooz's whole-page 'collapse of the generals,' Kayhan's 'war's aftershock reached the Pentagon,' and Jomhouri Eslami's 'fresh blow to Trump' all build on the confirmed 31 August resignation of US Army Secretary Dan Driscoll amid reported friction with Defense Secretary Hegseth. Significance: the event is real, so the framing is harder to refute than last cycle's inconsistent battle-damage claims, but the causal attribution to Iranian pressure is the outlets' inference and is not adopted here; the shift toward mining verifiable US internal turbulence marks a more durable morale line than fabricated strike tallies.

KJ-4 [MODERATE-HIGH] The eastern-alignment thread advances at the SCO summit but yields verbal reassurance rather than a defense commitment. Evidence: Pezeshkian's bilaterals with Xi (Javan) and Putin (Etemad, Iran Daily), 'Putin reaffirms support for Tehran after new sanctions,' SCO condemnation of the US strikes (Jomhouri Eslami), and Ta'adol's 'just multipolar order.' Significance: set against the previous edition's reformist question of whether the East would 'pay a cost to defend Iran,' the 'reaffirmed support' line is the closest the bloc comes to answering, but it remains a statement of political backing, not a security guarantee, and should be tracked for any concrete deliverable rather than photo-and-communique diplomacy.

KJ-5 [MODERATE] The hardline flank is openly contesting the memorandum track with anti-signature polemic, keeping the diplomatic line intra-system contested. Evidence: Kayhan's non-negotiable Hormuz maximalism and Shariatmadari's 'leverage more powerful than missiles' doctrine, and Chahar Sough's cartoon of an official trusting 'Trump's signature' beside a placard of 'crimes bearing Trump's signature' headed by the assassination of the late Supreme Leader. Significance: the same batch that places the Leader behind the memorandum carries a front-page argument that a US signature is worthless, indicating the diplomatic track is not a settled consensus but a contested position the hardliners are working to push back off the page.

KJ-6 [MODERATE] The domestic-cost lanes are holding front-page space, with the economic press split and a new science-sanctions grievance added. Evidence: Chahar Sough indicts central-bank chief

Hemmati as 'the nightmare of the national currency' while Ta'adol chooses a 'resilience test' frame for parliamentary testimony on 'the hard days of the economy,' with Hemmati's reserve-adequacy reassurance carried on Kayhan and Iran Daily; Sazandegi and Iran Daily front the TOEFL and GRE suspension, which Science Minister Simaei-Sarraf calls 'stone age' behavior. Significance: the war-and-diplomacy narrative has not displaced cost-of-living from the page, and the education-sanctions thread adds a concrete brain-drain grievance that implicates both Washington's sanction and the domestic response; the split between currency alarm and resilience framing marks the economic press's own factional divide.

KJ-7 [LOW-MODERATE] Negative-evidence finding: Israel and Lebanon remain near-absent from the front pages but re-enter on the wires, so the flashpoint's front-page silence is now a presentation choice rather than a genuine lull. Evidence: the front pages carry only a Mossad reference in a Vatan-e Emrooz sidebar and an Al-Azhar-and-Zionism polemic in Jomhouri Eslami, while the Kayhan channel circulates a claimed Hezbollah suicide-drone strike on northern occupied-Palestine settlements (attributed to Hebrew media) and the wires run the broader strike-and-retaliation cycle. Significance: where the previous edition recorded Israel and Lebanon as simply near-absent, this cycle shows the material exists on the wires but is being kept off the front pages, so any return of the Israel-Lebanon front to the lead in a subsequent batch should register as a deliberate editorial elevation, not the arrival of new events.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf	Speaker of Parliament	The batch's organizing voice: a video interview rendered as a 'siege' military-response threat (Javan), a 'rebuilt beyond the enemy' rearmament claim (Sobh-e No), and Leader-sanctioned, memorandum-conditional diplomacy (Etemad)	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Mojtaba Khamenei	Supreme Leader (sitting), per standing context following the 28 February 2026 assassination of his predecessor	Not splashed in a standalone address; appears via the policy line Etemad attributes to his order, binding Iranian conduct to fulfilling the memorandum's conditions	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Masoud Pezeshkian	President	SCO summit diplomacy: bilaterals with Xi Jinping (Javan) and Putin (Etemad, Iran Daily); voices 'readiness to return to the peace memo with US'	WATCH
Vladimir Putin	President of Russia	'Reaffirms support for Tehran after new sanctions'; the summit's clearest great-power reassurance, though verbal rather than a defense commitment	WATCH
Xi Jinping	President of China	Meets Pezeshkian under Javan's 'opportunities of standing with the East'; anchor of the eastern-pivot frame	WATCH
Donald Trump	US President	Framed as weakened (Pentagon 'collapse,' Hormuz 'helplessness') and as an untrustworthy signatory; the Chahar Sough satire mocks faith in 'Trump's signature'	TARGET FRAMING

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Dan Driscoll	US Secretary of the Army (resigned 31 August 2026, effective 3 September)	His confirmed resignation is reframed as a war 'aftershock' and 'collapse of the generals'; the event is real, the causal attribution to Iranian pressure is inference	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Abdolnaser Hemmati	Central-bank chief / economy figure	Reserve-adequacy reassurance carried on Kayhan and Iran Daily ('psy-war'); indicted by Chahar Sough as 'the nightmare of the national currency'	WATCH
Hossein Simaei-Sarraf	Minister of Science, Research and Technology	Protests the TOEFL and GRE suspension for Iranians as 'stone age' behavior (Sazandegi, Iran Daily); confirmed consequence of the 24 August US sanctions	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Hossein Shariatmadari	Kayhan managing editor	Standing Hormuz-leverage doctrine ('more powerful than missiles,' non-negotiable, extract compensation) underpins Kayhan's front-page maximalism	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Abbas Mousavi	Official named in the Chahar Sough cartoon caption	Satirized as declaring 'I have a good feeling about Trump's signature'; caption reproduced as printed and not independently verified	WATCH

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Kayhan	America was shaken again and took missiles; Iran's control of the Strait of Hormuz has brought the enemy to its knees	Ultra-hardline flagship	Hormuz-sovereignty maximalism plus fresh strike-and-retaliation claims and the Pentagon 'aftershock'	SEVERE: Hormuz maximalism and strike-retaliation cycle
Vatan-e Emrooz	The Collapse of the Generals	Hardline / principlist	US Army Secretary's resignation reframed as war attrition; 'the siege will not go unanswered'	HIGH: US command disarray as war attrition
Sobh-e No	We Have Rebuilt Our Military Capacity More Than the Enemy	Principlist	Ghalibaf video interview: military reconstitution and immunization of the command from criticism	HIGH: rearmament claim and command-defense framing
Javan	The Opportunities of Standing With the East	Hardline, IRGC-affiliated	Eastern pivot (Pezeshkian-Xi) paired with Ghalibaf's conditional 'siege' military-response threat	MODERATE-HIGH: eastern-pivot leverage plus a siege tripwire
Etemad	The Language of Power	Reformist	The Speaker's leverage reframed as Leader-sanctioned, memorandum-conditional diplomacy; Pezeshkian-Putin handshake	MODERATE: Leader-anchored memorandum-conditional diplomacy

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Jomhouri Eslami	SCO member states condemned America's military attacks on Iran	Traditional / establishment	Multilateral legitimation plus an explicit off-ramp: 'Washington should return to the Islamabad memorandum'	MODERATE: SCO legitimation and conditional off-ramp
Iran Daily	CBI chief downplays US economic collapse remarks as psy-war	Official English-language daily	English-facing economic reassurance plus Pezeshkian's 'readiness to return to the peace memo' and Putin's backing	MODERATE: English-facing conditional diplomacy
Ta'adol	The Banking Network in a Resilience Test	Economic / business	Parliamentary testimony on 'the hard days of the economy'; a 'just multipolar order' summit reading	LOW-MODERATE: economic-resilience framing under sanctions
Sazandegi	Academic Pressure	Reformist / Kargozaran	Sanctions on science (TOEFL and GRE suspension) plus a critique of a domestic 'infiltration' bill	LOW-MODERATE: sanctions-on-science grievance
Chahar Sough	Hemmati: The Nightmare of the National Currency	Economic	Currency-collapse indictment of the central-bank chief; anti-memorandum 'Trump's signature' satire	LOW-MODERATE: currency collapse and anti-memorandum satire

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

Official English-language state daily

MODERATE: English-facing conditional peace-memo readiness plus Russian backing and economic reassurance

“CBI chief downplays US economic collapse remarks as psy-war”

- Main: The lead reports the Central Bank of Iran chief (Abdolnaser Hemmati) dismissing US claims of an Iranian economic collapse as psychological warfare, the English-facing version of the reserve-adequacy line the hardline titles carry, aimed at foreign and investor audiences.
- Kicker: A top line, 'National interests determine approach to US engagement: Spox,' sets a conditional-engagement posture ahead of the day's diplomacy coverage.
- Right feature: 'Pezeshkian voices Iran's readiness to return to peace memo with US,' with the deck 'Putin reaffirms support for Tehran after new sanctions,' over a photograph of President Pezeshkian at the 24th Shanghai Cooperation Organization heads-of-state summit (1 September 2026). This is the clearest English-language statement of the conditional-memorandum track plus Russian backing.
- Op-ed: An 'Opinion Exclusive' by Dr. Mohsen Pakaeen argues a 'Pakistan-Kuwait defense pact signals Islamabad's bid for bigger Mideast role,' a regional-realignment read new to this cycle.
- Sub-item: Lower boxes carry 'Legal challenges to Iran's commerce amid US-Israeli war of aggression' and 'Science minister calls TOEFL, GRE suspension stone age behavior' (the Simaei-Sarraf education-sanctions grievance also on Sazandegi), alongside sports and tourism features.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Iran Daily curates the moderate, outward-facing message: economic reassurance framed as rebutting psy-war, and an explicit statement of Pezeshkian's readiness to return to the peace memorandum with US, backed by Putin. For an English readership this is the deliberate counterweight to the hardline Persian front pages' strike triumphalism, confirming the two-track posture is calibrated by audience, kinetic and maximalist in Persian, conditional-diplomatic in English. The Pakistan-Kuwait defense-pact op-ed and the education-sanctions box are the new regional and grievance threads to carry forward.

Vatan-e Emrooz

Hardline / principlist

“The Collapse of the Generals” «ریزش ژنرال‌ها»

HIGH: US command disarray reframed as war attrition; 'siege will not go unanswered' retaliation cue

- Main: The whole page is given to the disarray in the US defense establishment. The subhead reads 'در ادامه موج برکناری و جدایی مقامات ارشد نظامی پنتاگون، دن دریسکول، وزیر نیروی زمینی ارتش آمریکا نیز به سمت خود استعفا کرد' (Continuing the wave of dismissals and departures of senior Pentagon officials, Dan Driscoll, the US Secretary of the Army, has also resigned from his post), over a photograph of two suited US officials walking. The framing presents American command turnover as attrition produced by the war.
- Banner: A top strip carries 'محاصره بی‌پاسخ نمی‌ماند' (The siege will not go unanswered) alongside 'مربی تجزیه‌طلبان' (Trainer of the separatists), tying the naval-economic 'siege' vocabulary to a promised Iranian response and to an accusation that Washington sponsors separatist groups.
- Right rail: Stacked sidebar items read 'موساد / سپر شرقی ایران' (Mossad / Iran's eastern shield), 'مسکو ایستاده کنار تهران' (Moscow stands beside Tehran) and 'ایران پاسخ چندبرابری می‌دهد' (Iran gives a multiplied response), pairing an eastern-alignment reassurance with a threat of disproportionate retaliation.
- Op-ed: The lower front-page essay 'جایی برای پنهان شدن نیست' (There is no place to hide) extends the deterrence theme into a claim that US forces in the region are exposed.

ANALYST NOTE Vatan-e Emrooz converts a genuine, independently reported event, the 31 August resignation of US Army Secretary Dan Driscoll amid friction with Defense Secretary Hegseth, into war propaganda: the resignation is real, but its framing as a 'collapse of the generals' produced by Iranian pressure is the outlet's inference, not the reported cause. The hardline lane is now mining US internal-Pentagon turbulence for a morale narrative, a shift from last cycle's battle-damage triumphalism toward psychological-attrition messaging.

Javan

Hardline, IRGC-affiliated

“The Opportunities of Standing With the East” «فرصت‌های ایستادن با شرق»

MODERATE-HIGH: eastern-pivot leverage plus a conditional 'siege' military-response threat

- Main: The lead frames the Shanghai Cooperation Organization summit as strategic opportunity, over a photograph of President Masoud Pezeshkian in conversation with Chinese President Xi Jinping. The eastern pivot is presented as Iran's answer to Western pressure.
- Banner: The top strip carries the Ghalibaf line 'محاصره تشدید شود پاسخ نظامی می‌دهیم' (If the siege intensifies, we will give a military response), attributing to the Speaker of Parliament a conditional threat that couples the economic-naval 'siege' frame to a kinetic tripwire.
- Right rail: A sidebar quotes an official ('هشتم' rendering) that 'ایران از دلار بی‌نیاز است / به قدر کافی [ذخیره] دارد' (Iran has no need of the dollar / has enough in reserve), reinforcing the sanctions-resilience line; a second item reports that 'هوش مصنوعی بخشی از امنیت عمومی می‌شود' (AI is becoming part of public security).
- Sub-item: A boxed economic note flags a plan to offer roughly two billion dollars of assets, folding the summit's economic-cooperation theme into a domestic market message.

ANALYST NOTE Javan runs the two-track posture on a single page: an eastern-alignment opportunity frame (Xi handshake, dollar-independence) paired with a hardline military tripwire (Ghalibaf's 'siege intensifies, we respond'). This continues the great-power-alignment thread carried since the late-August China editions, but Javan's placement of the conditional-military-response quote in the banner tilts the outlet toward deterrence-signaling rather than the reformist lane's diplomacy framing of the same Ghalibaf interview.

Sobh-e No

Principlist

“We Have Rebuilt Our Military Capacity More Than the Enemy” «بیش از دشمن توان نظامی خود را بازسازی کردیم»

HIGH: Speaker's 'rebuilt beyond the enemy' rearmament claim and command-immunization framing

- Main: The page is built around a video interview ('قالیباف در گفت‌وگوی ویدیویی') with Speaker Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, headlined with his claim that Iran has reconstituted its military strength faster than the adversary, over a large photograph of Ghalibaf gesturing.
- Pull-quotes: A stack of marginal quotes attributes to Ghalibaf that criticizing military commanders in the media is 'حرام' (religiously forbidden) and unjust to them; that 'در ۱۵ سال گذشته به اندازه یک دهه پیشرفت در حوزه نظامی داشتیم' (in the past 15 years we advanced a decade in the military field); praise for 'شجاع' commanders; and that after the period of 'سکوت' (silence) forces and units are now 'آماده' (ready).
- Op-ed: The bottom-strip editorial 'از هرمز تا خیابان، مسئله تبدیل قدرت' (From Hormuz to the street, the question of converting power) argues the Strait leverage must be translated into political and social strength at home.
- Sub-item: 'استیصال ترامپ در حل معادله تنگه هرمز' (Trump's helplessness in solving the Strait of Hormuz equation) and 'انسجام ملی، سرمایه‌ای که دشمن را ناکام می‌کند' (National cohesion, the asset that frustrates the enemy) round out the page.

ANALYST NOTE Sobh-e No amplifies the Ghalibaf interview into a rearmament-and-reconstitution narrative, the day's clearest example of the Speaker being used as the coordinated voice for a 'we are stronger than before the war' message. The 'criticism of commanders is haram' line is notable defensively: it signals the leadership is moving to shield the military command from domestic scrutiny even as the reformist and economic lanes question performance, indicating an intra-system contest over accountability that is worth tracking.

Kayhan

Ultra-hardline flagship, close to the Supreme Leader's office / IRGC

SEVERE: Hormuz-sovereignty maximalism plus fresh strike-and-retaliation claims

“The enemy's terrorist army attacks the country's south; America was shaken again and took missiles” «حمله ارتش تروریست دشمن به جنوب کشور؛ آمریکا باز هم تکان خورد و موشک خورد»

کیهان

حمله ارتش تروریست دشمن به جنوب کشور

آمریکا باز هم تکان خورد و موشک خورد

- Main: The banner claims a fresh US strike on southern Iran and an Iranian retaliation, under the standing kicker 'تسلط ایران بر تنگه هرمز دشمن را به زانو در آورده است' (Iran's control of the Strait of Hormuz has brought the enemy to its knees). All battle-damage content is an attributed Iranian claim, not independently confirmed.
- Sub-item: 'پس‌لرزه جنگ به پنتاگون رسید / وزیر ارتش هم کنارگیری کرد' (The war's aftershock reached the Pentagon / the Army Secretary also stepped aside) reads the Driscoll resignation as a consequence of the conflict, echoing Vatan-e Emrooz.
- Sub-item: 'آمریکا نمی‌تواند با زبان زور خواسته‌های غیرقانونی خود را بر ایران تحمیل کند' (America cannot impose its illegal demands on Iran through the language of force), the negotiating-posture line against US pressure.
- Kicker: A top box quotes 'همتی: به اندازه کافی ذخایر ارزی داریم' (Hemmati: we have enough foreign-currency reserves), placing the economy minister's reassurance on the hardline page even as the economic dailies contest it.
- Op-ed: A domestic-welfare item, 'انتظار بیماران برای کاهش فشار هزینه‌های درمان' (Patients waiting for treatment-cost pressure to ease), sits beside 'ایران هرچه قوی‌تر چگونه ساخته می‌شود؟' (How is an ever-stronger Iran built?).

ANALYST NOTE Kayhan sustains the Hormuz-sovereignty maximalism of the previous cycle and adds the Pentagon-turmoil narrative, but the page's internal composition is telling: the ultra-hardline flagship carries Hemmati's forex-reserve reassurance on the same front page that the economic dailies use to indict him, indicating the reserve line is a centrally-favored talking point being pushed against a skeptical economic press. As the Supreme Leader's office flagship, Kayhan's simultaneous 'brought the enemy to its knees' and 'America cannot impose demands by force' framing keeps the door open to conditional negotiation from a claimed position of strength.

Sazandegi

Reformist / Kargozaran party

“Academic Pressure” «فشار علمی»

LOW-MODERATE: sanctions-on-science grievance plus reformist critique of a domestic restriction bill

- Main: The lead couples two pressures on Iranian academia: a parliamentary 'infiltration' bill said to increase restrictions on university staff, and new US sanctions reaching into science and higher education. The subhead reports Science Minister Hossein Simaei-Sarraf protesting the suspension of standardized testing (TOEFL) for Iranians, calling it 'عصر حجری' (stone-age) behavior and stressing 'این موضوع تنها متوجه دولت نیست و جامعه علمی ایران را زیر فشار قرار می‌دهد' (this does not concern only the government; it puts Iran's entire scientific community under pressure).
- Analyst-context: The sanction is real and datable: ETS suspended TOEFL and GRE administration in Iran after the US Treasury's suspension of General License G, part of the 24 August US sanctions package. Sazandegi's frame indicts both Washington's sanction and Tehran's own restrictive bill in the same breath.
- Sub-item: Marginal boxes reference a bitter political 'winner' and a factional setback, keeping the reformist lane's domestic-politics focus alongside the sanctions story.

ANALYST NOTE Sazandegi is the batch's clearest reformist counter-frame: rather than leading on the war, it leads on the human and scientific cost of sanctions AND on a domestic 'infiltration' bill it treats as self-inflicted pressure, a two-sided critique that implicates both the adversary and the hardline legislature. This continues the reformist lane's pattern of declining war-triumphalism to foreground governance and livelihood, and the education-sanctions angle is a new, concrete grievance thread worth tracking for its brain-drain implications.

Chahar Sough Economic

“Hemmati: The Nightmare of the National Currency” «همتی؛ کابوس پول ملی»

LOW-MODERATE: currency-collapse indictment of the central-bank chief; anti-MoU satire

- Main: The lead is a bar chart comparing the currency depreciation recorded under successive central-bank governors, with the current chief, Abdolnaser Hemmati, at the extreme right of the chart (the tallest bar), casting him as the worst performer on the national currency. This directly contradicts the reserve-adequacy reassurance the hardline titles attribute to the same official.
- Cartoon: The lower half runs a satirical cartoon 'ظاهر و باطن وفاق' (The appearance and the essence of 'consensus'): a smiling official (captioned in the panel as Abbas Mousavi) points at a document bearing Trump's signature and says 'حس خوبی به امضای ترامپ دارم' (I have a good feeling about Trump's signature).
- Sub-item: Beside the cartoon is a placard headed 'لیست جنایات با امضای ترامپ' (List of crimes bearing Trump's signature), itemizing: the assassination of the Supreme Leader and his family; the assassination of Soleimani and resistance commanders; the killing of dozens of senior officers and nuclear scientists; hundreds of security personnel, students and children; thousands of citizens; and the bombing of homes, hospitals, schools and public places. Each is presented as the outlet's polemical indictment, not as a neutral record.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Chahar Sough runs the batch's sharpest domestic double-critique: an economic indictment of the central-bank chief on currency collapse, and a political satire mocking any official who trusts Trump's signature on the memorandum. The cartoon is the clearest front-page expression of the anti-MoU skeptic camp, weaponizing the 'list of crimes with Trump's signature' (headed by the assassination of the late Supreme Leader) to argue that a US signature is worthless, a direct counter to Etemad's and Iran Daily's 'readiness to return to the peace memo' line. The Abbas Mousavi caption is reproduced as printed and not independently verified.

Jomhouri Eslami

Traditional / establishment

MODERATE: multilateral legitimation of grievance plus a conditional diplomatic off-ramp (return to the Islamabad memorandum)

“Shanghai Cooperation Organization member states condemned America's military attacks on Iran”

«کشورهای عضو سازمان همکاری شانگهای حملات نظامی آمریکا به ایران را محکوم کردند»

جمهوری اسلامی

کشورهای عضو سازمان همکاری شانگهای حملات نظامی آمریکا به ایران را محکوم کردند

واشنگتن به تفاهم‌نامه اسلام‌آباد بازگردد

افتتاح دهها طرح صنعت آب و برق در استان کرمانشاه

شهید مظلوم آیت‌الله بهشتی

- Main: The lead reports that SCO member states condemned the US military attacks on Iran, using the summit to internationalize Iran's grievance and present the eastern bloc as diplomatically aligned against Washington.
- Op-ed: A boxed proposal, 'واشنگتن به تفاهم‌نامه اسلام‌آباد بازگردد' (Washington should return to the Islamabad memorandum), labeled 'پیشنهاد ایران به آمریکا' (Iran's proposal to America), offers a conditional diplomatic off-ramp built on the existing ceasefire memorandum, paired with 'راه نجات ترامپ از بن‌بست جنگ ایران' (Trump's way out of the Iran-war impasse).
- Sub-item: 'استعفای وزیر ارتش آمریکا؛ ضربه تازه‌ای به ترامپ' (Resignation of the US Army Secretary; a fresh blow to Trump) folds the Driscoll departure into the same weakness narrative as the hardline titles, but in a more measured register.
- Sub-item: A domestic-development note reports the inauguration of dozens of water and power-industry projects in Kermanshah province; a separate polemic asks 'الازهر با ایران و صهیونیسم چه نسبتی دارد؟' (What relation does Al-Azhar have with Iran and Zionism?).
- Right rail: A tribute marks 'شهید مظلوم آیت‌الله بهشتی' (the oppressed martyr Ayatollah Beheshti), a standard establishment commemorative item.

ANALYST NOTE Jomhouri Eslami threads multilateral legitimation (SCO condemnation) together with the batch's most explicit diplomatic off-ramp, naming the Islamabad memorandum as the framework Washington should return to. As a traditional establishment voice, its 'Iran's proposal to America' framing is the clearest front-page articulation of the conditional-diplomacy track that the reformist titles and Iran Daily also carry, positioning the memorandum, not fresh escalation, as the way out. The Al-Azhar item is a faint Israel/Zionism thread on an otherwise US-and-Hormuz-organized page.

Etemad Reformist

“The Language of Power” «زبان قدرت»

MODERATE: 'language of power' reframed as Leader-sanctioned, memorandum-conditional diplomacy

اعتماد
زبان قدرت

- Main: The lead reports Speaker Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf speaking of 'پاسخ متفاوت ایران به ادامه محاصره' (Iran's different response to the continued siege), with the subhead 'سیاست جمهوری اسلامی ایران طبق فرمان رهبر انقلاب تحقق شروط تفاهم‌نامه است' (The policy of the Islamic Republic, per the order of the Leader of the Revolution, is the fulfillment of the memorandum's conditions).
- Analyst-context: The subhead is the batch's key leadership signal: it attributes to the sitting Leader (per standing context, Mojtaba Khamenei) a directive that Iranian policy is bound to fulfilling the memorandum's conditions, framing even a 'different response' as memorandum-anchored rather than open-ended escalation.
- Main-photo: The page carries a photograph of President Pezeshkian shaking hands with Russian President Vladimir Putin against the Iranian and Russian flags, captioned to a renewal of commitment, foregrounding the Iran-Russia bilateral on the summit margins.
- Sub-item: Left-column cultural and economic items ('نوشتن علیه جهان کالایی' / writing against the commodified world; a housing-finance note on a two-billion loan and delayed housing policy) keep Etemad's reformist governance focus alongside the diplomacy lead.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Etemad performs the reformist reframing of the same Ghalibaf interview that Javan and Sobh-e No militarize: 'the language of power' is presented here as leverage in service of a Leader-sanctioned, memorandum-conditional diplomacy, not as a war cry. The explicit attribution of the policy line to the Leader's order is the most consequential single item of the batch, because it places the sitting Leader behind the memorandum track and against open escalation, and the Pezeshkian-Putin handshake supplies the great-power backing for that posture. This carries forward the diplomacy-over-confrontation lane tracked since late August.

Ta'adol

Economic / business

LOW-MODERATE: economic-resilience framing under sanctions; multipolar-order endorsement

“The Banking Network in a Resilience Test” «شبکه بانکی در آزمون تاب‌آوری»

تعادل

شبکه بانکی در آزمون تاب‌آوری

ایجاد نظم چندقطبی عادلانه

- Main: The lead reports a joint appearance by the Economy Minister and the Central Bank Governor before parliament on 'روزهای سخت اقتصاد' (the hard days of the economy), framing the banking system as undergoing a stress test rather than a collapse, a measured counter to the currency-nightmare framing on Chahar Sough.
- Photo/Sub: A summit photograph runs under 'ایجاد نظم چند قطبی عادلانه' (Creating a just multipolar order), giving the SCO diplomacy an economic-order reading aligned with the eastern-pivot thread.
- Sub-item: 'نبرد تولیدکنندگان با قاچاق' (Producers' battle against smuggling) and 'بحران امنیت شغلی عمیق‌تر از همیشه' (The job-security crisis deeper than ever) keep the domestic-economy pressure on the page.
- Kicker: A boxed markets item flags a possible surprise around a large (hundred-billion-dollar) valuation on the bourse.

ANALYST NOTE Ta'adol occupies the economic-realist middle: it neither denies the strain (parliament testimony on 'hard days,' a deepening job-security crisis) nor adopts the currency-collapse alarm of Chahar Sough, choosing a 'resilience test' frame that keeps the banking system inside a manageable narrative. Its endorsement of a 'just multipolar order' shows the eastern-alignment message reaching the business press as an economic-sovereignty argument, while the livelihood items sustain the competing-priorities signal that the economy will not be fully subordinated to the war story.

The Leader's directive as reflected on the front pages

Reconstructed from Etemad front page (11 Shahrivar 1405), cross-checked against the batch

No standalone address by the sitting Leader was splashed across the batch this cycle. The Leader's guidance reaches the front pages indirectly, through the policy line the press attributes to him. Etemad's lead states the operative formula directly: 'سیاست جمهوری اسلامی ایران طبق فرمان رهبر انقلاب تحقق شروط تفاهم‌نامه است' (The policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, per the order of the Leader of the Revolution, is the fulfillment of the conditions of the memorandum).

Read against standing context, in which the sitting Leader is Mojtaba Khamenei following the 28 February 2026 assassination of his predecessor, the directive binds Iranian conduct to the terms of the existing ceasefire memorandum rather than to open-ended escalation. Speaker Ghalibaf's parallel remark that Iran will give a 'different response' should the 'siege' intensify is framed by the same outlet as action within, not outside, that memorandum-anchored policy.

Analyst flag: This appendix is a reconstruction from the front-page rendering, not a verbatim translation of a retrievable primary text. The attribution to the Leader's order rests principally on the Etemad framing and is recorded as a single-sourced leadership signal pending a primary-source directive. The honorific 'رهبر انقلاب' (Leader of the Revolution) is reproduced as printed.

Kayhan front-page thesis: the Strait of Hormuz as non-negotiable leverage

Kayhan front page (11 Shahrivar 1405); managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari

Kayhan's front page is organized around the standing kicker 'تسلط ایران بر تنگه هرمز دشمن را به زانو در آورده است' (Iran's control of the Strait of Hormuz has brought the enemy to its knees), paired with the negotiating line 'آمریکا نمی‌تواند با زبان زور خواسته‌های غیرقانونی خود را بر ایران تحمیل کند' (America cannot impose its illegal demands on Iran through the language of force).

The framing restates the Hormuz-leverage doctrine long associated with Kayhan's managing editor, Hossein Shariatmadari: that the Strait is 'اهرمی قدرتمندتر از موشک‌های ایران' (leverage more powerful than Iran's missiles), that it is not a subject for negotiation, and that Iran should extract 'غرامت' (compensation) rather than concede passage. In the surrounding coverage this hardens into a warning that states supporting a US-and-Arab draft resolution on the Strait circulated at the UN Security Council would be treated as hostile and denied transit rights for their vessels and cargo. These are the outlet's advocacy positions, documented for defensive assessment, not adopted as fact.

Analyst flag: The full text of the day's signed 'یادداشت روز' column was not separately retrieved at compile time; this appendix renders the front-page thesis and Shariatmadari's on-record Hormuz-leverage position rather than a verbatim column. Author identification (Hossein Shariatmadari, Kayhan managing editor) is verified; the specific day's column wording is characterized, not quoted. Source line: Kayhan, front page, 11 Shahrivar 1405 (2 September 2026).

Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline

Coverage this cycle rests on nine Persian front-page scans (Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Kayhan, Sazandegi, Chahar Sough, Jomhouri Eslami, Etemad, Ta'adol) from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk album for 11 Shahrivar 1405, plus one English front page (Iran Daily) from the Newspapers_Iran album. Each page was read directly; mastheads were identified against the project's recognition reference and, where a page led on a named figure, cross-checked across titles.

Text and wire corroboration was drawn from the Kayhan, Nour News, Fars News and Defa Press Telegram channels. Tehran Times was unavailable at the time of compilation, so English-facing framing is carried by the Iran Daily front page. All Iranian military and battle-damage material, including the claimed fresh US strikes on southern provinces and the Iranian drone-and-missile retaliation on Gulf bases, comes from Iranian state, semi-official and IRGC-aligned wires and is logged as attributed, unconfirmed claims under the attribution firewall; the Hezbollah suicide-drone item is attributed by Kayhan to Hebrew media and is doubly flagged.

Verification notes: the resignation of US Army Secretary Dan Driscoll (tendered 31 August 2026 amid reported friction with Defense Secretary Hegseth, effective 3 September) is independently confirmed; its framing by the Iranian press as a war 'aftershock' is the outlets' inference and is not adopted here. The suspension of TOEFL and GRE testing for Iranians is confirmed as a consequence of the US Treasury's suspension of General License G within the 24 August sanctions package; Science Minister Hossein Simaei-Sarraf's 'stone age' characterization is attributed. Named-figure identifications (Ghalibaf, Pezeshkian, Xi Jinping, Putin, Hemmati, Simaei-Sarraf) are verified against the pages; the Chahar Sough cartoon caption naming Abbas Mousavi is reproduced as printed and not independently verified. Translations are editorial; loaded regime vocabulary is glossed in place and retained in the original script.

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.