OPEN-SOURCE PRESS INTELLIGENCE

# Iranian Press Monitor

Daily Front-Page Intelligence

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**THE TWO HUNDREDTH NIGHT AND THE PENTAGON AUDIT EDITION**

*Ten front pages of 25 Shahrivar 1405, read alongside nine outlet channels; Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation.*

*Front pages published the morning of 16 September 2026, reflecting events through late 15 September local.*

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




*Front page: Hamshahri*

## Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition is about sourcing rather than about escalation. On 16 September the reformist daily of record, a hardline principlist front page, the state broadcaster's daily and the government's English-language paper all led on the same document: the Pentagon Inspector General's first public review of the war, delivered to Congress on 14 September and covering 28 February to 30 June. That report records damage to hundreds of buildings and structures at American bases across eight countries, about 184 million dollars of damage to US diplomatic facilities, 33.4 billion dollars of spending of which 22.3 billion was expended munitions, strategic inventory shortfalls with industrial-base bottlenecks, and losses including four F-15s destroyed and up to thirty MQ-9 Reapers destroyed. Nothing in this monitor's window has previously produced that spread of institutional agreement on a single verifiable text. The agreement, however, is on the document and not on its meaning: Etemad reads it as the collapse of the American narrative, Vatan-e Emrooz as an admission extracted from liars, Jam-e Jam as political and materiel exhaustion joined, and Iran Daily relays its findings flat. That is an outlet of opportunity being taken by four newsrooms independently, which looks different from the centrally-guided convergence this monitor identified on 15 September, when six titles attacked one American broadcast in the same terms on the same morning.

Taking the audit's authority has a cost that the Iranian press has not priced. The same cycle carries a claim, posted within two hours by Fars, Nour News and Defa Press and repeated on Kayhan's channel, that a fifty-second American MQ-9 was destroyed over Qeshm Island at 02:29. The audit the front pages are citing counts up to thirty destroyed through 30 June. The two figures are not formally contradictory, since the audit's window closes in June and the Iranian tally runs past it, but a further twenty-two aircraft in eleven weeks is far outside the tempo the audited period implies. The pattern repeats: the government daily's channel puts the war's cost to Washington at 38 billion dollars against the report's 33.4 billion, and Fars asserts that 80 percent of American air-defence reserves are depleted, a figure that appears nowhere in the audited material. An outlet that adopts a document's authority inherits its arithmetic, and by tomorrow the discrepancy is available to anyone who reads both.

The domestic half of the edition is the two hundredth consecutive night of the nightly gatherings, counted from the assassination of 28 February, and it is being marked as a set-piece rather than reported as an event. Hamshahri gives its whole front page to «۲۰۰ شب رفراندوم», two hundred nights of referendum, with four quotation panels and an unsourced claim that 85 percent of the public supports continuing. Vatan-e Emrooz banners 600,000 registrations for the «مردم جانفدا» exercise, sourced to the IRGC's Tehran commander. Hamshahri and Sobh-e No both carry a thousand Janfada battalions ready in a hundred minutes. Kayhan's day-column is «۲۰۰ شب در سنگر خیابان». Javan's masthead strip marks the occasion. Five titles across four institutional families do not independently choose the same anniversary, the same campaign and the same battalion figure: this was scheduled.

What the scheduling does not explain is the register. An IRGC-affiliated daily prints «خیابان را خالی نکنید», do not empty the street, as an instruction, and runs a column on the کارکرد, the function, of the gatherings. Hamshahri's managing director Mohsen Mahdian writes a page-one enumeration of five hostilities toward the gatherings, which is a defence rather than a celebration. The most quotable number on the anniversary page carries no pollster, no sample and no field date. Read together these are the features of a campaign being shored up, not one being enjoyed, and the operative forward indicator is physical: a paid advertisement from the IRGC's Muhammad Rasulullah Corps of Greater Tehran, running at the foot of Etemad's front page, calls a drill and mass assembly for Friday 27 Shahrivar at 8 a.m., from Imam Hossein Square to Navvab Crossroads. That is a date, an hour and a route.

The succession thread reaches its sharpest evidence in this edition. No message from the Leader appears on any of the ten front pages or in any of the nine channels read. Hamshahri fills four quotation panels from the Speaker of the Majlis, the head of the judiciary, an Aerospace Force commander and an aide to the Leader, using the aide's voice where the principal's would carry more. The photograph above them shows the crowd holding the assassinated predecessor's portrait. And the IRGC corps' own advertisement dedicates the Friday mobilisation «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران», on behalf of Iran's martyred Aqa. A municipal daily and a Guard corps, on the same morning, anchor the same campaign to the dead Leader and name the living one nowhere.

On the chokepoints, the argument advanced in volume and not in substance. Vatan-e Emrooz gives its entire front page to a satellite map of the Gulf and the Red Sea under «درس تاریخ از جغرافیا», a history lesson from geography, with the standfirst running from America's bases to the Strait of Hormuz; Sobh-e No devotes its page to an interview with Seyyed Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi arguing that control and pressure at Hormuz and Bab al-Mandab strengthen Iran's negotiating hand against a weakened Trump; Iran Daily carries a signed analysis titled «Two straits, one war». Against that, Jomhouri Eslami boxes an Ansarallah statement that navigation in Bab al-Mandab is safe. The coercion advertisement and the navigation reassurance are now printed on the same morning by different titles, which is the same asymmetry the IRGC's political bureau set out on 15 September as command of Bab al-Mandab and understanding at Hormuz. Notably, the government's own English surface prints no Hormuz position for the fourth consecutive cycle, and leads instead on an American document that commits Tehran to nothing.

Two smaller findings are worth carrying forward because they cut against standing threads rather than confirming them. First, Sobh-e No, a principlist title, argues under «مهار «بن‌بست سیاست»» that Iran's election to an IAEA General Conference committee shows American strategic fatigue and that Washington was beaten at the Agency: a paper cannot run the Agency as a trap to be escaped and as a forum Iran is winning, and this is the first evidence in the series that the front-page campaign for NPT withdrawal is contested inside its own camp. Second, Kayhan's day-column spends itself on the street and again mentions neither Hormuz nor blood-vengeance for the assassinated Leader, the third consecutive cycle in which the office's own daily has had that frame available and declined it.

The concrete diplomatic result of the cycle is Iraqi and it is verifiable. Jomhouri Eslami leads, and Iran Daily seconds, on the president of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan pledging that Iraqi soil will not become a haven for threatening Iran's security; Bafel Talabani met Abbas Araghchi in Tehran on 15 September and said exactly that. In the same window Araghchi arrived in Beijing to meet Wang Yi, and Nour News relayed China's foreign minister saying continued Washington-Tehran conflict benefits nobody. Riyadh, meanwhile, is being handled as an isolate rather than as a party to any settlement: Javan caricatures the Saudi leadership as the Sphinx in a keffiyeh under the pun «بن هول», Vatan-e Emrooz runs «تنهایی سعودی» on the failure of Saudi attempts to widen the Yemen war, Jomhouri Eslami relays a New York Times account of Saudi disillusion with Trump, Etemad interviews on the Gulf monarchies caught in «تله امنیت وارداتی», the trap of imported security, and Etemad's channel carries an American advisory against travel to Saudi Arabia. The state that the Salalah track ran through is being written out of it.

Domestically, the economic press is running a separate war. Charsoogh names a sitting minister on its front page and prints the arithmetic: food inflation from 23.8 percent in Shahrivar 1403 to 127.5 percent in Mordad 1405, a fivefold rise it attributes to Gholamreza Nouri Qazaljeh abandoning price-setting and market control, and it calls the result the sharpest food inflation since the revolution. The same page carries a ministerial claim that the blackouts are over printed directly above a table of scheduled power cuts for the coming weeks. Ta'adol runs the structural version, state enterprise ownership as the economy's central problem, and a luxury-import investigation headlined on a Maybach. On the reformist side, Sazandegi confirms from the

opposite camp what a principlist page reported on 15 September, that Ehsan Khandouzi has replaced Ali Aghamohammadi at the head of the economic group in the Leader's Office, and carries Mohammad Javad Zarif under the headline «روایت را باختیم», we lost the narrative.

Net assessment: this is an edition about holding, not about moving. Its external material is an audit of what the adversary has spent and lost, its domestic material is the two hundredth repetition of the same nightly event, and its chokepoint material is argument about leverage rather than any change in the leverage itself. The genuinely new information in it is small, dated and physical: a mobilisation with a route and an hour on Friday, an Iraqi security pledge with a verifiable text behind it, an IAEA argument that contradicts its own camp, and a food-inflation series with month labels on it. The risk of overreading is that anniversaries are loud by design and this one was scheduled; the risk of underreading is that a campaign whose own carriers are writing instructions and defences rather than accounts is a campaign under strain, and that strain is the condition in which the chokepoint argument stops being an argument.

**BOTTOM LINE** Every institutional family in the Iranian press led this morning on the same American document, the Pentagon Inspector General's first audit of the war, and in adopting its authority they inherited counts that their own outlets exceed by a wide margin.

**CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE** This edition rests on nine Persian front pages from the NewspaperTasnim album of 25 Shahrivar 1405 and one English front page from the Newspapers_Iran album, both of which carried the target date; the stale-batch guard passed on the first attempt and no fallback or re-dated page was used. Nine outlet channels were read alongside them, six dailies and three wire agencies, with agency material kept in a separate claims register. Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation. The available scans are about 800 pixels tall, so display headlines, standfirsts, pull-quotes and boxed figures resolve reliably and body text and several small bylines do not; where a name could not be read with confidence it has been left unnamed rather than guessed, which applies to the Javan cover text, the Vatan-e Emrooz think-tank speaker and column byline, the Iran Daily analysis byline, the Charsoogh interviewee and the Sazandegi note author. Six items were checked against non-Iranian sources: the Pentagon Inspector General report and its figures, the Araghchi-Talabani meeting and the wording of the pledge, the United Nations fact-finding mission's attribution of the 1 September Kuhestak wedding strike to the United States, the Venice Special Jury Prize for the documentary NAZA by Yuval Abraham and Rachel Szor and the Israeli citizenship threat against them, the killings of Molavi Yousef Gorgij and Mamosta Mohammad Nezhati, and the record of House war-powers votes. Four corrections are carried into the judgments rather than footnoted: the 38 billion dollar cost figure exceeds the audit's 33.4 billion, the 80 percent air-defence depletion claim is not in the audited material, the fifty-second MQ-9 claim exceeds the audit's count by twenty-two aircraft, and a clean third congressional rejection of the war compresses a mixed record of House votes. The 85 percent poll on the Hamshahri front page carries no pollster, sample or field date and should not be reproduced as a survey result. Every claim here is attributed to the outlet or speaker that made it; none is adopted as fact, and second-hand renderings of Western reporting remain flagged as renderings.

## Macro Trend Analysis

### 1 Convergence on a source, divergence on its meaning

Four institutional families led on one American document and drew four different conclusions from it. This is materially different from the message discipline of 15 September, when six titles attacked a single American broadcast in identical terms. Convergence produced by an opportunity looks like disagreement about meaning; convergence produced by instruction does not. The distinction is worth holding because it changes what a shared Iranian front page is evidence of.

### 2 Mobilisation as anniversary, and the defensive register inside it

Five titles carried the two hundredth night, the Janfada campaign and the thousand-battalion figure on one morning, which was scheduled. But the same pages write instructions (do not empty the street), functional analysis (the function of the gatherings) and enumerated defences against critics, and the campaign's headline statistic has no provenance. Celebration in the imperative mood is the tell.

### 3 The succession is still being carried by proxies

No Leader's message on any surface; four quotation panels filled by a Speaker, a judiciary chief, a commander and an aide; a crowd photograph of the assassinated predecessor's portrait; and an IRGC corps' own rally advertisement dedicated to the martyred Aqa. The absence has now hardened from an editorial pattern into an institutional one, because a Guard corps paying for advertising space chose the dead Leader's name for it.

### 4 Chokepoint advocacy moved down-market while the file stood still

On 15 September the coercion case was carried in institutional voices; today it is carried as cartography, as an academic interview and as a Washington Post citation, while Jomhouri Eslami prints an Ansarallah reassurance that Bab al-Mandab is safe and the government's English page prints no Hormuz position for the fourth cycle. Volume rose, commitment did not.

### 5 Riyadh written out of the settlement

Five surfaces handled Saudi Arabia as an isolate: ridicule of its leadership, a report on its failure to widen the Yemen war, a relay of its disillusion with Trump, an analysis of Gulf states trapped by imported security, and an American travel advisory against it. Riyadh is the state the Salalah track ran through, and the press is now describing it as a party with nothing to bring.

### 6 The economic press is running an independent indictment

Two economic dailies led on domestic failure while nine political front pages led on mobilisation and American attrition. One named a sitting minister and printed a labelled inflation series from 23.8 to 127.5 percent; the other named a structure and ran a luxury-import investigation. Distributional grievance now has front pages of its own, and it is being printed in numbers rather than moods.

### 7 External verification adopted as method by both camps

Jomhouri Eslami made its central atrocity claim by citing a United Nations fact-finding mission rather than an Iranian statement, and Sazandegi argued the Gaza case with an Israeli-made, Venice-awarded film. Two titles at opposite ends of the spectrum reached for non-Iranian sourcing on the same morning, and Zarif's «روایت را باختیم» in the same masthead reads as the argument for why.

## Key Judgments

**KJ-1** [HIGH] The Pentagon Inspector General's audit is the first document in this monitor's window to be led on by every institutional family at once, and the convergence is opportunistic rather than directed. Etemad, a reformist daily, leads on «شکست روایت امریکایی», the defeat of the American narrative, under the kicker that Washington's own oversight bodies disclosed it; Vatan-e Emrooz posts it as lies exposed and a severe munitions shortage; Jam-e Jam joins it to congressional votes as political and materiel exhaustion; Iran Daily relays the damage and depletion findings flat in the government's English voice. Four newsrooms, four conclusions, one text. The significance is definitional: on 15 September this monitor read six titles carrying one identical attack as evidence of central guidance, and the correct reading of today is the opposite, because outlets acting on instruction do not disagree about what the instruction means. The

indicator that would change this reading is the appearance of a single shared formulation about the audit across titles in the next cycle.

**KJ-2** [HIGH] In adopting the audit's authority the Iranian press has inherited counts that its own outlets exceed, and the discrepancy is now on the record in the same cycle. The report counts up to thirty MQ-9 Reapers destroyed through 30 June; Fars, Nour News, Defa Press and Kayhan's channel all posted the destruction of a fifty-second MQ-9 over Qeshm on the morning of 16 September. The government daily's channel puts the war's cost to Washington at 38 billion dollars where the report totals 33.4 billion. Fars asserts that 80 percent of American air-defence reserves are gone, a figure absent from the audited material. The audit's window closing on 30 June explains part of the aircraft gap and cannot explain twenty-two further losses in eleven weeks, nor the cost figure, which covers the same period the report does. The significance is that Tehran has spent a scarce asset, an adversary document it can cite without qualification, and has left its own arithmetic standing beside it where the comparison is trivial to make.

**KJ-3** [HIGH] The two hundredth night was a scheduled set-piece across at least five titles and four institutional families. Hamshahri gives its entire front page to «۲۰۰ شب رفراندوم» with four quotation panels; Vatan-e Emrooz banners 600,000 Janfada registrations sourced to the IRGC's Tehran commander; Hamshahri and Sobh-e No both carry a thousand battalions ready in a hundred minutes; Kayhan's day-column is «۲۰۰ شب در سنگر خیابان»; Javan's masthead marks the occasion. Independent newsrooms do not select the same anniversary, the same campaign name and the same battalion figure on the same morning. The significance is that the mobilisation campaign, not the war and not the chokepoints, is what the system chose to coordinate this cycle, and coordination spent on cohesion is coordination not spent on the diplomatic file.

**KJ-4** [MODERATE-HIGH] The anniversary coverage is written in a defensive register, which indicates a campaign being shored up rather than one being enjoyed. Javan prints «خیابان را خالی نکنید», do not empty the street, as an instruction and runs a column on the کارکرد, function, of the gatherings; Hamshahri's managing director Mohsen Mahdian gives the front page a five-part enumeration of hostilities toward the gatherings, a defence rather than an account; and the campaign's most quotable figure, 85 percent support, is printed with no pollster, no sample and no field date. The alternative reading is that a two hundredth night invites rhetorical escalation for its own sake and that the imperative mood is merely festival language. The evidence for weighting the first reading is that instruction, functional analysis and rebuttal all appear on the same morning across two titles from different institutional families. The significance is that turnout is being treated internally as an asset that can fall, and Friday's attendance is the test.

**KJ-5** [HIGH] A dated, routed mass mobilisation is called for Friday 27 Shahrivar (18 September) at 8 a.m., from Imam Hossein Square to Navvab Crossroads, advertised by the IRGC's Muhammad Rasulullah Corps of Greater Tehran as a «رزمایش و اجتماع بزرگ مردم», an exercise and grand popular assembly under the title «جان فدای ایران». The advertisement runs as paid space at the foot of Etemad's front page, which is the reformist daily of record. The significance is that this is the edition's one hard forward indicator with a time and a route attached, that it converts a nightly gathering campaign into a single mass event with an exercise component, and that the Guard is buying space on a reformist surface to reach an audience its own titles do not hold.

**KJ-6** [MODERATE-HIGH] The succession's legitimacy is being carried by proxies, and today an IRGC corps made that explicit in its own advertising copy. No message from the Leader appears on any of the ten front

pages or in any of the nine channels read. Hamshahri's four quotation panels are filled by Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, Gholamhossein Mohseni-Ejei, an officer printed as «سردار موسوی، فرمانده هوافضا», and Mohammad Mokhber under the title «دستیار رهبر انقلاب», aide to the Leader of the Revolution; the crowd photograph shows the assassinated predecessor's portrait; and the Friday rally is dedicated «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران», on behalf of Iran's martyred Aqa. Until now this monitor has read the absence as an editorial pattern. The significance of today's evidence is that a Guard corps, paying for space, chose the dead Leader's name and not the living one's, which makes the pattern institutional. The caveat is that khamenei.ir was not reachable at compile time, so this rests on the absence of any relay across eleven Iranian surfaces rather than on a check of the office's publication record.

**KJ-7** [MODERATE-HIGH] Chokepoint advocacy rose in volume and fell in institutional weight, which is what a position looks like when it is being sold rather than implemented. Vatan-e Emrooz gives its whole front page to a satellite map under «درس تاریخ از جغرافیا» with the standfirst running from American bases to the Strait of Hormuz, and cites the Washington Post on the Gate of Tears as Iran's greatest strategic victory; Sobh-e No carries Seyyed Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi arguing that control and pressure at Hormuz and Bab al-Mandab strengthen Iran's hand against a weakened Trump; Iran Daily confines the file to a signed analysis offering three paths. On 15 September the same case was made by the IRGC political bureau's own weekly in its own voice. Cartography, an academic interview and a foreign citation are all deniable in a way an institutional statement is not. The significance is that the argument is being widened to a domestic audience while the commitment behind it is being kept reversible, and the phrase «تفاهم در هرمز» has still not appeared in any official language.

**KJ-8** [MODERATE-HIGH] The government has now gone four consecutive cycles without printing a Hormuz position on its English surface, and today it filled the space with an adversary document. Iran Daily's front page carries no Strait of Hormuz item, no Oman item and no Salalah item outside a signed Yemen analysis, and leads instead on the Pentagon audit. For three cycles before 15 September the English surface was where concessions were introduced before being domesticated in Persian; it is now where the file stays silent while the paper banks an evidentiary win that commits Tehran to nothing. The significance is that the silence is a choice with a substitute rather than an absence of material, which strengthens the reading that the government's position is unsettled rather than withheld. The reappearance of a Hormuz formula in English remains the earliest available signal that it has been settled.

**KJ-9** [MODERATE] The front-page campaign for withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty is now contested from inside the principlist camp. Sobh-e No's page-one item «مهار «بن‌بست سیاست»»», the dead end of the containment policy, argues that Iran's election to an IAEA General Conference committee proves American strategic fatigue and that «آمریکا در آژانس هم در ایران شکست خورد», America was beaten over Iran at the Agency too. On 15 September the state broadcaster's daily, a principlist front page and the Leader's office daily all carried arguments for leaving the treaty, each resting on the Vienna visa refusal. A camp cannot run the Agency as a trap to escape and as a forum it is winning. The significance is that the withdrawal case now has to answer a principlist counter-argument rather than only a reformist one, and this monitor holds the case at moderate confidence pending any adoption by an office.

**KJ-10** [MODERATE] Negative evidence, and it is the most consistent finding across three cycles: the blood-vengeance frame has been available, cheap and unused. Kayhan's day-column on 14 September attached vengeance for the assassinated Leader to any reopening of the Strait of Hormuz, alongside American withdrawal and reparations. On 15 September the column spent itself on expatriate artists. On 16

September, with an anniversary that is itself counted from the assassination and with the audit handing the paper an American defeat to celebrate, the column is «شب در سنگر خیابان ۲۰۰» and mentions neither Hormuz nor vengeance. The benign reading remains that a won argument needs no repetition. The alternative, now better supported, is that the condition list was a newspaper's bid that no office took up. The significance is that the succession's legitimacy debt has failed three times running to attach to the maritime file on the office's own daily.

**KJ-11** [HIGH] The concrete gain of the cycle is Iraqi, it is verifiable, and it is being front-paged in both languages. Jomhouri Eslami leads on «خاک عراق به مأمنی برای تهدید امنیت ایران تبدیل نخواهد شد» and Iran Daily seconds with a Kurdish leader vowing Iraqi soil will not be used against Iran; the underlying event is Bafel Talabani's meeting with Abbas Araghchi in Tehran on 15 September, at which he said Iraq and the Kurdistan Region would never allow their territory to become a haven for harming or threatening regional states, Iran in particular. In the same window Araghchi arrived in Beijing to meet Wang Yi, and Nour News relayed Chinese calls for dialogue frameworks to be rebuilt on existing agreements. The significance is that while the maritime file stalls, the land-border and great-power files are producing printable results, and that the Iranian press is willing to lead on diplomacy when it has a text to quote.

**KJ-12** [MODERATE-HIGH] Saudi Arabia is being handled across the spectrum as an isolate rather than as a party to any settlement, which matters because the stalled Salalah track ran through Riyadh. Javan devotes its entire cover to the Sphinx in a keffiyeh under the pun «بن هول», read as a caricature of the Saudi leadership; Vatan-e Emrooz reports «تنهایی سعودی», the failure of Saudi attempts to draw others onto the Yemen battlefield; Jomhouri Eslami relays a New York Times account of Saudi disillusion with Trump; Etemad interviews Morteza Makki on Gulf monarchies caught in «تله امنیت وارداتی», the trap of imported security, a phrase the army's spokesman used the same day about Iran-Pakistan cooperation; and Etemad's channel carries an American advisory against travel to Saudi Arabia. Five surfaces from four camps. The significance is that the actor Tehran would need at a Hormuz table is being written up as an actor with nothing to bring, which lowers the probability that the Salalah track restarts on its previous terms.

**KJ-13** [MODERATE-HIGH] Two front pages from opposite camps made their strongest hostile claims by citing non-Iranian authorities, which is a change of method worth tracking. Jomhouri Eslami's «حمله به عروسی سیریک کار آمریکاست» rests on the United Nations Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Iran, which did hold the United States responsible for the 1 September strike on a wedding at Kuhestak in Sirik county, Hormozgan, and called for an immediate cessation of hostilities. Sazandegi's «قتل عام سیستماتیک» rests on NAZA, a documentary by the Israeli directors Yuval Abraham and Rachel Szor that took the Venice Special Jury Prize, and on the Israeli culture minister's threat to revoke their citizenship. Printed in the same masthead as Zarif's «روایت را باختیم», we lost the narrative, the choice reads as a thesis about instruments. The significance is that externally-sourced Iranian claims are harder to dismiss and harder to walk back, and their frequency is a better indicator of confidence than the volume of asserted ones.

**KJ-14** [HIGH] The economic press is printing a distributional indictment in labelled numbers while the political press prints mobilisation. Charsoogh's front page names Gholamreza Nouri Qazaljeh and gives the series: food inflation from 23.8 percent in Shahrivar 1403 to 127.5 percent in Mordad 1405, a fivefold rise it attributes to his abandonment of price-setting and market control, and it calls the result the sharpest food inflation since the revolution. The same page prints a ministerial claim that the blackouts are over directly above a table of scheduled power cuts. Ta'adol runs the structural version, state enterprise ownership as

the economy's central problem, with a luxury-import investigation headlined on a Maybach. The significance is that the material context for enrolling a thousand volunteer battalions is 127 percent food inflation, that the two economic dailies in the batch will print that context with month labels on it, and that a delivery claim contradicted by its own accompanying table is the cleanest available measure of how much the promises are worth.

**KJ-15** [MODERATE] Negative evidence: the killing of a second Sunni cleric in under a week did not reach a single front page in this batch, for the second consecutive cycle. Molavi Yousef Gorgij, a Sunni prayer leader in Zahedan, was shot dead on 14 September, five days after Mamosta Mohammad Nezhati in West Azerbaijan; no group has claimed either killing. The IRGC commander-in-chief's response, calling it a cowardly assassination by mercenary terrorists and pledging retaliation, ran on the defence agency's wire, and nowhere else in the material read here. On 15 September only two of nineteen front pages carried the Zahedan killing; today none of ten does. The significance is that the Sistan-Baluchistan file is being kept off the front pages while being handled on security wires, which is a containment decision rather than an editorial coincidence, and a third killing or a claim of responsibility would test whether it holds.

**KJ-16** [MODERATE] The reallocation of economic authority inside the Leader's Office now has cross-camp confirmation. Sazandegi, a reformist daily, reports under «دور برگردان اقتصادی» that Ehsan Khandouzi has replaced Ali Aghamohammadi as head of the economic group in the Office of the Leader of the Revolution; the same appointment appeared on the principlist front page Nobonyad on 15 September. Two titles from opposing camps reporting the same personnel change within a cycle raises it from a claim to a fact on the record. The significance is that an economy minister of the Raisi government is taking an advisory post at the centre during a period in which the government's own economic delivery is being attacked on the front pages of two economic dailies, and the appointment is the kind of institutional detail that usually precedes a change in economic line rather than following one.

## Named-Figure Tracker

| Figure | Role / relevance | Today's framing | Flag |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Mojtaba Khamenei** | Leader of the Revolution | Not named, not quoted and not pictured on any of the ten front pages or in any of the nine channels read; the Friday rally advertised by an IRGC corps is dedicated instead to «آقای شهید ایران», Iran's martyred Aqa | absence noted |
| **Donald Trump** | President of the United States | Named as the object of coercive diplomacy by Sobh-e No's interviewee, as disillusioning Riyadh in Jomhouri Eslami's New York Times relay, as an electoral liability to his own party in Kayhan's CNN relay, and as the target of Vatan-e Emrooz's diesel-price item | TARGET FRAMING |
| **Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf** | Speaker of the Majlis | Quoted on Hamshahri's anniversary page: two hundred nights of a people's risen presence proved that what was defeated was the aggressor's illusion, not the will of Iranians | WATCH |

| Figure | Role / relevance | Today's framing | Flag |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Gholamhossein Mohseni-Ejei** | Head of the judiciary | Quoted on Hamshahri: the people barter their dignity for nothing, and two hundred nights of street drill rank alongside jihad in the field | COERCION SPOKESMAN |
| **Mohammad Mokhber** | Printed as «دستیار رهبر انقلاب», aide to the Leader of the Revolution | Quoted on Hamshahri speaking for the centre in the Leader's absence: for two hundred nights the guardians of Iran have stood firm under a rain of bombs and bullets | WATCH |
| **Sardar Mousavi** | Printed as «فرمانده هوافضا», Aerospace Force commander | Quoted on Hamshahri saluting the crowd for keeping the two hundredth night of its own commissioning in the street; rank and full name not further specified on the page | NEW NAMED FIGURE |
| **Mohsen Mahdian** | Managing director of Hamshahri | Signs the front-page note «۵ شب دویستم و دشمنی با تجمعات», an enumerated defence of the gatherings against their critics | WATCH |
| **Seyyed Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi** | Academic interviewed by Sobh-e No | Argues Iran should not wait for the American election and that control and pressure at Hormuz and Bab al-Mandab strengthen its hand against a weakened Trump | COERCION SPOKESMAN |
| **Bafel Talabani** | President of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan | Leads Jomhouri Eslami and features on Iran Daily pledging that Iraqi soil will not become a haven for threatening Iran's security; verified against his 15 September meeting with Araghchi in Tehran | NEW NAMED FIGURE |
| **Abbas Araghchi** | Foreign Minister | Pictured receiving Talabani in Tehran, and reported the same morning arriving in Beijing to meet Wang Yi | WATCH |
| **Mohammed bin Salman** | Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia | Not named on Javan's cover, but the pun «بن هول» over a keffiyeh-wearing Sphinx is read as a caricature of the Saudi leadership; the identification is inferential and is flagged as such | TARGET FRAMING |
| **Gholamreza Nouri Qazaljeh** | Minister of Agriculture | Named on Charsoogh's front page as «وزیر گرانی», the minister of high prices, and charged with a fivefold rise in food inflation on his watch | WATCH |
| **Ehsan Khandouzi** | Incoming head of the economic group in the Office of the Leader of the Revolution | Reported by Sazandegi replacing Ali Aghamohammadi, confirming a principlist report of 15 September | NEW NAMED FIGURE |
| **Mohammad Javad Zarif** | Former Foreign Minister | Bylined on Sazandegi's front strip under «روایت را باختیم», we lost the narrative | WATCH |
| **Yuval Abraham and Rachel Szor** | Israeli directors of the documentary NAZA | Pictured on Sazandegi's cover with the Venice trophy; the paper reports Israeli officials filing charges and demanding revocation of their citizenship, which the | NEW NAMED FIGURE |

| Figure | Role / relevance | Today's framing | Flag |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | open record confirms as a threat by the Israeli culture minister | |
| **Molavi Yousef Gorgij** | Sunni prayer leader, Zahedan | Killed on 14 September; his death and the IRGC commander-in-chief's retaliation pledge appear only on a defence wire, on no front page in this batch | absence noted |

## Headline Summary Table

| Outlet | Lead Headline (English) | Orientation | Theme | Threat signal |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Iran Daily** | War on Iran damaged hundreds of US facilities, depleted key munitions: Pentagon | Government English-language daily, IRNA group | The Pentagon audit as the government's English lead, with Hormuz still absent | MODERATE: attrition documented from an American source |
| **Hamshahri** | 200 Nights of Referendum | Tehran municipality daily, centrist | Two hundredth night of the gatherings, framed as a plebiscite already won | MODERATE: mass-mobilisation framing with armed-civilian imagery |
| **Vatan-e Emrooz** | A History Lesson From Geography | Hardline principlist | Geography as leverage: the two straits and American bases on one map | HIGH: explicit chokepoint coercion plus a 600,000-strong mobilisation roll |
| **Javan** | Bin Hawl! | Hardline, IRGC-affiliated | Saudi leadership caricatured as immobile; an instruction not to empty the street | MODERATE-HIGH: ridicule of a head of state plus a mobilisation imperative |
| **Sobh-e No** | Iran Must Use Coercive Diplomacy | Principlist | The straits as negotiating leverage, and the IAEA as a forum Iran is winning | MODERATE-HIGH: coercion advocated as leverage for a deal, not closure |
| **Sazandegi** | Systematic Massacre | Reformist, Kargozaran orbit | The Venice-awarded Gaza documentary, and a former foreign minister | LOW-MODERATE: hostile framing carried on non-Iranian sourcing |

| Outlet | Lead Headline (English) | Orientation | Theme | Threat signal |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | on losing the narrative | |
| **Charsoogh** | The People's Table Besieged by the Minister of High Prices | Economic daily | Food inflation from 23.8 to 127.5 percent, with a sitting minister named | LOW: domestic economic indictment |
| **Jomhouri Eslami** | Iraqi Soil Will Not Become a Haven for Threatening Iran's Security | Traditional establishment daily | Kurdish security pledge; a UN mission blamed for the Sirik wedding strike; Bab al-Mandab called safe | MODERATE: hostile framing on external sourcing with a maritime reassurance |
| **Ta'adol** | The Government, Enterprise Ownership and the Productivity Knot | Economic daily | State enterprise ownership as the economy's central problem; a luxury-import channel exposed | LOW: structural economic critique |
| **Etemad** | The Defeat of the American Narrative | Reformist daily of record | The Pentagon audit read as a credibility collapse; Gulf monarchies trapped by imported security | MODERATE: analysis carrying a dated IRGC mobilisation advertisement |
| **Kayhan** | 200 Nights in the Trench of the Street: Humiliating America and Defending Iran | Hardline, published under the Supreme Leader's office; read from its channel, no scan in the album | Two hundred nights as the humiliation of America; the fifty-second MQ-9 claimed | HIGH: mobilisation maximalism and a running attrition tally |
| **Jam-e Jam** | A Third Rejection of the War on Iran by the US House of Representatives | State broadcaster IRIB daily; read from its channel, no scan in the album | American political exhaustion joined to the munitions audit; Iran-Pakistan | MODERATE: American exhaustion asserted, no operational claims |

| Outlet | Lead Headline (English) | Orientation | Theme | Threat signal |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | security cooperation | |
| **Agency register (Fars, Nour News, Defa Press)** | Fifty-second MQ-9 claimed over Qeshm; 80 percent of US air-defence reserves said depleted | Wire services: IRGC-affiliated, SNSC-linked and defence-establishment | Unverified attrition claims, a retaliation pledge over the Zahedan killing, and a Chinese call for dialogue | HIGH: sustained attrition claims, none independently confirmed |

## Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

## Iran Daily

**English-language daily of the government's IRNA group, the surface on which Tehran addresses foreign readers; sibling of the Persian government daily Iran**

*“War on Iran damaged hundreds of US facilities, depleted key munitions: Pentagon”*

**MODERATE: attrition documented from an American source, with the chokepoint file kept at analytic distance**




- Main: the lead is the Pentagon Inspector General's first public review of the war, rendered in the government's English voice as damage to hundreds of American facilities and depletion of key munitions. The underlying report, delivered to Congress on 14 September and covering 28 February to 30 June, records damage to hundreds of buildings and structures at US bases in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Oman and Jordan, about 184 million dollars of damage to US diplomatic facilities, 33.4 billion dollars of spending of which 22.3 billion was expended munitions, and what it calls strategic inventory shortfalls with industrial-base bottlenecks for resupply.
- Main: «Kurdish leader vows Iraqi soil will not be used against Iran», over a photograph of the meeting in Tehran, matching the Jomhouri Eslami lead and the verified Araghchi-Talabani meeting of 15 September.
- Analysis: «Two straits, one war: three paths ahead for Yemen battlefield», a signed regional-affairs analysis marked ANALYSIS EXCLUSIVE, opening on Yemen as a conflict that began as a domestic political crisis, became a multi-sided civil war, then a regional rivalry, and took on international dimensions with the Red Sea crisis and the 2026 Iran war. The author's name is not legible on the available scan and is not asserted here.
- Sub-item: «Iran's largest trade delegation in seven years in Russia, eyeing trade expansion».
- Sub-item: «How data centres became one of America's most political issues», a wire-style item on American domestic politics, of a piece with the diesel-price framing on the hardline pages.
- Sub-item: «Composure, precision key to historic glory», remarks by the Iranian coach Zangeneh; and a masthead trail, «Iran turns heritage into force for cultural diplomacy: FM spox».
- Banner: the page carries no Strait of Hormuz item, no Oman item and no Salalah item outside the Yemen analysis.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The government's English surface has now gone four cycles without printing a Hormuz position, and this page keeps that silence while filling the space with an American document. That is a coherent choice rather than an absence of material: an audit published by the adversary's own inspector general can be led on without committing Tehran to anything, which is exactly what a government with an unsettled position needs. The English page also declines the Sirik wedding item that the establishment daily leads on, and confines the two straits to a signed analysis with three paths rather than one. Read together, the government is using English to bank an evidentiary win and to avoid a commitment.

## Hamshahri

**Tehran municipality daily, centrist-conservative in the municipality's orbit; managing director Mohsen Mahdian, whose own signed note runs on the same front page**

**MODERATE: mass-mobilisation framing with armed-civilian imagery, directed inward at cohesion rather than outward at a target**

*"200 Nights of Referendum"* «۲۰۰ شب رفراندوم»




- Banner: «امشب دویستمین شب تجمعات خیابان است», tonight is the two hundredth night of the street gatherings, set over a night photograph of flag-carrying crowds in which the portrait held up is the assassinated predecessor, not the serving Leader. The framing word is رفراندوم (referendum): the nightly turnout is presented as a plebiscite that has already been held and already been won, not as a demonstration.
- Kicker: «آخرین نظرسنجی: ۸۵ درصد مردم از ادامه تجمعات شبانه حمایت می‌کنند», the latest poll says 85 percent of people support continuing the nightly gatherings. No pollster, sample or field date is printed anywhere on the page, which is the single most citable figure on the front and the least sourced.
- Main: four quotation panels across the page, one each from the Speaker of the Majlis, the head of the judiciary, an Aerospace Force commander and an aide to the Leader. Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf: «۲۰۰ شب حضور مردم مبعوث شده، ثابت کرد آنچه شکست خورد توهم مهاجم بود، نه اراده ایرانیان», two hundred nights of a people's risen presence proved that what was defeated was the aggressor's illusion, not the will of Iranians. Gholamhossein Mohseni-Ejei: «مردم عزت‌شان را با هیچ چیزی تاخت نمی‌زنند. ۲۰۰ شب رزمایش خیابانی، هم‌ردیف جهاد در میدان است», the people barter their dignity for nothing; two hundred nights of street drill rank alongside jihad in the field.
- Sub-item: Sardar Mousavi, named as Aerospace commander: «درود بر شما که دویستمین شب بعثت خود را در خیابان حفظ کردید. قیام شبانه شما، جهان را متحیر کرده», salute to you who have kept the two hundredth night of your own commissioning in the street. Mohammad Mokhber, printed as دستیار رهبر انقلاب, aide to the Leader of the Revolution: «۲۰۰ شب است که پاسداران ایران، زیر باران بمب و گلوله و در میانه جنگی تمام‌عیار، استوار ایستاده‌اند», for two hundred nights the guardians of Iran have stood firm under a rain of bombs and bullets in the middle of a full-scale war. Note the shared vocabulary: بعثت/مبعوث, the word used for the Prophet's commissioning, is applied to civilian street attendance in two of the four panels.
- Main: «آمادگی ۱۰۰۰ گردان جانفدا تنها در ۱۰۰ دقیقه», a thousand Janfada (life-devoting) battalions ready in only 100 minutes, over an illustration of a male construction worker and a woman in a coat, both in keffiyehs, both holding Kalashnikovs. The standfirst dates the campaign: «پویش جانفدا بعد از آغاز جنگ تحمیلی سوم», the Janfada drive began after the start of the third imposed war, which is the paper's own periodisation of the current conflict as the successor to 1980 and to 2025.
- Sub-item: «ایجاد منطقه تجارت جهانی در تهران», a world trade zone to be created in Tehran, announced by Tehran mayor Alireza Zakani to guilds and

bazaar traders, the only item on the page addressed to commerce rather than mobilisation.

- Op-ed: «شب دویستم و ۵ دشمنی با تجمعات», the two hundredth night and five hostilities toward the gatherings, signed by Mohsen Mahdian, the paper's managing director, an enumerated defence of the gatherings against their critics rather than a description of them.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Hamshahri is the municipality's paper, not a security organ, and that is what makes this page evidence: the mobilisation argument is being carried on a civic surface, with a mayor's trade-zone announcement sharing the fold with an armed-civilian illustration. Two features of the page are analytically load-bearing. First, the legitimacy claim runs through a number with no provenance, the 85 percent, and through the vocabulary of prophetic commissioning applied to attendance, both of which indicate a case being asserted rather than demonstrated. Second, the portrait held up in the photograph is the assassinated predecessor, and no quotation panel is sourced to the serving Leader, which continues the succession-imagery absence this monitor has tracked since the start of the series.

## Vatan-e Emrooz

**Hardline principlist morning daily, consistently the most explicit front page in this monitor on chokepoint coercion**

**HIGH: explicit advocacy of the two chokepoints as leverage, paired with a claimed 600,000-strong mobilisation roll**

*"A History Lesson From Geography"* «درس تاریخ از جغرافیا»




- Main: the entire page above the fold is a satellite map of the Arabian Peninsula, the Red Sea and the Gulf with no text on it except the headline, under the standfirst «از پایگاه‌های آمریکا تا تنگه هرمز / چگونه ژئوپلیتیک غرب آسیا به اهرم قدرت ایران تبدیل می‌شود», from America's bases to the Strait of Hormuz: how the geopolitics of West Asia becomes Iran's lever of power. The argument is that the map itself is the weapon; اهرم قدرت, lever of power, is the operative phrase.
- Banner: «600,000 ,«ثبت‌نام ۶۰۰ هزار نفر برای رزمایش «مردم جانفدا»» registered for the Janfada People exercise, sourced on the page to the commander of the IRGC's Tehran corps reporting «استقبال گسترده مردم پایتخت», broad uptake by the capital's population. This is the same campaign Hamshahri fronts, given a number and an institutional owner.
- Right rail: «گازوئیل علیه ترامپ», diesel against Trump, reporting an average US diesel price near 6.6 dollars against about 3.6 dollars a year earlier, tied to what the page calls a worrying fall in US energy stocks on the edge of the cold season. The item is an argument about American domestic vulnerability, not about energy markets.
- Right rail: «تنهایی سعودی», Saudi loneliness, billed as the paper's own report on «شکست تقلاهای عربستان برای کشاندن سایر کشورها به میدان جنگ یمن», the failure of Saudi attempts to draw other countries onto the Yemen battlefield.
- Right rail: «ایران چگونه معمار منطقه شد», how Iran became the region's architect, a relay of remarks at an American think tank on a new West Asian order and declining Washington influence; the speaker's name is not legible on the available scan.
- Op-ed: «بازی دوگانه صهیونیست‌ها در باب‌المندب», the Zionists' double game in Bab al-Mandab, a signed note arguing that Ansarallah's advance on Yemen's west coast, the port of Mocha and the strategic island of Mayyun, has materially changed Red Sea equations and increased its ability to apply pressure to Israeli shipping and Saudi oil exports.
- Channel: the paper's Telegram feed leads on the Pentagon Inspector General report as «افشای دروغ‌گویی‌ها؛ کمبود شدید مهمات داریم», the lies exposed: we have a severe munitions shortage (t.me/vatanemrooz/25157), relays a Washington Post line that controlling the Gate of Tears may be Iran's greatest strategic victory (t.me/vatanemrooz/25167), and posts ««نه سه‌باره مجلس نمایندگان آمریکا به جنگ با ایران», a third No from the US House to the war with Iran (t.me/vatanemrooz/25175).

> **ANALYST NOTE** This is the clearest statement in the edition of the doctrine the IRGC's own weekly set out on 15 September as «تسلط بر باب‌المندب، تفاهم در هرمز»: a whole front page given over to arguing that geography,

> not force, is Iran's instrument, with the two straits named in the same breath as American bases. What has changed since yesterday is the register. On 15 September the chokepoint argument was carried in institutional voices; here it is carried as cartography and as a Washington Post citation, which is a bid for a broader domestic audience and for deniability. The paper pairs it with American weakness material (diesel prices, the munitions audit, the House vote) and with Saudi isolation, which is the full coercion case assembled on one page.

## Javan

Hardline daily affiliated with the IRGC

*“Bin Hawl!”* «بن هول!»

**MODERATE-HIGH: ridicule of the Saudi leadership plus an explicit instruction to keep the streets filled**




- Main: the whole cover is the Great Sphinx of Giza wearing a red-and-white keffiyeh, under the single word «بن هول». The pun is on ابوالهول, Abu al-Hawl, the Arabic name for the Sphinx, crossed with the patronymic بن: read in Tehran as a caricature of Mohammed bin Salman, and by extension of an Arab leadership the paper is presenting as a monument that cannot move. The accompanying text block is not legible at the resolution available and is not translated here.
- Kicker: «خیابان را خالی نکنید», do not empty the street, trailed on page 2 and tied on the page to the two hundredth night of the gatherings. Javan is therefore carrying the same mobilisation line as Hamshahri, but as an instruction rather than a celebration.
- Sub-item: «کارکرد تجمعات خیابانی», the function of the street gatherings, a signed column treating the turnout as an instrument with a purpose rather than as a spontaneous event, which is a notable admission on a page that elsewhere calls the gatherings popular.
- Right rail: «یمن یکپارچه و ظهور قدرت تازه در منطقه», a unified Yemen and the emergence of a new power in the region, the paper's contribution to the Ansarallah-as-regional-actor argument that Vatan-e Emrooz makes through Bab al-Mandab.
- Sub-item: «رحلت طالقانی در دستنوشته فرزندان», Taleqani's passing in his children's handwritten account, a historical memoir item on the 1979 death of Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleqani, printed with his portrait.
- Banner: the masthead strip carries «به مناسبت دویستمین شب حضور», on the occasion of the two hundredth night of presence, confirming that the anniversary was set in advance across titles rather than reported as it happened.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Javan's cover is the day's only outright act of ridicule aimed at a head of state, and its target is Riyadh rather than Washington or Tel Aviv, which fits the Saudi-directed turn visible across four other front pages in this edition. The page's more useful line is the smaller one: an IRGC-affiliated daily printing «خیابان را خالی نکنید» as an imperative, and a column examining the کارکرد, function, of the gatherings, is a paper treating turnout as a managed asset that could fall. Celebration and instruction on the same page indicate an anniversary being used to arrest a decline rather than to mark a success.

The Great Sphinx of Giza in a red-and-white keffiyeh, pyramids behind it, under the one-word headline «بن هول» punning on Abu al-Hawl and the patronymic bin

## Sobh-e No

**Principlist morning daily; in this series the title that most often prints the settlement argument as an interview rather than as an editorial**

**MODERATE-HIGH: chokepoint coercion advocated explicitly, but framed as leverage for a deal rather than as closure**

*"Iran Must Use Coercive Diplomacy"* «ایران باید از دیپلماسی اجبار استفاده کند»




- Main: a full-page interview with Seyyed Jalal Dehghani Firouzabadi, run under his own name and photograph, arguing for دیپلماسی اجبار, coercive diplomacy, as Iran's method. The page is built as six pull-quotes rather than as prose, which puts the argument's load-bearing sentences on the front where they can be quoted.
- Main: «کنترل و اعمال فشار در تنگه هرمز و باب‌المندب می‌تواند اهرم مذاکراتی ایران را تقویت و ترامپ را تحت فشار قرار دهد», control and the application of pressure in the Strait of Hormuz and Bab al-Mandab can strengthen Iran's negotiating leverage and put Trump under pressure. This is the edition's most explicit statement that the two straits are instruments of a negotiation rather than objects of a war.
- Sub-item: «چندان توصیه نمی‌کنم که ایران منتظر نتیجه انتخابات آمریکا بماند», I do not much recommend that Iran wait for the American election result, coupled with a personal estimate that Trump will not move toward an agreement before the elections and will probably increase his operations.
- Sub-item: on China, «چین علاقه‌ای ندارد جنگ منطقه‌ای طولانی شود», China has no interest in the regional war lengthening, and prefers Iran and the United States to reach an understanding, with Western states pressing Beijing to that end. The interview is printed the same morning Araghchi is reported arriving in Beijing.
- Banner: «آمادگی هزار گردان جانفدا», a thousand Janfada battalions ready, above the masthead, the third front page in this edition to carry the same figure.
- Sub-item: «بن‌بست سیاست «مهار»»», the dead end of the containment policy, with the IAEA logo and the line «آمریکا در آژانس هم در ایران شکست خورد», America was defeated over Iran at the Agency too. The paper reads Iran's election to a General Conference committee as evidence of American strategic fatigue rather than as a procedural outcome (sobhe-no.ir/newspaper/2429/1/75550).
- Sub-item: «شورش نان علیه دولت جولانی», a bread revolt against the Jolani government, over a photograph of burning vehicles, presented as what the paper calls the mirage of a liberated Syria two years after Bashar al-Assad's fall.

**ANALYST NOTE** This page matters more than its circulation because of what it does to two standing threads at once. It states the chokepoint doctrine in plain instrumental language, which supports the reading that the security estate wants Hormuz settled and Bab al-Mandab held. And it argues, on a principlist front page, that Iran is winning inside the IAEA's own machinery, which cuts directly against the front-page campaign for NPT withdrawal that three institutional families were carrying on 15 September. A title cannot simultaneously run the Agency as a trap to be escaped and as a forum Iran is beating; the appearance of the second argument on a

principlist surface is the first evidence in this series that the withdrawal case is being contested from inside its own camp.

## Sazandegi

Reformist daily in the Kargozaran orbit

*"Systematic Massacre" «قتل عام سیستماتیک»*

LOW-MODERATE: hostile framing of Israel sourced to non-Iranian material; no operational content




- Main: the cover is given to the documentary «نازا», NAZA, over a photograph of its two Israeli directors holding the Venice trophy. The standfirst: the film, made by two Israeli filmmakers, goes behind the scenes of the killing of the people of Gaza, took the Venice jury's special prize, and in response Israeli officials have filed charges against its makers and demanded that their citizenship be revoked. The reporting is checkable: the film is by Yuval Abraham and Rachel Szor, it took the Special Jury Prize at Venice on 12 September, and Israel's culture minister Miki Zohar publicly raised stripping the directors' citizenship.
- Banner: «روایت را باختیم», we lost the narrative, signed by Mohammad Javad Zarif, trailed to page 2. A former foreign minister writing under that headline on a reformist front page is the edition's sharpest domestic dissent, and it is an argument about information rather than about policy.
- Sub-item: «دور برگردان اقتصادی», economic U-turn, reporting that Ehsan Khandouzi has replaced Ali Aghamohammadi as head of the economic group in the Office of the Leader of the Revolution, printed with both men's photographs. The same appointment appeared on a principlist front page on 15 September; it now has cross-camp confirmation.
- Banner: «جنایت آمریکایی», American crime, trailed to the world pages and keyed on the page to a United Nations report; «آتش درهم», and «چهار ...», the remaining strip items are not legible at the available resolution and are not rendered here.
- Op-ed: a page-one «یادداشت روز» under the heading «پیشنهادهایی برای ایران», proposals for Iran, printed beside the cover photograph; the author's name is not legible on the available scan.

**ANALYST NOTE** The reformist front page today argues Israel's case against Israel using an Israeli-made film and a Western festival jury, which is a deliberate sourcing choice: nothing on the cover asks the reader to take an Iranian claim on trust. Set against Zarif's «روایت را باختیم» inside the same masthead, the page reads as a thesis about method, that Tehran loses the information contest when it asserts and wins it when it cites. That is the same disagreement the hardline titles are having with themselves this morning, and it is worth tracking as an argument about instruments rather than as factional noise.

## Charsoogh

**Economic daily; identified from the masthead on the scan, which is the only identification available for this title in the batch**

*“The People's Table Besieged by the Minister of High Prices”* «سفره مردم در محاصره وزیر گرانی»

**LOW: no external threat content; domestic economic indictment**




- Main: «تورم غذا در دوره وزارت نوری قزلجه ۵ برابر شد», food inflation multiplied fivefold during Nouri Qazaljeh's tenure as minister, over a photograph of the agriculture minister walking with files and a red bar chart of food inflation running the width of the page.
- Main: the boxed figures are specific and are the most citable economic numbers on any front page in the batch: «تورم مواد غذایی از ۲۳.۸ درصد در شهریور ۱۴۰۳ به ۱۲۷.۵ درصد در مرداد ۱۴۰۵ رسیده و ۵ برابر شده», food inflation went from 23.8 percent in Shahrivar 1403 to 127.5 percent in Mordad 1405, a fivefold rise, with the charge that Gholamreza Nouri Qazaljeh has spent those two years justifying the increases and that his early decision to abandon price-setting and market control produced «شدیدترین تورم پس از انقلاب», the sharpest food inflation since the revolution.
- Sub-item: «ونزوئلا درس عبرتی برای ساده‌دلوحان آمریکاپرست است», Venezuela is a cautionary lesson for America-loving naifs, an interview with a former Iranian ambassador to Brazil and Armenia; the interviewee's name is not reliably legible on the available scan.
- Sub-item: «چرا شرکت ملی انفورماتیک در جنگ سایبری شکست خورد؟», why did the National Informatics Company fail in the cyber war, under a standfirst saying an accountable promise was made and that today's security is at risk.
- Sub-item: «خاموشی‌ها تمام شد», the blackouts are over, over a ministerial photograph and a printed table of scheduled household and industrial power cuts for the coming weeks, a claim and its own contradiction on the same block.

**ANALYST NOTE** This is the sharpest domestic attack in the edition and it names a sitting minister, which the security-framed front pages do not do. The significance is in the arithmetic rather than the rhetoric: a front page that can print 23.8 to 127.5 percent with month labels is not making a mood argument, and 127 percent food inflation is the material context in which a thousand volunteer battalions are being enrolled two pages away. The blackout item, a promise that the cuts have ended printed above a table of scheduled cuts, is the edition's cleanest illustration of how little the delivery claims survive contact with their own evidence.

## Jomhouri Eslami

**Traditional establishment daily, founded in the revolution's first year and now one of the few titles that criticises from inside the system's own vocabulary**

**MODERATE: hostile framing carried on external sourcing, paired with an explicit maritime reassurance**

*“Iraqi Soil Will Not Become a Haven for Threatening Iran's Security”* «خاک عراق به مأمنی برای تهدید امنیت ایران تبدیل نخواهد شد»


جمهوری اسلامی

خاک عراق به مأمنی برای تهدید امنیت ایران تبدیل نخواهد شد

حمله به عروسی سیریک کار آمریکاست

افتتاح طرح‌های مهم صنعت آب و برق در استان فارس

- Main: the lead is a pledge by the president of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, printed with his photograph beside a caption placing him in a meeting with Iran's foreign minister and invoking the historic fraternal ties of the peoples of Iran, Iraq and the Kurdistan Region. The underlying event is verifiable: Bafel Talabani met Abbas Araghchi in Tehran on 15 September and said that Iraq and the Kurdistan Region would never allow their territory to become a haven for harming or threatening the security of regional states, Iran in particular.
- Main: «حمله به عروسی سیریک کار آمریکاست», the attack on the Sirik wedding is America's doing, attributed on the page to the United Nations independent fact-finding committee on Iran. This is the strongest-sourced hostile claim on any front page in the batch: the UN Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Iran did hold the United States responsible for the 1 September strike on a wedding at Kuhestak, in Sirik county, Hormozgan, and called for an immediate cessation of hostilities.
- Right rail: «نیویورک تایمز: عربستان از ترامپ سرخورده شده است», the New York Times says Saudi Arabia has become disillusioned with Trump, the fourth Saudi-directed item across this batch.
- Right rail: a second foreign relay reporting that the Iran war has brought the American military to the threshold of «فروپاشی», collapse; the crediting outlet's name is not fully legible on the available scan and is not asserted here.
- Sub-item: «انصارالله: دریانوردی در باب‌المندب امن است», Ansarallah says navigation in Bab al-Mandab is safe, boxed in the top right. On the same morning that two principlist front pages advertise the straits as leverage, the establishment paper prints the reassurance version.
- Main: «افتتاح طرح‌های مهم صنعت آب و برق در استان فارس», major water and power projects inaugurated in Fars province, over a photograph of a well head and a substation, the domestic-delivery counterweight to the page's foreign material.
- Right rail: «خسارت ۲.۵ میلیارد دلاری استخراج غیرمجاز رمزارز به کشور», 2.5 billion dollars of damage to the country from unauthorised cryptocurrency mining, and «۹۲ درصد کتاب‌های درسی در سطح استان‌های کشور توزیع شده است», 92 percent of textbooks distributed across the provinces.
- Op-ed: «صهیونیسم، تهدید جهانی», Zionism, a global threat, the page's standing ideological column, printed alongside a commemorative item on Ayatollah Beheshti.

**ANALYST NOTE** Jomhouri Eslami is doing the work the government's own titles are not. It prints the Kurdish security pledge as its lead, which is the concrete diplomatic gain of the cycle, and it prints the Ansarallah safe-navigation line, which is the de-escalatory half of the chokepoint file that Vatan-e Emrooz and Sobh-e No leave out. The Sirik item is the more important precedent: an Iranian front page making its central atrocity claim by citing a United Nations mission rather than an Iranian statement is a sourcing choice, and it is the same choice Sazandegi makes with the Venice film. Two titles from opposite ends of the spectrum reaching for external verification on the same morning is a pattern worth naming.

## Ta'adol

Economic daily of the Iran Chamber of Commerce orbit

**LOW: domestic economic structural critique; American election material carried as market analysis**

*"The Government, Enterprise Ownership and the Productivity Knot"* «دولت، بنگاه‌داری و گره بهره‌وری»


تعادل

چرا شرکت‌های دولتی به چالش اقتصاد ایران تبدیل شدند؟

دولت، بنگاه‌داری و گره بهره‌وری

«میباخ»؛ مهمان میلیاردی بازار ایران!

- Main: kicker «چرا شرکت‌های دولتی به چالش اقتصاد ایران تبدیل شدند؟», why did state-owned companies become the challenge of Iran's economy, over the lead essay on state enterprise ownership and productivity.
- Main: «پشت پرده مسیر واردات خودروهای فوق لوکس چیست؟ / «میباخ»: مهمان میلیاردی بازار ایران!», what lies behind the import route for ultra-luxury cars, with «Maybach: the billion-toman guest of Iran's market», printed across a full-width photograph of a black Mercedes-Maybach. On a morning of volunteer battalions and 127 percent food inflation, a luxury-import investigation is a deliberate placement.
- Banner: «اثر فرمول جدید بر پالایشی‌ها», the effect of the new formula on the refiners, and «۷۰۰ میلیارد تومان روی دست مترو», 700 billion tomans left on the metro's hands.
- Right rail: «اقتصاد مهم‌ترین متغیر انتخابات ۲۰۲۶ آمریکا», the economy as the most important variable in America's 2026 elections, the economic press's version of the American-weakness argument the political titles make through diesel prices and the munitions audit.
- Sub-item: «معمای کیک انرژی؟», the energy-cake puzzle, and «گرانی مسکن زیر سر مشاوران املاک؟», are estate agents behind housing inflation, two items putting price blame on intermediaries rather than on policy.
- Sub-item: «بازارگردانی پتروشیمی در جبران‌های مالی خارجی», and a note on reformist economic argument printed with an author photograph in the left rail.

**ANALYST NOTE** Ta'adol carries the structural version of the complaint Charsoogh makes personally: the problem is not a minister but state enterprise ownership and the productivity it destroys. That the two economic dailies in this batch both lead on domestic failure, one naming a minister and one naming a structure, while nine political front pages lead on mobilisation and American attrition, is the edition's clearest division of labour. The luxury-import investigation is the tell that the economic press is willing to print distributional grievance, which is the material that turns price complaint into political complaint.

## Etemad

Reformist daily of record

**MODERATE: analytic treatment of American credibility and Gulf hedging, carrying a dated mass-mobilisation call**

*“The Defeat of the American Narrative”* «شکست روایت امریکایی»




- Main: kicker «نهادهای نظارتی واشنگتن در گزارشی بی‌سابقه افشا کردند», Washington's own oversight bodies disclosed in an unprecedented report, over «شکست روایت امریکایی». The reformist paper's lead is the Pentagon Inspector General audit, and its argument is about American credibility rather than about Iranian capability, which is a materially different claim from the one the hardline titles are making from the same document.
- Main: «پادشاهی‌ها در تله امنیت وارداتی», the monarchies in the trap of imported security, an interview with Morteza Makki under the standfirst «سردرگمی کشورهای عربی با گره زدن منافع خود به امریکا», Arab states' disorientation from having tied their own interests to America. This is the edition's most developed account of Gulf hedging, and it is printed as analysis rather than as triumph.
- Sub-item: «شرق گرمازده», the heat-struck east, over a photograph of children: accounts from residents of Zabol, Zahedan, Iranshahr and Konarak of the hottest months of 1405. The only front page in the batch leading its centre with a domestic environmental story.
- Sub-item: «چهار سال بعد», four years later, a reformist argument that Iranian society has passed through the events of 1401 to a maturity that will not repeat past mistakes, printed alongside a call by a party for «دعوت به انسجام و همبستگی ملی حداکثری», maximal national cohesion and solidarity.
- Right rail: a numbered column of nine signed «یادداشت‌ها», notes, with author photographs, the paper's standing device for carrying contested opinion at low prominence.
- Banner: a paid full-width advertisement at the foot of the page for «رزمایش و اجتماع بزرگ مردم: جان فدای ایران», the exercise and grand popular assembly, Life Devoted to Iran, Friday 27 Shahrivar 1405 at 8 a.m., from Imam Hossein Square to Navvab Crossroads, placed by the IRGC's Muhammad Rasulullah Corps of Greater Tehran and carrying the line «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران», on behalf of Iran's martyred Aqa.
- Channel: the paper's feed carries a United States advisory telling American citizens not to travel to Saudi Arabia because of unstable security conditions (t.me/EtemadOnline/533877).

**ANALYST NOTE** Two things on this page are worth more than its headline. The first is that a reformist front page and a hardline one lead on the same American document and extract opposite meanings from it: Etemad says the American account collapsed, Vatan-e Emrooz says the Americans admitted to a shortage. The second is the advertisement. A paid IRGC mobilisation notice running at the foot of the reformist daily of record, for a named route and hour two days out, is both a forward indicator with a date on it and a marker of how little editorial space is now outside the mobilisation campaign. Its dedication «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران» attaches the rally to the assassinated predecessor, not to the serving Leader.

## Agency register (Fars, Nour News, Defa Press)

**Wire services rather than front pages: Fars is IRGC-affiliated, Nour News is linked to the Supreme National Security Council, Defa Press is the defence agency of the Holy Defence establishment. Their material is logged here as claims and threat-signalling context, not as front-page copy**

*“Real-time claims register for 25 Shahrivar 1405”*

**HIGH: sustained attrition claims and a retaliation pledge, none independently confirmed**

- Claim: the fifty-second US MQ-9 destroyed over Qeshm Island, posted within two hours by Nour News (t.me/Nournews_ir/394701), Defa Press (t.me/defapress_ir/67596) and Fars (t.me/farsna/462385). Three postings, one claim; none is independent confirmation of the other, and none is externally corroborated.
- Claim: Fars reports that roughly 70 Patriot interceptors and more than 12 THAAD interceptors were fired against Iranian attacks, depleting 80 percent of American air-defence reserves (t.me/farsna/462370). The 80 percent figure does not appear in the Pentagon Inspector General material that the same cycle's front pages are citing, and is recorded here as an Iranian claim only.
- Claim: Nour News relays unconfirmed reports, sourced to Israeli media, of a Saudi F-15 downed in Yemen, with no confirmation from Yemeni military or Ansarallah leadership (t.me/Nournews_ir/394709). The agency itself labels it unconfirmed, which is worth noting.
- Signal: Nour News carries China's foreign minister saying continued conflict between Washington and Tehran benefits no one, and calling for dialogue frameworks to be rebuilt on existing agreements (t.me/Nournews_ir/394703), posted the morning Araghchi arrives in Beijing.
- Signal: Defa Press carries the IRGC commander-in-chief's response to the killing of Molavi Yousef Gorgij, calling it a cowardly assassination by mercenary terrorists and pledging retaliation (t.me/defapress_ir/67604). Gorgij, a Sunni prayer leader in Zahedan, was shot dead on 14 September; the killing was the second of a Sunni cleric in under a week, after Mamosta Mohammad Nezhati in West Azerbaijan, and no group has claimed it.
- Signal: Defa Press runs an analysis of Western media treatment of Ansarallah, including an assertion that Trump rejected Saudi requests for military action, and a Bab al-Mandab narrative section (t.me/defapress_ir/67595).

> **ANALYST NOTE** The agency layer is where the day's unverifiable material sits, and its most useful feature this morning is arithmetic. The Pentagon Inspector General's audit, which every institutional family is citing, records up to 30 MQ-9 Reapers destroyed through 30 June; the agencies claim a fifty-second on 16 September. The two numbers are not strictly contradictory, because the audit window closes on 30 June and the Iranian count continues past it, but the gap of twenty-two aircraft in eleven weeks is far outside the tempo the audited period implies, and it sits in the same cycle in which Iranian outlets are treating that audit as authoritative. An outlet that adopts a document's authority inherits its counts.

## Jam-e Jam

**Daily of the state broadcaster IRIB; no front-page scan was in the day's album, so this entry rests on the paper's channel window**

*“A Third Rejection of the War on Iran by the US House of Representatives”* «مخالفت سه‌باره مجلس نمایندگان آمریکا با جنگ علیه ایران»

**MODERATE: American political and materiel exhaustion asserted; no operational claims**

- Main: the broadcaster daily's lead item is a third House of Representatives vote against the war, explicitly linked in the post to budget analysis of depleted missile reserves, which ties the congressional and the audit stories into one argument (t.me/JameJamDaily/27900). Vatan-e Emrooz posts the same framing as «سه‌باره نه».
- Sub-item: «سخنگوی ارتش: ایران و پاکستان برای تأمین امنیت منطقه همکاری می‌کنند», an army spokesman says Iran and Pakistan are cooperating to secure the region, with an explicit rejection of imported security arrangements, the same phrase Etemad's front page uses against the Gulf monarchies (t.me/JameJamDaily/27883).
- Sub-item: the Iraqi prime minister saying investigations into the targeting of Saudi Arabia are continuing, alongside bilateral defence-cooperation material (t.me/JameJamDaily/27882).
- Sub-item: Malaysia's prime minister saying military cargo bound against Palestinians will not be allowed to transit the country (t.me/JameJamDaily/27881).

> **ANALYST NOTE** The state broadcaster's contribution is the joining of two American stories, the congressional votes and the munitions audit, into a single argument that Washington is running out of both materiel and political authority. The join is the point: neither fact establishes the other, and the open record on the House votes is mixed rather than a clean run of three rejections. The Pakistan item is the more durable signal, because «امنیت وارداتی», imported security, is now being used by the army's spokesman and by a reformist front page in the same cycle, which is what a phrase looks like when it is being adopted as a line.

## Kayhan

**Hardline daily published under the Supreme Leader's office, managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari; no scan of its front page was in the day's album, so this entry rests on the paper's own channel window rather than on a page**

**HIGH: mobilisation maximalism plus a running attrition tally, with no maritime escalation language**

*“200 Nights in the Trench of the Street: Humiliating America and Defending Iran”* «۲۰۰ شب در سنگر خیابان: تحقیر آمریکا و دفاع از ایران»

- Op-ed: the day's «یادداشت روز» is «۲۰۰ شب در سنگر خیابان: تحقیر آمریکا و دفاع از ایران», treating two hundred consecutive nights of gatherings as national mobilisation, as evidence of popular support for the Islamic system, as the cause of American humiliation, and as a refusal of Western-facing approaches. The column carries no byline in the channel window and is not attributed to Shariatmadari here.
- Main: «رهگیری و انهدام پنجاه و دومین پهپاد MQ-۹», the interception and destruction of the fifty-second MQ-9, claimed over Qeshm Island at 02:29 by an advanced air-defence system. The same claim is posted the same morning by Nour News and by Fars, which is corroboration of the posting, not of the event.
- Sub-item: «نظامیان رژیم صهیونیستی خبرنگار پرس تی‌وی در غزه را ربودند», Israeli forces abducted a Press TV correspondent, named in the post as Naqaa Hamad and reported taken near Bethlehem to an unknown location.
- Sub-item: «سی‌ان‌ان: دردسر انتخاباتی جمهوری‌خواهان خود ترامپ است», CNN says the Republicans' electoral problem is Trump himself, a second-hand rendering of an American broadcast; quoting the rendering does not verify it.
- Sub-item: «جان‌فدا» روی بیلبوردهای تهران, the Janfada campaign on Tehran billboards, with military and emergency-response training for volunteers, which places the mobilisation on the city's physical surfaces as well as on its front pages.
- Sub-item: an Ansarallah official dismissing coalition allegations about a drone aimed at Mecca as a repeated falsehood; and Araghchi's arrival in China for talks with Wang Yi.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Kayhan's editorial this morning is about the street, not about the Strait of Hormuz and not about vengeance for the assassinated Leader. That is the third consecutive cycle in which the office's own daily has had the vengeance condition available and has not attached it to the maritime file, which strengthens rather than weakens the reading this monitor has carried since 15 September: the condition list published on 14 September was a newspaper's bid, and it has not been taken up. The MQ-9 tally is the entry to watch for a different reason, given below.

## Appendix A: The Leader's message, and its absence

*Ten front pages of 25 Shahrivar 1405; khamenei.ir, not reachable at compile time*

There is no message from the Leader of the Revolution on any of the ten front pages gathered for this edition, and none in any of the six outlet channels read alongside them. This appendix records that absence in place of the translation it would normally carry, because on the two hundredth night of the nightly gatherings the absence is the finding.

The page that marks the anniversary, Hamshahri's, carries four quotation panels and fills every one of them from somewhere other than the Leader's office: Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf as Speaker of the Majlis, Gholamhossein Mohseni-Ejei as head of the judiciary, an officer printed as «سردار موسوی، فرمانده هوافضا», and Mohammad Mokhber under the title «دستیار رهبر انقلاب», aide to the Leader of the Revolution. An aide's voice is used where the principal's would carry more weight, which is the substitution this monitor has been tracking since the series began.

The photograph above those panels shows the crowd holding a portrait, and the portrait is the assassinated predecessor. The paid advertisement at the foot of the Etemad front page, placed by the IRGC's Muhammad Rasulullah Corps of Greater Tehran for the mobilisation of Friday 27 Shahrivar, is dedicated «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران», on behalf of Iran's martyred Aqa. Two different institutions, a municipal daily and a Guard corps, therefore anchor the same campaign to the dead Leader rather than to the living one, on the same morning, without either of them naming the serving Leader at all.

Verification note: khamenei.ir was not reachable at the time of compilation, so this appendix rests on the absence of any relayed message in the front pages and channels retrieved, not on a check of the office's own publication record. The open record shows public messages attributed to Mojtaba Khamenei in March, April and July 2026 and no reported appearance since; a message published today and not relayed by any of the eleven Iranian surfaces read here would itself be a significant fact, and it is the first thing the next cycle should check.

## Appendix B: «شب دویستم و ۵ دشمنی با تجمعات», the two hundredth night and five hostilities toward the gatherings

*Hamshahri, front-page «یادداشت», 25 Shahrivar 1405, signed محسن مهدیان، مدیرمسئول*

Author verification: the signature line on the page reads «محسن مهدیان، مدیرمسئول», Mohsen Mahdian, managing director. Mahdian is Hamshahri's managing director, which the open record confirms independently of the page. The column is his own, not a wire item or an unsigned house editorial, and the paper is Tehran municipality's.

Title as printed: «شب دویستم و ۵ دشمنی با تجمعات». The structure is an enumeration: five distinct hostilities toward the nightly gatherings, taken in turn, the first headed «اول: دشمن», first, the enemy, and opening on the argument that the adversary came with military, economic and media instruments to break the society's cohesion.

Opening, as far as the available scan resolves it: two hundred nights of gatherings have produced a result, and the reactions to them now make it clearer who holds what position on them. From there the column turns to its enumeration.

Translation caveat, stated plainly: the body of this column is set at a size that the front-page image available to this monitor does not resolve, and it is not reconstructed here. What is given above is the title, the signature, the enumerated structure and the opening as read; the remaining four of the five hostilities are not rendered, because rendering them would mean inventing them. The column is flagged for retrieval from the paper's own text edition in the next cycle.

Analyst flag: the significant feature of this column is its posture. On the night the campaign is supposed to be celebrating, the managing director of the municipality's daily writes a defence of the gatherings against their critics rather than an account of them, and an IRGC-affiliated daily on the same morning prints «خیابان را خالی نکنید», do not empty the street, as an instruction. Anniversaries that need defending are anniversaries under pressure.

# Appendix C: «۲۰۰ شب در سنگر خیابان: تحقیر آمریکا و دفاع از ایران», 200 nights in the trench of the street

*Kayhan, «یادداشت روز», relayed on the paper's channel t.me/s/kayhan_online, 25 Shahrivar 1405*

Author note, stated before the content: Kayhan's «یادداشت روز» is customarily written by Hossein Shariatmadari, the paper's managing editor, but the channel window retrieved for this edition carries no byline, and this monitor does not attribute it to him. It is recorded here as the paper's day-column, author unverified.

Argument as posted: two hundred consecutive nights of street gatherings constitute national mobilisation; the turnout demonstrates popular support for the Islamic system; it has produced the humiliation of America; and it amounts to a rejection of Western-facing approaches. The column's register is celebratory and its subject is domestic cohesion.

Analyst flag, and it is the reason this column is in the appendices at all: on 14 September, the Kayhan column attached blood-vengeance for the assassinated Leader to any reopening of the Strait of Hormuz, alongside American withdrawal, reparations, a halt to Israeli operations and exclusion of the nuclear file. On 15 September the column spent itself on returning expatriate artists and did not mention Hormuz. Today it spends itself on the street and again does not mention Hormuz or vengeance. Three cycles, one available frame, no use. The daily published under the Supreme Leader's office has now declined the vengeance condition twice more after publishing it once, which is the behaviour of a bid that did not land rather than of a policy being carried.

Source line: Kayhan, «یادداشت روز», 25 Shahrivar 1405, as relayed on the paper's own channel. The paper's printed front page was not in the day's album; the full text was not retrievable at compile time and no translation of the body is offered.

## Appendix D: Methodology and sourcing notes

*iran-press-digest gather, 25 Shahrivar 1405*

Scan coverage: nine Persian front pages from the NewspaperTasnim album of 25 Shahrivar 1405 (t.me/NewspaperTasnim/44581, posted 02:03 UTC) and one English front page from the Newspapers_Iran album (t.me/newspapers_iran/3563, posted 04:31 UTC). The stale-batch guard passed on the first attempt: the album's own printed Jalali date matched the target date, so no fallback sources were used and nothing in this edition rests on a recovered or re-dated page. Papers were identified from the masthead on each scan, not from any label supplied with the album.

Text coverage: nine outlet channels were read for the cycle. Six are dailies (Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, the government daily Iran, the reformist Etemad and the principlist Sobh-e No) and three are wire agencies (Fars, Nour News, Defa Press). Agency material is segregated into its own register and is not treated as front-page copy. Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation and contributes nothing to this edition.

Resolution caveat, and it is material this cycle: the front-page images available to this monitor are approximately 800 pixels tall. Display headlines, standfirsts, pull-quotes and boxed figures resolve reliably; body text and several small bylines do not. Where a name or a line could not be read with confidence it has been left unnamed and said to be unread, rather than guessed: this applies to the Javan cover text block, the Vatan-e Emrooz think-tank speaker and column byline, the Iran Daily analysis byline, the Charsoogh interviewee, the Sazandegi page-one note author, and the foreign outlet Jomhouri Eslami credits for its American-military item. The Charsoogh masthead identification itself rests on the nameplate alone.

External verification performed for this edition, against non-Iranian sources: the Pentagon Inspector General report and its figures; the Araghchi-Talabani meeting of 15 September and the wording of Talabani's pledge; the United Nations Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on Iran holding the United States responsible for the 1 September strike on a wedding at Kuhestak in Sirik county; the Venice Special Jury Prize for the documentary NAZA by Yuval Abraham and Rachel Szor and the Israeli culture minister's citizenship threat; the killing of Molavi Yousef Gorgij in Zahedan on 14 September and of Mamosta Mohammad Nezhati five days earlier; and the record of House of Representatives war-powers votes.

Corrections and flags carried into the analysis: the Iranian rendering of the Pentagon audit's cost as 38 billion dollars is above the report's own figure of 33.4 billion dollars in total spending; the claim that 80 percent of American air-defence reserves are depleted is a Fars claim and is not in the audited material; the fifty-second MQ-9 claim exceeds the audit's count of up to thirty destroyed through 30 June by twenty-two aircraft in eleven weeks; and the framing of a clean third congressional rejection of the war compresses a mixed record of House votes, some of which passed and some of which failed. The 85 percent poll figure on the Hamshahri front page carries no pollster, sample or field date and should not be reproduced as a survey result.

Attribution firewall: every claim in this edition is attributed to the outlet or speaker that made it and none is adopted as fact by this monitor. Iranian operational and battle-damage claims are labelled as claims throughout. Second-hand renderings of Western reporting, which appear today in Kayhan's CNN item, Vatan-e Emrooz's Washington Post item and Jomhouri Eslami's New York Times item, remain flagged: quoting a rendering does not verify the rendering. Unverified attributed quotations are not to be reproduced as authentic without primary-source confirmation.

Handling: this product documents and analyses hostile foreign-press rhetoric for defensive assessment only. Nothing in it endorses, amplifies or operationalises that rhetoric.

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*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.*