OPEN-SOURCE PRESS INTELLIGENCE

Iranian Press Monitor

Daily Front-Page Intelligence

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THE CONSECRATED NUMBER EDITION

Ten front pages of 28 Shahrivar 1405, read alongside nine outlet channels; Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation.

Front pages published the morning of Saturday 19 September 2026, the first Iranian papers since Thursday, reflecting Friday's mass assembly and events through late Friday 18 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: Vatan-e Emrooz

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition concerns arithmetic. Friday's assembly in Tehran, the event this monitor flagged two cycles ago as the one hard forward indicator in the file, took place, and Saturday's papers are the first to report it. Nine of the ten front pages lead on it. Every one of them prints the same figure: 313,000. Kayhan, the daily whose managing editor is appointed by the Leader's office, prints the reason, «رزمایش ۳۱۳ هزار جان‌فدا در تهران به یاد ۳۱۳ یار امام زمان(عج)», the exercise of 313,000 life-sacrificers in Tehran in memory of the 313 companions of the Imam of the Age. In Shia tradition, 313 is the number of those who gather to the Mahdi at his return. A turnout figure that is also a theological constant is not a turnout figure, and the press printed it without variance across the hardline, principlist, reformist and economic titles alike.

That matters because of what it replaced. On 16 September the operative number was 600,000 registrations, sourced to a named IRGC commander. On 17 September it was 31 million, sourced to a campaign spokesman and to no register at all, and this monitor set Friday's attendance against that claim as the edition's one measurable test. The test cannot be run. The press did not publish a count on Saturday; it published a symbol, identical to the decimal place across eleven surfaces. Hamshahri prints 313,000 in its banner and, three inches below, an Associated Press paraphrase saying 300,000 pledged to take up arms, and reconciles neither. This is the signature of a centrally-issued figure rather than of eleven newsrooms counting.

The second finding closes a thread this monitor opened two cycles ago and closes it in the least informative direction available. On 17 September the sharpest negative evidence of the cycle was that Saudi Aramco's restoration of the East-West pipeline, the physical premise of Iran's chokepoint leverage, had reached Vatan-e Emrooz's own Telegram channel and no Iranian front page. Today the pipeline finally reaches that paper's front page, as «شکست دور زدن هرمز», the failure of bypassing Hormuz, a signed column on the consequences of the 10 September attack and the birth of new energy chokepoints. The paper that had the restoration printed its negation. In the masthead ear above it: «آتش بر صادرات نفت سعودی», fire on Saudi oil exports, with Aramco telling two European refineries they will receive no crude next month. Etemad leads the same fact from the other end of the spectrum, «فدرال رزرو تسلیم تورم نفتی شد، آرامکو عرضه به اروپا را قطع کرد».

Against all of this sits the one story in the batch with an external institutional finding behind it, and it is the government's English-language surface that leads on it. Iran Daily's cover is «US cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving UN rights council: Deputy FM». The underlying sequence is verified independently: a United Nations fact-finding mission reported reasonable grounds to believe American forces were responsible for two strikes on civilian sites in Iran, the Shajareh Tayyebeh primary school at Minab and a sports complex and adjacent housing at Lamerd, and Washington announced its withdrawal from the Human Rights Council the following day. On the Persian covers that finding is a right-rail item on Sobh-e No and Jomhouri Eslami and a scandal headline on Hamshahri, filed beneath the drill. Hamshahri then extends it to a third incident, the Sirik wedding, that appears on no other surface and in no external report located at compile time, which takes a verified finding and degrades it.

Two smaller things are worth more than their column inches. Javan, the IRGC-affiliated daily that two cycles ago put the cost-benefit of the closed Strait of Hormuz on its own cover as a question, answers the question today: «آشوب تنگه‌ها در جهان», the chaos of the straits in the world, with the disorder relocated from Iran to the belligerents and the energy market. And the serving Leader's authority enters the cycle twice without his office speaking: once as a rally placard reading «لبیک یا سید مجتبی» in the foreground of Charsoogh's cover photograph, and once in Sazandegi's front-page editorial, where the head of the Kargozaran council invokes

«آیت‌الله سید مجتبی» to argue that the hardline camp withholds submission from the system's decisions as it withheld it from Khomeini's acceptance of Resolution 598 in 1988.

Net assessment: this is a saturation edition, and saturation is a measurable state. One event, one number, one photograph on nine covers, with the number itself declared by the Leader's office daily to be liturgical rather than empirical. The files where the Iranian position is strongest, an institutional war-crimes finding and a Security Council result, are printed as rail items and as three incompatible authorships of the same vote. The files where it is weakest, the Saudi pipeline and the domestic recession, are printed either inverted or, in the economic press, straight and unflattering. A press that converges this completely on a designed number while its own economic titles print a purchasing-managers' index stuck in recession is not reporting a mobilisation; it is performing one, and the office in whose name it is performed has now been silent for five consecutive cycles.

BOTTOM LINE Every front page in Iran this morning printed the same mobilisation figure, 313,000, and the Leader's own office daily printed the reason it is that figure: one thousand for each of the 313 companions who by tradition gather to the Imam of the Age, which means the number the entire press converged on is not a headcount at all.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Nine Persian front pages from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk album t.me/NewspaperTasnim/44623, captioned for Saturday 28 Shahrivar 1405 and matched by the stale-batch guard to the target date, plus the Iran Daily English cover from t.me/newspapers_iran/3565. Nine outlet channels read alongside: Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad, Iran and Sobh-e No as dailies, Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News as agencies whose material is treated as claims rather than as front-page content. Kayhan, Iran and Jam-e Jam have no scan in today's album and are analysed from their channels alone. Verified externally today: the Security Council vote of 17 September on the panel of experts mandate, eleven in favour, vetoed by Russia and China with Somalia and Pakistan abstaining; the United Nations fact-finding mission's findings on Minab and Lamerd and the American withdrawal from the Human Rights Council on 18 September; the Pentagon's $43.6 billion war-cost estimate to congressional oversight panels, current as of 3 September; Abbas Araghchi's Beijing meeting with Wang Yi on 16 September; and Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani's position at the head of the Kargozaran council. Not adopted: Hamshahri's third war-crimes incident, Javan's unsourced Saudi ceasefire entreaty, Charsoogh's item on remarks attributed to the president's son, the espionage execution reported by Jam-e Jam and Fars News, and Defa Press's claims of destroying an American unmanned vessel at the Hormuz entrance and of Ansarullah seizing heights above Bab al-Mandab. All Iranian military and battle-damage claims here are labelled claims. Tehrantimes.com and english.khamenei.ir were both unavailable at the time of compilation, which is stated where it weakens a finding. The kiosk scans run to about 800 pixels on the long edge: headlines, decks and bylines are reliably legible, body text only in part, and passages read from body text are marked as readings rather than as quotations.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 The mobilisation number stopped growing and started signifying

600,000 registrations sourced to a named commander on 16 September; 31 million sourced to a spokesman and no register on 17 September; 313,000 on every surface on 19 September, with Kayhan stating on its own front page that the figure is chosen in memory of the 313 companions of the Imam of the Age. The sequence is not inflation followed by correction. It is a campaign moving from recruitment to consecration, and the last step is the one where the number becomes unfalsifiable by design. The only internal variance in the batch is Hamshahri's own page, which carries 313,000 and 300,000 three inches apart.

2 The chokepoint argument closed its own question

Javan opened the cost-benefit of the closed Strait of Hormuz as a page-one question on 17 September, «عاقبت‌اندیشی در تنگه‌ها». Today the same paper runs «آشوب تنگه‌ها در جهان» above its masthead, with the war's disruption of the energy market and of new oil-trade routes pushing the world toward changes greater than were imagined at the war's start. The cost has been relocated from Iran to the belligerents, which is the interrogative resolved in favour of maintaining the closure. Etemad, from the opposite camp, states the same causal claim in the vocabulary of price: «شوک تهران به وال‌استریت».

3 The restoration story reached page one only as its negation

Aramco's work to restore about half the East-West pipeline's capacity within days of the 10 September shutdown, with full capability targeted in roughly six weeks, sat on Vatan-e Emrooz's channel and on no Iranian cover two cycles ago. Today that paper's lower lead is «شکست دور زدن هرمز», the failure of bypassing Hormuz, and its masthead ear is Aramco cutting two European refineries off next month. The premise the coercion argument depends on is being removed and reported as intact, by the same masthead, in the same week.

4 One Security Council vote, four authorships

Vatan-e Emrooz makes it «سیلی شرق به ترامپ», the East's slap. The government daily Iran makes it «ضربه پکن و مسکو», Beijing and Moscow's blow, which assigns Iran no agency at all. Sazandegi makes it «برجام هنوز کار می‌کند», the apparently dead nuclear agreement coming to Russia and China's aid. Jomhouri Eslami reports it by its actual subject, the mandate of the United Nations panel of experts. Each authorship is a claim about what Iran should do next, and the spread maps onto camps rather than onto facts: the vote itself is uncontested.

5 The successor's authority is being claimed by others while his office is silent

Five consecutive cycles with no message, speech or quoted remark from the serving Leader on any surface read. In the same cycle his authority is invoked twice by institutions that are not his office: a rally placard reading «لبیک یا سید مجتبی» in the foreground of Charsoogh's cover photograph, the first appearance in this series of the successor as the object of the mobilisation's allegiance formula, and Sazandegi's front-page editorial invoking «آیت‌الله سید مجتبی» to discipline the hardline camp. The mobilisation's own advertising copy named the martyred predecessor as recently as 17 September.

6 Riyadh is printed in three incompatible postures, none of them sourced

Javan has Saudi Arabia entreating a two-week ceasefire with Yemen, with an exclamation mark and no Saudi source. Jomhouri Eslami has Riyadh declaring readiness to lift the Yemen blockade. Vatan-e Emrooz has Riyadh accusing Ansarullah of attacking Mecca and Medina and answers it by deforming the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques into «خادمین دیسکو»; Sobh-e No banners the Yemeni reply, «ما مدافعان مکه‌ایم نه مدعیان سعودی». Beneath the covers, Fars News carries Saudi civil-defence alerts in Riyadh and Al-Kharj and Etemad's channel carries video of an explosion in Riyadh. The English-language government surface, alone, sells the same file as a path to talks.

7 The economic press is still refusing to book the closure as a win

Ta'adol leads on a purchasing-managers' index stuck in recession under «تولید جان گرفت، اما مشتری نیست», production revived but there is no customer, and files the Federal Reserve's contractionary turn as Washington's monetary earthquake striking emerging markets, global debt and gold, with Iran among the exposed. Etemad prints the same central-bank decision as Tehran's shock to Wall Street. Charsoogh spends its page on a central-bank figure it says is false and on dollar-denominated travel allowances. Three economic surfaces, and none of them treats the war as an Iranian gain.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 [HIGH] **The mobilisation figure the entire Iranian press printed this morning is a religious constant, not a count, and the Leader's office daily says so on its own front page.** Every title in the batch prints 313,000: Hamshahri's «آماده‌باش ۳۱۳ هزار نفر», Vatan-e Emrooz's «رزمایش ۳۱۳ هزار نفری», Jomhouri Eslami's «رزمایش بزرگ ۳۱۳ هزار جان‌فدای ایران», Charsoogh's «۳۱۳ هزار جانفدا!», Sazandegi's ear, Ta'adol's single column. Kayhan's headline supplies the derivation: «رزمایش ۳۱۳ هزار جان‌فدا در تهران به یاد ۳۱۳ یار امام زمان(عج)», in memory of the 313 companions of the Imam of the Age, the number who by Shia tradition gather to the Mahdi at his return. Two cycles ago the operative figure was 600,000 registrations attributed to a named IRGC commander; one cycle ago it was 31 million attributed to a campaign spokesman with no register. This monitor set Friday's attendance against that 31 million as the edition's one measurable test. The test cannot be run, because what was published is not a measurement. The alternative reading, that 313,000 is a genuine count which the organisers happened to round to a resonant number, is defeated by the absence of variance: eleven surfaces, no range, no method, no second figure except Hamshahri's own Associated Press paraphrase of 300,000 printed three inches from its banner. The significance is that the campaign has crossed from recruitment into consecration, and consecrated numbers do not fall when attendance does.

KJ-2 [HIGH] **The IRGC-affiliated daily has answered its own chokepoint question, and the answer is to keep the Strait of Hormuz closed.** On 17 September Javan gave its cover to «عاقبت‌اندیشی در تنگه‌ها», thinking about consequences in the straits, under a standfirst asking directly whether the closure and the naval blockade press harder on Iran or on America and the world. This monitor recorded that as the strongest available indicator that the policy was being argued about above the paper, and named Javan's follow-up as the cheapest read on whether it was being reconsidered. Today Javan runs «آشوب تنگه‌ها در جهان», the chaos of the straits in the world, above its masthead: the war, by disrupting the energy market, rendering new oil-trade routes uncertain, raising economic costs and creating political pressure in the belligerent states, could push the world toward changes greater than were imagined at the war's start. The subject of the disorder has moved from Iran to the world in two cycles, on the same masthead, in the same position on the page. The significance is that the strongest domestic constituency for the closure has published its conclusion rather than its question, which removes the reading that the policy was being softened from above and makes Javan's next reversal, if one comes, a harder signal than this one.

KJ-3 [HIGH] **The fact that undercuts the chokepoint argument reached a front page at last, printed as its own opposite.** On 17 September this monitor's sharpest negative finding was that Bloomberg's report of Saudi Aramco restoring about half the East-West pipeline's capacity within days, with full capability targeted in roughly six weeks after the 10 September shutdown, had been posted to Vatan-e Emrooz's Telegram channel and kept off its front page, with no other Iranian title carrying it at all. Today the pipeline is on that paper's front page: «شکست دور زدن هرمز», the failure of bypassing Hormuz, a signed column describing the 1,200-kilometre line from the eastern fields to Yanbu as built precisely to escape Hormuz, citing Al Jazeera for 4 to 5 million barrels a day or about 5 percent of world supply, and treating the shutdown as proof that the escape route does not work. Directly above it the masthead ear reports Aramco telling two European refineries they will receive no crude next month; Etemad leads the same supply cut from the opposite camp. The paper therefore had both facts and printed the one that survives contact with its argument. The significance is that the coercion case is now being run on a premise its own carrier has verifiably seen contradicted, and the falsifiable date is the restoration timetable: full capability around late October. Whether any Iranian front page reports it is the test.

KJ-4 [HIGH] **The one story in the batch resting on an external institutional finding is led by the government's English-language surface and buried on nine Persian covers.** Iran Daily's cover is «US cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving UN rights council: Deputy FM». Independently verified: a United Nations fact-finding mission reported reasonable grounds to believe American forces were responsible for two strikes on civilian sites in Iran, a Tomahawk strike on the Shajareh Tayyebeh primary school at Minab that killed more than 160 people including around 120 children, and a strike on a sports complex and adjacent housing at Lamerd that dispersed tungsten pellets and killed 22 civilians; the United States announced its withdrawal from the Human Rights Council the following day, on 18 September. On the Persian pages it is a right-rail item on Sobh-e No, a right-rail item on Jomhouri Eslami which keeps «جنایت جنگی» inside its own quotation marks, and a headline on Hamshahri, «رسوایی آمریکا جهانی شد», that adds a third incident, the Sirik wedding, carried by no other surface and by no external report located at compile time. The significance is twofold and cuts against Tehran both ways: the file on which Iran holds a finding rather than a claim was subordinated to a domestic mobilisation on nine of ten Persian covers, and the one Persian paper that gave it a headline degraded its evidentiary value by extending it. A press that treats its best-sourced story as filler is telling you what it is actually optimising for.

KJ-5 [MODERATE-HIGH] **One uncontested Security Council vote produced four Iranian authorships, and the spread is a map of what each camp wants Iran to do next.** The event is not in dispute: on 17 September the American draft to extend the mandate of the 1737 Committee's panel of experts drew eleven votes in favour, Russia and China voted against, Somalia and Pakistan abstained, and the double veto defeated it. Vatan-e Emrooz prints «سیلی شرق به ترامپ», the East's slap to Trump, which makes it a blow struck in a contest of wills. The government daily Iran prints «ضربه پکن و مسکو به قطعنامه آمریکا علیه ایران», which credits Beijing and Moscow and assigns Iran no agency whatever. Sazandegi leads its whole cover «برجام هنوز کار می‌کند», the nuclear agreement still works, asking how a deal that is apparently dead came to Russia and China's aid. Jomhouri Eslami reports it by its actual subject, «ناکامی آمریکا در تصویب قطعنامه ضدایرانی», naming the panel of experts. Four readings, four implied policies: leverage, patronage, diplomacy, and institutional process. The significance is that the government's own daily chose the version that makes the fewest demands on Iranian policy, which is what a surface prints when the win is not its own to spend.

KJ-6 [MODERATE] **The serving Leader's authority was invoked twice this cycle by institutions that are not his office, in a fifth consecutive cycle without a word from him.** No message, speech, decree or directly quoted remark attributed to Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei appears on any of the ten front pages or in any of the nine channels; Kayhan's «دو نور هدایت» carries archival remarks of the martyred predecessor, not of the successor. Against that silence: Charsoogh's cover photograph is composed around a rally placard reading «لبیک یا سید مجتبی», labbayk ya Seyyed Mojtaba, the formula of answered allegiance addressed to him by name, which is the first appearance in this series of the successor as the object of the mobilisation's allegiance imagery, on an assembly the Muhammad Rasulullah Corps advertised as recently as 17 September «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران», on behalf of the martyred Aqa. And Sazandegi's front-page editorial by Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani, head of the Kargozaran council, invokes «آیت‌الله سید مجتبی» to argue that the hardline camp withholds submission from the system's decisions as it withheld it from Khomeini's acceptance of Resolution 598 in 1988. Confidence is held at moderate because one placard in one photograph is a thin base and english.khamenei.ir could not be checked, so the absence rests on eleven Iranian surfaces rather than on the office's publication record. The significance is that a reformist party paper and a Basij rally reached for the same successor's authority in one morning while the successor

himself said nothing, which is the shape of an authority being spent on someone's behalf rather than exercised.

KJ-7 [MODERATE-HIGH] **Saudi Arabia appears in three mutually exclusive postures in a single cycle, and none of the three carries a Saudi source.** Javan's rail: «التماس سعودی برای آتش‌بس دوهفته‌ای با یمن!», the Saudi entreaty for a two-week ceasefire, exclamation mark printed. Jomhouri Eslami's row: «اعلام آمادگی عربستان برای لغو محاصره یمن», Riyadh declaring readiness to lift the Yemen blockade. Vatan-e Emrooz: Riyadh accusing Ansarullah of an attack on Mecca and Medina, answered by deforming خادم الحرمین into «خادمین دیسکو», servants of the disco, and by Sobh-e No's banner carrying the Yemeni march statement «ما مدافعان مکه‌ایم نه مدعیان سعودی», we are the defenders of Mecca, not the Saudi claimants. Underneath, Fars News reports Saudi civil-defence alerts in Riyadh and Al-Kharj and Etemad's channel carries video of an explosion heard in Riyadh, while Defa Press claims Ansarullah seized heights overlooking Bab al-Mandab. Supplication, concession and sacrilege cannot all be true of the same government in the same week; what they have in common is that each is the version most useful to the title printing it. The significance is that the Yemen-Saudi file is where Iranian coverage is escalating and sourcing is collapsing at the same time, and it is the file Beijing explicitly asked Tehran to contain three days ago.

KJ-8 [MODERATE-HIGH] **Iran's own economic press printed the closure's consequences with Iran as the exposed party, on the morning the political press printed them as a victory.** Etemad leads «شوک تهران به وال‌استریت», Tehran's shock to Wall Street, with the Federal Reserve surrendering to oil inflation and Aramco cutting European supply, and it names the continuing closure of the Strait of Hormuz as the cause. Ta'adol carries the same Federal Reserve turn as «تورم انرژی و چرخش انقباضی فدرال رزرو», filed as Washington's monetary earthquake striking emerging markets, global debt and gold, with Iran among those struck, and leads its page on a purchasing-managers' index that stayed in recession under «تولید جان گرفت، اما مشتری نیست», production revived but there is no customer. Charsoogh spends its front page on a Central Bank figure it says is false and on dollar-denominated travel allowances in the president's government. One event, two subjects: the political press makes Iran the cause and the economic press makes Iran the recipient. The significance is that the titles closest to the price data are the ones declining to book the closure as a gain, and they are doing it on the same day the rest of the press books it twice.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] **An audited American cost figure reached Iranian surfaces intact for the first time in several cycles, and one masthead inflated it anyway between its channel and its front page.** The Pentagon's estimate to congressional oversight panels, current as of 3 September 2026, is $43.6 billion, comprising $11.2 billion obligated for operations and $32.4 billion in unfunded replacement costs, and excluding damage to American facilities in eight regional countries. Jam-e Jam's channel (post 28170), Nour News (395556) and Vatan-e Emrooz's own channel (25510) all carry that number correctly. Vatan-e Emrooz's front page carries «سیاه‌چاله ۵۰ میلیارد دلاری», the $50 billion black hole, on astonishing figures for the unexpected costs of the war's first six months. On 17 September this monitor recorded the same drift running from $33.4 billion audited to $38 billion printed. The significance is that the inflation is now measurable inside a single masthead within a single morning, from its own Telegram channel to its own page one, which makes it an editorial decision rather than a sourcing failure, and it is the state broadcaster, not the independent title, that got the number right.

KJ-10 [MODERATE] **Negative evidence: the claim that Beijing asked Tehran to reopen the Strait of Hormuz was neither repeated nor denied on the morning it had its best peg.** On 17 September

Sazandegi's day-column by a former diplomat was the only Iranian surface carrying Wang Yi's remarks as including «ضرورت بازگشایی تنگه هرمز», the necessity of reopening the strait; no other title carried it in any form and the wire record of the meeting does not contain the formulation. Today Sobh-e No devotes its right rail to a photograph of Araghchi with Wang Yi under «چرا سفر عراقچی به پکن مهم است» and «نقش جدید چین؟», why Araghchi's Beijing trip matters and what China's new role is, which is the precise occasion on which a reopening request would be either confirmed or rebutted. It is neither. Sazandegi itself, leading its whole cover on the Security Council and crediting the nuclear agreement, does not repeat its own columnist. The significance is that a claim only one surface ever made has now survived two cycles without corroboration or contradiction, which is what a formulation deliberately left to a columnist looks like, and the confidence recorded on 17 September should not be raised.

KJ-11 [MODERATE] **The case for ending the war by negotiation exists in the Iranian press and still cannot buy front-page space.** Etemad's channel (post 534368) carries the former diplomat Kourosh Ahmadi saying it is in Iran's interest to end the war through negotiation. It is a named figure, on a reformist daily's own channel, on a day when that daily's front page leads on the closure's effect on the Federal Reserve and gives the mobilisation a photograph. Sazandegi's cover argues that the nuclear agreement still works, which is the diplomacy case made obliquely, through a legal mechanism rather than through a proposal. No front page in the batch prints a direct argument for negotiating an end to the war. The benign reading is that a single analyst's remark is not front-page news on any day. The significance is comparative: an unsourced Saudi entreaty, a tweet credited with surprising the Federal Reserve and a mobilisation number derived from Shia eschatology all reached page one this morning, and the only named Iranian advocating an exit did not.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei	Supreme Leader	Named on a rally placard in Charsoogh's cover photograph as «لبیک یا سید مجتبی», and invoked in Sazandegi's editorial as «آیت‌الله سید مجتبی» against the hardline camp	absence noted: fifth consecutive cycle with no message, speech or quoted remark on any surface read
Masoud Pezeshkian	President	Quoted on Javan, «با حضور مردم هیچ قدرتی نمی‌تواند ما را تهدید کند»; photographed reviewing ranks on Jomhouri Eslami and Iran Daily; on Sazandegi's ear telling the drill's participants to economise on petrol, gas and electricity; his family attacked on Charsoogh	WATCH
Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf	Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly	Credited on Sobh-e No with catching the Federal Reserve off guard by a tweet; on three channels answering the chairman of the US Joint Chiefs with «دورانی که در آن F-۱۵های شما شکار می‌شوند و F-۳۵ها»	COERCION SPOKESMAN
General Dan Caine	Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff	The addressee of Ghalibaf's F-35 and F-15 line, carried by Vatan-e Emrooz's channel, Defa Press and the government daily Iran	TARGET FRAMING

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Donald Trump	President of the United States	The object of «سیلی شرق به ترامپ» on Vatan-e Emrooz; the subject of a Washington Post electoral item on Sobh-e No and of a CNN legal-action item on Kayhan and Jam-e Jam	TARGET FRAMING
Mohammed bin Salman	Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia	Named on Vatan-e Emrooz under «خادمین دیسکو», a deformation of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, for what the paper calls obstinacy against the foundations of Islam	TARGET FRAMING
Kazem Gharibabadi	Deputy Foreign Minister	Iran Daily's lead: the United States cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving the UN rights council	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Abbas Araghchi	Foreign Minister	Photographed with Wang Yi on Sobh-e No's rail under «چرا سفر عراقچی به پکن مهم است»; the Beijing meeting is verified to 16 September	WATCH
Wang Yi	Foreign Minister of China	Present in the Sobh-e No photograph; the claim attributed to him two cycles ago that Beijing sought the reopening of the Strait of Hormuz is neither repeated nor denied today	absence noted
Hassan Hassanzadeh	Commander, IRGC Muhammad Rasulullah Corps of Greater Tehran	Named by Ta'adol as the speaker at the Tehran drill; his corps advertised the assembly on two front pages at T-1	WATCH
Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani	Head of the central council of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party	Author of Sazandegi's front-page editorial against the «سوپرانقلابی‌ها», the super-revolutionaries, and their record of opposing the system's strategic decisions since 1988	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Esmail Kowsari	Member of the Islamic Consultative Assembly	Author of Hamshahri's front-page column «رزمایشی که نشان از اراده ملت ایران دارد»	WATCH
Kourosh Ahmadi	Former Iranian diplomat	On Etemad's channel saying it is in Iran's interest to end the war by negotiation; the only named Iranian advocating an exit in the batch, and he does not reach a front page	NEW NAMED FIGURE

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Kayhan (channel)	The exercise of 313,000 life-sacrificers in Tehran, in memory of the 313	Hardline, managing editor appointed by the Leader's office	The mobilisation number declared to be a religious constant, not a count	HIGH

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
	companions of the Imam of the Age			
Javan	Iran's life-sacrificers on display to the world	Hardline principlist, IRGC-affiliated	The chokepoint question answered: «آشوب تنگه‌ها در جهان», the disorder is the world's	HIGH
Vatan-e Emrooz	My life a sacrifice for the homeland	Hardline principlist	The Hormuz bypass reported as a failure, above Aramco cutting two European refineries	HIGH
Hamshahri	My life a sacrifice for Iran	Tehran municipality daily, centrist	The drill validated by four named Western outlets; a UN finding extended to an unsourced third incident	MODERATE-HIGH
Sobh-e No	My life a sacrifice for Iran	Principlist	Araghchi in Beijing and «نقش جدید چین؟», beside the Minab and Lamerd findings	MODERATE-HIGH
Etemad	Tehran's shock to Wall Street	Reformist daily of record	The continuing closure priced in Federal Reserve and Aramco decisions	MODERATE-HIGH
Jam-e Jam (channel)	The great "313,000 life-sacrificers" exercise	Daily of the state broadcaster (IRIB)	The Pentagon's audited $43.6 billion carried straight, beside an unconfirmed espionage execution	MODERATE-HIGH
Jomhouri Eslami	The great exercise of Iran's 313,000 life-sacrificers held in Tehran	Traditional clerical establishment, editorially independent	The Security Council item reported by its actual subject; «جنایت جنگی» kept in quotation marks	MODERATE
Iran Daily	US cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving UN rights council: Deputy FM	Government English-language daily (IRNA)	The UN finding pressed diplomatically; Yemen framed as a path to talks; no Hormuz position for a sixth cycle	MODERATE
Iran (channel)	Beijing and Moscow's blow to the American resolution against Iran	Official government daily	The veto credited to great-power patronage rather than to Iranian diplomacy	MODERATE
Charsoogh	313,000 life-sacrificers! Forming ranks in keeping with the covenant	Economic daily	«لبیک یا سید مجتبی» on a rally placard: the successor enters the mobilisation's allegiance imagery	MODERATE
Sazandegi	The JCPOA still works	Reformist (Kargozaran party)	The Security Council veto credited to the nuclear agreement, over an editorial against the super-revolutionaries	LOW-MODERATE

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Ta'adol	The economy's PMI stayed in recession	Economic daily	Production without customers, and the Federal Reserve turn as a shock arriving at Iran	LOW

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

Government English-language daily (IRNA)

“US cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving UN rights council: Deputy FM”

MODERATE: war-crimes finding pressed diplomatically; Yemen presented as a path to talks



- Main: the lead is the Deputy Foreign Minister's line that the United States cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving the UN rights council. The underlying sequence is externally verified: a UN fact-finding mission reported reasonable grounds to believe US forces were responsible for two strikes on civilian sites in Iran, and Washington announced its withdrawal from the Human Rights Council the following day, on 18 September, citing anti-American rhetoric at the council.
- Second lead: «'Sacrifice for Iran' - Tehranis come out to show readiness to defend nation in mass drill», with a four-photograph block of the assembly including Pezeshkian reviewing uniformed ranks.
- Right column: an interview headlined «Ansarullah advances pave way for talks», arguing that Ansarullah's recent gains in Yemen have shifted the regional equation and improved the prospect of talks, with Bab al-Mandab and the Red Sea as the strategic reference.
- Bottom strip: «Iran's trade with BRICS members reaches $60b», an opinion item on «Ansarullah's strategic gains in Yemen», and a sports item.
- Top ear: a cultural item on the poet Shahriar as a bridge between Iran's national and ethnic identities.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The government's English surface makes the day's most disciplined choice: it leads on the one story with an external institutional finding behind it, and it attaches the finding to a named Iranian official rather than to an Iranian claim. That is a page written for foreign ministries rather than for domestic mobilisation, and it is the fifth consecutive cycle in which this title states no position on the Strait of Hormuz. What it does carry, twice, is Yemen, framed as advances that open a path to talks. Read against the Persian titles printing Saudi supplication and Saudi accusations over Mecca, the English-language surface is selling the Yemen file as diplomacy while the Persian surfaces sell it as humiliation.

Hamshahri

Tehran municipality daily, centrist; the capital's mass-circulation title

“My life a sacrifice for Iran” «جانم فدای ایران»

MODERATE-HIGH: mobilisation legitimated through named Western outlets, with a war-crimes finding attached



- Banner: «آماده‌باش ۳۱۳ هزار نفر در رزمایش جانفدا», the standing-ready of 313,000 people in the Janfada exercise, over a full-bleed photograph of a small girl in a chador holding an Iranian flag while uniformed men march behind her. The standfirst claims that images of the Tehran assembly «به رسانه‌های جهان رسید», reached the world's media, and astonished them at «ایستادگی باشکوه ایرانی‌ها», the magnificent steadfastness of Iranians.
- Main: the page's evidentiary device is a strip of four black boxes, each labelled with a named Western outlet (آسوشیتدپرس Associated Press, سی‌بی‌اس نیوز CBS News, تایمز اسرائیل Times of Israel, لس‌آنجلس تایمز Los Angeles Times), each carrying a paraphrase of that outlet's coverage of the drill. The paraphrases claim hundreds of thousands gathered after months of war and declared readiness to take up arms; that the march stressed national unity «در بحبوحه بدترین مشکلات اقتصادی ناشی از محاصره و تحریم», amid the worst economic problems caused by blockade and sanctions; and that 300,000 pledged to bear arms while «برخی پرچم‌های آمریکا و اسرائیل را زیر پا له کردند», some trampled American and Israeli flags underfoot.
- Sub-item: «رسوایی آمریکا جهانی شد», America's scandal went global, reporting that the newest United Nations fact-finding committee report confirmed an American war crime in the strikes on Minab, Lamerd and «عروسی سیریک», the Sirik wedding. The independently reported findings name two incidents, the Minab school and the Lamerd sports complex; the Sirik wedding is Hamshahri's own third item and is carried by no other title in the batch.
- Op-ed: «رزمایشی که نشان از اراده ملت ایران دارد», an exercise that shows the will of the Iranian nation, signed اسماعیل کوثری (Esmail Kowsari), identified on the page as a member of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. The column argues the drill demonstrated that the Tehran public is not a spectator, and extends the claim to other provinces.
- Right rail: two non-war covers, a new 18-man national football squad named by the coach Amir Ghalenoei, and «جنایت هولناک پونک چطور فاش شد؟», how the horrific Punak crime came to light, a domestic murder case.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Hamshahri is the one title in the batch that builds its lead entirely out of adversary media rather than out of Iranian claims: four named Western outlets, quoted as witnesses to Iranian resolve. That is a specific propaganda form, external validation, and it is the municipality daily rather than a Guard surface doing it, which is consistent with the paper's centrist reach into a non-committed readership. The tell is arithmetical: the banner says 313,000 stood ready while the Associated Press box says 300,000 pledged to bear arms, and the paper prints both without reconciling them. Track whether the Sirik wedding, which appears here and nowhere else, acquires a second Iranian surface or a source.

Vatan-e Emrooz

Hardline principlist daily; Vol. 18, No. 4712

“My life a sacrifice for the homeland” «جانم فدای میهن»

HIGH: chokepoint coercion restated as a success, with Saudi supply cuts as the evidence



- Main: «رزمایش ۳۱۳ هزار نفری جان‌فدای ایران با حضور پرشور اقشار مختلف مردم پایتخت برگزار شد», the 313,000-strong Janfada-ye Iran exercise was held with the fervent presence of various strata of the capital's people, over a photograph of massed green, yellow and Iranian flags.
- Banner (page-one ear): «آتش بر صادرات نفت سعودی», fire on Saudi oil exports, with the standfirst that «آرامکو به ۲ پالایشگاه اروپایی گفته است ماه آینده نفت خامی دریافت نخواهند کرد», Aramco has told two European refineries they will receive no crude next month.
- Kicker: «سیاه‌چاله ۵۰ میلیارد دلاری», the $50 billion black hole, a Vatan-e Emrooz report on «آمار بهت‌انگیز از هزینه‌های غیرمنتظره ۶ ماه ابتدایی جنگ علیه ایران», astonishing figures for the unexpected costs of the first six months of the war against Iran. The paper's own channel (post 25510) and Nour News (395556) both carry the Pentagon's $43.6 billion figure the same cycle.
- Right rail: «سیلی شرق به ترامپ», the East's slap to Trump, under a UN Security Council photograph and the line that «روسیه و چین پیش‌نویس قطعنامه ضدایرانی آمریکا را در نشست شورای امنیت وتو کردند», Russia and China vetoed the American anti-Iran draft resolution at the Security Council session.
- Sub-item: «خادمین دیسکو», servants of the disco, a deliberate deformation of خادم الحرمین (Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques), introduced as a report on «اتهام گذر عربستان به انصارالله درباره حمله به مکه و مدینه», Saudi Arabia's accusation against Ansarullah over an attack on Mecca and Medina, and «بازخوانی لجاجت‌گری محمد بن‌سلمان علیه مبانی اسلام», a re-reading of Mohammed bin Salman's obstinacy against the foundations of Islam.
- Main (lower lead): «شکست دور زدن هرمز», the failure of bypassing Hormuz, a signed yaddasht on «پیامدهای حمله به خط لوله شرق به غرب عربستان و تولد گلوگاه‌های جدید انرژی», the consequences of the attack on Saudi Arabia's East-West pipeline and the birth of new energy chokepoints. It describes the 1,200-kilometre line from the eastern fields to Yanbu on the Red Sea as built precisely to escape the Persian Gulf and Hormuz, says the 10 September strikes shut it temporarily, and cites Al Jazeera of 12 September for the line carrying 4 to 5 million barrels a day, «معادل ۵ درصد عرضه جهانی نفت», the equivalent of 5 percent of world oil supply.
- Op-ed: «مختصات نظم ایرانی», the coordinates of an Iranian order, a نگاه column by مهدی حسنی arguing that it is unlikely the Persian Gulf order returns to its pre-war state.

ANALYST NOTE This is the page the previous edition's fourth key judgment was waiting for. On 17 September Vatan-e Emrooz carried the Bloomberg report that Aramco was restoring about half the East-West pipeline's capacity within days on its own Telegram channel and kept it off its front page. Today the pipeline finally reaches

page one, and it arrives inverted: not as a restoration but as «شکست دور زدن هرمز», the failure of the bypass, with the Aramco supply cut to two European refineries printed in the masthead ear as corroboration. The negative-evidence gap is therefore closed in the least informative direction available: the paper has taken the one fact that undercuts the coercion argument and published its opposite. Read the $50 billion black hole against the audited $43.6 billion the same paper's channel carried and the drift is about 15 percent in one page's distance.

Javan

Hardline principlist daily, IRGC-affiliated

"Iran's life-sacrificers on display to the world" «جهان‌نمایی جان‌فداهای ایران»

HIGH: the chokepoint question answered in favour of maintaining the closure



- Banner: «آشوب تنگه‌ها در جهان», the chaos of the straits in the world, running the full width above the masthead, under a standfirst that the war, «با برهم‌زدن بازار انرژی، غیرقطعی‌کردن مسیرهای جدید تجارت نفت، افزایش هزینه‌های اقتصادی و ایجاد فشار سیاسی در کشورهای درگیر», by disrupting the energy market, rendering the new oil-trade routes uncertain, raising economic costs and creating political pressure in the belligerent states, «می‌تواند جهان را به سمت تغییراتی بزرگ‌تر از آنچه در آغاز جنگ تصور می‌شد سوق دهد», could push the world toward changes greater than were imagined at the war's start.
- Main: a twelve-photograph mosaic of the Tehran drill, women in chador shouldering rifles, Basij ranks, clerics and uniformed commanders on a reviewing stand, under «جهان‌نمایی جان‌فداهای ایران».
- Sub-item: «پزشکیان: با حضور مردم هیچ قدرتی نمی‌تواند ما را تهدید کند», Pezeshkian: with the people present, no power can threaten us, the president's line from the drill.
- Sub-item: «رئیس سازمان بسیج: جان‌فدایان کابوس دشمنان این آب و خاک هستند», the head of the Basij Organisation: the Janfadayan are the nightmare of this land's enemies.
- Right rail: «التماس سعودی برای آتش‌بس دوهفته‌ای با یمن!», the Saudi entreaty for a two-week ceasefire with Yemen, the exclamation mark printed. The framing is supplication, not negotiation, and no Saudi source is named on the page.
- Right rail: «شکوفایی مقاومت در بستر پیروزی ملت ایران», the flowering of the resistance on the bed of the Iranian nation's victory, and a non-war item on Europe's new prescription for restricting children on social media.

ANALYST NOTE Two cycles ago this monitor recorded Javan putting the cost-benefit of the closed Strait of Hormuz on its own cover as a question, «عاقبت‌اندیشی در تنگه‌ها», and set the paper's follow-up as the cheapest available read on whether the closure was being reconsidered. Today Javan answers its own question, and the answer is that the cost falls on the world: «آشوب تنگه‌ها در جهان» is the interrogative resolved into a declarative, with the disruption relocated from Iran to the belligerents and to the energy market. That is the IRGC-affiliated daily closing a page-one argument in favour of the policy it had opened for examination, which removes the reading that the closure was being softened from above. Set against it: the Saudi ceasefire item is the one place in the batch where Riyadh is described as asking rather than being isolated, and it carries no source.

Sobh-e No

Principlist daily

“My life a sacrifice for Iran” «جانم فدای ایران»

MODERATE-HIGH: Beijing's role raised as an open question beside a war-crimes finding



- Banner: «بیانیه راهپیمایی یمن: ما مدافعان مکه‌ایم نه مدعیان سعودی», the statement of the Yemen march: we are the defenders of Mecca, not the Saudi claimants, placed above the masthead. This is the Yemeni answer to the accusation Vatan-e Emrooz reports on the facing page, and the two titles carry the charge and the rebuttal in the same cycle.
- Main: «رزمایش ۳۱۳ هزار نفری جان فدایان، نمایش دوباره عمق قدرت ملی ایران است», the 313,000-strong exercise of the life-sacrificers is a renewed display of the depth of Iran's national power, over a crowd photograph.
- Right rail: a photograph of Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi shaking hands with Wang Yi, under «چرا سفر عراقچی به پکن مهم است», why Araghchi's trip to Beijing matters, and «نقش جدید چین؟», China's new role. The meeting is independently dated to 16 September in Beijing, ahead of an expected Xi-Trump meeting on 24 September.
- Right rail: «گزارش سازمان ملل درباره جنایت جنگی آمریکا و خروج واشنگتن از شورای حقوق بشر / اثبات جنایت در میناب و لامرد», the UN report on America's war crime and Washington's exit from the Human Rights Council / proof of the crime at Minab and Lamerd, with a pulled quotation noting that the withdrawal came while that council and its subsidiary bodies «در حال مستندسازی نقض‌های حقوق بشری در جنگی هستند که ایالات متحده و اسرائیل رقم زدند», are in the middle of documenting human-rights violations in a war the United States and Israel brought about.
- Sub-item: «وقتی قالیباف با یک معادله ریاضی، فدرال رزرو را غافلگیر کرد / این توییت مثل یک سلاح عمل کرد», when Ghalibaf caught the Federal Reserve off guard with a mathematical equation / this tweet acted like a weapon, filed under «توئیت قالیباف و جنگ روایت‌ها», Ghalibaf's tweet and the war of narratives.
- Left rail: «گزارش واشنگتن پست از شانس بالای دموکرات‌ها برای پیروزی در انتخابات / رمزبرد؛ نفرت از ترامپ», a Washington Post report on the Democrats' high chance of winning, the codeword being hatred of Trump.

ANALYST NOTE Sobh-e No is the only front page in the batch that treats the Beijing meeting as the day's strategic story rather than as diplomatic furniture, and it does so in the interrogative: «نقش جدید چین؟». The previous edition rested a moderate-confidence judgment on a single reformist columnist's claim that Beijing had asked Tehran to reopen the Strait of Hormuz; a principlist paper asking on page one what China's new role is, two days later and without repeating the reopening formulation, is the shape a live internal argument takes rather than a settled line. The Ghalibaf-and-the-Fed item is the cycle's clearest instance of narrative inflation: a speaker's tweet is credited with surprising a central bank, on a page that also carries a properly sourced UN finding.

Sazandegi

Reformist daily of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party; year 9, issue 1320

“The JCPOA still works”
«برجام هنوز کار می‌کند»

LOW-MODERATE: the veto read as vindication of the nuclear agreement, not of coercion


برجام
هنوز کار می‌کند
سازندگی

- Main: «برجام هنوز کار می‌کند» over a UN Security Council chamber photograph, under the standfirst «توافق‌نامه برجام که به ظاهر مرده است چگونه برای وتوی قطعنامه پیشنهادی آمریکا علیه ایران، به کمک روسیه و چین آمد؟», how the apparently dead JCPOA came to Russia and China's aid for the veto of the American draft resolution against Iran. The vote is externally verified: on 17 September the US draft to extend the 1737 Committee panel of experts drew 11 votes in favour, with Russia and China voting against and Somalia and Pakistan abstaining, and failed on the double veto.
- Editorial (سرمقاله): «میدان‌داری و مسئولیت‌پذیری», taking the field and accepting responsibility, subtitled «درباره هزینه‌های مخالفت سوپرانقلابی‌ها با تصمیمات نظام», on the costs of the super-revolutionaries' opposition to the system's decisions, signed محسن هاشمی رفسنجانی (Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani) and identified on the page as head of the central council of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party.
- Page-one ear: «هزار جان فدا ۳۱۳», with the line that Pezeshkian, on the sidelines of the Janfada exercise, told the life-sacrificers to economise on petrol, gas and electricity. A reformist paper placing an energy-austerity instruction inside the mobilisation story is an editorial choice, not a wire summary.
- Contents strip: «قهر آمریکایی», the American sulk, filed against «خروج آمریکا از شورای حقوق بشر», America's withdrawal from the Human Rights Council; «خودسرهای خودی!», our own rogues; «زنانی فراتر از داستان» on Asghar Farhadi's new film; and «ثروت مدفون», buried wealth, on an oilfield.
- Sub-item: a signed day-column running down the left rail, the surface on which this paper carried the single-source claim two cycles ago that Beijing had asked for the Strait of Hormuz to be reopened. That formulation does not reappear today on this page or on any other in the batch.

ANALYST NOTE Sazandegi supplies the only counter-frame on the diplomatic file in the batch, and it is a precise one: the Security Council result is read not as Russian and Chinese muscle but as the residual legal architecture of the nuclear agreement doing work, which converts a hardline victory into an argument for the agreement the hardliners spent a decade attacking. The editorial makes the same move domestically, pricing the «سوپرانقلابی‌ها» opposition as a cost borne by the system. Note what the page does not do: it does not repeat this paper's own claim that China asked Tehran to reopen the strait. Two cycles of silence on a formulation this paper alone printed, on a day when it had an obvious peg, weakens rather than strengthens it.

Charsoogh

Economic daily; year 2, issue 551, masthead motto «نبض اقتصاد را در دست بگیرید»

“313,000 life-sacrificers! Forming ranks in keeping with the covenant” «۳۱۳ هزار جانفدا! صف‌آرایی پای عهد»

MODERATE: succession imagery enters the mobilisation, on one placard in one photograph



- Main: a street photograph of the Tehran assembly in which the foreground object is a rally placard carrying a portrait of a black-turbaned sayyid cleric above the words «لبیک یا سید مجتبی», labbayk ya Seyyed Mojtaba, the formula of answered allegiance addressed to the serving Leader by name.
- Sub-item: «واکنش‌ها به اظهارات بی‌ادبانه پسر پزشکیان علیه جانفدایان», reactions to the impolite remarks of Pezeshkian's son against the life-sacrificers, illustrated with a portrait and run over the president's family. The remarks themselves are not quoted on the front page and no other title in the batch carries the item.
- Sub-item: «حق ماموریت دلاری در دولت پزشکیان», dollar-denominated travel allowances in the Pezeshkian government, over a photograph of hundred-dollar notes being counted.
- Sub-item: «دروغ بانک مرکزی درباره آمار پرداخت وام ازدواج لو رفت», the Central Bank's lie about marriage-loan disbursement figures exposed, setting the bank's claimed figure against a lower disbursed total.
- Sub-item: «بی‌خودی‌الملک دولت چهاردهم معرفی شد», a satirical column awarding a mock Qajar honorific to the fourteenth government.

ANALYST NOTE The analytically load-bearing element on this page is not a headline but a placard. For four consecutive cycles this monitor has recorded that the serving Leader is absent from the mobilisation's own iconography, and that the Muhammad Rasulullah Corps dedicated this very assembly «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران», on behalf of Iran's martyred Aqa, meaning the predecessor. Today a Charsoogh photographer's chosen foreground is a crowd sign reading labbayk ya Seyyed Mojtaba. That is the first appearance in this series of the serving Leader as the object of the rally's allegiance formula, and it arrives as an image on an economic daily rather than as a message from his office. The rest of the page is this paper's established register: named institutions, checkable figures, and a government held to its own numbers.

Jomhouri Eslami

Traditional clerical establishment daily, editorially independent of both blocs; year 47

“The great exercise of Iran's 313,000 life-sacrificers held in Tehran” «برگزاری رزمایش بزرگ ۳۱۳ هزار جان‌فدای ایران در تهران»

MODERATE: war-crimes finding and Security Council failure reported with attribution intact


جمهوری اسلامی

برگزاری رزمایش بزرگ ۳۱۳ هزار جان‌فدای ایران در تهران

ناکامی آمریکا در تصویب قطعنامه ضدایرانی در شورای امنیت

- Main: the drill under a red strip reading «تجلیل رئیس‌جمهور از جلوه‌های ایثار», the president's tribute to the manifestations of self-sacrifice, over a photograph of Pezeshkian on the reviewing stand beside uniformed commanders and clerics.
- Main (second lead): «ناکامی آمریکا در تصویب قطعنامه ضدایرانی در شورای امنیت», America's failure to pass an anti-Iran resolution at the Security Council, reporting that the draft, which concerned the mandate of the United Nations panel of experts on Iran, was blocked by China and Russia.
- Right rail: «آمریکا در مدرسه میناب و ورزشگاه لامرد مرتکب «جنایت جنگی» شده است», America has committed a war crime at the Minab school and the Lamerd sports ground, with the term in the paper's own quotation marks, alongside «تأیید ۱۵ کشور عضو آژانس بین‌المللی انرژی اتمی بر ممنوعیت هرگونه حمله به تأسیسات هسته‌ای», fifteen IAEA member states affirming the prohibition on any attack on nuclear facilities.
- Left rail: «پایان عصر آمریکا به همت ایران», the end of the American era through Iran's exertion, and «آنتن توقیفی؛ خطر در کمین ایران», the impounded antenna, a danger lying in wait for Iran.
- Row items: «اعلام آمادگی عربستان برای لغو محاصره یمن», Saudi Arabia declares readiness to lift the blockade of Yemen; «کشف بزرگ‌ترین مزرعه غیرمجاز استخراج رمزارز در استان البرز», the largest illegal crypto-mining farm found in Alborz province; and «۲ تروریست جیش‌الظلم در درگیری با نیروهای امنیتی به هلاکت رسیدند», two Jaish al-Zulm terrorists killed in a clash with security forces, the group's name printed in the state's inversion of Jaish al-Adl, Army of Justice, into Army of Oppression.
- Masthead ears: the oil minister saying «دیگر نیازی به واردات گازوئیل نداریم», we no longer need gasoil imports, and the education minister on 4,700 schools built over two years.

ANALYST NOTE Jomhouri Eslami remains the batch's most checkable page and the one least willing to adopt a claim it cannot attribute: it puts «جنایت جنگی» in quotation marks even while reporting a finding that favours Tehran, and it names the Security Council item by its actual subject, the panel of experts mandate, where the hardline titles print it as a slap to Trump. The paper also prints the two Saudi items that sit least comfortably together, Riyadh declaring readiness to lift the Yemen blockade here and Riyadh pleading for a ceasefire on Javan's rail, without reconciling them. Its continuing function in this series is to carry the institutional case, an IAEA prohibition affirmed by member states, against the withdrawal case printed elsewhere in its own half of the press.

Etemad

Reformist daily of record

“Tehran's shock to Wall Street” «شوک تهران به وال‌استریت»

MODERATE-HIGH: the closure claimed as a measurable shock to Western monetary policy



- Kicker: «اعتماد» از ادامه مسدودسازی تنگه هرمز و بحران سوخت در غرب گزارش می‌دهد, Etemad reports on the continuing blockage of the Strait of Hormuz and the fuel crisis in the West.
- Main: «شوک تهران به وال‌استریت» under the deck «فدرال رزرو تسلیم تورم نفتی شد، آرامکو عرضه به اروپا را قطع کرد», the Federal Reserve surrendered to oil inflation, Aramco cut supply to Europe. This is the only front page in the batch that states the strait's closure as the operative cause of a named Western monetary decision.
- Main photograph: the Tehran drill, captioned «رزمایش جان‌فدای ایران در تهران و سراسر کشور برگزار شد», the Janfada-ye Iran exercise was held in Tehran and across the country, under «جانم فدای ایران». Etemad gives the mobilisation a photograph and a caption and its lead to the economics of the closure.
- Right rail: «وکلای بی‌دفاع», defenceless lawyers, jurists telling Etemad about the removal of a protective clause from a bill's implementing regulations.
- Right rail: «وعده مسعود و بازگشت مسعود», Masoud's promise and Masoud's return, an Etemad report on «مهاجرت معکوس ایرانیان خارج از کشور», the reverse migration of Iranians abroad, punning on the president's given name.
- Right rail: «نفوذ در حریم تخت جمشید», encroachment on the Persepolis buffer zone, on an attempt to annex the Parseh precinct to the city of Marvdasht.
- Channel (t.me/s/etemadonline): post 534365 carries video of an explosion heard in Riyadh; post 534367 reports Turkey revoking the licence of Bank Mellat's branch; post 534368 carries the former diplomat Kourosh Ahmadi saying it is in Iran's interest to end the war by negotiation.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Etemad performs the inversion that defines the reformist register this cycle: the drill becomes the photograph and the closed strait becomes the news, with the Federal Reserve and Aramco as the measurable consequences. That is the same proposition the hardline titles print as victory, stated in the vocabulary of price and supply rather than of eqtedar. The paper's channel then does something its front page does not: it prints a named former diplomat arguing for a negotiated end to the war, and it prints an explosion in Riyadh, on the morning two other titles describe Riyadh as pleading. The distance between what this newsroom will put on paper and what it will put on Telegram is itself the finding.

Ta'adol

Economic daily

“The economy's PMI stayed in recession” «شامخ اقتصاد در رکود ماند»

LOW: the Federal Reserve turn read as an external shock to Iran, not as an Iranian success


تعادل

شامخ اقتصاد در رکود ماند

تورم انرژی و چرخش انقباضی فدرال رزرو

فدایی ایران

- Main: «شامخ اقتصاد در رکود ماند» under «تولید جان گرفت، اما مشتری نیست», production revived but there is no customer, the purchasing-managers' index read as output without demand.
- Main (second lead): «تورم انرژی و چرخش انقباضی فدرال رزرو», energy inflation and the Federal Reserve's contractionary turn, introduced as «تعادل» پیامدهای زلزله پولی واشنگتن بر بازارهای نوظهور، بدهی جهانی و طلا را بررسی می‌کند, Ta'adol examining the consequences of Washington's monetary earthquake for emerging markets, global debt and gold. The photograph is a television carrying an American business channel with the chyron INFLATION REMAINS ELEVATED.
- Right rail: «فدایی ایران», Iran's devoted one, the drill reported in a single column naming سردار حسن حسن‌زاده, the commander of the IRGC's Muhammad Rasulullah Corps of Greater Tehran, as the speaker.
- Sub-item: annual school fees in Tehran reaching 172 million tomans at primary level and 220 million at upper secondary.
- Sub-item: «انفجار نقدینگی در بورس», a liquidity explosion on the exchange, and «درس‌هایی از نرخ رشد بالا برای ایران», lessons from high growth rates for Iran.

ANALYST NOTE Ta'adol is the cycle's control surface: it carries the same American monetary event that Etemad frames as Tehran's shock to Wall Street, and frames it instead as an external shock arriving at Iranian emerging-market exposure, gold and debt. Two days ago this paper's front page carried no war content at all; today the war appears twice, once as a single column on the drill and once as the Federal Reserve, and in neither case as an Iranian achievement. When the economic press and the political press print the same Federal Reserve decision with opposite subjects, the political claim is the one carrying the load.

Iran (channel) Official government daily

MODERATE: great-power protection presented as the operative shield

“Beijing and Moscow's blow to the American resolution against Iran” «ضربه پکن و مسکو به قطعنامه آمریکا علیه ایران»

- Main (post 507368, the paper's own contents list): «ضربه پکن و مسکو به قطعنامه آمریکا علیه ایران», Beijing and Moscow's blow to the American resolution against Iran, and «ایران، خانه مشترک جانفدایان», Iran, the shared home of the life-sacrificers.
- Sub-item (post 507365): the speaker of parliament answering a senior American military officer on autonomous weapons and air defence. Vatan-e Emrooz's channel (post 25501) and Defa Press (67834) both carry the same exchange with the quotation «های شما شکار۱۵-F ها و۳۵-F دورانی که در آن می‌شوند», the era in which your F-35s and F-15s are hunted, addressed to the chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff.
- Sub-item (post 507355): a foreign ministry condemnation of a terrorist attack during Friday prayers in the Kohat area of Pakistan.
- Sub-item (post 507359): the paper's own front page for 28 Shahrivar 1405.
- Sub-item: a domestic fiscal line on a 60 percent salary increase against a stated credit allocation.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The government daily prints the Security Council result as a blow struck by Beijing and Moscow, which is the same event Sazandegi credits to the nuclear agreement's surviving legal architecture and Jomhouri Eslami reports by its actual subject. Three framings of one vote, and the government's is the one that assigns Iran no agency at all, only powerful friends. That is a defensible reading of a double veto, but it is also the reading that makes the least demand on Iranian policy, which is what a government surface prints when the file is not its own.

Jam-e Jam (channel) Daily of the state broadcaster (IRIB)

“The great "313,000 life-sacrificers" exercise” «رزمایش بزرگ «۳۱۳ هزار جان‌فدا»»

MODERATE-HIGH: accurate cost reporting beside an unconfirmed execution announcement

- Main (posts 28159, 28162): aerial footage of the Janfada exercise and the large-scale drill reported as held with broad participation.
- Sub-item (post 28170): the Pentagon's acknowledgement of $43.6 billion spent on the conflict with Iran. The figure is externally verified as the Pentagon's estimate to congressional oversight panels, current as of 3 September 2026, comprising $11.2 billion obligated for operations and $32.4 billion in unfunded replacement costs, and excluding damage to American facilities in eight regional countries.
- Sub-item (post 28158): a military spokesman saying continuous threats from the American president and Israeli leaders cannot prevent heavier defeats.
- Sub-item (post 28172): Security Council members calling for an immediate halt to the Yemen conflict and for civilian protection.
- Sub-item (post 28176): the execution of a person said to have supplied sensitive missile-site information to Israeli intelligence. Fars News (post 462923) carries the same item the same cycle. No independent confirmation was available at compile time.
- Sub-item (post 28171): CNN's warning of legal action over threatened American media restrictions, the same item Kayhan carries.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The state broadcaster's daily is the surface where the cycle's two hardest-edged claims sit side by side: an audited American cost figure it reports accurately, and an execution for espionage it reports without independent confirmation. The Pentagon number matters because it is the first time in several cycles that an American figure has reached an Iranian surface without inflation, and it is the state broadcaster, not the independent title, that gets it right. The espionage execution belongs to a different register entirely and should be treated as an announcement rather than as a verified event. Watch whether the $43.6 billion survives contact with the front pages that have been printing $50 billion.

Kayhan (channel) Hardline daily, managing editor appointed by the Leader's office

“The exercise of 313,000 life-sacrificers in Tehran, in memory of the 313 companions of the Imam of the Age” «رزمایش ۳۱۳ هزار جان‌فدا در تهران به یاد ۳۱۳ یار امام زمان(عج)»

HIGH: the mobilisation given explicitly messianic framing by the Leader's office daily

- Main (post 84331, repeated at 84343): the front-page headline states outright what every other title leaves implicit, that the figure 313,000 is chosen «به یاد ۳۱۳ یار امام زمان(عج)», in memory of the 313 companions of the Imam of the Age. The post relays Associated Press reporting that hundreds of thousands took part.
- Sub-item (post 84344): «سی ان ان: ترامپ را محاکمه می‌کنیم», CNN: we will take Trump to court, on threatened American media restrictions, carried as evidence of internal American disorder.
- Sub-item (post 84330): «دو نور هدایت», two lights of guidance, a devotional item carrying archival remarks of the late Seyyed Ali Khamenei on the Quran and on leadership. It is not a message from the serving Leader.
- Sub-item (post 84328): «ماینرهای غیرمجاز اندازه تولید برق بزرگ‌ترین نیروگاه ایران برق مصرف می‌کنند», unauthorised crypto miners consuming as much electricity as Iran's largest power station produces, matching Jomhouri Eslami's Alborz raid on the same morning.
- No «یادداشت روز» editorial was retrievable from the channel for this date at compile time.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Kayhan supplies the single most important piece of interpretive evidence in the batch, and it is the arithmetic. Every other title prints 313,000 as a turnout figure; the Leader's-office daily prints it as a liturgical number, one thousand for each of the 313 companions who by Shia tradition gather to the Imam of the Age at his return. A headcount that is also a theological constant is not a headcount. Read against the 31 million registrations two titles claimed two cycles ago, the campaign's numbers have stopped growing and started signifying, which is what a mobilisation does when it moves from recruitment to consecration.

Appendix A: The Leader's message, fifth consecutive absence

Ten front pages of 28 Shahrivar 1405, nine outlet channels, and the Leader's own site

This appendix normally carries a full translation of the serving Leader's lead message of the day. There is no such message to translate. No message, speech, decree, letter or directly quoted remark attributed to the serving Leader, Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei, appears on any of the ten front pages in this batch or in any of the nine outlet channels read alongside them.

The nearest item is Kayhan's post 84330, «دو نور هدایت», two lights of guidance, which carries archival remarks of the late Seyyed Ali Khamenei on the Quran and on leadership. The martyred predecessor is the speaker there, not the serving Leader, and the item is devotional rather than political. Kayhan's channel also preserves an older post (84072) that does quote Seyyed Mojtaba by name, dated 20 Farvardin 1405, which establishes that the channel does carry his words when there are words to carry.

The occasion available today was substantial. The Tehran mobilisation that fills nine of the ten covers is the largest single public event of the war's recent months; the United Nations fact-finding mission has just produced the strongest external finding yet in Iran's favour; and the United States has walked out of the Human Rights Council. Every one of those is an occasion on which the office would normally speak.

One thing did change. On the front page of the economic daily Charsoogh, the foreground of the lead photograph is a rally placard bearing a portrait and the words «لبیک یا سید مجتبی», labbayk ya Seyyed Mojtaba, the formula of answered allegiance addressed to the serving Leader by name. For four consecutive cycles this monitor has recorded that the mobilisation's own iconography named the assassinated predecessor and not the successor: the Muhammad Rasulullah Corps advertised this very assembly «به نیابت از آقای شهید ایران», on behalf of Iran's martyred Aqa. Today the crowd's own signage names the living one.

Analyst flag: the image is not the message. A placard photographed by one economic daily is a single surface, and it is evidence about what the organisers permitted or arranged rather than about what the office itself has said. The finding stands as it is stated: a fifth consecutive cycle without a Leader's text, on the first cycle in which his image enters the mobilisation's allegiance formula. Verification note: english.khamenei.ir was not available at the time of compilation, so the absence rests on eleven Iranian surfaces rather than on a check of the office's own publication record, which is the weaker form of the finding and is reported as such.

Appendix B: Sazandegi's editorial, «میدان‌داری و مسئولیت‌پذیری»

Sazandegi, year 9, issue 1320, Saturday 28 Shahrivar 1405, front-page سرمقاله

Header as printed: «میدان‌داری و مسئولیت‌پذیری», Taking the field and accepting responsibility, under the subtitle «درباره هزینه‌های مخالفت سوپرانقلابی‌ها با تصمیمات نظام», On the costs of the super-revolutionaries' opposition to the system's decisions.

Author, verified: محسن هاشمی رفسنجانی, Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani, identified on the page as head of the central council of the Executives of Construction party (Kargozaran-e Sazandegi). The description matches the independent record of his position, and he is the eldest son of the late president Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

Argument, first movement: the column opens on the decades since the revolution's victory and on a current that has run through them under changing labels, sometimes as the left, later as the principlist right, exerting influence on the country's political and media arena out of proportion to its weight.

Argument, second movement: that current, the author writes, now attacks the system's own officials, its legal and formal authorities included, across the press, social media and even the state broadcaster, to a degree that it can no longer be classified as conservative at all. This is where the loaded coinage of the subtitle is introduced: «سوپرانقلابی», super-revolutionary, a term of derision for those who position themselves to the revolutionary side of the revolution's own institutions.

Argument, third movement, and the one that carries the piece: the column sets out a lineage of refusals. It recalls the year 1367 (1988) and Imam Khomeini's decision to accept Resolution 598 and end the eight-year war; the year 1382 (2003) and the decision to accept suspension of nuclear activities; and the twenty years since, in which the same current has opposed strategic decisions of the system at successive junctures, including negotiation with the Western powers and what followed the nuclear agreement. In the closing passage the lineage is brought to the present and the name of the serving Leader, آیت‌الله سید مجتبی, appears: the charge is that the same current withholds its submission from decisions taken at the top of the system today, as it withheld it from Khomeini's in 1988.

Analyst flag, and it applies to this whole appendix: this is a rendering of the argument of a front-page column read from the kiosk scan at the resolution available, not a verbatim translation. The header, the subtitle, the byline and the byline's institutional description are legible with confidence and are given as printed. The body is legible in parts; dates, the resolution number and the name of the serving Leader are read directly from the column, and the connective reasoning between them is reconstructed. It should not be quoted as the author's wording. Source line: Sazandegi, سرمقاله, front page, 28 Shahrivar 1405.

Significance: a reformist party newspaper is using the serving Leader's authority as an instrument against the hardline camp, and doing so by placing him in a line of descent from Khomeini's most painful decision. That is an unusual direction of travel for this argument. It is also the second element of this edition, alongside the Charsoogh placard, in which the successor's authority is invoked by someone other than his own office.

Appendix C: Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline, compiled 19 September 2026

Scans. Nine Persian front pages were taken from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk album at t.me/NewspaperTasnim/44623, captioned «صفحه نخست روزنامه‌های شنبه ۲۸ شهریور ۱۴۰۵» and containing nine images; one English front page came from the Newspapers_Iran album at t.me/newspapers_iran/3565. The stale-batch guard compared the album's own printed Jalali date to the target date and matched on 28/6/1405, so the batch is same-day and no fallback sourcing was needed. The Persian titles were identified from their mastheads: Hamshahri, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Sazandegi, Charsoogh, Jomhouri Eslami, Etemad and Ta'adol.

Text channels. Nine outlet channels were read: the dailies Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad, Iran and Sobh-e No, and the agencies Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News. Kayhan, Iran and Jam-e Jam have no scan in today's album and are analysed from their channels alone, which is a thinner evidentiary basis than a front page and is flagged where it matters. Agency material is treated as claims and official signalling, not as front-page content.

Resolution. The kiosk scans are roughly 800 pixels on the long edge. Headlines, decks, standfirsts and bylines are reliably legible; body text is legible in parts after cropping and upscaling and is not. Where a body passage is used, it is marked as a reading rather than as a quotation. Two items were left out rather than guessed at: a Javan right-rail headline that could not be resolved, and the name of a Sazandegi contents-strip columnist.

Externally verified today. The Security Council vote of 17 September, in which the American draft to extend the mandate of the 1737 Committee's panel of experts drew eleven votes in favour and failed to the Russian and Chinese vetoes with Somalia and Pakistan abstaining. The United Nations fact-finding mission's finding of reasonable grounds to believe US forces were responsible for two strikes on civilian sites in Iran, the Shajareh Tayyebeh primary school at Minab and a sports complex and adjacent housing at Lamerd, and the American withdrawal from the Human Rights Council on 18 September. The Pentagon's $43.6 billion war-cost estimate reported to congressional oversight panels, current as of 3 September 2026. Abbas Araghchi's Beijing meeting with Wang Yi on 16 September. Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani's position at the head of the Kargozaran council.

Single-sourced and not adopted. Hamshahri's extension of the United Nations findings to a third incident, «عروسی سیریک», the Sirik wedding, which appears on no other surface in the batch and in no external report located at compile time. Javan's «التماس سعودی برای آتش‌بس دوهفته‌ای با یمن!», the Saudi entreaty for a two-week ceasefire, which names no Saudi source. Charsoogh's item on remarks attributed to the president's son, which quotes nothing and is carried by no other title. Jam-e Jam's and Fars News's report of an execution for supplying missile-site information to Israeli intelligence, for which no independent confirmation was available. Defa Press's claim (post 67853) of destroying an American unmanned surface vessel at the entrance to the Strait of Hormuz, and its claim (67836) that Ansarullah seized heights overlooking Bab al-Mandab. All Iranian military and battle-damage claims in this edition are labelled claims.

Arithmetic under watch. The mobilisation figure printed across the batch is 313,000. Kayhan's own headline states that the number is chosen «به یاد ۳۱۳ یار امام زمان(عج)», in memory of the 313 companions of the Imam of the Age, which makes it a designed number rather than a count, and this monitor treats it as such. Hamshahri prints 313,000 in its banner and 300,000 in its Associated Press box on the same page. Vatan-e

Emrooz's «سیاه‌چاله ۵۰ میلیارد دلاری», its $50 billion figure for the war's cost, sits about fifteen percent above the $43.6 billion its own channel carried the same morning.

Not retrieved. Tehrantimes.com was not available at the time of compilation, so the English-language picture rests on the Iran Daily scan alone. english.khamenei.ir was likewise not available, which weakens the Leader-absence finding in Appendix A to an absence across eleven Iranian surfaces. No Kayhan «یادداشت روز» for this date could be retrieved from the channel.

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