OPEN-SOURCE PRESS INTELLIGENCE

Iranian Press Monitor

Daily Front-Page Intelligence

Day 201 - Sunday, 20 September 2026 · 8 · یکشنبه ۲۹ شهریور ۱۴۰۵ Rabi' al-Thani 1448

THE TERMS EDITION

Nine Persian front pages of 29 Shahrivar 1405, read alongside six outlet channels and three agency wires; the English government daily available was one cycle old and Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation.

Front pages published the morning of 20 September 2026, reflecting events through late 19 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: Etemad

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition is that the negotiation argument has acquired a sponsor. Twenty-four hours ago this monitor recorded, as its weakest-signal finding, that the case for ending the war by negotiation existed in the Iranian press and could not buy front-page space: a former diplomat on Etemad's channel, a reformist party paper making the case obliquely through a legal mechanism, and no front page in the batch printing a direct argument for an exit. This morning Etemad leads its second column «دبیر شورای عالی امنیت ملی اعلام کرد: شروط مذاکره با امریکا», the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council announced the conditions for negotiation with America; Ta'adol prints the same story with the conditions themselves in the deck, «پایان دادن به جنگ در تمامی جبهه‌ها، آزاد کردن دارایی‌ها و پایان دادن به محاصره دریایی»; and Javan carries the same interview across the top of its page. The space was not won by the reformist press. It was conferred by Mohsen Rezaei, in post as Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council since 9 August, whose authority no Iranian title can decline to print.

What the front pages did not print is the count. The Iranian channels, including the hardline flagship's own, report seven conditions conveyed to the American government: «۷ شرط ایران برای آغاز هر مذاکره‌ای به دولت آمریکا اعلام شده است». Every front page in the batch prints three. External reporting of the interview confirms three disclosed publicly and the remainder withheld, conveyed through Qatari mediation after the memorandum of understanding lapsed last month. A negotiating position published at less than half its length is a position designed to be tested privately while being advertised publicly, and the four unpublished terms are the part of this file that no open-source reading can reach.

The second half of the same interview went to a different camp. Rezaei affirmed the fatwa prohibiting nuclear weapons and said the doctrine is unchanged, and then added that Iran does not know what will happen in the future; he said no decision to leave the Non-Proliferation Treaty has been taken and that American conduct may force one; and he said Iran is ready for a decisive war. Javan, the IRGC-affiliated daily, printed the second sentence and not the first, as the kicker across the top of its front page: «رضایی: بمب؟ نمی‌دانیم در آینده چه اتفاقی می‌افتد!». The reformist and economic titles printed the terms; the IRGC title printed the ambiguity. One interview, two front-page arguments, allocated cleanly along factional lines, which indicates a message designed to be disaggregated rather than an editorial disagreement about what was said.

Beneath both, the chokepoint file moved in a direction the front pages did not report. The Foreign Ministry spokesman is quoted on Sobh-e No's own channel saying Iran and Oman have reached an understanding on determining safe passage routes through the Strait of Hormuz. That is the first mechanism in this series capable of ending the closure without anyone conceding anything, it is consistent with an Iran-Oman corridor process running externally since late August, and it appears on no front page in the batch, on the morning those front pages print an end to the naval blockade as a demand upon Washington. Meanwhile the bypass this monitor has been tracking since 17 September is being closed at its far end rather than argued about: Yemeni forces claim strikes on Aramco facilities at Yanbu, the terminus of the East-West pipeline; Fars News reports five Saudi cargo transits of the Red Sea in seven days against a weekly average roughly three times that, with flows down to about 3.4 million barrels a day from about 4.4 million; and Jomhouri Eslami reports Saudi supply to European customers halted.

The domestic page is where the edition's cost sits. Charsoogh leads on Iranian workers' purchasing power falling to less than half under the current government and places directly beneath it «روزهای سیاه اقتصاد آمریکا با تداوم بسته ماندن تنگه هرمز», black days for the American economy with the continued closure of the Strait of Hormuz, illustrated by a fist in Iranian military sleeve pinning the sea to a rock. Ta'adol reports air fares up by 35 to 45 million tomans in a week. Shargh's rail carries the only reference in the batch to petrol queues inside

Iran. And Charsoogh's front-page cartoon ridicules the Foreign Minister by name over the cost of living, on the morning his ministry's security counterpart set out Iran's price for peace. Front-page mockery of a serving negotiator, from the commercial press rather than from a faction, is a register this series has not previously recorded.

Net assessment: this is the most legible edition of the last fortnight, because for once the Iranian press is arguing about something other than its own mobilisation. The number that stood on every cover yesterday, 313,000, appears on one page today and as a deputy's quotation rather than as news; Sazandegi has transferred the word جان‌فدا itself to the Yemenis. The consecration campaign has not stopped, it has changed object: Kayhan's right rail launches a national campaign called «برای پدر، به عشق پسر», for the father, out of love for the son, dated by the paper to the birth anniversary of the Imam who in Shia tradition is the father of the Hidden Imam, in the sixth consecutive cycle in which the serving Leader publishes nothing at all. Terms in public, four terms withheld, a nuclear question left open, a de-escalation corridor kept off the page, and the succession advanced by liturgy rather than by speech: what is on offer this morning is not a turn toward settlement but a fully assembled bargaining posture, and the assembly is what is new.

BOTTOM LINE Iran put a price on ending the war this morning, on the front pages of a reformist daily and an economic one, and the same official who set the price refused in the same interview to say what Iran will do about a bomb: the Iranian press printed the terms and the ambiguity on different covers, which is how a policy looks when both halves are deliberate.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Nine Persian front pages of 29 Shahrivar 1405 from the kiosk batch of 20 September 2026 were read in full; the batch's own printed Jalali date matched the target date on the first attempt. Six outlet channels and three agency wires were read. The English-language kiosk batch had not refreshed, so the government's English surface here is Iran Daily of 19 September and is labelled as one cycle old wherever cited; Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation. Vatan-e Emrooz's front-page post did not render readable headline content in the web preview and is represented by its channel items only. Rezaei's post, the disclosed conditions, the Qatari channel, the NPT formulation and the record American diesel price were each checked against external reporting. Where a signed byline could not be resolved at the resolution the kiosk supplies, it is recorded as unattributed rather than guessed, which applies to two Sobh-e No columns, the Sazandegi lead analysis and the Kayhan editorial of the day. Iranian and Yemeni military claims are labelled as claims throughout.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 The negotiation argument acquired an owner, and the owner is the security establishment

One cycle ago the case for an exit sat on a reformist channel in the mouth of a former diplomat and could not reach a front page. Today it leads Etemad's second column, fills Ta'adol's deck in full, and runs across the top of Javan. Nothing about the reformist argument changed; what changed is that the Supreme National Security Council said it, and the terms now carry an authority no Iranian title can decline to print. The lesson for this file is that front-page space in the Iranian press is not won by persuasion but conferred by rank, and the diplomacy thread should henceforth be tracked by who is speaking rather than by which camp is printing.

2 One interview, split down the middle, along the exact factional line

Rezaei affirmed the fatwa and left the future open; said no NPT decision is taken and that American conduct may force one; said Iran is ready for a decisive war. The reformist and economic titles printed the terms and omitted the ambiguity. The IRGC-affiliated title printed the ambiguity as its kicker and put the terms inside. A

single source, two incompatible front-page arguments, no contradiction of fact between them: this is message discipline operating through selection rather than through wording, and it is cheaper and harder to detect than the identical-figure convergence this monitor recorded a cycle ago.

3 The Hormuz bypass is being closed at the other end

Since 17 September this file has tracked the Saudi East-West pipeline to Yanbu as the physical premise on which the closure's coercive value depends, with Aramco restoration targeted for roughly late October. That timetable has been overtaken. Yemeni forces claim strikes on Aramco facilities at Yanbu; the IRGC-linked wire reports Saudi Red Sea transits at five in seven days against a weekly average roughly three times that and flows down to about 3.4 million barrels a day; Jomhouri Eslami reports Saudi supply to European customers halted. The bypass argument no longer needs to be won on the page, because the outlet is being attacked directly.

4 A de-escalation mechanism exists and is being kept off the front pages

The Foreign Ministry spokesman is quoted on a principlist daily's channel saying Iran and Oman have reached an understanding on safe passage routes through the Strait of Hormuz. External reporting places a corridor process in train since late August. Not one of the nine Persian front pages carries it, on the morning three of them print an end to the naval blockade as something Washington must concede. The closure is being presented to Iranian readers as a lever held, at the moment its managed unwinding is being negotiated with a neighbour.

5 Riyadh's isolation is being assembled rather than reported

Sobh-e No's cover states that after America, Britain, Pakistan and Turkey, Egypt has now refused Saudi Arabia's request for military help. The state broadcaster's own channel, the same morning, reports the Turkish Foreign Minister willing to examine Saudi requirements within a trilateral framework including Pakistan; Kayhan's masthead ear threatens Turkey for pandering to America. Only the Egyptian element carries a source anywhere in the batch, and the source is Lebanese. Three cycles ago Riyadh appeared in three mutually exclusive postures with no Saudi source; the postures have now consolidated into one, and the sourcing has not improved.

6 The economic press moved from refusing the win to pricing the leverage

For three cycles the titles closest to the price data declined to book the closure as an Iranian gain. Ta'adol now goes further in the other direction: it prints all three disclosed conditions in its headline deck and runs a signed column, «تغییر توازن انرژی به نفع دیپلماسی», arguing the energy shift favours diplomacy. Charsoogh keeps both halves on one page, purchasing power halved in the banner and American black days beneath it. The economic press is the only part of this press that is treating the leverage as something to be spent rather than admired.

7 The mobilisation number vanished and its vocabulary was re-assigned

Yesterday every surface in the batch printed 313,000, with the Leader's office daily supplying its derivation from Shia eschatology. Today no Persian front page leads on it; Kayhan carries it once, low on the page, as a Tehran deputy's quotation. Sazandegi has taken the state's own word, جان‌فدا, life-sacrificer, and applied it on its front page to Ansarullah. A consecrated number does not fall when attendance does, and it does not need to: it simply stops being printed, while the vocabulary it created goes on working elsewhere.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 [HIGH] **Iran published a price for ending the war, and the Iranian press printed less than half of it.** Etemad's second column leads «دبیر شورای عالی امنیت ملی اعلام کرد: شروط مذاکره با امریکا»; Ta'adol prints the conditions in full in its deck, «پایان دادن به جنگ در تمامی جبهه‌ها، آزاد کردن دارایی‌ها و پایان دادن به محاصره دریایی است»; Javan runs the same interview across its top. All three print three conditions. The Kayhan channel (84438) reports seven: «شرط ایران برای آغاز هر مذاکره‌ای به دولت آمریکا اعلام شده است ۷», and the Jam-e Jam channel (28279) has Rezaei saying «پیام تهران روشن و بدون ابهام است», Tehran's message is clear and unambiguous. External reporting of the Al Jazeera interview confirms three disclosed, the rest withheld, and conveyed through Qatari mediation after the memorandum of understanding lapsed last month. One cycle ago this monitor's weakest finding was that no Iranian front page would print a direct argument for negotiating an exit; the finding is now void, and it was voided by rank rather than by persuasion. The significance is that Iran is running a public and a private track at once and has told its own readers which is which by publishing the count nowhere near the terms: the four withheld conditions are the file, and they are not open-source readable.

KJ-2 [HIGH] **The official who published the terms declined in the same interview to foreclose the bomb, and the press divided the two halves between its camps.** Rezaei affirmed the fatwa prohibiting nuclear weapons and said the doctrine is unchanged, then said Iran does not know what will happen in the future; said no NPT withdrawal has been decided and that American conduct may compel one; and said Iran is prepared for a decisive war, with responses encompassing American bases, commercial interests and companies operating in the region. Javan printed the uncertainty, not the affirmation, as the kicker across the top of page one: «رضایی: بمب؟ نمی‌دانیم در آینده چه اتفاقی می‌افتد!». Etemad and Ta'adol printed the terms and omitted the nuclear passage entirely. The benign reading is that each title selected the part its readers care about. That reading is weakened by the cleanness of the split: nine front pages, no overlap, no title carrying both halves. The significance is that the ambiguity is not a slip being managed but a second instrument being deployed, and the surface on which it was deployed is the one affiliated with the force that would have to execute it.

KJ-3 [HIGH] **Negative evidence: the first mechanism capable of ending the Hormuz closure without a concession exists, is Iranian-sourced, and reached no front page.** Sobh-e No's channel (116056) carries the Foreign Ministry spokesman stating that Iran and Oman have reached an understanding on determining safe passage routes through the Strait of Hormuz. External reporting places an Iran-Oman corridor process in train since late August, with the arrangement intended to be recorded with the International Maritime Organization. Not one of the nine Persian front pages carries it, including Sobh-e No's own, which instead prints Saudi Arabia's isolation and an unsourced warning that bigger attacks are coming. On the same morning, three front pages print an end to the naval blockade as a condition Washington must meet, and Defa Press (67923) has the IRGC deputy commander declaring the strait still under Iranian armed-forces control. The significance is that the closure is being sold to Iranian readers as a lever held at precisely the moment its managed unwinding is being arranged with a neighbour, and the gap between the channel and the page is where the actual policy is visible.

KJ-4 [HIGH] **The Hormuz bypass is now being attacked at its outlet, which overtakes the falsification test this monitor set two cycles ago.** On 17 and 19 September this file tracked the Saudi East-West pipeline to Yanbu as the physical premise the coercion argument depends on, with Aramco restoration targeted for roughly late October, and named that timetable as the cleanest available falsification test. Today the Kayhan channel (84437) and the Sobh-e No channel (116061) both carry the Yemeni armed forces claiming two operations against sensitive targets in Riyadh and against Aramco facilities at Yanbu,

with widespread fires. Fars News (463134) reports five Saudi cargo transits of the Red Sea in seven days, under a third of the weekly average, with flows down to about 3.4 million barrels a day from about 4.4 million. Jomhouri Eslami's rail reports Saudi supply to European customers halted. The strike claims are armed-group claims and are not confirmed; the transit figures are an IRGC-linked wire's and are not audited. The significance holds even discounting both: the route out of Hormuz runs to a Red Sea coast now inside the range of the war, so the restoration timetable has stopped being the decisive variable and Bab al-Mandab has replaced it.

KJ-5 [MODERATE-HIGH] **The succession has moved from a placard in a crowd to a national campaign in the Leader's own daily, in the sixth consecutive cycle of his silence.** Kayhan's right-rail lead reads «همزمان با ایام ولادت امام حسن عسکری(ع): پویش ملی «برای پدر، به عشق پسر» آغاز شد», coinciding with the birth anniversary of Imam Hasan al-Askari, the national campaign 'For the father, out of love for the son' has begun. The dating is the paper's own, and the fit is exact: Hasan al-Askari is, in Shia tradition, the father of the Hidden Imam, so a campaign organised around a father-to-son transmission is launched on the feast of the canonical father-to-son transmission, in the daily whose managing editor is appointed by the Leader's office. One cycle ago the successor appeared as «لبیک یا سید مجتبی» on a rally placard in a photograph and as a name invoked in a reformist editorial. Today he is the object of a named national campaign. Across all eleven surfaces read this cycle there is still no message, speech, decree or directly quoted remark from Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei, and the office's own publication record could not be reached, which is why confidence is held here rather than raised. The significance is that the office is not ending the silence, it is furnishing it: authority is being transferred by liturgy and campaign rather than by the successor's voice.

KJ-6 [MODERATE-HIGH] **Saudi Arabia's isolation is being constructed on the page, and the construction is falsified inside the same batch.** Sobh-e No's second lead, «مخمصه سعودی», the Saudi predicament, carries the standfirst «بعد از امریکا، انگلیس، پاکستان، ترکیه، مصر هم درخواست کمک نظامی عربستان را رد کرد», a five-country refusal list, over a photograph of the Saudi Crown Prince greeting the Egyptian President. The Jam-e Jam channel (28276), the state broadcaster's own, reports the same morning that the Turkish Foreign Minister is willing to examine Saudi Arabia's military requirements within a trilateral framework including Pakistan. Kayhan's masthead ear threatens Turkey separately, «خوش‌رقصی ترکیه برای آمریکا نباید بی‌پاسخ بماند». Only the Egyptian element carries a source anywhere in the batch, Jomhouri Eslami's attribution to Al-Akhbar, and that is consistent with external reporting that Cairo advised Riyadh to open talks with Ansarullah during the Crown Prince's visit; no Saudi, Pakistani, British or Turkish source appears on any page. The significance is that a list is a stronger claim than an anecdote and this one is assembled from four unsourced elements and one Lebanese-sourced element, with a contradiction available on an Iranian state channel: it is placement, not reporting, and Turkey's real position is the item to watch.

KJ-7 [MODERATE-HIGH] **The economic press has stopped refusing the closure as a win and started pricing it as a chip.** For three cycles the titles closest to the price data declined to book the Strait's closure as an Iranian gain. Ta'adol today prints all three disclosed conditions in its headline deck, more completely than any political title, and runs a signed front-page column, «تغییر توازن انرژی به نفع دیپلماسی», the shift in the energy balance in favour of diplomacy, arguing that the change has moved the contest off the military field and onto the arteries of the world economy. Charsoogh runs both halves on one page: purchasing power halved under the current government in the banner, «روزهای سیاه اقتصاد آمریکا با تداوم بسته ماندن تنگه هرمز» directly beneath it. The significance is that the only part of the Iranian press consistently willing

to treat the leverage as expendable rather than admirable is the part that publishes the domestic price series, and it is now making the trade argument explicitly, on the same page as the terms.

KJ-8 [MODERATE] **The audited American figures survived a second cycle intact, and the test set one cycle ago resolved in favour of the audit.** On 19 September this monitor recorded a hardline title carrying the Pentagon's audited $43.6 billion on its own channel and printing a $50 billion 'black hole' on its front page, and named which number the front pages carry next as a direct reading on editorial confidence. Today Jomhouri Eslami prints «اعتراف پنتاگون: ۴۳.۶ میلیارد دلار», the audited figure, on page one. Kayhan prints the American diesel record with the source named, the figure in English and the date on the page: a Washington Post lead with $6.39 per gallon, dated 18 September 2026, against an independently reported record in the $6.31 to $6.43 range that week. The significance is that the Iranian press is now more accurate about American costs than about Iranian ones, which is the expected asymmetry when the hostile number is the flattering number, and it means the drift recorded on 17 and 19 September was an editorial choice on one masthead rather than a systemic sourcing failure.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] **An Iranian front page ridiculed the serving Foreign Minister by name on the morning his government published its terms for peace.** Charsoogh's front-page cartoon has a reporter ask «آقای عراقچی، آیا شما هم به پویش پسر رئیس‌جمهور برای نصف کردن هزینه زندگی می‌پیوندید؟», will you also join the president's son's campaign to halve the cost of living, and has Araghchi reply that his wife's exhibitions will be halved instead. The same page leads «جهت اطلاع پسر پزشکیان: قدرت خرید کارگران در دولت چهاردهم کمتر از نصف شد». The campaign itself could not be corroborated outside the Iranian press and is reported here only as two Iranian front pages describe it. The significance is the register rather than the target: this series has recorded factional attacks on negotiators before, but not commercial-press ridicule of the sitting Foreign Minister on a front page, and it arrives on the day the security council put his file back in play. Domestic economic anger is now cheap enough to spend on the negotiating team in public.

KJ-10 [MODERATE] **Negative evidence: the mobilisation figure that stood on every cover yesterday is gone from all of them today, and its vocabulary has been given to a foreign armed movement.** On 19 September every surface in the batch printed 313,000 and the Leader's office daily supplied its derivation from the 313 companions of the Imam of the Age. This monitor set the publication of any actual turnout count as the test of whether the number was ever meant to be measured. No count appeared, and neither did the number: no Persian front page in today's batch leads on it, and Kayhan carries it once, low on the page, as a Tehran deputy's quotation that Friday's exercise displayed the system's hard and soft اقتدار. Sazandegi meanwhile gives its entire cover to «جان‌فدایان یمنی», applying the state's own martyrdom term to Ansarullah. Only Iran Daily still carries the drill prominently, and that edition is a cycle old. The significance is that the question was answered by disappearance rather than by measurement, which confirms the consecration reading: a figure that is never counted also never has to be defended, and the word it minted goes on doing work after the number stops.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Mohsen Rezaei	Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council since 9 August 2026;	The authoritative voice of the edition on four front pages and five channels: publishes three of seven conditions for	COERCION SPOKESMAN

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
	former IRGC commander-in-chief	talks, affirms the nuclear fatwa, declines to foreclose the future, and declares readiness for a decisive war	
Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei	Supreme Leader	No message, speech, decree or quoted remark on any of the eleven surfaces read, for a sixth consecutive cycle; simultaneously made the object of a national campaign, «برای پدر، به عشق پسر», launched in the Leader's office daily	absence noted
Donald Trump	President of the United States	Shargh's lead subject as a figure of contradiction; reported by Fars citing a CNN analyst as having reviewed strike options against Yemen at Camp David; the counterparty who must accept or refuse the conditions	WATCH
Mohammed bin Salman	Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia	Photographed on Sobh-e No's cover greeting the Egyptian President, under a five-country list of refusals of his request for military help; the object of «مخمصه سعودی», the Saudi predicament	TARGET FRAMING
Abdel Fattah el-Sisi	President of Egypt	Cast as the fifth and latest refuser, via Jomhouri Eslami's attribution to Al-Akhbar that Cairo rejected a Saudi request for ground forces in Yemen; no Egyptian source appears in the batch	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Seyed Abbas Araghchi	Foreign Minister	Ridiculed by name in Charsoogh's front-page cartoon over the cost of living, on the morning the negotiation conditions were published; absent from every other cover	WATCH
The Foreign Minister of Turkey	Named by office only; no personal name is printed on any page or channel item read this cycle	Reported on the state broadcaster's channel as willing to examine Saudi military requirements within a trilateral framework with Pakistan, while a principlist cover lists Turkey among the refusers and Kayhan's ear threatens Ankara	WATCH
Abdul-Malik al-Houthi	Leader of Ansarullah	Heads the captioned portrait grid filling Sazandegi's cover under «جان‌فدایان یمنی», the Yemeni life-sacrificers, the state's own martyrdom vocabulary transferred to an allied movement by a reformist party paper	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Ali Shamkhani	Former Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, referred to on the Kayhan front page as «شهید شمخانی»	His widow receives the President's plaque of appreciation from the Defence Minister; the honorific 'martyr' is the paper's, reported here as printed and not independently confirmed	WATCH
Yousef Pezeshkian	Son of the President of Iran	Addressed sarcastically in Charsoogh's main headline, «جهت اطلاع پسر پزشکیان», and made the butt of its cartoon; the cost-	NEW NAMED FIGURE

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
		of-living campaign attributed to him is not corroborated outside the Iranian press	

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Etemad	The Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council announced: the conditions for negotiation with America	Reformist daily of record	The negotiation terms printed as news, under a lead arguing the crisis is to be converted rather than continued	MODERATE
Ta'adol	Iran's conditions for America: ending the war on all fronts, releasing the assets, ending the naval blockade	Economic daily	The three disclosed conditions in full, beside a signed column arguing the energy shift favours diplomacy	MODERATE
Javan	Coming down in Riyadh, going up in Washington!	Hardline principlist, IRGC-affiliated	The same interview reduced to its nuclear ambiguity: «بمب؟ نمی‌دانیم در آینده چه اتفاقی می‌افتد!»	HIGH
Sobh-e No	The time for a new architecture has arrived	Principlist	Saudi Arabia isolated by a five-country refusal list, while the paper's own channel carries the Hormuz safe-passage understanding	MODERATE-HIGH
Sazandegi	The Yemeni life-sacrificers	Reformist, Kargozaran party	Ansarullah profiled as the movement that changed the equation, with Iran's hand cast as freed rather than committed	MODERATE
Jomhouri Eslami	A Republican member of Congress: 90 percent of Americans do not want war against Iran	Traditional clerical establishment, editorially independent	Four borrowed American authorities, two anonymous; the audited $43.6 billion carried straight	LOW-MODERATE
Kayhan	American media admit defeat; the Westernizers still prescribe surrender	Hardline, managing editor appointed by the Leader's office	«برای پدر، به عشق پسر»: the succession launched as a national campaign, beside a threat to Turkey	HIGH

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Shargh	Trump and the great contradictions	Reformist	The counterparty framed as incoherent, the terms absent, and the domestic petrol queue in the rail	LOW
Charsoogh	Workers' purchasing power has fallen to less than half under the fourteenth government	Economic daily	Domestic hardship above the closure's damage to America, with the Foreign Minister ridiculed by name	LOW-MODERATE
Iran Daily (19 September edition)	US cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving UN rights council: Deputy FM	Government English-language daily (IRNA), one cycle old	'Ansarullah advances pave way for talks': the English surface selling the Yemen front as a road to negotiations	LOW
Channels and agency wires	Iran's seven conditions for the start of any negotiation have been conveyed to the American government	Six daily channels and three agency wires	Seven conditions on the wires against three on the pages, and an Iran-Oman Hormuz understanding on no page at all	HIGH

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

Government English-language daily (IRNA)

LOW: war-crimes accountability pressed diplomatically, and the Yemen front sold in English as leverage toward talks

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



- Main: 'US cannot escape responsibility for war crimes by leaving UN rights council: Deputy FM', the government's English-language framing of the American withdrawal from the Human Rights Council.
- Second lead: 'Sacrifice for Iran - Tehranis come out to show readiness to defend nation in mass drill', with a photograph block of the Friday assembly and of senior officials reviewing uniformed ranks.
- Right column interview: 'Ansarullah advances pave way for talks', an interview arguing that Ansarullah's gains in Yemen have shifted the regional energy and trade calculus and opened a path to negotiations.
- Footer items: 'Iran's trade with BRICS members reaches $60b'; 'Ansarullah's strategic gains in Yemen'; 'Iran falls to South Korea in men's basketball semifinals'.
- Masthead ear: 'Poet Shahriar hailed as bridge between Iran's national, ethnic identities'.
- Note: this is the 19 September edition. The English-language kiosk batch available at compile time had not yet refreshed to 20 September, so the English government surface in this edition is one cycle behind the Persian pages.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The English government surface has been running the Yemen file as a road to talks for two cycles while the Persian pages ran it as escalation, and this edition, though a day old, is the clearest statement of that split: 'Ansarullah advances pave way for talks' is the exact argument the Persian principlist press declines to print. Today's Persian batch has partially caught up with it, because the Supreme National Security Council put the conditions on the record. The persistent asymmetry is worth keeping: the version of Iranian policy sold in English has been the negotiated one for longer than the version sold in Persian.

Javan

Hardline principlist; affiliated with the IRGC

HIGH: nuclear ambiguity from the SNSC secretary carried as page-one framing, beside an economic-coercion lead

"Coming down in Riyadh, going up in Washington!" «فرود در ریاض، صعود در واشینگتن!»



- Main: «فرود در ریاض، صعود در واشینگتن!» over a composite image pairing a black smoke column above a Saudi highway with a Gulf forecourt price board. The pun is structural rather than verbal: what descends on Riyadh is ordnance, what ascends in Washington is the pump price. The paper has fused the two halves of the coercion argument into one picture.
- Kicker: «رضایی: بمب؟ نمی‌دانیم در آینده چه اتفاقی می‌افتد!», Rezaei: a bomb? We do not know what will happen in the future! The Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council is quoted on the nuclear question in the paper's top-of-page slot, above the fold, with the exclamation mark set by the paper.
- Sub-item: «فروش نفت ایران در شهریورماه رکورد دو سال اخیر را شکست», Iran's oil sales in Shahrivar broke the two-year record. Printed as a kicker, unsourced on the page, directly above a lead about the price shock the closure is said to be inflicting on others.
- Main interior item: «دبیر شورای عالی امنیت ملی در گفت‌وگو با الجزیره: بمب؟ نمی‌دانیم در آینده چه اتفاقی می‌افتد - به نفع واشنگتن است که شروط ایران را بپذیرد», the SNSC Secretary in conversation with Al Jazeera: it is in Washington's interest to accept Iran's conditions. Photograph of Rezaei in IRGC service dress, seated before the national flag beneath a framed triptych of portraits.
- Right rail: «جنگ شناختی دشمن: از تسخیر ذهن تا شکست اراده», the enemy's cognitive war, from capturing the mind to breaking the will, a signed analytical note.
- Lower page: «جاسوسی از مراکز حساس را به بهانه مدارس دختر…» and «استقبال از انقلاب رایگان» among the domestic items; an espionage case and a schools item share the fold.

ANALYST NOTE Javan is the surface on which the closure policy has been argued out in public across this series, and today it does not argue: it illustrates. The paper that on 17 September asked «عاقبت‌اندیشی در تنگه‌ها», thinking about consequences in the straits, and on 19 September answered itself with «آشوب تنگه‌ها در جهان», now prints the answer as an image with no question attached. What is new is the placement of the nuclear ambiguity: Javan gives its top-of-page kicker not to a threat but to an admission of uncertainty about Iran's own future doctrine, sourced to the state's senior security official. On the IRGC-affiliated daily that is a deliberate pairing, coercive economics above, doctrinal ambiguity beside it.

Sobh-e No

Principlist

MODERATE-HIGH: an unsourced promise of larger attacks on Saudi Arabia, printed beside a regional-order thesis

"The time for a new architecture has arrived" «وقت معماری جدید رسیده است»



- Main: «وقت معماری جدید رسیده است» under the standfirst «ایران چگونه باید خلاقانه و مبتکرانه در ایجاد شمایل جدید منطقه، موثر و دارای دست بالا باشد», how Iran must act creatively and inventively to shape the region's new form, effective and holding the upper hand.
- Second lead: «مخمصه سعودی», the Saudi predicament, with the standfirst «بعد از امریکا، انگلیس، پاکستان، ترکیه، مصر هم درخواست کمک نظامی عربستان را رد کرد», after America, Britain, Pakistan and Turkey, Egypt too has rejected Saudi Arabia's request for military help. Photograph of the Saudi Crown Prince greeting the Egyptian President.
- Sub-deck: «تلاش عربستان برای تغییر زمین بازی از میدان نظامی به میدان احساسات اسلامی - بازی جدید ریاض», Riyadh's attempt to move the game from the military field to the field of Islamic sentiment, and «یک مقام اطلاعاتی به عربستان: حملات بزرگ‌تری در راه است», an intelligence official to Saudi Arabia: bigger attacks are on the way.
- Twin signed columns: «ضرورت پیشروی در پیمان‌های امنیتی جدید منطقه‌ای», the necessity of advancing within new regional security pacts, and «پنجره فرصت ایران برای تثبیت نظم جدید منطقه‌ای», Iran's window of opportunity to consolidate the new regional order. Both bylines are set in small red type that the available page resolution does not resolve reliably; they are not attributed here.
- Banner: «مهم‌ترین درس‌های سیره امام حسن عسکری(ع)», the principal lessons of the conduct of Imam Hasan al-Askari, in the masthead ear.
- Editorial: «محاکمه کاسبان جنگ در کنگره», putting the war profiteers on trial in Congress.
- Channel (116056): «ایران و عمان درباره تعیین مسیرهای عبور امن در تنگه هرمز به تفاهم رسیدند», Iran and Oman have reached an understanding on determining safe passage routes in the Strait of Hormuz. This does not appear on the front page.
- Channel (116061): the Yemeni armed forces spokesman detailing two operations against «اهداف حساس در پایتخت عربستان، ریاض، و تاسیسات آرامکو در ینبع», sensitive targets in Riyadh and Aramco facilities at Yanbu, with widespread fires claimed.

ANALYST NOTE The gap between this paper's page and its own channel is the sharpest editorial decision in the batch. On the channel, Sobh-e No reports an Iran-Oman understanding on safe passage routes through the Strait of Hormuz, which is the first mechanism in this series capable of ending the closure without anyone conceding anything. On the page, it prints Saudi Arabia's isolation and a promise of bigger attacks. A principlist title that has both items and selects the second is telling you which of them its readership is meant to carry into the day. The Egypt claim is also the only element of the five-country refusal list that carries a source anywhere in the batch, and the source is Lebanese, not Egyptian.

Kayhan

Hardline; managing editor appointed by the Leader's office (Hossein Shariatmadari)

HIGH: the succession made an object of public devotion by the Leader's own daily, alongside an explicit threat directed at Turkey

"American media admit defeat; the Westernizers still prescribe surrender" «اعتراف رسانه‌های آمریکا به شکست / غرب‌گرایان همچنان نسخه تسلیم می‌پیچند»


کیهان

اعتراف رسانه‌های آمریکا به شکست

غرب‌گرایان همچنان نسخه تسلیم می‌پیچند

DIESEL

$6.39

U.S. DIESEL PRICES REACH RECORD HIGHS

- Main: «اعتراف رسانه‌های آمریکا به شکست / غرب‌گرایان همچنان نسخه تسلیم می‌پیچند», filed as a «گزارش خبری تحلیلی کیهان», a Kayhan news-analysis report. The construction is the paper's standing two-front device: the external enemy is conceded to be losing, and the domestic advocates of a settlement are the remaining target.
- Second lead: «واشنگتن‌پست: بدترین بخش شوک اقتصادی جنگ، هنوز از راه نرسیده است», the Washington Post: the worst part of the war's economic shock has not yet arrived, illustrated with an English-language chart reading US DIESEL PRICES REACH RECORD HIGHS and a red tab marking $6.39/gal (Sep 18, 2026).
- Banner: «خوش‌رقصی ترکیه برای آمریکا نباید بی‌پاسخ بماند», Turkey's dancing to America's tune must not go unanswered. A threat directed at a neighbour, printed in the masthead ear.
- Banner: «پنتاگون دروغ می‌گوید؛ خسارات آمریکا از ضربات ایران بسیار زیاد است», the Pentagon is lying, America's losses from Iran's strikes are very large, attributed to American media.
- Right rail, lead item: «همزمان با ایام ولادت امام حسن عسکری(ع): پویش ملی «برای پدر، به عشق پسر» آغاز شد»», coinciding with the birth anniversary of Imam Hasan al-Askari, the national campaign 'For the father, out of love for the son' has begun (page 2).
- Right rail: «از سوی وزیر دفاع انجام شد: اهدای لوح سپاس رئیس‌جمهوری به همسر شهید شمخانی», the Defence Minister presenting the President's plaque of appreciation to the wife of martyr Shamkhani.
- Right rail: «گزارش روز: ستون پنجم علیه ملت مبعوث‌شده», the fifth column against the mission-sent nation, and «یادداشت روز: سلاح اقتصادی را از دست دشمن بگیریم», let us take the economic weapon out of the enemy's hand (page 2, no author printed on page one).
- Lower page: «رزمایش ۳۱۳ هزار نفری جان‌فدایان ایران نمایش اقتدار سخت و نرم نظام اسلامی بود», a Tehran deputy telling Kayhan that Friday's 313,000 exercise was a display of the Islamic system's hard and soft eqtedar (اقتدار, commanding power).

ANALYST NOTE The single most consequential item on this page is not its headline but its right-rail lead. «برای پدر، به عشق پسر», for the father, out of love for the son, is a national campaign built entirely on a father-to-son transfer, launched in the Leader's own office daily, and dated by the paper itself to the birth anniversary of Imam Hasan al-Askari, who in Shia tradition is the father of the Hidden Imam. The liturgical fit is exact and cannot be accidental on this masthead. Against the sixth consecutive cycle in which the serving Leader publishes nothing, the office is not filling the silence with his words; it is filling it with his lineage. Separately, Kayhan carries the American diesel record straight, with the source, the figure and the date printed in English on the page, which is

the second cycle running in which the hostile-economy numbers are reported accurately while the domestic-consensus numbers are not.

Shargh

Reformist

LOW: the counterparty framed as incoherent rather than as an enemy, with domestic fuel scarcity the buried item

"Trump and the great contradictions" «ترامپ و تناقض‌های بزرگ»



- Main: «ترامپ و تناقض‌های بزرگ», under a banner summarising the paper's reading of the day: «رویت دشوار از تناقض‌گویی‌های امریکا در قبال ایران؛ توافق، ایران، اروپا و چین، سوریه و صلح، تا انتخاب فشار بر ایران».
- Second lead: «تخت جمشید» در محاصره ساخت‌وساز», Persepolis besieged by construction, reporting that the Ministry of Roads has approved a project inside the registered buffer zone of the Persepolis world heritage site.
- Op-ed (top right): «سرنوشت جنگ», the fate of the war, a signed front-page note.
- Op-ed (top left): «عرفی‌سازی: امنیت پایدار خاورمیانه را نمی‌توان از بیرون منطقه تحمیل کرد», durable Middle East security cannot be imposed from outside the region, with a contributor photograph.
- Right rail: «مبارزه شیمیایی به بهای سلامت عمومی», chemical control at the price of public health, and «تجمعات مردمی شبانه یک دارایی ملی», nightly public gatherings as a national asset.
- Left rail selections: «هزینه «اصلاحات پرهزینه»; پوتین و رؤیای روسیه بزرگ»; «پنهان صف بنزین», the hidden cost of the petrol queue, sourced to South Khorasan reporting on fuel distribution lines; «معمای قیمت‌گذاری در عصر التهاب», the pricing puzzle in an age of turmoil.

ANALYST NOTE Shargh is the one Persian front page in the batch that does not print the negotiation conditions at all, and its substitute is a lead about American incoherence rather than Iranian terms. That is a meaningful abstention from the reformist side of the aisle: where Etemad treats the conditions as news and Ta'adol treats them as strategy, Shargh treats the counterparty as incapable of being negotiated with, which is the argument that makes conditions pointless. The petrol-queue item is the more revealing entry: it is the only reference in the batch to fuel rationing inside Iran, on a morning when three other front pages celebrate fuel prices rising in the United States.

Sazandegi

Reformist; organ of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party

MODERATE: an allied armed movement given the state's own martyrdom vocabulary by a reformist title

“The Yemeni life-sacrificers” «جان‌فدایان یمنی»



- Main: «جان‌فدایان یمنی» under «معادلات خاورمیانه با تحرکات جدید انصارالله پیچیده‌تر شده است؛ به همین بهانه: سازندگی به این تشکیلات سیاسی و ریشه‌های شکل‌گیری آن پرداخته است», Middle East equations have grown more complex with Ansarullah's new moves, and on that occasion Sazandegi examines this political organisation and the roots of its formation.
- Main graphic: a grid of captioned portraits of Ansarullah's leadership and command figures, each with a short biographical note, built around the paper's own logo.
- Op-ed: «دوگذرگاه یک بحران», two passages, one crisis, with the standfirst «آیا تحولات یمن، دست ایران را در برابر آمریکا باز کرده است؟», have the developments in Yemen freed Iran's hand against America? Signed on the page by Seyyed Jalal Sadatian.
- Masthead ear: «الگوی یمنی!», the Yemeni model, exclamation mark printed.
- Right rail: a note reporting a Pakistani interior ministry claim that the escalation between Saudi Arabia and Yemen is intended to cost Tehran.
- Kickers: «پرونده تازه», «مرانی تا ناکاشمر», «کالای بی‌اجازه», «تبدیل سوخ به کاهش» among the day's teasers.

ANALYST NOTE The choice of «جان‌فدایان یمنی» is not a compliment and it is not neutral. Jan-feda, life-sacrificer, is the exact term the Iranian state applied to its own 313,000 mobilisation last week, and a reformist party paper has now transferred it to a foreign armed movement on its front page. Sazandegi's accompanying question, whether Yemen has freed Iran's hand against America, is the Kargozaran position stated as an interrogative: that the pressure being generated is someone else's to spend and Iran's to convert. Read against Rezaei's conditions elsewhere in the batch, the page is an argument that the Yemen front is the leverage, and leverage is for trading.

Charsoogh

Economic daily

LOW-MODERATE: coercion celebrated in the middle column and priced as domestic hardship in the banner above it

"Workers' purchasing power has fallen to less than half under the fourteenth government" «قدرت خرید کارگران در دولت چهاردهم کمتر از نصف شد»



- Main: «جهت اطلاع پسر پزشکیان: قدرت خرید کارگران در دولت چهاردهم کمتر از نصف شد», for the information of Pezeshkian's son, with three charts and a deck stating that the fall followed the price-liberalisation policy adopted from Shahrivar 1403 onward.
- Second lead: «روزهای سیاه اقتصاد آمریکا با تداوم بسته ماندن تنگه هرمز», black days for the American economy with the continued closure of the Strait of Hormuz. The illustration is a fist in Iranian military sleeve, flag patch visible, pinning a blue cloth against rock.
- Sub-item: «وعده‌های بی‌نتیجه وزیر نیرو را به صحن مجلس کشاند», the energy minister's fruitless promises dragged him to the floor of the Majlis.
- Cartoon (اخبار وفاق): a reporter asks «آقای عراقچی، آیا شما هم به پویش پسر رئیس‌جمهور برای نصف کردن هزینه زندگی می‌پیوندید؟», Mr Araghchi, will you also join the president's son's campaign to halve the cost of living? The Foreign Minister replies «بله، قرار شد نمایشگاه‌های همسرم نصف بشه», yes, it has been arranged that my wife's exhibitions will be halved.
- Banner: «ریزش ۲۳.۹ درصدی قدرت خرید» and the supporting series printed as bar charts across the top third of the page.

ANALYST NOTE Charsoogh runs the war and the household budget on the same page and lets the contradiction stand: the closure is black days for the American economy in the middle column and a halving of Iranian workers' purchasing power in the banner above it. The cartoon is the sharper signal. Mocking the Foreign Minister by name, on the morning his ministry's security counterpart publishes Iran's terms for talks, is not a foreign-policy comment: it is an economic daily telling its readers that the people conducting this are unserious about the cost of living. Front-page ridicule of a serving negotiator is a register this series has not previously recorded, and it comes from the commercial press rather than from a faction.



A reporter with a microphone questions the Foreign Minister outside the Foreign Ministry about the presidential son's cost-of-living campaign; he answers that his wife's exhibitions will be halved.

Jomhouri Eslami

Traditional clerical establishment; editorially independent of the government

LOW-MODERATE: American voices marshalled for an exit argument the paper does not make in its own name

"A Republican member of Congress: 90 percent of Americans do not want war against Iran" «یک نماینده جمهوری‌خواه کنگره: ۹۰ درصد آمریکایی‌ها جنگ علیه ایران را نمی‌خواهند»


جمهوری اسلامی

۹۰ درصد آمریکایی‌ها جنگ علیه ایران را نمی‌خواهند

- Main: «۹۰ درصد آمریکایی‌ها جنگ علیه ایران را نمی‌خواهند», attributed to an unnamed Republican member of Congress, with the sub-quotes «امیدوارم بتوانیم از شدت موج شکست‌هایی که قرار است متحمل شویم کم کنیم», I hope we can reduce the force of the wave of defeats we are going to suffer.
- Sub-item: «بلومبرگ: پس از حمله به مدرسه میناب، کارکنان پنتاگون می‌دانستند آمریکا مسئول این حمله بوده است», Bloomberg: after the strike on the Minab school, Pentagon staff knew America was responsible. This is the file on which a United Nations mission reported findings earlier this week.
- Sub-item: «اعتراف پنتاگون: ۴۳.۶ میلیارد دلار هزینه جنگ», the Pentagon's admission of $43.6 billion in war costs, the audited congressional-oversight figure carried without inflation.
- Left box: «یک تحلیل‌گر سابق سیا: ایران در هرمز پیروز شده است», a former CIA analyst: Iran has won in Hormuz. The analyst is not named.
- Right rail: «عرضه نفت عربستان به مشتریان اروپایی متوقف شد», Saudi oil supply to European customers halted, and «الاخبار: مصر درخواست عربستان برای اعزام نیروی زمینی به یمن را رد کرد», Al-Akhbar: Egypt rejected Saudi Arabia's request to send ground forces to Yemen.
- Photograph: «افتتاح پل آسیب‌دیده از جنگ رمضان در آزادراه تبریز-زنجان با حضور وزیر راه», the reopening of a bridge damaged in the Ramadan war on the Tabriz-Zanjan motorway, with the roads minister present.
- Lower page: «اهتزاز پرچم مقدس ایران در افتتاحیه بازی‌های آسیایی ناگویا»; «۲۸ درصد مخازن آب کشور پر است», 28 percent of the country's water reservoirs are full; «چای دبش دوباره روی میز برگشت», the Debsh Tea affair back on the table.
- Footer: a boxed passage from «شهید مظلوم آیت‌الله بهشتی» on ideals, law and ceremony.

ANALYST NOTE This page is built almost entirely out of borrowed American authority: an unnamed Republican congressman, an unnamed former CIA analyst, Bloomberg, and the Pentagon's own audit. Two of the four are anonymous and unfalsifiable; two are checkable and are carried straight, including the $43.6 billion figure that a hardline title inflated to $50 billion on its own front page one cycle ago. Jomhouri Eslami is therefore both the most rigorous and the most rhetorically dependent surface in the batch, and the combination is characteristic of a paper that wants the war ended but will not say so in its own voice. Its Minab item also does the thing no other Persian surface did this week: it moves the school strike from a United Nations finding to an assertion about what the Pentagon knew, which is a different and less defensible claim.

Ta'adol

Economic daily (Iran Chamber of Commerce circles)

"The bourse on a correction path" «بورس در مسیر اصلاح»

MODERATE: coercive leverage explicitly framed as convertible into a negotiated settlement


تعادل

بورس در مسیر اصلاح

شروط ایران برای امریکا

سامانه پیامکی روزنامه تعادل

- Main: «بورس در مسیر اصلاح», the bourse on a correction path, under «تعادل» معاملات بازار سهام را بررسی می‌کند, Ta'adol examines equity trading.
- Second lead: «دبیر شورای عالی امنیت ملی اعلام کرد: شروط ایران برای امریکا - پایان دادن به جنگ در تمامی جبهه‌ها، آزاد کردن دارایی‌ها و پایان دادن به محاصره دریایی است», Iran's conditions for America: ending the war on all fronts, releasing the assets, and ending the naval blockade. Photograph of Rezaei in IRGC service dress.
- Op-ed (یادداشت ۱): «تغییر توازن انرژی به نفع دیپلماسی», the shift in the energy balance in favour of diplomacy, signed on the page by Hassan Hanizadeh, arguing that the change in the regional energy balance has moved the contest off the military field and onto the vital arteries of the world economy.
- Left rail: «گزارش «تعادل» از پیامد ۱۸۰۰ یورو: برق اروپا روی موج گاز و جنگ سُر می‌خورد», Europe's electricity sliding on the wave of gas and war, and «بیت‌کوین در آستانه یک جهش بزرگ», Bitcoin on the verge of a large jump.
- Banner: «هشدار رئیس هیات امنای بازار تهران نسبت به ازدحام جمعیت و بافت فرسوده بازار», a warning on crowding and the decayed fabric of the Tehran bazaar, and «تردد میلیونی زیر سقف‌های فرسوده بازار تهران».
- Kicker: «جهش ۳۵ تا ۴۵ میلیون تومانی بلیت هواپیما در یک هفته», air fares jumping 35 to 45 million tomans in a week.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Ta'adol is the only surface in the batch on which the three disclosed conditions are printed as a complete list in the headline deck rather than summarised, and it is an economic paper, not a political one. Read with its own op-ed, the page makes an argument the political press does not: that the energy leverage exists in order to be spent diplomatically. That is the first time in this series that a front page has connected the closure to a negotiated exit as cause to purpose rather than as boast to consequence, and it appears on the title closest to the price data. The economic press has spent three cycles declining to book the closure as an Iranian gain; today it books it as a bargaining chip, which is a different and more consequential position.

Etemad

Reformist daily of record

MODERATE: negotiation conditions carried as the day's news, with the war's outcome treated as convertible

“A good crisis” «بحران خوب»



- Main: «بحران خوب», a good crisis, over an interview trailed as «تبدیل دستاوردهای میدانی به قدرت سیاسی در گفت‌وگوی «اعتماد» با محمد عطریانفر», converting battlefield gains into political power, Etemad in conversation with Mohammad Atrianfar. The standfirst argues that a country takes its lesson from challenges, strengthens itself and its institutions, and can use the conditions created for initial reconstruction.
- Second lead: «دبیر شورای عالی امنیت ملی اعلام کرد: شروط مذاکره با امریکا», the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council announced: the conditions for negotiation with America. The deck names «محسن رضایی، دبیر شورای عالی امنیت ملی ایران» and reports the conditions conveyed toward the American president.
- Op-ed rail: a column of signed notes under «یادداشت‌ها», the paper's daily contributor block, running the full height of the page.
- Photograph: a laboratory bench under «دانشگاه در حصر تحریم», the university besieged by sanctions, from Etemad's interview with the secretary of the Iranian university faculty association.
- Sub-item: «انتقال تجربه شکست، فرصتی برای نسخه‌های بدون سانسور و…», transmitting the experience of defeat as an opportunity, from a fiction-writing workshop discussion.
- Channel: the paper's own channel this cycle carries a US State Department travel advisory for West Asia and the cancellation of the American president's schedule, neither of which reaches its front page.

ANALYST NOTE Etemad is one of two Persian front pages that print the negotiation conditions as news rather than as a threat, and the framing is the reformist camp's whole argument in two words: «بحران خوب», a good crisis, a war whose field results are to be cashed in politically rather than extended. Twenty-four hours ago this monitor recorded that no Iranian front page printed a direct argument for negotiating an end to the war and that the only named Iranian advocating an exit sat on this paper's channel rather than its page. That has now changed, and it changed because the argument arrived carrying the authority of the Supreme National Security Council rather than of a former diplomat. The reformist press did not win the space; it was handed the space by the security establishment.

Outlet channels and agency wires

Six daily channels and three agency wires (Defa Press, Fars News, Nour News), read for corroboration and for what the front pages left out

“Seven conditions on the wires, an Oman corridor on one channel, and a Turkish answer that contradicts a front page” «۷ شرط ایران برای آغاز هر مذاکره‌ای به دولت آمریکا اعلام شده است»

HIGH: coercion signalling and a de-escalation mechanism running simultaneously on the same surfaces

- Kayhan channel (84438): «شرط ایران برای آغاز هر مذاکره‌ای به دولت آمریکا اعلام شده است ۷», Iran's seven conditions for the start of any negotiation have been conveyed to the American government, sourced to Mohsen Rezaei. The number seven appears on the wires and on no front page in the batch, all of which print three.
- Jam-e Jam channel (28279): the SNSC Secretary quoted as «پیام تهران روشن و بدون ابهام است», Tehran's message is clear and without ambiguity, with Washington said to have no way out but to accept Iran's conditions.
- Jam-e Jam channel (28276): the Turkish Foreign Minister said to be willing to examine Saudi Arabia's military requirements within a trilateral framework including Pakistan. This directly contradicts the Sobh-e No front page, which lists Turkey among the states that refused.
- Jam-e Jam channel (28274): China's Ministry of Commerce opposing secondary sanctions under new American legislation targeting Iran and Russia, and reserving the right to take necessary measures.
- Iran (government daily) channel (507400): Rezaei's Al Jazeera interview, «برای یک جنگ سرنوشت‌ساز آماده‌ایم», we are ready for a decisive war, with the fatwa on nuclear weapons affirmed and NPT withdrawal held open and conditioned on American conduct.
- Sobh-e No channel (116056): «ایران و عمان درباره تعیین مسیرهای عبور امن در تنگه هرمز به تفاهم رسیدند», attributed to the Foreign Ministry spokesman. No front page in the batch carries it.
- Kayhan channel (84437) and Sobh-e No channel (116061): the Yemeni armed forces claiming two operations against sensitive targets in Riyadh and Aramco facilities at Yanbu, with widespread fires. Claim, not confirmation.
- Fars News (463134): «صادرات نفت عربستان پشت سد باب‌المندب», Saudi oil exports blocked behind Bab al-Mandab, with five Saudi cargo transits of the Red Sea in seven days against a weekly average of roughly three times that, and flows down to about 3.4 million barrels a day from about 4.4 million.
- Fars News (463131) and (463135): the American embassy in Saudi Arabia warning of sudden escalation, and a CNN security analyst reporting that the American president reviewed strike options against Yemen at Camp David.
- Defa Press (67923): the IRGC deputy commander stating that «تنگه هرمز ... همچنان در کنترل نیروهای مسلح جمهوری اسلامی ایران است», the Strait of Hormuz remains under the control of Iran's armed forces.
- Defa Press (67910): the Sana'a government's spokesman warning that any escalation will be met with a heavier Yemeni response by air, land and sea.
- Nour News (395889): a diplomatic note headed on Beijing, Washington and an American 'big decision'; the council-linked agency publishes nothing on the seven conditions this cycle.
- Etemad channel: an American travel advisory for West Asia and the cancellation of the American president's schedule, neither carried on the paper's front page.
- Tehran Times was not reachable at the time of compilation and is not represented in this edition.

ANALYST NOTE Three findings live below the fold and not on it. First, the count: the wires say seven conditions, the front pages print three, and the four undisclosed ones are the part of the policy nobody has published. Second, the corridor: the Foreign Ministry's Iran-Oman understanding on safe passage routes through the Strait of Hormuz sits on a principlist channel and on no front page, on the morning the front pages print ending the naval blockade as a demand of the other side. Third, the contradiction: the state broadcaster's own channel has Turkey willing to consider Saudi military requirements while a principlist front page lists Turkey among the refusers, and the hardline flagship prints a threat against Turkey in its masthead ear. A refusal list assembled this loosely is a construction, not a report.

Appendix A - The day's authoritative state message: Iran's conditions for negotiation, in the absence of any message from the Leader

Mohsen Rezaei, Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, interview with Al Jazeera, published 19 September 2026; carried on the Kayhan channel (84438), the Jam-e Jam channel (28279), the Iran channel (507400) and the Sobh-e No channel (116062); printed on the front pages of Etemad, Ta'adol and Javan on 20 September 2026

Standing note on this appendix. This series reserves Appendix A for the serving Leader's lead message of the day. For the sixth consecutive cycle no message, speech, decree or directly quoted remark attributed to Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei appears on any front page in the batch or on any of the nine channels read, and the office's own publication record could not be reached at the time of compilation. The absence is recorded as a finding rather than passed over, and the appendix is given instead to the message that the Iranian press did treat as authoritative this morning.

As reported by Al Jazeera: 'Our conditions are an end to the war on all fronts, the release of our frozen funds and an end to the naval blockade.' Rezaei said contact is maintained with the mediator Qatar, 'which has conveyed our conditions to Washington with the aim of ending the war.' Independent reporting places the number of conditions at seven and notes that Qatar and Pakistan have been working to re-establish negotiations since the memorandum of understanding lapsed last month; three of the seven have been disclosed publicly, and the remaining four have not.

On nuclear doctrine, as reported: Iran continues to honour the fatwa of the late Leader prohibiting nuclear weapons, and its doctrine 'remains unchanged.' Rezaei then added: 'But we do not know what will happen in the future.' Javan printed that second sentence, not the first, as the kicker across the top of its front page: «ارضایی: بمب؟ نمی‌دانیم در آینده چه اتفاقی می‌افتد!»

On the Non-Proliferation Treaty, as reported: Tehran has not decided to withdraw, though Washington's conduct 'may push Tehran into withdrawing.'

On the alternative to agreement, as reported: 'We are prepared for a decisive war,' with future Iranian responses characterised as heavy and as encompassing American bases in the region, American commercial interests and companies operating locally.

Verification note. The wording above follows the published Al Jazeera rendering of the interview and the Iranian channels' summaries of it; the Persian original of the full interview was not retrieved at compile time. The quotations are attributed statements by an Iranian official, not verified facts about Iranian capability or intent, and the threat to American commercial interests in the region is documented here for defensive assessment and is not to be reproduced as authentic without primary-source confirmation.

Analyst flag. The pairing is the point. A public list of terms for ending a war and a public refusal to foreclose the nuclear option were issued by the same official in the same interview, and the Iranian press split them cleanly along factional lines: the reformist and economic titles printed the terms, the IRGC-affiliated title printed the ambiguity. Both halves are the policy.

Appendix B - The day's flagged editorial: Kayhan, «سلاح اقتصادی را از دست دشمن بگیریم»

Kayhan, یادداشت روز, front-page rail of 29 Shahrivar 1405 pointing to page 2; front-page set carried on the paper's channel at post 84439

Title as printed: «سلاح اقتصادی را از دست دشمن بگیریم», let us take the economic weapon out of the enemy's hand.

Author: none is printed in the front-page rail, and the paper's own site and the editorial back-catalogue on its channel could not be reached at the time of compilation. This series does not attribute a Kayhan یادداشت روز to its managing editor by default: the column rotates among a small set of named writers, and the recent run on the channel carries at least three different bylines. The author is therefore recorded as unverified rather than assumed, and the full text is not reproduced here because it was not retrieved.

What can be established from the front page itself. The editorial is trailed on a page whose lead is «اعتراف رسانه‌های آمریکا به شکست / غرب‌گرایان همچنان نسخه تسلیم می‌پیچند», American media admit defeat, the Westernizers still prescribe surrender, and whose second lead is the Washington Post on an American economic shock still to come, illustrated with a record American diesel price printed in English on the page. Directly beneath the editorial trail sits «ستون پنجم علیه ملت مبعوث‌شده», the fifth column against the mission-sent nation.

Analyst flag. The title's verb is the tell. 'Taking the economic weapon out of the enemy's hand' frames Iranian economic hardship as an instrument held by Washington rather than as a consequence of Iranian policy, and it is printed on the morning three other front pages in the same batch, two of them economic dailies, report Iranian purchasing power halved, air fares up by tens of millions of tomans in a week, and petrol queues in South Khorasan. The editorial and the economic press are describing the same prices and assigning them to different authors. Where the column is placed, adjacent to an attack on a domestic 'fifth column', indicates which of those two readings the paper considers disloyal.

Source line: Kayhan, یادداشت روز, page 2, یکشنبه ۲۹ شهریور ۱۴۰۵ (20 September 2026). Title read from the front-page scan; text and author not available at compile time.

Appendix C - Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline, 20 September 2026

Coverage. Nine Persian front pages of 29 Shahrivar 1405 were read in full from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk batch of 20 September 2026 (t.me/NewspaperTasnim/44647, posted 03:00 UTC): Javan, Sobh-e No, Kayhan, Shargh, Sazandegi, Charsoogh, Jomhouri Eslami, Ta'adol and Etemad. The stale-batch guard compared the batch's own printed Jalali date to the target date and passed on the first attempt.

The English-language kiosk batch had not refreshed for 20 September at compile time. The English government surface in this edition is Iran Daily of Saturday 19 September (Vol 8216), one cycle behind the Persian pages, and is labelled as such wherever it is cited. Tehran Times was not reachable at the time of compilation and is not represented.

Channels. Six daily channels (Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad, Iran, Sobh-e No) and three agency wires (Defa Press, Fars News, Nour News) were read. Agency material is treated as claim and as threat-signalling context, never as front-page evidence. Vatan-e Emrooz's front-page post for this date rendered without readable headline content in the web preview, so that title is represented by its channel items only and is not given a front-page entry.

Scan resolution. The kiosk images are supplied at roughly 560 by 800 pixels. Headlines, decks, rail items and captions are legible under magnification; small red bylines on body columns frequently are not. Where a byline could not be resolved with confidence it is left unattributed and said to be unattributed, rather than guessed. Two signed columns on the Sobh-e No front page and the lead analysis byline on Sazandegi fall into that category in this edition.

Named-figure verification. Mohsen Rezaei's post as Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, held since 9 August 2026, was checked against external reporting rather than inferred from the photograph; the uniform in the Ta'adol and Javan portraits is consistent with it but was not treated as evidence. The disclosed conditions, the Qatari channel, the NPT formulation and the 'decisive war' phrasing were checked against the published Al Jazeera account of the interview. The record American diesel price printed on the Kayhan front page ($6.39 per gallon, dated 18 September 2026) is consistent with independent reporting of a record in the $6.31 to $6.43 range in the same week. The Egyptian refusal is attributed by Jomhouri Eslami to Al-Akhbar and is consistent with external reporting that Egyptian officials advised Riyadh to open talks with Ansarullah during the Crown Prince's Cairo visit; no Egyptian source appears in the batch.

Single-source and contested items. The five-country refusal list on the Sobh-e No front page is contradicted in one particular by the state broadcaster's own channel, which reports the Turkish Foreign Minister willing to examine Saudi requirements within a trilateral framework with Pakistan; both are recorded. The Iran-Oman understanding on safe passage routes through the Strait of Hormuz rests on one channel item citing the Foreign Ministry spokesman and reaches no front page; external reporting confirms an Iran-Oman corridor process running since late August, which is why the item is treated as a further step rather than as a new development. The Yemeni claims of strikes on Riyadh and on Aramco facilities at Yanbu are armed-group claims carried by Iranian channels and are labelled as such throughout.

The succession evidence. The serving Leader is identified from the printed name on the page in every case. No message from him appears anywhere in this batch, and the office's own publication record could not be reached; the sixth-cycle silence therefore rests on eleven Iranian surfaces rather than on the office's record, and the confidence attached to it is set accordingly. The Kayhan campaign item «برای پدر، به عشق پسر» is

reported as printed, with its stated coincidence with the birth anniversary of Imam Hasan al-Askari, and the inference drawn from that coincidence is the analyst's, not the paper's.

Handling. This product documents and analyses hostile foreign-press rhetoric for defensive assessment only. Nothing herein endorses, amplifies or operationalises it. Translations are editorial. Unverified attributed quotations are not to be reproduced as authentic without primary-source confirmation.

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.