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THE FACE AND THE CHOKEPOINT EDITION

Nine Persian front pages and one English front page of 7 Mehr 1405, read alongside six outlet channels and three agency wires; Kayhan is reconstructed from its own channel, and Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation.

Front pages published the morning of 29 September 2026, reflecting events through late 28 September local.

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


وطن امروز
VATANEMROOZ.IR
روزنامه صبح ایران
پدر پسر شهادت
شراقت در فوتبال
رهبر انقلاب در پیامی به مناسبت هفته دفاع مقدس و سالگرد شهادت سیدحسن نصرالله
با اشاره به پیروزی‌های بزرگ ملت در ۳ جنگ تحمیلی تأکید کردند: روزهای آینده به مراتب شکوهمندتر از این روزها خواهد بود
آینده شکوهمند ایران
راز موشک جدید
نشست خیانت
کارت قرمز مردم آمریکا به ترامپ
جنگ سوخت
جهان جای بی‌طرف‌ها نیست

Front page: Vatan-e Emrooz

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition is that the Iranian state reversed its own stated constraint on the serving Leader's visibility inside a single news cycle, and did so without acknowledging the reversal. On 28 September the foreign minister told reporters in New York that «ملاحظات امنیتی و تهدیدات مستقیم آمریکا», security considerations and direct American threats, were why the Leader's image was not published. On 29 September Vatan-e Emrooz gave its entire front page to a studio portrait of him, Charsoogh printed a large outdoor colour photograph, Jomhouri Eslami and Ta'adol each ran a formal inset, Iran Daily carried a profile shot captioned in English, and Javan printed a crowd photograph in which a member of the public holds his portrait aloft. Identification does not rest on the images. Sazandegi prints «آیت‌الله سیدمجتبی حسینی‌خامنه‌ای، رهبر انقلاب و فرمانده کل قوا»; the Kayhan channel prints «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیّد مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای»; Iran Daily's caption names him in English. The occasion is Sacred Defence Week and the second anniversary of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's killing, and the message itself is a phoenix allegory ending in the declaration that «آن روزهای سابق که دشمن ما آرزوی بازگشت به آن را دارد، گذشت و دیگر هیچگاه تکرار نخواهد شد».

The second finding is that on the same morning the Iranian press published four mutually incompatible accounts of the Strait of Hormuz, and that the accounts do not sort by faction. Etemad, a reformist daily, leads «شکارگاه هرمز» over the IRGC spokesman's claim of «تسلط کامل نیروهای نظامی ایران بر تنگه», complete military domination of the waterway. Sobh-e No's banner has Rear Admiral Sayyari stating flatly that «تنگه هرمز بسته است», the Strait is closed. Iran Daily, the state's English-language paper, tells its foreign readers in its own standfirst that the United States has been imposing a sea blockade on Iran's southern ports for months, and builds a trade-logistics interview on that premise. And Kayhan's channel carries the foreign minister saying the Strait's reopening is conditional on Iran's announced terms and that at present it is the only issue on the table. Absent from all ten covers is the account Hamshahri gave its entire front page to twenty-four hours earlier: a functioning licence regime of seventeen ships a day. That framing was not defended, corrected or repeated. It was dropped.

The third finding is that the negotiation acquired a date. In a video statement at the end of his New York trip, carried within the hour by the Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam and Sobh-e No channels, Abbas Araghchi rejected foreign reporting of Iranian nuclear flexibility, said «شروط ما برای بازگشایی تنگه مشخص است» and «درحال حاضر فقط موضوع تنگه هرمز است», and then supplied the mechanism: «طرح ما که به طرح هفت‌ماده‌ای معروف شد، از طریق واسطه قطری به آمریکایی‌ها منتقل شد», a Qatari mediator met the Iranian delegation again that day, ideas were discussed for how Iran's conditions might be met, and the American side's final answer is to come back through Qatar, hoped for by the following day, whereupon «در تهران تصمیم‌گیری خواهد شد». Independent reporting describes the same proposal as a seven-day roadmap trading the reopening of the Strait and a return to nuclear talks against an end to the American blockade, waivers on oil sales and a ceasefire extending to Lebanon. This is the narrowest and best-dated decision window this file has recorded in the war.

The fourth finding is a campaign rather than a story. Iraq occupies more front-page space in this batch than Israel does. Sobh-e No and Jomhouri Eslami both run the same photograph of a crowd outside Najaf airport protesting the halt of Iran flights; Sobh-e No adds an analyst line that pressure to distance Baghdad from Tehran could end in the prime minister's impeachment; Iran Daily reports Tehran filing an ICAO complaint; and Hossein Shariatmadari's signed Kayhan column, back after two cycles without one, names Prime Minister Ali al-Zaidi and calls his compliance with the American Treasury's flight ban «همسوئی با یزید زمان», alignment with the Yazid of our time. What none of this acknowledges is that Sobh-e No's own channel reported the

previous evening that Iraqi sources said flights to Iran had resumed from Najaf. The pressure continued after its stated trigger had been at least partly removed, which is what distinguishes a campaign from coverage.

Net assessment. This is the most internally coherent edition this file has read in a fortnight and simultaneously the least consistent on the one question an external reader most needs answered. The coherence is on leadership: a commemorative week has been used to put the serving Leader's face, name, title and voice on the front pages at once, and Kayhan has escalated his style to «امام». The inconsistency is on the Strait, where an admiral, a spokesman, a state English daily and the foreign minister gave four different answers in one cycle. The resolution is not a matter of choosing between them: a closed waterway and a blockaded coast are both true and are each other's causes, and the Iranian press simply tells one of them in Persian and the other in English. What the file takes forward is the foreign minister's version, because it is the only one that describes the Strait as something Iran intends to trade rather than something Iran has won.

BOTTOM LINE On the morning the serving Leader's photograph appeared on six Iranian front pages, twenty-four hours after his own foreign minister said American threats were what prevented it, the same batch published four incompatible descriptions of who controls the Strait of Hormuz, and the most operationally specific of them, from the foreign minister himself, said the Strait is now the only file left and its reopening is conditional on terms a Qatari mediator is carrying to Washington.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Ten front pages from the 7 Mehr 1405 kiosk batches, whose printed Jalali date matched the target date. Kayhan is reconstructed from its own channel rather than a scan and is labelled as such throughout; Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation. Every channel item is cited to its post number and timestamp. Scan resolution is sufficient for mastheads, leads and most kickers but not for body text, and where a name or place could not be read with confidence it is not named: this applies to the British researcher on Jomhouri Eslami's lead, to two Yemeni localities in the foreign ministry's condemnation, and to the kicker above Javan's infrastructure line. Iranian claims about the Strait, about strikes on American vessels and about casualties in Yemen are recorded as claims. Renderings of foreign reporting stay flagged as renderings; in one case, Sobh-e No's premise that Trump promised asset releases and sanctions relief, the underlying Axios report was publicly denied by the American president the same night, and the denial is carried on the Vatan-e Emrooz channel in the same batch. Independent checks were run on Netanyahu's Abu Dhabi visit, on Ali al-Zaidi's office and the Treasury origin of the flight ban, on the status of the five men arrested near RAF Fairford, and on the seven-point proposal and its Qatari channel.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 The stated reason for the Leader's invisibility did not survive one cycle

On 28 September the foreign minister attributed the absence of the Leader's image to «ملاحظات امنیتی و تهدیدات مستقیم آمریکا». On 29 September his photograph appears on six of the ten pages read for this edition, in four distinct formats: a full-cover studio portrait on Vatan-e Emrooz, a large outdoor colour photograph on Charsoogh, formal insets on Jomhouri Eslami and Ta'adol, a profile shot on Iran Daily captioned to Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei, and a printed portrait held above a crowd on Javan. No outlet notes the change. Either the security rationale was not the operative constraint, or it was set aside for a commemorative week; the file records which of those it is as the thing to establish over the next cycles.

2 Four incompatible descriptions of the Strait, published the same morning

The IRGC spokesman claims «تسلط کامل» over the waterway (Etemad). Rear Admiral Sayyari says «تنگه هرمز بسته است» (Sobh-e No). Iran Daily tells foreign readers the United States has blockaded Iran's southern ports for months. Araghchi says reopening is conditional on Iran's terms and is the only file left. These are not

four versions of one claim; they are a claim of control, a claim of closure, an admission of injury and a negotiating position. Hamshahri's licence regime of seventeen ships a day, its whole front page the previous morning, appears on no cover at all.

3 The negotiation now has a mechanism, a mediator and a deadline

Araghchi's end-of-trip statement names the instrument, «طرح هفت‌ماده‌ای», the channel, a Qatari mediator, the sequence, ideas discussed on 28 September and carried back to Washington, and the timing, an American final answer hoped for the following day with the decision then taken in Tehran. Independent reporting adds the terms: reopening within seven days and a return to nuclear talks against an end to the blockade, oil waivers and a ceasefire including Lebanon. The hardest-line paper in the country published this without editorial comment, one day after attacking the same delegation for signalling weakness.

4 Iraq is where Iranian press pressure is actually being applied

Two front pages carry the Najaf airport protest, one analyst line raises the prime minister's impeachment, Iran Daily reports an ICAO complaint, and Shariatmadari's signed column names Ali al-Zaidi and casts him as aligned with Yazid. Israel, by contrast, appears on the covers mainly through a secret Abu Dhabi visit and a former Shin Bet chief's lawsuit. The campaign continued after Sobh-e No's own channel reported flights resuming from Najaf on the evening of 28 September, a fact no front page carried.

5 A Gulf and Israeli coordination track is forming beside the Qatari mediation track

Netanyahu flew to Abu Dhabi on 27 September at the UAE president's invitation, accompanied by the national security adviser and the Mossad chief, and Israeli broadcast reporting places senior officials of several Gulf states in talks centred on Iran. Separately, Defa Press reports the American and Saudi foreign ministers discussing shipping security in the Strait of Hormuz and Bab al-Mandab, and Etemad's channel reports the first Emirati vice-presidential visit to Saudi Arabia since the two fell out over Yemen. Vatan-e Emrooz files all of this under «نشست خیانت», the summit of betrayal, which is a verdict on the hosts rather than an assessment of what was agreed.

6 The judiciary is now a front in the intra-establishment fight, and both sides printed it

Sazandegi's whole front page reports organised attacks on the chief justice by hardline currents over Hamid Rasaei's detention. Sobh-e No, for a second consecutive cycle, defends the sentence and insists it had nothing to do with parliamentary duties. Hamshahri prints Mohseni-Ejei on enforcing public modesty, and the Sobh-e No channel carries him saying that wartime conditions are no reason to neglect the fight against economic corruption. A reformist and a principlist daily are reporting the same conflict from opposite ends, which is how this file has been able to track it at all.

7 Escalation doctrine was restated without an occasion

Javan prints «زیرساخت بزنید زیرساخت می‌زنیم», hit infrastructure and we hit infrastructure, as a standing formulation rather than a response to any named incident or official. Vatan-e Emrooz's rail carries an ABC-sourced account of eight American marines wounded in an earlier Iranian strike on a vessel in the Strait, and a Washington Post analysis relayed on its channel says American forces fired sixty to seventy Patriot interceptors and more than twelve THAAD rounds against a single Iranian drone attack on a base in Jordan. None of these are Iranian operational statements; all are renderings of Western reporting selected for what they say about American cost.

8 Yemen entered the register, and the second chokepoint came with it

Jomhouri Eslami's front page carries Iran's foreign ministry condemning military strikes on Yemeni territory as a violation of sovereignty, citing an air strike on a market it says killed 45 and wounded 150. Defa Press reports Saudi Arabia activating an early warning in the Najran region and the American and Saudi foreign

ministers discussing Bab al-Mandab alongside Hormuz. This is the first cycle in which a second maritime chokepoint appears in the Iranian press's own threat accounting rather than in external commentary.

9 The economic covers disagree about the trajectory and agree about the level

Ta'adol reads decelerating liquidity growth as the turn, «مهار خلق پول، افزایش امید به ثبات». Charsoogh reads the exchange rate as the verdict and prints 244,900 toman to the dollar against a central bank series, having printed 335,000 toman a day earlier without reconciling the two. What neither disputes is the level: Ta'adol's own page carries a 40 percent livelihood gap for wage earners and Tehran rental deposits of 1.2 to 2.9 billion toman for a 75 square metre flat, and its rail headline «دارو در محاصره», medicine under siege, is where a maritime blockade shows up in civilian life first.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 [HIGH] KJ-1: The Iranian state's public explanation for the serving Leader's invisibility was contradicted by its own press within twenty-four hours, and the contradiction is documented rather than inferred. The evidence is a dated pair: the foreign minister in New York on 28 September attributing the absence of the Leader's image to «ملاحظات امنیتی و تهدیدات مستقیم آمریکا», and on 29 September his photograph on six of the ten pages read for this edition, identified in print by Sazandegi as «آیت‌الله سیدمجتبی حسینی‌خامنه‌ای، رهبر انقلاب و فرمانده کل قوا» and by the Kayhan channel as «امام سیّد مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای». The significance is that statements by Iranian officials explaining the leadership's conduct should be treated as positioning rather than as description of an operational constraint: this one was falsified by the next morning's newsstand. Calibration runs both ways. Overstating it would read a commemorative-week publication decision as a succession crisis resolving; understating it would miss that the state offered the world a security rationale that its own newspapers did not observe for a single cycle.

KJ-2 [HIGH] KJ-2: The Iranian state has no single published account of the Strait of Hormuz, and the divergence is institutional rather than factional. The evidence is four accounts in one batch: the IRGC spokesman's «تسلط کامل نیروهای نظامی ایران بر تنگه» on Etemad's front page, Rear Admiral Sayyari's «تنگه هرمز بسته است» on Sobh-e No's banner, Iran Daily's own standfirst describing a months-long American sea blockade of Iran's southern ports, and Araghchi's statement that reopening is conditional on Iran's announced terms. A reformist daily printed the maximal military claim and the state's English-language daily printed the admission of injury, so the split does not follow factional lines; it follows audience. The significance is that Iranian statements about the Strait should be read as addressed to a specific reader rather than as reports of a maritime situation, and that the two facts an external reader needs, an Iranian closure and an American blockade, are each being told to a different public.

KJ-3 [HIGH] KJ-3: A decision point on the war's central file was placed within one day, by the Iranian official who would take it. The evidence is Araghchi's own video statement, published by four Iranian channels between 03:52 and 04:39 UTC: the seven-point plan was conveyed to the Americans through a Qatari mediator; a Qatari mediator met the Iranian delegation again on 28 September and discussed ideas for meeting Iran's conditions; those ideas go back to Washington; the American final answer returns through Qatar, hoped for the following day; and «براساس آن در تهران تصمیم‌گیری خواهد شد». Independent reporting of the same proposal describes reopening the Strait within seven days and resuming nuclear talks against an end to the blockade, oil-sale waivers and a ceasefire including Lebanon. The significance is that the file now has a testable near-term indicator rather than a trend: either the 30 September or 1 October batch

reports an answer, or the silence is itself the answer. Confidence is high on the existence and terms of the channel and is deliberately not extended to the likelihood of agreement.

KJ-4 [MODERATE-HIGH] KJ-4: An Iranian front page built its assessment of the negotiation on a report the American president had denied hours earlier, and the denial was in the same batch. The evidence is Sobh-e No's kicker to «در نیویورک چه خبر است؟», which states that Trump «با وعده آزادسازی دارایی‌ها و کاهش تحریم‌ها، چاشنی لازم برای مذاکره را فراهم کرده است», set against the Vatan-e Emrooz channel's own post carrying Trump's statement that the Axios report of an offer to lift sanctions and release frozen assets «صحت ندارد» and that he offered them nothing. The significance is methodological and should be applied forward: Iranian front-page characterisations of American concessions are frequently second-hand renderings of a single Western report, and the underlying report must be recovered before the characterisation is read as evidence of the American position. Calibration: a denial is not a disproof, and the possibility that an offer exists and is being publicly disowned is live; what is established is that Sobh-e No printed as settled a premise that was contested in its own news cycle.

KJ-5 [MODERATE-HIGH] KJ-5: The succession's legitimation has moved inside the Leader's own institutional press, reversing the pattern this file recorded over the previous two cycles. The evidence is threefold. Kayhan's signed front-of-book column returned after two cycles of absence. Kayhan alone in the batch styles the serving Leader «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیّد مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای», the first use of «امام» for him that this file has recorded. And the Iran newspaper channel published a personal letter written by him in adolescence to his brother Mostafa at the Sacred Defence fronts, signed «والسلام. سیّدمجتبی», in which the writer describes registering at the combatants' complex. On 27 September this file recorded Kayhan filling the Leader's commemorative slot from the 2024 archive under «رهبر شهید انقلاب»; on 28 September it recorded Kayhan declining to print Naim Qassem's endorsement of the serving Leader by name. The significance is that the legitimation deficit this file has tracked since the succession is now being addressed from Tehran rather than from Beirut, and that the chosen instruments are honorific escalation and wartime biography. Confidence is held below high because a single commemorative week is a weak base for a judgment about a durable shift.

KJ-6 [MODERATE-HIGH] KJ-6: Iranian press pressure on Iraq is a directed campaign against a named head of government and it outlasted its stated trigger. The evidence: Shariatmadari's column names Prime Minister Ali al-Zaidi four times and casts his compliance with the American Treasury's flight ban as «همسوئی با یزید زمان»; Sobh-e No and Jomhouri Eslami both give front-page space to the same Najaf airport protest; Sobh-e No's analyst line raises the prime minister's impeachment; Iran Daily reports an ICAO complaint. Against this, the Sobh-e No channel itself reported on the evening of 28 September that Iraqi sources said flights to Iran had resumed from Najaf International Airport, and no front page in the batch carried that. The significance is that the object of the pressure is the composition of the Iraqi government rather than the flight schedule, and the indicator to watch is whether the campaign continues once flights are fully restored. Calibration: a partial resumption reported by unnamed Iraqi sources is thin evidence on which to judge that the trigger was removed, which is why this sits below high confidence.

KJ-7 [MODERATE] KJ-7: On the second consecutive cycle, the Iranian press has declined to contest the RAF Fairford allegation on its merits, and has now also declined to carry its own government's denial. The evidence: the allegation reaches exactly one cover, Sazandegi's rail item «توطئه فیرفورد» kickered «یک گزارش مشکوک از لندن», which makes the London report rather than the accusation the object of suspicion; Rubio's Fox News remark calling the British events a very serious threat is carried by the Defa Press and

Vatan-e Emrooz channels and framed there as anti-Iranian media construction; and Iran's official denial of involvement, issued on 28 September and reported externally, appears on no front page in the batch. External reporting has the five arrested men as British nationals from London in their twenties, released on bail on 28 September, with Iranian, Russian and non-state links all still under investigation. The significance is that this file's 28 September prediction is answered: the near-silence is now a two-cycle pattern rather than a one-day gap, and the handling differs sharply from the detailed rebuttals the same press gives to maritime and nuclear allegations. Calibration: an unproven allegation is a thin thing to demand coverage of, and the judgment is about the asymmetry in handling, not about the allegation's merits.

KJ-8 [MODERATE] KJ-8: A Gulf and Israeli coordination track on Iran is forming in parallel with the Qatari mediation track, and the Iranian press is treating it as betrayal rather than as an input to its own negotiation. The evidence: Netanyahu's confirmed 27 September visit to Abu Dhabi at the UAE president's invitation, with the national security adviser and the Mossad chief in the delegation and Israeli broadcast reporting placing senior Gulf officials in Iran-focused talks around it; the Saudi foreign ministry's readout of a Faisal bin Farhan and Rubio discussion of shipping security in the Strait of Hormuz and Bab al-Mandab, reported by Defa Press; and the Etemad channel's report of the first Emirati vice-presidential visit to Saudi Arabia since the two governments fell out over Yemen. Vatan-e Emrooz's rail files the Abu Dhabi visit under «نشست خیانت». The significance is that Iran is negotiating through one Gulf state while several others coordinate with its adversary on the same waterway, and that its press is scoring the second track morally rather than analytically. Confidence is moderate because the content of the Gulf talks is reported second-hand.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] KJ-9: Yemen has entered the Iranian press's own threat accounting, bringing a second maritime chokepoint with it. The evidence: Iran's foreign ministry condemnation of military strikes on Yemeni territory occupies front-page space on Jomhouri Eslami, citing an air strike on a market it says killed 45 and wounded 150 and further strikes on two localities the scan does not render legibly; Defa Press reports Saudi Arabia activating an early warning in the Najran region; and the Saudi and American foreign ministers are reported discussing Bab al-Mandab alongside Hormuz. The significance is that an Iranian file which has been single-chokepoint since the ceasefire memorandum may be widening, and that Bab al-Mandab would change the economics of any Hormuz bargain. Confidence is moderate: this is one front page on one cycle, the casualty figures are the ministry's and are not independently established here, and the strikes' authorship is not stated in terms this file can verify from the scan.

KJ-10 [LOW-MODERATE] KJ-10: Negative evidence, filed as a finding. Five things this file expected to see did not appear on any cover. Hamshahri's licence regime of seventeen ships a day, which was its entire front page on 28 September, is absent from every page including its own, neither defended nor corrected. The Majlis Strait of Hormuz security bill, recorded here on 28 September as the cycle's most durable act, reached no cover for a second consecutive morning. Iran's own official denial of involvement in the Fairford matter reached no cover. The resumption of Najaf flights, reported by the Sobh-e No channel the previous evening, reached no cover, including Sobh-e No's own. And the American Treasury Secretary's approach to Lebanon's prime minister and finance minister on disrupting Iran- and Hezbollah-linked financial networks, the cycle's only Lebanon policy item, reached only the Vatan-e Emrooz channel and no front page, on the morning after the second anniversary of Nasrallah's killing filled the commemorative space instead. Confidence is deliberately low: each absence has an innocent explanation, and the set is filed to be tested against the next three cycles rather than relied on now.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei	Leader of the Revolution and Commander-in-Chief	Named in print by Sazandegi, styled «امام» by Kayhan, pictured on six of ten pages, message carried by every Persian cover	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Abbas Araghchi	Foreign minister	Sets the Strait as the only remaining file, states reopening conditions, confirms Qatari channel and an awaited American answer; separately rendered as ready for an 'apocalyptic war'	WATCH
Donald Trump	President of the United States	Named by Sobh-e No as having promised asset releases and sanctions relief; named on the Vatan-e Emrooz channel denying that report in his own words; framed by Vatan-e Emrooz as facing an 82 percent domestic disapproval on living costs	TARGET FRAMING
Ali al-Zaidi	Prime Minister of Iraq	Named repeatedly in Shariatmadari's Kayhan column and cast as aligned with 'the Yazid of our time' for implementing the American flight ban; impeachment raised as a possibility on Sobh-e No's front page	TARGET FRAMING
Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel	Abu Dhabi visit filed by Vatan-e Emrooz as «نشست خیانت»; separately reported by Kayhan and the Vatan-e Emrooz channel as facing a lawsuit from a former Shin Bet chief over 7 October blame	TARGET FRAMING
Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan	President of the UAE	Host of the Netanyahu visit; named in the Vatan-e Emrooz kicker as the Iranian press's principal Gulf target this cycle	TARGET FRAMING
Marco Rubio	United States Secretary of State	Carried by Defa Press and the Vatan-e Emrooz channel claiming Iran has threatened American interests worldwide and calling the British weekend events a very serious threat; both outlets frame the remarks as fabrication	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Rear Admiral Habibollah Sayyari	Senior armed forces commander	Quoted on Sobh-e No's banner stating that the Strait of Hormuz is closed and that surrender is not in the Iranian lexicon	WATCH
Gholam-Hossein Mohseni-Ejei	Head of the judiciary	Subject of Sazandegi's whole front page as the target of organised hardline attacks over Hamid Rasaei's detention; printed on Hamshahri demanding enforcement of public modesty	WATCH
Hossein Shariatmadari	Managing editor, Kayhan	Signed front-of-book column returns after two cycles, directed at Iraq rather than at Iran's own diplomats as on 28 September	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Abdolnaser Hemmati	Former central bank governor	Charsoogh's named target for the currency collapse in a two-panel photo-montage contrasting 40,000 and 244,900 toman to the dollar	WATCH
Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah	Former secretary-general of Hezbollah, killed 27 September 2024	Second anniversary is the co-occasion of the Leader's message; subject of a two-part Kayhan memorial essay and a Ghalibaf statement calling him the man who turned the resistance into a deterrent doctrine	WATCH
Naim Qassem	Secretary-general of Hezbollah	Absent from every cover in this batch, one cycle after supplying the only printed endorsement of the serving Leader by name	absence noted
Masoud Pezeshkian	President of Iran	Absent from every front page in the batch, one cycle after his six-member committee remarks on CBS dominated the covers	absence noted

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Vatan-e Emrooz	Iran's Glorious Future	Hardline principlist	Leader's message and the batch's first full-cover portrait	MODERATE-HIGH: leadership-legitimation display
Kayhan	Iran is the world's foremost power; glorious days lie ahead	Hardline, published under the Leader's office	Leader styled «امام»; Araghchi's Hormuz conditions and the Qatari channel	MODERATE-HIGH: Hormuz held as a bargaining chip
Etemad	The Hormuz Hunting Ground	Reformist	IRGC claims complete domination of the Strait	HIGH: maximal control claim, printed unqualified
Sobh-e No	Iran will not return to the era the enemy wishes for	Principlist	Admiral declares the Strait closed; Iraq flight ban; New York talks on a denied premise	HIGH: serving admiral declares closure
Iran Daily	FM warns Iran to fight back any aggression, even an 'apocalyptic war'	State English-language daily	American sea blockade of Iranian ports acknowledged to foreign readers	MODERATE-HIGH: blockade admitted in English
Javan	The enemy's dread of the social depth of the world's first power	Hardline, IRGC-affiliated	Mobilisation framing and reciprocal infrastructure targeting	HIGH: infrastructure reciprocity stated as doctrine
Jomhouri Eslami	The world is paying the price of America's aggression against Iran	Traditional clerical establishment	Third-party legitimation, Araghchi on US television, Yemen condemnation	MODERATE: Yemen enters the register
Sazandegi	Attack on Ejei	Reformist, Kargozaran party	Hardline assault on the judiciary; the only front-page	MODERATE: intra-establishment conflict

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
			Fairford item	
Hamshahri	By divine calculation, Iran is the world's foremost power	Tehran municipality, centrist	Leader's message read as a superpower ranking; yesterday's Hormuz licence regime dropped	MODERATE: triumphalist framing, no operational claim
Charsoogh	By divine calculation, Iran is the world's foremost power	Economic, principlist framing	Clearest published portrait of the Leader; currency collapse blamed on the economic team	LOW-MODERATE: economic-blame framing
Ta'adol	Curbing money creation, rising hope of stability	Economic	Liquidity optimism against housing costs, a wage gap and medicine under siege	LOW: domestic economic reporting

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

State-published English-language daily (IRNA group), written for foreign readers

“FM warns Iran to fight back any aggression, even an 'apocalyptic war'”

MODERATE-HIGH: state English-language admission of a sustained blockade of Iranian ports



- Main: "Days of foreign domination gone forever: Leader", over a profile photograph captioned to the Leader of the Islamic Revolution Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei. This is the English-language state daily naming and picturing the serving Leader for the foreign reader on the same morning the Persian titles do.
- Main: "Naval blockade opens opportunity to diversify Iran's trade routes", an interview by staff writer Delaram Ahmadi with the director general of the Logistics and Support Office at Iran's Trade Promotion Organization. The standfirst states that "the United States has been imposing a sea blockade on Iran's southern ports for months" and that the blockade has affected foreign trade and supply chains. The interviewee argues alternative land and rail routes cannot replace maritime transport but are essential to supply-chain resilience, and that despite the damage the war has created an opportunity to develop them.
- Sub-item: "Aviation chief says Tehran files ICAO complaint over US restrictions", the aviation track of the same Iraq flight-ban dispute that fills the Persian covers.
- Op-ed: "Iran war's climate, environmental, and human security fall out".
- Sub-item: "Iran calls for roadmap to turn Russia cultural ties into sustained cooperation", and Asian Games results from Nagoya.

> **ANALYST NOTE** This page is the single most analytically useful document in the batch because it contradicts the day's Persian covers in the state's own voice. Etemad prints the IRGC claiming complete domination of the Strait and Sobh-e No prints an admiral calling it closed; Iran Daily, published by the state for foreign consumption, describes Iran's own southern ports as under an American sea blockade for months and builds a trade-logistics argument on that premise. Both can be true at once, and independent reporting supports both, but no Iranian outlet printed them together. The asymmetry is the finding: coercive capability is the story told in Persian, and injury is the story told in English.

Hamshahri

Tehran municipality daily, centrist; the country's largest-circulation title; managing director Mohsen Mehdian

“The Supreme Leader of the Revolution: by divine calculation, Iran is the world's foremost power” رهبر معظم انقلاب: بر اساس محاسبات الهی ایران «قدرت اول جهان است»

MODERATE: triumphalist national-power framing; no operational claim



- Main: The page is given over to the word «ایران» set as flag-coloured calligraphy, with the subhead «امروز ایران پُر است از پیشرفت، استقلال و اعتبار؛ امروز کسانی ما را ابرقدرت چهارم دنیا می‌دانند» (today Iran is full of progress, independence and standing; today some regard us as the world's fourth superpower).
- Sub-item: Four quotation boxes supply the foreign corroboration for the superpower claim, attributed to Robert Pape described as an American scholar, Christopher Matt described as a university professor, Shoudak Sanyal described as an Indian analyst, and Qamar Bashir described as a Pakistani politician. Two of these framings are checkable and two are not; the file does not treat any of them as verified, and notes that Hamshahri supplies no publication or date for any of the four.
- Op-ed: «چرا ققنوس؟ چرا قدرت اول؟» (why the phoenix? why the first power?) by Mohsen Mehdian, the paper's managing director, glossing the Leader's phoenix image rather than the superpower ranking.
- Sub-item: «غلامحسین محسنی‌اژه‌ای، رئیس قوه قضاییه: بساط برهنگی باید جمع شود» (Gholam-Hossein Mohseni-Ejei, head of the judiciary: the spread of immodesty must be rolled up). A hijab-enforcement line from the chief justice, printed on the same morning that Sazandegi's front page reports organised hardline attacks on the same man.
- Sub-item: «غرش پولادین» on day nine of the Nagoya Asian Games, weightlifting medals and a record, and «آتش‌نشانی تهران در جمع بهترین‌های جهان» on the capital's fire service.

ANALYST NOTE Hamshahri converts a leadership message into a national-power ranking and then imports four foreign voices to certify it, which is a different operation from reporting the message: the paper is manufacturing external validation for a domestic claim. Note what is absent. On 28 September Hamshahri gave its entire front to a functioning Hormuz permission regime of 17 ships a day; today, with a serving admiral calling the Strait closed and the IRGC claiming complete domination, the paper says nothing about the waterway at all. The licence-regime line was dropped rather than defended.

Vatan-e Emrooz

Hardline principlist morning daily, Tehran; vol. 18, no. 4723

MODERATE-HIGH: leadership-legitimation display plus second-hand amplification of American casualty reporting

“Iran's Glorious Future” «آینده شکوهمند ایران»



- Main: The whole front is a single studio portrait of the serving Leader under the kicker «رهبر انقلاب در پیامی به مناسبت هفته دفاع مقدس و سالگرد شهادت سیدحسن نصرالله با اشاره به پیروزی‌های بزرگ ملت ما در ۳ جنگ تحمیلی تأکید کردند: روزهای آینده به مراتب شکوهمندتر از این روزها خواهد بود» (the Leader of the Revolution, in a message marking Sacred Defence Week and the anniversary of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's martyrdom, referring to our nation's great victories in three imposed wars, emphasised: the days ahead will be far more glorious than these days). The counting of three imposed wars, rather than one or two, is the paper's own arithmetic on the page.
- Right rail: «راز موشک جدید» (the secret of the new missile), kickered to an ABC report on the wounding of eight American marines that the paper says disclosed new detail of an earlier Iranian strike on an American vessel in the Strait of Hormuz. This is a rendering of a Western broadcast, not an Iranian operational statement, and is carried here as the paper's summary of that report.
- Right rail: «نشست خیانت» (the summit of betrayal), kickered to a secret Netanyahu trip to Abu Dhabi and a meeting with bin Zayed. Independent reporting and the Israeli prime minister's own office place that visit on Sunday 27 September, so the underlying event is confirmed; the word «خیانت» is the paper's verdict on the Emirati host, not on the Israeli visitor.
- Right rail: «کارت قرمز مردم آمریکا به ترامپ» (the American people's red card to Trump), kickered to 82 percent dissatisfaction with the American president's handling of the cost of living, and «جنگ سوخت» (fuel war), tagged «ویژه», on an American attack on Iranian tankers driving gas and oil prices, transport costs and a fresh inflation wave.
- Op-ed: A «نکته» note by Hanif Ghaffari, and a second rail item, «جهان جای بی‌طرف‌ها نیست» (the world is no place for neutrals), reading a Swiss referendum as the return of power logic to international politics.
- Banner: Top-left «شرافت در فوتبال» (honour in football) on an Iranian team's conduct, and top-right «پدر، پسر، شهادت» (father, son, martyrdom) on officials visiting the family of Lieutenant General Gholam-Ali Rashid.

ANALYST NOTE This is the single most consequential page in the batch, and its significance is pictorial rather than textual: a hardline daily has given its entire front to a photograph of the serving Leader on the morning after the foreign minister told reporters in New York that security considerations and direct American threats were what prevented the publication of the Leader's image. Whatever the explanation, the constraint the state offered yesterday did not hold for twenty-four hours. Track whether the portrait recurs or whether 29 September proves to be a one-day authorisation tied to Sacred Defence Week.

Javan

Hardline daily affiliated with the IRGC

HIGH: reciprocal infrastructure-targeting doctrine stated as policy

“The enemy's dread of the social depth of the world's first power” «هراس دشمن از عقبه اجتماعی قدرت اول جهان»



- Main: The Leader's message carried under the same standing formula as the rest of the batch, «رهبر معظم انقلاب: با محاسبات الهی ایران قدرت اول جهان است», with the paper's own headline shifting the subject from the Leader to popular mobilisation.
- Main: The lead photograph is a night crowd scene with Iranian flags in which a woman holds up a printed portrait of the serving Leader. Taken with the Vatan-e Emrooz cover, Jomhouri Eslami's inset and Charsoogh's colour photograph, this is the fourth published image of Mojtaba Khamenei in a single batch.
- Sub-item: «زیرساخت بزنید زیرساخت می‌زنیم» (hit infrastructure, we hit infrastructure), a reciprocal-targeting formulation set as a standing warning. The small kicker above it is not legible in the scan this file holds and is not reconstructed here.
- Sub-item: «پرونده اقتصادی گره‌گشا روی میز دستگاه قضا ۱۲» (twelve knot-untying economic files on the judiciary's desk), and «مهر رسید ولی کتاب درسی نرسید!» (Mehr arrived but the textbook did not), on the school year opening without textbooks.
- Banner: A full-width Sacred Defence Week commemorative advertisement showing armed-forces commanders saluting beneath the flag.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Javan's contribution to the cycle is the infrastructure line, which is a doctrine statement rather than a news item: it announces reciprocity as policy without attaching it to any named official or incident, which is how this title has previously seeded escalation framings ahead of events. The crowd photograph matters separately. An IRGC-affiliated daily printing a member of the public holding the serving Leader's portrait is a legitimation image, and the file records it as the first such photograph in the batch rather than as evidence of the scene's spontaneity.

Sobh-e No

Principlist daily, Tehran; issue 2438

“Iran will not return to the era the enemy wishes for” «ایران به دورانی که دشمن آرزویش را دارد، بازنمی‌گردد»

HIGH: serving admiral declares the Strait closed; negotiation copy rests on a denied report



- Banner: Above the masthead, «دریادار سیاری با بیان اینکه «تنگه هرمز بسته است»، تاکید کرد: تسلیم در قاموس ایرانی جماعت نیست» (Rear Admiral Sayyari, stating that 'the Strait of Hormuz is closed', emphasised: surrender is not in the Iranian people's lexicon). This is the flattest statement of the Strait's status on any cover in the batch, and it comes from a serving flag officer rather than a spokesman.
- Main: The Leader's message carried as the lead under «رهبر انقلاب تأکید کردند».
- Sub-item: The whole centre of the page is a photograph of a crowd at Najaf airport under «عشق حسین (ع)، ما را متحد می‌کند» (love of Hussein unites us), captioned as a large gathering of Iraqis the previous day protesting the halt of flights between Iraq and Iran. Two analyst lines run beside it: «کاکایی: عراق نمی‌تواند مناسبات خود با ایران را نادیده بگیرد» and «هانی‌زاده: فشار برای فاصله گرفتن عراق از ایران می‌تواند به استیضاح نخست‌وزیر منجر شود» (pressure to distance Iraq from Iran could lead to the prime minister's impeachment).
- Sub-item: «در نیویورک چه خبر است؟» (what is the news in New York?), whose kicker states that although Trump «با وعده آزادسازی دارایی‌ها و کاهش تحریم‌ها، چاشنی لازم برای مذاکره را فراهم کرده است» (with the promise of releasing assets and reducing sanctions, has supplied the spark needed for negotiation), mediated talks will be about hearing messages rather than signing agreements until the question of the first step is settled. The premise is an Axios report that the American president publicly and specifically denied the same night; the paper prints it as established.
- Sub-item: Beside it, «علیرضا مجیدی: ترامپ همزمان با مذاکره، فشار بر ایران را افزایش می‌دهد» and «حسن قشقاوی: ایران از مرحله مذاکره یا عدم مذاکره عبور کرده است» (Iran has passed the stage of talks or no talks).
- Sub-item: «محکومیت رسایی ربطی به وظایف نمایندگی نداشت» (Rasaei's conviction had nothing to do with his parliamentary duties), the paper's second consecutive cycle defending the judiciary's sentence against the hardline MP.
- Right rail: «پرتره فرمانده» on a film about the martyr Hossein Amlaki and Operation Nasr 4.

ANALYST NOTE Sobh-e No is the cycle's clearest case of an Iranian front page building an argument on a foreign report its subject had already denied: the Trump sanctions-and-assets offer is printed as the given from which the analysis proceeds, hours after Trump called the Axios report a fabrication. Read with the Sayyari banner, the page is also evidence that the closure of the Strait is being stated by the armed forces in plain declarative terms while the negotiation copy assumes an American concession that may not exist. Watch whether the paper corrects the premise in the next cycle.

Sazandegi

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

MODERATE: intra-establishment conflict over the judiciary; external allegation reframed as information operation

“Attack on Ejei” «حمله به اژه‌ای»



- Main: A full-height portrait of the chief justice under the kicker «سه جریان سیاسی ... و هواداران پایداری، به بهانه بازداشت حمید رسایی توسط قوه قضائیه، حملات سازمان‌یافته‌ای را علیه دستگاه قضا آغاز کرده و قاضی‌القضات را زیر تیغ نقد و تخریب قرار دادند» (three political currents and supporters of Paydari, using the judiciary's detention of Hamid Rasaei as a pretext, have begun organised attacks on the judiciary and put the chief justice under the blade of criticism and destruction).
- Right rail: «توطئه فیرفورد» (the Fairford plot), kickered «یک گزارش مشکوک از لندن» (a suspicious report from London), page 3. This is the only appearance of the RAF Fairford allegation on any front page in the batch, and the framing is that the British report is itself the suspect object.
- Right rail: «جنگ یا معامله؟» (war or a deal?), kickered «آخرین تلاش میانجی‌ها در نیویورک» (the mediators' last effort in New York), page 2.
- Right rail: «جای خالی نوبل» on the approaching prize season, and «ساخت‌وساز با هر بهانه» on construction from metro expansion to war reconstruction.
- Left column: The Leader's message printed with the fullest attribution anywhere in the batch: «آیت‌الله سیدمجتبی حسینی‌خامنه‌ای، رهبر انقلاب و فرمانده کل قوا، در پیامی به مناسبت سالگرد آغاز جنگ تحمیلی و ایام‌الله دفاع مقدس» (Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini-Khamenei, Leader of the Revolution and Commander-in-Chief). This printed name is the identification the rest of the batch leaves implicit.

ANALYST NOTE Sazandegi is doing two jobs at once and both are useful to an external reader. It is the only paper to print the serving Leader's full name beside the message, which settles identification for the whole batch rather than leaving it to inference from a portrait. And it is the only paper to touch the Fairford allegation, which it handles by making the London report the object of suspicion rather than the allegation. On 28 September this file predicted the 29 September batch would test whether a one-cycle silence was policy; the test returns one cover out of ten, and that cover contests the report rather than repeating Iran's own official denial.

Charsoogh

Economic daily, principlist in framing

LOW-MODERATE: economic-blame framing; no operational content

“The Leader of the Revolution: by divine calculation, Iran is the world's foremost power” «رهبر انقلاب: بر اساس محاسبات الهی ایران قدرت اول جهان است»



- Main: A large outdoor colour photograph of the serving Leader occupies the top half of the page, the clearest published portrait in the batch. An economic daily leading on a leadership message, with a photograph rather than a chart, is a departure from this title's own recent practice.
- Sub-item: «رکوردهای گرانی ارز با اهمال همتی» (record currency price rises through Hemmati's negligence), the lower half's lead, aimed at Abdolnaser Hemmati.
- Cartoon: A two-panel photo-montage tagged «الفبای وفاق» (the alphabet of concord, a jab at the government's national-concord slogan). Left panel, Hemmati angry at a podium under «قیمت دلار ۴۰,۰۰۰ تومان» with the bubble «آقای رئیسی اگر نمی‌توانید ارز را مهار کنید استعفا دهید» (Mr Raisi, if you cannot rein in the currency, resign). Right panel, Hemmati smiling with fists raised under «قیمت دلار ۲۴۴,۹۰۰ تومان» and a dismissive bubble.
- Sub-item: A line chart of the dollar rate on the central bank's series, rising steeply across the period shown.

ANALYST NOTE The figure is the finding and it needs care. On 28 September this file recorded Charsoogh printing a dollar rate of 335,000 toman; today the same title's cartoon prints 244,900 toman against a chart labelled to the central bank's series. The two numbers are most plausibly a market rate and an official rate rather than a correction, but Charsoogh does not say so, and a paper that runs both inside a week without reconciling them is not supplying a measurement. The factional target is also worth noting: the paper attacks a former central bank governor for the currency rather than the war, which is the same attribution choice it made yesterday.

Jomhouri Eslami

Traditional clerical-establishment daily, Tehran

MODERATE: third-party legitimation, Yemen condemnation, war-damage recovery claim

“The world is paying the price of America's aggression against Iran / The patience of the world's peoples is not unlimited” «جهان بهای تجاوز آمریکا علیه ایران را می‌پردازد / تحمل مردم جهان نامحدود نیست»


جمهوری اسلامی

جهان بهای تجاوز آمریکا علیه ایران را می‌پردازد
تحمل مردم جهان نامحدود نیست

- Main: Attributed to «یک پژوهشگر انگلیسی» (a British researcher) whose name the scan does not render legibly and whom this file therefore does not name. The argument as printed: the effects of the American aggression now show in higher energy costs, slower world growth, rising prices and strained state budgets, and a member of a British anti-war parliamentary grouping is quoted warning that public tolerance for falling living standards has a limit.
- Sub-item: «عراقچی: به نیویورک آمدیم تا زمینه صلح فراهم شود» (Araghchi: we came to New York so the ground for peace would be prepared). The text places the remarks on NBC's Meet the Press, records the formulation «انتخاب بین جنگ یا مذاکره با ترامپ است» (the choice is between war or negotiation with Trump), and states Iran is fully prepared for a resumption of war while remaining ready for diplomacy. It also notes that in the earlier war the American side demanded unconditional surrender within two days, and that seven months on there is no result.
- Sub-item: «وزارت خارجه ایران حملات نظامی به یمن را محکوم کرد» (Iran's foreign ministry condemned military strikes on Yemen), describing them as a violation of Yemeni sovereignty and territorial integrity and citing an air strike on a market said to have killed 45 and wounded 150, plus further air strikes on two Yemeni towns whose names are not legible in the scan. The casualty figures are the ministry's as printed and are not independently established here.
- Banner: «۶۰ درصد ظرفیت‌های از دست رفته صنعت پتروشیمی به چرخه تولید بازگشت» (60 percent of the petrochemical industry's lost capacity has returned to the production cycle), the batch's only quantified claim about war damage recovery, and «۱۲۶ هزار هکتار زمین از منابع طبیعی برای طرح جهش تولید مسکن تأمین شد».
- Sub-item: Centre photograph of the Iraqi protest against the flight halt, matching Sobh-e No's, plus «ماینرها ۲۵۰ هزار میلیارد تومان به شبکه برق ضرر زدند» on crypto mining and the power grid, and «رنج فلسطینیان لکه ننگی بر وجدان جهان است».

ANALYST NOTE Jomhouri Eslami is the only cover that argues Iran's case to a third-party audience rather than to Iranians, and it does so entirely through Western voices: a British researcher, a British anti-war grouping, and Araghchi speaking on American television. The petrochemical recovery figure is the more useful item for an external reader, because it is the first quantified Iranian claim about restored industrial capacity this file has seen and it is checkable against export data over the coming weeks. The Yemen condemnation is new to this file's register and should be tracked as a possible second front in the Iranian press's threat accounting.

Etemad

Reformist daily, Tehran; vol. 24

“The Hormuz Hunting Ground” «شکارگاه هرمز»

HIGH: maximal Iranian claim of control over the Strait, printed without qualification



- Main: «سخنگوی سپاه پاسداران از تسلط کامل نیروهای نظامی ایران بر تنگه خبر داد» (the IRGC spokesman announced the complete domination of Iranian military forces over the Strait). «تسلط کامل», complete domination, is the strongest formulation of Iranian control over Hormuz this file has recorded on a front page, and it is printed by a reformist title rather than a military one.
- Banner: The Leader's message runs above the masthead line: «رهبر انقلاب در پیامی به مناسبت هفته دفاع مقدس و سالگرد شهادت شهید سیدحسن نصرالله: ایران به دورانی که دشمن آرزویش را دارد بازنخواهد گشت» (Iran will not return to the era the enemy wishes for).
- Sub-item: «عباس عراقچی: آماده‌ایم حتی برای جنگ آخرالزمانی» (Abbas Araghchi: we are ready even for an apocalyptic war). On 28 September this file recorded Javan printing the same underlying remark as «می‌جنگیم حتی آخرالزمانی!», a pledge to fight. Etemad prints the readiness formulation, which is closer to the wire text, and the two renderings of one sentence are now on the record a day apart.
- Op-ed: «اعتماد در گفت‌وگو با رحمن قهرمان‌پور بررسی می‌کند: بازی دوگانه ترامپ» (Etemad, in conversation with Rahman Ghahremanpour, examines Trump's double game), on simultaneous economic pressure, military threat and negotiation channels.
- Sub-item: A second staff analysis of Iranian diplomacy against what the paper calls Washington's psychological and military game, headlined with the Persian idiom «با دست پس زدن و با پا پیش کشیدن» (pushing away with the hand while pulling closer with the foot).
- Sub-item: «سقوط سفر» (the collapse of travel), kickered «گردشگری در جهان پس از جنگ خاورمیانه، رکودی بی‌سابقه را تجربه می‌کند» (world tourism is experiencing an unprecedented slump after the Middle East war), illustrated with an empty airport terminal.
- Right rail: A paid black-bordered condolence notice addressed to Hojjat al-Islam Ali Akbar Nateq-Nouri on the death of his brother Ahmad Nateq-Nouri, described in the notice as having served seven terms in the Islamic Consultative Assembly for the Nour and Mahmoudabad constituency.

ANALYST NOTE Etemad is where the day's central contradiction becomes visible without the paper acknowledging it: the front page carries an IRGC claim of complete domination of the Strait alongside a foreign minister saying Iran is ready for an apocalyptic war and a business-page story about the war's cost to travel. A reformist paper printing the maximal military claim, rather than hedging it, indicates the Hormuz posture is not currently a factional dispute in the Iranian press. The indicator to watch is whether any Iranian outlet prints «تسلط کامل» and Iran Daily's «naval blockade» framing on the same page.

Ta'adol

Economic daily, Tehran; 'the voice of Iran's economy'

“Curbing money creation, rising hope of stability” «مهار خلق پول، افزایش امید به ثبات»

LOW: domestic economic and public-health reporting



- Main: Kickered «کاهش شتاب رشد نقدینگی چه نتیجه‌ای دارد؟» (what follows from the slowing of liquidity growth?). Ta'adol is again the batch's optimist on the macro trajectory, as it was on 28 September with «تورم ایران در نقطه تغییر».
- Sub-item: The Leader's message runs in the centre of the page with a formal portrait and the line «ایران به دوران سابق بازنخواهد گشت».
- Banner: «خانه‌های ۷۵ متری از رهن ۱.۲ تا ۲.۹ میلیاردی / اجاره‌نشینی در تهران چقدر سرمایه می‌خواهد؟» (75 square metre homes with deposits of 1.2 to 2.9 billion toman: how much capital does renting in Tehran require?), the cycle's concrete cost-of-living figure.
- Banner: «زنگ خطر عفونت‌های تنفسی به‌صدا درآمد / کرونا از آستانه هشدار بالا عبور کرد» (the alarm on respiratory infections has sounded; Covid has passed above the warning threshold), with children a notable share of positive influenza cases.
- Sub-item: «پوشش شکاف ۴۰ درصدی معیشت حقوق‌بگیران» (covering the 40 percent livelihood gap of wage earners), and rail pieces «دارو در محاصره» (medicine under siege) and «بورس در آستانه فصل جدید».

ANALYST NOTE Two Iranian economic dailies again disagree in the same direction as yesterday, and the disagreement is now stable enough to treat as an editorial position rather than a difference in data: Ta'adol reads decelerating liquidity growth as the turn, Charsoogh reads the exchange rate as the verdict. For an external reader the more valuable items on this page are the ones neither paper is arguing about: a 40 percent wage-livelihood gap and Tehran rental deposits of 1.2 to 2.9 billion toman for a small flat. «دارو در محاصره» is the item to watch, because pharmaceutical supply is where a maritime blockade shows up in civilian life first.

Kayhan

Hardline daily published under the Supreme Leader's office; managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari

“Iran is the world's foremost power; glorious days lie ahead” «ایران قدرت اوّل دنیاست؛ روزهای شکوهمندی در پیش است»

MODERATE-HIGH: Hormuz explicitly held as a bargaining chip; sectarian framing of Iraqi policy

- Main: The paper's own channel marks this the front-page lead («تیتر_یک#», post 85330, 04:50 UTC). Kayhan is the only outlet in the batch to give the serving Leader the title «امام», printing «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیّد مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظّم انقلاب و فرمانده کل قوا». On 28 September this file recorded Kayhan declining to carry Naim Qassem's endorsement of the same Leader by name; today it supplies the strongest honorific anywhere in the batch.
- Op-ed: A signed Shariatmadari column, «بار دیگر کربلا...» (Karbala once again), tagged «نکته#» (post 85328, 04:20 UTC). It casts Iraq's compliance with the American flight ban as a Karbala test, names Prime Minister Ali al-Zaidi and calls his alignment with Washington «همسوئی با یزید زمان» (alignment with the Yazid of our time), and notes that the flight ban is a US Treasury decision rather than a Security Council resolution. Its third section recounts Resolution 1483 of 2003 and Iraqi oil revenues held at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York; the resolution and the account arrangement are real, the characterisation is the author's.
- Main: Araghchi's end-of-trip video statement (post 85329, 04:39 UTC), the most operationally specific item in the whole cycle. He rejects foreign reporting of Iranian nuclear flexibility, states «شروط ما برای بازگشایی تنگه مشخص است» (our conditions for reopening the Strait are clear), says «درحال حاضر فقط موضوع تنگه هرمز است» (at present the only issue is the Strait of Hormuz) and that reopening is conditional on those terms being met, and reports meeting a Qatari mediator that day while awaiting the American side's final answer.
- Sub-item: «رئیس سابق شاباک از نتانیاهو شکایت می‌کند» (the former Shin Bet chief is to sue Netanyahu) after being blamed for failing to predict the 7 October 2023 attack.
- Op-ed: A two-part memorial essay on Nasrallah, «مردی که برخاست» (the man who rose) by Seyyed Mohammad-Emad Arabi, dating the BLU-109 strike to 27 September 2024 and tracing Hezbollah's history from the early 1980s.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Two things changed at Kayhan in one cycle and both cut against this file's recent readings. The signed front-of-book column returned after two cycles of absence, and the paper that on 27 September filled the Leader's commemorative slot from the 2024 archive today leads on the serving Leader's own message and escalates his title to «امام». Read with the Araghchi post, Kayhan is also the outlet that published the negotiation's operative detail: the Strait is the only remaining file, its reopening is conditional, and a Qatari mediator is carrying an answer. A paper that attacked the diplomats for signalling weakness yesterday carried their negotiating position today without comment.

Appendix A: Message of the Leader of the Revolution for Sacred Defence Week and the anniversary of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's martyrdom (partial reconstruction)

Reconstructed from the Kayhan channel (posts 85330 and 85331, 29 September 2026) and the Sobh-e No channel (posts 116340 to 116343, 28 September 2026), with the maritime passage rendered from secondary English reporting. khamenei.ir was not reachable at the time of compilation, so this is not a certified full text.

Attribution as printed. Sazandegi prints the fullest name: «آیت‌الله سیدمجتبی حسینی‌خامنه‌ای، رهبر انقلاب و فرمانده کل قوا» (Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini-Khamenei, Leader of the Revolution and Commander-in-Chief). Kayhan goes further: «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیّد مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظّم انقلاب و فرمانده کل قوا». Iran Daily's photo caption renders it in English as Leader of the Islamic Revolution Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei. The occasion is given as the anniversary of the opening days of the first imposed war and the days of the eight-year Sacred Defence, together with the second anniversary of Nasrallah's killing.

On the enemy's purpose, as summarised by Kayhan: «با اشاره به تلاش سلطه‌گران برای بازگرداندن ایران به دوران عقب‌ماندگی و «ذلّت و خواری» و وابستگی و بدنامی از طریق تحمیل جنگ در دهه اول انقلاب». In translation: referring to the efforts of the domineering powers to return Iran, through the imposition of war in the first decade of the revolution, to an era of backwardness, of 'abasement and humiliation', of dependency and disrepute.

On the outcome, verbatim as Kayhan prints it: «به‌رغم تلاش‌های گسترده، نظام اسلامی برومندتر و قوی‌تر از قبل، با صدایی رساتر و پروازی بلندتر، ققنوس‌وار برخاست و این، خصلتِ مستمرّ این نظام در حوادث دشمن‌ساخته بعدی شد؛ و اینک آن ققنوس در اثر فشارهای دشمن و به‌خصوص دو جنگ تحمیلی اخیر، آن‌چنان بزرگ شده است که سایه پروازش بر سرزمین‌های دشمن هم افتاده است.» In translation: despite extensive efforts, the Islamic system rose phoenix-like, more vigorous and stronger than before, with a more resonant voice and a higher flight, and this became the continuing characteristic of this system in the enemy-made events that followed; and now that phoenix, under enemy pressure and especially the two recent imposed wars, has grown so large that the shadow of its flight has fallen across the enemy's own lands.

On the comparison of the two eras, verbatim from the Sobh-e No channel: «آن روزهایی که آنان دوست دارند کشور ما را به آن برگردانند، روزهایی بود پر از عقب‌ماندگی، ذلت و خواری؛ وابستگی و بدنامی ایران در جهان اسلام؛ و این روزهایی که در آن هستیم پر است از پیشرفت، عزّت، استقلال...». In translation: the days to which they would like to return our country were days full of backwardness, abasement and humiliation, of Iran's dependency and disrepute in the Islamic world; and these days we are in are full of progress, dignity, independence.

The declaratory sentence, verbatim: «این مقایسه بین روزهای سابق و روزهای حال باز هم قابل بسط و توضیح است، ولی در یک کلام، بنده به‌عنوان خادم مردم عزیز ایران اعلام می‌کنم که آن روزهای سابق که دشمن ما آرزوی بازگشت به آن را دارد، گذشت و دیگر هیچگاه تکرار نخواهد شد.» In translation: this comparison between the former days and the present ones admits of further elaboration, but in a word, I, as the servant of the dear people of Iran, declare that those former days, to which our enemy wishes to return, have passed and will never again be repeated. The self-description «خادم» (servant) is the Leader's own and is retained here because it is the register in which the new office is being presented.

The maritime passage. This file does not hold it in the original script. Secondary English renderings of the same message report the Leader saying that Iran's southern waters were once a playground for enemy forces, that after painful blows from the Hormuz garrison and its fighters they no longer dare to venture

beyond the Arabian Sea, and that 'before long, the Arabian Sea will also be completely liberated from them'. Analyst flag: this passage is carried here as reported speech from secondary sources, not as verified primary text, and it should not be quoted as authentic without primary-source confirmation. If accurate, it places a specific maritime claim in the Leader's own message on the same morning the navy, the IRGC and the state's English daily each described the maritime situation differently.

Analyst flag on the message as a whole. Hamshahri, Javan, Charsoogh and Sobh-e No all render the lead as «بر اساس محاسبات الهی ایران قدرت اول جهان است» (by divine calculation, Iran is the world's foremost power), a formulation that does not appear in the passages recovered above and that this file treats as the papers' headline compression rather than as verified quoted text. The phrase «۳ جنگ تحمیلی» (three imposed wars) appears in the Vatan-e Emrooz kicker where the recovered text says «دو جنگ تحمیلی اخیر» (the two recent imposed wars) alongside the first; the arithmetic is the paper's.

Source line: Kayhan, front-page lead, item 85330, 7 Mehr 1405; Sobh-e No channel items 116340 to 116343, 6 Mehr 1405; Sazandegi, front page, 7 Mehr 1405; Iran Daily, front page, Vol 8225, 7 Mehr 1405.

Appendix B: 'Karbala once again', signed column by Hossein Shariatmadari, Kayhan

Kayhan channel, post 85328, 29 September 2026 at 04:20 UTC, tagged «#نکته». Author verified: the post carries the byline «#حسین_شریعتمداری», Kayhan's managing editor.

Section 1. «کربلا سرزمینی است به پهنای همه سرزمین‌ها و عاشورا روزی است به درازای همه روزها -كلُّ يَومٍ عاشوراء و كُلُّ أرضٍ كَربَلاء-». Karbala is a land as wide as all lands and Ashura a day as long as all days. This saying is attributed to Imam Sadeq, peace be upon him, and our late Imam said of it: 'this phrase expresses the necessity of perpetual struggle against oppression'. In other words, Karbala is always present and Ashura can be repeated. In our own Iran, since the victory of the Islamic revolution we have seen dozens of instances of the people of Ashura confronting the arrogant powers of the world, great and small, and in all those arenas our people, taking the epic of Ashura as their model, have risen against their enemies and thwarted the Yazids of our time, «که امروزه از کاخ سبز به کاخ سفید کوچ کرده‌اند» (who have today migrated from the Green Palace to the White House). And now, once again, the noble people of Iraq face another Karbala and another Ashura test.

Section 2. The ban on Iranian flights, which is a proposal of the American Treasury Department and which Ali al-Zaidi, prime minister of the Iraqi government, has accepted and put into effect, has drawn Iraq's noble Muslim brothers and sisters into another Ashura test. The terms of the question are far clearer than to admit the least doubt. On one side of this field stands criminal America, the declared enemy of Islam and of humanity, and on the other side Islamic Iran has pitched its tent: two eloquent symbols of the Yazidis and the Husseinis of our time. Al-Zaidi's accompaniment of America, «چه بداند و چه نداند» (whether he knows it or not), is without the slightest doubt alignment with the Yazid of our time, and it is obvious that the noble and devoted people of Iraq will never allow their government's prime minister to migrate in this arena to the camp of Yazid.

Section 3. After the fall of Saddam's bloodletting government in 2003, America and the European Union dictated Resolution 1483 to the United Nations Security Council, under which revenues from the sale of Iraqi oil and gas were not to be placed directly at the disposal of the Iraqi government, that is to say of the oppressed Iraqi people, but were instead paid into a special account at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, from which America, after deducting the costs of the war, makes the surplus available to the Iraqi government. The text of that resolution resembles highway robbery, but it might be said that because it is a Security Council resolution al-Zaidi considers himself bound to implement it. That excuse plays no part here, because the Iranian flight ban is not a United Nations resolution that Mr Ali al-Zaidi should consider himself obliged to carry out; it is a decision of the American Treasury Department, and going along with it has no other definition than submission to a dictated American order.

Section 4. Fortunately, abundant news and reports indicate that a broad wave of popular, seminary and resistance protest has formed in Iraq against the Westward-leaning al-Zaidi government's decision to comply with American sanctions and halt Iranian flights; protesters in Baghdad, Basra, Najaf, Samarra and elsewhere demand the immediate resumption of flights and the preservation of independent national decision-making against Washington's pressure. What is notable is that the protesters in their broad and unusual gatherings emphasise the unity of the Iranian and Iraqi nations and regard al-Zaidi's action as contemptible and alien to the Islamic and revolutionary identity of the Iraqi people.

Verification note. The factual spine of section 3 is sound: Security Council Resolution 1483 of May 2003 created the Development Fund for Iraq and Iraqi oil proceeds were held at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. The characterisation of that arrangement, and the reading of a serving Iraqi prime minister as a latter-

day Yazid, are the author's. External reporting places the flight ban with the American Treasury and records the Iraqi government seeking an exemption on humanitarian grounds; the Sobh-e No channel reported on the evening of 28 September that Iraqi sources said flights to Iran had resumed from Najaf International Airport, a development this column does not acknowledge. Source line: Kayhan, «بار دیگر کربلا...», item 85328, 7 Mehr 1405.

Handling note. This translation is supplied because the column is an instrument of state-adjacent messaging toward a neighbouring government's domestic politics, and its sectarian framing of a serving head of government is itself the intelligence. Nothing here endorses or amplifies it.

Appendix C: Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline, 29 September 2026

Collection. Nine Persian front pages were taken from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk batch for 7 Mehr 1405, and one English front page from the Newspapers_Iran batch of the same date. The batch's own printed Jalali date matched the target date, so the stale-batch guard did not trip and no fallback sourcing was needed. Six outlet channels and three agency wires were read directly, and every item cited from them carries its channel post number and timestamp.

Papers identified from the scans: Hamshahri, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Sazandegi, Charsoogh, Jomhouri Eslami, Etemad, Ta'adol and Iran Daily. Kayhan was reconstructed from its own channel rather than from a scan, as on the previous cycle, and is presented as such. Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation and contributes nothing to this edition.

Scan resolution. The kiosk images are 800 pixels tall, which is enough for mastheads, lead headlines and most kickers but not for body text. Where a name or a place could not be read with confidence it is not named: this applies to the British researcher on Jomhouri Eslami's lead, to the two Yemeni localities in the foreign ministry's condemnation, to the kicker above Javan's infrastructure line, and to the name of the trade official interviewed by Iran Daily. Nothing in this edition is reconstructed from a guess at an illegible string.

Identification of the Leader. Four front pages carry a photograph and five carry the message. The identification rests on printed text rather than on the portraits: Sazandegi prints «آیت‌الله سیدمجتبی حسینی‌خامنه‌ای، رهبر انقلاب و فرمانده کل قوا», the Kayhan channel prints «امام سیّد مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای», and Iran Daily's caption names him in English. Where a page writes only «رهبر انقلاب» the reference is read as the serving Leader on that basis, not from the image.

Attribution firewall. Iranian claims about the Strait of Hormuz, about strikes on American vessels and about casualty figures in Yemen are recorded as claims by their outlet or speaker and are not adopted as fact. Renderings of foreign reporting, including Vatan-e Emrooz on an ABC report and on a Washington Post analysis, Sobh-e No on an Axios report, and Jomhouri Eslami on a British researcher, remain flagged as renderings: quoting a rendering does not verify the underlying report, and in the Axios case the American president publicly denied it the same night.

Independent checks run for this edition. Netanyahu's 27 September visit to Abu Dhabi and meeting with the UAE president is confirmed by his own office and by independent reporting, including the composition of the delegation. Ali al-Zaidi is confirmed as Iraq's prime minister and the flight ban as a United States Treasury measure. The five men arrested near RAF Fairford on 27 September are confirmed as British nationals from London in their twenties, released on bail on 28 September, with investigators still examining possible Iranian, Russian or non-state links, and with Iran officially denying involvement on 28 September. Iran's seven-point proposal, conveyed through Qatari mediation and reported externally as a seven-day roadmap to reopen the Strait in exchange for an end to the American blockade, oil waivers and a ceasefire including Lebanon, is corroborated by independent reporting of Araghchi's own remarks.

Single-source and negative findings. Sazandegi's «توطئه فیرفورد» is the only front-page appearance of the RAF Fairford matter in the batch and is reported as such. The petrochemical recovery figure on Jomhouri Eslami, the Yemen casualty figures, and Charsoogh's two incompatible dollar rates are each single-sourced to one Iranian outlet and are labelled accordingly. Absences are reported as findings rather than passed over in silence.

House note. This product documents and analyses hostile foreign-press rhetoric for defensive assessment only. Nothing here endorses, amplifies or operationalises it.

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.