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CAPITAL FOR CAPITAL EDITION

Nine Persian front pages and one English front page of 12 Mehr 1405, read alongside six outlet channels and three agency wires; Kayhan is reconstructed from its own channel, and Tehran Times was not available this cycle.

Front pages published the morning of 4 October 2026, reflecting events through late 3 October local.

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


تعادل

چالش حمایت‌های معیشتی

آتش محاصره نفتی دامن همه را می‌گیرد

Front page: Ta'adol

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition is that Saudi Arabia entered the Iranian front pages this morning as a target rather than as a mediator, and that it did so across the entire factional spectrum in a single cycle. Jam-e Jam, published by the state broadcaster, gave the strike its own standing headline, «نفت سعودی زیر ضرب یمن», Saudi oil under Yemen's blow, and supplied the doctrine in the deck: following the targeting of Sanaa, the Yemenis struck the Riyadh refinery and thereby «رسما معادله پایتخت در برابر پایتخت را عملیاتی کردند», formally operationalised the capital-for-capital equation. Kayhan printed «آرامکو در آتش یمن پاسخ جنایات سعودی را داد», Aramco in Yemen's fire answered Saudi crimes. Sazandegi, a reformist party daily with no reason to share Kayhan's framing, led its top bar with «آتش در قلب عربستان», fire in the heart of Saudi Arabia. Sobh-e No converted the same material into a strategic argument addressed to the Gulf capitals under the banner «پشت دروازه عدن», at the gate of Aden, holding that Ansar Allah's conquests and the Saudi retreat prove the failure of «امنیت کرایه‌ای», rented security. Four titles across four factions, one morning, one target, and in none of them an Iranian hand.

The independent record supports the fire and not the attribution. A blaze at Aramco's Riyadh refinery south of the capital was observed on the ground by an AFP journalist on 3 October; Saudi authorities had not confirmed an attack and Aramco had not commented on the cause. The claim of responsibility belongs to the Yemeni armed forces spokesman Yahya Saree and is carried on the Fars News channel at 22:46 as a ballistic missile and drone strike on Aramco facilities in Riyadh, alongside further claims of severe disruption to Riyadh's airspace with eleven aircraft refusing to land and of satellite imagery showing the fire burning at 205 megawatts of radiative intensity. This file reproduces all of that as claim and none of it as fact. What is not in dispute is the direction of the campaign: the Houthi offensive against the Saudi-backed government that began on 3 September ended the truce, Saudi airstrikes have resumed on Sanaa, and Defa Press today carries Saudi-aligned forces claiming ninety-seven precision targeting operations on the Taiz axis. The Iranian press is not reporting a single incident; it is reporting the opening of a second war in which an Arab capital is now a target set.

The second finding of this edition is domestic, and it is the clearest institutional signal in the batch. Kayhan's «یادداشت روز», the signed daily editorial that is customarily the managing editor's own instrument, today carries the byline of Davoud Manzour, identified on the page as head of the Plan and Budget Organization of the martyred Raisi government. The text argues that the rise in the dollar is not a speculative fluctuation but the point at which several large disequilibria intersect, and that «نظام مالی و سیستم اقتصادی کشور آن‌گونه که در شرایط جنگی و تحریمی لازم است، بازآرایی و آماده نشده», the country's financial and economic system has not been rearranged and prepared as wartime and sanctions conditions require, and that the policies of the resistance economy have not in practice been seriously implemented. The charge of failing to implement «اقتصاد مقاومتی» is a charge of doctrinal non-compliance issued from the newspaper published under the Leader's office. On the same morning the economic daily Charsoogh gives its entire lead to another Raisi-government minister, Seyyed Sowlat Mortazavi, under the headline «فرق می‌کند چه کسی رئیس‌جمهور باشد», it makes a difference who the president is. Two former officials of the same administration, two front pages, one target, and the target is no longer the Islamabad memorandum.

The third finding is the electoral one, and it runs through this batch from Tehran to Washington to Tel Aviv. Nobonyad reports under «زنگ انتخابات شورا به صدا درآمد» that «پس از چند ماه انتظار، بالاخره شورای عالی امنیت ملی با برگزاری انتخابات شوراها موافقت کرد», after months of waiting the Supreme National Security Council has finally agreed to the holding of the council elections, with officials indicating the first half of Aban. The same cover carries a signed note by the jurist Gholam-Hossein Elham establishing that parliament never

closed for a single day during the eight-year war and that displaced residents of Khorramshahr, Abadan and Qasr-e Shirin still elected their representatives, which is a jurisprudential clearance for holding a vote under bombardment. And the same cover's lead, «طرح خطرناک فرار از شکست انتخاباتی», the dangerous plan to escape electoral defeat, runs across photographs of Trump and Netanyahu. Sobh-e No's main feature is a map analysis of the American midterms built on a photograph of a demonstration outside the White House. Sazandegi's exclusive is a federal lawsuit seeking a declaration that the war is unconstitutional. Ta'adol's op-ed places Trump in electoral stoppage time. Jomhouri Eslami prints Sanders on AIPAC money against Netanyahu's critics. The deferred Iranian ballot and the adversary's ballots are being argued on the same pages.

Two convergences in this batch are worth more than the arguments that produce them. The first is that the reformist and principlist estates, which agree on almost nothing, have arrived at the same theory of how the war ends: not at a table but inside the American political system. Sazandegi routes it through the courts and Sobh-e No through the midterm map, and neither mentions the Islamabad memorandum. The second is that Etemad and Nobonyad, a reformist broadsheet and a principlist daily, both devote front-page space on the same morning to the United Arab Emirates as a hostile actor, Etemad under «همسایه پر خطر», a high-risk neighbour, and Nobonyad under «امارات؛ ضلع پنهان جنگ علیه ایران», the Emirates, the hidden flank of the war against Iran. A new regional antagonist being named simultaneously across the factional line is a better indicator of an official line than either paper's own editorial position.

The memorandum itself is where it was, and weaker. Etemad's lead is an interview with Ali Shakourirad on «ضرورت بازگشت به توافق اسلام‌آباد», the necessity of returning to the Islamabad agreement, and its banner reports on the possibilities surrounding America's message under «ترسیم مسیر مذاکره نهایی», charting the route to the final negotiation. The verb «بازگشت», return, concedes drift. Twenty-four hours ago a principlist cover was narrowing the dispute to a calendar; today the reformist cover is arguing for a return to the principle, and no principlist title in this batch mentions the document at all. In the English-language estate the ask has changed again, for the third consecutive cycle: Iran Daily's banner is "Russia, China emphasize Iran's right to pursue nuclear program", an assertion of principle made in two other states' voices after a demand for guarantees on 3 October and an offer of reassurance on 1 October.

Net assessment: this is a widening edition, not an escalating one. Nothing in the batch reports an Iranian engagement; the only kinetic claims on any Persian cover are an air defence interception at Qeshm and the destruction of a monarchist-linked cell in Fars, both on Vatan-e Emrooz and both unverifiable here. What has changed is the perimeter. A second Arab capital is burning and the Iranian press has a doctrine ready for it. The Red Sea approaches have replaced the Strait of Hormuz as the venue in which Sobh-e No makes its coercive case, while Kayhan maintains the Strait as a lock that is working and Ta'adol prints a burning tanker captioned as a blockade imposed on Iran rather than by it. Lebanon returned to the wires with Israeli artillery at Baarishit and two Israeli soldiers acknowledged wounded, and reached no front page. At home the ballot has been released and the president is under attack again, from the Leader's own platform, on the one subject where the evidence is in every market. An edition in which the enemy list grows while the fronts stay quiet is the condition in which a single verified Iranian action would carry disproportionate weight, and it is also the condition in which a settlement is prepared.

BOTTOM LINE On the morning after a fire at Aramco's Riyadh refinery, every part of the Iranian press from the state broadcaster's daily to the reformist party paper printed the Saudi capital burning and none printed an Iranian hand in it, while the Leader's own newspaper handed its signed editorial to an official of the previous government to indict the sitting one over the currency and a principlist cover reported that the Supreme National Security Council has finally released the deferred council elections.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Compiled from nine Persian front-page scans and one English front-page scan of 12 Mehr 1405 (NewspaperTasnim album t.me/NewspaperTasnim/44947, posted 03:15 UTC; Newspapers_Iran album t.me/newspapers_iran/3576, posted 04:31 UTC), read directly, plus the Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad, Iran and Sobh-e No outlet channels and the Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News agency wires. Kayhan's front page is not in the scan batch and is reconstructed from the paper's own channel (posts 85814, 85829 to 85831); it is labelled as reconstructed wherever used. Tehran Times was not available at compile time and contributes nothing to this edition. Iranian military and battle-damage claims are reproduced as claims throughout, and the attribution firewall in Appendix C separates the independently established record (the fire at the Riyadh refinery, the flydubai diversion, the NIAC Action filing, the Minab school strike) from the Iranian press claims built on it. Two editorial bylines, Javan's and Sobh-e No's, are below the legible resolution of the scans and are not asserted; Sazandegi's is recorded as unconfirmed. Corrections carried into this edition: Nobonyad's deck describes the flydubai event as a «سقوط», a crash, when the aircraft diverted and landed safely; and a Vatan-e Emrooz channel item places the Saudi refinery fire at Yanbu where the front pages, the Yemeni claim and the independent reporting place it at Riyadh.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 Saudi Arabia became a target set on the Iranian front pages, and the doctrine arrived with it

Jam-e Jam's deck is the sentence to keep: following the targeting of Sanaa, the Yemenis struck the Riyadh refinery and «رسما معادله پایتخت در برابر پایتخت را عملیاتی کردند», formally operationalised the capital-for-capital equation. That is a reciprocal-targeting doctrine published as accomplished rather than threatened, and it is published by the state broadcaster's own daily. Kayhan frames the same event as retribution, «آرامکو در آتش یمن پاسخ جنایات سعودی را داد». Sazandegi, from the opposite end of the spectrum, leads its top bar with «آتش در قلب عربستان». The independent record supports a fire at Aramco's Riyadh refinery observed by an AFP journalist on 3 October and supports no attribution: Saudi authorities had not confirmed an attack and Aramco had not commented on the cause. What the Iranian press has done is claim the result for the Resistance while keeping Iranian hands entirely out of the frame, which is the same construction it used on the Strait of Hormuz and is now applying to a Gulf Arab capital.

2 The coercive argument moved from the Strait to the Red Sea approaches

Sobh-e No published the three-lock total-tanker-denial formula on 30 September and has not restated it in three cycles. In its place is «پشت دروازه عدن», at the gate of Aden, with the kicker holding that «فتوحات انصارالله و عقب‌نشینی سعودی نشانه غلبه مقاومت بر ایده امنیت کرایه‌ای است», Ansar Allah's conquests and the Saudi retreat are a sign of the Resistance's victory over the idea of rented security. «فتوحات», conquests, is a term of religious warfare rather than of military reporting, and «امنیت کرایه‌ای», rented security, is addressed to the Gulf capitals about what their protection arrangements are worth. The proposition is unchanged, that the Gulf states cannot buy safety from the United States, but the venue has moved from a strait Iran controls to approaches Iran does not, which is a cheaper place to make the same threat.

3 The attack on the president resumed, from the Leader's own platform, on the currency

This file recorded on 3 October that the domestic veto on the Islamabad memorandum was not re-asserted and that Kayhan's cover carried no memorandum, no American answer and no negotiation. It does not today either. What it carries instead is a signed «یادداشت روز» by Davoud Manzour, bylined as head of the Plan and Budget Organization of the Raisi government, charging that the financial system has not been rearranged for war and sanctions conditions and that «سیاست‌های اقتصاد مقاومتی نیز در عمل به‌صورت جدی و همه‌جانبه پیاده نشده است», the resistance-economy policies have not in practice been seriously and comprehensively implemented. On the same morning Charsoogh leads with the Raisi-era minister Seyyed Sowlat Mortazavi

under «فرق می‌کند چه کسی رئیس‌جمهور باشد». The campaign has not been withdrawn; it has been moved to ground where the executive cannot win the argument, because the market publishes the scoreboard daily.

4 The deferred ballot was released, and the jurisprudence for it was published on the same page

Nobonyad reports that after several months of waiting the Supreme National Security Council has finally agreed to the holding of the city and village council elections, with officials indicating the first half of Aban. The independently established background is that the seventh-period elections were deferred from 1 May 2026, that the interior ministry said holding them depended on the council's approval, and that a proposed 16 October date had not received it. Directly above that item on the same cover, the jurist Gholam-Hossein Elham argues that parliament did not close for one day during the eight-year war and that displaced residents of Khorramshahr, Abadan and Qasr-e Shirin elected their representatives throughout. Placing the legal clearance and the operational decision on one page is not a coincidence of layout; it is how a contested decision is introduced to a readership that may not welcome it. The item is single-sourced in this batch, and Nour News, which is linked to the council, carried nothing on it.

5 Both factions now argue that the war ends inside the American political system

Sazandegi's exclusive is a federal lawsuit: «شکایت ایرانیان آمریکا از ترامپ به دادگاه فدرال», with plaintiffs telling the paper that the president entered the war by circumventing the law and without congressional authorisation and that the court must declare its continuation unconstitutional. The independent record names the plaintiff the paper does not, NIAC Action, filing in Washington on 1 October for declaratory relief covering the naval blockade and the airstrike campaign, without initially seeking an injunction. Sobh-e No's main feature, from the opposite faction, is «صدای نه به «جنگ ایران» در انتخابات آمریکا» over a demonstration outside the White House, with a deck asking which states will decide the midterms. Ta'adol places Trump in electoral stoppage time and runs John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago saying Washington cannot force Tehran's surrender. Neither estate mentions the Islamabad memorandum. The exit being argued on the Iranian front pages today is the American voter and the American court, not the Pakistani document.

6 The United Arb Emirates was named as a belligerent across the factional line

Etemad runs «بررسی تحرکات امارات در گفت‌وگو با افشین زرگر» under «همسایه پر خطر», a high-risk neighbour. Nobonyad runs «امارات؛ ضلع پنهان جنگ علیه ایران», the Emirates, the hidden flank of the war against Iran, signed by the journalist Hossein Nouri. A reformist broadsheet and a principlist daily naming the same Gulf state as a party to the war on the same morning is a stronger indicator than either piece's content, because the two titles do not normally share a regional threat list. Read with the flydubai material, which concerns an Emirates-based carrier and a suspect transferred to Emirati custody, the Iranian press appears to be building a case against Abu Dhabi that it has not yet made explicit.

7 The flydubai incident completed its conversion, and the conversion is now about elections

On 1 October the conservative press was split on the cockpit assault aboard the Dubai to Tel Aviv service; on 3 October Jomhouri Eslami printed eleven reasons the Israeli account was fabricated. Today Jam-e Jam prints «روایت‌سازی اسرائیل روی هوا» with the deck that Netanyahu is trying to turn the incident into an instrument for rebuilding his security image and a lever for influencing the elections, and Nobonyad makes it the cover lead, «طرح خطرناک فرار از شکست انتخاباتی», over photographs of Trump and Netanyahu, with a deck claiming an important admission on CNN. Two corrections are owed to the reader. The aircraft did not crash; it diverted and landed in Saudi Arabia after one pilot stabbed the other and the aircraft lost about 17,400 feet in under two minutes. And the CNN admission is a second-hand rendering carried in a deck, not a quotation this file can verify. The finished product is no longer a denial of the incident but an explanation of its purpose, and the purpose assigned is electoral.

8 The tanker war entered the front pages once it could be captioned as something done to Iran

On 3 October eleven covers carried the Strait of Hormuz as a political fact and not one carried the strikes that enforce it. Today Ta'adol gives a full-colour photograph of a burning tanker the centre of its front page under «آتش محاصره نفتی دامن همه را می‌گیرد», the fire of the oil blockade engulfs everyone, with a deck holding that the dream of reducing Iran's oil exports to zero is a vain fantasy. The image is the same kind of image the batch has been refusing for a week; what has changed is the caption. Printed as the consequence of a blockade imposed on Iran, burning shipping becomes publishable; printed as the consequence of one imposed by Iran, it was not. Kayhan on the same morning prints «قفل ایران روی تنگه هرمز کار می‌کند», Iran's lock on the Strait of Hormuz is working, for a fifth consecutive cycle without an enforcing event on the cover.

9 The Iraq corridor is being banked as a settlement dividend

Three titles carry the same opening on one morning. Jomhouri Eslami: «مجوز روزانه ۴۰ پرواز نجف - ایران صادر شد», a permit for forty daily Najaf to Iran flights has been issued. Iran Daily, in English: "Iranian airlines set to resume flights to Najaf", photographed at the aircraft steps. Javan: «مقاومت عراق: همه فرودگاه‌ها باید به روی ایران باز شوند», the Iraqi Resistance demanding all airports be opened. Jomhouri Eslami adds the Baghdad Friday prayer leader's claim that the Resistance forced America out of Iraq, while Nobonyad interviews a former ambassador who says the American infiltration project in Iraq still continues. The pilgrimage corridor is reopening and the Iranian press is simultaneously banking it as a victory and warning that the ground it reopens into is not yet secure.

10 The Minab school strike has become the national brand on which this edition is carried

Five titles in this batch carry the Nagoya medal haul, and every one of them carries it under the delegation's name rather than the country's: «فرشتگان میناب», the Angels of Minab, in Jomhouri Eslami and Kayhan, «قهرمانان میناب» in Jam-e Jam. Iran Daily's photograph of passengers boarding the Najaf service shows the decal #Minab168 on the aircraft's fuselage. The referent is the 28 February 2026 strike on the Shajareh Tayyebeh elementary school at Minab in Hormozgan, in which the dead were overwhelmingly children; published counts differ, with a prosecutor's verified list of 156 identified and the figure 168 in general commemorative use. What this edition shows is the atrocity functioning as infrastructure: it is on the national carrier's aircraft, on the Asian Para Games delegation, and on five front pages, carried by titles that agree on nothing else. The sports result is the vehicle; Minab is the cargo.

11 Lebanon is live on the wires and absent from the covers for a third consecutive cycle

The Jam-e Jam channel carries Israeli artillery targeting areas around Baarishit in southern Lebanon at 05:52 and, at 04:29, the Israeli military acknowledging two soldiers wounded in operations in southern Lebanon; Nour News carries Israeli artillery attacks on southern Lebanon as well. Across nine Persian front pages and one English front page, none of it appears. This file rated the northern front a live flashpoint and has now recorded three cycles in which the only Lebanon material is on wires. An acknowledged adversary casualty is the kind of item a wartime press normally prints, and its absence from every cover on the morning it is available is a selection decision rather than a deadline artefact.

12 The Leader is absent from every front page in the batch, and his last message was wholly devotional

No Leader message, photograph or citation appears on any of the ten front pages gathered for 12 Mehr 1405, and none appears in the Kayhan headline list for the same morning. His most recent published message, signed «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای» and dated 9 Mehr 1405, is addressed to the 33rd National Prayer Conference; it refers to the predecessor only as «رهبر شهید والامقام», our exalted martyred Leader, and mentions neither the war, nor the United States, nor Israel, nor the war dead. Its one political move is scriptural, the citation of Qur'an 22:41 to make prayer «the first outcome and sign of righteous governance».

This file files the combination as a continuing tracker entry on the new Leader's public profile and draws no inference about his position from it, because this batch supports none.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 **[HIGH]** Saudi Arabia has entered the Iranian front pages as a target set rather than as a mediator, and the conversion took one cycle and crossed every factional line. This is the edition's highest-significance finding. The evidence is the distribution. Jam-e Jam, the state broadcaster's daily, gives the strike its own headline, «نفت سعودی زیر ضرب یمن», and supplies the doctrine in the deck: after Sanaa was targeted the Yemenis struck the Riyadh refinery and «رسما معادله پایتخت در برابر پایتخت را عملیاتی کردند», formally operationalised the capital-for-capital equation. Kayhan prints it as retribution, «آرامکو در آتش یمن پاسخ جنایات سعودی را داد». Sazandegi, a reformist party daily, leads its top bar with «آتش در قلب عربستان». Sobh-e No banners «پشت دروازه عدن» and argues that the Saudi retreat proves the failure of rented security. Four titles, four factions, one morning. The significance is that a reciprocal-targeting doctrine naming Arab capitals has been published in Iran as accomplished fact rather than as a threat, which changes what the Gulf states must plan against and which also, by locating the act entirely with Ansar Allah, preserves Iranian deniability for it. Confidence is high on the press convergence, which is documentary, and is not extended to the strike's authorship: a fire at Aramco's Riyadh refinery was independently observed, Riyadh and Aramco had confirmed nothing about its cause, and the claim of responsibility is the Yemeni spokesman's.

KJ-2 **[HIGH]** The domestic campaign against the president has resumed after one quiet cycle, it has been moved from the Islamabad memorandum to the currency, and it is being run from the Leader's own newspaper by officials of the previous administration. The evidence is a pairing of bylines. Kayhan's «یادداشت روز», the signed slot that has carried Hossein Shariatmadari's name in every edition this file has examined this month, today carries Davoud Manzour's, bylined on the page as «رئیس سازمان برنامه و بودجه دولت شهید رئیسی», and the text holds that the financial and economic system «آن‌گونه که در شرایط جنگی و در عمل به‌صورت جدی تحریمی لازم است، بازآرایی و آماده نشده» and that resistance-economy policy «همه‌جانبه پیاده نشده است». On the same morning Charsoogh gives its whole lead to the Raisi-government minister Seyyed Sowlat Mortazavi under «فرق می‌کند چه کسی رئیس‌جمهور باشد». The significance is threefold: the charge is doctrinal non-compliance with the Leader's own economic programme rather than mere incompetence; it is issued from a platform that cannot be dismissed as factional noise; and the chosen ground is one where the executive cannot win, because the exchange rate publishes a verdict every day. This file revises its 3 October reading that the attack was in abeyance: it was being re-aimed. Calibration runs both ways: treating one editorial as a coordinated campaign would overstate it, and treating two former ministers of the same government appearing on two front pages on one morning as coincidence would understate it.

KJ-3 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** The deferred city and village council elections have been released by the Supreme National Security Council, and the jurisprudential clearance for holding a vote under bombardment was published on the same page on the same morning. The evidence is one cover carrying both halves. Nobonyad reports under «زنگ انتخابات شورا به صدا درآمد» that «پس از چند ماه انتظار، بالاخره شورای عالی امنیت ملی با برگزاری انتخابات شوراها موافقت کرد», with officials indicating the first half of Aban, which runs from roughly 23 October to 6 November. Directly above it the jurist Gholam-Hossein Elham argues that parliament never closed for a day in the eight-year war and that displaced residents of Khorramshahr, Abadan and Qasr-e Shirin elected their representatives throughout. The independently established

background is that the seventh-period elections were deferred from 1 May 2026, that the interior ministry made them contingent on the council's approval, and that a proposed 16 October date had not received it. The significance is that the one security body with a veto over the domestic political calendar has released it mid-war, which is a confidence signal about internal control and creates a fixed date around which both the negotiation and the factional contest will now organise. Confidence is held below high because the report is single-sourced in this batch and because Nour News, which is linked to the council, carried nothing on it; the discriminating test is whether a date is formally published within the week.

KJ-4 [MODERATE-HIGH] The reformist and principlist estates have converged on a single theory of how the war ends, and it is not the Islamabad memorandum. The evidence is two covers from opposite factions arguing the same mechanism. Sazandegi's exclusive is «شکایت ایرانیان آمریکا از ترامپ به دادگاه فدرال», with plaintiffs telling the paper the president went to war by circumventing the law and without congressional authorisation; the independent record identifies the filing as NIAC Action's suit in federal court in Washington on 1 October seeking declaratory relief that the campaign, including the naval blockade and months of airstrikes, is unconstitutional under Article I. Sobh-e No's main feature is «صدای نه به «جنگ ایران»» در انتخابات آمریکا» with a decisive-states analysis of the midterms. Ta'adol adds John Mearsheimer of the University of Chicago saying Washington cannot force Tehran's surrender, and an op-ed placing Trump in electoral stoppage time. Jomhouri Eslami adds Sanders on AIPAC spending against Netanyahu's critics. Not one of these covers mentions the memorandum. The significance is that the Iranian press is preparing its readership for an outcome delivered by the adversary's own institutions rather than by an Iranian concession, which is the frame a government adopts when it expects to have to accept terms and wants them to read as the enemy's defeat. Confidence is moderate-high: the convergence is documentary across one cycle, and reading it as coordinated rather than as independent opportunism would go beyond the evidence.

KJ-5 [MODERATE-HIGH] The Minab school strike is functioning as national infrastructure rather than as commemoration, and this edition is the clearest instance of it this file has recorded. The evidence is the spread. Five titles carry the Nagoya medal result and all of them carry it under the delegation's name: «فرشتگان میناب», the Angels of Minab, in Kayhan and Jomhouri Eslami, «قهرمانان میناب» as Jam-e Jam's whole front-page lead. Iran Daily's photograph of boarding passengers shows the decal #Minab168 on the fuselage of the aircraft opening the Najaf corridor. The referent is the 28 February 2026 strike on the Shajareh Tayyebeh elementary school at Minab in Hormozgan, in which the dead were overwhelmingly schoolchildren; counts differ, with a prosecutor's verified list of 156 identified and 168 in commemorative use. The significance is operational rather than sentimental: Tehran has attached a single atrocity to the national carrier, to its international sporting delegation and to the lead of the state broadcaster's daily, which gives it a symbol that travels into venues where political argument cannot, and which will be difficult to retire if a settlement requires a change of register. Confidence is moderate-high on the characterisation, which is a direct reading of five covers plus an aircraft livery, and the inference about settlement constraint is held open.

KJ-6 [MODERATE-HIGH] Negative evidence, filed as a finding: Lebanon produced an acknowledged Israeli casualty this cycle and reached no Iranian front page, for the third consecutive cycle in which the northern front is live on the wires and absent from the covers. The evidence is the split. The Jam-e Jam channel carries, at 04:29, the Israeli military acknowledging two soldiers wounded in operations in southern Lebanon, and at 05:52 Israeli artillery targeting areas around Baarishit; Nour News carries Israeli artillery attacks on southern Lebanon independently. Across ten front pages, nothing. An acknowledged adversary

casualty is exactly the item a wartime press prints, and this one was available on the paper's own channel hours before the presses ran. The significance is that the omission is now better explained as a standing editorial decision than as a print-deadline artefact, and that whatever is happening on the northern front, Tehran is not currently using it to address its own public. Confidence is moderate-high: three cycles is a pattern rather than a trend, and the one-cycle propagation lag this file established on 3 October has been allowed for and does not cover a third consecutive absence.

KJ-7 [MODERATE-HIGH] The coercive maritime argument has shifted venue from the Strait of Hormuz to the Red Sea approaches, and the three-lock denial doctrine should now be moved off active tracking. The evidence is the sponsoring title's own behaviour. Sobh-e No published «قفل مقرراتی», «قفل نظامی» and «قفل انرژی» on 30 September with a signed editorial whose stated objective was that in practice no tanker should pass, and has not restated the formula in three cycles. Today its banner is «پشت دروازه عدن» and its argument is that Ansar Allah's conquests and the Saudi retreat prove the failure of «امنیت کرایه‌ای», rented security, which is the same proposition addressed to the same Gulf audience about a different waterway. Kayhan meanwhile maintains «قفل ایران روی تنگه هرمز کار می‌کند», the lock is working, for a fifth cycle without printing anything that enforces it. The significance is that Iranian strategic messaging about shipping is migrating to a chokepoint Iran does not control and does not have to be seen to act at, which lowers the attribution cost of pressure on the same traffic. Confidence is moderate-high: the migration is visible in one title's successive covers, and a formula that is not restated is not thereby withdrawn, so the three locks stay on the tracker at reduced weight.

KJ-8 [MODERATE] The United Arab Emirates is being prepared as a named belligerent, and the preparation is running on both sides of the factional line simultaneously. The evidence is the coincidence of placement. Etemad, reformist, runs «بررسی تحرکات امارات در گفت‌وگو با افشین زرگر» under «همسایه پر خطر», a high-risk neighbour. Nobonyad, principlist, runs «امارات؛ ضلع پنهان جنگ علیه ایران», the Emirates, the hidden flank of the war against Iran, signed by the journalist Hossein Nouri. These two titles do not share a regional threat list, and neither has given the UAE front-page space in this file's recent record. In the background sits the flydubai material, concerning an Emirates-based carrier and a suspect transferred into Emirati custody, which two other covers are working on the same morning. The significance is that an official line usually becomes visible first as simultaneous appearance across factions rather than as an announcement, and this is what that looks like at the first observation. Confidence is moderate: two pieces in one cycle is a coincidence worth recording and not yet a campaign, and the discriminating test is whether a third title names the UAE within the week.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] Burning shipping became publishable on an Iranian front page the moment it could be captioned as a blockade imposed on Iran rather than by it, and the mechanism is the usable finding. The evidence is the contrast across two cycles in the same file. On 3 October a tanker struck off Oman reached four channels and not one of eleven covers, while Kayhan led on the proposition that the American president cannot reopen the waterway. Today Ta'adol gives its centre to a full-colour photograph of a tanker ablaze under «آتش محاصره نفتی دامن همه را می‌گیرد», the fire of the oil blockade engulfs everyone, with a deck holding that the dream of zeroing Iran's oil exports is a vain fantasy. The image class is identical; the caption's direction is reversed. The significance is predictive rather than descriptive: it tells this file that maritime imagery will appear on Iranian covers when and only when the victim can be presented as Iranian commerce, which means front-page absence of such imagery is evidence about framing capacity rather than about events. Confidence is moderate: this is an inference from two cycles in one file and from a single

economic daily's editorial choice, and Ta'adol is the title in this batch most exposed to the oil trade's own interests.

KJ-10 **[MODERATE]** Javan is building a theory of American defeat out of financial-market data rather than battlefield events, and the construction method matters more than the claim. The evidence is the cover. «این اوراق ورق جنگ را برمی‌گرداند», these bonds will turn the page of the war, is set over a photo-illustration of a suited figure seated on US Treasury paper and an American flag, and the text rests on two unverified second-hand items: a British newspaper's report of a highly unusual secret meeting at Camp David chaired by Vance to examine the next steps of the war with Iran, and a Goldman Sachs report said to show effectively no buying demand for 10 to 20 year US debt, rendered as «هیچ یعنی هیچ!», nothing means nothing. Neither is corroborated anywhere in this batch. The paper's actual front-page lead, «زیر ضرب اطلاعات», is an announced internal-security success with no location, no detainee count and no casualty figure. The significance is that the Guard-affiliated daily has gone four consecutive cycles without printing an Iranian engagement and is filling the space with adversary-collapse arguments drawn from finance, which is the register an outlet adopts when it must explain why victory is coming without being able to show it arriving. Confidence is moderate: the characterisation is a direct reading of the cover, and this file cannot establish from one edition whether the editorial choice reflects an absence of operations or an instruction not to report them.

KJ-11 **[MODERATE]** Jomhouri Eslami has published the batch's only front-page admission of an Iranian failure, and it names a vector no other title in this edition mentions. The evidence is a signed piece in the paper's left column, «ضربات طالبان، خطای تهران», the Taliban's blows, Tehran's error, arguing that strikes were mounted against Iran from Afghan geography during the war while Afghanistan was under Taliban control, that a state owes its neighbour the duty of preventing this, and that the explanation lies in the depth of Iranian intelligence penetration in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan. No other cover in the batch mentions Afghanistan at all; Vatan-e Emrooz's internal-security claim concerns a monarchist-linked cell in Fars and Javan's concerns an unlocated sabotage plot. The significance is that the clerical establishment press retains the licence to name an operational failure in public, and that the failure it has chosen to name is on the eastern border rather than the western front, which is where the entire rest of the batch is looking. Confidence is moderate: this is one title's argument, the scan's body text is at the edge of legibility, and this file cannot corroborate the underlying claim about attacks launched from Afghan territory.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Mojtaba Khamenei	Leader of the Revolution	Absent from all ten front pages in the batch and from the Kayhan headline list; his most recent published message, of 1 October to the 33rd National Prayer Conference, is wholly devotional and mentions neither the war nor the United States nor Israel	absence noted
Masoud Pezeshkian	President of Iran	Carried on Jomhouri Eslami's lead in a ceremonial register, for a National Elderly Week message; attacked by name through two Raisi-government officials on Kayhan's editorial page and Charsoogh's cover	TARGET FRAMING

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Davoud Manzour	Head of the Plan and Budget Organization of the Raisi government, as bylined by Kayhan	Signs Kayhan's «یادداشت روز» charging that the financial system has not been rearranged for war and that resistance-economy policy has not been implemented	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Seyyed Sowlat Mortazavi	Minister in the Raisi government	Charsoogh's full lead, comparing the Raisi government's record with the Rouhani and Pezeshkian governments under «فرق می‌کند چه کسی رئیس‌جمهور باشد»	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Donald Trump	President of the United States	Nobonyad's cover photograph under «طرح خطرناک فرار از شکست انتخاباتی»; defendant in the federal suit that is Sazandegi's exclusive; placed in electoral stoppage time by Ta'adol's op-ed; subject of Vatan-e Emrooz's polling lead	TARGET FRAMING
Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel	Paired with Trump on Nobonyad's cover; accused by Jam-e Jam of converting the flydubai incident into an electoral lever; placed in a courtroom dock rather than at the UN podium by Jomhouri Eslami	TARGET FRAMING
JD Vance	Vice President of the United States	Named by Javan as chairing a secret Camp David meeting on the next steps of the war, attributed to a British newspaper and uncorroborated in this batch	WATCH
Scott Bessent	US Treasury Secretary	Kayhan's banner quotation on Americans crushed under the wheels of inflation, developed in the channel as an emergency-room comparison; a rendering, flagged	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Yahya Saree	Spokesman of the Yemeni armed forces	Source of the claim, carried on the Fars News channel, that Aramco facilities in Riyadh were struck with ballistic missiles and drones	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Ali Shakourirad	Reformist politician	Etemad's lead interview arguing the necessity of returning to the Islamabad agreement	WATCH
Gholam-Hossein Elham	Jurist, described by Nobonyad as a prominent legal scholar	Signed note establishing that parliament never closed during the eight-year war and that displaced populations still voted, published above the council-elections report	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Mohammad Bagher Qalibaf	Speaker of the Iranian parliament	Subject of Sobh-e No's editorial «چرا قالیباف همچنان هدف حمله است؟», defending him against attack; separately quoted on the Etemad channel praising the Nagoya delegation	WATCH
Mohammad Javad Zarif	Former foreign minister	Bylined in Sazandegi's top bar under «دیپلماسی با دست باز», diplomacy with an open hand	WATCH
John Mearsheimer	Professor of political science, University of Chicago	Ta'adol's top banner: Washington is not able to make Tehran surrender; the post and the man are correctly described, the quotation is a rendering	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Hassan Hanizadeh	Iranian Middle East affairs analyst	Ta'adol op-ed placing Trump in electoral stoppage time	WATCH
Afshin Zargar	Iranian international relations academic	Etemad's interviewee on Emirati movements, under «همسایه پر خطر»	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Bernie Sanders	US Senator	Cited by Jomhouri Eslami as the source for a 333 million dollar AIPAC expenditure against candidates critical of Netanyahu; reproduced as the paper's claim	WATCH
Iraj Masjedi	IRGC commander	Carried on the Defa Press wire: if the Americans attempt any action, Iran and the resistance front will enter the battlefield powerfully; reached no front page in this batch	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Hossein Shariatmadari	Managing editor of Kayhan	His signature is absent from Kayhan's «یادداشت روز» for the first time in the editions this file has examined this month	absence noted
Hemmati	Named without a first name on Charsoogh's cover	«همتی باید پاسخگوی افزایش قیمت دلار باشد», Hemmati must answer for the rise in the dollar; no office is attributed on the page and none is attributed here	WATCH

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Jam-e Jam	Saudi oil under Yemen's blow: the capital-for-capital equation operationalised	State broadcaster (IRIB)	Yemen strikes the Riyadh refinery; reciprocal capital-targeting doctrine	HIGH: reciprocal capital-targeting published as accomplished
Kayhan	Iran's lock on the Strait of Hormuz is working / Aramco in Yemen's fire answered Saudi crimes	Hardline, published under the Supreme Leader's office	Chokepoint maintained; a Raisi-era official indicts the executive on the currency	HIGH: closure asserted as functioning, no enforcing event printed
Sobh-e No	At the gate of Aden	Principlist	Gulf security guarantees declared void; the US midterms as the exit	HIGH: rented security declared worthless at the Bab el-Mandeb approaches
Ta'adol	The challenge of livelihood support / the fire of the oil blockade engulfs everyone	Economic daily	Burning tanker printed as an imposed blockade; livelihood and currency policy	MODERATE-HIGH: tanker war enters the covers, captioned as victimhood
Nobonyad	The dangerous plan to escape electoral defeat	Conservative / principlist	Council elections released by the security council; flydubai framed as electoral manufacture	MODERATE-HIGH: wartime ballot released, adversary accused of staging incidents
Jomhouri Eslami	Six important missions conveyed to the National	Traditional clerical establishment	Eastern-border self-criticism; the Iraq air	MODERATE-HIGH: attacks from Afghan

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
	Elderly Council secretariat		corridor; Netanyahu accountability	territory conceded on an Iranian cover
Javan	Under the Intelligence Ministry's blow	Hardline, IRGC-affiliated	Internal security claim; American fiscal collapse as a theory of victory	MODERATE: adversary-collapse argument, fourth cycle with no engagement printed
Iran Daily	Russia, China emphasize Iran's right to pursue nuclear program	English-language state daily	Nuclear right asserted in third-party voices; Najaf flights resume	MODERATE: principle fixed abroad before process is conceded
Etemad	Guarding the memorandum	Reformist	Return to the Islamabad agreement urged; the UAE named a high-risk neighbour	LOW-MODERATE: settlement advocacy on the defensive
Sazandegi	Iranians in America take Trump to federal court	Reformist, Kargozaran party	War powers litigation as the exit; the Aramco fire carried across the factional line	LOW-MODERATE: exit routed through American domestic process
Charsoogh	It makes a difference who the president is	Economic daily, principlist editorial line	Raisi-era minister attacks the executive; 10,000 dollars per national ID card called wartime rent	LOW: domestic factional attack, no external threat content

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

English-language state daily published by the Islamic Republic News Agency group; the estate's principal written address to a foreign readership

“Russia, China emphasize Iran's right to pursue nuclear program” **MODERATE: nuclear right asserted through third parties; corridor reopening signalled**



- Banner: "Russia, China emphasize Iran's right to pursue nuclear program" across the full width of the page. This is the first time in this file's record that the nuclear file, rather than guarantees or the memorandum, carries the English-language banner, and it is carried in two other states' voices rather than Iran's own.
- Main photo lead: "Iranian airlines set to resume flights to Najaf", over a photograph of passengers boarding a Meraj Air aircraft whose fuselage carries the decal #Minab168. The decal is the national commemoration of the 28 February 2026 strike on the Shajareh Tayyebeh school at Minab, and it is on the aircraft that opens the Iraq corridor.
- Top bar: "Minister proposes five-year roadmap to cement Iran-Pakistan cultural, tourism ties".
- Opinion: "Brazil's presidential election more than just another polarized contest".
- Interview exclusive: "Historic rowing triumph 'three years in the making'", on the Nagoya rowing result.
- Sub-item: "Iran advances UNESCO bid for historic Siraf Port". Siraf sits on the Persian Gulf littoral in Bushehr province.
- Bottom feature: "Chronicle of resilience, strategy, technological advancement in Iran's oil industry", an opinion-exclusive on the oil industry's wartime performance.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The English-language estate has changed its ask for the third consecutive cycle. On 1 October it offered reassurance to the Gulf, on 3 October it demanded concrete American guarantees, and today it asserts a right and puts Moscow and Beijing rather than Tehran behind the assertion. That is the move of a government preparing to concede on process by first fixing the principle, and it is addressed to the states that would have to accept the concession. The Najaf photograph is the edition's quietest piece of messaging: the corridor to Iraq reopening on an aircraft that carries the war's central atrocity symbol on its skin, published in English.

Jam-e Jam

State broadcaster daily, published by the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB); the voice of the state media apparatus rather than of a faction

“The champions of Minab” «قهرمانان میناب»

HIGH: reciprocal capital-targeting doctrine published as accomplished fact



- Main: «قهرمانان میناب» fills the cover over a photograph of the Iranian delegation with the national flag, and the deck reads «کاروان ورزشی کشورمان در ناگویا با جهشی ۲۶ درصدی در مدال‌های طلا عملکردی درخشان به ثبت رساند», our country's sporting caravan in Nagoya recorded a brilliant performance with a 26 percent jump in gold medals. The medal count is set in the photograph itself: ۱۹ طلا, 19 gold, ۱۸ نقره, 18 silver, ۱۵ برنز, 15 bronze. «میناب» is not a place of competition: it is the Hormozgan town whose Shajareh Tayyebeh girls' elementary school was struck on 28 February 2026, and the delegation carries its name.
- Banner (right rail, top): «نفت سعودی زیر ضرب یمن», Saudi oil under Yemen's blow, with the deck «در پی هدف قرار گرفتن صنعا، یمنی‌ها با حمله به پالایشگاه ریاض رسما معادله پایتخت در برابر پایتخت را عملیاتی کردند», following the targeting of Sanaa the Yemenis, by striking the Riyadh refinery, have formally operationalised the capital-for-capital equation. This is the only Iranian front page in the batch to give the Riyadh strike its own standing headline with the doctrine named.
- Sub-item: «روایت‌سازی اسرائیل روی هوا», Israel's narrative-building up in the air, with the deck «نتانیاهو تلاش دارد تا حادثه فلای دبی را به ابزار بازسازی چهره امنیتی خود و اهرمی برای تحت تاثیر قرار دادن انتخابات تبدیل کند», Netanyahu is trying to turn the flydubai incident into an instrument for rebuilding his security image and a lever for influencing the elections.
- Sub-item: «حماسه مقاومت در سنگر تئاتر», the epic of the Resistance in the trench of the theatre, on the twentieth Resistance Theatre Festival and the thirty-one artists whose work appears in it.
- Right rail (domestic): «قبولی‌های کنکور در ایستگاه انتخاب رشته» on the national university entrance examination results; «طنز آگاهانه؛ زبان تازه نسیم در دوران تحول», an interview with the director of the Nasim channel on satire as a language for a period of upheaval; and «کودکان در دام مجازی» on children's privacy exposure on social platforms.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The state broadcaster's daily does two things on one page that are worth separating. It gives the Riyadh strike the sharpest formulation any Iranian front page offers today, «معادله پایتخت در برابر پایتخت», capital for capital, which is a doctrine of reciprocal targeting stated as accomplished rather than threatened, and it does so without putting an Iranian hand anywhere near it. And it hands its lead not to the war but to the Asian Para Games delegation, whose name is itself the war's central Iranian atrocity symbol. Tracking cue: whether the capital-for-capital formula propagates from the state broadcaster to the principlist titles, which would mark it as adopted language rather than one outlet's phrasing.

Javan

Hardline daily affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps; masthead line «روزنامه سیاسی، اجتماعی و فرهنگی نسل جوان»

“Under the Intelligence Ministry's blow” «زیر ضرب اطلاعات»

MODERATE: internal-security claim plus adversary-collapse argument, no kinetic content



- Kicker + Main: «نقشه آشوب و خرابکاری زیر ضرب رفت و نقش بر آب شد» over «زیر ضرب اطلاعات», the plot of unrest and sabotage was struck and came to nothing, under the blow of Intelligence. No casualty figure, no location and no detainee count is given on the cover, which is characteristic of an announced internal-security success rather than a reported one.
- Main photo-essay: «این اوراق ورق جنگ را برمی‌گرداند», these bonds will turn the page of the war, set in yellow over a photo-illustration of a suited figure in dark glasses seated on scattered US Treasury bonds and an American flag. The text argues two things: that «اکسپرس» reported a highly unusual secret meeting at Camp David chaired by Vance to examine the next steps of the war with Iran, and that Goldman Sachs reported effectively no buying demand in the long-dated segments of the US Treasury market, so that «تقریباً هیچ‌کس حاضر نیست اوراق بدهی ۱۰ تا ۲۰ ساله‌ای را که دولت امریکا می‌خواهد بفروشد، بخرد. هیچ یعنی هیچ!», almost nobody is willing to buy the 10 to 20 year debt the American government wants to sell. Nothing means nothing. Both are second-hand renderings and neither is corroborated in this batch.
- Sub-item: «مقاومت عراق: همه فرودگاه‌ها باید به روی ایران باز شوند», the Iraqi Resistance says all airports must be opened to Iran, with the body text tying Iraqi regulatory restrictions on Iranian flights to the American withdrawal from Iraq and arguing that the occupiers' military presence is becoming harder to sustain.
- Op-ed (سرمقاله): «دشمن اصلی و امر ملی را فراموش نکنید», do not forget the principal enemy and the national cause, signed with a photograph; the byline is below the legible resolution of this scan and is not asserted here. The argument concerns domestic political actors turning on one another instead of on the enemy.
- Right rail (masthead data): سال بیست‌وهفتم, شماره ۷۲۲۱, ۱۲ صفحه, ۱۰۰۰۰ تومان, dated ۲۲ / ۱۴۰۵ مهر ۱۲ یکشنبه ۱۴۴۸ ربیع‌الثانی.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The Guard-affiliated daily spends its cover on two claims of enemy weakness, one internal and one financial, and prints no Iranian operation at all. The financial argument is the interesting one: Javan is building a theory of American defeat out of bond-market demand rather than out of battlefield events, which is what a wartime press reaches for when it has no front to report, and it is also the register in which an outlet prepares its readership for a settlement reached on terms short of victory. The Camp David and Goldman Sachs items are both reproduced from foreign renderings and are flagged here as claims; the Vance meeting in particular is not corroborated anywhere else in this batch. Continuity: this is the fourth consecutive cycle in which Javan's cover carries no reported engagement.

Etemad

Reformist daily, the principal reformist broadsheet and a consistent advocate of a negotiated end to the war

“Guarding the memorandum”
«پاسداری تفاهمنامه»

LOW-MODERATE: settlement advocacy with a hardening regional threat frame


اعتماد
پاسداری تفاهمنامه
بیکاران پنهان
همسایه پرخطر
ایران درحیات

- Main: «پاسداری تفاهمنامه» under the deck «علی شکوری‌راد در گفت‌وگو با اعتماد» از ضرورت بازگشت به توافق اسلام‌آباد می‌گوید», Ali Shakourirad tells Etemad of the necessity of returning to the Islamabad agreement. The verb matters: «بازگشت», return, concedes that the process has drifted from the document rather than advanced along it, which is a more pessimistic framing than this title ran a cycle ago.
- Banner (top centre): «اعتماد» از احتمالات مطرح شده پیرامون پیام امریکا به ایران گزارش می‌دهد» → «ترسیم مسیر مذاکره نهایی», Etemad reports on the possibilities raised around America's message to Iran, charting the route to the final negotiation. This is the direct successor to the sequencing-then-calendar thread this file has tracked since 29 September.
- Banner (top left): «اقتصاد دوباره آب رفت» → «مروری بر تحقق بودجه سال ۱۴۰۵», a review of the realisation of the 1405 budget: the economy has shrunk again.
- Sub-item: «همسایه پرخطر» → «بررسی تحرکات امارات در گفت‌وگو با افشین زرگر», examining the Emirates' movements in conversation with Afshin Zargar: a high-risk neighbour. A reformist title naming a Gulf Arab state as a risk vector is a departure from this paper's usual regional register.
- Sub-item: «چند کارگاه غیررسمی و زیرزمینی در جنگ ۴۰ روزه تعطیل یا تخریب شد؟» → «بیکاران پنهان», how many informal and underground workshops were closed or destroyed in the 40-day war: the hidden unemployed. The paper is the only title in the batch to cost the war in employment terms.
- Right rail (یادداشت‌ها): a column of signed notes with author portraits on journalism and security in the virtual sphere, on «هفت‌خان جنگ با آب», the seven labours of the war with water, and on the police and civil society.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Etemad is arguing the memorandum from a defensive posture for the first time in this file's record: yesterday the paper gave its cover to three named supporters making the case for the document, and today it gives it to one man arguing for a return to it. Taken with the UAE piece, the reformist estate is simultaneously pressing for the settlement and widening the list of regional actors it blames for the war, which is how an advocacy press keeps its case alive when the process stalls. Tracking cue: whether «بازگشت» spreads to other reformist covers, which would indicate the executive's own read that the document is slipping.

Ta'adol

Economic daily, published in association with the chambers of commerce; technocratic register, close to the executive on economic policy

“The challenge of livelihood support” «چالش حمایت‌های معیشتی»

MODERATE-HIGH: tanker war enters the front pages, framed as an imposed blockade


تعادل

مسیر تحویل کالابرگ تغییر می‌کند؟

چالش حمایت‌های معیشتی

آتش محاصره نفتی دامن همه را می‌گیرد

- Main: «چالش حمایت‌های معیشتی» over «مسیر تحویل کالابرگ تغییر می‌کند؟», will the delivery route of the ration coupon change: the challenge of livelihood support.
- Centrepiece: a full-colour photograph of a tanker ablaze with a heavy black smoke column, captioned «آتش محاصره نفتی دامن همه را می‌گیرد», the fire of the oil blockade engulfs everyone, with a deck arguing that the dream of reducing Iran's oil exports to zero is a vain fantasy and that the consequence falls on the region's geopolitics as a whole. This is the first front page in several cycles in this file's record to put burning shipping above the fold.
- Banner (top): «جان مرشایمر، استاد علوم سیاسی دانشگاه شیکاگو: واشنگتن قادر به تسلیم تهران نیست», John Mearsheimer, professor of political science at the University of Chicago: Washington is not able to make Tehran surrender. The attribution is accurate as to the man and his post; the quotation is a rendering and is not reproduced here as authenticated.
- Op-ed: «ترامپ در «وقت‌های تلف شده» انتخاباتی», Trump in electoral stoppage time, signed حسن هانی‌زاده, Hassan Hanizadeh, a Middle East affairs analyst who appears regularly across the Iranian press.
- Left column: «در نیمه دوم سال» → «قیمت‌ها بالا می‌روند، معامله‌ها آب می‌روند», in the second half of the year prices rise and transactions shrink, on housing; and a signed note «مهار سوداگری ارز با عرضه دلار ممکن نیست», currency speculation cannot be curbed by supplying dollars.

ANALYST NOTE The economic daily is the title that breaks the pattern this file rated highest a cycle ago. On 3 October eleven covers carried the closure of the Strait as a political fact and none carried the strikes that enforce it; today Ta'adol prints the burning tanker itself, and prints it as the cost of a blockade imposed on Iran rather than as the product of one imposed by Iran. That inversion is the mechanism worth recording: the image enters the Iranian front pages only once it can be captioned as something done to the country. The Mearsheimer banner and the Hanizadeh column do the same work from the other end, supplying American authority for the proposition that the pressure will not produce a capitulation. Tracking cue: whether the tanker imagery migrates to a principlist cover, where it could not be captioned the same way.

Jomhouri Eslami

Traditional clerical daily founded in 1979; establishment conservative, institutionally senior and habitually willing to publish self-criticism the principlist press will not

MODERATE-HIGH: eastern-border penetration conceded; Iraq corridor reopening banked

"Six important missions conveyed to the secretariat of the National Elderly Council" «ابلاغ ۶ ماموریت مهم به دبیرخانه شورای ملی سالمندان»


جمهوری اسلامی

ابلاغ ۶ ماموریت مهم به دبیر خانه شورای عالی سالمندان

تحریم داروی ایران جنایت است

نتانیاهو باید در جایگاه متهم دادگاه باشد نه تریبون سازمان ملل

شهید مظلوم آسمانه پیشی

- Main: the president's message for National Elderly Week, conveying six missions to the secretariat of the National Elderly Council, run with a photograph of Masoud Pezeshkian and a deck noting that Iran stands on the threshold of a demographic transition and that the ageing of the population is accelerating.
- Banner (top left): «مجوز روزانه ۴۰ پرواز نجف - ایران صادر شد», a permit for 40 daily Najaf to Iran flights has been issued. This is the Persian-language half of a thread that also carries the English-language lead of Iran Daily and a Javan sub-item on the same morning.
- Sub-item: «پاسخ نماینده ایران در سازمان ملل به یاوه‌گویی‌های نتانیاهو ← «نتانیاهو باید در جایگاه متهم دادگاه باشد نه تریبون سازمان ملل»», Netanyahu should be in a courtroom dock, not at the United Nations podium. The Iranian envoy is not named on the cover.
- Sub-item: «سندرز فاش کرد: هزینه ۳۳۳ میلیون دلاری «آیپک» برای شکست نامزدهای منتقد نتانیاهو در آمریکا», Sanders revealed a 333 million dollar AIPAC expenditure to defeat candidates critical of Netanyahu in America. Reproduced here as the paper's claim about a third party's statement and not verified in this batch.
- Op-ed (red, left column): «ضربات طالبان، خطای تهران», the Taliban's blows, Tehran's error, arguing that strikes were mounted against Iran from Afghan geography during the war while Afghanistan was under Taliban control, that a state owes its neighbour the duty of preventing this, and that the explanation lies in the depth of Iranian intelligence penetration in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan.
- Sub-item: «امام جمعه بغداد: مقاومت، امریکا را وادار به خروج از عراق کرد», the Baghdad Friday prayer leader says the Resistance forced America out of Iraq.
- Centre: «درخشش کاروان ورزشی ایران با نام «فرشتگان میناب» در بازی‌های آسیایی ناگویا», the Iranian sporting caravan, under the name Angels of Minab, shone at the Nagoya Asian Games, with the 19 gold, 18 silver and 15 bronze tally.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The clerical daily supplies the batch's only front-page self-criticism, and it is directed at the eastern border rather than at the western front everybody else is arguing about: an admission on an Iranian cover that attacks were launched against Iran from Afghan territory during the war, and that the failure was Tehran's own intelligence reach. That is a different order of statement from the enemy-weakness arguments on the principlist covers, and it names a vector no other title in this batch mentions. The page also carries, without comment, the two legs of the Iraq corridor story, the Najaf flight permit and the Friday prayer leader's withdrawal

> claim, which together read as a settlement dividend being banked. Tracking cue: whether the Afghanistan vector appears on any second cover.

Nobonyad

Conservative / principlist daily (nobonyadonline.ir); a younger title that runs long-form interviews with former officials

MODERATE-HIGH: wartime electoral calendar released; adversary framed as manufacturing incidents

"The dangerous plan to escape electoral defeat" «طرح خطرناک فرار از شکست انتخاباتی»



- Main: «طرح خطرناک فرار از شکست انتخاباتی» across photographs of Donald Trump and Benjamin Netanyahu, with the deck «اعتراف مهم در سی‌ان‌ان؛ پرچم دروغین اسرائیل در سقوط مشکوک فلای‌دبی زیر سؤال رفت», an important admission on CNN: Israel's false flag in the suspicious flydubai crash has been called into question. Two points of fact are owed to the reader: the aircraft did not crash, it diverted and landed in Saudi Arabia, and the CNN admission is a second-hand rendering not reproduced here as authentic.
- Banner (top): «مجلس حتی یک روز هم در جنگ ۸ ساله تعطیل نشد», parliament did not close for even one day during the eight-year war, from a signed note by دکتر غلامحسین الهام, Gholam-Hossein Elham, described on the page as a prominent jurist. The note argues that during the Sacred Defence, with parts of the country under occupation and some cities uninhabitable for military reasons, elections were held without interruption and displaced residents of Khorramshahr, Abadan and Qasr-e Shirin still chose their representatives.
- Sub-item: «زنگ انتخابات شورا به صدا درآمد», the bell of the council elections has rung, reporting that «پس از چند ماه انتظار، بالاخره شورای عالی امنیت ملی با برگزاری انتخابات شوراها موافقت کرد», after several months of waiting the Supreme National Security Council has finally agreed to the holding of the council elections, with some officials speaking of the first half of Aban and other reports suggesting otherwise. This is single-sourced in this batch.
- Sub-item: «سفیر اسبق ایران در عراق در گفت‌وگو با نوبنیاد: پروژه نفوذ آمریکا در عراق هنوز ادامه دارد», a former Iranian ambassador to Iraq tells Nobonyad that the American infiltration project in Iraq still continues. The ambassador is not named on the cover.
- Op-ed: «امارات؛ ضلع پنهان جنگ علیه ایران», the Emirates, the hidden flank of the war against Iran, signed حسین نوری, Hossein Nouri, journalist.
- Sub-item: «کره بازار ارز با فروش ۱۰ هزار دلار باز می‌شود؟» → «۲۷۰ دلار و آزمودن یک راه بیهوده در میرداماد تومانی», will the knot of the currency market be untied by selling ten thousand dollars: the 270 dollar and the testing of a futile road at Mirdamad. Mirdamad is the central bank's address and is used here as its name.
- Sub-item: «چرخ تولید زیر تیغ ناترازی گاز», the wheel of production under the blade of the gas imbalance.

ANALYST NOTE This is the page that makes the edition. Three items on one cover, placed by the same desk, form a single argument about elections: a jurist of the Guardian Council generation establishing that war is no reason to postpone a vote, a report that the Supreme National Security Council has finally released the deferred council elections, and a lead holding that the adversary's leaders are manufacturing an incident precisely because they are facing defeat at the polls. The first two are addressed inward and the third outward, and together they convert the electoral calendar from an administrative question into a test of regime confidence.

> The UAE column places this title alongside Etemad on the same morning, which is a rare convergence across the factional line. Tracking cue: whether any second outlet confirms the council's decision, and whether a date is published.

Sobh-e No

Principlist daily; the title that has carried this file's most explicit strategic doctrine of the past fortnight, including the three-lock tanker-denial formula of 30 September

“At the gate of Aden”
«پشت دروازه عدن»

HIGH: Gulf security guarantees declared void at Aden; Bab el-Mandeb approaches in play



- Banner: «پشت دروازه عدن» with the kicker «فتوحات انصارالله و عقب‌نشینی سعودی نشانه غلبه مقاومت بر ایده امنیت کرایه‌ای است», Ansar Allah's conquests and the Saudi retreat are a sign of the Resistance's victory over the idea of rented security. «امنیت کرایه‌ای», rented security, is the operative term: it is an argument addressed to the Gulf capitals about what their protection arrangements are worth.
- Main feature: «صدای نه به «جنگ ایران» در انتخابات آمریکا», the voice of no to the Iran war in the American elections, built on a photograph of a demonstration outside the White House carrying «NO US-ISRAELI WAR ON IRAN!» placards of the Party for Socialism and Liberation together with HANDS OFF IRAN and US OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST signs, and a deck asking «ایالت‌های تعیین‌کننده در انتخابات آمریکا کدام‌اند؟», which are the decisive states in the American elections, over an analysis of the midterm map.
- Banner (top): «آموزش‌های نظامی پویش جان‌فدا آغاز شد» → «ثبت‌نام ۱۰ هزار نیروی مردمی امداد و نجات», the military training of the Jan-Feda campaign has begun: ten thousand popular relief and rescue personnel registered. A mobilisation figure published without an operational context.
- Editorial (سرمقاله): «چرا قالیباف همچنان هدف حمله است؟», why is Qalibaf still a target of attack, defending the parliament speaker; the byline is below the legible resolution of this scan and is not asserted here.
- Right rail: «آرایش» → «در جلسه ستاد هماهنگی اقتصادی دولت تصمیم‌گیری شد:» «جدید برای مدیریت شرایط ویژه», a new arrangement for managing special conditions, decided at the government's economic coordination headquarters; and the thirty-eighth Children and Youth Film Festival in Isfahan.
- Bottom: «کاروان ایران در بازی‌های آسیایی با کسب ۵۲ مدال بالاتر از کشورهای مدعی منطقه ایستاد» → «بالاتر از گلخانه‌ای‌ها», Iran's caravan stood above the region's pretender states with 52 medals: above the greenhouse ones, a jab at Gulf states that naturalise athletes.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Sobh-e No has moved its strategic argument from the Strait to the Red Sea approaches and from denial to demonstration. The three-lock formula this file rated SEVERE on 30 September is absent for a third consecutive cycle; in its place is a thesis about Gulf security guarantees failing at Aden, which is the same coercive proposition addressed to the same audience through a different chokepoint. The American-elections feature is the second half of the same argument: the war is to be ended by the adversary's own electorate rather than conceded at a table. Taken with the editorial defending Qalibaf, this is a title arguing simultaneously that the external pressure is working and that the domestic leadership under attack should be left alone.

Charsoogh

Economic daily with a principlist editorial line; runs the batch's sharpest political cartoon slot

“It makes a difference who the president is” «فرق می‌کند چه کسی رئیس‌جمهور باشد»

LOW: domestic factional attack, no external threat content



- Main: «سید صولت مرتضوی در گفت‌وگو با چارسوق، عملکرد دولت شهید رئیسی را با دولت‌های روحانی و پزشکیان مقایسه کرد:» over «فرق می‌کند چه کسی رئیس‌جمهور باشد», Seyyed Sowlat Mortazavi, a minister of the Raisi government, compares that government's record with the Rouhani and Pezeshkian governments: it makes a difference who the president is. The headline is the argument: the sitting president is the variable being blamed.
- Centre: «۱۰ هزار دلار به هر کارت ملی» over «ایجاد رانت ارزی در شرایط جنگی», ten thousand dollars to every national identity card: creating currency rent in wartime conditions, over a photograph of a crowded exchange floor. This is the policy the Nobonyad cover is also attacking on the same morning, from the same direction.
- Left: «همتی باید پاسخگوی افزایش قیمت دلار باشد», Hemmati must answer for the rise in the dollar, with a portrait; the first name is not printed on the cover.
- Cartoon: «بازدید اضطراری رئیس بانک مرکزی از کارخانه اسباب‌بازی», emergency visit of the central bank governor to the toy factory. The governor, drawn seated in a child's ride-on car lettered «بانک مرکزی», answers a reporter who asks «برنامه بانک مرکزی برای بازار ارز چیه؟», what is the central bank's plan for the currency market, with «فقط بیایید ماشین بازی کنید؛ بازار خودش تنظیم می‌شه، ما در بازار دخالت نمی‌کنیم», just come and play with cars, the market regulates itself, we do not intervene in the market.
- Right rail: a column of bulleted contrasts drawn from the Mortazavi interview setting the Raisi government's figures against its successors'.

ANALYST NOTE Charsoogh is one of the two covers in this batch that put a named Raisi-government official on the front page to attack the current government's economic management; the other is Kayhan, whose editorial today is signed by the head of Raisi's Plan and Budget Organization. Two titles, two former officials of the same administration, one morning, same target. That is the pattern this file reads as the resumption of the domestic attack on the president that went quiet on 3 October, redirected from the Islamabad memorandum, where it had cost the attackers ground, to the currency, where the evidence is in every market. The cartoon is the batch's most usable single artefact: it accuses the central bank not of failure but of abdication.



The central bank governor seated in a child's ride-on car lettered «بانک مرکزی» on a toy-factory floor, telling a reporter that the market regulates itself and the bank does not intervene, under the banner «بازدید اضطراری رئیس بانک مرکزی از کارخانه اسباب‌بازی»

Sazandegi

Reformist daily of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party; the title that opened the Larijani succession argument on 3 October

“Iranians in America take Trump to federal court” «شکایت ایرانیان آمریکا از ترامپ به دادگاه فدرال»

LOW-MODERATE: settlement advocacy routed through American domestic process


شورش پاریسی

گزارش اختصاصی سازندگی

شکایت ایرانیان آمریکا از ترامپ به دادگاه فدرال

سازندگی

- Main: «گزارش اختصاصی سازندگی:» over «شکایت ایرانیان آمریکا از ترامپ به دادگاه فدرال», a Sazandegi exclusive: Iranians in America sue Trump in federal court, over a full-height photograph of Donald Trump with a raised hand. The deck reads «جمعی از ایرانیان مقیم آمریکا علیه ترامپ به دلیل جنگ با ایران به دادگاه فدرال شکایت کرده‌اند. شاکیان پرونده در گفت‌وگو با سازندگی گفتند: رئیس‌جمهور آمریکا، با دور زدن قانون و بدون مجوز کنگره وارد جنگ شده و دادگاه فدرال باید ادامه جنگ با ایران را خلاف قانون اساسی اعلام کند», a group of Iranians resident in America have sued Trump over the war with Iran, and the plaintiffs told Sazandegi that the American president entered the war by circumventing the law and without congressional authorisation and that the federal court must declare the continuation of the war unconstitutional.
- Top bar: «آتش در قلب عربستان», fire in the heart of Saudi Arabia, with the deck «تاسیسات نفتی آرامکو زیر آتش یمن», Aramco's oil facilities under Yemeni fire. A reformist title and the state broadcaster's daily carry the same event on the same morning, which is the cross-factional test this file applies to a story's standing.
- Top bar: «شورش پاریسی», Parisian revolt, with the deck «دانش‌آموزان و معلمان فرانسوی خیابان‌های این کشور را به آتش کشیدند», French students and teachers have set the country's streets alight.
- Top bar: «دیپلماسی با دست باز», diplomacy with an open hand, signed محمدجواد ظریف, Mohammad Javad Zarif, with his photograph.
- Top bar: «منجی اف-۱۴ها», the saviour of the F-14s, «به یاد امیر سرتیپ عبدالله بازرگان», in memory of Brigadier General Abdollah Bazargan, with an air force portrait.
- Editorial (سرمقاله): «قوه مجریه و عبرت‌ها», the executive branch and the lessons, arguing that for a return to the right path today is better than tomorrow because the window of opportunity does not stay open for ever. The byline reads as محسن هاشمی رفسنجانی, Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani, but the scan resolution does not permit certainty and the attribution is not treated as established here.

ANALYST NOTE Sazandegi's exclusive is substantially accurate and the independent record names the plaintiff the paper does not: NIAC Action filed in federal court in Washington on 1 October asking for a declaration that the campaign, including the naval blockade and months of airstrikes, is unconstitutional under Article I, and it did not initially seek an injunction. The editorial choice is the finding rather than the filing: a reformist party daily is telling its readers that the war can be ended inside the American constitutional system, on the same morning that a principlist title tells its readers it can be ended inside the American electoral system. Two opposed factions have converged on the same theory of exit, which is a more significant convergence than either paper's own

argument. Carrying Zarif's byline in the same bar keeps the diplomatic channel visible without the paper having to defend the memorandum by name.

Kayhan

Hardline daily published under the supervision of the Supreme Leader's office, managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari; reconstructed for this edition from the paper's own channel, the front-page scan is not in the batch

“Iran's lock on the Strait of Hormuz is working” «قفل ایران روی تنگه هرمز کار می‌کند» **HIGH: chokepoint closure asserted as functioning; domestic economic indictment from the Leader's platform**

- Main: «قفل ایران روی تنگه هرمز کار می‌کند», Iran's lock on the Strait of Hormuz is working. The claim is of a mechanism performing, not of an event occurring, and it is the fifth consecutive cycle in which this title has asserted the closure without printing anything that enforces it.
- Banner: «وزیر خزانه‌داری آمریکا: انکار نمی‌کنیم که مردم آمریکا زیر چرخ‌های تورم له شدند», the American treasury secretary: we do not deny that the American people have been crushed under the wheels of inflation, developed in a separate post as remarks by Scott Bessent comparing himself to an emergency-room physician. A rendering of a foreign official's words, flagged and not reproduced here as authenticated.
- Sub-item: «کیهان در آستانه سالگرد عملیات طوفان الاقصی بررسی می‌کند» → «سانسور، اخراج و بایکوت سرنوشت هنرمندان حامی فلسطین», on the eve of the anniversary of the Al-Aqsa Flood operation: censorship, dismissal and boycott as the fate of artists who support Palestine.
- Sub-item: «آرامکو در آتش یمن پاسخ جنایات سعودی را داد», Aramco in Yemen's fire: the answer to Saudi crimes. Kayhan prints the strike as retribution and prints no Iranian involvement.
- Sub-item: «19 مدال طلا توسط کاروان فرشتگان میناب» کسب ۱۹ gold medals won by the Angels of Minab caravan.
- Sub-item: «اسامی نفرات برتر آزمون سراسری سال ۱۴۰۵ دانشگاه‌ها اعلام شد» and «خدمات صنعت فضائی ایران به بخش‌های آب، کشاورزی و معدن».
- Yadasht-e Rooz (editorial): «بازار ارز؛ به صدا درآمدن زنگ هشدار برای سیاست‌گذار», the currency market: the alarm bell has sounded for the policymaker, signed داود منظور and bylined on the page as «رئیس سازمان برنامه و بودجه دولت شهید رئیسی», head of the Plan and Budget Organization of the martyred Raisi government. Full treatment in Appendix B.

ANALYST NOTE The decisive fact about Kayhan today is not on the front page but under it. The Leader's office newspaper has handed its signed daily editorial, normally the managing editor's own instrument, to an economic official of the previous administration, and the text uses it to say that the financial system has not been rearranged for war and sanctions conditions and that resistance-economy policy has not in practice been implemented. That is an indictment of the sitting government's economic management issued from the one platform that cannot be dismissed as factional noise. Read with Charsoogh's Mortazavi interview the same morning, the domestic attack this file recorded as quiet on 3 October has resumed on new ground. Continuity: the Hormuz lock claim stands for a fifth cycle with no enforcing event on the cover, while a Ta'adol photograph of a burning tanker appears on another front page the same day.

Appendix A - The Leader's standing message: to the 33rd National Prayer Conference

Message of the Leader of the Revolution, signed «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای», dated ۹ / ۱۴۰۵ مهر October 2026; text as published by Iranian outlets. Not carried on any front page in this batch.

Translator's note on scope: no Leader message, image or citation appears on any of the ten front pages gathered for 12 Mehr 1405, and none appears in the Kayhan headline list for the same morning. The most recent published message of the Leader is therefore reproduced here in analytic translation rather than verbatim, the full Persian text being under the publisher's copyright; the paragraph order and the quoted phrases follow the published text.

The message opens by acknowledging the standing of the National Prayer Conference and crediting its foundation to the clerical effort organised since the 1370s, naming Hojjat al-Islam wal-Muslimeen Qara'ati as its initiator.

It then places itself in a line of succession, referring to the "important, continuous, emphatic recommendations" of the martyred predecessor in his messages to the thirty-two conferences held so far. The formula «رهبر شهید والامقام», our exalted martyred Leader, is used; Ali Khamenei is not named.

The sender expresses personal humility in spiritual matters while asserting the duty of the office to "remind myself, the people at large, and also our officials" of the significance of prayer.

Prayer is then described as "the supreme institution, symbol, and pillar of religion", the connection of humanity to the divine source, and "an inexhaustible spiritual reserve" against corrupting forces both internal and external.

The message next makes the governance claim, calling prayer "the first outcome and sign of righteous governance" and citing Qur'an 22:41, the verse that conditions the grant of authority in the land on the establishment of prayer. This is the message's single political move, and it is made entirely in scriptural rather than contemporary terms.

A call to collective responsibility follows, addressed to fathers, mothers, families, teachers, friends and professors, and to media institutions and youth organisations, to promote the practice systematically.

The developmental frame is then set out: the establishment of prayer is presented as necessary to the advance from "Islamic movement and Revolution" to "Islamic society" and ultimately to "Islamic civilization".

On implementation the message asks for "firm establishment and widespread, universal observance of prayer" and singles out the role of mosque prayer leaders as accessible and responsive figures in their communities.

It closes with the hope that divine grace and "the prayers of our Master", the Imam Mahdi, will carry the effort to success, and is signed «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای / ۹ مهر ۱۴۰۵».

Analyst flag: the message contains no reference to the war, to the United States, to Israel, to the Strait of Hormuz, to the negotiations or to the war dead. Its only reference to the predecessor is the honorific. Three days later it had reached no front page in this batch. This file records the combination, a wholly devotional lead message and a complete front-page absence, as a continuing data point in the standing tracker on the new Leader's public profile, and not as evidence of incapacity or of a succession dispute, for which this batch provides nothing either way.

Appendix B - The day's flagged editorial: Kayhan, «بازار ارز؛ به صدا درآمدن زنگ هشدار برای سیاست‌گذار»

Kayhan, «یادداشت روز», یکشنبه ۱۲ مهر ۱۴۰۵. Signed داود منظور, bylined on the page as «رئیس سازمان برنامه و بودجه دولت شهید رئیسی». Retrieved from the paper's own channel, t.me/s/kayhan_online, posts 85829 to 85831, timestamped 05:50, 05:52 and 05:54.

Authorship note: Kayhan's «یادداشت روز» is the managing editor's customary instrument and has carried Hossein Shariatmadari's signature in each of the editions this file has examined this month. Today it is signed by Davoud Manzour, and the paper's own byline identifies him by the office he held under the previous administration rather than by any present post. The attribution is verified against the paper's channel; this file has not independently confirmed what office, if any, he currently holds, and does not assert one.

Opening, translated: "The recent rise in the dollar rate on the free market should not be treated merely as a fresh record in a turbulent currency market. What matters about this event is the speed at which the rial is losing value, the persistence of the upward trend, and the formation of a one-directional expectation about its future. This development, going beyond a speculative fluctuation or a passing bout of agitation, indicates that the currency market is becoming the point at which several large disequilibria in the Iranian economy intersect."

Second paragraph, translated: "At a time when external pressure on the country's revenue and financial networks has intensified and the currency market has become the principal arena of economic confrontation, it appears that the country's financial system and economic system have still not been rearranged and prepared in the way that wartime and sanctions conditions require, and that the policies of the resistance economy have not in practice been implemented seriously and comprehensively."

The argument then turns to expectations, holding that the real danger is entry into destructive self-reinforcing cycles in which the fall in the rial's value feeds itself through inflation and capital flight.

Five requirements are set out: transparent communication to the public about the state of foreign reserves; emergency currency budgeting that prioritises essential goods; control of the budget, banking and liquidity cycle; enforcement of the law against financial crime; and the strengthening of non-oil export channels.

The conclusion insists that what is required is coordinated intervention across monetary, fiscal, banking and trade policy rather than administrative directives alone, and that the policymaker must read currency movements as warning signals rather than as numbers.

Loaded vocabulary retained: «اقتصاد مقاومتی», the resistance economy, is the doctrinal programme associated with the Leader's office; the charge that it "has not in practice been implemented seriously and comprehensively" is therefore an accusation of doctrinal non-compliance and not only of technical failure. «دولت شهید رئیسی», the government of the martyred Raisi, is the byline's own framing and carries the honorific as printed.

Analyst flag: the significance is institutional rather than economic. The economic diagnosis is unremarkable and would be accepted by most technocrats in Tehran. What is not unremarkable is the platform: the Leader's office newspaper has given its signed daily editorial to an economic official of the previous administration to indict the sitting government for failing to implement the Leader's own economic doctrine under war conditions. On the same morning the economic daily Charsoogh gives its lead to another Raisi-government minister, Seyyed Sowlat Mortazavi, under the headline «فرق می‌کند چه کسی رئیس‌جمهور باشد», it makes a

difference who the president is. This file treats the pairing as the resumption, on economic ground, of the domestic campaign against the executive that fell silent on 3 October.

Verification note: the full Persian text is reproduced in digests/2026-10-04/raw/ as retrieved. The quoted translations above are this file's own and the portions rendered in summary are marked as such.

Appendix C - Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline, 2026-10-04

Coverage. Nine Persian front-page scans and one English front-page scan of 12 Mehr 1405 were gathered from the NewspaperTasnim album posted at 03:15 UTC and the Newspapers_Iran album posted at 04:31 UTC, both carrying the printed Jalali date 12/7/1405; the stale-batch guard compared the album's own printed date against the target date and passed. Nine outlet and agency channels and one web source were read in addition. Kayhan's front page is not in the scan batch and is reconstructed from the paper's own channel, where the headline list and the signed editorial were both retrieved; the reconstruction is labelled as such wherever it is used. Tehran Times was not reachable at compile time and does not contribute to this edition.

Identification. Each masthead was read directly from the scan. Jam-e Jam, Javan, Etemad, Ta'adol, Jomhouri Eslami, Nobonyad, Sobh-e No, Charsoogh and Sazandegi were identified from their nameplates; Iran Daily carries its own English masthead and issue data. Javan's issue line and Iran Daily's dateline independently supply the Hijri date used on the cover, 22 Rabi' al-Thani 1448.

Named people. Ali Shakourirad, Afshin Zargar, John Mearsheimer, Hassan Hanizadeh, Gholam-Hossein Elham, Hossein Nouri, Seyyed Sowlat Mortazavi, Mohammad Javad Zarif, Davoud Manzour and Scott Bessent are named here because the page or the channel names them. Two bylines are below the legible resolution of the scans and are not asserted: the author of Javan's editorial and the author of Sobh-e No's editorial. A third, the signature on Sazandegi's editorial, reads as Mohsen Hashemi Rafsanjani but is recorded as unconfirmed. The Iranian envoy to the United Nations, the former ambassador to Iraq interviewed by Nobonyad and the central bank governor drawn in the Charsoogh cartoon are not named on their pages and are not named here.

Attribution firewall. The following are claims and are reproduced only as claims: that Yemeni forces struck Aramco facilities in Riyadh with ballistic missiles and drones, which is the statement of the Yemeni armed forces spokesman carried on the Fars News channel at 22:46 and repeated across the Iranian press; that satellite imagery shows the fire at a radiative intensity of 205 megawatts; that eleven aircraft refused to land at Riyadh; that a terrorist team linked to monarchists was destroyed in Fars and that an air defence system at Qeshm intercepted a hostile aircraft, both Vatan-e Emrooz front-page items; that AIPAC spent 333 million dollars against candidates critical of Netanyahu, which Jomhouri Eslami attributes to Bernie Sanders; that a secret meeting at Camp David chaired by Vance examined the next steps of the war, which Javan attributes to a British newspaper; and that there is effectively no demand for long-dated US Treasury paper, which Javan attributes to Goldman Sachs. None of these is adopted as fact here.

Independently established, and separated from the above. A fire at Aramco's Riyadh refinery south of the capital was observed on the ground by an AFP journalist on 3 October; Saudi authorities had not confirmed an attack and Aramco had not commented on the cause of the fire at the time of the reporting on which this file relies. The Houthi claim of responsibility, made by the military spokesman Yahya Saree, is a claim; the fire is not. The flydubai service of 30 September from Dubai towards Tel Aviv diverted and landed in Saudi Arabia after a cockpit assault in which one pilot was stabbed and the aircraft lost about 17,400 feet in under two minutes; the aircraft did not crash. NIAC Action filed suit against the president in federal court in Washington on 1 October seeking a declaration that the campaign is unconstitutional under Article I, without initially seeking an injunction, and the Senate rejected a war powers resolution the same week. The 28 February 2026 strike on the Shajareh Tayyebeh elementary school at Minab, Hormozgan, is the referent of «فرشتگان میناب» and of the #Minab168 decal; published counts of the dead differ, with a prosecutor's verified list of 156

identified and the figure 168 in general commemorative use, and this file uses the two figures as they are published rather than selecting between them.

Accuracy corrections carried into this edition. Jam-e Jam's deck places the struck refinery at Riyadh, as do the Fars News channel and the independent reporting; a Vatan-e Emrooz channel item at 04:55 instead places a large fire at the Yanbu refinery. This file records the divergence rather than resolving it and treats Riyadh as the better-supported location. Nobonyad's deck describes the flydubai event as a «سقوط», a crash or downing; no aircraft was lost and the word is the paper's framing, not a fact.

Single-source flags. The report that the Supreme National Security Council has agreed to the holding of the deferred city and village council elections, with some officials indicating the first half of Aban, rests on a single Nobonyad item and is corroborated by nothing else in this batch; the Nour News channel, which is linked to the council, carried nothing on it. The independently established background is that the seventh-period council elections were deferred from 1 May 2026, that the interior ministry stated the holding of them was contingent on the council's approval, and that a proposed date of 16 October 2026 had not received that approval. Javan's Camp David item and Sazandegi's figure for the number of plaintiffs are likewise single-sourced.

Translation caveats. Persian headlines are reproduced in the original script beside the English throughout, and loaded terms are glossed inline where the register carries the argument: «امنیت کرایه‌ای», rented security; «اقتصاد مقاومتی», the resistance economy; «فتوحات», conquests, a term of religious warfare rather than of ordinary military reporting. Where a scan is below legible resolution the fact is stated in the entry rather than papered over, and no headline has been reconstructed from context.

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