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THE FIRST-MOVE PROBLEM EDITION

Nine Persian front pages and one English front page of 13 Mehr 1405, read alongside six outlet channels and three agency wires; Kayhan is reconstructed from its own channel and Tehran Times from its own site.

Front pages published the morning of 5 October 2026, reflecting events through late 4 October local.

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



Front page: Sobh-e No

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition is that the Iranian press has stopped arguing about whether to negotiate and has begun arguing about the order of operations. Jomhouri Eslami, the clerical establishment daily that answers to no faction, gave the full width of its page to «تشدید تلاش‌های میانجی‌گرانه برای ادامه مذاکرات ایران و آمریکا», the intensification of mediation efforts to continue the Iran-America negotiations, and sourced it to the foreign minister: «عراقچی: مسیر دیپلماسی برای پایان جنگ آمریکا علیه ایران همچنان باز است». Etemad, reformist, reduced the entire question to three words, «اول پایان جنگ», first, the end of the war, and then printed the actual obstacle in its deck: «گام نخست را چه کسی بر می‌دارد», who takes the first step. Sazandegi, from the same estate, put the agenda order in a top-bar box, «اول هرمز، بعد هسته‌ای», Hormuz first, then the nuclear file, attributed to Araghchi. The independently reported state of the talks is that an American counterproposal reached Tehran through Qatari mediators, that the two sides largely agree on what has to happen, and that they remain divided over the order in which it happens. The Iranian front pages are not describing that disagreement. They are conducting it.

The counterweight is the Speaker, and he is the single most-published figure in the batch. Sobh-e No led with «هم جنگ می‌کنیم، هم مذاکره», we both fight and negotiate, over a quotation that is the enforcement standard of the whole edition: until our seven conditions based on the Islamabad memorandum are met, the Strait of Hormuz will not be opened. Iran Daily, the state's English title, led with the same line in English. Javan carried it down its right rail as «تنگه هرمز جز با تحقق شروط ایران بازنمی‌شود». Three titles from three different estates printing one man's conditions on one morning is the strongest message-discipline indicator in this batch, and it matters because of what it revises: this file recorded on 3 and 4 October that the Islamabad memorandum had vanished from the covers and that both factions were arguing the war would end inside the American political system instead. The memorandum is back, and it is back as a numbered instrument rather than as a grievance.

The escalation lever was published on the same morning, by the Guard-affiliated daily, above its own masthead. Javan's banner reads «نخبگان خروج از NPT را می‌خواهند», the elites want withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty, over a strapline in which the Foreign Ministry spokesman says that for the moment Iran is a party to the treaty but that the decision rests with the country's competent bodies. The independent record matches: Esmaeil Baqaei said on 4 October that Iranian elites are seriously discussing withdrawal, that Iran remains a member for now, and that the ministry will abide by the competent authorities' decision. Placing the treaty on a front page as an elite consensus, with the ministry declining to rule it out and no official owning it, is how a reserve option is set on the table at no political cost. It is the only genuine escalation instrument in this edition, and it was published by the one title that has now gone six consecutive cycles without printing an Iranian military engagement.

Two named-belligerent constructions advanced. Vatan-e Emrooz gave its whole front page to a photograph of United States Air Force transports under two words, «پل جنایت», the bridge of crime, and a kicker charging that Europe took part in Trump's savagery against the people of Iran by cooperating in five thousand American sorties. This is the first cover in this file's record to name the European states as participants in the war rather than as diplomatic actors, and the construction is identical to the one the batch used for the United Arab Emirates on 3 and 4 October: a named party, a hidden contribution, a figure nobody can check. Separately, the Saudi thread opened on 4 October advanced from an unclaimed refinery fire to a claimed ground conquest: Kayhan's front page asserts that Yemeni forces have entered Taiz city and that Saudi commanders and mercenaries have fled, Vatan-e Emrooz maps the governorate under «تعز کلید پیروزی», Taiz is the key to victory, and Sobh-e No banners «عدن، آخرین سنگر بن‌سلمان», Aden, bin Salman's last redoubt.

The independent record for 4 October has Ansar Allah taking ground in the Ash Shamayatayn and Al-Ma'afer districts of Taiz province while government forces still held the city centre. The Iranian claim is one step ahead of the ground.

The edition's widest convergence is not political at all. Five titles carried the same interview with the film director Asghar Farhadi, given to Variety at the Rio film festival on 3 October, in which he said of American films about Iran that it is always a white man from the United States saving others and asked who had asked them to come and save us. Sazandegi gave him two thirds of its front page. Hamshahri ran «چه کسی گفت ما را نجات دهید؟» beside a full-length portrait. Vatan-e Emrooz, hardline, put him in the top-left box under «نمی‌خواهیم آمریکایی شویم», we do not want to become American. Sobh-e No rendered him as «دموکراسی آمریکا یک دروغ بزرگ است». Iran Daily carried the English original for foreign readers. A reformist party daily and a hardline principlist daily running the same auteur on the same morning is a convergence no instruction produced, because the material was not produced for them; what it shows is the press reaching for an anti-American argument carried by a figure it does not own and cannot be accused of scripting.

The domestic fracture sits on the economic pages and it points at the Speaker. Charsoogh, a principlist economic daily, printed «اعتراض به بازداشت رسایی با شکایت قالیباف», protest at Rasaei's detention on Qalibaf's complaint, over a portrait of the jailed cleric. The independently established record is that the judiciary confirmed on 28 September that the hardline deputy Hamid Rasaei had been transferred to Evin prison to serve ten months over a January 2024 article accusing the Speaker of manipulating parliamentary documents, and that he is the first sitting member of parliament imprisoned during his term. Sobh-e No carries a sympathetic commentary line on the continuing attacks on the Speaker. The man whose seven conditions three covers published this morning is, on a fourth cover from his own side of the factional line, the man who put a deputy in prison.

Net assessment: this is the most negotiation-forward edition this file has recorded, and it is also the edition in which the alternatives were published most explicitly. The press is preparing its readership for a settlement whose terms are numbered, documented and attributed to the legislature, while keeping two instruments visible in case it fails: the treaty, on the Guard's daily, and the European allies, on the hardline daily, pre-assigned as the party to blame. Three things are missing and the absences are findings. The Leader published nothing and appears nowhere, for a second consecutive cycle, so the conditions now circulating carry parliamentary and ministerial authority and not his. Lebanon is absent from all ten covers for a fourth consecutive cycle while a Hezbollah official statement ran on the wires overnight. And the campaign against the president that resumed from Kayhan's signed editorial slot on 4 October was not renewed today, even though an oil minister resigned in the middle of a war about oil and every cover that carried it treated it as administration.

BOTTOM LINE On the morning after Washington's answer reached Tehran through Qatari mediation, the Iranian press published the negotiation as settled in substance and unsettled in sequence: three covers carried the Speaker's seven conditions for reopening the Strait of Hormuz, a reformist broadsheet reduced the whole question to who takes the first step, and the Guard-affiliated daily placed withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty above its own masthead as the alternative.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Nine Persian front pages of 13 Mehr 1405 were taken from the NewspaperTasnim album posted at 01:52 UTC on 5 October, whose caption carries the matching printed Jalali date, plus one English front page from the Newspapers_Iran album of the same morning. Kayhan did not appear in the scan batch and is reconstructed from its own channel, including the front-page headline list and the signed editorial. Tehran Times was read from its own site. Six outlet channels and three agency wires were read for corroboration;

agency material is folded into the trends and the threat register and is not treated as front-page content. The scans are supplied at roughly eight hundred pixels of height: main headlines and decks are legible under magnification, small body type is not, and two specific lines that could not be read with confidence, the third deck of the Jomhouri Eslami lead and the sub-deck of Ta'adol's Strait column, are described rather than quoted. Corrections carried into this edition: the police content on two covers this morning is the 13 Mehr commemorative calendar and not editorial convergence, and this file revises its own first reading of it; and the Iranian claim that Taiz city has fallen runs ahead of the independent ground record and is carried as a claim only. Unverified figures carried as claims and not adopted: five thousand European-assisted American sorties, 1.5 billion dollars moved through the Russian banking network, and the assertion attributed on a wire to Rear Admiral Ali Fadavi that no American or allied vessel remains in the Persian Gulf.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 The argument moved from whether to negotiate to who moves first

Three covers from three estates published the sequencing question on one morning. Jomhouri Eslami gave its banner to «تشدید تلاش‌های میانجی‌گرانه برای ادامه مذاکرات ایران و آمریکا» and quoted Araghchi saying the diplomatic path to ending America's war against Iran remains open. Etemad reduced it to «اول پایان جنگ» and asked «گام نخست را چه کسی بر می‌دارد». Sazandegi boxed «اول هرمز، بعد هسته‌ای» and attributed the order to the foreign minister. Tehran Times, in English, reported the Foreign Ministry spokesman saying Iran will submit further observations on the American response to its seven-day plan. The independently reported sticking point is the order of steps rather than their content, and the Iranian covers have printed exactly that.

2 The Islamabad memorandum came back, as a numbered instrument

This file recorded on 3 and 4 October that the memorandum had disappeared from the covers and that both estates were arguing the war would end inside the American political system instead. Today Sobh-e No prints the Speaker's line in full: until our seven conditions based on the Islamabad memorandum are met, the Strait of Hormuz will not be opened, with the preface that the era of grinding down time and dictating one-sided demands is over. Iran Daily leads with it in English and Javan carries it in its rail. The document has returned not as a grievance about Western non-compliance but as the legal basis for a condition set Iran is asking to have met, which is the register of a party that expects to sign something.

3 The treaty was placed on the table without an owner

Javan's banner, above its own masthead, reads «نخبگان خروج از NPT را می‌خواهند» over the Foreign Ministry spokesman saying that for now Iran is a member of the treaty but the decision rests with the country's competent bodies. Attributing the demand to unnamed elites and the decision to unnamed competent bodies means no office has to own it and none has to withdraw it. It is the only escalation instrument published in this edition, it appeared on the Guard-affiliated daily, and it appeared on the same morning the rest of the batch published terms for de-escalation. Those two facts belong together: the lever exists to make the terms credible.

4 Europe joined the named-belligerent list

Vatan-e Emrooz gave its entire front page to American transport aircraft under «پل جنایت» and a kicker charging that Europe, by cooperating in five thousand American flight-mission sorties, took part in Trump's savagery against the people of Iran. No source in this batch corroborates the figure. What matters is the construction, which is the one this file logged for the United Arab Emirates on 3 and 4 October: name a party that has not been named before, assign it a hidden operational contribution, attach a number that cannot be checked. Building an indictment of the European allies on the morning three covers publish settlement terms suggests the function is domestic: to have a party to blame for whatever the settlement does not recover.

5 Saudi Arabia went from target to claimed defeat, one step ahead of the ground

Kayhan's front page asserts that Yemeni forces have entered Taiz city and that Saudi commanders and mercenaries have fled, and its analysis post pairs it with Aramco still burning. Vatan-e Emrooz maps the governorate in red under «تعز کلید پیروزی» with a kicker on striking Ansar Allah advances against the Saudi mercenaries. Sobh-e No banners «عدن، آخرین سنگر بن‌سلمان» and sources the confirmation of Taiz's liberation to a senior movement figure named on the page. The independent record for 4 October is narrower: Ansar Allah gained ground in the Ash Shamayatayn and Al-Ma'afer districts of Taiz province, having earlier taken Mokha on the Red Sea coast, while government forces still held the city centre. The pattern to keep is that the Iranian press is now publishing Yemeni territorial claims as accomplished, which is a step beyond the capital-for-capital doctrine it published as accomplished on 4 October.

6 The anti-American argument was outsourced to a figure the press does not control

Five titles carried Asghar Farhadi's Rio film festival remarks: Sazandegi gave him two thirds of its cover, Hamshahri headlined «چه کسی گفت ما را نجات دهید؟», Vatan-e Emrooz ran «نمی‌خواهیم آمریکایی شویم», Sobh-e No rendered the line about American democracy being a big lie, and Iran Daily carried the English quotation. The material was produced for a Western trade publication at a Brazilian festival and was not commissioned by any of them. A hardline daily and a reformist party daily reaching for the same non-regime voice on the same morning is a different kind of convergence from message discipline: it is the press recognising that an argument against American tutelage is more useful when the person making it cannot be dismissed as a state employee.

7 The Speaker is both the face of the conditions and the target of his own side

Charsoogh, principlist and economic, printed «اعتراض به بازداشت رسایی با شکایت قالیباف» over a portrait of the jailed cleric; Sobh-e No ran a commentary line questioning the continuing attacks on the Speaker. The independently established record is that Hamid Rasaei, a hardline deputy, was confirmed by the judiciary on 28 September to have entered Evin prison on a ten-month sentence arising from the Speaker's complaint over a January 2024 article, and that he is the first sitting deputy imprisoned during his term. Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf is simultaneously the most-published figure in this batch and the subject of an ultraconservative backlash in it. Whether his standing survives as a settled asset is now a tracked question, because the conditions he is fronting have no higher endorsement on any cover in this batch.

8 The campaign against the president was not renewed, and the obvious weapon was left unused

An oil minister resigned in the eighth month of a war fought over oil, and every cover that carried it handled it as administration. Hamshahri printed «تغییر سکاندار وزارت نفت» with the appointment of Hamid Bovard as acting minister; Sobh-e No put it bottom-left under «ترمیم کابینه», cabinet repair, with a demand that the government present a nominee to parliament quickly; the government daily's channel carried it flat. Kayhan's signed editorial slot, which on 4 October carried a Raisi-government budget chief indicting the sitting executive over the currency, today carries a commemorative police piece by Hassan Rashvand. The currency complaint survives only as a parliamentary protest in Javan's rail and in Charsoogh's Hemmati item. One cycle is not a withdrawal, and this file keeps the thread open at reduced weight.

9 Lebanon is live on the wires and absent from the covers for a fourth consecutive cycle

The Defa Press wire carried, at 20:32, the head of Hezbollah's executive council affirming that resistance continues as long as occupation persists, and carried Qatari and Jordanian reactions to the resumption of Israeli operations on the Quneitra line in Syria. Across ten front pages, nothing on either. This file rated the northern front a live flashpoint and has now recorded four consecutive cycles in which the only Lebanon material is on wires. The one-cycle propagation lag established on 3 October has been allowed for and does

not cover a fourth absence; this is a standing editorial decision, and it is the clearest available indication that Tehran is not currently using the northern front to address its own public.

10 The chokepoint was argued everywhere and enforced nowhere

Three covers published the conditions for reopening the Strait; none published an event in it. Ta'adol, the economic daily, was the only title to treat it as a question rather than a position, asking «در تنگه هرمز چه می‌گذرد؟». Kayhan, which sustained the lock formula longest, carried no chokepoint item at all for a fifth consecutive cycle. On the wires, a British maritime authority reported a security incident involving a tanker sixty nautical miles south of Al-Mokha in Yemeni waters, and Rear Admiral Ali Fadavi was carried claiming that no American or allied vessel remains in the Persian Gulf and that the Strait has been under Iranian control for an extended period. The claim is carried as a claim. The pattern this file logged on 4 October holds: maritime events reach the wires and reach the covers only when they can be captioned as something done to Iran.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 [HIGH] **The Iran-United States negotiation has moved from substance to sequence, and the Iranian press printed the sequencing problem itself on the same morning the American response was acknowledged.** This is the edition's highest-significance finding. The evidence is four covers. Jomhouri Eslami, a clerical establishment daily with no executive interest to serve, gave its banner to «تشدید تلاش‌های میانجی‌گرانه برای ادامه مذاکرات ایران و آمریکا» and quoted the foreign minister saying «مسیر دیپلماسی برای پایان جنگ آمریکا علیه ایران همچنان باز است». Etemad led with «اول پایان جنگ» and put the obstacle in its deck: «گام نخست را چه کسی بر می‌دارد». Sazandegi boxed «اول هرمز، بعد هسته‌ای» and attributed the agenda order to Araghchi. Tehran Times reported the Foreign Ministry spokesman saying Iran will submit further observations on the American response to its seven-day plan. The independently reported state of the talks is that Washington's counterproposal reached Araghchi through Qatari mediators in Doha and that the two sides largely agree on the steps required but remain divided over their order. The significance is that the Iranian press is preparing its readership for a settlement rather than for a victory, and is doing so by naming the one remaining obstacle as procedural. Confidence is high on the press behaviour, which is documentary, and is not extended to any prediction about the outcome: reading four covers as insider knowledge would overstate them, and reading an exact match between the printed question and the reported sticking point as coincidence would understate them.

KJ-2 [HIGH] **The Islamabad memorandum returned to the Iranian front page as the legal basis for a numbered condition set, and this file revises its reading of 3 and 4 October that the document had been dropped.** The evidence is a quotation printed in full. Sobh-e No's deck reads «رئیس مجلس شورای اسلامی با تاکید بر اینکه دوران فرسایش زمان و دیکته کردن مطالبات یک‌طرفه گذشته است، گفت: تا زمانی که هفت شرط ما بر اساس تفاهم‌نامه اسلام‌آباد محقق نشود، تنگه هرمز باز نخواهد شد». Iran Daily leads with the same statement in English; Javan carries it in its rail as «تنگه هرمز جز با تحقق شروط ایران بازنمی‌شود». The independent record confirms the Speaker made the statement on 4 October, and reports that Tehran's seven-point proposal was conveyed to Washington through Qatar and covers an end to the fighting in Iran and Lebanon, release of frozen assets, lifting of oil sanctions and an end to the naval blockade. The significance is in the register: on 3 and 4 October the memorandum appeared only as a grievance about the other side's non-compliance, and today it appears as the instrument Iran is asking to have executed. A party that cites a document as the measure of its own conditions expects the document to be performed. Confidence is high; the revision is explicit.

KJ-3 [HIGH] **Withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty was published on an Iranian front page as an elite demand that the Foreign Ministry declined to foreclose, and it appeared on the Revolutionary Guard's daily on the morning the rest of the batch published terms for de-escalation.** The evidence is Javan's banner, set above the masthead line in yellow on blue: «نخبگان خروج از NPT را می‌خواهند», over «سخنگوی وزارت خارجه: فعلاً عضو معاهده هستیم اما تصمیم با نهادهای ذی‌صلاح کشور است». The independent record has Esmaeil Baqaei saying on 4 October that Iranian elites are holding serious discussions on withdrawal, that Iran remains a party and is aware of its obligations, that the ministry will abide by the competent authorities' decision, and that a member state should be able to exercise its treaty rights rather than face attacks and threats. The significance is the structure of the attribution: the demand belongs to unnamed elites, the decision belongs to unnamed competent bodies, and no office is exposed if it is withdrawn. That is how a state keeps an escalation option visible at zero political cost while negotiating. Confidence is high on the publication and on the spokesman's words, and this file makes no judgment on whether a withdrawal is being prepared; the discriminating test is whether a named office, rather than a category, endorses it within the month.

KJ-4 [MODERATE-HIGH] **The European states have been named as participants in the air campaign against Iran, which is the first time this file has recorded the charge on a front page.** The evidence is Vatan-e Emrooz's whole cover: a photograph of United States Air Force C-17 transports under «پل جنایت», the bridge of crime, with the kicker «اروپا چگونه با همکاری در ۵ هزار سورتی مأموریت پروازی هواپیماهای آمریکایی در وحشیگری ترامپ علیه مردم ایران مشارکت کرد». The sortie figure is uncorroborated anywhere in this batch and is carried as the paper's claim. The significance is that the construction matches, step for step, the one this file logged for the United Arab Emirates on 3 and 4 October: a party not previously named, a hidden operational contribution, a number nobody can check, published first by one title. On that occasion the test proposed was whether a second title picked the target up within the week, and it is the test here too. Confidence is moderate-high on the characterisation, which is a direct reading of the cover, and none at all on the sortie count. The alternative reading, that this is one hardline editor's enthusiasm rather than a line, is live until a second cover names Europe.

KJ-5 [MODERATE-HIGH] **Five titles spanning the full factional range carried one interview given to a Western trade publication at a Brazilian film festival, which makes it the edition's widest convergence and the first this file has recorded that no instruction could have produced.** The evidence is the distribution. Sazandegi, reformist and party-owned, gave Asghar Farhadi two thirds of its front page under «چه کسی از شما خواست ما را نجات دهید؟». Hamshahri, the municipality's centrist daily, ran «چه کسی گفت ما را نجات دهید؟» beside a full-length portrait. Vatan-e Emrooz, hardline, ran «نمی‌خواهیم آمریکایی شویم». Sobh-e No, principlist, rendered it as «دموکراسی آمریکا یک دروغ بزرگ است». Iran Daily carried the English original. The independent record places the remarks in a Variety interview at the Rio film festival on 3 October, where Farhadi said that in these films it is always a white man from the United States saving others and asked who had asked them to come and save us. The significance is that the Iranian press has found an anti-American argument whose author it does not employ and cannot be accused of scripting, which makes it usable abroad in a way Kayhan's own prose is not. Confidence is moderate-high: the convergence is documentary, and reading it as centrally directed would go beyond the evidence, since the material was published by a third party before any of them could have commissioned it.

KJ-6 [MODERATE-HIGH] **The Saudi-as-target thread opened on 4 October has advanced from an unclaimed refinery fire to a claimed ground conquest, and the Iranian claim runs one step ahead of the independent record.** The evidence is three covers plus a channel. Kayhan's front-page headline list

opens with «ورود یمنی‌ها به شهر تعز؛ فرماندهان و مزدوران سعودی فرار کردند» and its analysis post pairs Taiz with Aramco still burning. Vatan-e Emrooz maps Taiz governorate in red under «تعز کلید پیروزی» with a kicker on striking Ansar Allah advances against the Saudi mercenaries. Sobh-e No banners «عدن، آخرین سنگر بن‌سلمان» and sources confirmation of Taiz's liberation to a senior movement figure named on the page. The independent record for 4 October has Ansar Allah making fresh gains in the Ash Shamayatayn and Al-Ma'afer districts of Taiz province, having earlier taken Mokha on the Red Sea coast and cut the Sanaa-Taiz road, while Saudi-backed forces still held the city centre and the road south to Aden. The significance is twofold: the reciprocal-targeting doctrine published as accomplished on 4 October is now being followed by territorial claims published as accomplished, and the gap between claim and record is the measure of how far ahead of events the Iranian press is willing to run. Confidence is moderate-high on the convergence and on the gap; no confidence is placed in the conquest claim itself.

KJ-7 [MODERATE-HIGH] **The Speaker is simultaneously the most-published figure in this batch and the target of a principlist backlash inside it, and no higher authority has endorsed the conditions he is fronting.** The evidence is a split across four covers. Three titles print Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf's seven conditions as the terms on which the Strait reopens. Charsoogh, a principlist economic daily, prints «اعتراض به بازداشت رسایی با شکایت قالیباف» over a portrait of the jailed cleric, and Sobh-e No carries a commentary line questioning the continuing attacks on him. The independently established record is that the judiciary confirmed on 28 September that Hamid Rasaei, a hardline deputy, had entered Evin prison on a ten-month sentence arising from the Speaker's complaint over a January 2024 article in the weekly 9 Dey accusing him of manipulating parliamentary documents, and that he is the first sitting member of parliament imprisoned during his term. The significance is that the public guarantor of Iran's negotiating conditions is under attack from the estate whose acquiescence the conditions would need, and that the Leader's office has endorsed nothing. Confidence is moderate-high: the backlash is documented and its connection to the negotiation is inference, which this file holds open.

KJ-8 [MODERATE] **The campaign against the president run from the Leader's own newspaper was not renewed this cycle, and the obvious weapon was left on the ground.** The evidence is a slot and a resignation. Kayhan's «یادداشت روز», which on 4 October carried Davoud Manzour, bylined as the Raisi government's budget chief, indicting the sitting executive for failing to rearrange the financial system for war and failing to implement resistance-economy policy, today carries a commemorative piece on Police Week signed Hassan Rashvand. On the same morning an oil minister resigned in the eighth month of a war about oil, and no cover converted it into an indictment: Hamshahri reported «تغییر سکاندار وزارت نفت» and the appointment of Hamid Bovard as acting minister, Sobh-e No placed it under «ترمیم کابینه» with a procedural demand that parliament receive a nominee quickly, and the government daily's channel carried it flat. The currency complaint survives only as a parliamentary protest in Javan's rail and in Charsoogh's Hemmati item, with no office printed beside the name. The significance is that the domestic attack and the negotiating position are not being run on the same morning, which suggests sequencing rather than retreat. Confidence is moderate: one cycle is not a withdrawal, and this file revised the same thread in the opposite direction two days ago.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] **Negative evidence, filed as a finding: Lebanon reached no Iranian front page for a fourth consecutive cycle, on a morning when a Hezbollah official statement and a resumption of Israeli operations on the Syrian front both ran on the wires.** The evidence is the split. The Defa Press wire carried, at 20:32, the head of Hezbollah's executive council affirming that resistance continues as long as occupation persists, and separately carried Qatari and Jordanian condemnation of the resumption of

Israeli operations on the Quneitra line. Across nine Persian covers and one English cover, neither item appears, and no other Lebanon material appears either. The significance is that the omission is now too long-running to be a print-deadline artefact: this is the fourth cycle, the one-cycle propagation lag established on 3 October has been allowed for, and the northern front is being withheld from the Iranian reading public while the Strait is given to it three times over. Confidence is moderate: four cycles establish a practice, and this file cannot distinguish between a decision not to publicise the northern front and an absence of Iranian-attributable activity on it.

KJ-10 [MODERATE] **A missile capability-growth claim was attributed to the regular Army rather than to the Revolutionary Guard, and it was carried on a municipal centrist daily rather than on a military title.** The evidence is Hamshahri's cover: «خیز ارتش برای افزایش برد و سرعت موشک‌ها» over «موشک‌های ایران؛ سریع‌تر، دوربردتر», the Army's drive to increase the range and speed of missiles, Iran's missiles faster and longer-ranged. The attribution on the page is to ارتش, the regular armed forces, which is not where Iranian missile claims normally originate in the press: the Guard-affiliated daily in this same batch printed no Iranian capability claim at all for a sixth consecutive cycle. The significance is institutional rather than technical. Publishing a capability claim under the Army's name, on a paper owned by the Tehran municipality, broadens the set of bodies credited with the missile force and lowers the claim's factional charge. Confidence is moderate: this is one cover's attribution, the underlying claim is unverifiable from open sources, and a single instance does not establish a pattern. The discriminating test is whether a second title credits the Army with missile development within the month.

KJ-11 [MODERATE] **Negative evidence, filed as a finding: the Leader published nothing and appeared nowhere for a second consecutive cycle, so the conditions now circulating across the Iranian press carry parliamentary and ministerial authority and not his.** The evidence is the absence across the whole batch: no message, photograph, citation or signature on any of the ten front pages of 13 Mehr 1405, and none in the Kayhan headline list for the same morning. The most recent message on this file's record remains the wholly devotional text of 9 Mehr 1405 addressed to the 33rd National Prayer Conference, signed «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای»; the most recent statement in the independent record is from 28 September, carried by state television, saying the United States will be forced out of the region after painful blows and dares not advance beyond the Arabian Sea. The significance is specific to this edition rather than general: a seven-point condition set is being published as national policy by the Speaker, an American response to it is under review by the Foreign Ministry, and the office that would ordinarily have to bless any settlement has said nothing in public that any Iranian newspaper reader saw this morning. Confidence is moderate, and no inference is drawn about the Leader's own position, which this batch does not support.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf	Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly	The author of the seven conditions on which the Strait reopens, led on by Sobh-e No, Iran Daily and Javan; on Tehran Times claiming Iran holds new surprises; on Charsoogh the complainant whose case jailed a sitting deputy	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Abbas Araghchi	Foreign Minister	Quoted on Jomhouri Eslami's lead saying the diplomatic path to ending America's war against Iran remains open; on Sazandegi as the author of the order Hormuz first, then the nuclear file; on Tehran Times warning of a stronger response to military action	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Esmaeil Baqaei	Foreign Ministry spokesman	On Javan's banner declining to foreclose withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty; on Tehran Times announcing further Iranian observations on the American response to the seven-day plan	WATCH
Masoud Pezeshkian	President	On Iran Daily claiming the enemy's economic war goals have failed; across three covers as the authority that accepted the oil minister's resignation. Not attacked from Kayhan's editorial slot this cycle	absence noted
Donald Trump	President of the United States	On Vatan-e Emrooz's lead as the author of savagery against the people of Iran in which Europe is charged with complicity; in Iran Daily's opinion box as an actor weighing escalation against the November midterms	TARGET FRAMING
Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel	In Iran Daily's opinion box as having a strong incentive to restore his security image; absent from every Persian cover in the batch	absence noted
Asghar Farhadi	Film director	Carried by five titles across the full factional range as the voice of the argument against American tutelage, from remarks given to a Western trade publication at a Brazilian festival	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Hamid Rasaei	Member of parliament, imprisoned	On Charsoogh as the subject of a principlist protest against his detention on the Speaker's complaint; the first sitting deputy imprisoned during his term	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Mohsen Paknejad and Hamid Bovard	Outgoing oil minister; acting oil minister and chief executive of the National Iranian Oil Company	Carried as an administrative handover on Hamshahri and Sobh-e No and on the government daily channel; converted into an indictment by nobody	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Ali Fadavi	Senior Revolutionary Guard commander	On the Defa Press wire claiming no American or allied vessel remains in the Persian Gulf and that the Strait has been under Iranian control for an extended period; carried as a claim and on no front page	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Rafael Grossi	Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency	On Vatan-e Emrooz in a boxed item headed «خنده‌دارترین ادعای گروسی», his most laughable claim	TARGET FRAMING
Dmitry Medvedev	Former President of Russia	On Tehran Times pledging Moscow will not sacrifice its alliance with Iran; third-party endorsement placed in a Russian mouth	WATCH
Mohammed bin Salman	Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia	Named on Sobh-e No's banner «عدن، آخرین سنگر بن‌سلمان», Aden as his last redoubt	TARGET FRAMING
Mojtaba Khamenei	Supreme Leader	No message, photograph, citation or signature on any of the ten front pages for a second consecutive cycle; the seven conditions circulate without his published endorsement	absence noted

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Sobh-e No	We both fight and negotiate	Principlist	The Speaker's seven conditions anchored to the Islamabad memorandum; Hormuz stays shut until they are met	HIGH: closure restated as policy with numbered conditions
Iran Daily	Speaker says Strait of Hormuz will not reopen until conditions are met	English-language state daily	The same conditions published in English; the President's claim that the economic war has failed	HIGH: chokepoint conditionality stated for an external audience
Jomhouri Eslami	Intensification of mediation efforts to continue the Iran-America negotiations	Traditional clerical establishment	Diplomacy given its own banner and sourced to the foreign minister; police commemoration below it	MODERATE: diplomacy foregrounded, victory language kept as the price of printing it
Etemad	First, the end of the war	Reformist	Sequencing made explicit: who takes the first step	LOW-MODERATE: de-escalation argued; the dispute presented as procedural

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Javan	Intergenerational unrest, the "homework" of France and England	Hardline, IRGC-affiliated	NPT withdrawal floated above the masthead as an elite demand; Hormuz conditions carried in the rail	HIGH: treaty exit published with the ministry declining to foreclose it
Vatan-e Emrooz	The bridge of crime	Hardline principlist	Europe charged as a co-participant in the air campaign; Taiz framed as the decisive battle	HIGH: European states named as belligerents with a specific sortie count
Kayhan	The Yemenis enter the city of Taiz; Saudi commanders and mercenaries have fled	Hardline, published under the Supreme Leader's office	Ground conquest claimed in Yemen; sanctions circumvention via Russian banking claimed; no chokepoint item for a fifth cycle	HIGH: territorial claim ahead of the ground record
Tehran Times	Iran vows a stronger response to military attack while holding the diplomatic track open	English-language state daily	An American response acknowledged and under review; Araghchi keeps the track open, Qalibaf promises surprises	MODERATE-HIGH: deterrent language retained alongside an open process
Hamshahri	Tehran stands with mothers	Tehran municipality, centrist	Municipal natalism leads; the Army credited with longer-ranged missiles; the oil ministry changes hands	MODERATE: a capability claim attributed to the regular Army
Ta'adol	The gold and currency market at the warning point	Economic daily	Intervention conceded to have halted the slide; the Strait asked about rather than asserted	MODERATE: chokepoint treated as an unresolved commercial problem
Sazandegi	Who asked you to save us?	Reformist, Kargozaran party	Farhadi given the whole page; Araghchi's order, Hormuz before the nuclear file, boxed in the top bar	LOW: no war content on the cover
Charsoogh	The reformists' anger at the municipality's livelihood plan	Economic daily, principlist editorial line	Municipal welfare defended; protest at a deputy jailed on the Speaker's complaint	LOW: domestic factional conflict only

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

English-language state daily published by IRNA; the batch's outward-facing page, written for foreign readers and embassies

“Speaker says Strait of Hormuz will not reopen until conditions are met”

HIGH: chokepoint conditionality stated in English for an external audience



- Main: The English page leads with the same Qalibaf line that Sobh-e No leads with in Persian, set in roman type across the full measure. That the state's English daily and a principlist Persian daily choose the identical lead on the same morning is the batch's strongest single indicator of a centrally supplied line.
- Main: Beneath it, "Enemy's economic war goals failed: President", over a photograph captioned as President Masoud Pezeshkian presiding at a meeting of the government's economic coordination body in Tehran on 4 October. The executive's claim is economic resilience; the legislature's claim, directly above it, is the chokepoint. The page puts the harder instrument on top.
- Banner: Top left, "Farhadi lashes out at Hollywood's 'white savior' view of Iran", with the pull-quote "Who asked you to come and save us?" This is the same Variety interview the Persian titles are running, carried for an English readership in the original language of the quotation.
- Op-ed: A boxed "Opinion Exclusive" headed "Iran, US: equations & considerations" argues that the trajectory of escalation turns on whether Washington escalates before the November midterms, weighs a pre-election strike against the cost of a wider conflict, and reads Netanyahu as having a strong incentive to restore his image. The byline on the scan is not legible at this resolution and this file does not reproduce it.
- Sub-item: A bottom strip of soft-power items: an excavation pointing to early iron smelting at an Iranian site, Iran closing its Aichi-Nagoya 2026 Asian Games campaign in sixth place with a nineteen-gold haul, and a count of more than 14,900 registered historic buildings.

ANALYST NOTE The English page is where the day's line is set for readers who do not read Persian, and today it is set as conditionality rather than as defiance: the Strait reopens, on terms. Pairing the Speaker's conditions with the President's claim that the economic war has failed gives the foreign reader the argument that Iran can hold out and therefore need not accept worse terms, which is the standard construction of a negotiating position dressed as a status report. Note what the English page does not carry: no NPT item, no Europe item, no Yemen item. The outward-facing product is deliberately narrower than the Persian batch.

Hamshahri

Daily of the Tehran municipality, centrist and institutional rather than factional

“Tehran stands with mothers” «تهران کنار مادران»

MODERATE: a capability-growth claim attributed to the regular Army, carried on a non-military daily



- Main: The lead is municipal and domestic: a photographic illustration of a wallet of family portraits under «تهران کنار مادران», with the deck «شهردار تهران: متولدین ۱۴۰۵ به بعد ماهانه ۳ تا ۴ میلیون تومان حمایت می‌شوند», the mayor of Tehran: those born from 1405 onward will be supported with three to four million tomans monthly, and a line that the municipality will cover part of the cost of infant care through family assistance.
- Sub-item: «انتقاد صریح اصغر فرهادی از آمریکایی‌ها» over the headline «چه کسی گفت ما را نجات دهید؟», who said save us, with a full-length portrait of the director. The independent record is that Farhadi made the remarks at the Rio film festival on 3 October while presenting a new film, in an interview published by Variety, and that the quotation as given there is "Who asked you to come and save us?"
- Sub-item: «خیز ارتش برای افزایش برد و سرعت موشک‌ها» over «موشک‌های ایران؛ سریع‌تر، دوربردتر», Iran's missiles: faster, longer-ranged. The attribution on the page is to the Army, ارتش, and not to the Revolutionary Guard, which is the unusual element.
- Sub-item: «تغییر سکاندار وزارت نفت», change of helmsman at the oil ministry, with the deck «رئیس جمهور پس از پذیرش استعفای محسن پاک‌نژاد، حمید بورد را به سرپرستی وزارت نفت منصوب کرد». The independent record confirms it: Mohsen Paknejad resigned, state media reported it on 4 October without a reason, a presidential office spokesman said the resignation was for personal reasons and had been tendered long before, and Hamid Bovard, chief executive of the National Iranian Oil Company, takes the ministry in an acting capacity.
- Op-ed: Left column, «چتر حمایتی شهر؛ مادرانه», the maternal plan as the city's protective umbrella, the paper's own defence of its owner's policy; and a figure of sixty-three thousand births in Tehran last year used to size the commitment.

ANALYST NOTE The municipality's paper leads on natalist welfare on the morning three other covers lead on the Strait, which is the cleanest available measure of how much of the Iranian press is still running a peacetime domestic agenda in the war's eighth month. The missile item is the find: a claim of increased range and speed attributed to the regular Army rather than to the Guard, printed on a centrist municipal daily rather than on Javan, which is where Guard capability claims normally appear. Watch whether the Army attribution recurs; if it does, it indicates a deliberate broadening of which institution is credited with the missile force.

Vatan-e Emrooz

Hardline principlist daily; Vol. 18, No. 4726

“The bridge of crime” «پل جنایت»

HIGH: European states named as co-participants in the air campaign with a specific sortie count



- Main: A full-width photograph of United States Air Force C-17 transports on a dispersal apron runs under two words in white, «پل جنایت», over a kicker that is the actual charge: «اروپا چگونه با همکاری در ۵ هزار سورتی مأموریت پروازی هواپیماهای آمریکایی در وحشیگری ترامپ علیه مردم ایران مشارکت کرد», how Europe, by cooperating in five thousand sorties of American aircraft flight missions, took part in Trump's savagery against the people of Iran. The five-thousand figure is the paper's and is uncorroborated anywhere in this batch.
- Banner: Top right, «آمریکا در بحران» over «ابردهی ۴۰ تریلیون دلاری», America in crisis, the forty-trillion-dollar super-debt, the same adversary-collapse-by-balance-sheet argument Javan ran on 4 October, migrated to a second hardline title.
- Banner: Top left, a portrait of Asghar Farhadi under «نمی‌خواهیم آمریکایی شویم», we do not want to become American, sourced on the page to a Vatan-e Emrooz report of his remarks in an interview. A hardline daily and a reformist party daily running the same director on the same morning is the batch's widest convergence.
- Right rail: A satellite map of Taiz governorate shaded red under «تعز کلید پیروزی», Taiz is the key to victory, with the kicker «پیشروی‌های چشمگیر نیروهای انصارالله در جبهه زمینی علیه مزدوران سعودی», striking advances by Ansar Allah forces on the ground front against the Saudi mercenaries, and a report line on what the battle for Taiz does to Yemen's military and political equations.
- Right rail: «نقشه تل‌آویو روی هوا!», Tel Aviv's plan up in the air, with a deck stating that the New York Times rejected the Zionists' account of a link between the co-pilot and Iran. This is the flydubai thread, and it is the first cycle in which the Iranian rebuttal is sourced to an American newspaper rather than asserted. It is a second-hand rendering carried in a deck and is not verified here.
- Op-ed: Bottom, a Vatan-e Emrooz report on the fate of the battle and the military and political equations of Yemen under «یمن موازنه تغییر تعز، تیتر»; bottom right, a boxed item on «خنده‌دارترین ادعای گروسی», Grossi's most laughable claim, over a portrait.

ANALYST NOTE This is the first cover in this file's record to name Europe as a participant in the war rather than as a diplomatic actor, and it does so with a specific operational accusation and a number. The construction is identical to the one the batch used for the United Arab Emirates on 3 and 4 October: a named party, a hidden contribution, a figure that cannot be checked. A hardline daily building an indictment of the European allies on the same morning that three other covers publish the terms of a settlement suggests the audience for the charge is domestic, and the function is to pre-assign blame for whatever the settlement does not deliver.

Javan

Hardline daily affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps

HIGH: NPT withdrawal published as an elite demand with the Foreign Ministry declining to foreclose it

“Intergenerational unrest, the "homework" of France and England” «آشوب بین‌نسلی «مشق» در فرانسه و انگلیس»



- Banner: The item that matters sits above the masthead line in yellow on blue: «نخبگان خروج از NPT را می‌خواهند», the elites want withdrawal from the NPT, over the strapline «سخنگوی وزارت خارجه: فعلاً عضو معاهده هستیم اما تصمیم با نهادهای ذی‌صلاح کشور است», the Foreign Ministry spokesman: for the moment we are a member of the treaty, but the decision rests with the country's competent bodies. The independent record for 4 October has Esmaeil Baqaei saying that Iranian elites are seriously discussing withdrawal, that Iran remains a party for now, and that the ministry will abide by the competent authorities' decision.
- Main: The page lead is foreign disorder, not the war: a riot-police water cannon and the Eiffel Tower under «آشوب بین‌نسلی «مشق» در فرانسه و انگلیس» with the sub-deck «چه خبر است در مدارس انگلیس، فرانسه و ایران؟!», what is going on in the schools of England, France and Iran. The construction is comparative and the third term is the point.
- Right rail: «تنگه هرمز جز با تحقق شروط ایران بازنمی‌شود», the Strait of Hormuz will not be opened except through the fulfilment of Iran's conditions, carrying the Speaker's line down the rail. Javan is the third title in the batch to print it and the second to print it as the conditions formula rather than as a closure claim.
- Right rail: «ارزپاشی بانک مرکزی اعتراض مجلس را برانگیخت», the central bank's currency-scattering has provoked parliament's protest. The currency attack this file recorded on 4 October from Kayhan's signed editorial reappears here as a parliamentary complaint rather than as a doctrinal indictment.
- Right rail: «هنگام بحران و جنگ زیستی ۸ حلقه در دفاع از جان مردم فعال می‌شود», in crisis and biological war eight rings activate in defence of people's lives, an interview over a portrait; and «ایران صدرنشین رباتیک دانش‌آموزی آسیا», Iran at the top of Asian school robotics.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The Guard-affiliated daily has put the one genuine escalation lever in the batch on its own front page and has put it above everything else, while giving its lead to street disorder in France. This continues the pattern this file recorded on 4 October: a fifth consecutive cycle in which Javan prints no Iranian military engagement and fills the space with arguments about adversary weakness. What has changed is the instrument. On 4 October it was American debt markets; today it is the treaty. Printing an NPT-exit demand as an elite consensus, with the ministry declining to rule it out, is how a reserve option is placed on the table without an official taking responsibility for it.

Sobh-e No

Principlist daily, the title this file has tracked all week as the batch's most explicit author of coercive maritime doctrine

HIGH: closure of the Strait restated as policy with seven named conditions, alongside explicit acceptance of negotiation

“We both fight and negotiate” «هم جنگ می‌کنیم، هم مذاکره»



- Main: The lead is a single line of policy, and the deck beneath it is the most consequential sentence on any cover in this batch, printed as a quotation: «رئیس مجلس شورای اسلامی با تاکید بر اینکه دوران فرسایش زمان و دیکته کردن مطالبات یک‌طرفه گذشته است، گفت: تا زمانی که هفت شرط ما بر اساس تفاهم‌نامه اسلام‌آباد محقق نشود، تنگه هرمز باز نخواهد شد», the Speaker of parliament, stressing that the era of grinding down time and dictating one-sided demands is over, said that until our seven conditions based on the Islamabad memorandum are met, the Strait of Hormuz will not be opened.
- Banner: «انتقاد فرهادی از هالیوود؛ دموکراسی آمریکا یک دروغ بزرگ است», Farhadi's criticism of Hollywood: American democracy is a big lie. The paper carries the director in the top-right box over a portrait, making a principlist daily the fourth title in the batch to run him.
- Sub-item: The centre of the page is given not to the war but to «ایران در مسیر فتح قله‌ها», Iran on the road to conquering the summits, over a photograph of five student olympiad medallists holding the national flag, with the kicker «از قله‌های نجوم تا سکوهای آسیا؛ درخشش بی‌سابقه جوانان ایران در عرصه‌های جهانی».
- Sub-item: «عدن، آخرین سنگر بن‌سلمان», Aden, bin Salman's last redoubt, with a deck reporting that Ansar Allah has broken the Saudi-backed forces and that a senior figure of the movement, named on the page as حزام الاسد, confirmed the freeing of Taiz city. The page prints the confirmation as a movement claim; this file does not treat it as established, and the independent record for 4 October has Ansar Allah gaining ground in Ash Shamayatayn and Al-Ma'afer districts of Taiz province while government forces still held the city centre.
- Sub-item: «خروج از عراق طلیعه اخراج از منطقه», withdrawal from Iraq is the harbinger of expulsion from the region, an interview in which Kazemi Qomi sets out for the paper the twenty-three-year arc of the American military presence in Iraq.
- Op-ed: Bottom left, «وزیر نفت استعفا کرد» over «ترمیم کابینه», cabinet repair, with a Sobh-e No interview demanding that the government present an oil minister to parliament as quickly as possible. The resignation is the only item on the page aimed at the executive, and the paper converts it into a procedural demand rather than an indictment.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Sobh-e No supplies the edition's organising formula and its enforcement standard in one line. The three-lock tanker-denial doctrine this file tracked from 30 September is gone from the cover for a fourth cycle; in its place is a numbered, attributed, document-anchored condition set, which is a negotiating position rather than a denial doctrine. The title that was the batch's most maximalist voice on shipping has become the

one publishing the terms of reopening, and it has done so under a headline that concedes the negotiation outright. The Yemen material continues the Saudi-as-target thread established on 4 October and advances it from an unclaimed refinery fire to a claimed ground conquest.

Sazandegi

Reformist daily of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party; year 9, issue 9362

"Who asked you to save us?" «چه کسی از شما خواست ما را نجات دهید؟»

LOW: no war content on the cover; the agenda order published as the only strategic item



- Main: Sazandegi gives roughly two thirds of its front page to one portrait of Asghar Farhadi and one question, with the kicker «اصغر فرهادی، فیلمساز ایرانی در انتقاد از دولتمردان آمریکا». The body text renders his argument as printed: that Americans look at the world from the top down, that in these films it is always a white man from the United States saving others, that people understand they can save themselves, and that it is ordinary life and the love between a mother and child that cinema fails to show. The independent record places the remarks in a Variety interview at the Rio film festival on 3 October.
- Banner: Top bar, box 3, «اول هرمز، بعد هسته‌ای» over «شرط پایان جنگ از نگاه عراقچی», Hormuz first, then the nuclear file: the condition for ending the war as Araghchi sees it, with a portrait of the foreign minister. This is the batch's only explicit statement of the order of the agenda and it is carried by a reformist party paper.
- Banner: Box 2, «کمک یک میلیارد یورویی» over a note on the German chancellor's visit to Ukraine; box 4, «بازگشت زویا», the return of Zoya, on the publication of a new novel by Zoya Pirzad.
- Op-ed: Left column, «سیلاب با ۱۴ میلی‌متر!», a flood with fourteen millimetres, in which specialists tell the paper that budget priorities, the destruction of watercourses and weak crisis management explain the Mahdasht flooding near Karaj. This is the only governance-failure item in the batch aimed at infrastructure rather than at the currency.
- Op-ed: «یادداشت روز» signed in the left rail, «اختیار، تصمیم، مسئولیت؛ حلقه مفقوده حکمرانی», authority, decision, responsibility: the missing link of governance.

ANALYST NOTE The reformist party daily has made a director who has spent a decade at odds with the cultural authorities into its front page, and it has done so without a single line about the war. Read alongside Vatan-e Emrooz, Hamshahri, Sobh-e No and Iran Daily carrying the same interview, this is the edition's widest convergence and the most exportable: an argument against American tutelage delivered by a figure whom Western audiences do not read as a regime voice. The small box is the analytic payload, though: «اول هرمز، بعد هسته‌ای» attributed to Araghchi is a published sequencing position, and sequencing is precisely what the negotiation is reported to be stuck on.

Charsoogh

Economic daily with a principlist editorial line; year 3, issue 572

“The reformists' anger at the municipality's livelihood plan” «عصبانیت اصلاح‌طلبان از طرح معیشتی شهرداری»

LOW: domestic factional conflict; no external content on the cover



- Main: A supermarket aisle photograph under «عصبانیت اصلاح‌طلبان از طرح معیشتی شهرداری», with a stack of decks asking why the municipality's action has become the target of criticism and arguing that the reformists' attack on the livelihood plan is political rather than technical. Charsoogh defends the plan that Hamshahri, the municipality's own paper, leads on this morning.
- Sub-item: «انتقاد مجلس به ارزپاشی همتی», parliament's criticism of Hemmati's currency-scattering, over a photograph of banknotes and a calculator. The page prints the surname without an office and this file does not assign one; the same complaint appears in Javan's rail attributed to the central bank rather than to an individual.
- Sub-item: «اعتراض به بازداشت رسایی با شکایت قالیباف», protest at Rasaei's detention on Qalibaf's complaint, over a portrait of the cleric. The independently established record is that the judiciary confirmed on 28 September that the hardline member of parliament Hamid Rasaei had been transferred to Evin prison to serve a ten-month sentence arising from a complaint by Speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf over a January 2024 article in the weekly 9 Dey, and that he is the first sitting deputy imprisoned during his term.
- Sub-item: Bottom strip, a staged cinema-audience photograph under «گرانی» with «قسمت جدید: گرانی بی‌پایان», the new episode: endless inflation, and a «ستاد تنظیم بازار» item on the price-regulation headquarters.

ANALYST NOTE Charsoogh is where the batch's domestic fracture is visible. The Speaker whose seven conditions are the lead of three other covers this morning is, on this cover, the man whose complaint put a sitting member of parliament in prison, and the protest is coming from his own side of the factional line. That combination is the edition's most important domestic finding and it is not carried anywhere else in the batch except as a sympathetic commentary line on Sobh-e No. Track whether a second principlist title picks up the Rasaei protest; if it does, the Speaker's standing as the public face of the Hormuz conditions becomes a contested asset rather than a settled one.

Jomhouri Eslami

Traditional clerical establishment daily, founded 1979 and historically close to the revolutionary clergy rather than to any current faction

MODERATE: diplomacy foregrounded, victory language retained as the condition of printing it

"Intensification of mediation efforts to continue the Iran-America negotiations" «تشدید تلاش‌های میانجی‌گرانه برای ادامه مذاکرات ایران و آمریکا»


جمهوری اسلامی

تشدید تلاش‌های میانجی‌گرانه برای ادامه مذاکرات ایران و آمریکا

کارنامه درخشان نیروی انتظامی در دفاع از امنیت ملی

- Main: The lead is the only unambiguous diplomacy banner in the batch, set in heavy black across the full width of the page above the fold, and it is built from three decks rather than from a single event. The first reports that «منابع خبری از تحرک دیپلماتیک فزاینده در جهت ادامه مذاکرات خبر می‌دهند», news sources report increasing diplomatic activity directed at continuing the negotiations, with no mediator named on the cover.
- Main: The second deck is attributed: «عراقچی: مسیر دیپلماسی برای پایان جنگ آمریکا علیه ایران همچنان باز است», Araghchi, the diplomatic path to ending America's war against Iran remains open. The formulation is worth keeping as printed: the war is named as America's war against Iran, and the thing diplomacy is to end is the war, not the dispute.
- Main: A third deck carries a Foreign Ministry spokesman line on not forgoing the opening that diplomacy offers; the scan is at the edge of legibility at this line and this file does not reproduce it as a quotation.
- Sub-item: The dominant image is not the war but the police: a four-column photograph of Law Enforcement Command special units in black under «کارنامه درخشان نیروی انتظامی در دفاع از امنیت ملی», the police force's brilliant record in defending national security. A clerical daily placing internal security beneath a negotiation banner is a sequencing statement about what the readership is to worry about.
- Right rail: «چاره‌ای غیر از پیروز شدن نداریم», we have no choice but to win, runs down the right edge of the page as the paper's own commentary column, directly alongside the negotiation lead. The pairing is the paper's whole argument: talk, and do not call it a concession.
- Op-ed: A left-column piece asks whether buying water from Afghanistan is a rescue strategy or a diplomatic failure, continuing this title's habit, recorded on 4 October over the Taliban item, of being the one cover in the batch willing to name an eastern-border problem.
- Sub-item: Service items fill the remainder: a 46 percent increase in the education budget, Iran taking the world championship of the astronomy and astrophysics olympiad with a presidential congratulation, and a page-foot quotation from «شهید مظلوم آیت‌الله بهشتی», the oppressed martyr Ayatollah Beheshti, on movement toward growth rather than deviation and flattery.

> **ANALYST NOTE** This is the batch's clearest institutional signal that the negotiating track is live and is meant to be seen as live: the clerical establishment paper, which is not a government organ and cannot be dismissed as the executive's publicity, has given the whole top of its page to mediation and has sourced it to the foreign minister rather than to an anonymous official. The rail line «چاره‌ای غیر از پیروز شدن نداریم» is the hedge that

makes the lead printable in a wartime press. Track whether the mediator is named on this cover within the week; naming Qatar in print would mark the move from exploratory contact to acknowledged process.

Ta'adol

Economic daily, published by the Iran Chamber of Commerce ecosystem and read for market and trade signals

MODERATE: chokepoint treated as an unresolved commercial problem; currency described as at a warning point

"The gold and currency market at the warning point" «بازار طلا و ارز در نقطه هشدار»



- Main: «توقف موقت رشد قیمت‌ها در سایه مداخلات بانک مرکزی» over «بازار طلا و ارز در نقطه هشدار», a temporary halt in price growth in the shadow of central bank interventions, with the gold and currency market at the warning point. The paper concedes the intervention worked and refuses to call it a floor.
- Main: The centre photograph is a trading floor under «بورس در مسیر اصلاح», the bourse on a correction path, with a deck on shareholders' expectations of the market's stabilisation plan.
- Sub-item: Left column, «در تنگه هرمز چه می‌گذرد؟», what is happening in the Strait of Hormuz, the only treatment in the batch that asks about the waterway as a commercial fact rather than asserting a position on it. The column's deck is at the edge of legibility on this scan and is not reproduced here.
- Sub-item: «صادرات فراتر از آمار مرزی», exports beyond the border statistics, arguing that recorded trade understates actual flows; and «۱۲ کالای اساسی در مسیر تثبیت قیمت», twelve essential goods on a price-stabilisation path.
- Banner: Top, «بازار مسکن تهران، شهری با چند بازار متفاوت» over «شکاف یک میلیارد تومانی قیمت مسکن چه می‌گوید؟», what the one-billion-toman gap in housing prices says.

ANALYST NOTE The economic daily is the batch's dissenting instrument on the chokepoint: where three political covers print the Strait as a position Iran holds, Ta'adol prints it as a question about what is actually happening there. The currency framing is the continuation of the thread this file opened on 4 October, when the attack on the executive moved to the exchange rate; today the economic press concedes that intervention has halted the slide while declining to call the market stable, which is the most honest cover in the batch on the subject and also the least useful to either faction.

Etemad

Reformist broadsheet, the faction's principal daily platform

"First, the end of the war" «اول پایان جنگ»

LOW-MODERATE: de-escalation argued openly; the dispute presented as procedural rather than substantive



- Main: The lead is three words of sequencing. The kicker above it, «اعتماد در گفت‌وگو با محسن پاک‌آیین بررسی می‌کند», Etemad examines it in conversation with Mohsen Pakaeen, attributes the argument to a former ambassador rather than to the paper, and the deck below it states the question the batch is actually about: «اعتماد گزارش می‌دهد: گام نخست را چه کسی بر می‌دارد», Etemad reports: who takes the first step.
- Banner: Across the top, «دفاع از تحزب», in defence of party politics, with the strapline «- علی باقری ممنوعیت همزمانی مسوولیت حاکمیتی و فعالیت حزبی سیاسی را واکاوی می‌کند», Ali Bagheri examines the prohibition on holding a governmental responsibility and party-political activity at the same time. The page prints the name without an office and this file does not assign one.
- Banner: A second top box, «نگاهی به طرح‌های حمایتی دولت و مجلس زمزمه افزایش کالابرگ و حقوق کارمندان», murmurs of an increase in the food-coupon entitlement and in employees' salaries.
- Sub-item: The centre photograph is from the Aichi-Nagoya 2026 Asian Games branding wall under «انقلاب زنان ایران در ناگویا», the revolution of Iran's women in Nagoya, with the kicker «مدال‌های درخشان و وجه تمایز تاریخی». A reformist paper books the medal haul to the women's squads specifically, which is a domestic argument made with a sports result.
- Sub-item: Left column, «روایت‌های تازه از اورانیوم ایرانی», new accounts of Iranian uranium, and «سرگردانی ۱۲ هزار کانتینر ایران در پاکستان», twelve thousand Iranian containers stranded in Pakistan, a blockade-displacement story no other cover in the batch carries.

ANALYST NOTE Etemad is the only title in the batch that states the obstacle rather than the position. The independent record of the negotiation is that Washington's counterproposal reached Tehran through Qatari mediation and that the two sides largely agree on what has to happen but differ on the order in which it happens; «گام نخست را چه کسی بر می‌دارد» is that disagreement printed as a front-page question. Reading a reformist cover as privileged information would overstate it, and reading the exact match between the cover question and the reported sticking point as coincidence would understate it.

Kayhan

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

“The Yemenis enter the city of Taiz; Saudi commanders and mercenaries have fled” «ورود یمنی‌ها به شهر تعز؛ فرماندهان و مزدوران سعودی فرار کردند»

HIGH: territorial conquest claimed in Yemen; a specific sanctions-circumvention figure published

- Main: The front-page headline list opens with the Taiz claim and the paper's own analysis post pairs it with the standing Saudi thread: Aramco still burning, the Yemenis entering Taiz. This is the fourth consecutive cycle in which Kayhan carries Saudi Arabia as a target rather than as a mediator, and it is the first in which the claim is of ground conquest rather than of a fire.
- Main: «بازگشایی مسیر دور زدن تحریم مالی با انتقال ۱.۵ میلیارد دلار ایران از شبکه بانکی روسیه», the reopening of a route around the financial sanctions with the transfer of 1.5 billion dollars of Iranian funds through the Russian banking network. A specific, checkable sanctions-evasion claim published on the front page is unusual and is carried here as the paper's claim only.
- Main: «شورش مردم در فرانسه از کنترل خارج شد», the people's revolt in France has gone out of control, the same Western-disorder frame Javan gives its lead to.
- Op-ed: The «یادداشت روز» is signed حسن رشوند, Hassan Rashvand, and titled «تفاوت میان دو پلیس؛ سپر بلای ملت یا بازوی سرمایه‌داری؟!», the difference between two police forces: the nation's shield or capital's arm. It opens by noting that 13 Mehr is the day and the week of the Law Enforcement Command, and builds a comparison between Iranian policing and police conduct in states that claim to be democracies, citing the Mapping Police Violence project for American figures.
- Sub-item: Iran's astronomy and astrophysics olympiad team taking the world title for a third consecutive year; the opening of the 38th children's film festival with a tribute to the martyrs; and a critical item on new faculty-hiring regulations.
- Banner: Not on the cover: no Strait of Hormuz item, no negotiation item, no Islamabad memorandum, and no Leader message. For a fifth consecutive cycle this file records the absence of a chokepoint claim from the title that sustained the lock formula longest.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Two things changed in the Leader's newspaper this morning. The signed editorial slot, which carried Hossein Shariatmadari through most of this month and was handed on 4 October to a Raisi-government budget chief to indict the sitting executive on the currency, today carries a commemorative police piece by a third name: the attack line was not renewed, and the slot has been returned to calendar duty. And the chokepoint is gone from the cover entirely on the morning three other titles publish the conditions for reopening it. Kayhan's remaining offensive content is all external and all unverifiable: a conquest claim ahead of the ground record, and a sanctions-evasion figure no other source in this batch carries.

Tehran Times

English-language state daily, read abroad as a semi-official channel for Foreign Ministry positioning

“Iran vows a stronger response to military attack while holding the diplomatic track open”

MODERATE-HIGH: an American response acknowledged and under review; deterrent language retained

- Main: Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi is carried saying Iran remains prepared for a diplomatic resolution with the United States and warning that its defensive response would be stronger if Washington pursues military action. The same two-track formula that Sobh-e No prints as «هم جنگ می‌کنیم، هم مذاکره» appears here in English as policy rather than as a slogan.
- Main: Speaker Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf is carried claiming Iran has "new surprises" and will continue to confront its adversaries through both military and diplomatic channels. The surprises formulation is the Speaker's and is not specified.
- Main: Foreign Ministry spokesman Esmaeil Baqaei is carried announcing that Iran will submit further observations on the American response to Tehran's seven-day plan for reopening the Strait. This is the single most load-bearing item of the cycle: it establishes that a United States response exists and that Iran has not yet accepted it.
- Sub-item: Iran rejects an Axios report that two members of its United Nations delegation were expelled from the United States, with Araghchi characterising the report as a sign of American desperation and defeat.
- Sub-item: Former Russian president Dmitry Medvedev is carried pledging that Moscow will not sacrifice its alliance with Iran and warning of global economic consequences from aggression against Tehran. Third-party endorsement of the Iranian position, placed in a Russian mouth rather than an Iranian one.
- Sub-item: Ansar Allah is reported extending its gains in Taiz, the same thread that runs through Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz and Sobh-e No this morning.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The English state daily is the one source in the batch that states the mechanics plainly: there is an American answer in Tehran's hands, Iran is preparing observations on it, and the foreign minister is keeping the track open while the Speaker supplies the deterrent language. Set against the Persian covers, the division of labour is clean: the Speaker holds the conditions, the foreign minister holds the process, and the English-language titles carry both for an audience that will read them as a single position.

Appendix A: The Leader's message, recorded as an absence

Front pages of 13 Mehr 1405; the Kayhan channel headline list for the same morning; open-source record of statements attributed to the Leader

No message, photograph, citation or signature of the Leader appears on any of the ten front pages gathered for 13 Mehr 1405, and none appears in the Kayhan front-page headline list for the same morning. This is the second consecutive cycle in which this file has recorded a complete absence, and the fourteenth day of the current month in which the Leader's office has published nothing that reached an Iranian cover.

The Leader's own site could not be read this cycle, so this appendix carries no new text. The most recent message on this file's record, logged on 4 October, is dated 9 Mehr 1405 and is addressed to the 33rd National Prayer Conference. It is signed «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای», Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini Khamenei, 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.

The most recent statement attributed to him in the independent record is from 28 September, carried by Iranian state television, in which he said the United States would be forced to leave the Middle East after suffering painful blows, credited those blows to Iran's fighters and to what the statement called the guardians of the Strait of Hormuz, and said the adversary dares not advance beyond the Arabian Sea. This file has not been able to obtain the signed Persian original of that statement and does not reproduce it as a quotation.

Analyst flag: the absence is itself the entry. On a morning when the Speaker's seven conditions run as the lead of three separate titles and an American response to Iran's proposal is acknowledged by the Foreign Ministry, the office that would normally bless or veto such a position has published nothing. This file draws no inference about the Leader's own position from the silence, which the evidence does not support, and records only that the conditions now circulating in the Iranian press carry parliamentary and ministerial authority and not his.

Appendix B: Kayhan, «یادداشت روز», 13 Mehr 1405

Kayhan, «تفاوت میان دو پلیس؛ سپر بلای ملت یا بازوی سرمایه‌داری؟!», signed حسن رشوند (Hassan Rashvand); retrieved from the paper's own channel, t.me/s/kayhan_online, posts 85906 and 85907 of 13 Mehr 1405

Title as printed: «تفاوت میان دو پلیس؛ سپر بلای ملت یا بازوی سرمایه‌داری؟!», The difference between two police forces: the nation's shield, or capital's arm?

Opening paragraph, translated from the verbatim Persian: "The thirteenth of Mehr each year has been named, in acknowledgement of the unstinting and extensive services of the Law Enforcement Command, for that devoted and valuable force, and the week after it for Police Week, so that the people, who among all the organs within the government have the most contact with the police, may become better acquainted with this body's missions and actions, and so that, by comparison with the police of the countries that claim to be democracies, whose conduct they follow in the media every day, they may know how great the distance between these two police forces is. The Law Enforcement Command, the police in common parlance, is the full-length display window of a country's culture, and the police's proper conduct toward citizens demonstrates the high capacity of a political and social system to tolerate the varied opinions of its citizens within a lawful framework."

The piece then runs in four numbered sections. The first argues that Western reporting inverts the reality of police conduct. The second sets out figures on police killings in the United States and in Europe, citing the Mapping Police Violence project. The third contrasts these with Iranian policing, stressing restraint at protests and officers killed in security operations. The fourth traces the difference to worldview, materialism against Islamic principle, and closes on the claim that Iran's police stand alongside the people rather than above them. The post is marked «ادامه دارد», to be continued.

Verification note: the author is Hassan Rashvand as printed on the post, and not Hossein Shariatmadari, the paper's managing editor, whose name has carried this slot through most of the month, nor Davoud Manzour, whose signature carried it on 4 October. This file reproduces the opening paragraph as verbatim text and the four sections as a structural rendering, because the channel preview returns the piece in that form; the sections are not quotations and should not be reproduced as such.

Analyst flag: this is a commemorative piece keyed to a date in the calendar, not an intervention. Its significance is what it displaces. On 4 October this slot carried a signed indictment of the sitting government's economic management by an official of the previous administration, which this file read as the resumption of a domestic campaign against the president. That campaign was not renewed today from this platform. The same calendar also explains the police photograph that dominates Jomhouri Eslami's front page this morning: two titles running police content on 13 Mehr is the commemorative calendar, not editorial convergence, and this file corrects its own first reading accordingly.

Appendix C: Methodology and sourcing notes

Compiled for this edition

Scans. Nine Persian front pages of 13 Mehr 1405 were gathered from the NewspaperTasnim front-page album posted at 01:52 UTC on 5 October, whose caption reads «صفحه نخست روزنامه‌های دوشنبه ۱۳ مهر ماه ۱۴۰۵», and one English front page, Iran Daily, from the Newspapers_Iran album of the same morning. The batch guard compared the album's own printed Jalali date with the target date and matched; this is not a stale or recycled batch. The nine Persian titles are Hamshahri, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Sazandegi, Charsoogh, Jomhouri Eslami, Ta'adol and Etemad.

Text sources. Kayhan did not appear in the morning scan batch and is reconstructed from its own channel, including its front-page headline list and its signed editorial. Tehran Times was read from its own site. Six outlet channels and three agency wires, Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News, were read for corroboration and for the real-time register; agency material is used for context and threat signalling and is not treated as front-page content.

Resolution. The scans in this batch are supplied at roughly eight hundred pixels of height. Main headlines, decks and most sub-headings are legible under magnification; small body type and some rail decks are not. Where a line could not be read with confidence it is described rather than quoted, and the per-paper entries say so explicitly. Two such lines are flagged in this edition: the third deck of the Jomhouri Eslami lead and the sub-deck of Ta'adol's Strait of Hormuz column.

Verified independently this cycle. The Speaker's statement that the Strait will not reopen until seven conditions based on the Islamabad memorandum are met, 4 October. The Foreign Ministry spokesman's remarks that Iranian elites are seriously discussing withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty, that Iran remains a party for now and that the ministry will follow the competent authorities' decision, 4 October. The resignation of oil minister Mohsen Paknejad and the appointment of Hamid Bovard, chief executive of the National Iranian Oil Company, as acting minister, reported by state media on 4 October. Asghar Farhadi's remarks, given in an interview published by Variety at the Rio film festival on 3 October, in which the quotation is "Who asked you to come and save us?". The imprisonment of the hardline member of parliament Hamid Rasaei on a ten-month sentence arising from a complaint by Speaker Qalibaf, confirmed by the judiciary on 28 September. Ansar Allah's territorial gains in Taiz province on 4 October, in the Ash Shamayatayn and Al-Ma'afer districts.

Claims carried but not verified. Kayhan's assertion that Yemeni forces have entered Taiz city and that Saudi commanders and mercenaries have fled, and the related confirmation attributed on Sobh-e No's cover to a senior Ansar Allah figure: the independent record for 4 October has government forces still holding the city centre, so the Iranian claim runs one step ahead of the ground record. Vatan-e Emrooz's figure of five thousand European-assisted American sorties. Kayhan's figure of 1.5 billion dollars transferred through the Russian banking network. The deck on Vatan-e Emrooz attributing to the New York Times a rejection of the Israeli account of the co-pilot's Iranian link, which is a second-hand rendering in a deck and is not verified here. The claim attributed on the Defa Press wire to Rear Admiral Ali Fadavi that no American or allied vessel remains in the Persian Gulf and that the Strait has been under Iranian control for an extended period. None of these is adopted as fact.

Identification caveats. Etemad's top banner is signed «علی باقری» with no office printed; this file reproduces the name and does not assign an office. Charsoogh's currency item names «همتی» with no office printed and

is treated the same way. The masthead of Charsoogh is identified from its dateline block and from this file's own prior record rather than from a legible nameplate on this scan.

Standing-thread status. The Islamabad memorandum, which this file recorded as absent from the covers on 3 and 4 October, returned to the front page today as the document underpinning the Speaker's conditions. The three-lock tanker-denial doctrine of 30 September remains unrestated for a fourth cycle and stays on the tracker at reduced weight. Lebanon remains absent from every cover for a fourth consecutive cycle while live on the wires. The Leader remains absent for a second consecutive cycle. The Saudi-as-target thread of 4 October advanced from an unclaimed refinery fire to a claimed ground conquest.

Handling. This product documents and analyses hostile foreign-press rhetoric for defensive assessment only. Nothing here endorses, amplifies or operationalises it. Translations are editorial. Attributed quotations that could not be checked against a primary source are flagged in place and 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.