OPEN-SOURCE PRESS INTELLIGENCE

Iranian Press Monitor

Daily Front-Page Intelligence

Day 221 - Saturday, 10 October 2026 · 28 · شنبه ۱۸ مهر ۱۴۰۵ Rabi' al-Thani 1448

THE ANCIENT WAR AND THE RETURNED SIGNATURE EDITION

Ten Persian front pages of 18 Mehr 1405, read alongside six outlet channels and three agency wires, with Kayhan reconstructed from its own channel; the English-language kiosk had not advanced past the 8 October issue, and Tehran Times was unavailable at the time of compilation.

Front pages published the morning of Saturday 10 October 2026, reflecting events through late Friday 9 October local time. There is no 9 October edition of this monitor: Iranian dailies do not publish on Fridays.

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



Front page: Vatan-e Emrooz

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition is that the Leader is back in print and that the terms of his return are more informative than its fact. Five of the ten front pages carry his Police Week message as a top strap or as the lead: Hamshahri's «فرمان تقویت همه‌جانبه نیروهای حافظ امنیت», Jam-e Jam's «امنیت، حاصل مجاهدت‌های خاموش», Javan's «فداکاری پلیس نباید عادی‌انگاری شود», Vatan-e Emrooz's strap on the firm pillars of the country's security, and Jomhouri Eslami's «تقویت همه‌جانبه نیروهای حافظ امنیت», with Kayhan leading on «فراجا یکی از ستون‌های مستحکم امنیت کشور است». This monitor recorded five consecutive cycles in which no front page carried any message, speech, photograph or signature of the Leader while his office was repeatedly cited as the source of permission for military decisions. That absence has ended. Two details in the text do the work. Kayhan's rendering places the honorific «امام» before the name, «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیدمجتبی خامنه‌ای», a title this monitor has previously recorded only for Khomeini and for the assassinated predecessor. And the message credits the police with standing firm «در جنگ‌های تحمیلی دوم و سوم», in the second and third imposed wars, which numbers the present conflict's phases in the Leader's own voice against the 1980 to 1988 war with Iraq as the first. Jam-e Jam softens this to «جنگ‌های تحمیلی اخیر». A state that has started counting its wars in the Leader's signature has fixed a vocabulary it will have to use again at any settlement.

The second finding is that the hardline estate's own theory of legitimacy did not come back with him. Kayhan ran the message as its lead and, on the same cycle, ran Hossein Shariatmadari's Yadasht-e Rooz «گوساله‌پرست‌ها و گوساله‌شناس‌ها!», whose central passage sets the forty nights of Moses's absence against «مردم ایران نزدیک به ۷ ماه است که امام خود را ندیده‌اند، ولی نه فقط در صراط مستقیم ثابت قدم‌تر شده‌اند بلکه «گوساله‌شناس» هم شده‌اند»: the people of Iran have not seen their Imam for nearly seven months, and have become not calf-worshippers but calf-experts. The seven-month span and the reference to «آقای شهید» two sections earlier identify that Imam as Seyyed Ali Khamenei, assassinated on 28 February. The living successor, whose message is the lead of the very same edition, does not appear in the analogy at all. The inference mechanism matters: this is not an omission in passing but a structural requirement of the argument, because the comparison only works if the people have been left without their guide. The hardline estate is still locating authority in the dead Leader and in public endurance, and has published that on the morning the new Leader's signature returned.

The third finding is a change in the war's frame. For the first time in this monitor's run the dominant hardline lead is neither nuclear, nor the chokepoint, nor Israel, but history. Vatan-e Emrooz gave its entire cover to a computer-generated image of the US Secretary of State's face on a Greek hoplite under the single word «جنگ باستانی», decked as an attempt to build «یک پشتوانه تاریخی-ایدئولوژیک برای جنگ آمریکا علیه ایران». Jam-e Jam ran «کینه آمریکا از ایران قبل از اسلام», America's grudge against pre-Islamic Iran, kickered to Rubio's attack on Xerxes. Sobh-e No carried an interview with Mousa Najafi under «از ایران می‌ترسند» and the parliament speaker's reply «زانو خواهید زد». Even Etemad, which rejects the content, accepts the register, printing «بازگشت به تاریخ برای توجیه جنایت» over the word «رجزخوانی», the pre-combat boast of Persian epic. The occasion is verifiable: on 7 October the Secretary of State spoke at the Pnyx in Athens, and the address's historical passage recounts the sack of Athens in 480 BC and the Acropolis stand against the Persian invaders. The significance is that a civilizational frame has no negotiable terms. Nuclear enrichment has a number and a chokepoint has coordinates; Xerxes has neither.

The operational news of the cycle was in the sidebars. Jam-e Jam, the state broadcaster's own daily, printed «دست بلند ایران فراتر از تنگه», Iran's long arm beyond the Strait, decked «نیروی دریایی سپاه مجازات پاسداران راهبرد جدید در برخورد با متخلفان را تبیین کرد». Vatan-e Emrooz boxed the same thing as «ورود شناورهای ارتقاءیافته به فراتر از محدوده تنگه», punishment beyond the Strait's limits, with the bullet «میدان رزم». The Iran newspaper channel carried the navy's warning on punishing violating vessels, and Defa Press published what it called the first image of the LPG carrier it says the Guard Corps navy struck near the strait. The previous edition of this monitor judged that the chokepoint had moved from posture to bargain, with coordinates agreed with Oman and a seven-day plan in mediators' hands. This cycle the enforcement claim moved outward from the chokepoint while the bargain stayed in place, which is a widening of geography rather than a hardening of position, and it is the single development in this edition most likely to produce an incident that neither track can absorb.

The region's other chokepoint behaved the same way. Four covers carried the closure of Saudi airspace, and every one of them published it as a gain. Javan led the whole page on «محاصره آمریکا در آسمان ریاض!», America besieged in the sky of Riyadh, over a burned-out Saudia airliner. Jam-e Jam ran «سیطره یمن بر آسمان سعودی», decked to Sanaa's warning that Saudi airspace is a zone of military operations. Vatan-e Emrooz ran «پرواز ممنوع!» with the cost of the war to Riyadh as the explicit frame, and Sobh-e No ran «ریاض تنها ماند», Riyadh left alone, kickered that Turkey and Pakistan will not confront Ansarallah. The independent record supports the core: strikes on King Khalid International and on Abha, three dead by Saudi account, a heavily damaged Saudia aircraft, Yahya Saree declaring Saudi airspace a theatre of military operations with Mecca and Medina excluded, and mass cancellations and suspensions by foreign carriers. What it does not support is Jam-e Jam's specification of a destroyed A321 airframe and of three named-category Saudi dead including a Saudia pilot, which is the paper's rendering of a Sanaa claim. The structural point is that this is an escalation in Gulf civil aviation that the Iranian press can celebrate without Iran having to own it.

On the adversary's intentions the Iranian press disagreed with itself in public, which is itself the finding. Sobh-e No led on «ترامپ در برزخ», Trump in limbo, with Mahboubeh Niavarani's analysis of why an attack on Iran damages the Republicans before the midterms and the pull quote «ترامپ برای آماده باش» حفظ اکثریت سنا، فعلاً از تشدید جنگ با ایران پرهیز می‌کند». Etemad, on the same morning, ran «ترامپ» over a report on renewed war posture in the region, and Nour News relayed American media reporting on military preparations for a possible resumption within three weeks. A principlist daily forecasting adversary restraint and a reformist daily forecasting adversary attack, printed on the same morning without either acknowledging the other, indicates the absence of a centrally imposed line on the single most consequential question in front of the system. For a press this monitor has repeatedly found to converge under message discipline, divergence at this point is an observation about the state's own uncertainty, not about editorial independence.

The negotiating track survived the cycle and lost its sponsors. Jomhouri Eslami alone led on it, with «روند مذاکراتی ایران و آمریکا همچنان ادامه دارد» and the sub-deck «پاسخ به پیشنهاد جدید آمریکا روزهای آینده داده می‌شود», which matches the foreign minister's statement of 8 October that Iran is reviewing the American response conveyed through mediators and will answer within days. Etemad's channel relayed Yuri Ushakov saying Putin had told Trump that diplomatic options on Iran remain open. Nobody else printed it. A track carried by one clerical-establishment daily, while the hardline estate leads on Xerxes and the reformist estate leads on a women's sport ban in Qom, is a track without a factional coalition in print, and that is a more precarious position than open opposition would be.

The economic press spent the cycle refusing the war dividend. Kayhan's kiosk column reprinted an eightfold rise in oil freight costs through Hormuz as achievement; Ta'adol printed a hundred-dollar

barrel as «پازل سه رقمی طلای سیاه!», a puzzle to be dissected, and set «بورس در قله تاریخی» against the question «شامخ بازار بزرگ‌تر شد یا اقتصاد گران‌تر؟». Charsoogh gave its cover to «کروز قیمت خودرو را ۳ برابر کرد», prosecuting the privatisation of Iran Khodro model by model against a printed price table. Hamshahri gave its cover to defending a municipal zero-inflation scheme against hoarding, quality and funding charges, conceding a six-month horizon. Three covers of one morning describe a nominal boom, a grocery-margin cut and a tripling of car prices, and none of them acknowledges the others. The war is no longer sufficient to suspend domestic economic scrutiny.

One external development was reported accurately by the Iranian press, which is rare enough to record. On 9 October the American president announced that Russia would supply diesel to the United States and to world markets, and the Treasury issued a general licence authorising Russian-origin diesel through 7 April 2027. Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad and Fars all carried it, with the tonnages, the licence date, the Ukrainian objection and the Reuters caution that a lasting price fall is unlikely. The usual pattern of this monitor is that adversary-origin material arrives in Persian with an upgraded verb. Here it did not, because the facts are already sufficient for the argument the Iranian press wants to make: that the cost of the war has reached the adversary's own fuel pumps eight months in.

Net assessment: this is a consolidation edition with one genuine structural change inside it. Nothing moved on the battlefield, nothing moved on the negotiating table, and nothing in the Iranian press claimed otherwise. What moved is the architecture: the Leader's signature returned and numbered the war, the hardline estate's legitimacy argument stayed with his predecessor, the quarrel acquired a civilizational framing with no negotiable terms, and the Guard Corps navy's enforcement claim stepped outside the chokepoint that has bounded it since June. Set against a Gulf in which Saudi airspace is now a declared operations zone and an American administration that has just reopened its fuel supply through Moscow before a midterm vote, the risk in this cycle is not that either side decides to escalate. It is that the geography in which an incident can occur has widened in a week in which neither side's declared positions moved at all.

BOTTOM LINE On the morning the Leader's signature returned to Iranian front pages after five empty cycles, it was spent on the police and on numbering the present conflict as the second and third imposed wars, while the operational news moved to the sidebars: the Guard Corps navy announced punishment for vessels beyond the Strait of Hormuz, Sanaa declared Saudi airspace a theatre of military operations, and the hardline estate's own editorial argued the system's legitimacy from a Leader who has been dead for seven months rather than from the one whose message it had just printed.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Ten Persian front pages of Saturday 18 Mehr 1405 were retrieved from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk album of the same date and read as images, with each masthead identified from its printed nameplate. The stale-batch guard passed on first attempt and no page in this edition is carried over from an earlier batch. Kayhan is represented by reconstruction from its own channel, where the Persian text of the day's Yadasht-e Rooz was retrieved in full and retained. There is no fresh English-language Iranian front page this cycle: the English kiosk album had not advanced past the 8 October issue of Iran Daily, which this monitor already analysed, and it is excluded from the front-page table; Tehran Times was unavailable at the time of compilation. Six outlet channels and three agency wires were read, with agency material labelled as claim throughout and used for corroboration rather than as front-page content. The Nobel award to Navi Pillay, the Athens address of 7 October, the Riyadh and Abha airport strikes and the Sanaa airspace declaration, the foreign minister's promise of a reply within days, the

> Caspian summit of 9 October, the Guard Corps navy's LPG-carrier claim, and the American diesel arrangement with Russia and its licence date were each checked against the independent record before being used in a judgment. Jam-e Jam's specific aircraft and casualty claims at Riyadh, the placard identification in its Inter-Parliamentary Union item, Javan's Friday-sermon attribution, Sobh-e No's trilateral summit format, the relayed Pentagon casualty count and every figure in the Kayhan editorial are carried as attributed claims and are not established here.

Macro Trend Analysis

❶ The Leader's signature returned to the front pages after five empty cycles, and it numbered the war

Five of ten covers carry the Police Week message as a strap or lead and Kayhan leads on it outright, ending a print absence this monitor had tracked for five consecutive cycles in which the Leader's office was cited as the source of permission without any text appearing. Kayhan's rendering carries the honorific «امام» before «سیدمجتبی خامنه‌ای» and the clause «در جنگ‌های تحمیلی دوم و سوم», the second and third imposed wars. The institution addressed is the internal-security force, not the Guard Corps and not the armed forces, on a morning when the Guard Corps navy is announcing enforcement beyond the Strait in three other papers.

❷ The hardline legitimacy argument still runs through the assassinated Leader, not the living one

Shariatmadari's Yadasht-e Rooz builds its title from Qur'an 7:142 and requires the Leader to be absent: «مردم ایران نزدیک به ۷ ماه است که امام خود را ندیده‌اند». The seven-month span and the earlier reference to «آقای شهید» place the referent with Seyyed Ali Khamenei. The successor, whose message is the same edition's lead, is not in the passage. Jam-e Jam's Inter-Parliamentary Union item carries «انتقام خون امام شهیدمان را خواهیم گرفت» and a placard bearing the predecessor's image. The dead Leader remains the operative figure of legitimacy across the hardline estate.

❸ The quarrel was recast as civilizational on three covers at once, and the reformist estate accepted the register

Vatan-e Emrooz gave its whole cover to «جنگ باستانی» with the Secretary of State rendered as a Greek hoplite; Jam-e Jam ran «کینه آمریکا از ایران قبل از اسلام» kickered to Xerxes; Sobh-e No ran «از ایران می‌ترسند» and the speaker's «زانو خواهید زد»; Etemad rejected the content while adopting the vocabulary, printing «رجزخوانی باستان‌گرایانه روبیو» and «بازگشت به تاریخ برای توجیه جنایت». The occasion is a verifiable 7 October address at the Pnyx in Athens. A civilizational frame is the only frame in this war with no negotiable quantity in it.

❹ Guard Corps naval enforcement moved outside the chokepoint and was published as doctrine, not as threat

Jam-e Jam printed «دست بلند ایران فراتر از تنگه» over the navy's new approach to violators; Vatan-e Emrooz boxed «مجازات فراتر از محدوده تنگه» with «ورود شناورهای ارتقاءیافته به میدان رزم»; the Iran newspaper channel carried the warning on punishing violating vessels; Defa Press published what it called the first image of the LPG carrier NV Sunshine, which the navy says it struck near the strait. The previous edition recorded the chokepoint acquiring terms, a timetable and agreed coordinates. The bargain has not changed; the enforcement area has.

❺ Gulf civil aviation became a declared theatre and the Iranian press carried it as a gain Iran does not have to own

Javan led on «محاصره آمریکا در آسمان ریاض!», Jam-e Jam on «سیطره یمن بر آسمان سعودی» with Sanaa's warning that Saudi airspace is a military operations zone, Vatan-e Emrooz on «پرواز ممنوع!» framed as cost imposed on Riyadh, Sobh-e No on «ریاض تنها ماند». The independent record supports strikes on King Khalid and Abha, three dead by Saudi account, a damaged Saudia aircraft, the Saree declaration excluding Mecca and Medina, and mass cancellations. The specific airframe and casualty details in Jam-e Jam go beyond it.

6 Two estates printed opposite forecasts of American intent on the same morning and neither acknowledged the other

Sobh-e No led on «ترامپ در برزخ» with the judgment that the midterm calendar makes escalation unaffordable and that «ترامپ برای حفظ اکثریت سنا، فعلاً از تشدید جنگ با ایران پرهیز می‌کند»; Etemad ran «آماده باش ترامپ» on renewed regional war posture; Nour News relayed American reporting of preparations for possible resumption within three weeks. In a press this monitor has repeatedly found converging under message discipline, open divergence on the central question indicates there is no line to converge on.

7 The negotiating track survived but lost its coalition in print

Jomhouri Eslami alone led on «روند مذاکراتی ایران و آمریکا همچنان ادامه دارد» with «پاسخ به پیشنهاد جدید آمریکا روزهای آینده داده می‌شود», consistent with the foreign minister's 8 October statement that Iran is reviewing the American reply through mediators. Etemad's channel relayed Ushakov saying Putin told Trump diplomacy on Iran remains open. No hardline, reformist or economic cover carried the negotiation at all. A diplomatic track sponsored by one clerical-establishment daily is structurally weaker than one under open attack.

8 The war is no longer sufficient to suspend domestic economic scrutiny

Charsoogh prosecuted the privatisation of Iran Khodro as «کروز قیمت خودرو را ۳ برابر کرد» against a printed model-by-model price table, naming a private acquirer rather than a ministry. Hamshahri spent its whole cover defending a municipal zero-inflation scheme against hoarding, quality, funding and neglect charges. Ta'adol set «بورس در قله تاریخی» against «شامخ بازار بزرگ‌تر شد یا اقتصاد گران‌تر؟» and treated a hundred-dollar barrel as a puzzle rather than a victory. Jomhouri Eslami printed an annual 1.5 billion dollar cost for crypto mining.

9 Adversary-origin material was for once reported without upgrade, because it did not need one

The 9 October American announcement that Russia would supply diesel to the United States and world markets, under a Treasury general licence running to 7 April 2027, was carried by Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad and Fars with the tonnages, the licence date, the Ukrainian objection and the Reuters caution that a lasting price fall is unlikely. Congressional Democrats' line that Americans are paying for the war was carried alongside. The absence of the usual verb inflation is the tell: the facts already serve the argument.

10 Lebanon is absent for an eighth consecutive print cycle and the Israeli front has no print presence as an active theatre

Not one of the ten front pages carries a Lebanon item, and none of the six outlet channels or three agency wires carried Lebanese political content this cycle either, a second consecutive wire blackout. Israel appears only twice and never as a front: Jomhouri Eslami's «اردوغان: اسرائیل تمام منطقه را تهدید می‌کند» and Javan's third-anniversary commentary «۳ سال پس از طوفان». A war whose Israeli and

Lebanese theatres have vanished from the Iranian front pages is being described to its own public as a Gulf and Red Sea war.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 **[HIGH]** The Leader's print absence has ended, and the terms of the return are the finding rather than the fact. The evidence is six covers and one rendering. Hamshahri, Jam-e Jam, Javan, Vatan-e Emrooz and Jomhouri Eslami each carry the Police Week message as a strap or lead, and Kayhan leads outright on «فراجا یکی از ستون‌های مستحکم امنیت کشور است». Kayhan's rendering (channel item 86360) attributes the message to «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیدمجتبی خامنه‌ای» and reports it as crediting the police with standing firm «در جنگ‌های تحمیلی دوم و سوم»; agency copy of the same message signs it «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای». Two elements are new: the honorific «امام» before the living Leader's name, previously recorded in this monitor only for Khomeini and for the assassinated predecessor, and an ordinal that numbers the present conflict's phases as the second and third imposed wars. The significance is that a state which has begun counting its wars in the Leader's own signature has committed to a vocabulary that will constrain how any ceasefire or settlement can be described, and that the first institution addressed on the return is the internal-security force rather than the Guard Corps.

KJ-2 **[HIGH]** The hardline estate's legitimacy argument still runs through the assassinated Leader, and it published that on the morning the successor's signature returned. The evidence is the structure of one text. Shariatmadari's Yadasht-e Rooz «گوساله‌پرست‌ها و گوساله‌شناس‌ها!» sets Qur'an 7:142 and Moses's forty-night absence against «مردم ایران نزدیک به ۷ ماه است که امام خود را ندیده‌اند، ولی نه فقط در صراط مستقیم ثابت قدم‌تر شده‌اند بلکه «گوساله‌شناس» هم شده‌اند». The seven-month span dates the absence to 28 February 2026 and the earlier reference to the funeral of «آقای شهید» fixes the referent as Seyyed Ali Khamenei. The analogy is load-bearing: it only works if the people have been left without their guide, so the living Leader cannot appear in it. Jam-e Jam's Inter-Parliamentary Union item points the same way, with «انتقام خون امام شهیدمان را خواهیم گرفت» and a placard carrying the predecessor's image. The significance is that the succession remains administratively complete and emotionally unconsummated: the office issues instructions, and the martyr supplies the legitimacy.

KJ-3 **[HIGH]** The war's dominant Iranian frame moved this cycle from capability to civilization, and the frame has no negotiable terms. The evidence is four covers reading one speech. Vatan-e Emrooz gave its entire front to a computer-generated image of the US Secretary of State as a Greek hoplite under «جنگ باستانی», decked «اظهارات مارکو روبیو و روایت ضدایرانی او از جنگ‌های یونان و هخامنشیان، تلاشی در راستای ایجاد یک پشتوانه تاریخی-ایدئولوژیک برای جنگ آمریکا علیه ایران است». Jam-e Jam ran «کینه آمریکا از ایران قبل از اسلام» kickered to an ideological attack on Xerxes. Sobh-e No ran the Mousa Najafi interview «از ایران می‌ترسند» and Qalibaf's reply «زانو خواهید زد», which Defa Press item 69494 records as a post on X warning that those pursuing Alexander's legacy will meet Valerian's fate. Etemad rejected the content and kept the register, printing «رجزخوانی باستان‌گرایانه روبیو» over «بازگشت به تاریخ برای توجیه جنایت». The occasion is verifiable: the 7 October address at the Pnyx in Athens, whose historical passage recounts the 480 BC sack of Athens and the Acropolis stand against the Persian invaders. The significance is that every prior Iranian frame in this war contained a quantity that could be traded, an enrichment level, a transit corridor, a prisoner list. A quarrel about

Xerxes contains none, and it is the first frame of this war that the reformist estate has adopted rather than contested.

KJ-4 **[HIGH]** Guard Corps naval enforcement has been extended beyond the Strait of Hormuz in print, and the extension was published by the state broadcaster's own daily as doctrine rather than by a hardline one as a threat. The evidence is three surfaces carrying one claim. Jam-e Jam printed «نیروی دریایی سپاه پاسداران راهبرد جدید در برخورد با متخلفان را تبیین» decked «دست بلند ایران فراتر از تنگه هرمز را دارند», with the bullet «ورود شناورهای ارتقاءیافته به میدان رزم». The Iran newspaper channel carried the navy's warning on punishing violating vessels (item 509342), and Defa Press item 69495 published what it called the first image of the LPG carrier NV Sunshine, which the navy says it struck near the strait after an attempted transit of an unauthorised route. The independent record carries the Guard Corps claim and the accompanying warning that violators will be punished beyond the strait, and records roughly a dozen attacks, attempted attacks or harassment incidents involving oil, LNG and LPG tankers in the week to 5 October. The significance is geographic rather than rhetorical. The previous edition of this monitor judged the chokepoint to have moved from posture to bargain, with coordinates agreed with Oman. Those coordinates bound a negotiation to a place; an enforcement claim that reaches past that place removes the boundary while leaving the negotiation intact, which widens the space in which an incident can occur without widening anybody's declared position.

KJ-5 **[HIGH]** Saudi civil aviation has become a declared theatre of operations, and the Iranian press is publishing it as a strategic gain Iran does not have to own. The evidence is four covers and one wire. Javan led its whole front on «محاصره آمریکا در آسمان ریاض!» over a burned-out Saudia airliner and an encircled American transport aircraft, attributing the result to America rather than to Yemen. Jam-e Jam ran «سیطره یمن بر آسمان سعودی» decked «صنعا به شرکت‌های هواپیمایی هشدار داد: حریم هوایی عربستان، منطقه عملیات نظامی است». Vatan-e Emrooz ran «پرواز ممنوع!» with the explicit frame of cost imposed on Riyadh for continuing the war. Sobh-e No ran «ریاض تنها ماند» kickered «ترکیه و پاکستان یمنی‌ها پالایشگاه‌های آرامکو و حاضر به رویارویی با انصارالله نیستند». Kayhan's kiosk column reprinted «فرودگاه‌های آل‌سعود را به آتش کشیدند». The independent record confirms missile attacks on King Khalid International in Riyadh and on Abha, three dead by Saudi account, a heavily damaged Saudia aircraft, Yahya Saree's declaration that Saudi airspace has become a theatre of military operations with the airspace over Mecca and Medina excluded and humanitarian flights permitted by authorisation from Sanaa, a widened European aviation advisory, and more than a hundred daily cancellations at Riyadh. It does not support Jam-e Jam's specification of a destroyed Airbus A321 airframe and three Saudi dead including a Saudia pilot, which is the paper's rendering of a Sanaa claim. The significance is that this is the first escalation of the war to close a major Gulf capital's airspace to commercial traffic, and it reaches the Iranian front pages as an achievement without an Iranian signature on it.

KJ-6 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** There is no centrally imposed Iranian line on whether the United States will resume major operations, and two estates printed opposite forecasts on the same morning. The evidence is two covers and a wire. Sobh-e No (No. 2445) led on «ترامپ در برزخ» over «چرا حمله به ایران به ضرر جمهوری‌خواهان است؟», Mahboubeh Niavarani's analysis that the approaching midterms make escalation electorally unaffordable, with the pull quote attributed to Ehsan Salehi «ترامپ برای حفظ اکثریت سنا، فعلاً از تشدید جنگ با ایران پرهیز می‌کند». Etemad ran «آماده باش ترامپ» over a report on

war posture in the region. Nour News item 400689 relayed American media reporting that preparations are being made for a possible resumption of fighting within three weeks without a final decision having been taken, alongside sanctions on seventeen tankers and a reported move against roughly a billion dollars in Iranian crypto assets. The calibration runs both ways: overstating the divergence would read ordinary editorial variation as a policy vacuum, while understating it would miss that these two papers have in previous cycles converged within hours on far less consequential questions. The significance is that a principlist paper forecasting adversary restraint until 3 November is, in effect, publishing a window, and windows are the conditions under which miscalculation becomes attractive to the side that believes it has one.

KJ-7 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** The Iran-United States negotiating track remains live and has lost its factional sponsorship in print. The evidence is one lead and one absence. Jomhouri Eslami alone led on «روند مذاکراتی ایران و آمریکا همچنان ادامه دارد», sub-decked «پاسخ به پیشنهاد جدید آمریکا روزهای آینده داده می‌شود», which matches the foreign minister's statement of 8 October that Iran was reviewing the American side's response conveyed through mediators and would reply within days, with messages still passing through intermediaries. Etemad's channel item 538301 relayed Yuri Ushakov's statement that Putin told Trump diplomatic options on Iran remain open. Against that, no hardline, reformist or economic cover carried the negotiation in any form; Kayhan's kiosk column instead reprinted «تهدیدات ترامپ نه محاسبات ایران را تغییر می‌دهد نه تنگه را باز می‌کند». The significance is that the track now rests on a single clerical-establishment daily and on the foreign ministry's own voice, with no estate invested in defending it, which makes it cheap to abandon and expensive to deliver. The promised reply «روزهای آینده» also creates a dated commitment this monitor can test against the next cycles.

KJ-8 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** The American diesel arrangement with Russia is being read across the Iranian press as proof that the war's costs have reached the adversary's home front, and for once the Iranian rendering is not inflated. The evidence is four surfaces reporting one event accurately. Vatan-e Emrooz carried the 300,000-tonne figure, the Treasury licence running to 7 April 2027, Zelensky's objection and the Axios report that the decision shocked Kyiv and European allies (items 27990 to 27993); Jam-e Jam carried the Reuters caution that the arrangement will not produce a lasting fall in global fuel prices (item 30515) and the Politico forecast of a severe European gas shortage this winter (item 30514); Etemad carried the same Reuters line (item 538295); Fars carried congressional Democrats saying Americans are paying the price of the war through petrol and diesel prices (item 467407). The independent record confirms the 9 October announcement, the phased tonnages, the general licence authorising Russian-origin diesel through 7 April 2027, a diesel price rise of close to seventy percent since the war began in February, and the Ukrainian reaction. The significance is methodological as much as substantive: this monitor has recorded a consistent pattern of adversary-origin material arriving in Persian with an upgraded verb, and its absence here indicates the Iranian press judged the unembellished facts sufficient, which is the strongest available signal of how damaging Tehran believes the adversary's energy position to be.

KJ-9 **[MODERATE]** The Nobel Peace Prize was absorbed into the Palestine frame by every Iranian outlet that carried it, and the reaction to it, not the award, is what the Iranian press is actually reporting. The evidence is three covers. Jam-e Jam ran «نوبل برای افشاگر نسل‌کشی» kickered «از رواندا تا غزه؛ زنی که عدالت را به سلاح صلح تبدیل کرد». Jomhouri Eslami ran «جایزه نوبل صلح به رئیس کمیته حقیقت‌یاب سازمان ملل در فلسطین تعلق یافت». Sobh-e No ran «انتقام کودکانه ترامپ از برنده نوبل» kickered

«تسویه‌حساب شخصی با واکنش‌های بین‌المللی مواجه شد». The independent record confirms the 2026 prize was announced on 9 October to Navi Pillay, the South African jurist and former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, that fresh American sanctions on the International Criminal Court were announced within hours, that the American president reshared a post describing the laureate as a hater of America and Israel, and that Israel's foreign ministry called the award a weaponisation of the prize. The significance is that Iranian outlets reached for the one element of the story with no Iranian content in it at all, an American punitive reaction to an international legal institution, which is a cheaper argument than any claim about Iran's own standing and indicates the limits of what the Palestine frame can currently be made to carry.

KJ-10 **[MODERATE]** The Iranian economic press is now contradicting the political press on the war's domestic effects, in the same cycle and without acknowledgement. The evidence is four covers. Kayhan's kiosk column reprinted «بحران کمرشکن هرمز برای ابرنفتکش‌ها؛ هزینه حمل نفت ۸ برابر شد», an eightfold rise in oil freight costs, as evidence of successful coercion. Ta'adol printed a hundred-dollar barrel as «پازل سه رقمی طلای سیاه!» and placed «بورس در قله تاریخی» beside «شامخ بازار بزرگ‌تر شد یا اقتصاد گران‌تر؟», which is a direct statement of the nominal-versus-real problem. Charsoogh gave its whole cover to «کروز قیمت خودرو را ۳ برابر کرد», prosecuting the handover of Iran Khodro to a named private acquirer against a model-by-model price table, with the average price of twenty best-selling models cited at around 867 million tomans before the transfer in late 1403. Hamshahri spent its cover defending a municipal zero-inflation scheme, conceding a six-month horizon and answering four separate accusations. Jomhouri Eslami printed an annual 1.5 billion dollar national cost for crypto mining. The significance is that the war has stopped functioning as a suspension of domestic accountability, and that the most granular consumer-price evidence available to this monitor is now being published by Iranian papers themselves.

KJ-11 **[MODERATE]** Negative evidence, filed as a finding: Lebanon is absent for an eighth consecutive print cycle and for a second consecutive cycle from the wires as well. The evidence is a complete absence across ten front pages, six outlet channels and three agency wires. No cover carries a Lebanese item of any kind, no outlet channel carried Lebanese political content, and the three agency wires, which in earlier cycles carried Hezbollah statements and southern Lebanon strike reports as routine filler, carried none. Set against the previous edition, which recorded the seventh empty print cycle and the first empty wire cycle, this is a consolidation of the blackout rather than a one-day gap. The significance is that a theatre the Iranian system spent two decades presenting as the forward edge of its deterrence has now been entirely withdrawn from the Iranian public's field of vision, which is consistent either with a theatre that has gone quiet or with a theatre whose condition the system has decided not to describe. The two are not distinguishable from Iranian print alone, and this monitor does not attempt to distinguish them.

KJ-12 **[MODERATE]** Negative evidence, filed as a finding: the Israeli front has no presence on any Iranian front page this cycle as an active theatre. The evidence is two mentions in ten covers, neither of them operational. Jomhouri Eslami carried «اردوغان: اسرائیل تمام منطقه را تهدید می‌کند», a third-party warning rather than an Iranian claim, and Javan carried a signed commentary «سال پس از طوفان ۳» marking the third anniversary of the 7 October 2023 operation, which is retrospective. No cover carries an Israeli strike, an Iranian retaliation, a casualty figure or a battle-damage claim from the Israeli front, and the agency wires carried Saudi strikes on Hudaydah, Saada and Hajjah instead. The calibration matters here: inferring a quiet front from editorial silence would overread, since this

> monitor has repeatedly found that Iranian print suppresses losses rather than reporting them. What can be said is narrower and still useful. For the duration of this cycle the Iranian state described the war to its own public as a Gulf and Red Sea conflict about shipping, airspace and fuel prices, with Israel present only as a historical grievance and a neighbour's complaint.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei	Supreme Leader and Commander-in-Chief	Present in print for the first time in six cycles, as the author of the Police Week message on five covers and Kayhan's lead; named by Kayhan with the honorific «امام» and by agency copy as «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای»; no photograph on any cover.	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Seyyed Ali Khamenei	Assassinated predecessor, killed 28 February 2026	The operative figure of legitimacy across the hardline estate: «آقای شهید» and the seven-month absence in Kayhan's editorial, «امام شهیدمان» in Jam-e Jam's Inter-Parliamentary Union item, and his image on the placard displayed at that assembly.	WATCH
Marco Rubio	United States Secretary of State	The cycle's principal antagonist: rendered as a Greek hoplite on Vatan-e Emrooz's entire cover under «جنگ باستانی», read by Jam-e Jam as attacking Xerxes and pre-Islamic Iran, and answered by the parliament speaker, by the government spokesperson and by Etemad's political-activist round-up.	TARGET FRAMING
Donald Trump	President of the United States	Split across the estates: «ترامپ در برزخ» and electorally constrained in Sobh-e No, «آماده باش ترامپ» and preparing in Etemad, «پاس گل ترامپ به دموکرات‌ها» in Vatan-e Emrooz, «انتقام کودکانه ترامپ از برنده نوبل» over the ICC sanctions, and the diesel arrangement with Moscow carried by four outlets.	TARGET FRAMING
Abbas Araghchi	Foreign Minister	Jomhouri Eslami's lead voice, carrying the negotiation alone: the process continues and an answer to the new American proposal will be given within days. Separately explained the Iran-Russia-Azerbaijan trilateral on the	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
		Commonwealth of Independent States margins.	
Mohammad Bagher Qalibaf	Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly	Answered the Athens address on X with «زانو خواهید زد», you will kneel, warning that those who pursue Alexander's legacy will meet Valerian's fate; carried by Sobh-e No's cover and Defa Press item 69494.	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Masoud Pezeshkian	President	Carried by four outlets from Turkmenistan: the Caspian long-term environmental programme in Jomhouri Eslami, «گفت‌وگوهای راهبردی تهران در عشق‌آباد» in Jam-e Jam, «عشق‌آباد هم راهبرد انزوای ایران را شکست» with a Putin handshake in Javan, and «دیپلماسی فشرده در آسیای میانه» in Etemad. Named on no war item anywhere in the batch.	WATCH
Hossein Shariatmadari	Managing editor of Kayhan, the Leader's representative at the paper	Author of the flagged editorial. Declares Iran the victor of the twelve-day and Ramadan wars by the test of declared aims, argues the case entirely from adversary-origin material, and builds the piece on a Qur'anic analogy that requires the Leader to be absent.	WATCH
Navi Pillay	2026 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, South African jurist and former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights	Carried by three outlets through the Palestine frame: «افشاگر نسل‌کشی» in Jam-e Jam, head of the UN fact-finding committee on Palestine in Jomhouri Eslami, and the occasion for «انتقام کودکانه ترامپ» in Sobh-e No.	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Yahya Saree	Spokesman of the Yemeni armed forces	Not named on any cover, but the source of the declaration Jam-e Jam and Vatan-e Emrooz both build on: that Saudi airspace has become a theatre of military operations, with the airspace over Mecca and Medina excluded and humanitarian flights permitted by authorisation from Sanaa.	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Seyyed Hossein Marashi	Secretary-general of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party	Sazandegi's entire cover: asks the party's provincial structure to find a route to interaction between civil society and state institutions for «اصلاح کم‌هزینه حاکمیت», low-cost reform of governance, beside a front-page essay on the transition	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
		from the Second to the Third Republic.	
Mohammad Javad Haj Ali-Akbari	Tehran Friday prayer leader, as printed in Javan	Sourced on Javan's cover for the claim that Iran's withdrawal from the NPT «به یک مطالبه تبدیل شده است», has become a public demand. Name read from the printed page; the sermon was not independently confirmed at compile time.	WATCH
Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel	Absence noted. Named on no front page in this batch and appearing only inside Kayhan's editorial text as an epithet. In a war in which he has been the standing object of Iranian front-page attack, a cycle with no Netanyahu cover item is itself a measure of how far the Israeli front has receded from Iranian print.	absence noted
Hezbollah and the Lebanese leadership	Iran's principal Levant partner	Absence noted. No named Lebanese figure appears on any of the ten covers, in any of the six outlet channels, or on any of the three agency wires, for an eighth consecutive print cycle and a second consecutive wire cycle.	absence noted

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Vatan-e Emrooz (Vol. 13, No. 4739)	The ancient war	Hardline principlist	The Athens speech read as the ideological scaffolding for war, with Guard Corps punishment extended beyond the Strait in the rail	SEVERE: enforcement beyond the chokepoint under a civilizational cover
Jam-e Jam	Security, the fruit of silent striving	Daily of the state broadcaster (IRIB)	The Leader's message, the Xerxes quarrel, naval reach beyond the Strait and the Saudi air closure, ranked on one cover	SEVERE: naval reach and a declared Saudi operations zone published together as achievement
Javan (Year 28, No. 7376)	America besieged in the	Hardline, Islamic Revolutionary	Riyadh's airports read as American	HIGH: an allied strike on Gulf civil

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
	sky of Riyadh!	Guard Corps-affiliated	encirclement, beside a pulpit demand to leave the NPT	aviation claimed as American defeat
Kayhan (channel-reconstructed)	FARAJA is one of the firm pillars of the country's security	Hardline, published under the Supreme Leader's office	The Leader's first printed message in weeks spent on the police, beside an editorial that counts seven months without him	HIGH: victory declared from adversary economic pain, legitimacy still vested in the dead Leader
Sobh-e No (No. 2445)	Trump in limbo	Principlist	American escalation judged electorally unaffordable until the November midterms	MODERATE-HIGH: adversary restraint forecast as a window rather than as de-escalation
Jomhouri Eslami	The Iran-United States negotiating process is still continuing	Traditional clerical establishment	The negotiation led alone: an American proposal on the table and an Iranian answer promised within days	LOW-MODERATE: the diplomatic track published as live and sponsored by one estate
Etemad	An attack on women's sport	Reformist	A women's sport ban in Qom led over the war, with renewed American war posture reported in the rail	MODERATE: escalation warning carried beneath a domestic-rights lead
Sazandegi (Year 9, No. 4268)	Kargozaran's new agenda	Reformist, Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party organ	A reformist party convenes its provinces and publishes a Third Republic transition frame	LOW: internal political repositioning around a post-war settlement
Hamshahri	How will prices stay stable?	Tehran municipality, centrist	A municipal zero-inflation scheme defended box by box against hoarding and quality charges	LOW: war and diplomacy absent below the Leader's strap
Charsoogh (Year 3, No. 521)	Crouse has tripled the price of cars	Economic daily	Iran Khodro's privatisation prosecuted model by model against a printed price table	LOW: no external content at all; domestic accountability on price evidence
Ta'adol	The three-digit puzzle of black	Economic daily	A hundred-dollar barrel and a record	LOW: the war's energy effect

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
	gold!		index read as a pricing puzzle, not a war dividend	treated analytically rather than triumphally

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily (8 October issue, carried over)

English-language state daily, published by the IRNA group

“Speaker warns of enemy plots to foment domestic insecurity after failure on battlefield”

LOW: carried-over issue, no fresh English-language front page this cycle



- Provenance: This is not a page of the 18 Mehr batch. The English-language kiosk album reachable this cycle is dated 16 Mehr 1405 and reposts the 8 October issue already analysed in the edition of that date. It is recorded here for provenance and excluded from the day's front-page table.
- Main: 'Speaker warns of enemy plots to foment domestic insecurity after failure on battlefield', the domestic-disorder pre-attribution that has run as a standing line in the English state daily.
- Main: 'President: Iran will negotiate from position of strength amid "full-scale war"', boxed over a cabinet-table photograph captioned to 7 October in Tehran.
- Opinion: 'Beijing's smart geoeconomics doctrine', an exclusive op-ed, and a separate opinion strap 'Trump's Iran war comes home!'.
- Sub-items: 'Flag carrier Iran Air resumes Karachi flights from Tehran, Mashhad'; 'Iran set for U23 Wrestling Worlds after US issues visas to delegation'.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The absence is the finding: for this cycle there is no fresh English-language Iranian front page, because the kiosk album has not advanced past 16 Mehr. The significance is narrow but worth logging, in that the English-language surface is the one Iranian output aimed at foreign readers, and a two-day lag in its distribution means the day's two biggest print frames, the Athens speech and the Riyadh airspace closure, reached no Iranian English-language cover at all. Treat any inference from this page as carried over from the 8 October edition, not as evidence of 10 October framing.

Hamshahri

Tehran municipality daily, centrist

LOW: municipal price control defended at length, with war and diplomacy absent below the strap

"How will prices stay stable?" «قیمت‌ها چطور ثابت می‌ماند؟»



- Banner: «پیام فرمانده معظّم کل قوا به مناسبت هفته انتظامی» over «فرمان تقویت همه‌جانبه نیروهای حافظ امنیت» (The order for the comprehensive strengthening of the forces that guard security), the Police Week message run as the top strap above the nameplate.
- Main: The entire cover below the nameplate is a single explainer, «پاسخ به همه شبهات طرح تورم صفر» (an answer to all doubts about the zero-inflation scheme), built around a photograph of a young man carrying a child and a municipal shopping bag. Eight question boxes ring the image.
- Sub-item: «چرا شهرداری باید بازار را تنظیم کند؟» and «چطور قیمت‌ها ثابت نگه داشته می‌شوند؟», the municipality defending direct market intervention as within its remit, on the ground of purchase from producers and cuts in intermediary margins.
- Sub-item: «کالاهای «تورم صفر» گران‌تر از بازار است؟» answered with the cycle's one checkable municipal number: «شهرداری با کاهش ۵۰ درصدی سود بازرگانی فروشگاه‌های شهروند، ۱۲ کالا را در مراکز منتخب با قیمت پایین‌تر از بازار عرضه می‌کند و همچنان ۲۰ تا ۴۵ درصد نرخ کالاها در تره‌بار ارزان‌تر است» (a 50 percent cut in the trading margin of the Shahrvand stores, 12 goods sold below market in selected centres, and prices in the municipal fruit and vegetable markets 20 to 45 percent under the open market).
- Sub-item: «پول طرح «تورم صفر» از کجا می‌آید؟» (Where does the money for the zero-inflation scheme come from?) and «شهرداری این ۱۲ کالا را احتکار می‌کند؟» (Is the municipality hoarding these 12 goods?), the two defensive boxes, which identifies where the criticism is coming from.
- Sub-item: «شهرداری از کارهای اصلی‌اش بازمی‌ماند؟» (Is the municipality neglecting its core work?), answered with a tunnel and road opening.
- Sub-item: «تورم صفر پس از ۶ ماه چه می‌شود؟» (What becomes of zero inflation after six months?), which concedes on the page that the scheme has a horizon.

ANALYST NOTE Hamshahri spends a war-cycle cover on a municipal price scheme and on answering its critics, which is a reliable indicator that the criticism is landing inside the system rather than outside it. The significance is the admission structure: a paper owned by the Tehran municipality devotes four of eight boxes to rebutting hoarding, quality, funding and neglect charges, and concedes a six-month horizon, which is an unusual amount of defensive surface for an initiative being presented as a success. Read it against the Charsoogh cover on the same morning: the economic press is printing a tripling of car prices while the municipal press is printing a 50 percent cut in grocery margins, and both are describing the same inflation.

Jam-e Jam

Daily of the state broadcaster (IRIB)

SEVERE: naval enforcement beyond the Strait and a declared Saudi-airspace operations zone published together as achievement

"Security, the fruit of silent striving" «امنیت، حاصل مجاهدت‌های خاموش»



- Main: The lead is the Police Week message, decked «فرمانده معظم کل قوا در پیامی به مناسبت هفته نیروی انتظامی از مجاهدت‌های امنیت کشور در طول جنگ‌های تحمیلی اخیر قدردانی کردند». Note the plural «جنگ‌های تحمیلی اخیر», the recent imposed wars, which is the state broadcaster's daily ratifying in print that the current conflict is counted as more than one war.
- Banner: Centre of the page, «کینه آمریکا از ایران قبل از اسلام» (America's grudge against pre-Islamic Iran), kickered «در حمله ایدئولوژیک «روبیو» به خشایارشاه رونمایی شد», over an illustration of a toga-clad figure at a lectern before the columns of Persepolis. The state daily reads the Athens speech as an attack on Xerxes specifically, which moves the quarrel behind the 1979 revolution and behind Islam.
- Right rail: «دست بلند ایران فراتر از تنگه» (Iran's long arm beyond the Strait), decked «نیروی دریایی سپاه پاسداران راهبرد جدید در برخورد با متخلفان را تبیین کرد». The state broadcaster's own paper publishes the extension of Guard Corps naval enforcement past the chokepoint as settled doctrine, not as a threat.
- Right rail: «سیطره یمن بر آسمان سعودی» (Yemen's dominance over the Saudi sky), decked «صنعا به شرکت‌های هواپیمایی هشدار داد: حریم هوایی در حمله دقیق عربستان، منطقه عملیات نظامی است». The bullet claims: «موشکی نیروهای یمنی به فرودگاه بین‌المللی ملک خالد در ریاض، یک فروند هواپیمای ایرباس A321 منهدم شد و سه تبعه سعودی از جمله یک خلبان شرکت «سعودیه» کشته شدند. این حادثه به لغو بیش از ۱۶۰ پرواز و تعلیق فعالیت شرکت‌های بین‌المللی نظیر لوفت‌هانزا، ایرایندیا، فلای‌دوبی و قطر ایرلاینز انجامید.» The independent record confirms Saudi authorities reporting three dead across strikes on King Khalid and Abha airports, a heavily damaged Saudia aircraft, and a Sanaa statement by Yahya Saree declaring Saudi airspace a theatre of military operations with Mecca and Medina excluded; the destruction of a specific A321 airframe and the identification of the dead remain Jam-e Jam's rendering of Sanaa's claim and are not to be reproduced as established.
- Right rail: «گفت‌وگوهای راهبردی تهران در عشق‌آباد» (Tehran's strategic talks in Ashgabat), noting the president consulted several heads of state during the Turkmenistan trip.
- Main photo item: «انتقام خون امام شهیدمان را خواهیم گرفت» (We will take the revenge of the blood of our martyred Imam), attributed to Iran's representative at the General Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The accompanying photograph shows the delegate at the microphone holding up a placard bearing an image of the late Leader with a small child and English text identifying a girl named Zahra as his

infant granddaughter killed in an attack. The identification, the age and the circumstances are the placard's claim as photographed and are not independently established here.

- Sub-item: «نوبل برای افشاگر نسل‌کشی» (A Nobel for the whistleblower of genocide), kickered «از رواندا تا غزه؛ زنی که عدالت را به سلاح صلح تبدیل کرد», with a photograph of the laureate. The 2026 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded on 9 October to Navi Pillay, the South African jurist and former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- Sub-item: «ایران خودرو باز هم گران کرد» (Iran Khodro raises prices again), the only domestic-cost item on an otherwise external cover.
- Op-ed rail: A left-hand column of five signed commentaries, legible titles including «جمهوری اسلامی و مذاکره» (The Islamic Republic and negotiation) and «پیمان مکه و قطب‌بندی‌های جدید» (The Mecca pact and the new polarisations); author names are below the resolution of the available scan and are not asserted here.

ANALYST NOTE The state broadcaster's daily is the single most useful cover of the cycle because it publishes all four of the day's threads at once and ranks them: the Leader's message on top, the civilizational quarrel in the centre, naval enforcement beyond the Strait and Saudi airspace down the right rail. The significance is that an outlet that answers to the broadcasting establishment, not to a faction, prints «فراتر از تنگه» as doctrine rather than as rhetoric, which is the strongest available indicator that the widening is policy. Track the plural «جنگ‌های تحمیلی اخیر»: the state's own count of how many wars this has been is now in print and will constrain how any ceasefire is described.

Vatan-e Emrooz

Hardline principlist daily

"The ancient war" «جنگ باستانی»

SEVERE: enforcement declared beyond the chokepoint, under a cover that recasts the war as civilizational



- Main: The whole cover is one image and one word. A computer-generated portrait of Marco Rubio's face on a Greek hoplite in gilded cuirass, crested helmet, short sword and round shield, under the single word «جنگ باستانی». The deck reads: «اظهارات مارکو روبیو و روایت ضدایرانی او از جنگ‌های یونان و هخامنشیان، تلاشی در راستای ایجاد یک پشتوانه تاریخی-ایدئولوژیک برای جنگ آمریکا علیه ایران است» (Marco Rubio's statements and his anti-Iranian account of the Greco-Achaemenid wars are an attempt to build a historical and ideological foundation for America's war against Iran). The reference is to the US Secretary of State's 7 October address at the Pnyx in Athens, whose historical passage recounts the sack of Athens in 480 BC and the Acropolis stand against the Persian invaders.
- Banner: «فرمانده کل قوا در پیامی به مناسبت هفته نیروی انتظامی مطرح کرد» over a strap on the firm pillars of the country's security, the Police Week message carried as a top strap rather than as the lead.
- Right rail: «پرواز ممنوع!» (No-fly!), decked «حملات به فرودگاه‌ها و گسترش عملیات در جبهه‌های جنوب غرب، هزینه ادامه جنگ عربستان علیه یمن را افزایش داده است», with a photograph of passengers walking a terminal apron under smoke. The frame is explicitly cost-imposition on Riyadh, not Yemeni defence.
- Right rail: «بحران در آسمان اروپا» (Crisis in Europe's sky), decked «جهش قیمت سوخت جت ناشی از جنگ آمریکا علیه ایران، شرکت‌های هواپیمایی اروپا را به حذف پرواز و افزایش قیمت بلیت وادار کرد». European flight cancellations are attributed in the deck to America's war on Iran, not to the Strait.
- Right rail (boxed, marked ویژه): «مجازات فراتر از محدوده تنگه» (Punishment beyond the Strait's limits), decked «هشدار سپاه به شناورهایی که قصد عبور غیرمجاز از تنگه هرمز را دارند» with the bullet «ورود شناورهای ارتقاءیافته به میدان رزم» (upgraded vessels entering the battle arena). This is the sharpest print formulation yet of extending enforcement outside the chokepoint itself.
- Op-ed: «پاس گل ترامپ به دموکرات‌ها» (Trump's assist to the Democrats), a «نگاه» column by Hanif Ghaffari, opening on the November 2026 midterms and the signs of failure in the Republican camp.
- Op-ed: «آدرس غلط واشنگتن» (Washington's wrong address), a signed note at the foot of the page arguing that Iran has spent years operating under sanctions and now faces an economy that has been sanctioned rather than a normal one, and that Washington's assumption of equivalence between pressure and collapse is misaddressed.
- Sub-item: Top-left report «فرصت نوسازی اقتصاد در دل بازسازی» (The chance to modernise the economy inside reconstruction), from the paper's reading of the Seventh Development Plan.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Vatan-e Emrooz converts a speech into a civilizational casus belli and prints no Iranian rebuttal of substance, which is the point: the cover argues that the American argument is itself the evidence of premeditation. The significance is the register shift, in that for the first time in this monitor's run the hardline lead frame is not nuclear, not Hormuz and not Israel but history, which gives the war a narrative with no negotiable terms. Read the boxed Guard Corps item beside it as the operational half of the same cover: punishment beyond the Strait's limits is a geographic widening announced in a sidebar while the page's attention is on Xerxes.

Full-cover computer-generated image placing the US Secretary of State's face on a Greek hoplite in gilded armour before ruined columns and a storm sky, captioned «جنگ باستانی».

Javan

Hardline daily affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps

HIGH: an allied strike on Gulf civil aviation claimed as American defeat, printed beside a pulpit demand to leave the NPT

"America besieged in the sky of Riyadh!" «محاصره آمریکا در آسمان ریاض!»



- Main: A composite cover image of a large American military transport aircraft ringed by a dark vortex, set above a photograph of a burned-out Saudia airliner being hosed down by fire crews on an apron. The headline claims the siege is of America, not of Saudi Arabia, which is the editorial move: a Yemeni strike on a Saudi civil airport is published as an American strategic defeat.
- Banner: «پیام فرمانده معظم کل قوا به مناسبت هفته نیروی انتظامی: فداکاری پلیس نباید عادی‌انگاری شود» (The police's self-sacrifice must not be taken as routine), page 2.
- Op-ed: «سال پس از طوفان ۳» (Three years after the Storm), a signed front-page commentary marking the third anniversary of the 7 October 2023 Al-Aqsa Flood operation and reading the current war as its continuation.
- Sub-item: «به یک مطالبه تبدیل شده است NPT خروج ایران از» (Iran's withdrawal from the NPT has become a demand), sourced on the page to Hojjat al-Islam Mohammad Javad Haj Ali-Akbari in this week's Tehran Friday prayer sermon. The sermon attribution is as printed in Javan and was not independently confirmed at the time of compilation; the policy position itself has recurred in Iranian clerical and parliamentary rhetoric through the war.
- Sub-item: «عشق‌آباد هم راهبرد انزوای ایران را شکست» (Ashgabat too broke the strategy of isolating Iran), illustrated with a photograph of President Masoud Pezeshkian shaking hands with Vladimir Putin on the margins of the Turkmenistan summits.
- Sub-item: «شهادت پلیس زن در زاهدان» (A female police officer martyred in Zahedan), the only internal-security casualty item on any cover this cycle, placed beside the Police Week banner.
- Right rail: «دلیل اقتصادگرایانه پیرامون فرهنگ حجاب ۱۰» and «فرسایش سرمایه اجتماعی» (The erosion of social capital), a pairing that puts the hijab argument and declining social trust on the same rail in the Guard Corps daily.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Javan is the one cover that makes the attribution explicit, in that it does not present the Riyadh airport strike as Yemeni success but as American encirclement, which is how the Guard Corps estate converts an allied operation into a theatre-level claim without taking responsibility for it. The significance is the pairing with the NPT item: a paper arguing that the adversary is losing the air over the Gulf is simultaneously relaying a clerical demand to exit the non-proliferation treaty, which is escalation framed as a response to weakness rather than to strength. Track the NPT thread, which has now moved from parliamentary briefing to Friday pulpit to Guard Corps front page in under two weeks.

Sobh-e No

Principlist daily

MODERATE-HIGH: adversary restraint forecast from the midterm calendar, which reads as a window rather than as de-escalation

"Trump in limbo" «ترامپ در برزخ»



- Main: «ترامپ در برزخ» over the question «چرا حمله به ایران به ضرر جمهوری‌خواهان است؟» (Why is an attack on Iran against the Republicans' interest?), an analysis by Mahboubeh Niavarani carried on the channel at items 116631 and 116632. The argument is electoral rather than military: approaching midterms, escalation with Iran damages the Republican position, so «محدوده مانور انتخاباتی برای ترامپ محدود است».
- Main (pull quote): «ترامپ برای حفظ اکثریت سنا، فعلاً از تشدید جنگ با ایران پرهیز می‌کند» (To keep the Senate majority, Trump is for now avoiding escalating the war with Iran), attributed on the page to Ehsan Salehi. This is a forecast of adversary restraint printed by a principlist paper, which is unusual and worth tracking against the opposite forecast printed the same morning by Etemad.
- Banner: «نشست سه‌جانبه ایران، روسیه و آذربایجان», the foreign ministers of the three states announcing agreement on joint economic projects at a trilateral meeting of the three presidents. Foreign minister Abbas Araghchi separately explained the trilateral format on the margins of the Commonwealth of Independent States summit (Iran newspaper channel item 509341).
- Right rail: «باکو علیه دایی بزرگ» (Baku against the big uncle), kickered «اظهارات جنجالی علی‌اف پیرامون ترکیه», a principlist paper amplifying an Azerbaijani-Turkish rift on the morning it also prints Iran sitting at a table with Aliyev.
- Right rail: «ریاض تنها ماند» (Riyadh is left alone), kickered «ترکیه و پاکستان حاضر به رویارویی با انصارالله نیستند» (Turkey and Pakistan are not prepared to confront Ansarallah).
- Right rail: «انتقام کودکانه ترامپ از برنده نوبل» (Trump's childish revenge on the Nobel winner), kickered «تسویه‌حساب شخصی با واکنش‌های بین‌المللی مواجه شد». On the independent record, the administration announced fresh sanctions on the International Criminal Court within hours of Navi Pillay's award, and the president reshared a post calling the laureate a hater of America and Israel.
- Bottom: «از ایران می‌ترسند» (They are afraid of Iran), an interview with Mousa Najafi conducted for Sobh-e No, rooting Rubio's remarks in Western anxiety at the revival of Iranian power and independence, with the pull quotes «بخشی از حساسیت غرب نسبت به ایران را باید در چارچوب نگرانی از احیای قدرت و استقلال ایران بررسی کرد» and «استقلال امروز، در کنار پیشینه تمدنی ایران، از عواملی است که در تحلیل تقابل کنونی باید مورد توجه قرار گیرد».

- Bottom: «قالیباف در پاسخ به روبیو: زانو خواهید زد!» (Qalibaf in reply to Rubio: you will kneel!). Parliament speaker Mohammad Bagher Qalibaf answered the Athens speech on X, warning that those who pursue Alexander's legacy will meet Valerian's fate (Defa Press item 69494).

> **ANALYST NOTE** Sobh-e No is the only cover of the cycle whose lead judgment is about American domestic politics rather than about the war, and it reaches a conclusion the hardline estate does not want: that the adversary will hold off. The mechanism matters more than the conclusion, in that a principlist daily arguing American restraint from the midterm calendar is implicitly arguing that Iranian escalation is survivable until 3 November, which is a permission structure rather than a reassurance. Set it against Etemad's «آماده باش ترامپ» on the same morning: the two estates have published opposite readings of the same adversary on the same day, and the disagreement is the finding.

Sazandegi

Reformist daily, organ of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party

“Kargozaran's new agenda” «دستور کار جدید کارگزاران»

LOW: internal political repositioning, with a republican-succession vocabulary in print



- Main: A wide group photograph of the party's provincial first secretaries under the headline «دستور کار جدید کارگزاران». The deck reads: «سیدحسین مرعشی، دبیرکل حزب کارگزاران سازندگی ایران در نشست دبیران اول استان‌های این حزب، از تمامی اعضای حزب در سراسر کشور خواست تا برای اصلاح کم‌هزینه حاکمیت و عبور از بحران‌های سیاسی و انسانی گذشته راهی برای تعامل میان جامعه مدنی و نهادهای حکومتی جهت اداره کشور پیدا کنند» (Seyyed Hossein Marashi, secretary-general of the party, asked members nationwide to find a route to interaction between civil society and state institutions, for low-cost reform of governance and passage out of the political and human crises of the past).
- Left column: «کارگزاران سازندگی، گذار از جمهوری دوم به جمهوری سوم» (Kargozaran-e Sazandegi: the transition from the Second Republic to the Third Republic), a front-page essay putting a republican-succession vocabulary into print in a cycle in which the Leader's signature has just returned to the other front pages.
- Sub-item: Index strap «جنگ با تبعیض» (War on discrimination) on the politics page.
- Sub-item: Index strap «نویسنده خجالتی» (The shy writer), the paper's handling of the 2026 Nobel literature award, and a note recording the death of the industrialist Mohsen Khalili Araghi.
- Sub-item: Index strap «ابهام ۱۰ هکتاری» (The 10-hectare ambiguity), a land-allocation question carried over the masthead.

ANALYST NOTE Sazandegi prints the one political programme of the cycle, and the vocabulary is the finding: «اصلاح کم‌هزینه حاکمیت», low-cost reform of governance, is a formulation that concedes the system will not be replaced while asserting it must be changed, and «گذار از جمهوری دوم به جمهوری سوم» proposes a constitutional periodisation at a moment of unresolved succession. The significance is timing rather than content, in that a reformist party convenes its provincial structure and publishes a transition frame on the same morning the Leader's message returns to four other front pages. Carry this forward as the standing reformist-institutional thread: the party is positioning for a post-war political settlement that nobody else in print is yet describing.

Charsoogh

Economic daily

LOW: no external content; domestic privatisation prosecuted on price evidence

“Crouse has tripled the price of cars” «کروز قیمت خودرو را ۳ برابر کرد»



- Main: The cover is one accusation and one table. The deck reads «خصوصی‌سازی به سبک دولت پزشکیان: از وعده رقابت و ارتقای کیفیت تا شدیدترین جهش قیمت محصولات ایران خودرو» (Privatisation in the Pezeshkian government's style: from promises of competition and quality improvement to the sharpest jump in Iran Khodro's prices).
- Main: The red panel states that since the transfer of Iran Khodro to the Crouse group under the Pezeshkian government the company's product prices have tripled, and that the average price of its twenty best-selling models, around 867 million tomans before the handover in late 1403, has since multiplied.
- Sub-item: A full-width table of named models against prior price, new price and the increase, from Soren and Peugeot variants through to the paper's own averages, which is the evidentiary core of the cover and the reason it can make the headline claim at all.
- Sub-item: «فواید شناسه‌دار کردن سوخت‌گیری» (The benefits of identity-linked refuelling), illustrated with a fuel card, and beside it «ریشه جوسازی علیه شناسه کارت سوخت بنزین کجاست؟» (Where is the root of the agitation against the petrol-card identifier?), the paper taking the government's side on rationing while attacking it on privatisation.
- Banner: «کروز قیمت خودرو را ۳ برابر کرد» is printed without any war or diplomacy item anywhere on the page, the only cover in the batch with no external content at all.
- Cartoon: Bottom-left, two executives on a winners' podium before an Iran Khodro backdrop, one raising a trophy, captioned to the effect that the promises were kept and the prices grew excellently, with a wrecked car behind the podium.

ANALYST NOTE Charsoogh is the cycle's purest domestic-accountability cover and names a specific private acquirer, which is rarer in the Iranian economic press than criticism of ministries. The significance is that the privatisation of the country's largest carmaker is being prosecuted on a front page in the middle of a war, which indicates the war is no longer sufficient to suspend economic scrutiny. Track the model-by-model table as a price series: it is the most granular consumer-inflation evidence this monitor has had from any single cover.

Two executives on a victory podium in front of an Iran Khodro banner, one holding a trophy aloft, a wrecked car behind them, captioned as a boast that the promises were delivered and prices grew splendidly.

Jomhouri Eslami

Traditional clerical establishment daily

LOW-MODERATE: the negotiating track published as live, with an American proposal awaiting an Iranian answer

"The Iran-United States negotiating process is still continuing" «روند مذاکراتی ایران و آمریکا همچنان ادامه دارد»


جمهوری اسلامی

روند مذاکراتی ایران و آمریکا همچنان ادامه دارد

- Main: The lead is the foreign minister, decked «وزیر خارجه ایران» and sub-decked «پاسخ به پیشنهاد جدید آمریکا روزهای آینده داده می‌شود» (the answer to America's new proposal will be given in the coming days). On the independent record Abbas Araghchi said on 8 October that Iran was reviewing the American side's response, conveyed through mediators, and would reply within days; messages continue to pass through intermediaries. This is the only cover of the cycle to lead on the negotiation.
- Banner: «تقویت انتظامی: در پیام فرمانده کل قوا به مناسبت هفته نیروی انتظامی همه‌جانبه نیروهای حافظ امنیت», the Police Week message carried as the top strap.
- Sub-item: «پیشنهاد ایران برای تدوین برنامه بلندمدت همکاری منطقه‌ای مقابله با کاهش آب خزر», the president's proposal at the extraordinary Caspian heads-of-state meeting for a long-term regional programme against the falling sea level. The independent record places this at the first Caspian environmental summit on 9 October, attended by Aliyev, Pezeshkian, Tokayev and Putin.
- Sub-item: «جایزه نوبل صلح به رئیس کمیته حقیقت‌یاب سازمان ملل در فلسطین تعلق یافت» (The Nobel Peace Prize went to the head of the UN fact-finding committee on Palestine). The laureate is Navi Pillay; the Palestine-commission framing is the paper's own selection from a career that also includes the Rwanda tribunal and the UN human rights commissionership.
- Sub-item (red): «خیزش مردمی در ده‌ها نقطه جهان در حمایت از فلسطین» (Popular risings in dozens of places worldwide in support of Palestine).
- Sub-item: «اردوغان: اسرائیل تمام منطقه را تهدید می‌کند» (Erdogan: Israel threatens the entire region), the cycle's only Turkish item and the closest any cover comes to a Levant frame.
- Sub-item: «افتتاح نخستین مرکز دانشگاهی تشخیص و درمان سرطان کودکان کشور با حضور معاون اول رئیس جمهور», a ribbon-cutting for the country's first academic paediatric cancer centre.
- Sub-item: «خسارت سالانه ۱.۵ میلیارد دلاری استخراج رمزارز به کشور» (An annual 1.5 billion dollars of damage from crypto mining), the sharpest domestic-cost number on any cover this cycle.
- Right rail (red): «مجلس این ابهام را برطرف کند» (Let parliament clear up this ambiguity), the paper's standing institutional-scrutiny box.

ANALYST NOTE Jomhouri Eslami is the control case for the cycle: the one estate that leads on diplomacy, and it does so without softening language, printing the negotiation as a process that has not stopped and an American proposal that awaits an Iranian answer. The significance is distributional rather than

substantive, in that the clerical-establishment daily is now carrying the negotiating track alone while the hardline estate leads on Xerxes and Riyadh and the reformist estate leads on Qom, which leaves the diplomacy without a factional coalition in print. Watch the promised reply: a paper that has committed the words «روزهای آینده» to a front page has created a date against which the next cycles can be read.

Ta'adol

Economic daily

"The three-digit puzzle of black gold!" «پازل سه رقمی طلای سیاه!»

LOW: the war's energy dividend treated as an analytic problem rather than as victory



- Main: «گزارش «تعادل» از کالبدشکافی بازار جهانی انرژی و نفت ۱۰۰ دلاری», the paper's anatomy of a global energy market with oil in three digits. This is the only cover in the batch to treat the hundred-dollar barrel as an analytic problem rather than as a scoreboard.
- Main photo: The Commonwealth of Independent States summit family photograph, captioned to an analysis of the president's Turkmenistan trip under the headline «شکست راهبرد انزوای ایران» (The failure of the strategy of isolating Iran).
- Right rail: «فساد و رانت از تضعیف نهاد علم تقویت می‌شوند» (Corruption and rent are strengthened by the weakening of the institution of science), carried with Farshad Momeni's analysis of why Iranian economic policy has failed.
- Left rail: «بورس در قله تاریخی» (The exchange at a historic peak) beside «شامخ بازار بزرگ‌تر شد یا اقتصاد گران‌تر؟» (Did the market's PMI grow, or did the economy just get more expensive?), the cycle's sharpest statement of the nominal-versus-real problem.
- Sub-item: «قیمت‌های رویایی در ویترین مجازی مسکن» (Dream prices in the virtual housing window) and «آزمون دولت در مهار هزینه‌های معیشت» (The government's test in restraining living costs), the household-cost pair.
- Sub-item: A signed front-page note on two world approaches, and a boxed award item on economists, neither of which carries war content.

ANALYST NOTE Ta'adol is the cycle's internal check on the triumphal energy reading: where Kayhan reprints an eightfold rise in oil freight as achievement and Vatan-e Emrooz reprints European flight cancellations as adversary pain, Ta'adol prints a hundred-dollar barrel as a puzzle and a record stock index as possible price illusion. The significance is that the economic press is refusing the war-dividend frame in the same cycle in which the political press is leaning on it hardest. Track «بورس در قله تاریخی» against the inflation items on Hamshahri and Charsoogh: three covers of one morning describe a nominal boom, a grocery-margin cut and a tripling of car prices without any of them acknowledging the others.

Etemad

Reformist daily

MODERATE: escalation warning carried in the rail while the lead is domestic rights

“An attack on women's sport” «حمله به ورزش زنان»



- Main: «حمله به ورزش زنان», kickered «اعتماد» از تعطیلی مسابقات موی‌تای قم گزارش می‌دهد», on the shutdown of a women's Muay Thai competition in Qom, with the quoted verdict «اینها نیروهای خودسری بودند که چنین فضایی شکل دادند» (these were rogue elements who created such an atmosphere). The reformist estate leads its cover on a domestic-rights incident on a morning when four other covers lead on the Leader and the war.
- Banner: «واکنش فعالان سیاسی به رجزخوانی باستان‌گرایانه روبیو» over «بازگشت به تاریخ برای توجیه جنایت» (A return to history to justify a crime). «رجزخوانی» is the pre-combat war boast of Persian epic, applied here to an American speech, so even the reformist rebuttal accepts the civilizational frame while rejecting its content.
- Banner: «دیپلماسی فشرده در آسیای میانه» (Intensive diplomacy in Central Asia), reporting the president's bilaterals on the margins of the Commonwealth of Independent States meeting, with the strap «مسعود پزشکیان در نشست فوق‌العاده سران حوزه خزر مطرح کرد: خزر نماد جدید همکاری‌های منطقه‌ای».
- Left rail: «آماده باش ترامپ» (Trump on alert), kickered «اعتماد» از آرایش جنگی در منطقه گزارش می‌دهد», a reformist report on renewed war posture in the region. This is the direct opposite of Sobh-e No's lead on the same morning.
- Left rail: «پایان وابستگی گازی اروپا؟» (The end of Europe's gas dependence?), kickered «چرخش بزرگ در معاملات انرژی», the only cover item this cycle to treat the energy realignment as a structural change rather than as adversary pain.
- Left rail: «غافلگیری امریکا» (America taken by surprise), an interview on the state of the Iran-United States exchange. The interviewee's name is printed but is below the resolution of the available scan for confident transliteration and is therefore not asserted here.
- Sub-item: «رونق بارگاه شمس» (The shrine of Shams revived), on the opening of a mystical-tourism development centre, illustrated with the illuminated dome at Khoy.
- Right rail: A «یادداشت‌ها» column of signed notes, the first titled «گاف وزیر خارجه امریکا» (The American Secretary of State's gaffe).
- Channel: Etemad's own feed carried, at item 538301, Yuri Ushakov's statement that Putin told Trump diplomatic options on Iran remain open, and at item 538296 a Pentagon count of 21 killed and 865 wounded in the Iran war as of 9 October, an increase of 2 killed and 4 wounded, sourced to IRIB.

ANALYST NOTE Etemad's cover is a deliberate refusal of the day's agenda: the reformist estate answers a morning of the Leader, Xerxes and Riyadh with a women's sport cancellation in Qom and the phrase

«نیروهای خودسری», rogue elements, which is the standard reformist formula for attributing enforcement to actors the state can disown. The significance is in the left rail rather than the lead, in that «آماده باش ترامپ» puts the reformist paper on the escalation side of a disagreement with Sobh-e No that neither paper acknowledges. Carry forward the single most useful line of the cycle from this outlet's channel rather than its page: the Pentagon's own casualty count is now being relayed into the Iranian press as an official adversary number rather than as an Iranian claim.

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

HIGH: victory declared from adversary economic pain, with the dead Leader, not the living one, underwriting the legitimacy claim

"FARAJA is one of the firm pillars of the country's security" «فراجا یکی از ستون‌های مستحکم امنیت کشور است»

- Main: The lead is the Leader's Police Week message (#تیتر_یک, item 86360, linking kayhan.ir/001QME). Kayhan's rendering reads: «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیدمجتبی خامنه‌ای در پیامی به مناسبت هفته انتظامی، با تأکید بر نقش این نیرو در تأمین امنیت کشور و ایستادگی در برابر حملات دشمن در جنگ‌های تحمیلی دوم و سوم، از مجاهدت‌ها و فداکاری‌های کارکنان فراجا و خانواده‌های آنان قدردانی کرده و تقویت همه‌جانبه این نهاد، ارتقای فناوری‌ها و بهره‌گیری هدفمند از هوش مصنوعی را در بهبود مأموریت‌های آن ضروری دانستند.» Two things are new in that single sentence: the honorific «امام» placed before the current Leader's name, and the ordinal «جنگ‌های تحمیلی دوم و سوم», the second and third imposed wars, which numbers the present conflict's phases against the Iran-Iraq war as the first.
- Op-ed: «گوساله‌پرست‌ها و گوساله‌شناس‌ها!(۱)» (Calf-worshippers and calf-experts! Part 1), the Yadasht-e Rooz signed #حسین_شریعتمداری, channel item 86358, closing «ادامه دارد» with the second part not yet published at compile time. Six numbered sections: that world and especially American and European analysts treat Iran as the winner of «جنگ‌های ۱۲ روزه و جنگ رمضان» and only Trump claims victory; that the test of victory is whether a belligerent reached its declared aims; that Trump predicted collapse within two weeks on Fox News and that «اکنون ۷ ماه از آغاز جنگ رمضان می‌گذرد»; that the regime-change aim produced instead the claim «ایران به چهارمین قدرت بزرگ جهانی تبدیل شده است»; that the predicted uprising did not come, citing the funeral of «آقای شهید» and nightly gatherings that «امروز به دویست و بیست و پنجمین شب خود رسیده است», a 225th consecutive night; and that the revolution's discourse has spread faster because of the wars.
- Op-ed (the load-bearing passage): Section 5 builds the title's analogy from Qur'an 7:142, that Moses was absent from the Israelites for forty nights and returned to find them worshipping the calf, against «مردم ایران نزدیک به ۷ ماه است که امام خود را ندیده‌اند، ولی نه فقط در صراط مستقیم ثابت‌قدم‌تر شده‌اند بلکه «گوساله‌شناس» هم شده‌اند» (the Iranian people have not seen their Imam for nearly seven months, yet have not only grown firmer on the straight path but have become calf-experts). The referent of «امام خود» is the assassinated predecessor, consistent with the seven-month span and with «آقای شهید» in section 4. The successor, whose Police Week message is this same paper's lead, does not appear anywhere in the analogy.
- Sub-item: Item 86362 carries «حمله عربستان به ایستگاه شرکت نفت در الحدیده یمن», a Saudi strike on an oil company station in Hudaydah, placing Kayhan on the Yemen escalation from the receiving end, not the Riyadh end that three other covers lead with.
- Sub-item: Item 86362 carries «حمله عربستان به ایستگاه شرکت نفت در الحدیده یمن», reporting that «جنگنده‌های متجاوز عربستان سعودی ایستگاه شرکت نفت در شهرستان باجل در استان الحدیده یمن را هدف حمله قرار دادند», a Saudi strike on an oil company station in Bajil district. Kayhan is the only outlet in the batch to lead its Yemen coverage from the receiving end rather than from Riyadh.
- Sub-item: The same round-up reprints a New York Times line that Iran has circumvented the American blockade and is charging transit fees on Chinese tankers, an adversary-origin claim carried without rebuttal because it supports the coercion thesis.

- Op-ed: A second signed column, «وقتی «فرانسوفیل‌ها» دست به سفیدشویی می‌زنند» (item 86364), attacks named reformist figures for silence on French police violence, which places a domestic-factional polemic on the same channel cycle as the victory editorial.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Kayhan is the clearest case this cycle of the Leader's return to print being used as an authority transfer rather than as news: the paper that spent the previous five cycles citing the Leader's office as the source of permission without any text now has a text, and spends it on the police rather than on the war. The editorial beside it is the more consequential document, because its central religious analogy requires the Leader to be absent: Shariatmadari praises a people who have gone seven months without seeing their Imam, and the living successor whose message is the paper's own lead is not named in the passage at all. The significance is that the hardline estate's theory of legitimacy in this war still runs through the dead Leader and the public's endurance, not through the new one, and that it argues victory from adversary-origin costs rather than from any Iranian battlefield claim. Track the «امام» honorific now attached in print to Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei and the «225th night» counter, which is the first numbered mobilisation series this monitor has recorded.

Appendix A: The Leader's message for Police Week (reconstructed, partial)

Front-page straps of Hamshahri, Jam-e Jam, Javan, Vatan-e Emrooz and Jomhouri Eslami, 18 Mehr 1405, with the fullest single rendering at Kayhan channel item 86360 (linking kayhan.ir/001QME). Issued 16 Mehr 1405 / 8 October 2026.

VERIFICATION NOTE. No full text of this message was retrievable at compile time: khamenei.ir and the Iranian news domains that carry the text were not reachable from the compiling environment, and the Telegram surfaces that were reachable carry the newspapers' renderings rather than the document. What follows is therefore a reconstruction from five front-page straps and one agency-style rendering, not a translation of a primary text. Nothing here should be quoted as the Leader's own words except the phrases given in the original script, which are reproduced as the papers printed them.

ATTRIBUTION AS PRINTED. Kayhan's rendering names the author as «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیدمجتبی خامنه‌ای», His Eminence Grand Ayatollah Imam Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei. Agency copy of the same message circulating on 16 Mehr signs it «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای». The honorific «امام», Imam, placed before the name is the notable element: in this monitor's record the title has been reserved for Khomeini and, since 28 February 2026, applied to the assassinated Seyyed Ali Khamenei. Its appearance before the living successor's name in the Supreme Leader's own flagship daily is a status marker and should be tracked, not treated as a transcription variant.

RECONSTRUCTED SUBSTANCE, CLAUSE BY CLAUSE. On the force's role: the message emphasises the role of FARAJA, the Law Enforcement Command of the Islamic Republic, in providing the country's security and in standing firm against enemy attacks «در جنگ‌های تحمیلی دوم و سوم», in the second and third imposed wars. This ordinal is the single most consequential phrase in the message. It numbers the present conflict's phases as the second and third wars imposed on the Islamic Republic, taking the 1980 to 1988 war with Iraq as the first, and it does so in the Leader's own voice rather than in commentary. Jam-e Jam renders the same clause in the looser plural «جنگ‌های تحمیلی اخیر», the recent imposed wars.

On the personnel: the message expresses appreciation for the striving and self-sacrifice «از مجاهدت‌ها و فداکاری‌های کارکنان فراجا و خانواده‌های آنان», of FARAJA's personnel and of their families. Javan's strap renders the instruction as «فداکاری پلیس نباید عادی‌انگاری شود», the police's self-sacrifice must not be treated as routine. Jam-e Jam titles its lead «امنیت، حاصل مجاهدت‌های خاموش», security as the fruit of silent striving.

On the instruction: the message holds necessary «تقویت همه‌جانبه این نهاد، ارتقای فناوری‌ها و بهره‌گیری هدفمند از هوش مصنوعی», the comprehensive strengthening of the institution, the upgrading of its technologies, and the purposeful use of artificial intelligence, in improving its missions. Hamshahri's strap reduces this to an order, «فرمان تقویت همه‌جانبه نیروهای حافظ امنیت»; Jomhouri Eslami to «تقویت همه‌جانبه نیروهای حافظ امنیت»; Vatan-e Emrooz carries it as a call to the firm pillars of the country's security, and Kayhan as «فراجا یکی از ستون‌های مستحکم امنیت کشور است».

On the enemy: agency copy of the message records a clause to the effect that the enemy's effort to target the police made the institution's importance more evident than before. This clause appears in secondary copy rather than on any front page in this batch and is flagged accordingly.

CLOSING. Agency copy ends the message with a prayer for FARAJA's success «در اعتلای امنیّت، اقتدار، و عزّت ایران اسلامی», in elevating the security, the eqtedar (authority, standing as power) and the dignity of Islamic Iran, invoked «با دعای سَرورمان عجّل‌الله‌تعالی‌فرجه‌الشّریف», through the prayer of our master, the Hidden Imam. The closing formula is conventional and carries no policy content.

ANALYST FLAG. The message's significance is not its content, which is a routine occasional message to a police force, but the three facts around it. First, it ends a print absence: this monitor recorded five consecutive cycles in which no front page carried any message, speech, photograph or signature of the Leader, while his office was repeatedly cited as the source of permission for military decisions. Second, the ordinal «دوم و سوم» commits the state, in the Leader's voice, to a numbered account of the war, which constrains how any settlement can later be described. Third, the one institution the Leader has chosen to address on his return to print is the internal-security force, not the Guard Corps and not the armed forces, on a morning when the Guard Corps navy is announcing enforcement beyond the Strait of Hormuz in three other papers.

SOURCE LINE. Reconstructed from: Kayhan channel item 86360, 18 Mehr 1405; Hamshahri front-page strap, 18 Mehr 1405; Jam-e Jam lead, 18 Mehr 1405; Javan front-page strap, Year 28 No. 7376; Vatan-e Emrooz front-page strap, Vol. 13 No. 4739; Jomhouri Eslami front-page strap, 18 Mehr 1405.

Appendix B: Yadasht-e Rooz, "Calf-worshippers and calf-experts! (1)", Hossein Shariatmadari

Kayhan, Yadasht-e Rooz, 18 Mehr 1405 / 10 October 2026; retrieved in full from Kayhan channel item 86358, author tag #حسین_شریعتمداری. Raw Persian text retained at raw/kayhan-yadasht-e-rooz-86358.txt.

AUTHOR VERIFICATION. The piece is tagged in the channel to Hossein Shariatmadari, Kayhan's managing editor and the Leader's representative at the paper, and runs in the paper's standing Yadasht-e Rooz slot. It is marked «(۱)» and closes «ادامه دارد», to be continued; the second part had not been published at compile time. Translation below is complete for part one and follows the author's own numbering. Loaded regime vocabulary is kept in quotation marks and the original script is retained where the term carries the framing.

1. Consulting the view of the world's leading analysts, and especially of American and European analysts and authorities, plainly indicates that they consider the Islamic Republic of Iran the victor of «جنگ‌های ۱۲ روزه و جنگ رمضان», the twelve-day wars and the Ramadan war, and nearly all of them present America and the Zionist regime as the losing and defeated side of the war. Apparently in the whole world it is only the narcissist Trump who presents himself as the victor of the war (!). But beyond this or that opinion, there is a scientific and recognised formula for identifying the victorious or the defeated side of a war. By that formula, the victorious side is the country that has reached its declared aims; and if it has not reached the aims it declared and pursued, it is deemed the defeated side. The said formula leaves not the least doubt that the Islamic Republic of Iran is the victorious side and America and its Hebrew, Western and Arab allies are the defeated side of the two recent wars. Now look at America's officially declared aims in waging the war and at the result it has met!

2. Trump, moments after the war began, announced with a foolish arrogance that this war would end within two weeks with the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Iran (!). Speaking to the Fox News network, he did not even rule out a one-week collapse of Iran's Islamic system. And yet, seven months have now passed since the beginning of the Ramadan war and America and its allies have not been able to do a damned thing. It is necessary here to mention the 1397 report of the American weekly The Weekly Standard. Referring to the forty years (to that date) of Iran-America clashes and tensions, the Weekly Standard concluded that every American president from Carter to Obama (the then president of America) agreed with Imam Khomeini on one point (!), namely that «آمریکا هیچ غلطی نمی‌تواند بکند», America cannot do a damned thing.

3. They had announced that they were going to destroy Iran's Islamic governance for good and replace it with a government aligned with America and the Western bloc (Regime change). The outcome of this foolish and overreaching delusion is that today, by the admission of American theorists and of many other professional analysts, «ایران به چهارمین قدرت بزرگ جهانی تبدیل شده است», Iran has become the world's fourth great power; and in the wise and intelligent words of the Supreme Leader of the Revolution, «براساس محاسبات الهی، کشوری که برای اقامه حق هراسی ندارد، قدرت اول جهان است», by divine reckoning, a country that has no fear in establishing the truth is the first power in the world.

4. They had announced that after a military attack on Iran the people of Iran would rise in revolt against the Islamic system and against the officials of their country, and that the ground would be laid for the collapse of the Islamic Republic of Iran (!). But the noble and self-sacrificing people of Islamic Iran, across the whole country, have mounted gatherings unmatched not only in the history of Iran but, in the words of eminent historians, in the entire history of mankind. The unmatched, tens-of-millions

presence of the people at the funeral procession of the pure body of «آقای شهید», the martyred gentleman, the nightly and populous gatherings of women and men, young and adolescent, across the country, which today has reached its two hundred and twenty-fifth night, and so on, have drawn the astonishment of people the world over, and everywhere tongue and pen turn to praise of the people of Iran.

5. It is fitting and worth comparing here that Moses, peace be upon him, was absent from the sight of the people of Israel for only forty nights (And We appointed for Moses thirty nights and completed them with ten, so the term of his Lord was completed as forty nights), and when Moses returned among his people after forty nights he saw, to his utter astonishment, that the people of Israel (the ancestors of today's Zionists) had become calf-worshippers! Now look at this side of the affair. The people of Iran have not seen their Imam for nearly seven months, yet they have not only grown firmer on the straight path, they have also become «گوساله‌شناس», calf-experts. «ببین تفاوت ره از کجاست تا به کجا», see how great the difference between one road and the other.

6. Child-devouring Trump and the vile and wicked Netanyahu had announced that the discourse of the Islamic Revolution has upset the order governing the world and has produced new changes and transformations whose spread to the countries of the region could bring uncontrollable crises in its train (!). Leaving aside that they have called the departure of the region's countries from American domination a "crisis", it can plainly be seen that in this arena too they have obtained the opposite result, and the twelve-day and Ramadan wars have given greater speed to the spread and export of the discourse of the Islamic Revolution. This reality is clearly visible in the admiring approach of world public opinion towards Iran and towards the Islamic foundations of the system.

To be continued.

ANALYST FLAG. Three things in this text are evidence rather than rhetoric. First, the victory case is built entirely from adversary-origin and third-party material, analysts, a 1397 American weekly, world public opinion, and contains no Iranian battlefield claim at all; the same substitution has run through the hardline estate every cycle this month. Second, section 4 supplies two hard numbers the Iranian press does not usually print: seven months since the start of what the author calls the Ramadan war, and a nightly mobilisation that has reached «دویست و بیست و پنجمین شب», its 225th night. Third, and most consequential, section 5 requires the Leader to be absent. The analogy works only if the people have been without their Imam, and the author says they have been without him for nearly seven months, which dates the absence to the assassination of Seyyed Ali Khamenei on 28 February 2026 and identifies «امام خود» as the predecessor, consistent with «آقای شهید» in section 4. The living successor, whose Police Week message is the lead of this same edition of this same paper, appears nowhere in the passage. A legitimacy argument that runs through a dead Leader and the endurance of the public, published on the morning the successor's signature returns to the front pages, is the cycle's clearest indicator of where the hardline estate still locates authority.

QUOTATION CAVEAT. The Weekly Standard attribution, the "fourth great power" attribution to unnamed American theorists, the tens-of-millions funeral figure and the 225-night count are the author's claims and are not independently established. They are not to be reproduced as authentic without primary-source confirmation.

SOURCE LINE. Kayhan, Yadasht-e Rooz, Saturday 18 Mehr 1405, item 86358 on the paper's channel; author tag #حسین_شریعتمداری; full Persian text retained at raw/kayhan-yadasht-e-rooz-86358.txt.

Appendix C: Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline, compiled 10 October 2026

SCAN COVERAGE. Ten Persian front pages of Saturday 18 Mehr 1405 were retrieved from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk album of 18 Mehr (batch item 45078, captioned «صفحه نخست روزنامه‌های شنبه ۱۸ مهر ماه ۱۴۰۵»). The stale-batch guard passed on the first attempt: the album's own printed Jalali date matched the target date, so no fallback discovery was required and no page in this edition is carried over from an earlier batch. The ten are Hamshahri, Jam-e Jam, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sobh-e No, Sazandegi, Charsoogh, Jomhouri Eslami, Ta'adol and Etemad. Each was read as an image and its masthead identified from the printed nameplate rather than inferred from layout or from any label attached by the source.

ENGLISH COVERAGE, A GAP. There is no fresh English-language Iranian front page in this edition. The English kiosk album reachable this cycle is dated 16 Mehr 1405 and reposts the Iran Daily issue of 8 October (Vol. 8273), which this monitor analysed in the edition of that date. It is recorded in the per-paper section for provenance and is excluded from the front-page table; nothing in this edition's judgments rests on it. Tehran Times was unavailable at the time of compilation.

CHANNEL COVERAGE. Six outlet channels were read for the 18 Mehr cycle: Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad, Iran and Sobh-e No. Kayhan is represented in the per-paper section by channel reconstruction rather than by a scan, because the paper is not in the Tasnim album; its lead, its Yadasht-e Rooz and two sub-items were taken from its own channel and the Persian text of the editorial was retrieved in full and retained. Three agency wires, Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News, were read for corroboration and threat context and are labelled as claims throughout; agency material is not treated as front-page content.

VERIFICATION PERFORMED. The following were checked against the independent record before being used in a judgment: the 2026 Nobel Peace Prize award to Navi Pillay, announced 9 October, together with the American sanctions on the International Criminal Court announced within hours and the president's reshared attack on the laureate; the US Secretary of State's 7 October address at the Pnyx in Athens, including the passage on the sack of Athens in 480 BC and the Acropolis stand against the Persian invaders; the Ansarallah missile attacks on King Khalid International Airport in Riyadh and on Abha, the Saudi report of three dead, the damaged Saudia aircraft, Yahya Saree's statement that Saudi airspace has become a theatre of military operations with the airspace over Mecca and Medina excluded, and the resulting airline suspensions and mass cancellations; the foreign minister's 8 October statement that Iran is reviewing the American response passed through mediators and will reply within days; the 9 October extraordinary Caspian summit attended by Aliyev, Pezeshkian, Tokayev and Putin; the Guard Corps navy's claim to have struck the LPG carrier NV Sunshine near the Strait of Hormuz and the warning of punishment for vessels beyond it; and the 9 October announcement that Russia would supply diesel to the United States and world markets under a Treasury general licence running to 7 April 2027.

SINGLE-SOURCE AND UNVERIFIED ITEMS. The following are carried as attributed claims and are not established here: Jam-e Jam's specification that an Airbus A321 airframe was destroyed at Riyadh and that three Saudi nationals including a Saudia pilot were killed, which is the paper's rendering of a Sanaa claim and goes beyond what the independent record supports; the placard photographed in Jam-e Jam's Inter-Parliamentary Union item, whose English text identifies an infant granddaughter of

the late Leader killed in an attack, where neither the identification nor the circumstances are independently established; Javan's attribution of an NPT-withdrawal demand to a Tehran Friday prayer sermon by Hojjat al-Islam Mohammad Javad Haj Ali-Akbari, where the name is read from the printed page but the sermon was not independently confirmed; Sobh-e No's report of a trilateral Iran-Russia-Azerbaijan presidential meeting, which is corroborated only by the foreign minister's own explanation on the Iran newspaper channel; the Pentagon casualty figures of 21 killed and 865 wounded as of 9 October, relayed into the Iranian press through IRIB; and every figure in the Kayhan editorial, including the 225-night count.

SUCCESSION EVIDENCE. The identification of the current Leader as Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei rests this cycle on primary printed evidence rather than on inference: Kayhan's own channel names the author of the Police Week message as «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سیدمجتبی خامنه‌ای», and agency copy of the same message signs it «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای». References on the front pages to «آقای شهید», «امام شهیدمان» and «شهید سیدعلی» are to the assassinated predecessor, Seyyed Ali Khamenei, killed on 28 February 2026, and are read as such throughout. Where a page prints «رهبر معظم انقلاب» or «فرمانده کل قوا» without a name, the reference is taken as the current Leader.

TRANSLATION CAVEATS. Translations are editorial and are made to preserve register rather than to smooth it. Loaded terms are glossed inline where the framing depends on them: «رجزخوانی», the pre-combat boast of Persian epic, used by Etemad of an American speech; «اقتدار» (eqtedar), authority in the sense of standing as power; «نیروهای خودسری», rogue or self-willed elements, the standard formula for enforcement the state wishes to disown; «گوساله‌شناس», calf-expert, Shariatmadari's coinage against the Qur'anic calf-worshipper; «جنگ‌های تحمیلی دوم و سوم», the second and third imposed wars. Headlines are given in the original script beside the English throughout.

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