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Daily Front-Page Intelligence

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THE FIFTH VISIT EDITION

Twelve Iranian titles of 29 Mehr 1405: ten front-page scans, nine dailies and the Guard's weekly, read together with Kayhan and the Iran newspaper from their own channels, four further paper channels and three agency wires. No Iranian English-language front page of the day was published, and Tehran Times was unavailable at the time of compilation.

Front pages published the morning of 21 October 2026, reflecting events through late 20 October local.

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



Front page: Vatan-e Emrooz

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this edition is that the Iranian press has published the refusal and suppressed the agreement. Field Marshal Syed Asim Munir, Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff, arrived in Tehran on Tuesday on what Jomhouri Eslami numbers as «پنجمین سفر رسمی», his fifth official trip, and was received by the President, by the Speaker of parliament and by the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council. Four separate front pages answer him with the same formula. Sobh-e No leads «اجرای شروط هفت‌گانه تنها گزینه آمریکا», implementing the seven conditions is America's only option. Jam-e Jam prints the refusal as a chorus of three offices: the President saying threats and sanctions must be lifted before any dialogue, the Speaker saying «حرف جدیدی نداریم», we have nothing new to say, and the security council secretary saying «به هیچ وجه ذره‌ای از مواد هسته‌ای غنی‌شده از ایران خارج نخواهد شد», not an iota of enriched material will leave Iran. Javan reduces the whole position to a two-word banner, «حتی ذره‌ای», not even an iota. Vatan-e Emrooz calls the visit «دست‌های خالی واسطه‌ها», the empty hands of the intermediaries. The uniformity is the evidence: four unaffiliated mastheads reaching identical phrasing on the same morning indicates a centrally supplied line rather than convergent editorial judgement.

Against that chorus sits a single sentence that no front page carries. On its own channel Etemad publishes the fullest rendering of the foreign minister's interview with Iraq's Al-Ikhbariya, in which Abbas Araghchi states that indirect negotiations with America continue through mediating states and that «آمریکا با شروط ایران موافق است اما می‌خواهد چند نکته اضافه کند», America agrees with Iran's conditions but wants to add a few points. If that rendering is accurate, the published refusal is not a description of the negotiating state but a management of it, and the gap this monitor has tracked since 18 October between what is negotiated and what is printed has not closed after all; it has inverted. On 20 October the finding was that a front page had at last printed the mediation. Today the mediation is on four front pages and the acceptance is on none.

The visit also produced the cycle's one verifiable deliverable, and it answers a test this monitor set and filed as lapsed. On 19 October Iran Daily printed an expert judgement that the Rimdan and Taftan crossings would reopen on Monday, and on 20 October this monitor recorded that the test had been allowed to pass in silence. Today Munir is quoted on the Sobh-e No channel telling the security council secretary «به صراحت اعلام می‌کنیم که مشکل مرزهای ایران و پاکستان برطرف شده و از امروز صبح مرز بازگشایی شده است», we state explicitly that the problem of the Iran-Pakistan borders has been resolved and from this morning the border has been reopened, and telling the Speaker that the border issues were «موقتی و فنی», temporary and technical. A border that two cycles of this monitor treated as a pressure point was reopened by the mediator himself, in person, and the reopening appears in channel text rather than on any front page.

The chokepoint at the centre of the war is now described in incompatible terms by Iranian sources on the same morning. Defa Press renders the foreign minister as saying the Strait lies in the internal waters of Iran and Oman, that the route agreed with Oman will be the real passage, and that «تا پذیرش شروط ایران از سوی آمریکا، تنگه بسته است», until America accepts Iran's conditions the Strait is closed. Etemad renders the same interview as the Strait not fully reopening until the conditions are accepted. Sobh-e No's editor-in-chief writes in the day's lead editorial that «تنگه هرمز نیز نه به‌طور کامل بسته شده، ولی همین اختلال نسبی، جهان را به هم ریخته است», the Strait has not been completely closed either, but this relative disruption alone has thrown the world into disarray. Closed, not fully open, and not completely

closed are three different bargaining positions, and they were all published by state-adjacent Iranian surfaces within a few hours.

The leverage is being extended while it is being argued about. Vatan-e Emrooz's front page carries a signed column reporting that the IRGC spokesman has named the communications cables running under the Strait «در شمار اهداف جدید», among the new targets, with «کابل بزرگ اینترنتی ۷» beneath the waterway, and Defa Press separately carries the Guard's deputy for political affairs telling Al-Alam «در صورت حمله به زیرساخت‌های ما، کابل‌های اینترنتی را هدف قرار می‌دهیم». The same spokesman is quoted saying Iran is preparing to unveil «پدر بمب‌ها», the father of bombs, which closes the escalation exchange this monitor opened on 20 October, when Hamshahri promised that «مادر بمب‌ها بی‌پاسخ نمی‌ماند». And the government's own daily lists, without date, flag or claiming authority, that «دو کشتی متخلف در تنگه هرمز به آتش کشیده شدند», two non-compliant vessels in the Strait were set on fire: the first commerce-interdiction item to reach a front-page listing in four cycles.

The adversary's costs are the batch's organising argument, and they are now being carried in other people's numbers rather than in Iranian claims. Chaharsoogh gives its whole front to a table of European fuel prices under «زلزله هرمز در اروپا», with 53 billion euros of additional EU road-fuel cost and 270 million euros a day in additional transport cost. Vatan-e Emrooz prints an International Monetary Fund figure of up to 1.6 percent of Gulf GDP lost to the Strait crisis. Kayhan leads on a retired American admiral's Foreign Affairs article and carries aviation-analytics figures showing more than 45 percent of scheduled Saudi departures cancelled between 8 and 19 October, with Riyadh's King Khalid International closed since 10 October. Javan alone brings that to a front page as «آسمان ریاض روی یک میلیون مسافر بسته شد». Taken together, a second regional chokepoint, aerial and in Saudi hands, is being advertised in the Iranian press at the moment the maritime one is under negotiation.

Net assessment: this is a refusal edition with a concession buried in it. The front pages are unusually uniform, unusually confident and unusually free of Iranian operational claims, which is the profile of a press being used to hold a position rather than to report a war; the numbered drone-attrition series that ran through the two preceding cycles simply stopped, and no mining or tanker claim appears anywhere. Beneath that surface the cycle produced a reopened border, a ministerial statement that the other side has accepted the terms, a quiet admission that the chokepoint was never fully closed, and an interdiction claim that the government published and declined to own. The judgement this monitor draws is not that a settlement is near but that the distance between the published position and the negotiated one has become the most informative measurement available, and that it is currently being managed in the direction of understatement.

BOTTOM LINE Pakistan's army chief came to Tehran for the fifth time and left having reopened the border, and four front pages answered him with the same published refusal, while the one sentence that would change the picture, the foreign minister's statement that Washington has accepted Iran's conditions and wants only to add points to them, reached no front page at all.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Ten Persian front-page scans of 29 Mehr 1405 were read directly, nine dailies and the IRGC weekly Sobh-e Sadegh, whose cover is dated 27 Mehr and is labelled as such. Kayhan and the Iran newspaper reached no scan in the batch and are read from their own channels, where each published a summary of its own front page; both entries say so. No Iranian English-language front page of 21 October was published: the English kiosk batch available was the Iran Daily of 20 October, covered in full in the previous edition and therefore excluded here rather than recycled, and Tehran Times was unavailable at the time of compilation, as was the Leader's own site. Four further paper channels and three agency wires were read for corroboration and for official and semi-official claims; agency material is

folded into judgements and the threat register and is not presented as front-page content. Every Iranian operational claim in this edition is labelled a claim, including the two burned vessels, the carrier movements, the 'father of bombs' and the submarine-cable threat. Renderings of foreign material, among them the Foreign Affairs article, the aviation-analytics figures, the International Monetary Fund contraction, the Economist report, the Reuters and Ipsos poll, the Axios and CNN items and the Al-Arabiya six-billion claim, reach this edition through Iranian outlets and are not verified against their originals. Named figures are read from the printed page or from the outlet's own channel text, never inferred from a photograph or a caricature; where a low-resolution scan did not permit a confident reading, the item is omitted rather than guessed. One attribution divergence is recorded rather than resolved: the submarine-cable threat is credited by Vatan-e Emrooz's column to the IRGC spokesman and by Defa Press, in a separate item, to the Guard's political deputy speaking to another outlet.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 The refusal is uniform and the acceptance is unpublished

Four unaffiliated front pages reach the same two formulas on the same morning: «شروط هفت‌گانه», the seven conditions, and «حتی ذره‌ای», not even an iota. Sobh-e No's channel adds the detail the pages omit, that the conditions were the ones «در نیویورک ارائه شده», presented in New York. Against that, Etemad's channel carries the foreign minister saying indirect talks continue and that America agrees with Iran's conditions and wants to add a few points, and Sobh-e No's own editorial prints, while disclaiming, an Al-Arabiya claim of a six-billion-dollar interest payment on blocked funds in exchange for inspection access. The mechanism is visible: positions go on the page, terms go on the channel, and the gap between them is where the negotiation actually is.

2 The mediator delivered a border and the border reached no front page

Asim Munir's fifth official visit produced the cycle's one checkable outcome. He is quoted telling the security council secretary that the Iran-Pakistan border problem is resolved and the crossing reopened from this morning, and telling the Speaker that the issues were temporary and technical. This answers the test Iran Daily set on 19 October and that this monitor filed as lapsed on 20 October. It appears in channel text only. A state that wanted the mediation credited would have led with the reopening; a state managing a domestic audience prints the refusal and lets the deliverable travel quietly.

3 Three incompatible descriptions of the Strait in one cycle

Defa Press renders the foreign minister as saying the Strait is closed until America accepts Iran's conditions. Etemad renders the same interview as the Strait not fully reopening until then. Sobh-e No's editor-in-chief writes that it has not been completely closed and that relative disruption alone has upended the world. The minister also announces an agreement with Oman on new shipping routes and special corridors for Iraqi vessels, which is the vocabulary of a managed passage rather than a closure. Whether Iran holds a closed waterway or a throttled one determines what it has to trade, and its own surfaces do not agree.

4 The leverage is being extended to new target classes while it is argued about

Submarine internet cables under the Strait are named as targets, with seven large cables cited; a 'father of bombs' is promised against the 'mother of bombs' threat that Hamshahri answered on 20 October; and two non-compliant vessels are listed as set on fire on the government daily's own page. The three items share a profile: deniable, cheap, and catastrophic for the Gulf economies the same batch says are already marked down. None is dated, none names an operator, and none is elaborated, which is how a state advertises a capability without accepting ownership of an act.

5 The mediation was priced in dollars within a single day

Chaharsoogh went to press on the first half of the move, printing «ریزش نفت، دستاورد سفر میانجی به تهران», the oil fall as the mediator's achievement. Kayhan's channel carries the second half, «جهش نفت سفر عاصم منیر را بی‌اثر کرد», the oil jump rendered the trip ineffective, with Brent back inside the 110-dollar channel. Fars News reconciles them explicitly: the price had fallen to around 106 dollars with the Pakistani commander's arrival and returned towards 110 after the security council secretary and the Speaker spoke. Two Iranian front pages printed opposite causal stories about the same twenty-four hours, and the market priced the refusal at roughly four dollars a barrel.

6 A second chokepoint has opened, aerial and in Saudi hands

Kayhan carries aviation-analytics figures of more than 45 percent of scheduled Saudi departures cancelled between 8 and 19 October, 5,547 of 12,195 flights disrupted, and Riyadh's King Khalid International fully closed since 10 October, attributed to Yemeni missile and drone action. Javan brings it to a front page. Nour News reports four more drones fired at Saudi Arabia and intercepted; Vatan-e Emrooz and Defa Press report Saudi strikes killing eight Yemeni fishermen in Taiz and repeated bombing of Al-Nashma. The foreign minister offers Iranian mediation between Ansarullah and Riyadh and says no answer has come. A front that the Iranian press reported as the adversary's problem is now also a front on which Iran is offering to broker.

7 European unrest has been turned inward, against the Iranian public

Jomhouri Eslami leads on Italian riot police, Kayhan reports French cities out of control and Italy calling on its army, Chaharsoogh prices the unrest in euros and Jam-e Jam notes it crossing into Italy and Belgium. Hamshahri does something different and more revealing: it builds a six-panel grid setting unarmed French protesters against armed Iranian ones and asks «چرا اعتراضات فرانسه کشته نداشته است؟» The Tehran municipality's paper is not arguing with Europe, it is pre-empting a comparison its own readers can make, which indicates that the fuel-and-prices frame is expected to be legible at home.

8 The adversary's institutions have replaced Iranian claims as the evidence base

A retired American admiral in Foreign Affairs, an aviation data firm, the International Monetary Fund, The Economist, Reuters and Ipsos, Axios on the Pentagon weighing whether to rebuild or abandon bases damaged in Iranian strikes, CNN on a White House in disarray before the third of November. For a second consecutive cycle the hardline press has substituted foreign sourcing for its own battle-damage reporting. The advantage is domestic: a claim sourced to the enemy's own institutions cannot be dismissed at home as regime assertion. The cost is that the Iranian case for endurance now rests on numbers that can move, and if they move it will have to be abandoned in public.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 **[HIGH]** The published Iranian refusal and the negotiated Iranian position have come apart, and the press is being used to hold the first while the second advances. The evidence is a pairing within one cycle. Four front pages carry the same two formulas, Sobh-e No's «اجرای شروط هفت‌گانه تنها گزینه آمریکا», Jam-e Jam's three-office chorus ending in «از مواد هسته‌ای غنی‌شده به هیچ وجه ذره‌ای ایران خارج نخواهد شد», Javan's banner «حتی ذره‌ای و هیچ تردیدی!» and Vatan-e Emrooz's «دست‌های خالی واسطه‌ها». Against them, Etemad's channel carries the foreign minister saying indirect talks continue through mediating states and that «آمریکا با شروط ایران موافق است اما می‌خواهد چند نکته اضافه کند». The significance is that identical phrasing across unaffiliated mastheads indicates a supplied line, and a

supplied line that contradicts the foreign ministry's own published account is management, not reporting. Calibration runs both ways: the Araghchi sentence reaches this monitor through one outlet's rendering of a foreign-language interview and is weak evidence of the actual terms, while the editorial decision of four papers to print the opposite is the verified fact and the significant one.

KJ-2 [HIGH] The mediator's fifth visit produced a reopened border, which answers the Pakistan test this monitor filed as lapsed, and the deliverable was kept off every front page. The evidence is a sequence across three editions. On 19 October Iran Daily printed an expert judgement that the Rimdan and Taftan crossings would reopen on Monday and that failure to reopen would allow the conclusion that Washington was pressuring Islamabad; on 20 October this monitor recorded the test passing in silence; today Asim Munir is quoted on the Sobh-e No channel telling the security council secretary «مشکل مرزهای ایران و پاکستان برطرف شده و از امروز صبح مرز بازگشایی شده است» and telling the Speaker that the issues were «موقتی و فنی». Jomhouri Eslami numbers the visit as his fifth official trip and titles him «میانجی ارشد ایران و آمریکا». The significance is that the mediation has now produced a verifiable physical outcome rather than only a described framework, and that Iran chose not to credit it in print. Tracking cue: whether trade volumes or crossing status are reported on any Iranian surface this week.

KJ-3 [HIGH] Iranian state-adjacent surfaces published three incompatible descriptions of the Strait of Hormuz within hours, which means the single most consequential fact in the war is unsettled inside Tehran's own messaging. The evidence is three renderings of the same morning. Defa Press: «تا پذیرش شروط ایران از سوی آمریکا، تنگه بسته است», with the minister adding that the Strait lies in the internal waters of Iran and Oman and that the route agreed with Oman will be the real passage. Etemad: «تنگه هرمز تا زمان پذیرش شروط ایران به‌طور کامل باز نخواهد شد». Sobh-e No's editor-in-chief: «تنگه هرمز نیز نه به‌طور کامل بسته شده، ولی همین اختلال نسبی، جهان را به هم ریخته است». The significance is that closed, not fully open and not completely closed are three different things to trade, and the same minister also announced new agreed routes with Oman and special corridors for Iraqi vessels, which is the language of a toll rather than a wall. Calibration: two of the three are renderings of one interview by different outlets, so part of the divergence may be translation rather than position; the editorial, which is signed and written for an Iranian audience, is the one that cannot be explained that way.

KJ-4 [HIGH] A front page has named submarine communications cables as targets, and the same cycle names the weapon that answers the large bomb, which extends the war's declared target set in two directions at once. The evidence is three items. Vatan-e Emrooz's signed column reports the IRGC spokesman placing the cables under the Strait «در شمار اهداف جدید» and states that «۷ کابل بزرگ اینترنتی از زیر تنگه هرمز عبور می‌کند», tying it to earlier warnings by the security council secretary about data centres, cables and artificial-intelligence facilities. Defa Press carries the Guard's political deputy telling Al-Alam «در صورت حمله به زیرساخت‌های ما، کابل‌های اینترنتی را هدف قرار می‌دهیم». Defa Press also carries the spokesman saying «درصدد رونمایی پدر بمب‌ها هستیم که برای دشمن تازگی دارد», which completes the exchange opened on 20 October when Hamshahri promised that «مادر بمب‌ها بی‌پاسخ نمی‌ماند». The significance is that cable cutting is deniable, cheap and regionally catastrophic, which makes it a rational next rung precisely because it is below the threshold that would trigger a resumption of strikes. Calibration: 'father of bombs' is undefined and measures rhetorical commitment, not capability; the cable threat is specific enough to be operational and should be weighted higher.

KJ-5 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** The government's own daily published a commerce-interdiction claim and declined to own it, breaking a four-cycle silence on interference with shipping. The evidence is one line in the Iran newspaper's own listing of its page: «دو کشتی متخلف در تنگه هرمز به آتش کشیده شدند», two non-compliant vessels in the Strait were set on fire. There is no date, no flag, no tonnage, no claiming authority and no elaboration anywhere in the monitored set, and no other title in the batch carries it. On 19 and 20 October this monitor filed the absence of a fresh tanker claim as a finding and asked whether the next one would be printed. The significance is that it was printed, and printed by the government rather than by a hardline title or a Guard wire, which is the surface that carries the least deniability and the most official weight. Filed with a single-source flag and with the caveat that «متخلف», non-compliant, refers to the Strait management organisation's published non-compliance list, against which 122 vessels were reported on 20 October.

KJ-6 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** The oil market priced the Iranian refusal at roughly four dollars a barrel inside one day, which gives an external measurement of what the published position costs. The evidence is three surfaces that together cover the whole arc. Chaharsoogh's masthead strap, written before the refusals landed, reads «ریزش نفت، دستاورد سفر میانجی به تهران». Kayhan's channel reports «جهش نفت سفر عاصم منیر را بی‌اثر کرد», with Brent back inside the 110-dollar channel on Gulf export disruption. Fars News states the mechanism outright: the price had fallen to around 106 dollars with the Pakistani commander's trip and returned towards 110 after the security council secretary and the Speaker spoke, under the headline «موضع قاطع رضایی و قالیباف ورق نفت را برگرداند». The significance is that Iranian outlets have themselves published the finding that mediation lowers the price and refusal raises it, which makes the domestic argument that holding the chokepoint is costless harder to sustain in its own press. Calibration: these are Iranian renderings of market data and the causal attribution is theirs, not this monitor's.

KJ-7 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** A second regional chokepoint has been opened in the air over Saudi Arabia, and Iran is positioning itself as the broker of it rather than as a party to it. The evidence is a cluster. Kayhan cites the aviation analytics firm Cirium for more than 45 percent of scheduled Saudi departures cancelled or not operated between 8 and 19 October, 5,547 of 12,195 flights disrupted, and King Khalid International in Riyadh fully closed since 10 October with up to 82 percent of departures cancelled at the peak; Javan carries it to a front page as «آسمان ریاض روی یک میلیون مسافر بسته شد»; Nour News reports four further drones fired at Saudi Arabia and claimed intercepted; Vatan-e Emrooz and Defa Press report Saudi strikes killing eight Yemeni fishermen in Taiz and repeated bombing of Al-Nashma; and the foreign minister states that Iran has offered to mediate between Ansarullah and Riyadh and received no answer. The significance is that the Gulf's aviation and maritime arteries are now both degraded, which compounds the economic pressure the same batch attributes to the Strait and gives Tehran a second file on which to appear indispensable. Calibration: the Cirium figures reach this monitor only through Kayhan and are not verified against the original.

KJ-8 **[MODERATE-HIGH]** The hardline press has substituted the adversary's own institutions for Iranian operational reporting, for a second consecutive cycle, and the substitution is now near-total. The evidence is Kayhan's front page, which leads on a Foreign Affairs article attributed to William H. McRaven, the retired American admiral and former special-operations commander, arguing that the war was a strategic error and that the American war machine has been grounded by Iranian geography and will; and which carries aviation-analytics figures, an Associated Press account of a

Trump rally interrupted by a protester objecting to petrol prices, and a conversation between Michael Anton and Jake Sullivan in which Anton is quoted admitting surprise at Iran's ability to close the Strait. Vatan-e Emrooz and Fars News add an Axios report that the Pentagon is reassessing its posture and weighing whether to rebuild or abandon bases damaged in Iranian strikes, with naval support activity in Bahrain still unusable; Vatan-e Emrooz adds a CNN report of a White House in disarray before the midterms. The significance is that a case built on the enemy's own numbers is more persuasive at home and more falsifiable abroad: it can be checked, and if the numbers move the argument has to be abandoned in public. Calibration: every item here is an Iranian rendering of foreign reporting and none is verified against its original; the assessment concerns the editorial choice, not the underlying facts.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] Negative evidence, filed as a finding: the numbered drone-attrition series stopped, and no mining or tanker claim appeared, in the same cycle in which the submarine-cable threat was published. The evidence is an absence against a pattern. On 20 October four surfaces carried the Guard's claim of a fifty-fourth MQ-9 destroyed over the Strait within three hours of each other; today no such claim appears on any front page, channel or wire in the monitored set, and the only aerial tracking published is the Iraqi resistance media's routine daily count of six MQ-9s, one MQ-1 and one E-11 observed over Iraq. The significance is that the series was the main advertised proof of defensive success, and its interruption during a mediation round is consistent either with an actual pause in engagements or with a decision to stop advertising them while terms are being discussed. Filed as an absence: one cycle is not a trend, and the two burned vessels on the government page cut against the simplest reading. Tracking cue: whether the numbering resumes at fifty-five, which would show the series was suspended rather than ended.

KJ-10 [MODERATE] Negative evidence, filed as a finding: Lebanon has now failed to reach an Iranian front page for a third consecutive cycle, while a strike on it was reported on a state channel the same morning. The evidence is a pairing. The Jam-e Jam channel reports that «رژیم صهیونیستی در حمله هوایی، منطقه الحمرا بین شهرهای زوطر شرقیه و کفرتبنیت در جنوب لبنان را هدف قرار داد», an Israeli air strike on Al-Hamra between Zawtar al-Sharqiyeh and Kfar Tebnit in southern Lebanon. No Persian front page in the batch mentions Lebanon at all. On 19 October this monitor read the absence as crowding and on 20 October as a choice; a third cycle, with a named strike available on the state broadcaster's own channel, puts it beyond crowding. The significance is that the file is being deliberately kept off the domestic agenda while the Hormuz and Pakistan files run, which is what suppression of a theatre looks like when the alternative would complicate a negotiation. Tracking cue: whether Lebanon reappears if a negotiating round convenes.

KJ-11 [MODERATE] The succession's documentary record advanced this cycle in form rather than in substance, and the management of the predecessor's commemoration continues. The evidence is twofold. Sobh-e Sadegh, the IRGC's own weekly, prints the current office holder's name in its fullest form on its cover, «حضرت آیت‌الله سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی», attached to a dated congratulatory message on the world wrestling title. Separately the Iran newspaper's page carries «واکنش وزیر ارشاد به تغییر نام اماکن و خیابان‌ها», the culture minister's response to the renaming of places and streets, continuing the thread recorded on 20 October in which the martyred predecessor's office opposed renaming long-established places after him. The significance is that the institution is distinguishing the two offices in print while the successor appears, for a fifth consecutive cycle, only as text: a message on a weekly cover, with no dated public appearance,

confirmed photograph or confirmed recording anywhere in the monitored set. Filed as a continuing negative-evidence item; nothing in it establishes anything about the office holder.

KJ-12 **[MODERATE]** A state-adjacent paper has spent a front page pre-empting a comparison between European protest and Iranian protest, which indicates that the leadership expects the cost-of-living frame to be legible at home. The evidence is Hamshahri's lead, «اعتراض بدون کلاش!», protest without a Kalashnikov, built as a six-panel photo grid labelling each image «فرانسه» or «ایران» and strapped «وقتی معترضان فرانسوی مسلح نیستند و پای موساد در میان نیست». Its six bullets concede that French protest is unarmed, undirected from abroad, and unsupported by its media, in order to assert that Iran's 2022 unrest was none of those things; a side column asks «چرا فرانسه، ایران نمی‌شود؟!» The significance is in who is publishing it: the Tehran municipality's own high-circulation daily, on the same morning that Jam-e Jam calls for a war room for the economy and Chaharsoogh prints Europe's fuel bills on its front. The argument is defensive, and defensive arguments are made about live risks. Calibration: this is an assessment of Iranian editorial anxiety, not a prediction of unrest.

KJ-13 **[MODERATE]** The commercial and reformist press is declining the maximalist frame, and it is doing so by question and omission rather than by argument. The evidence is three surfaces. Ta'adol, alone in the batch, prints the mediator's aircraft on its front and puts a question mark on the outcome, «دیپلماسی در بن‌بست؟», where every other title prints a refusal, and leads its page on «رشد اقتصاد زیرزمینی در سایه جنگ». Etemad's front page carries no refusal at all, giving its lead to an interview on the Chinese and Russian role in the talks and its remaining space to housing costs, a crime investigation and «نبرد با خوره‌های امید», the battle with the canker of hope. Chaharsoogh bills the war's European cost in full while billing the domestic currency collapse to the economy minister and the central bank. The significance is that the only available form of dissent on the negotiation is the withholding of assent, and three titles are exercising it in the same cycle. Calibration: none of the three argues for terms, and reading a political programme into an omission would overstate it.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Field Marshal Syed Asim Munir	Chief of Army Staff, Pakistan; named on four front pages	Named mediator on his fifth official visit; printed by Jomhouri Eslami as «میانجی ارشد ایران و آمریکا», senior mediator between Iran and America, and quoted announcing the reopening of the Iran-Pakistan border	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Major General Mohsen Rezaei	Representative of the Leader and Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, as printed	The author of the «ذره‌ای» red line on enriched material and of the trust-building precondition; photographed on Vatan-e Emrooz's front page receiving the Pakistani visitor	WATCH
Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf	Speaker of the Islamic Consultative	«ما حرف جدیدی نداریم»; the source of the seven-	COERCION SPOKESMAN

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
	Assembly	conditions formula and of its location, New York	
Masoud Pezeshkian	President of Iran	«خاک می‌خوریم اما خاک نمی‌دهیم» on two mastheads; received the Pakistani army chief and Russia's foreign minister in the same cycle	WATCH
Abbas Araghchi	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Source of the cycle's three contested descriptions of the Strait, of the Oman routing agreement, of the offer to mediate between Ansarullah and Riyadh, and of the unpublished statement that America has accepted Iran's conditions and wants to add points	WATCH
Donald Trump	President of the United States	Carried as a man in electoral trouble rather than as a threat: heckled over petrol prices, polled at 32 percent, quoted saying the final decision on Iran must be made «به روشی دوستانه یا به روشی غیردوستانه»	TARGET FRAMING
Marco Rubio	United States Secretary of State	Quoted claiming Iranians «نمی‌دانند چگونه توافق کنند» and act on religious teaching; answered on the government daily's page by a signed column calling him ignorant of history and of Iran	TARGET FRAMING
Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel	Fronted on Vatan-e Emrooz under a gambling headline asking whether he seeks a return to war to escape electoral defeat; Nour News reads his description of the UAE as 'the Israel of the Persian Gulf' as pre-election coalition building	TARGET FRAMING
Pete Hegseth	United States war secretary, as rendered	Nour News frames his unannounced Tel Aviv meeting with Netanyahu as linking American military support to the Knesset elections	WATCH
Sardar Mohebbi	Spokesman of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard	Source of the submarine-cable target claim, the 'father of bombs' and the carrier-	COERCION SPOKESMAN

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
	Corps, as named by Defa Press	movement claims; the cycle's principal escalation voice	
Yadollah Javani	Deputy for political affairs, Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps	Told Al-Alam that internet cables would be targeted if Iranian infrastructure is attacked, and set out the 'jihad of explanation' line on the Guard weekly's cover	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Major General Abdollahi	Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, as named by Kayhan	«دشمن اگر حماقتی کند با پاسخی سنگین‌تر و پشیمان‌کننده‌تر روبرو خواهد شد», and on the government page an attrition-economics line about neutralising expensive weapons with cheap equipment	WATCH
Barak Ravid	Correspondent, Axios	Caricatured on Jam-e Jam's front page as «موش اسرائیلی در اتاق خبر», an Israeli mouse in the newsroom, over a deck citing his service in Israel's Unit 8200. A named foreign journalist made the subject of a front-page attack item	TARGET FRAMING
William H. McRaven	Retired United States Navy admiral, former commander of American special operations forces	Kayhan's lead is his Foreign Affairs article on the limits of American power; his argument is adopted as the paper's own headline	WATCH
Mahboubeh Niavarani	Editor-in-chief, Sobh-e No	Author of the day's flagged editorial, and the only Iranian figure in the cycle to put in print that the Strait was never completely closed	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini Khamenei	Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, as printed	Appears in the batch only as a congratulatory message on the IRGC weekly's cover, with no dated public appearance, confirmed photograph or confirmed recording in any monitored source for a fifth consecutive cycle	absence noted

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Jam-e Jam	Iran's decisive answer to Asim Munir	State broadcaster (IRIB)	Three offices refuse the mediator in a single chorus	MODERATE-HIGH: published red lines hardening during a live mediation
Vatan-e Emrooz	The same principles	Hardline principlist	Empty-handed intermediaries, and submarine cables named as targets	HIGH: a new deniable target class on a front page
Javan	Not even an iota, and no hesitation!	Hardline, IRGC-affiliated	The red line as a banner; Riyadh's closed airspace	MODERATE-HIGH: hard refusal, adversary-cost body
Sobh-e No	Implementing the seven conditions is America's only option	Principlist	Maximalist terms beside an admission that the Strait is not fully closed	MODERATE-HIGH: leverage asserted and quietly bounded
Jomhouri Eslami	Unrest spreads in several European countries	Establishment conservative	The mediator's fifth visit detailed and demoted below the fold	MODERATE: mediation specified, de-escalation deferred
Iran	We will eat dirt but we will not give up soil	Government daily (IRNA)	Two vessels burned in the Strait, listed without date or claiming authority	HIGH: unelaborated commerce interdiction on the government's own page
Kayhan	Foreign Affairs: Iran's geography and resistance have grounded America's war machine	Hardline, Leader's office appointee as managing editor	The adversary's own institutions as the evidence base; Saudi aviation collapse	MODERATE-HIGH: adversary-sourced vindication, no fresh Iranian claim
Hamshahri	Protest without a Kalashnikov!	Tehran municipality, centrist	European unrest turned inward against the 2022 protest record	MODERATE: domestic-stability messaging
Sobh-e Sadegh	The young champion generation	IRGC political weekly, cover dated 27 Mehr	The Leader's name printed in full over a sporting proof of ascendancy	LOW-MODERATE: doctrinal and symbolic
Chaharsoogh	The Hormuz earthquake in Europe	Commercial and markets daily	Europe's fuel bill as the war's published arithmetic	MODERATE: economic-cost framing
Ta'adol	The underground economy grows in the shadow of war	Economic daily, chambers of commerce	The mediator's aircraft, and the batch's only question mark	LOW-MODERATE: assent withheld rather than refused
Etemad	The game of the great powers	Reformist	Mediation as analysis on the page, American acceptance on the channel	LOW-MODERATE: de-escalation framing, key detail held off the page

Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Jam-e Jam

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

"Iran's decisive answer to Asim Munir" «پاسخ قاطع ایران به عاصم منیر»

MODERATE-HIGH: published red lines hardening around a live mediation



- Banner: the page's upper lead is economic, «اقتصاد، نیازمند اتاق جنگ» (the economy needs a war room), decked «جنگ اقتصادی علیه ایران وارد مرحله تازه‌ای شده است؛ در چنین شرایطی، اقتصاد کشور به اتاق فرماندهی منسجم و تصمیم‌گیری سریع نیاز دارد», the economic war against Iran has entered a new phase and the country's economy needs a coherent command room and rapid decision-making. The state daily is asking for the war's domestic cost to be run as a campaign.
- Main: the political lead is a photograph of Pakistan's army chief under «پاسخ قاطع ایران به عاصم منیر», decked that Iranian officials, in their meeting with the commander of Pakistan's army, decisively rejected any turn in the face of «زیاده‌خواهی‌های آمریکا», America's excessive demands. The visitor is named on the page; the answer, not the visit, is the headline.
- Sub-item: three officials are quoted as a single graded refusal. The President: before any dialogue the Americans must lift threats and sanctions. The Speaker: «حرف جدیدی نداریم؛ آمریکا جز با اجرای شروط هفتگانه، نمی‌تواند اعتماد ایران را جلب کند», we have nothing new to say, America cannot win Iran's trust except by implementing the seven conditions. The Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council: «به هیچ وجه ذره‌ای از مواد هسته‌ای غنی‌شده از ایران خارج نخواهد شد», under no circumstances will an iota of enriched nuclear material leave Iran.
- Sub-item: «سفر خانوادگی از مجیدیه تا بهشت», a family journey from Majidiyeh to paradise, decked as the life and «شهادت ۴ عضو یک خانواده که در حمله دشمن جنایتکار به خانه‌ای در مجیدیه آسمانی شدند», the martyrdom of four members of one family killed in the criminal enemy's attack on a house in the Tehran district of Majidiyeh. The page carries a family photograph rather than a damage photograph.
- Sub-item: «موش اسرائیلی در اتاق خبر», an Israeli mouse in the newsroom, a caricature item decked «باراک راوید، خبرنگار آکسیوس با سابقه فعالیت در واحد اطلاعاتی ۸۲۰۰ اسرائیل», Barak Ravid, the Axios correspondent, with a record of service in Israel's Unit 8200. This is an attack on a named foreign journalist, not a news report about him.
- Right rail: «آشوب در اروپا», chaos in Europe, bulleted «آشوب از مرزهای فرانسه گذشت؛ ایتالیا و بلژیک هم به میدان ناآرامی‌ها تبدیل شدند», the unrest has crossed France's borders and Italy and Belgium have become arenas of disorder too; and «باران طلا پای مشعل», a rain of gold at the foot of the torch, on the Asian Para Games.

ANALYST NOTE The state broadcaster's daily is the surface on which message discipline is easiest to read, and today it prints the refusal as an institutional chorus: presidency, parliament and the security council in three lines, each saying a different sentence that adds up to one position. The Jam-e Jam page also places the seven conditions and the enriched-material red line in print on the same morning a mediator is in town, which converts the terms from a negotiating position into a published commitment. Track whether the «شروط هفتگانه» formula and the «ذره‌ای» phrasing recur verbatim across titles tomorrow: identical wording across unaffiliated mastheads indicates a centrally supplied line rather than independent editorial judgement.



Caricature of Axios correspondent Barak Ravid with exaggerated ears and teeth under the headline 'An Israeli mouse in the newsroom', fronting an item on his Unit 8200 service

Vatan-e Emrooz

Hardline principlist morning daily; the sharpest of the mass-market conservative titles and a reliable early carrier of IRGC-adjacent threat messaging

HIGH: a new deniable target class named on a front page during an active mediation window

"The same principles" «همان اصول»



- Main: the whole upper page is a photograph of Pakistan's army chief seated with an IRGC general, captioned «گزارش وطن امروز از رفت‌وآمدهای دیپلماتیک روزهای اخیر واسطه‌ها به تهران», Vatan-e Emrooz's report on the diplomatic comings and goings of the intermediaries to Tehran in recent days, and decked «دست‌های خالی واسطه‌ها و تأکید ایران بر ضرورت تحقق شروط هفتگانه مبتنی بر تفاهم‌نامه اسلام‌آباد», the empty hands of the intermediaries, and Iran's insistence on the fulfilment of the seven conditions grounded in the Islamabad memorandum. The headline, «همان اصول», frames a mediation round as the absence of movement.
- Banner: «انقباض بزرگ در اقتصادهای نفتی», a great contraction in the oil economies, decked that the International Monetary Fund has reported a contraction of up to 1.6 percent in the GDP of Persian Gulf countries «در پی بحران تنگه هرمز», following the Strait of Hormuz crisis. The figure is printed as the adversary's cost, not Iran's.
- Op-ed: «شریان دیجیتال زیر سایه جنگ», the digital artery in the shadow of war, a signed column by Reza Bagheripour decked «کابل‌های زیردریایی خلیج فارس شریان ارتباطی اقتصادهای منطقه‌اند و مسیرهای جایگزین نیز ظرفیت محدودی دارند». The column reports that the IRGC spokesman named the communications cables running under the Strait of Hormuz «در شمار اهداف جدید», among the new targets, warning that if American military attacks resume, new targets and new weapons will be revealed, and that «۷ کابل بزرگ اینترنتی از زیر تنگه هرمز عبور می‌کند», seven major internet cables pass beneath the Strait. It ties this to earlier warnings by the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council about data centres, communications cables and artificial-intelligence facilities in the region.
- Op-ed: «قواعد تازه در میز تهران», new rules at the Tehran table, with a «یادداشت» by Aria Davoudi opening «در ترافیک فشرده فرستادگان بین‌المللی تهران طی روزهای اخیر، تجلی عینی یک زلزله محاسباتی در اتاق‌های فکر و مراکز مطالعات امنیت ملی آمریکاست», the dense traffic of international envoys in Tehran in recent days is the concrete expression of a calculational earthquake in America's think tanks and national-security study centres. A sub-head asks «هراس از آسمان بی‌دفاع: چرا واشنگتن زمان می‌خرد؟», fear of an undefended sky: why is Washington buying time?
- Right rail: a one-word gambling headline built on «قمار» over a monochrome photograph of the Israeli prime minister at a podium, decked «آیا نتانیاهو به دنبال بازگشت به جنگ برای فرار از شکست انتخاباتی است؟» and «واشنگتن با هزینه‌های جنگ جدید کنار می‌آید؟», is Netanyahu

seeking a return to war to escape electoral defeat, and will Washington live with the costs of a new war.

- Right rail: «همه چیز علیه بن‌سلمان!», everything against bin Salman, decked as The Economist's report on the uncertain future of Saudi Arabia's economic transformation programme and Saudi security vulnerability «در سایه جنگ منطقه‌ای»; and «بازی قدرت در خلیج فارس» on geopolitical pressure in the Strait. A masthead ear carries «پپ علیه سکوت», Pep against silence, on the former Manchester City manager's criticism of «فاجعه انسانی فلسطین».

> **ANALYST NOTE** This is the first front page in the monitored set to put submarine communications cables on the target list, and it does so in a signed column rather than in a news item, which is the register Iranian papers use when an idea is being floated with institutional cover but without institutional commitment. The analytic point is the target class, not the rhetoric: cables are deniable, cheap to cut, hard to attribute and catastrophic for the Gulf economies that the same page says the IMF has already marked down, which makes the threat a precise extension of the chokepoint logic rather than a new one. Read alongside the paper's own framing of the mediation as «دست‌های خالی», empty hands, the page is arguing that the negotiation has produced nothing and that the next move is an escalation of leverage. Tracking cue: whether the cable threat migrates from column to news lead, and whether any Iranian surface attaches an operational claim to it.

Hamshahri

Owned by the Tehran municipality; centrist in register and the batch's highest-circulation general-interest daily, which makes it the state's broadest-reach domestic surface

"Protest without a Kalashnikov!"
«اعتراض بدون کلاش!»

MODERATE: domestic-stability messaging, no external threat content



- Main: the entire upper page is a six-panel photo grid, each image labelled «فرانسه» or «ایران», setting French demonstrators holding flowers and wearing clown costumes against Iranian figures carrying rifles. The kicker reads «وقتی معترضان فرانسوی مسلح نیستند و پای موساد در میان نیست», when the French protesters are not armed and Mossad is not involved, and the strap asks «چرا اعتراضات فرانسه کشته نداشته است؟», why have France's protests produced no deaths?
- Main: six numbered comparison bullets carry the argument. «در اعتراضات فرانسه هیچ مأموری کشته نشد؛ در آشوب‌های دی‌ماه ایران دست‌کم ۱۱ نیروی حافظ امنیت به دست افراد مسلح به شهادت رسیدند», in France's protests no officer was killed, while in Iran's Dey-month unrest at least eleven security personnel were martyred at the hands of armed men.
- Sub-item: «در فرانسه معترضان سلاح گرم ندارند؛ اما در اغتشاشات ایران تصاویر زیادی از اغتشاشگران با کلاشنیکف و سلاح شکاری منتشر شد», French protesters carry no firearms, while in Iran's riots many images of rioters with Kalashnikovs and hunting weapons were published.
- Sub-item: «در فرانسه تشکل‌های داخلی اعتراضات را هدایت می‌کنند و دخالت خارجی گزارش نشده؛ اما موساد به هدایت اغتشاشات ایران اعتراف کرد», domestic organisations lead the French protests and no foreign interference is reported, whereas Mossad admitted directing Iran's riots. The remaining two bullets charge Persian-language satellite channels with openly backing unrest, and social platforms with hosting riot calls and instruction in violence, against French platforms that remove violent content.
- Sub-item: a left-hand column asks «چرا فرانسه، ایران نمی‌شود؟!», why will France not become Iran?
- Right rail: «باران مدال», a rain of medals, on the Asian Para Games, and «جبران ۱۰ برابری قطع درختان چیتگر», a tenfold replanting for the felled trees of Chitgar, a municipal story carried under the paper's owner's remit.

> **ANALYST NOTE** This is the most analytically revealing page in the batch, because it spends a front page not on the adversary but on the Iranian public. The European unrest that every other title is using as evidence of the adversary's weakness is used here to relitigate the 2022 protests at home: the comparison concedes that the French are protesting legitimately in order to deny that Iranians ever were. A state-adjacent paper does not build a six-panel grid on that argument unless the domestic read-across is live, which indicates that the leadership expects the fuel-and-prices frame now running through Europe to be legible to its own population. File this against the batch's economic pages: Jam-e Jam

wants a war room for the economy and Chaharsoogh prints Europe's fuel bills, so the comparison that Hamshahri is pre-empting is one its readers can make unaided.

Javan

Hardline daily affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps; its front page is normally the closest printed proxy for IRGC political messaging

"Not even an iota, and no hesitation!" «حتی ذره‌ای و هیچ تردیدی!»

MODERATE-HIGH: hard refusal in the banner, adversary-cost framing in the body



- Main: the masthead strap is a single refusal, «حتی ذره‌ای و هیچ تردیدی!», decked «پاسخ‌های محکم مقامات ایرانی به ظهور دوباره میانجی‌گران», the firm answers of Iranian officials to the re-emergence of the mediators. «ذره‌ای» is lifted from the Supreme National Security Council secretary's line that not an iota of enriched material will leave Iran; Javan prints it as the whole page's banner.
- Main: the page's body is given to the Asian Para Games under «ناب و بی‌همتا در روز دوم ناگویا», pure and unrivalled on the second day in Nagoya, a full-bleed montage of Iranian medallists. The IRGC daily's lead image on the morning of a mediation round is a podium, not a weapon.
- Op-ed: the right rail carries a «سرمقاله» titled «فصلی جدید در تاریخ ایران», a new chapter in Iran's history, a «یادداشت نظامی» titled «اسلحه را از کجا آورده‌ای؟!», where did you get the weapon, and a political note on how the historical record is being contested.
- Right rail: «آسمان ریاض روی یک میلیون مسافر بسته شد», Riyadh's sky closed to a million passengers, an item on the closure of Saudi airspace and mass flight cancellation. Javan is the only front page in the batch to print the Saudi aviation disruption, which the wires carry in detail.
- Right rail: lower items on domestic air travel and on vehicle imports close the page; the war's military content is confined to the one-line banner.

ANALYST NOTE The gap between Javan's banner and Javan's body is the finding. The IRGC's own daily converts the security council's red line into a page-one slogan, then spends the page on sport and on the adversary's aviation collapse rather than on Iranian capability. That is the posture of a force messaging deterrence through the other side's costs rather than through its own threats, and it is consistent with the IRGC spokesman's heavier material staying on the wires rather than reaching this page. The Riyadh item matters beyond Javan: a second regional chokepoint, this one aerial and in Saudi hands, is being advertised in the Iranian press at the moment the maritime one is under negotiation.

Sobh-e No

Principlist daily, editor-in-chief Mahboubeh Niavarani, whose front-page editorial is a reliable read on how the conservative establishment wants the negotiation explained

"Implementing the seven conditions is America's only option" «اجرای شروط هفت‌گانه تنها گزینه آمریکا»

MODERATE-HIGH: maximalist terms published alongside an admission of partial closure



- Main: the lead is a photograph of the Speaker of parliament seated with Pakistan's army chief beneath the Pakistani flag, captioned «قالیباف در دیدار فرمانده ارتش پاکستان تأکید کرد: ما حرف جدیدی نداریم و آمریکا جز با اجرای شروط، نمی‌تواند اعتماد ایران را کسب کند». The channel text adds the detail the page compresses: the meeting took place on Tuesday evening, and the conditions are the seven «که در نیویورک ارائه شده», presented in New York.
- Banner: the masthead strap is the President's own formula, «خاک می‌خوریم اما خاک نمی‌دهیم», we will eat dirt but we will not give up soil, a line also carried on the government daily's page.
- Op-ed: the signed editorial «ترامپ در بحران، میانجی‌ها در تهران» opens on oil «به بالای ۱۱۱ دلار», above 111 dollars and the highest in five months, and argues that energy has become Washington's strategic vulnerability ahead of the third-of-November midterms. It cites a Reuters and Ipsos poll putting approval at 32 percent and approval of cost-of-living handling at 17 percent.
- Op-ed: the same editorial sequences the week's mediators: a several-hour Lavrov visit, then Asim Munir yesterday, then «هیاتی از قطر», a Qatari delegation. It reports, and explicitly cautions against, an Al-Arabiya claim that Munir arrived with an offer to release six billion dollars of interest on Iran's blocked funds, not the principal, in exchange for IAEA inspection access, and that Washington and Tehran had both agreed.
- Op-ed: the editorial's most consequential sentence is a qualification, «تنگه هرمز نیز نه به‌طور کامل بسته شده، ولی همین اختلال نسبی، جهان را به هم ریخته است», the Strait of Hormuz has not been completely closed either, but this relative disruption alone has thrown the world into disarray. It also records «جنگ تنها ۴۰ روز بود», the war lasted only forty days, and that six months have passed since.
- Sub-item: «آمریکا دیگر ارباب جهان نیست», America is no longer the world's master, decked that Tom Barrack called a possible American and Israeli war against Iran a mistake; «قیام فلسطینی به شرق رسید», on Japanese demonstrations carrying Palestinian flags against the government's American policies; and «قشقاوی: از مرحله مذاکره عبور کردیم», Qashqavi: we have passed the stage of negotiation. A lower item reports sharp parliamentary reaction to «سخنان جنجالی ثابتی».

ANALYST NOTE The Sobh-e No editorial is the day's most valuable single document because it is the only Iranian surface that both states Iran's maximalist position and quietly concedes the limit of its own leverage: the Strait is described as not completely closed and the war as forty days long, in a paper

whose lead headline is that America has no option but full compliance. The concession is not a slip, it is the argument, because the editorial's thesis is that partial disruption has already been sufficient. That reading should be held against the foreign minister's same-day interview, rendered by one channel as the Strait being closed and by another as not fully reopening, which puts the two most important state-adjacent surfaces of the cycle at variance on the one question that determines what Iran actually has to trade.

Sobh-e Sadegh

The IRGC's own political weekly, published under the Guard's political deputate; included in the Wednesday kiosk batch although its cover is dated two days earlier

"The young champion generation" «نسل جوان قهرمان»

LOW-MODERATE: doctrinal and symbolic, no operational content



- Banner: the masthead strap is doctrinal, «جهاد تبیین و خدمت باید تقویت شود», the jihad of explanation and of service must be strengthened, attributed to the IRGC's deputy for political affairs «با تشریح ابعاد شکست نظامی دشمن در برابر ملت ایران», setting out the dimensions of the enemy's military defeat before the Iranian nation.
- Main: the cover image is the world-championship podium with Iran's flag raised above the American and Russian flags inside an American arena, under «نسل جوان قهرمان». The Guard's weekly is making the same sporting argument the daily press made on 20 October, one cycle later and in doctrinal language.
- Sub-item: a boxed interview headline reads «دشمن به دنبال کاهش تاب‌آوری مردم است», the enemy is seeking to reduce the people's resilience, attributed to an IRGC political analyst. Resilience, not capability, is the stated object of the adversary's effort.
- Sub-item: the cover reproduces the Leader's message in full, opening «حضرت آیت‌الله سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی در پیامی قهرمانی و افتخارآفرینی تیم امید کشتی آزاد در مسابقات جهانی آمریکا را به مدیران، مربیان، کشتی‌گیران غیور تیم و ملت بزرگ ایران به‌خصوص نسل جوان قهرمان میهن تبریک گفتند». The printed name is the current office holder, not the predecessor.
- Sub-item: upper-rail notes read «ترامپ، اروپا را با خود غرق می‌کند!», Trump will drown Europe along with himself, and an economic note on interest-rate policy.

ANALYST NOTE The weekly matters here for one reason: it is the only surface in the batch that prints the current Leader's name in full, with honorific and patronymic, attached to a dated message. Against four consecutive cycles in which this monitor has filed the successor's appearance as text-only, that remains text, a congratulation rendered on a cover rather than a photographed or recorded appearance, but it is the fullest printed form of the name the monitored set has carried. The Guard weekly's choice to build its cover on a flag above America's rather than on any military claim also confirms the batch-wide substitution of symbolic ascendancy for operational reporting.

Chaharsoogh

Commercial and markets daily; the title that consistently prints the war's arithmetic when the political press prints its meaning

"The Hormuz earthquake in Europe" «زلزله هرمز در اروپا»

MODERATE: economic-cost framing, no military content



- Main: the front is a data page. The lead «زلزله هرمز در اروپا» is decked «شعله‌های هرمز در خیابان‌های اروپا زبانه کشید» and «قبض سنگین جنگ علیه ایران روی میز اروپا», the heavy bill for the war against Iran lands on Europe's table, and the flames of Hormuz have leapt into Europe's streets, over a photograph of riot police and a burning street with a French flag.
- Main: a country-by-country table of fuel price increases runs across France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Belgium and Germany, under a yellow strap reading «شواهد عددی از فشار جنگ علیه ایران بر اقتصاد اروپا», numerical evidence of the pressure of the war against Iran on Europe's economy.
- Main: the itemised costs beneath it are specific: «هزینه اضافی سوخت جاده‌ای اتحادیه اروپا: ۵۳ میلیارد یورو», an additional 53 billion euros in EU road-fuel costs, and «هزینه اضافی روزانه حمل و نقل: ۲۷۰ میلیون یورو», an additional 270 million euros a day in transport costs.
- Banner: the masthead strap reads «ریزش نفت، دستاورد سفر میانجی به تهران», the fall in oil, the achievement of the mediator's trip to Tehran. The paper went to press on the first half of the day's oil move; the wires carry the second half, in which the price recovered after the Iranian refusals were published.
- Sub-item: «دلار می‌تازد؛ همتی مشغول سیاسی‌بازی است», the dollar is galloping while Hemmati plays politics, over a photograph of the economy minister and a quoted market rate; and «رئیس بانک مرکزی به جای مهار گرانی در نشست جبهه اصلاحات چه می‌کند؟», what is the central bank governor doing at a Reform Front meeting instead of curbing inflation.
- Sub-item: «سیاست‌های دولت در مسیر گران کردن ارز», the government's policies on the road to a dearer currency, on import facilitation and allocation decisions.

ANALYST NOTE Chaharsoogh is the only title that converts the chokepoint into euros, and the conversion runs one way: the costs are all the adversary's. The structural finding is in the masthead strap rather than the lead, because printing the oil fall as the mediator's achievement commits the commercial press to a causal story (mediation lowers the price) that the same day's wires then reversed within hours when Tehran's refusals were published. That sequence, fall on arrival and recovery on refusal, is the clearest market-priced read available of what the Iranian position is actually worth, and it is visible only by setting this front page against the agency traffic that followed it. Domestically the page keeps the standing pattern: the war's bill reaches page one as a governance failure, billed to the economy minister and the central bank rather than to the war.

Ta'adol

Economic daily close to the chambers of commerce; reads the war through tax, trade and the private sector rather than through politics

LOW-MODERATE: the batch's only unresolved question on the mediation

"The underground economy grows in the shadow of war" «رشد اقتصاد زیرزمینی در سایه جنگ»


تعادل

رشد اقتصاد زیرزمینی در سایه جنگ

دیپلماسی در بن‌بست؟

- Main: the lead is domestic and unflattering, «رشد اقتصاد زیرزمینی در سایه جنگ», decked as a review of tax policy at the Tehran chamber. The economic daily's judgement is that the war's fiscal effect is to push activity off the books.
- Main: the page's dominant photograph is Pakistani soldiers in camouflage and berets descending an aircraft's steps, captioned «سفر عاصم منیر به تهران برای پیدا کردن راهی برای توافق و عدم شروع دور جدیدی از جنگ», Asim Munir's trip to Tehran to find a route to an agreement and to prevent the start of a new round of war. This is the only front page in the batch to print the arrival itself rather than a meeting.
- Main: the headline set beneath that photograph is a question rather than a refusal, «دیپلماسی در بن‌بست؟», diplomacy at a dead end? Alone in the batch, Ta'adol declines to answer it.
- Sub-item: «پیمانکاران، واسطه‌هایی که به جای حذف ساماندهی می‌شوند», contractors, intermediaries being regularised instead of removed; and a banner on «رستاخیز ثروت‌های خاکستر شده در زمستان انرژی», the resurrection of ash-turned wealth in the energy winter.
- Right rail: «چرا حساب منفی صندوق‌های ارزی عمیق‌تر شد؟», why has the negative balance of the currency funds deepened, and a currency note under «نه یورو و نه درهم»; a lower item asks «حباب منفی، فشار فروش یا ضرورت تغییر نرخ؟»

> **ANALYST NOTE** Ta'adol is the batch's only genuine hedge. Every other title answers the mediation with a refusal; the chambers' paper prints the mediator's aircraft and leaves a question mark where the others put an exclamation. That is consistent with the pattern this monitor recorded on 20 October, when Ta'adol read the Lavrov talks and omitted the Strait entirely: the commercial-economic press is declining to adopt the maximalist frame, and it is doing so by omission and interrogation rather than by argument, which is the only form of dissent available on this question. Its underground-economy lead is the complement: the constituency it speaks for is pricing the war as a domestic structural cost, not as leverage.

Etemad

Leading reformist daily; the surface on which arguments for negotiation are permitted to be made analytically rather than politically

LOW-MODERATE: de-escalation framing, with the cycle's most consequential detail held off the page

"The game of the great powers" «بازی بزرگان»



- Main: the lead is an interview, not a news item, decked «بررسی نقش چین و روسیه در مذاکرات ایران و آمریکا در گفت‌وگو با ماشاءالله شمس‌الواعظین», examining the role of China and Russia in the Iran-America negotiations in conversation with Mashallah Shamsolvaezin, over a photograph of the Chinese and Russian presidents. The reformist daily treats the negotiation as a subject of analysis on a morning when the conservative press treats it as a subject of refusal.
- Sub-item: «کالبدشکافی بهای تمام‌شده ساخت در پاییز ۱۴۰۵ / تراکم تورم در مسکن», dissecting construction costs in autumn 1405, and inflation density in housing.
- Sub-item: «اعتماد گزارش می‌دهد: ابعاد جدید پرونده «خانه وحشت»», Etemad reports new dimensions of the house of horror case, a crime investigation held on page one against the war material.
- Sub-item: «واکاوی راه‌های بازسازی امید اجتماعی در ایران / نبرد با «خوره‌های امید»», probing routes to rebuilding social hope in Iran, and the battle with the canker of hope. Social morale is treated as a domestic subject in its own right, which is the reformist counterpart to Hamshahri's defensive comparison.
- Right rail: a stack of eight signed «یادداشت‌ها» runs the length of the page, including «مرگ تدریجی رؤیای اروپایی», the gradual death of the European dream, and «آینده مبهم دولت‌های رفاهی», the uncertain future of the welfare states. The reformist reading of European unrest is civilisational decline, not Iranian vindication.
- Sub-item: on its own channel the paper carries the fullest rendering of the foreign minister's Al-Ikhbariya interview, including that indirect talks continue through mediating states and that «آمریکا با شروط ایران موافق است اما می‌خواهد چند نکته اضافه کند», America agrees with Iran's conditions but wants to add a few points.

ANALYST NOTE Etemad's front page prints no refusal, and its channel prints the one sentence that would make a refusal hard to sustain: that Washington has accepted Iran's conditions and is seeking additions. The split is the finding. On the page the reformist title stays within the permitted register by discussing great-power mediation in the abstract and giving its space to housing costs, a crime story and social morale; off the page it carries the specific concession that the conservative front pages are built to deny. This is the third consecutive cycle in which this monitor has recorded negotiation detail travelling by channel while the fronts carry positions, and it is the first in which the detail concerns the American side's acceptance rather than Iran's terms.

Jomhouri Eslami

Establishment conservative daily of long standing; on 20 October it was the first title to put the mediation track on page one, which makes it this cycle's continuity benchmark

"Unrest spreads in several European countries" «گسترش ناآرامی‌ها در چند کشور اروپایی»

MODERATE: mediation detailed and demoted in the same cycle


جمهوری اسلامی

گسترش ناآرامی‌ها در چند کشور اروپائی

- Main: the lead photograph is Italian riot police, helmeted and lettered POLIZIA, pressing a crowd, under «گسترش ناآرامی‌ها در چند کشور اروپایی». The paper that led on the settlement expectation yesterday leads on the adversary's streets today.
- Main: the mediation has moved to the right-hand column under «ادامه رایزنی‌های منطقه‌ای برای راضی کردن ایران و آمریکا برای مذاکره و پایان جنگ», continued regional consultations to persuade Iran and America to negotiate and end the war. The first bullet is the cycle's most precise sourcing: «عاصم منیر فرمانده ارتش پاکستان و میانجی ارشد ایران و آمریکا در پنجمین سفر رسمی دیروز به تهران آمد», Asim Munir, commander of Pakistan's army and senior mediator between Iran and America, arrived in Tehran yesterday on his fifth official visit.
- Sub-item: the second bullet attributes the framing to the Pakistani press, «رسانه پاکستانی «داون» سفر عاصم منیر را در چارچوب تلاش پاکستان برای جلوگیری از تشدید تنش و میانجی‌گری میان ایران و آمریکا ارزیابی کرده است». The third carries Qatar's foreign ministry: «حل بحران میان آمریکا و ایران باید به صورت مسالمت‌آمیز باشد و این امر هرچه سریع‌تر اتفاق بیفتد بهتر است».
- Sub-item: beneath them, «سخنگوی وزارت خارجه: دیپلماسی را برای جلوگیری از جنگ دنبال می‌کنیم», the foreign ministry spokesman: we are pursuing diplomacy to prevent war. The word is prevention, not conclusion.
- Main: a centre item reports «دیدار فرمانده ارتش پاکستان با رئیس‌جمهور», with the text naming both men as printed, «سید عاصم منیر» meeting «مسعود پزشکیان» during his Tehran visit.
- Sub-item: domestic items carry the Plan and Budget Organisation on wheat farmers' claims being settled, the tax authority exempting housing and child allowances from payroll tax, and the Asian Para Games tally «طلا، ۹ نقره و ۱۴ برنز ۷» on the second day. A standing column, «توصیه امروز رهبر شهید», carries the martyred predecessor's advice, and the page foots on a long quotation from «شهید مظلوم آیت‌الله بهشتی» on the just distribution of means and work.

ANALYST NOTE Jomhouri Eslami is the title to read against itself. Yesterday it put Qatari and Pakistani mediation, a described content and a date on page one; today it has the named mediator physically in Tehran on his fifth visit, and it has moved him off the lead and into a column under a European riot photograph. The demotion is not a loss of interest, it is a change of frame: the paper that printed an expectation of de-escalation is now printing the adversary's disorder as the reason de-escalation will come on Iranian terms. The ministry spokesman's choice of «جلوگیری از جنگ», preventing war, rather

than ending it, is the same adjustment in one word. Track whether this title returns the mediation to the lead if a round convenes, which is the test it set itself yesterday.

Iran

The government's own daily, published by IRNA; no scan reached the kiosk batch, so this entry is read from the paper's own channel summary of its page

“We will eat dirt but we will not give up soil” «خاک می‌خوریم اما خاک نمی‌دهیم»

HIGH: an unelaborated commerce-interdiction claim on the government's own page

- Main: the President's formula leads the government page and is repeated on Sobh-e No's masthead, which is the clearest instance of shared wording in the batch.
- Main: «دو کشتی متخلف در تنگه هرمز به آتش کشیده شدند», two non-compliant vessels in the Strait of Hormuz were set on fire. This is the first commerce-interdiction item to reach a front-page listing in the cycles this monitor has covered since 18 October, and it appears on the government's own daily rather than on a hardline title or a Guard wire.
- Sub-item: «سرلشکر عبداللهی: سلاح‌های گران‌قیمت دشمن را با تجهیزات ارزان خنثی می‌کنیم», Major General Abdollahi: we neutralise the enemy's expensive weapons with cheap equipment, an attrition-economics argument rather than a capability claim.
- Sub-item: «دیدار فرمانده ارتش پاکستان با رئیس‌جمهور پزشکیان» on the page, alongside the First Vice-President's speech to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation heads-of-government meeting.
- Op-ed: two signed pieces carry the page's argument. Mohammad Jamshidi of the University of Tehran writes that the American and Israeli war on Iran was part of Washington's strategy to weaken the independent bloc and contain China, that its failure requires a rethink of Washington's relations with Beijing, and that Chinese defence of Iran's positions at the Security Council and the Board of Governors carries particular weight. Ata'ollah Mohajerani writes «روبیو؛ تاریخ‌ندان و ایران‌نشناس», Rubio, ignorant of history and of Iran, answering the American secretary of state's civilisational argument with Spengler and with the idea of Iran as a «ملت مبعوث».
- Sub-item: «واکنش وزیر ارشاد به تغییر نام اماکن و خیابان‌ها», the culture minister's response to the renaming of places and streets, continuing the thread this monitor recorded on 20 October in which the martyred predecessor's office opposed renaming long-established places after him.

ANALYST NOTE The government daily is doing two incompatible things on one page, and that is the finding. It prints the President's refusal formula and a burned-shipping item that is an act of interdiction, while also printing the Pakistani mediator with the President and a university argument that the war's failure should reopen the China file. The burning of two vessels is the single most consequential line in the batch and it is carried without elaboration, without a date and without a claiming authority, which is how a state publishes an action it wants known but not owned. Tracking cue: whether any Iranian surface attaches a date, a flag or a name to those two ships, and whether the item reaches a Persian front page in printed form rather than a channel listing.

Kayhan

Hardline daily whose managing editor is appointed by the Leader's office; no scan reached the kiosk batch, so this entry is read from the paper's own channel

“Foreign Affairs: Iran's geography and resistance have grounded America's war machine” «فارن افرز: جغرافیا و مقاومت ایران ماشین جنگی آمریکا را زمین‌گیر کرد»

MODERATE-HIGH: adversary-sourced vindication, no fresh Iranian operational claim

- Main: the lead is a foreign article rather than an Iranian claim. Kayhan reports that William H. McRaven, retired US Navy admiral and former commander of American special operations forces, argues in a Foreign Affairs piece titled «محدودیت‌های قدرت آمریکا», the limits of American power, that the war with Iran was a plain strategic error and over-reliance on military force, that Trump entered it without a clear objective, changed his aims repeatedly, and discounted geography, Iranian will and the difficulty of political victory through strikes. Kayhan's rendering of a foreign article is not a verification of it.
- Main: the front carries the President meeting Russia's foreign minister on strategic cooperation; «دست بالای ایران در معادلات بین‌المللی انرژی و ترفندهای ترامپ برای کاهش قیمت نفت», Iran's upper hand in international energy equations and Trump's tricks to lower the oil price; and «برخی شهرهای فرانسه از کنترل خارج شدند / ایتالیا از ارتش کمک خواست», some French cities out of control and Italy calling on the army.
- Sub-item: on the oil move the channel is unambiguous, «جهش نفت سفر عاصم منیر را بی‌اثر کرد», the oil jump rendered Asim Munir's trip ineffective, reporting Brent back inside the 110-dollar channel on supply concerns and disruption to Gulf export routes, particularly the Strait of Hormuz. This is the exact inverse of the commercial daily Chaharsoogh's masthead strap on the same morning.
- Sub-item: «یمن نصف پروازهای عربستان را زمین‌گیر کرد», Yemen has grounded half of Saudi Arabia's flights, citing the aviation analytics firm Cirium: between 8 and 19 October more than 45 percent of scheduled departures from Saudi airports were cancelled or recorded as not operated, 5,547 of 12,195 flights disrupted, with King Khalid International in Riyadh fully closed since Saturday 10 October and up to 82 percent of its departures cancelled at the peak. Kayhan attributes the disruption to Yemeni missile and drone responses.
- Sub-item: the chief of the General Staff, named on the channel as Major General Abdollahi, is quoted on a visit to army drone production lines: «دشمن اگر حماقتی کند با پاسخی سنگین‌تر و پشیمان‌کننده‌تر روبرو خواهد شد», if the enemy does something foolish it will meet a heavier and more regret-inducing answer.
- Sub-item: the channel carries the foreign minister telling Iraq's Al-Ikhbariya «موضوع هسته‌ای بهانه است؛ آنچه آمریکایی‌ها نمی‌پذیرند، اندیشه ایرانی است», the nuclear issue is a pretext, what the Americans do not accept is the Iranian idea, and that the Islamabad agreement was abandoned by the American side as the earlier one was. It also reports a Trump rally in North Carolina interrupted by protesters with two ejected, one objecting to petrol prices, and Trump claiming the war will end soon, that oil and petrol prices will then fall, and that Iran wants the war to continue until after the midterms.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Kayhan's front page is built almost entirely out of the adversary's own voices: a retired American admiral in Foreign Affairs, an aviation data firm, an American wire service at a Trump rally. That is a deliberate evidentiary posture, because claims sourced to the enemy's institutions cannot be dismissed at home as regime assertion, and it has now displaced the paper's usual battle-damage

> material for a second consecutive cycle. The oil item is the one to carry forward: Kayhan and the commercial press printed opposite causal stories about the same twenty-four hours, and the wires reconcile them, with the price falling on the mediator's arrival and recovering on the published Iranian refusal.

Appendix A - The Leader's message on the world wrestling title (partial, as printed)

Sobh-e Sadegh, the IRGC's political weekly, issue 1156, Monday 27 Mehr 1405 / 19 October 2026, front page. The Leader's own site could not be reached at the time of compilation, so the text below is reconstructed from the weekly's cover; the right-hand column of the message block runs off the edge of the scan and the full text could not be recovered.

Introductory matter as printed: «حضرت آیت‌الله سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی در پیامی قهرمانی و افتخارآفرینی تیم امید کشتی آزاد در مسابقات جهانی آمریکا را به مدیران، مربیان، کشتی‌گیران غیور تیم و ملت بزرگ ایران به‌خصوص نسل جوان قهرمان میهن تبریک گفتند.»

Translation: His Excellency Ayatollah Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini Khamenei, Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, in a message congratulated the championship and the glory brought by the freestyle wrestling hopes team at the world championships in America, addressing the managers, the coaches, the zealous wrestlers of the team and the great nation of Iran, and especially the young champion generation of the homeland.

The message text itself is introduced on the cover as «متن پیام رهبر انقلاب به این شرح است:» and opens with the invocation «بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم». The surviving fragments on the scan refer to the team's championship, to the Islamic Republic, and to the gladdening of the heart of the great nation. The remainder is cut off at the scan's edge and is not reproduced here.

Analyst flag: the office holder is printed here in full, with honorific and patronymic, which is the fullest printed form of the name the monitored set has carried. The message remains text only. Across this and the four preceding cycles, no dated public appearance, confirmed photograph or confirmed recording of the current office holder has appeared in any monitored source; the appearance is a congratulation rendered on a weekly cover. Nothing in this item establishes anything about the office holder beyond the fact that messages are being issued in that name and printed by the Guard's own weekly.

Source line: Sobh-e Sadegh, issue 1156, 27 Mehr 1405, front page, retrieved as scan fa-06 in the Wednesday 29 Mehr 1405 kiosk batch.

Appendix B - The flagged editorial: 'Trump in crisis, the mediators in Tehran'

Sobh-e No, no. 2454, Wednesday 29 Mehr 1405 / 21 October 2026, front-page editorial («سرمقاله»), signed «محبوبه نیاورانی، سردبیر», Mahboubeh Niavarani, editor-in-chief. Author verified against the paper's own channel posting of the full text, which carries the same title and byline as the printed page. Full Persian text retained at raw/sobh-e-no-editorial-29mehr1405.txt.

The rise in the oil price above 111 dollars, and its arrival at the highest level of the past five months, is not merely an economic item of news; it is a sign of energy becoming Washington's strategic weak point on the threshold of the midterm elections of the third of November. In such conditions the energy market has in effect become a kind of referendum on the outcome of the policy of maximum pressure and of warmongering against Iran. Although American officials try to deny Iran's command of the Strait of Hormuz, the market's behaviour and the dizzying rise in the oil price tell a different truth.

It is within this frame that the reactivation of the mediators takes on meaning. After Lavrov's few-hour trip to Tehran, yesterday Asim Munir also came to Iran, and after this Pakistani official a delegation from Qatar came to Tehran. Al-Arabiya has claimed that Munir came with a proposal for the payment of six billion dollars of the interest on Iran's blocked funds, not the principal, in exchange for permitting the Atomic Energy Agency to inspect Iran, and that America and Iran have both agreed to this. This claim must be read with caution, because part of the proposal has a surface attractiveness while the rest of its provisions, and America's counter-demands, do not appear in the report.

Iran's position in all this is clear and unified. Tehran has previously set out seven conditions and has made any agreement contingent on America's fulfilment of them. Ghalibaf, in his meeting with the commander of Pakistan's army, stressed: «ما حرف جدیدی نداریم و آمریکا جز با اجرای شروط هفت‌گانه ایران که در نیویورک ارائه شده نمی‌تواند اعتماد ایران را کسب کند», we have nothing new to say, and America cannot win Iran's trust except by implementing Iran's seven conditions, which were presented in New York. The Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, in his meeting with Asim Munir, stated: «همه مردم و مسئولان ایران یکپارچه و یک‌صدا به این نتیجه رسیده‌اند که تا اعتمادسازی از سوی آمریکا صورت نگیرد مذاکره‌ای در کار نخواهد بود؛ شروع این اعتمادسازی، تحقق شروط ایران است», all of Iran's people and officials have reached the single, unanimous conclusion that until trust-building is undertaken by America there will be no negotiation, and the beginning of that trust-building is the fulfilment of Iran's conditions. These two positions show both the gap between the media narrative and the official position, and Tehran's central message: limited and temporary offers do not take the place of the full implementation of obligations.

Another important point is the reach of the war's effect, and of the tension, in the energy market. The war lasted only forty days, and in it no energy infrastructure anywhere in the world suffered serious damage, and six months have passed since; yet its effects are only now becoming visible in the world. The Strait of Hormuz, too, has not been completely closed, but this relative disruption alone has thrown the world into disarray. The protests that began in France have now gone beyond Europe's borders and have reached countries in the Americas as well. This situation shows that energy security is a chain, interlinked, and cannot be managed by a political communique.

Inside America too the political cost of this policy has become more apparent. Trump's position is not good and his popularity has fallen to the lowest point of his presidency. This decline has coincided with growing Republican dissatisfaction with the performance of Donald Trump and his administration

in managing the cost of living, and with public discontent at his unpopular warmongering against Iran. The latest Reuters and Ipsos poll shows popular satisfaction with Trump at 32 percent. In that poll only 17 percent of respondents approved of Trump's handling of the cost of living, which Americans regard as the single most decisive issue for their vote in the midterm elections of the third of November. In such a situation the price of petrol and fuel turns from an economic matter into an electoral crisis, and compels the White House to activate the mediators.

From the lowering of the American flag in Italy and the explicit admission of Macron, the president of France, that the main cause of Europe's present condition is the war against Iran, to the protest of the American people at the high price of fuel, the fall of Trump's popularity in the polls and his turn towards the Russians to control the energy market: none of it has been able to bring the oil price down. This set of signs has one clear conclusion: the policy of the 'madman', of bullying and coercion against Iran, is without result. Such an approach has not only failed to stabilise energy security, it has turned the global market into a plaything of political tensions. This is a reality that shows that the instruments of pressure and political dealing are no substitute for a real understanding of the mechanism of energy and of Iran's role in it.

By contrast, the only realistic route for returning the energy situation to its pre-war condition is respect for Iran's national sovereignty and the implementation of Iran's conditions. For as long as Washington insists on denying the field and political realities, the energy market too will go on carrying the same message that American politicians are reluctant to accept.

Analyst flag: this editorial is the day's most load-bearing document and its most self-contradicting one. It states the maximalist position, that America has no option but full compliance, and in the same text concedes that the Strait has not been fully closed, that the war lasted forty days, and that no energy infrastructure was seriously damaged. It also prints, while disclaiming, a specific mediation term, six billion dollars in interest on blocked funds in exchange for inspection access. Verification note: the six-billion figure is attributed to Al-Arabiya by the editorial itself and is not corroborated in any other monitored source; the Reuters and Ipsos figures are the editorial's rendering of a foreign poll and are not independently confirmed here; the attribution to Macron is the editorial's characterisation of remarks it does not quote. None of the quotations in this appendix should be reproduced as authentic without primary-source confirmation.

Source line: Sobh-e No, no. 2454, 29 Mehr 1405, front-page editorial, retrieved from the paper's own channel at https://t.me/s/sobhe_no, message 116896.

Appendix C - Methodology and sourcing notes

Compiled for the edition of Wednesday 29 Mehr 1405 / 21 October 2026.

Scan coverage. Ten Persian front-page scans were retrieved from the Wednesday 29 Mehr 1405 kiosk batch, whose own printed Jalali date matches the edition date, so no stale-batch condition applies. Nine are dailies: Jam-e Jam, Vatan-e Emrooz, Hamshahri, Javan, Sobh-e No, Chaharsoogh, Ta'adol, Etemad and Jomhouri Eslami. The tenth, Sobh-e Sadegh, is the IRGC's weekly and carries a cover dated Monday 27 Mehr; it is analysed as a weekly and its date is stated on its entry.

English coverage was thin this cycle and the gap is reported rather than concealed. The English-language kiosk had not posted a 29 Mehr batch at the time of compilation; the only English scan available was the Iran Daily of 20 October, which this monitor covered in full in the previous edition and which is therefore excluded here rather than recycled. Tehran Times could not be reached from the compilation point, and neither could the Leader's own site. No English-language front page of 21 October is represented in this edition.

Text sources. Kayhan and the Iran newspaper reached no scan in the batch and are read from their own channels, where each published a summary of its own front page; both entries say so on their face and neither is presented as a read front page. Four further daily channels (Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad, Sobh-e No) were read for text that the scans could not resolve, and three agency wires (Defa Press, Fars News, Nour News) were read for corroboration and for official and semi-official claims. Agency material is folded into the judgements and the threat register and is not treated as front-page content.

Attribution firewall. Every claim in this edition is attributed to the outlet or speaker that made it and none is adopted as established fact. Iranian operational and battle-damage claims are labelled as claims throughout, including the burning of two vessels in the Strait, the carrier movements described by the IRGC spokesman, the 'father of bombs' and the submarine-cable threat. Renderings of foreign material are flagged as renderings: the Foreign Affairs article, the Cirium aviation figures, the Economist report, the Reuters and Ipsos poll, the Axios and CNN reports, the Al-Arabiya six-billion claim and the International Monetary Fund contraction figure all reach this edition through Iranian outlets and have not been verified against their originals.

Named-figure verification. Where a person is named in this edition, the name is read from the printed page or from the outlet's own channel text, not inferred from a photograph or a caricature. Syed Asim Munir is named in print by Ta'adol, Sobh-e No, Jam-e Jam and Jomhouri Eslami, and is titled Field Marshal in the Sobh-e No channel text, consistent with his office as Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff. Mohsen Rezaei is named by the Sobh-e No channel as Major General, representative of the Leader and Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, which also identifies the uniformed figure photographed on Vatan-e Emrooz's front page. Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf, Masoud Pezeshkian and Abbas Araghchi are named in print or in channel text in each instance where this edition attributes a statement to them. The IRGC spokesman is named as Sardar Mohebbi by Defa Press; Yadollah Javani is named by Defa Press as the Guard's deputy for political affairs, speaking to Al-Alam.

Attribution divergence recorded. The submarine-cable threat is attributed by Vatan-e Emrooz's column to the IRGC spokesman and by Defa Press, in a separate item of the same cycle, to the Guard's political deputy speaking to a different outlet. Both are reported here as published; this monitor does not resolve which statement the column was drawing on.

Translation caveats. Translations are editorial and are set beside the original script wherever the Persian carries framing that the English cannot. Loaded register is glossed rather than smoothed: «شهادت» and «آسمانی شدند» are rendered as martyrdom and ascension in quotation; «زیاده‌خواهی» as excessive demands; «اغتشاشات» as riots, which is the regime's own term for the 2022 protests and is retained because the choice of word is the evidence. Where a figure or a word could not be read with confidence from a low-resolution scan, it is omitted rather than guessed, and this edition omits several secondary items on that basis.

Single-source flags. The following reach this edition on one surface only and are filed as such: the burning of two non-compliant vessels in the Strait, carried as a single line in the government daily's own page listing with no date, flag or claiming authority; the six-billion-dollar mediation term, carried only by Sobh-e No citing Al-Arabiya and disclaimed by the paper itself; the Al-Hamra strike in southern Lebanon, carried only on the Jam-e Jam channel; and the Saudi aviation collapse, which reaches a front page only via Javan while the detailed figures sit on the Kayhan channel.

Negative evidence recorded. No front page in the batch carries Lebanon, although a strike on it is reported on a state channel the same morning. No numbered MQ-9 attrition claim appears in this cycle, breaking a series that ran through 19 and 20 October; the only aerial tracking published is the Iraqi resistance media's daily count of American aircraft observed over Iraq. No mined-tanker claim appears. No dated public appearance of the current Leader appears in any monitored source.

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

Open-source material only. All translations from Persian/Arabic originals. Iranian claims are labelled as claims. Prepared for analysis and early warning; hostile content is documented for defensive assessment only, not endorsed.