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THE WATER-OR-MIRAGE EDITION

Eight Iranian front pages of 5 Aban 1405 read in full, with one English page, five newspaper channels and three agency wires. Kayhan is read from its own channel because its page did not reach the kiosk album. Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation.

Front pages published the morning of 27 October 2026, reflecting events through late 26 October local

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


وطن امروز
VATANEMROOZ.IR
روزنامه صبح ایران
رهبر انقلاب در پیامی خطاب به نخبگان و معاون آموزش عالی وزارتش مطرح کردند
نقشه راه نخبگان برای «ایران هرچه قوی‌تر»
پیروزی لولا در انتخابات ریاست جمهوری، پیروز آسترش نمودار شکاف در آمریکای لاتین را تا کام گذاشت
شکست ترامپ در برزیل
گزارش «وطن امروز» از نشست چهارجانبه ایران، ترکیه، پاکستان و عربستان در تهران و بررسی ابده تامین امنیت جمعی توسط کشورهای منطقه
رسیدن به ایده ایران
تیتر‌های امروز
تنهایی نتانیاهو
ضربه جنگی به ترامپ!
فرمول آرام اصلاح سوخت
ویژه
انتلاف بدون ایران؟
کلید امنیت در تهران

Front page: Vatan-e Emrooz

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this cycle is not about the summit, it is about the reaction to it. On 26 October the Saudi defence minister Khalid bin Salman, Pakistan's armed forces commander Asim Munir and Turkey's intelligence chief Ibrahim Kalin met Mohsen Rezaei, secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, in Tehran. Seven of the eight Persian front pages lead on it or carry its photograph. On the same morning, in the same press, Kayhan's managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari published a two-part editorial titled «اجلاس تهران آب یا سراب؟!», the Tehran summit, water or mirage, which names the council's deputy secretary Ali Bagheri, quotes his stated aims back at him, and addresses «عزیزان شورای عالی امنیت ملی», our dear friends at the Supreme National Security Council, with a demand that they answer whether Saudi Arabia has stopped fighting Yemen. The outlet closest to the Leader's office attacked its own security council's diplomacy on the day that diplomacy convened. That is a different order of event from an editorial disagreement, and it is the single highest-significance finding in the batch.

The grounds of the attack are precise and they identify the one fact the celebratory pages suppress. Shariatmadari records that two months ago the three visitors concluded «پیمان مکه», the Mecca Pact, whose declared purpose is the defence of Saudi Arabia against external threat; asks what external threat Saudi Arabia faces other than the Yemeni revolutionaries; and concludes that under «وحدت ساحات», the unity of arenas, Iran, Hezbollah, Ansarallah, the Iraqi Hashd and the Palestinian resistance are «یک روح واحد», one single soul in several bodies, so that fighting Yemen is fighting Iran. Only one front page in the batch, Sobh-e No's, names the Mecca Pact at all, with the kicker «سه: از مکه تا تهران ضلع پیمان دفاعی به میز مذاکره با ایران آمدند». Every other page that celebrates the summit does so by leaving out what the three men signed in August and whom they signed it against.

The reason those three men got on aircraft is on the wires and almost nowhere on the printed pages. Nour News leads its security output on «موشک‌های یمن بر فراز ریاض؛ آرامکو و زیرساخت‌های سعودی در کانون حملات», Yemeni missiles over Riyadh with Aramco and Saudi infrastructure at the centre of the attacks, and reports explosions in eastern Saudi Arabia halting flights at Dammam. Kayhan reports more than four thousand flights cancelled and 86 percent of King Khalid international airport's schedule lost, with Yemen warning international carriers out of Saudi airspace. The Jam-e Jam channel carries the Canadian government telling its citizens to avoid both Riyadh and Dammam airports. The open record is harder still: Cirium data record 4,071 of 4,736 scheduled flights cancelled at King Khalid between 8 and 25 October and more than 7,800 nationwide, about 45 percent of all scheduled Saudi departures, after a missile strike on the airport on 10 October that killed twelve and wounded more than three hundred. A kingdom whose capital's airport has been closed for most of a month sent its defence minister to Tehran. Farhikhtegan is the only front page that says so out loud, with «نبض اقتصاد اعراب در دست هرمز», the pulse of the Arab economy is in Hormuz's hands, and the instruction «این آمار را به دقت بخوانید؛ کشورهای عربی به دیوار واقعیت خوردند».

That reading matters because it changes what the summit is. If the three came because they were persuaded, as Javan's «منطقه با منطق ایرانی» and Vatan-e Emrooz's «رسیدن به ایده ایران» both claim, then a durable regional architecture is forming. If they came because Riyadh's air traffic and oil infrastructure are under attack from Iran's ally and because the strait is shut, as Farhikhtegan and Shariatmadari both say in their different registers, then the summit is a function of pressure and will last exactly as long as the pressure does. The two readings are printed in the same batch and neither is reconciled with the other anywhere in it.

The chokepoint claim itself has now completed a migration this monitor has tracked for five cycles. It began as an ambiguous consequence conceded in body text, became Kayhan's «هدیه الهی», a divine gift, acquired an external warrant when Obama's Cleveland line was promoted to doctrine on five surfaces one cycle ago, and today is published by the defence wire as settled strategy: Defa Press runs «تنگه هرمز؛ اهرم راهبردی ایران در تغییر محاسبات آمریکا», ties Obama's remark explicitly to the Leader's own earlier statements about levers of pressure, and attaches an International Energy Agency figure of roughly twenty million barrels a day. Shariatmadari states flatly that «بستن تنگه هرمز», the closing of the Strait of Hormuz, is what brought the three to Tehran. A claim that was deniable in September is now an admitted instrument of state on the Leader's own surface, and the admission is being made in order to win an internal argument rather than an external one.

The military track is signalling in the opposite direction from the diplomatic one, and the timing is not accidental. On the day the Supreme National Security Council hosted a de-escalation summit, Defa Press published Sardar Sanaei-rad, deputy head of the political office of the Commander-in-Chief's military office, saying «پاسخ ایران به هر ماجراجویی، شگفتانه‌های جدید و سیلی محکم‌تر است», that Iran's answer to any adventurism will be new surprises and a harder slap, and that Iran would set aside its earlier restraint in a future round. The Army ground forces commander ordered units held at maximum readiness, warning that in a war situation any negligence carries heavy costs. Set against Trump's statement of 25 October that it is decision time on Iran, a deal or finish it off, with a third carrier group moving toward the Gulf and no American strikes since 1 September, the Iranian system is running an accommodation track and an escalation track simultaneously and letting both be seen.

No Iranian surface claims an outcome, which is itself informative. The only primary document anywhere in the batch is the four-way press statement, published in full on the Sobh-e No channel, and it says that the participants agreed to continue talks on strengthening cooperation including on regional peace and security. That is all it says. Sobh-e No's editor Mahboubeh Niavarani is the only front-page voice to put the resulting question honestly: «این نشست، تاکتیکی برای دور کردن خطر جنگ است یا آغازی برای شکل‌گیری امنیت دسته جمعی», is this meeting a tactic to push the danger of war away or the beginning of collective security. The analyst Hanif Ghaffari, in the same paper, attaches the only condition on a sympathetic page: the three must first prove they have actually made endogenous security their first priority.

Nobonyad supplies the front-page dissent, and it is a principlist paper dissenting from a principlist consensus on the same morning. Its headline over the Saadabad photograph reads «برای یاری ترامپ، نگران از پاسخ ایران», here to help Trump, afraid of Iran's answer, under the kicker that the paper is reporting on the aims of the four countries' officials. This is the same paper that one cycle ago used the Speaker's moment of restoration to print the charge that he had jailed a sitting member, so the pattern holds: Nobonyad reliably prints the camp's internal objection on the morning the camp is celebrating. Its revival of «نه جنگ، نه صلح», specifically in order to call it «خطای محاسباتی», a miscalculation, is the first front-page return of the presidential exit argument in two cycles, and it returns as a target.

The bet on adversary elections, which this monitor flagged one cycle ago as carrying a hard expiry date, reached its first settlement day and the press has banked it. Lula's defeat of Flavio Bolsonaro in the Brazilian runoff of 25 October, 51.79 percent to 48.21, is on five front pages, and the Iranian rendering is uniform: Vatan-e Emrooz calls it «شکست ترامپ در برزیل», the government's Iran calls it «شکست ترامپ و نتانیاهو در برزیل», Sobh-e No calls it «آغاز موج ضد ترامپ», the start of the anti-Trump wave, Farhikhtegan calls it «ویوا داسیلوا!» and Kayhan quotes Lula that this is nobody's backyard any more. The second settlement, the Israeli ballot, was being held as these pages went to press and the

handling is noticeably more careful: Vatan-e Emrooz runs «تنهایی نتانیاهو» on military objections to a fresh Iranian adventure, Farhikhtegan asks «بوی رفتن نتانیاهو می‌آید؟», and the Iran newspaper's channel prints a sober seat count in which neither bloc reaches sixty-one. The third, the American midterms of 3 November, is carried only through The Atlantic's byline in a Kayhan item on Iran's role in a possible Republican defeat.

Net assessment: this is the edition in which the Iranian system's two authorities said opposite things about the same event in public on the same morning. The security council hosted three American-aligned militaries and called it the beginning of endogenous regional security; the Leader's paper called it a mirage and accused the council of being set up to abandon Yemen. Both are right about something. The summit is real, it happened at the level of defence minister, army chief and intelligence chief, and it is the first collective encounter between the Mecca Pact and Iran. It also produced nothing but an agreement to keep talking, it was convened against a background in which Iran's ally is closing Saudi airspace, and it is being conducted while Iran's own military wing promises a harder slap. What to watch over the next week is not whether the dialogue continues, it is whether anything in the Yemen file moves. Shariatmadari has defined the test in public and in advance: if Saudi Arabia's war on Yemen pauses, the summit was water, and the Leader's paper will have lost an argument it chose to have in the open. If it does not, the summit was a mirage on the terms its own host's newspaper set.

BOTTOM LINE The defence minister of Saudi Arabia, the commander of Pakistan's armed forces and Turkey's intelligence chief sat down in Tehran with the secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, seven of eight Iranian front pages called it the region's surrender to Iranian security logic, and the Leader's own paper used its editorial column that same morning to call it a mirage and to accuse the council of being set up to abandon Yemen.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Eight Persian front pages of 5 Aban 1405 were read in full by vision from the Tasnim kiosk album of 27 October, whose own printed Jalali date matched the target date, so nothing in this edition is a stale batch. One English page, Iran Daily Vol 6249, came from the English kiosk album. Kayhan's page did not reach the album and was read from the paper's own channel, where both parts of the Yadasht-e Rooz editorial and the front-page summary were retrieved verbatim. Sobh-e No, Vatan-e Emrooz, Iran and Etemad Online were read from their channels in addition to their pages; Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News were read as agency wires and their content is labelled as claims. Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation. The summit's participants are taken from the official four-way press statement published in full on the Sobh-e No channel and were independently confirmed against international reporting, as were the Brazilian runoff result and the fact that the Israeli ballot was being held on the day these pages printed. Kayhan's Saudi flight-cancellation figures are attributed on its page to a body it names Cradle; the underlying data in the open record is Cirium's, and the direction of the claim is corroborated while its sourcing is not as printed. Iranian and Yemeni military claims, the reported car bombing at a Likud branch office near Tel Aviv, and the Foreign Affairs and New York Times citations inside the Kayhan editorial are all carried as claims and are not adopted as fact.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 Seven front pages treat a meeting as a verdict

Vatan-e Emrooz's «رسیدن به ایده ایران», arriving at the idea of Iran, Javan's «منطقه با منطق ایرانی», the region on Iranian logic, Sobh-e No's «قدرت امنیتی - نظامی تهران», the government's «بدون ایران هرگز», never without Iran, Farhikhtegan's yellow band carrying the same phrase, Jam-e Jam's «تهران قلب

امنیت منطقه» and Shargh's «دیپلماسی بحران؛ از مکه تا تهران» are seven renderings of one arrival. Six of the seven present it as settled. Only Shargh's word «بحران», crisis, and Sobh-e No's editor's open question treat the outcome as undetermined, and the official statement the participants actually signed commits them to nothing but further conversation.

2 The Leader's paper breaks with the Leader's security council in public

Kayhan's Yadasht-e Rooz of 5 Aban, signed by Hossein Shariatmadari, names the council's deputy secretary Ali Bagheri, quotes his two stated aims, calls his theoretical exposition proper and then calls his practice contradictory, and closes with a Hafez couplet addressed to «عزیزانمان در شورای عالی امنیت ملی» warning them not to be deceived by a mirage. The substantive demand is that Yemen not be traded. This is not factional commentary at one remove: it is the outlet closest to the Leader's office instructing the state's highest security body, by name, on the morning of its own summit.

3 The Saudi emergency that explains the summit is on the wires and off the pages

Nour News leads on Yemeni missiles over Riyadh with Aramco and Saudi infrastructure at the centre of the attacks and reports Dammam airport flights halted. Kayhan reports over four thousand cancelled flights and 86 percent of King Khalid's schedule lost. Jam-e Jam's channel carries Canada warning its citizens off both airports. Fars carries the Yemeni armed forces' strike claims and the coalition's counter-claims; Defa Press carries Saudi jets bombing Taiz. Of the eight Persian front pages, only Farhikhtegan states the connection, and it states it as coercion rather than as persuasion.

4 Hormuz completes the journey from consequence to admitted instrument

Defa Press publishes «تنگه هرمز؛ اهرم راهبردی ایران در تغییر محاسبات آمریکا», tying Obama's Cleveland remark to the Leader's own earlier statements on levers of pressure and attaching an International Energy Agency figure of about twenty million barrels a day for 2025. Shariatmadari writes that «بستن تنگه هرمز» has brought America and its allies close to suffocation. Vatan-e Emrooz converts the Obama line into American electoral mechanics with «ضربه جنگی به ترامپ!». Five cycles ago this was a consequence nobody owned; it is now a strategy the Leader's paper claims as Iran's own, in print, to win an internal argument.

5 The military track signals escalation on the day the diplomatic track convenes

Defa Press carries Sanaei-rad promising «شگفتانه‌های جدید و سیلی محکم‌تر», new surprises and a harder slap, with earlier restraint set aside in any future round. The Army ground forces commander orders maximum readiness. Trump said on 25 October that it is decision time, a deal or finish it off, and has moved a third carrier group toward the Gulf with no American strikes since 1 September. The de-escalation summit and the escalation signal were published on the same surfaces on the same morning, which indicates two tracks running deliberately rather than a discipline failure.

6 Brazil banked, Israel hedged, the midterms outsourced

Lula's 51.79 to 48.21 defeat of Flavio Bolsonaro on 25 October is on five front pages and is rendered uniformly as Trump's loss rather than Brazil's choice: «شکست ترامپ در برزیل», «شکست ترامپ و نتانیاهو در برزیل», «آغاز موج ضد ترامپ», «ویوا داسیلوا!». The Israeli ballot, being held as these pages printed, is handled with visible caution: military objections to a new Iranian adventure, a question mark after Netanyahu's departure, and a seat count in which neither bloc reaches sixty-one. The American midterms appear only through a borrowed Atlantic byline. The bet placed one cycle ago has paid once, in the theatre furthest from the war.

7 The exit argument returns as a target

«نه جنگ، نه صلح», neither war nor peace, organised five of nine front pages two cycles ago, vanished entirely in the last edition, and returns today on Nobonyad's page in the form «وضعیت جنگی است؛ نه» «جنگ، نه صلح» خطای محاسباتی است!», it is a war situation and neither war nor peace is a miscalculation. The President meanwhile is restored to the war file by the government's own paper, which personalises the summit onto him, and Kayhan prints his line that the idea the Iranian nation can be made to surrender is false and void. The argument about how the war ends is back, and it has come back as something to refute.

8 The President's other diplomatic track reaches the English banner and no Persian page

Pezeshkian left for Moscow in this cycle for the eighth Gas Exporting Countries Forum summit and a meeting with Putin, following Lavrov's visit to Tehran on 19 October. Iran Daily's banner is 'Iran calls on GECF states to increase gas share in global energy mix'. The Iran newspaper's channel carries his line before departure that American actions are making the free transfer of energy insecure. Not one of the eight Persian front pages carries the trip. A regional security summit that produced a communique is the whole front page; a presidential visit to Moscow on the energy file is a channel item.

9 Lebanon present only as artillery and as an American denial

Al-Mayadeen, relayed by Fars News and by the Vatan-e Emrooz channel, reports Israeli artillery shelling Wadi Zebqin, Mayfadoun, Baraachit, Haddatha and Aita al-Jabal in southern Lebanon. The Jam-e Jam channel separately carries the US State Department denying any American or Turkish proposal to change the Taif-based structure of Lebanon's political system. Neither item reaches a front page. A file that was a declared flashpoint through the summer now registers in this press as routine shelling and a denial, which is a measurable decline in editorial priority rather than evidence of calm on the ground.

10 The Leader is a message, a portrait file and a visitor's testimony

His message to the elites and medal-winners leads four front pages and appears on a fifth, and it is about scientific development, not the war. It was read out at an event rather than delivered. The portraits run beside it are stock images. His condition is attested at second hand by the head of the judiciary, whose account Kayhan headlines «کشتیبان نظام در اوج اقتدار، استواری و تزلزل‌ناپذیری است», the helmsman of the system is at the peak of authority, steadiness and immovability. On the edition's actual strategic question, whether the summit is water or a mirage, the Leader is silent and his newspaper is not.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 [HIGH] **The outlet closest to the Leader's office publicly attacked the Supreme National Security Council's own summit on the morning it convened, and did so over Yemen.** The evidence is Kayhan's «یادداشت روز» of 5 Aban, «اجلاس تهران آب یا سراب؟!», published in two parts and signed by the paper's managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari. It names the council's deputy secretary Ali Bagheri, quotes his two stated aims for the meeting, concedes his theory and rejects his practice, and demands directly that «عزیزان شورای عالی امنیت ملی» answer whether Saudi Arabia has stopped fighting Yemen. Its doctrinal basis is «وحدت ساحات», the unity of arenas, under which Iran, Hezbollah, Ansarallah, the Hashd and the Palestinian resistance are «یک روح واحد», one soul in several bodies, so that the Mecca Pact's commitment to defend Saudi Arabia against the Yemeni revolutionaries is a commitment against Iran. The significance is that a disagreement normally handled inside the system was placed in the open, in the Leader's own paper, against the state's

highest security body, with a test stated in advance. Calibration: Kayhan has attacked diplomatic openings before, so the posture is not new; what is new is naming a serving deputy secretary and addressing the council as an institution on the day of its own event.

KJ-2 [HIGH] **The Mecca Pact's three signatories met Iran collectively for the first time, and the Iranian press overwhelmingly presented the meeting as the region's conversion rather than as a negotiation.** The evidence is the official four-way press statement published in full on the Sobh-e No channel, recording that the first meeting of the four regional states was held in Tehran on 4 Aban 1405 / 26 October 2026, hosted by Mohsen Rezaei as secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, with Khalid bin Salman as Saudi defence minister, Asim Munir as commander of Pakistan's armed forces and Ibrahim Kalin as head of Turkish intelligence, and that the participants agreed to continue talks. Against that, seven of eight Persian front pages print a verdict: «رسیدن به ایده ایران», «منطقه با منطق ایرانی», «بدون ایران هرگز», «قدرت امنیتی - نظامی تهران», «تهران قلب امنیت منطقه». The significance is a gap between what was signed, an agreement to keep talking, and what was published, a regional realignment. Calibration: the meeting itself is real and was held at the level of defence minister, army chief and intelligence chief, which is a genuine escalation of contact; overreading it would turn a communique into an architecture, underreading it would miss the first collective Mecca Pact contact with Tehran.

KJ-3 [HIGH] **The condition that produced the summit is a sustained attack on Saudi aviation and oil infrastructure by Iran's Yemeni ally, and it is reported on the Iranian wires and on one Iranian front page.** The evidence is Nour News leading on «موشک‌های یمن بر فراز ریاض؛ آرامکو و زیرساخت‌های سعودی در کانون حملات» and reporting explosions in eastern Saudi Arabia halting Dammam flights; Kayhan reporting more than four thousand cancelled flights and 86 percent of King Khalid international airport's schedule lost with Yemen warning foreign carriers out of Saudi airspace; the Jam-e Jam channel carrying Canada's advisory against travel to both Riyadh and Dammam airports; and Fars News carrying Yemeni strike claims against the coalition's counter-claims. The open record is firmer: Cirium data record 4,071 of 4,736 scheduled flights cancelled at King Khalid between 8 and 25 October and more than 7,800 nationwide, about 45 percent of all scheduled Saudi departures, following a missile strike on the airport on 10 October that killed twelve and wounded over three hundred, with Houthi claims against Aramco facilities at Yanbu, the Rabigh refinery and the East-West pipeline, and the kingdom's flagship investment conference postponed to 2027. The significance is that it supplies the causal account the celebratory pages omit: the Saudi defence minister flew to Tehran because the capital's airport has been shut for most of a month by a force Tehran supports. Calibration: Yemeni and coalition battle claims are each side's claims; the aviation disruption is corroborated by an independent analytics source and by a third-country travel advisory, which is a different evidentiary class.

KJ-4 [HIGH] **Iran's closure of the Strait of Hormuz has been moved from deniable consequence to declared instrument on the state's own surfaces, and the admission was made to win an internal argument.** The evidence is Defa Press publishing «تنگه هرمز؛ اهرم راهبردی ایران در تغییر محاسبات آمریکا», which ties Obama's Cleveland remark explicitly to the Leader's earlier statements about levers of pressure and attaches an International Energy Agency figure of roughly twenty million barrels a day through the strait in 2025; Shariatmadari writing that «بستن تنگه هرمز» has narrowed the field for America and its Western, Hebrew and Arab allies and brought them close to suffocation, and using that as the reason the three delegations came; and Farhikhtegan's «نبض اقتصاد

اعراب در دست هرمز». The significance is that the chokepoint is no longer being described as something that happened to the world, it is being claimed as something Iran is doing, by the Leader's own paper, in an argument with Iran's own security council. Calibration: Trump's counter-claim of 25 October that the United States now controls the strait and that crude flows have returned to pre-war levels is on the record and is not reconciled with the Iranian account anywhere in this batch; the strait's actual transit status is not established by either side's statements.

KJ-5 [MODERATE-HIGH] **Iran ran a de-escalation track and an escalation signal on the same morning, through different institutions, without either acknowledging the other.** The evidence is Defa Press publishing Sardar Sanaei-rad, deputy head of the political office of the Commander-in-Chief's military office, saying «پاسخ ایران به هر ماجراجویی، شگفتانه‌های جدید و سیلی محکم‌تر است» and that Iran would abandon its earlier restraint in a future round, on the day the Supreme National Security Council hosted the summit; alongside the Army ground forces commander ordering units held at maximum readiness with the warning that in a war situation any negligence carries heavy costs; and Kayhan rendering the President's own summit remarks as defiance, that the idea the Iranian nation can be forced to surrender is false and void. The external backdrop is Trump's 25 October statement that it is decision time, a deal or finish it off, with a third carrier group moving toward the Gulf and no confirmed American strikes since 1 September. The significance is that this is a deliberate two-track posture rather than a message-discipline failure, because the two tracks are being published on adjacent surfaces. Calibration: a deputy of a political office is not a commander, and his statement is signalling rather than an order.

KJ-6 [MODERATE-HIGH] **The summit produced no substantive outcome and no Iranian surface claims one, which makes the celebratory framing an assertion about meaning rather than about result.** The evidence is the only primary document in the batch, the four-way press statement on the Sobh-e No channel, whose entire operative content is that the participants agreed to continue talks on strengthening cooperation among the four states including on regional peace and security. No Iranian page reports a commitment, a mechanism, a follow-up date or a Yemen clause. Sobh-e No's editor-in-chief Mahboubeh Niavarani asks on the page whether the meeting is «تاکتیکی برای دور کردن خطر جنگ» or «آغازی برای شکل‌گیری امنیت دسته جمعی», and the analyst Hanif Ghaffari sets a prior condition, that the three must first prove endogenous security has become their first priority. The significance is that the two most analytically careful principlist voices in the batch both decline to call the result. Calibration: an opening meeting producing only an agreement to continue is normal diplomatic practice and is not evidence of failure; it is evidence against the verdict seven front pages printed.

KJ-7 [MODERATE-HIGH] **The front-page dissent came from a principlist paper, not a reformist one, and it read the delegation as Trump's errand.** The evidence is Nobonyad's lead over the Saadabad photograph, «برای یاری ترامپ، نگران از پاسخ ایران», here to help Trump, afraid of Iran's answer, under the kicker «نوبنیاد از اهداف سفر مقامات ۴ کشور منطقه گزارش می‌دهد»; and, on the same page, «وضعیت جنگی است؛ «نه جنگ، نه صلح» خطای محاسباتی است!», reviving the presidential exit formula in order to call it a miscalculation. The significance is twofold: the quarrel about the summit is internal to the principlist camp rather than between camps, which matches the pattern this monitor recorded one cycle ago when the same paper indicted the Speaker on the morning of his restoration; and the exit argument, absent from every front page in the previous edition, has returned as a target rather than

as a proposal. Calibration: one page is not a camp, and Nobonyad's house style is contrarian, so this is a reliable indicator of dissent existing rather than a measure of how widely it is held.

KJ-8 [MODERATE] **Negative evidence, filed as a finding: the President travelled to Moscow for the gas exporters' summit in this cycle and no Persian front page carries it.** The evidence is the absence set against the record. Iran Daily's banner is 'Iran calls on GECF states to increase gas share in global energy mix'; the Iran newspaper's channel carries Pezeshkian before departure saying «اقدامات آمریکا موجب ناامنی انتقال آزاد انرژی در جهان است», American actions are making the free transfer of energy insecure; the visit is to the eighth Gas Exporting Countries Forum summit with a bilateral with Putin, following Lavrov's visit to Tehran on 19 October. None of the eight Persian front pages prints it. The significance is a choice about which diplomacy counts: a one-day regional security meeting that produced a communique fills seven front pages, while the President's visit to Iran's principal great-power partner on the file that underwrites the entire leverage argument is a channel item. Calibration: an outbound presidential trip often lands on the following day's pages, so this may be a timing artefact rather than a judgement, which is why it is filed at moderate and should be re-checked in the next edition.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] **The bet on adversary elections has paid once and only in the theatre furthest from the war, and the Iranian rendering strips the result of its local content.** The evidence is Lula's defeat of Flavio Bolsonaro in the runoff of 25 October, confirmed at 51.79 percent to 48.21, carried on five front pages as an American defeat rather than a Brazilian choice: Vatan-e Emrooz's «شکست ترامپ در برزیل», the government paper's «شکست ترامپ و نتانیاهو در برزیل», Sobh-e No's «آغاز موج ضد ترامپ», Farhikhtegan's «ویوا داسیلوا!», and Kayhan quoting Lula that this is nobody's backyard any more. Against that, the Israeli ballot being held as these pages printed is handled with care, through «تنهایی نتانیاهو» on military objections to a fresh Iranian adventure, Farhikhtegan's «بوی رفتن نتانیاهو می‌آید؟», and the Iran channel's sober count giving Eisenkot's Yashar twenty to twenty-three seats with neither bloc near sixty-one. The significance is that the substitution of adversary elections for military victory, flagged one cycle ago with a hard expiry date, has survived its first test by collecting a result that changes nothing about Iran's position. Calibration: the Brazilian reading is not fabricated, Trump did campaign for the losing side, but presenting a domestic Brazilian runoff as a strategic reverse for Washington is editorial framing, not analysis.

KJ-10 [MODERATE] **Negative evidence, filed as a finding: the serving Leader has gone a third consecutive cycle without a dated appearance, and on the edition's central question he is silent while his newspaper is not.** The evidence is the shape of his presence. His message to the elites and medal-winners leads Kayhan, Nobonyad, Farhikhtegan and Jam-e Jam and runs as a banner on Iran and Sobh-e No, and its subject is scientific development under the meta-strategy «العلمُ سلطان». It was read out at an event rather than delivered. The portraits printed beside it on three pages are stock images. His condition is attested at second hand by the head of the judiciary, whose account Kayhan headlines «کشتیبان نظام در اوج اقتدار، استواری و تزلزل‌ناپذیری است». Meanwhile his own paper's editor publicly instructs the Supreme National Security Council without invoking any ruling from him. The significance is that the succession continues to exercise authority through message, attribution and testimony rather than through presence, and that an argument this sharp between two arms of the state is being conducted without the arbiter appearing. Calibration: the inference is from form and placement; nothing in this batch disparages him, and the message's own content is unremarkable.

KJ-11 [MODERATE] **Lebanon has fallen out of the front-page register entirely and survives in this batch only as artillery fire and an American denial.** The evidence is Al-Mayadeen, relayed by Fars News and by the Vatan-e Emrooz channel, reporting Israeli artillery shelling Wadi Zebqin, Mayfadoun, Baraachit, Haddatha and Aita al-Jabal in southern Lebanon; and the Jam-e Jam channel carrying the US State Department spokesman denying that any American or Turkish proposal exists to alter the Taif-based structure of Lebanon's political system. Neither reaches a printed page. The significance is editorial rather than military: a file that was a declared flashpoint through the summer is now handled as routine, which means Iranian readers are being given a regional picture in which the Lebanese front has stopped generating decisions. Calibration: absence from front pages is not absence from the ground, and the denial itself indicates that a Lebanese political question is live enough in Washington to require denying.

KJ-12 [LOW-MODERATE] **The outward-facing English surface withholds the chokepoint doctrine for a fourth consecutive cycle and leads instead on energy supply.** The evidence is Iran Daily Vol 6249 of 27 October: the banner is 'Iran calls on GECF states to increase gas share in global energy mix', the lead is 'Pezeshkian: Iran hopes to help create unity, bring back security to region' with the deck that Iranian, Saudi, Pakistani and Turkish officials discussed regional security, and the page's exclusive is Marandi arguing that Iran's wartime experience can contribute to China's global governance initiative. The Mecca Pact is not named, no indispensability claim is made, and Hormuz does not appear. The significance is that Iran is selling itself abroad as a supplier and a stabiliser while selling itself at home as the holder of a veto over the world's oil artery, and the split has now held across four editions. Calibration: a single English daily is a thin basis for inference about an entire external communication posture, which is why this is filed low-moderate; the pattern's persistence rather than any one issue is what carries the weight.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Mojtaba Khamenei	Supreme Leader, printed on the Nobonyad front page and on the Kayhan channel as «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی»	Author of the day's only authoritative message, on scientific development, read out at an event he did not attend. No dated image in this batch; three papers run stock portraits.	absence noted
Mohsen Rezaei	Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, host of the quadrilateral summit, in IRGC uniform in every photograph	Presented as the pivot of a regional realignment, and identified by Kayhan's editorial as the official the three visitors came to congratulate on his new post	WATCH
Hossein Shariatmadari	Managing editor of Kayhan, the Leader's representative at the paper	Author of «اجلاس تهران آب یا سراب؟!», attacking the Supreme National Security Council's summit by name on the morning it convened and claiming the Hormuz closure as Iran's own act	COERCION SPOKESMAN

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Ali Bagheri	Deputy secretary of the Supreme National Security Council	Named and quoted in Kayhan's editorial as the official whose stated aims for the summit are called contradictory in practice; the first serving council official this monitor has recorded being challenged by name in the Leader's paper	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Khalid bin Salman	Defence minister of Saudi Arabia	Named in the official four-way statement; photographed shaking hands with Pezeshkian on the government paper's front page while his country's capital airport remains largely closed under attack	WATCH
Asim Munir	Commander of Pakistan's armed forces	Named in the official statement; Kayhan's editorial separately charges that Pakistan closed its land borders to Iran on American orders	WATCH
Ibrahim Kalin	Head of Turkish intelligence	Named in the official statement; Kayhan's editorial separately charges that Turkey is a NATO member and that NATO was not neutral in the attacks on Iran	WATCH
Masoud Pezeshkian	President of Iran	Restored to the war file by the government paper, which personalises the summit onto him; quoted by Kayhan that the idea the Iranian nation can be forced to surrender is false and void; departed for Moscow and the gas exporters' summit without reaching a Persian front page	WATCH
Donald Trump	President of the United States	Named on at least six front pages, in every case as a figure being defeated: in Brazil, in the American midterms, by Obama's criticism. His own statement of 25 October that it is decision time, a deal or finish it off, appears on no Iranian front page in this batch.	TARGET FRAMING
Benjamin Netanyahu	Prime Minister of Israel, facing the ballot on the day these pages printed	«تنهایی نتانیاهو», Netanyahu's loneliness, on Vatan-e Emrooz over military objections to a fresh Iranian adventure; «بوی رفتن نتانیاهو می‌آید؟» on Farhikhtegan; named alongside Trump in the government paper's Brazilian headline	TARGET FRAMING
Gadi Eisenkot	Leader of Yashar, Netanyahu's principal electoral rival	Quoted on the Kayhan channel that Netanyahu is delusional and knows Iran has never possessed a nuclear weapon; given twenty to twenty-three seats by the Iran newspaper's own	NEW NAMED FIGURE

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
		count, ahead of Netanyahu as preferred prime minister, with neither bloc near sixty-one	
Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva	President-elect of Brazil for a fourth term	On five front pages as the instrument of Trump's defeat rather than as a Brazilian outcome; quoted by Kayhan that this is nobody's backyard any more	WATCH
Barack Obama	Former president of the United States	His Cleveland remark on Iran's veto over Hormuz, which organised the entire previous edition, now appears as American electoral mechanics on Vatan-e Emrooz and as doctrinal warrant on Defa Press, tied there to the Leader's own earlier statements on levers of pressure	WATCH
Sardar Sanaei-rad	Deputy head of the political office of the Commander-in-Chief's military office	Carried by Defa Press promising new surprises and a harder slap and the setting aside of earlier restraint, published on the day of the de-escalation summit	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Mohammad-Baqer Ghalibaf	Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly	On the Sobh-e No channel calling this the greatest war in history and the objective instance of the words of the Great Imam and «امام شهیدمان», our martyred Imam, and naming household livelihood as the urgent priority. Absent from every front page after leading the previous edition.	absence noted
Abbas Araghchi	Foreign Minister of Iran	Recorded by international reporting as attending the Tehran summit; named on no Iranian front page in this batch, which keeps the file with the security council rather than the foreign ministry	absence noted

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Vatan-e Emrooz	Arriving at the idea of Iran	Hardline / principlist	The quadrilateral summit presented as the region's intellectual surrender to Iran's own security idea, with Netanyahu's isolation and Trump's Brazilian defeat on the rail	HIGH
Javan	The region on Iranian logic	Hardline, IRGC-affiliated	Three American-aligned militaries read as converts to Iranian	MODERATE-HIGH

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
			security doctrine, with Yemen unmentioned	
Sobh-e No	Tehran's security and military power	Principlist	The only front page to name the Mecca Pact, and the only one to leave the outcome an open question	MODERATE-HIGH
Farhikhtegan	The charter of Iran's scientific development	Principlist, Azad University	The Leader's message above an explicit claim that the chokepoint, not persuasion, brought the Arab states to the table	HIGH
Iran	Never without Iran	Official government daily	The summit personalised onto the President under a flat claim of regional indispensability, while his Moscow trip stays off the page	MODERATE-HIGH
Nobonyad	Here to help Trump, afraid of Iran's answer	Conservative / principlist	The delegation read as an American errand, and the presidential exit formula revived in order to be called a miscalculation	MODERATE-HIGH
Kayhan	The Tehran summit: water or mirage?	Hardline, closest to the Leader's office (read from the paper's channel)	The Leader's paper attacks its own security council by name over whether Yemen is being traded, and claims the Hormuz closure as Iran's act	SEVERE
Jam-e Jam	The elites' mission for an accelerated scientific surge	Daily of the state broadcaster (IRIB)	The Leader's message fills the page and the summit is demoted to a foot-of-page vindication of endogenous security	MODERATE
Shargh	Great wounds on small bodies	Reformist	The war's child casualties above the summit, which it calls crisis diplomacy, under a front-page editorial asking whether the war restarts	MODERATE
Iran Daily (English)	Pezeshkian: Iran hopes to help create unity, bring back security to region	English-language state daily	Gas diplomacy promoted above the summit and the chokepoint doctrine withheld for a fourth cycle	LOW-MODERATE
Agency wires	The Strait of Hormuz: Iran's strategic lever for changing American calculations	Defa Press, Fars News, Nour News	Hormuz published as declared strategy and a harder next round promised, while Riyadh's airport and Aramco stay under attack	HIGH

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Etemad Online	Voting begins in Israel's parliamentary election	Reformist (read from the Etemad Online channel)	The Israeli ballot, Israeli shelling of southern Lebanon and munitions clearance from the forty-day imposed war, with no summit coverage at all	MODERATE

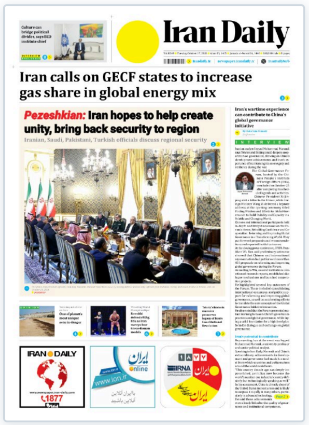
Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

English-language state daily, the regime's outward-facing surface

“Pezeshkian: Iran hopes to help create unity, bring back security to region”

LOW-MODERATE: conciliatory outward framing, chokepoint doctrine withheld



- Banner: The page's top line is not the summit but the gas forum: 'Iran calls on GECF states to increase gas share in global energy mix', published as the President travels to Moscow for the eighth Gas Exporting Countries Forum summit. The English surface leads on energy diplomacy while every Persian front page leads on security.
- Main: The lead is the summit, handled in the softest register available: 'Pezeshkian: Iran hopes to help create unity, bring back security to region', with the deck 'Iranian, Saudi, Pakistani, Turkish officials discuss regional security' and the full conference-table photograph. There is no indispensability claim, no Mecca pact, no chokepoint, and no suggestion that the visitors were compelled.
- Sub-item: An exclusive interview with Seyed Mohammad Marandi headed 'Iran's wartime experience can contribute to China's global governance initiative', which positions the war as transferable expertise and routes Iran's case through Beijing rather than through the region.
- Sub-item: 'Culture can bridge political divides, says ECO institute chief', an interview carried above the masthead, and a conservation opinion piece on one of the planet's most unique seas in danger.
- Sub-item: Sport and heritage fill the lower page: Baroukhi defending the 82kg title as Iran sweeps four Greco-Roman medals at the world championships, and a feature on a Tabriz mansion preserving the legacy of the Constitutional Revolution.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The split between the English and Persian surfaces that this monitor has tracked for four cycles holds and widens. Persian readers are told the region has come to Iran because Iran's hand is on the world's oil artery; English readers are told Iran hopes to help create unity and wants a larger share of gas in the global energy mix. The outward-facing page withholds the chokepoint doctrine for the fourth consecutive cycle, which is consistent evidence that the Hormuz veto is written for domestic consumption and not for the audience that would have to price it.

Jam-e Jam

Daily of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB), the state broadcaster

MODERATE: regional-security vindication framing, no operational content

"The elites' mission for an accelerated scientific surge" «ماموریت نخبگان برای خیزش پرشتاب علمی»



- Main: The whole upper page is the Leader's message, under a full-height portrait of him. The deck reads «رهبر معظم انقلاب در پیامی خطاب به نخبگان و مدال‌آوران علمی و ورزشی مرزشکنی نخبگان در مسائل علمی را کلید هرچه قوی‌تر شدن کشور دانستند»: in a message to elites and scientific and sporting medal-winners, the Leader deemed the elites' breaking of scientific frontiers the key to the country becoming ever stronger. The paper then prints the message's programme as a six-point list down the left margin: development of the basic and human sciences, boundary-breaking in science, strengthening creativity and innovation, self-reliance in solving scientific problems, giving the elites room, and connecting university to market and industry, labelled «۵ فرمان رهبر انقلاب», the Leader's five commands.
- Banner: Across the foot of the page, «تهران قلب امنیت منطقه», Tehran the heart of the region's security, over a deck crediting the shift to the war itself: «جنگ ۴۰ روزه باعث شده کشورهای همسایه به اهمیت امنیت درون‌زا در منطقه که همواره مورد تاکید ایران بوده واقف شوند», the forty-day war has made the neighbouring states aware of the importance of endogenous regional security, which Iran has always stressed. The quadrilateral summit is carried as a vindication, not as news.
- Sub-item: A six-portrait strip of named contributors runs between the two blocks, the paper's usual signal that the day is being handled as commentary rather than reporting.
- Right rail: «ایستادگی فنی رسانه ملی، شاهکاری از جنس پدافند غیرعامل», the national broadcaster's technical endurance presented as a feat of passive defence, which is IRIB describing its own survival under attack as a defence achievement.
- Sub-item: The paper's channel independently carries the Canadian government's advisory telling its citizens to avoid King Khalid international airport in Riyadh and King Fahd international airport in Dammam because of continuing military activity, the US State Department denying any American or Turkish proposal to alter Lebanon's Taif-based political structure, and the Army ground forces commander ordering units held at maximum readiness with the warning that «در وضع جنگی، هرگونه غفلت و سهل‌انگاری می‌تواند هزینه‌های سنگینی به همراه داشته باشد», in a war situation any negligence can carry heavy costs. None of the three reaches the printed page.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The state broadcaster's daily gives its whole front to the Leader's message and reduces the cycle's only new strategic event to a banner line at the foot of the page. That ordering is itself the message: the summit is filed as confirmation of a thesis Iran already held rather than as a development

requiring explanation. The «جنگ ۴۰ روزه» formula is worth tracking, because the Iranian press is now counting the war in discrete named phases rather than as one continuous event.

Javan

Hardline, affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps

MODERATE-HIGH: doctrinal annexation of the summit, regional order claimed as Iranian achievement

"The region on Iranian logic" «منطقه با منطق ایرانی»



- Main: The lead is a doctrinal claim rather than a report. The deck argues that «منطق ایرانی در منطقه غرب آسیا از ابتدا آن بود که امنیت باید با همکاری خود کشورها به دست آید», the Iranian logic in West Asia was always that security must be produced by the regional states themselves rather than bought from Washington, that the region had instead entrusted everything to America, that «۷ ماه اخیر», the last seven months, may have taught the region and the Arabs in particular that security is available only on Iranian logic, and that the Tehran meeting of the Saudi, Turkish and Pakistani military and security officials is the recognition of exactly that logic.
- Main: The photograph is the Saadabad group portrait, printed between wall portraits of the founder and the martyred predecessor on one side and the serving Leader on the other, which places the summit inside the succession's own iconography.
- Banner: Across the top, «رهبر انقلاب: قدرشناس پیشرانان افتخار کشور هستم», the Leader saying he is grateful to those who drive the country's honour, the Guard daily's framing of the same elites message that leads four other papers.
- Sub-item: A large sports block, «به این میگن قهرمانی: قبل از ۶ فینال!», celebrating the Greco-Roman wrestling team's world title in Kazakhstan, given roughly a third of the page.
- Right rail: «پیروزی در جهان قمار و فینال», a signed column, plus «نرخ محاصره در اقتصاد ایران», the rate of the siege in Iran's economy, the one place on the page where the blockade is costed rather than celebrated.

ANALYST NOTE Javan does what the Guard daily has done with every external event in this record: it converts an arrival into a vindication of a pre-existing doctrine. The specific move here is to read three American-aligned militaries landing in Tehran as their conversion to Iranian security theory, which is the strongest available reading and the one that requires nothing from Iran in return. Note what the page does not say: it offers no account of why the three came now, and it does not mention Yemen, which is the file that connects all three of them to Saudi Arabia's current emergency.

Shargh Reformist

“Great wounds on small bodies” «زخم‌های بزرگِ تن‌های کوچک»

MODERATE: war resumption treated as an open question, summit framed as crisis management



- Main: The lead is not the summit. Shargh gives its largest headline to a report on the children of the war, kickered «شرق» گزارش می‌دهد, Shargh reports, and carried as the paper's own reporting rather than as agency copy. It is the only front page in the batch whose lead is a human cost of the war rather than a claim about power.
- Main: The summit is the second element, in a black band under the Saadabad photograph: «روایت «شرق» از نشست چهارجانبه ایران، عربستان، ترکیه و پاکستان», Shargh's account of the quadrilateral meeting, headlined «دیپلماسی بحران؛ از مکه تا تهران», crisis diplomacy from Mecca to Tehran, with the deck «پزشکیان: ایران از هر تلاشی برای تقویت وحدت و انسجام کشورهای اسلامی حمایت می‌کند», Pezeshkian saying Iran supports any effort to strengthen the unity and cohesion of Islamic states.
- Op-ed: The editorial column, «سرمقاله», is headed «جنگ می‌شود یا نمی‌شود», will there be war or will there not, which is the plainest statement of the cycle's actual question anywhere in the batch and the only front-page headline that treats a renewed American strike as an open possibility rather than a settled deterrence success.
- Sub-item: «بانک سالم، تولید خاموش؟», a healthy bank and a silent production line, and «قطار توسعه، ریل جامعه مدنی و یارانه؟», the development train and the rails of civil society, both signed columns on the domestic economy.
- Right rail: A framed photograph of Lula in a straw hat, with the line that he turned the page, Shargh's own placement of the Brazilian result as a politician's craft rather than as an American defeat.

ANALYST NOTE The reformist paper is the only front page that declines both of the day's organising frames. It calls the summit «دیپلماسی بحران», crisis diplomacy, which concedes that the crisis is Iran's as much as anyone's, and it puts the war's child casualties above it. The editorial headline matters more than its length: while seven other front pages are describing a regional order being rearranged in Iran's favour, Shargh is asking on page one whether the bombing resumes. That gap between the reformist and principlist readings of the same twenty-four hours is the cleanest factional marker in this edition.

Nobonyad

Conservative / principlist

“Here to help Trump, afraid of Iran's answer” «برای یاری ترامپ، نگران از پاسخ ایران»

MODERATE-HIGH: summit read as hostile errand, exit formula revived in order to be rejected



- Main: Alone among the papers that lead on the summit, Nobonyad reads the visitors as couriers. The kicker is «نوبنیاد از اهداف سفر مقامات ۴ کشور منطقه گزارش می‌دهد», Nobonyad reports on the aims of the trip by officials of four regional countries, and the headline answers its own question: they came to help Trump, and they came because they fear Iran's response. The two halves are set in white and red over the Saadabad photograph.
- Main: The upper block is the Leader's message, and it is the only front page in the batch that prints his name in full: «حضرت آیت‌الله سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی», under the headline «نقشه‌ی راه نخبگان برای «ایران هرچه قوی‌تر»», the elites' road map for an ever-stronger Iran, citing the meta-strategy «العلمُ سلطان», knowledge is sovereign.
- Op-ed: «وضعیت جنگی است؛ «نه جنگ، نه صلح» خطای محاسباتی است!», it is a war situation, and neither war nor peace is a miscalculation. This revives, to refute it, the presidential formula that organised the front pages two cycles ago and had dropped out of sight entirely by the last edition.
- Sub-item: «تذکر آیت‌الله اراکی به سران قوا برای مقابله با مروجان برهنگی», Ayatollah Araki's admonition to the heads of the three branches to confront promoters of immodesty, a clerical intervention on social policy placed on a war front page.
- Sub-item: «پیروزی لولا، شکست پروژه ترامپ», Lula's victory, the defeat of Trump's project, and «عبور از ناتراز گاز با کلید روسی», getting past the gas imbalance with a Russian key, the second of which keeps the paper's standing winter-energy thread running.
- Op-ed: «درس عبرت تاریخی ترامپ با رودریگزها», a signed column by Mohsen Pourdadfar, the same by-line this monitor recorded one cycle ago on Netanyahu's domestic crisis, now applied to Latin America.

ANALYST NOTE Nobonyad is the front-page dissent, and it is a principlist paper dissenting from a principlist consensus. Where Javan, Vatan-e Emrooz and Sobh-e No read the delegation as a regional realignment toward Tehran, Nobonyad reads it as an American errand carried out by three clients who are frightened of what Iran will do next. That is the same paper that one cycle ago used the Speaker's moment of restoration to indict him, so the pattern is consistent: Nobonyad reliably prints the principlist camp's internal objection on the morning the camp is celebrating. Its revival of «نه جنگ، نه صلح», specifically in order to call it a miscalculation, is the first front-page return of the presidential exit argument in two cycles.

Iran

Official daily of the government of the Islamic Republic

“Never without Iran”
«بدون ایران هرگز»

MODERATE-HIGH: indispensability doctrine stated as the government's own position



- Main: The government paper's lead photograph is not the conference table but the President: Pezeshkian clasping the hand of the Saudi defence minister in a reception room, with the Turkish and Pakistani principals beside them. The headline «بدون ایران هرگز», never without Iran, states the claim the whole batch is circling, that no regional security arrangement can be built around Tehran.
- Banner: Across the top, «در پیام رهبر انقلاب اسلامی به نخبگان و مدال‌آوران علمی و ورزشی تاکید شد: قدرتمند شدن بر پایه اقتدار علمی و فناوری», becoming powerful on the basis of scientific and technological authority.
- Sub-item: «ایران، بازیگر سازنده نظم در حال ظهور منطقه», Iran as a constructive actor in the region's emerging order, reported from an international conference at the University of Tehran co-hosted by the paper itself, which is the government surface giving its own frame an academic warrant.
- Sub-item: «شکست ترامپ و نتانیاهو در برزیل», the defeat of Trump and Netanyahu in Brazil, over the deck that Lula by beating Bolsonaro became president for a fourth time. The government paper is alone in attaching Netanyahu's name to a Brazilian election result.
- Sub-item: «اتصال ریلی ترکمنستان به ترکیه از مسیر ایران», a Turkmenistan-to-Turkey rail link through Iranian territory approved by the Economic Council, and «حفظ زندگی روزمره بخشی از تاب‌آوری ملی», preserving ordinary life as part of national resilience, kickered «وقتی انتظار جنگ زندگی را به تعلیق درمی‌آورد», when waiting for war suspends life.
- Sub-item: The paper's own channel carries what its front page does not: Pezeshkian before leaving for Moscow saying «اقدامات آمریکا موجب ناامنی انتقال آزاد انرژی در جهان است», American actions are making the free transfer of energy insecure, and a detailed read of the Israeli ballot headed «آیزنکوت در مسیر دشوار قدرت», Eisenkot's hard road to power, giving Yashar twenty to twenty-three seats, Eisenkot ahead of Netanyahu as preferred prime minister, and neither bloc near sixty-one.

ANALYST NOTE The government surface personalises the summit onto the President, which is the one framing that converts a security-council meeting into a diplomatic success the executive can own. Read against the previous edition, in which Pezeshkian appeared only on health policy while his exit formula vanished, this is a restoration of the presidency to the war file. The significant omission is on the same page: the President left for Moscow and the eighth Gas Exporting Countries Forum summit in this cycle, which is Iran's other active diplomatic track, and it reaches the paper's channel rather than its front page.

Sobh-e No Principlist

“Tehran's security and military power” «قدرت امنیتی - نظامی تهران»

MODERATE-HIGH: Mecca pact named, summit framed as an unresolved test rather than a settled win



- Main: The sharpest kicker in the batch: «از مکه تا تهران: سه ضلع پیمان دفاعی به میز مذاکره با ایران آمدند», from Mecca to Tehran, the three sides of a defence pact came to the negotiating table with Iran. This is the only front page that names the Mecca pact and so makes explicit what the other papers leave implicit, that the three visitors are the three signatories of a mutual-defence treaty concluded without Iran.
- Main: The photograph is the full conference table at Saadabad, the widest shot any paper runs, with the delegations seated opposite each other rather than posed together.
- Op-ed: A signed piece by the paper's editor-in-chief Mahboubeh Niavarani puts the open question in the cleanest terms printed anywhere in the batch: the meeting «نخستین مواجههٔ مستقیم و جمعی سه عضو «پیمان دفاع مشترک مکه» با ایران است», the first direct collective encounter of the three Mecca pact members with Iran, and «اکنون پرسش اصلی این است که این نشست، تاکتیکی برای دور کردن خطر جنگ است یا آغازی برای شکل‌گیری امنیت دسته جمعی», the main question now is whether this meeting is a tactic to push the danger of war away or the beginning of collective security.
- Op-ed: The international-affairs analyst Hanif Ghaffari, interviewed by the paper, sets a test rather than a verdict: «آزمون واقعی نشست تهران، عبور از امنیت وابسته به آمریکاست», the real test of the Tehran meeting is moving past American-dependent security, and the three must first prove they have actually adopted endogenous security as their first priority.
- Sub-item: «آغاز موج ضد ترامپ», the start of the anti-Trump wave, over Lula's win against «متحد ترامپ», Trump's ally, with a signed comment by Elaheh Nouri that the result keeps the lamp of pragmatic leftism lit in Latin America.
- Sub-item: The paper's channel publishes the full text of the four-way press statement, which is the only primary document of the summit on any Iranian surface, and separately reports a car bombing outside the Likud branch office in Or Yehuda near Tel Aviv on the morning of the ballot, citing Israeli Channel 13.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Sobh-e No is the most analytically honest principlist page of the cycle. It names the Mecca pact, prints the official statement in full rather than paraphrasing it, and allows its own editor to pose the question the other principlist papers answer by assertion: tactic or architecture. The Ghaffari framing, that the three must prove something before synergy means anything, is the only conditional attached to the summit on a front page sympathetic to it. Treat the Or Yehuda report as a single-source Iranian relay of an Israeli broadcast until confirmed.

Vatan-e Emrooz

Hardline / principlist

HIGH: collective-security architecture claimed for Tehran, missile-reach claim amplified

"Arriving at the idea of Iran" «رسیدن به ایده ایران»



- Main: The most explicit statement of the day's thesis: «گزارش «وطن امروز» از نشست چهارجانبه ایران، ترکیه، پاکستان و عربستان در تهران و بررسی ایده تأمین امنیت جمعی توسط کشورهای منطقه», the paper's report on the quadrilateral meeting and an examination of the idea of collective security provided by the region's own states. The headline claims the three visitors have arrived at Iran's idea, not merely at Iran.
- Main: The group portrait runs across the page between wall portraits of the founder and the martyred predecessor on one side and the serving Leader on the other. The foot of the page reads «کلید امنیت در تهران», the key to security is in Tehran.
- Right rail: «تنهایی نتانیاهو», Netanyahu's loneliness, over the deck «در آستانه انتخابات کنست، صدای مخالفت نظامیان با ماجراجویی تازه علیه ایران در تل‌آویو بلند شد», on the eve of the Knesset election the military's objection to a fresh adventure against Iran was raised in Tel Aviv, illustrated with Netanyahu beside a uniformed officer.
- Right rail: «ضربه جنگی به ترامپ!», a war blow to Trump, over the claim that «سخنرانی اوباما در انتقاد از جنگ آمریکا با ایران به محور ثابت رقابت‌های انتخاباتی علیه جمهوری‌خواهان تبدیل شده است», Obama's speech criticising America's war with Iran has become a fixed axis of the campaign against the Republicans. This is the direct continuation of the Obama thread that organised the previous edition.
- Right rail: «ائتلاف بدون ایران؟», a coalition without Iran, under the flat assertion that «هیچ نظم امنیتی پایداری در غرب آسیا بدون مشارکت ایران شکل نخواهد گرفت», no durable security order will form in West Asia without Iranian participation, and «فرمول آرام اصلاح سوخت», the quiet formula for fuel-price reform, marked ویژه, special.
- Top-left: «شکست ترامپ در برزیل», Trump's defeat in Brazil, over the deck that Lula's win frustrated Washington's project of expanding its influence in Latin America.
- Sub-item: The paper's channel carries Trump claiming Iranians build extraordinary weapons and «ایرانی‌ها اکنون موشکی دارند که می‌تواند به اروپا برسد», that Iranians now have a missile that can reach Europe, which the paper prints without comment as corroboration of its own deterrence claim.

ANALYST NOTE Vatan-e Emrooz converts the summit from a meeting into an intellectual surrender: the visitors have not come to talk, they have arrived at Iran's idea. Three of its four rail items are about adversary weakness rather than Iranian strength, which continues the substitution this monitor flagged one cycle ago, and the Obama item shows that thread migrating from Iranian doctrine to American electoral mechanics. The page also does something unusual for a hardline surface: it reprints an

> American president's compliment about Iranian missile reach, which is a hostile claim of escalation being carried as a trophy.

Farhikhtegan

Principlist, published by Azad University

“The charter of Iran's scientific development” «منشور توسعه علمی ایران»

HIGH: Hormuz stated outright as the lever that produced the summit



- Main: The Leader's message takes the whole upper page beside a close portrait, with the deck posing two questions: «وظیفه و نقش نخبگان چیست؟ ایران در نظم نوین جهانی چطور قوی شود؟», what is the duty and role of the elites, and how does Iran become strong in the new world order. The paper then foregrounds its own institutional stake, «در استقبال از ماموریتی که رهبر معظم انقلاب به دانشگاه آزاد سپرد», welcoming the mission the Leader entrusted to Azad University.
- Main: Below the fold, «نبض اقتصاد اعراب در دست هرمز», the pulse of the Arab economy is in Hormuz's hands, over the instruction «این آمار را به دقت بخوانید؛ کشورهای عربی به دیوار واقعیت خوردند», read these figures carefully, the Arab states have hit the wall of reality. This is the only page in the batch that states the coercive mechanism behind the summit in plain terms: the visitors came because the chokepoint hurts them.
- Banner: A yellow band headed «بدون ایران هرگز», never without Iran, beside a cropped photograph of the Saudi principal and the Iranian security-council secretary, arguing that the four-way summit, even if it was held to contain a possible Iranian response, ends by acknowledging Iran's role in any new regional security equation.
- Sub-item: «بوی رفتن نتانیاهو می‌آید؟», does it smell as though Netanyahu is leaving, on the eve of the Israeli ballot, and «ویوا داسیلوا!», viva da Silva, over the line that Brazilians too have defeated Trump and Trumpism.
- Cartoon: «بونژو و لیبرالیسم», bonjour and liberalism, a drawn comment on the French protests.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Farhikhtegan supplies the causal argument the celebratory pages leave out. Where Javan says the region has learned Iranian logic and Vatan-e Emrooz says the region has arrived at Iran's idea, Farhikhtegan says the Arab states were brought to the wall by the chokepoint, which is a coercion claim rather than a persuasion claim. That is the honest version of the same thesis and the one with the clearest operational implication: on this reading the summit is a product of pressure and will last exactly as long as the pressure does.

Agency wires (Defa Press, Fars News, Nour News)

IRGC-aligned defence agency, IRGC-affiliated wire, and the wire linked to the Supreme National Security Council. Treated as claims and signalling, not as front pages.

HIGH: explicit escalation signalling and chokepoint doctrine published on the day of the de-escalation summit

"The Strait of Hormuz: Iran's strategic lever for changing American calculations" «تنگه هرمز؛ اهرم راهبردی ایران در تغییر محاسبات آمریکا»

- Main: Defa Press publishes the chokepoint as declared strategy under the headline above, explicitly tying Obama's Cleveland remark to earlier statements by the Leader about levers of pressure and citing International Energy Agency data that roughly twenty million barrels a day transited the strait in 2025. The thread this monitor has tracked from ambiguous consequence, to claimed divine gift, to borrowed American warrant, is now printed by the defence wire as doctrine with a quantified basis.
- Banner: Defa Press carries Sardar Sanaei-rad, deputy head of the political office of the Commander-in-Chief's military office, saying «پاسخ ایران به هر ماجراجویی، شگفتانه‌های جدید و سیلی محکم‌تر است», Iran's answer to any adventurism will be new surprises and a harder slap, and that Iran would set aside its earlier restraint in a future round. This is the cycle's clearest escalation signal and it is carried on the day of the de-escalation summit.
- Sub-item: Nour News, the wire closest to the Supreme National Security Council, leads its security output on «آخرین تحولات جنگ عربستان و یمن؛ موشک‌های یمن بر فراز ریاض؛ آرامکو و زیرساخت‌های سعودی در کانون حملات», Yemeni missiles over Riyadh with Aramco and Saudi infrastructure at the centre of the attacks, and separately reports explosions in eastern Saudi Arabia halting flights at Dammam airport. It publishes nothing about the summit hosted by its own council.
- Sub-item: Fars News carries the Yemeni armed forces' claim of ballistic and drone strikes on Saudi positions, the Saudi-led coalition's counter-claim of four drones engaged, and Al-Mayadeen's report that Israeli artillery shelled several areas of southern Lebanon. Vatan-e Emrooz's channel names them: Wadi Zebqin, Mayfadoun, Baraachit, Haddatha and Aita al-Jabal.
- Sub-item: Defa Press reports the Jordanian air strike on Daraa province in southern Syria, which the Jordanian army says answered the attack on a church in Karak, and separately Saudi jets bombing Warzan in Taiz. The Jam-e Jam channel puts the Karak church toll at seven dead and more than ten wounded on Jordanian official and broadcast sources.
- Sub-item: Nour News quotes eighteen-carat gold holding in the twenty-six-million-toman band and frames the currency market as pulled in two directions by diplomatic signals and security concerns, which is the only place in the batch where the summit is priced rather than narrated.

> **ANALYST NOTE** The wires are carrying the two things the front pages are not. First, the military establishment is signalling escalation, not accommodation, on the morning its own council hosts a de-escalation summit, which is a split between the diplomatic and military tracks rather than a message-discipline failure. Second, the Saudi emergency that explains the summit is on the wires in operational detail and almost nowhere on the printed pages: Riyadh's airport, Aramco facilities and Dammam under attack by Iran's ally. The security-council-linked wire's silence on its own council's summit now runs to a second consecutive cycle of withholding its own institution's diplomacy from its own feed.

Kayhan

Hardline, closest to the Leader's office, managing editor Hossein Shariatmadari (read from the paper's own channel; its page did not reach the kiosk album)

SEVERE: the Leader's flagship daily publicly rejecting its own security council's diplomacy while claiming the chokepoint closure as Iranian policy

"The centre of gravity and focus of knowledge will gradually move from the Western countries to Iran" «مرکز ثقل و کانون دانش به تدریج از کشورهای غربی به ایران خواهد آمد»

- Main: The front-page lead is the Leader's elites message, rendered in Kayhan's own maximalist terms, and the paper names him in full as «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی», adding that the message was read aloud at the medal-winners' event rather than delivered in person.
- Op-ed: The day's «یادداشت روز», signed by Hossein Shariatmadari and published in two parts, is the most consequential item in the batch: «اجلاس تهران آب یا سراب؟!», the Tehran summit, water or mirage. It attacks the Supreme National Security Council's own diplomacy on the morning of its own summit, names the council's deputy secretary Ali Bagheri and quotes his stated aims back at him, and demands that «عزیزان شورای عالی امنیت ملی», our dear friends at the Supreme National Security Council, answer whether Saudi Arabia has stopped fighting Yemen.
- Op-ed: The editorial's core objection is the Mecca pact. It records that two months ago the three concluded «پیمان مکه», whose declared purpose is defending Saudi Arabia from external threat, asks what external threat Saudi Arabia faces other than the Yemeni revolutionaries, and concludes that under the doctrine of «وحدت ساحات», the unity of arenas, Iran, Hezbollah, Ansarallah, the Iraqi Hashd and the Palestinian resistance are «یک روح واحد», one single soul in several bodies, so that fighting Yemen is fighting Iran.
- Main: «پزشکیان در دیدار با مقامات پاکستان، ترکیه و عربستان: این تصور که می‌توان ملت ایران را وادار به تسلیم کرد نادرست و باطل است», the idea that the Iranian nation can be made to surrender is false and void, which is the summit carried as defiance rather than as diplomacy.
- Sub-item: «روایت رئیس قوه قضائیه از دیدار با رهبر معظم انقلاب», the judiciary chief's account of his audience with the Leader, headlined «کشتیبان نظام در اوج اقتدار، استواری و تزلزل‌ناپذیری است», the helmsman of the system is at the peak of authority, steadiness and immovability. The Leader's condition continues to be attested by visitors rather than shown.
- Sub-item: «اختلال گسترده در آسمان عربستان؛ بیش از ۴ هزار پرواز در پی حملات یمن لغو شدند», widespread disruption in Saudi skies, more than four thousand flights cancelled after the Yemeni attacks, reporting 86 percent of King Khalid international airport's flights cancelled between 16 Mehr and 3 Aban and Yemen warning international carriers to stay out of Saudi airspace.
- Sub-item: «نقش ایران در شکست احتمالی جمهوری‌خواهان در انتخابات میان‌دوره‌ای آمریکا», Iran's role in the possible Republican defeat in the American midterms, sourced to The Atlantic, plus the Brazilian result quoting Lula that «اینجا دیگر حیاط‌خلوت کسی نیست», this is nobody's backyard any more, and the funeral in Tehran of «شهید مدافع امنیت محمدرضا طالبی».

> **ANALYST NOTE** This is the finding of the edition. The outlet closest to the Leader's office used its editorial slot to attack the Supreme National Security Council's own summit on the morning it convened, and it did so by naming the council's deputy secretary, quoting him, and addressing the council directly. The argument is not rhetorical: Shariatmadari identifies the one fact the celebratory pages suppress, that the Mecca pact exists to defend Saudi Arabia against Iran's Yemeni ally, and he refuses the inference

> that Yemen can be traded for a regional settlement. Note also what he concedes while attacking: he states flatly that «بستن تنگه هرمز», the closing of the Strait of Hormuz, is Iran's doing and is what brought the three to Tehran, which converts the chokepoint from consequence to admitted instrument on the record of the Leader's own paper.

Appendix A: The Leader's message to the elites and the scientific and sporting medal-winners

As printed on the front pages of Kayhan, Nobonyad, Farhikhtegan, Jam-e Jam, Iran and Sobh-e No, Tuesday 5 Aban 1405 (27 October 2026); Kayhan channel item 87910, which links kayhan.ir/001Qe2. The Leader's own site could not be reached at the time of compilation, so this is the press rendering of the message and not a verified full text.

Persian as printed by Kayhan: «پیام رهبر معظم انقلاب، حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سید مجتبی خامنه‌ای خطاب به نخبگان و مدال‌آوران علمی و ورزشی در رویداد مدال‌آوران کشوردوست قرائت شد.»

Translation: The message of the Supreme Leader of the Revolution, His Eminence Grand Ayatollah Imam Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei, addressed to the elites and the scientific and sporting medal-winners, was read out at the patriot medal-winners' event. The Leader did not attend; the message was read on his behalf.

Persian as printed by Nobonyad and Kayhan: «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی، در پیامی به نخبگان و مدال‌آوران علمی و ورزشی در میادین جهانی با اشاره به نقش بی‌بدیل نخبگان و افتخارآفرینان نوجوان و جوان در عرصه‌های علمی و ورزشی، در تجلی امید و پیشرفت و نشاط در کشور، کلید «هرچه قوی‌تر شدن ایران» را مرزشکنی علمی نخبگان دانستند و تأکید کردند: در چارچوب فراراهبرد «العلمُ سلطان»، پیشرفت کشور نیازمند یک خیزش علمی عمیق و شتابان است و مسئولان باید ضمن فراهم کردن زیرساخت‌ها و زمینه‌های این جهش علمی، از ظرفیت‌های فردی و خرد جمعی نخبگان نیز بهره‌گیری حداکثری داشته باشند.»

Translation: His Eminence Grand Ayatollah Imam Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini Khamenei, Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, in a message to the elites and to the winners of scientific and sporting medals in international arenas, referring to the incomparable role of the elites and of the adolescent and young bringers of honour in the scientific and sporting fields, and to their part in the manifestation of hope, progress and vitality in the country, deemed the key to Iran's becoming ever stronger to be the elites' breaking of scientific frontiers, and emphasised: within the framework of the meta-strategy 'knowledge is sovereign' (al-'ilmu sultan), the country's progress requires a deep and accelerated scientific surge, and the authorities, while providing the infrastructure and the groundwork for this scientific leap, must also make maximum use of the elites' individual capacities and collective wisdom.

Kayhan's headline rendering of the message: «مرکز ثقل و کانون دانش به تدریج از کشورهای غربی به ایران خواهد آمد», the centre of gravity and focus of knowledge will gradually move from the Western countries to Iran.

Jam-e Jam's rendering sets the same message out as a six-point programme, which it labels «۵ فرمان رهبر انقلاب», the Leader's five commands: development of the basic and human sciences; boundary-breaking in science; strengthening of creativity and innovation; self-reliance in solving scientific problems; giving the elites room to act; and connecting the university to the market and to industry.

Analyst flag: this message is the day's only authoritative communication from the serving Leader, and it is on five of the eight Persian front pages, in four cases as the lead. Its subject is scientific development, not the war, the summit or the chokepoint. Note the form as well as the content: the message was read out at an event rather than delivered, and no photograph of the Leader taken at the event appears on any page. The portraits run by Jam-e Jam, Nobonyad and Farhikhtegan are stock images. Note also the titulature: «آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام», Grand Ayatollah Imam, with 'Imam' attached, a form this monitor has recorded in earlier editions and which remains in use.

Verification note: the printed name is «سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای», Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini Khamenei. His predecessor, assassinated on 28 February 2026, is referred to separately in today's Kayhan editorial as «آقای شهید», the martyred one, and by the Speaker of parliament as «امام شهیدمان», our martyred Imam. The two are distinguished on the page and are not conflated here.

Appendix B: The day's flagged editorial, 'The Tehran Summit: Water or Mirage?!'

Kayhan «یادداشت روز», Tuesday 5 Aban 1405 (27 October 2026), in two parts, signed «حسین شریعتمداری», Hossein Shariatmadari, the paper's managing editor and the Leader's representative at Kayhan. Retrieved in full from the Kayhan channel, items 87907 and 87908, and tagged #یادداشت_روز on the second part. Author verified from the by-line on both parts.

1. Senior officials of the three countries Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Pakistan have come to Iran and are to take part in a joint summit with the secretary of our country's Supreme National Security Council. Our dear brother Dr Ali Bagheri, the respected deputy secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, has said of the reason for holding this summit: 'This meeting pursues two main aims. The first aim of this trip is to congratulate Sardar Sarlashkar Rezaei on assuming this important responsibility, and the second aim is dialogue with the secretary of the Supreme National Security Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran on matters of regional security.' Mr Bagheri, referring to Iran's successful model in providing national security and to the steadfastness of the Iranian nation and armed forces against the aggression of America and the Zionist regime and their failure to achieve their aims, stated: 'The Tehran meeting is a step on the path to the formation of endogenous regional security,' and stressed that 'this quadrilateral meeting in Tehran can be an effective and important step in the process of forming endogenous regional security.'

2. Dr Bagheri's explanation of this meeting and of the necessity of holding it appears, so far as it concerns the statement of the problem and its theoretical exposition, to be a proper undertaking. But when the turn comes to pass from theory and opinion to the field of action and practice, several questions are drawn in which seem not merely different from the problem as stated and from what the respected deputy secretary has explained about the Tehran meeting and its aims, but contradictory to it. Read on.

3. The talk is of confronting America's presence under the pretext of providing security (!) and of insisting that the three named countries, in coordination and joint action with Iran, should hold the region's security in their hands and should, in Dr Bagheri's words, confront 'any interference and influence of foreigners, especially the American regime, and likewise any role played by the Zionist regime at any level in the region that disturbs regional security and stability.' This demand, contrary to its appearance, which is proper and fitting, is first of all incompatible with the identity of the three countries of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Turkey, because all three have close relations with America and the Zionist regime and have shown repeatedly that they do not take a step without America's permission and coordination with the Zionist regime. The government of Saudi Arabia has been one of America's partners in the twelve-day and Ramadan wars against Islamic Iran. Turkey is a member of NATO, and NATO was not neutral in the recent military attacks of America and the Zionist regime against our country. Pakistan, on America's orders, had closed its land borders to Iran, and so on. The question now is whether the three named countries have turned their backs on America and the Zionist regime and joined Iran in order to secure the region, the definite requirement of which is the expulsion of America from the region. If the answer to this question is negative, and no sign is seen of its being positive, what is their real aim in attending the Tehran meeting?

4. Two months ago, the three countries of Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Pakistan, with their senior officials present in Saudi Arabia, concluded the military pact known as the Mecca Pact. One of the principal declared aims of the Mecca Pact is the defence of Saudi Arabia against external threats. The second

question is this: which external threat does Saudi Arabia face? America and Israel are aligned with the Saudi government and are, so to speak, aunt and nephew. The Saudi government's only conflict is with the revolutionaries of Yemen, and the two countries Turkey and Pakistan had undertaken in the Mecca Pact to support Saudi Arabia militarily against the Yemeni revolutionaries (!), which they were unable to do, and let that pass. But the heart of the matter is here: the Yemeni revolutionaries are allies of Islamic Iran. In other words, and on the basis of the rule of 'the unity of arenas' which was and is emphasised by the late Imam, by the martyred one and by the Supreme Leader of the Revolution, Islamic Iran, Hezbollah of Lebanon, Ansarallah of Yemen, the Hashd al-Shaabi of Iraq and the Palestinian resistance are 'one single soul' breathed into several bodies and manifested in them.

5. Therefore, confronting the aforementioned resistance forces, including the confrontation of the three named countries with the Yemeni revolutionaries, is also confrontation and a face-off with Islamic Iran. Is it not? If it is so, and it is, our dear friends at the Supreme National Security Council must answer this question: has Saudi Arabia ceased confronting the oppressed people of Yemen? The answer to this question is negative. The next question, then, is what answer the Tehran meeting will have to the perception that, in the face of the declared enemies of the Yemeni resistance, [God forbid] that divine movement has been treated with inattention (!). The Islamic Republic of Iran admits not the slightest hesitation in defending the Yemeni resistance, but how can one know that one of the aims of the three named countries in attending the Tehran summit is not to insinuate Iranian inattention to the Yemeni revolutionaries? Though such an outcome has never been possible and never will be.

6. And on this subject, although there are other things worth hearing, in short we confine ourselves to this closing point: the presence of the three countries Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Pakistan in Tehran arises from the exemplary might of the Islamic Republic of Iran and from the hard defeat it has inflicted on America and the Zionist regime. And why? One may say with boldness that the closing of the Strait of Hormuz has narrowed the field for America and its Western, Hebrew and Arab allies, and that the pressure thereby applied to their economic windpipe has brought America and its allies close to suffocation. So much so that, as Foreign Affairs has written, Iran's geography and resistance have not only grounded America's war machine but have also confronted America and its allies with crippling economic pressure, and as the New York Times has written, half the American people have become so poor as a result of this war's consequences that they cannot even buy the necessities of life, and so on. In these days we are witnessing popular demonstrations in America and widespread unrest in some European countries, which regard Trump's war as foolish and condemn its ruinous effects on their lives and livelihoods. The presence of the three countries Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Pakistan at the Tehran meeting should be assessed from this angle: they have come in order to open a breathing space, however fleeting, for America and its allies, by inducing the illusion that the matter of the war has come close to an understanding.

7. Closing couplet, addressed to 'our dear ones at the Supreme National Security Council' and attributed by the author to Hafez of Shiraz: «دور است سرِ آب از این بادیه، هشدار / تا غول بیابان نفریبد به سرابت». Translation: the water's source is far from this desert; take warning, lest the desert's ghoul deceive you with a mirage.

Analyst flag: three items in this editorial are the author's claims and are not adopted here as fact. The attributions to Foreign Affairs and the New York Times are second-hand renderings by a hostile outlet and are not to be reproduced as authentic without primary-source confirmation; the characterisation of half the American population as unable to buy necessities is not supported by any figure the author supplies. The assertion that the Strait of Hormuz has been closed by Iran is the author's own, and it is significant precisely because it is made on the Leader's flagship surface: it converts the chokepoint

from a consequence of the war into an admitted Iranian instrument. The description of the Mecca Pact's purpose and of Turkish and Pakistani undertakings to support Saudi Arabia against Yemen is the author's reading of the pact and is not quoted from its text.

Significance: this is an editorial attack by the Leader's own paper on the Supreme National Security Council's diplomacy, published on the morning that diplomacy convened, naming the council's deputy secretary and addressing the council directly. Its substantive demand is that Yemen not be traded, and its stated doctrinal basis is «وحدت ساحات», the unity of arenas.

Appendix C: Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline, edition of 27 October 2026

Scan coverage. Eight Persian front pages of 5 Aban 1405 were retrieved from the Tasnim newspaper kiosk album of 27 October (t.me/NewspaperTasnim/45443, caption «۵ صفحه نخست روزنامه‌های سه‌شنبه ۵ آبان ماه ۱۴۰۵») and read in full by vision: Jam-e Jam, Javan, Shargh, Nobonyad, Iran, Sobh-e No, Vatan-e Emrooz and Farhikhtegan. One English page, Iran Daily Vol 6249, came from the English kiosk album (t.me/newspapers_iran/3591). The batch guard confirmed the album's own printed Jalali date matched the target date, so no fallback sourcing was needed and nothing in this edition is stale.

Text coverage. Kayhan's page did not reach the kiosk album and was read from the paper's own channel, where the front-page summary (item 87896), the lead story (87910) and both parts of the editorial (87907, 87908) were retrieved verbatim. Sobh-e No, Vatan-e Emrooz, Iran and Etemad Online were read from their channels in addition to, or in place of, their scans. Defa Press, Fars News and Nour News were read as agency wires and their content is labelled as claims, not as front-page material. Tehran Times was not available at the time of compilation.

Verification performed. The quadrilateral summit's participants are taken from the official four-way press statement published in full on the Sobh-e No channel (item 117005): Mohsen Rezaei as host and secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, Khalid bin Salman as Saudi defence minister, Asim Munir as commander of Pakistan's armed forces, Ibrahim Kalin as head of Turkish intelligence, meeting in Tehran on 4 Aban 1405 / 26 October 2026. These names and offices were independently confirmed against international reporting of the same meeting, which places it at Saadabad Palace and records that it ended without concrete announcements beyond an agreement to continue the dialogue. The Brazilian result was confirmed independently: Lula defeated Flavio Bolsonaro in the runoff of 25 October with 51.79 percent to 48.21 percent. The Israeli ballot of 27 October was confirmed as being held on the day these pages were printed, with no result available at press time.

Attribution corrections. Kayhan attributes its Saudi flight-cancellation figures to a body it names «کریدل»; the underlying data in the open record is Cirium's, which records 4,071 of 4,736 scheduled flights cancelled at King Khalid international airport between 8 and 25 October and more than 7,800 cancellations nationwide, about 45 percent of scheduled departures. The direction of Kayhan's claim is corroborated; its sourcing is not as printed. Separately, two Iranian surfaces give different electorate figures for the Israeli ballot, Etemad Online citing over 7.3 million eligible voters and 38 lists and Vatan-e Emrooz citing over 6 million; neither is adopted here.

Single-source items, carried as claims. The car bombing outside the Likud branch office in Or Yehuda is a single Iranian relay of an Israeli Channel 13 report and is not independently confirmed. Trump's reported remark that Iran now has a missile that can reach Europe is carried by one Iranian channel without a dated source. The citations to Foreign Affairs and the New York Times inside the Kayhan editorial are second-hand renderings by a hostile outlet. Yemeni and Saudi-led coalition battle claims are recorded as each side's claims.

War-phase vocabulary. The Iranian press is counting this war in discrete named phases rather than as one continuous event. Jam-e Jam's banner refers to «جنگ ۴۰ روزه», the forty-day war; the Etemad Online channel independently uses «جنگ ۴۰ روزه تحمیلی», the forty-day imposed war, in a report on munitions clearance at Ahvaz; Kayhan's editorial refers to «جنگ‌های ۱۲ روزه و رمضان», the twelve-day and Ramadan wars; Javan's deck dates the regional lesson to «۷ ماه اخیر», the last seven months.

These are the outlets' own terms, reproduced as printed and not reconciled here into a single chronology. This monitor's day count is a fixed calendar count from its own epoch and is unaffected.

Succession evidence. The serving Leader is named in full on the Nobonyad front page and on the Kayhan channel as «حضرت آیت‌الله‌العظمی امام سید مجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب اسلامی», which is a printed-name identification rather than an inference. His predecessor is referred to separately in the same cycle as «آقای شهید» and «امام شهیدمان». No photograph of the serving Leader taken at a dated event appears in this batch; the portraits carried by three papers are stock images, and his only attested appearance is an audience described after the fact by the head of the judiciary.

Handling. This product documents and analyses hostile foreign-press rhetoric for defensive assessment only. Nothing here endorses, amplifies or operationalises it. Iranian military and battle-damage claims are labelled as claims throughout, and unverified attributed quotations are not to be reproduced as authentic without primary-source confirmation.

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