OPEN-SOURCE PRESS INTELLIGENCE

Iranian Press Monitor

Daily Front-Page Intelligence

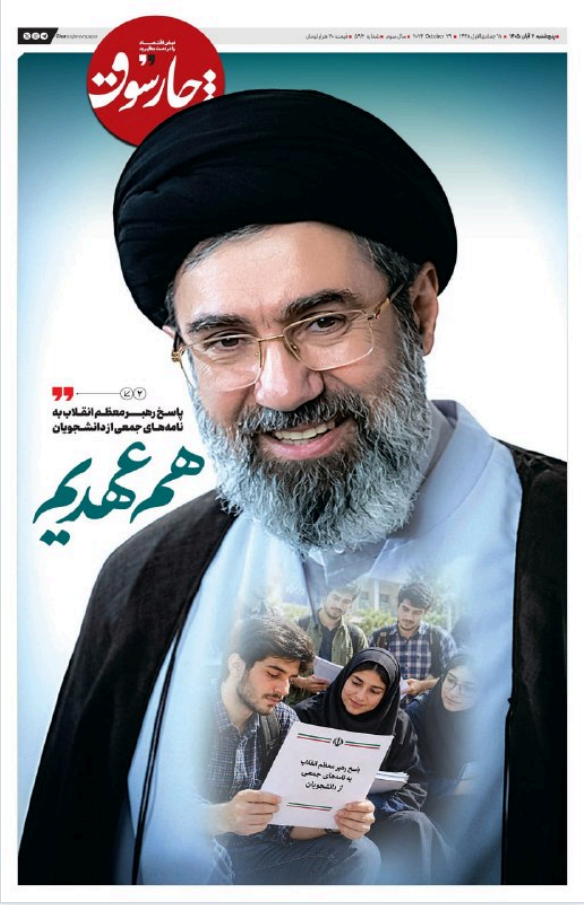
Day 240 - 2026-10-29 · 16 · پنج‌شنبه ۷ آبان ۱۴۰۵ Jumada al-Awwal 1448

COVENANT AT HOME, DEADLOCK ABROAD EDITION

Ten front pages read in full (nine Persian, one English) from the morning of 29 October 2026, plus nine Iranian newspaper and agency channels; Tehran Times and khamenei.ir were unavailable at the time of compilation.

Front pages published the morning of 29 October 2026, reflecting events through late 28 October local.

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



Front page: Chaharsouq (چارسوق)

Executive Summary

The lead judgment of this cycle is that the exit declared on 27 October has acquired a text and, within forty-eight hours, an organised front-page opposition. Javan, the daily closest to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, led its lower front page with «پیشنهاد تقریباً هیچ!», 'an almost-nothing proposal', decked with the claim that Tehran, insisting the United States is not serious about diplomacy, treats the plan attributed to Qatar as being at the level of an 'idea'. That is not a report of a decision; it is a headline written to lower the value of the only document in play, and it reproduces almost exactly the line a senior Iranian official gave Reuters on 28 October. Jomhouri Eslami, one column over, prints the bare sentence that Iran is reviewing Qatar's proposal to end the war. Neither page carries a condition, a mechanism or a date. The emptiness this monitor recorded on 28 October has survived the arrival of a text.

The dominant feature of the edition, however, is not the war but a word. The Leader's written reply to letters from a body of students was published on nine of the ten scanned pages, and six different mastheads built their headline out of the same root: Jam-e Jam's «هم عهد تا قله», Javan's «در ساختن آینده هم‌عهدیم», Hamshahri's «هم‌عهد برای آینده ایران», Vatan-e Emrooz's «تا رسیدن به قله‌های پیشرفت هم‌عهدیم», Etemad's «لشکریان هم‌عهد» and, in the strongest single piece of evidence available, Chaharsouq's entire front page given to the one word «هم‌عهدیم» over a composite portrait, with no market figure anywhere above the fold. An economic daily suspending its own subject for a leadership message indicates centrally-guided message discipline rather than organic editorial convergence. Jam-e Jam's deck prints the serving Leader's name in full, سیدمجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای, which closes the identification question for this edition and for the appendices.

The content of that message is worth separating from its distribution. It instructs students to arm themselves with the weapon of science and knowledge, to practise self-purification, and to strive so as to add to Iran's اقتدار. It is addressed to endurance and national capability. It says nothing about the war, the conditions, the mediators or the timetable. Read beside the 27 October audience with the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, the pattern is a leadership that has made ending the war the declared objective in front of a security audience and has made endurance the declared virtue in front of a civilian one, on consecutive cycles, without reconciling the two in public.

Both flanks moved on the gap between them on the same morning. Against Javan's devaluation, Sazandegi gave its whole front page to Mohsen Hashemi and Mohammad Atrianfar of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party, who welcomed what they called the Leader's instruction to end the war and then argued that national interests require abandoning the manufactured dichotomy of war versus negotiation for real action, with Hashemi demanding that Iran stop leaning on slogans it has no possibility of realising. Ali Bigdeli's signed column on the same page asks, with a question mark, whether the emphasis on ending the 'neither war, nor peace' condition is the negotiating path opening, and argues that military positions do not convert themselves into political outcomes. That is the furthest any front page went this cycle, and it went in the opposite direction to the IRGC-affiliated title.

Israel arrived on the Iranian front pages in force, and the frame every outlet chose was paralysis rather than an outcome. Jam-e Jam led its rail with «بن‌بست خونخواران»; Javan with «فلج سیاسی اسرائیل در انتخابات بدون برنده», printing the arithmetic correctly; Hamshahri with the two scenarios for 'the butcher of Gaza'; Ta'adol, an economic paper, with a photographed road sign captioned «باتلاق کابینه»; Etemad with a named analyst on a coalition to unseat Netanyahu; and Kayhan with «پایان رقابت بین دو نسل‌کُش هیچ‌کدام پیروز نشدند!». The uniformity is the finding: not one title claimed the result as an Iranian

success, and the hardline flagship denied legitimacy to both blocs rather than preferring either. This closes the negative-evidence judgment filed on 28 October, when Israel voted and no Persian front page led on it; that silence was a timing artefact.

What the front pages did not carry is as instructive as what they did. The Wall Street Journal's report that Vice President JD Vance wrote to Mohsen Rezaei to reopen a channel, and Axios's addition that the letter requires any talks to cover the nuclear file, appear on the Etemad, Vatan-e Emrooz and Nour News channels and on no scanned front page. Al-Hadath's report of consultations about a meeting in Turkey before 4 November, with Iran asking to compress a seven-day period to four and the nuclear file inside the timetable, is on Etemad's channel only. The reported strike on Saudi Arabia's Ras Tanura, the suspension of flights at King Fahd International in Dammam and explosions in the Eastern Province and Najran run on four channels and lead nothing. The Strait of Hormuz appears as administration rather than threat: a fourteenth MQ-1 claimed off Sirik, carried identically by five channels; global food companies warning on prices; American diesel at $6.25 a gallon; and a recirculated Obama clip saying Iran now holds a veto over the strait. The escalation is being kept where it can be read and not where it would have to be defended.

Beneath all of it sits a number. Ta'adol led on inflation in the month of Mehr reaching the 77 percent threshold, alongside its housing series asking whether the wait to own a home is twenty-seven years or eighty-two. Sazandegi ran a red-alert box carrying a Labour Ministry warning about the consequences of the negative trend continuing to year end. Jam-e Jam reported car prices rising in a market with no buyers. Etemad, meanwhile, broke the cycle's only genuine domestic scoop: the Siyanat internet-control bill moving quietly through a special parliamentary commission with the instruction that it not yet be publicised, on the same morning a deputy communications minister conceded that filtering has degraded connection quality.

Net assessment: this is a cohesion edition, not a war edition. The system used its highest-value asset, the Leader's own voice, on a civilian constituency and on the vocabulary of endurance, while the one live diplomatic text was devalued by the Guard's paper and acknowledged in a single unadorned line by the establishment paper. The adversary was presented as paralysed rather than defeated, which supports waiting rather than acting. The two things that could change that calculation, a 77 percent inflation print and a reported strike on Saudi energy infrastructure, were both published, and neither was given a front-page lead on any political title. Read together, the edition is the press of a system preparing its public for a longer wait while leaving the exit open, unspecified, and in somebody else's hands.

BOTTOM LINE On the morning of Day 240 the Iranian system spent its front pages on cohesion rather than on the exit it had declared two days earlier: nine of ten scanned papers carried the Leader's covenant message to students, the IRGC-affiliated daily used the same page to reduce the Qatari draft to 'an idea' before any official rejection was published, and not one Persian front page printed a condition, a mechanism, an interlocutor or a date.

CRITICAL SOURCING NOTE Ten front pages were read in full: nine Persian pages from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk album for 7 Aban 1405 and Iran Daily from the English-language album. The stale-batch guard passed on the first attempt, with the album's own printed Jalali date matching the target date, so nothing here is carried over from an earlier batch. Nine Telegram channels were read for the same cycle, six of them newspaper channels and three of them agencies; agency material is treated as claims throughout. Tehran Times and khamenei.ir were both unavailable at the time of compilation, so Tehran Times contributes nothing to this edition and no authoritative text of the Leader's message was obtained;

the message is reconstructed in Appendix A from seven front-page renderings and flagged as partial. Kayhan's front page did not appear in the scan set and the paper published no «یادداشت روز» editorial to any reachable surface, so that title is reconstructed from the headline list on its own channel. The Sobh-e No channel was a cycle behind at read time. Five load-bearing items were checked against open reporting before being carried: the Israeli seat arithmetic, the Vance letter, the Tehran quadrilateral of 26 October, the Qatari seven-day draft, and the Chazabeh crossing closure. Three corrections are carried into the text: Jomhouri Eslami attributes opposition to unilateral sanctions to the closing statement of the Moscow gas summit, whereas open reporting locates that language in the leaders' speeches rather than in the declaration; Jomhouri Eslami's claim that Iran becomes the complementary side of the 'Mecca Pact' is the paper's own inference and appears in no participant's statement; and the Ras Tanura damage, the Kataib Hezbollah border threat and the BBC clip on Israeli war aims are all unconfirmed claims reproduced with their attributions intact. Ta'adol's inflation figure is as printed and was not independently verified.

Macro Trend Analysis

1 Covenant as the instrument of endurance

The word عهد and its compound هم‌عهد did the work of policy on six front pages. The construction is reciprocal: the students pledge, the leadership pledges back, and the object of the pledge is اقتدار, national standing, rather than victory, settlement or survival. Nothing in the published message touches the war. A leadership that needed to prepare its public for a settlement would not spend its mass address on study, self-purification and redoubled work; a leadership preparing its public for a longer wait would spend it on exactly that. The treatment also advances the succession file: Chaharsouq and Javan put a large portrait of the serving Leader on the page, and Jam-e Jam printed his name in full, which is a step beyond the third-party corroboration this monitor recorded earlier in the month.

2 The exit acquires a text and an organised opposition

Within forty-eight hours of the Leader making an end to the war the declared objective, both flanks had moved on the vacuum inside that declaration. Javan reduced the Qatari draft to 'an idea' in a headline before any official rejection was published; Sazandegi gave a whole front page to a party demand that the war-versus-negotiation binary be abandoned for pursuable objectives; Jomhouri Eslami acknowledged the review in one bare line. The structure of the argument has changed since early October: it is no longer about whether an exit is legitimate, it is about whether the only text in play is worth anything. Track whether Kayhan adopts Javan's framing, which would make it a system position rather than an IRGC-flank one.

3 The adversary framed as paralysed, not defeated

Six Iranian titles covered the Israeli election and none claimed it as a win. Kayhan denied victory to both blocs; Javan called it paralysis; Jam-e Jam called it deadlock; Ta'adol illustrated it as a wrong turn. The frame is analytically convenient for Tehran because a paralysed adversary is an argument for waiting rather than for acting, and it fits the covenant message on the same pages. It also means the Iranian press has, for the first time in weeks, a foreign political story it can run at length without having to make a claim about the battlefield.

4 Regional architecture ahead of bilateral diplomacy

Jomhouri Eslami's weekly analysis made the Tehran quadrilateral of 26 October the main story of the week, correctly naming the Saudi defence minister, the Pakistani army chief and the head of Turkish intelligence around the Supreme National Security Council secretary's table, and then adding a claim

nobody at that table made: that Iran becomes the complementary side of the 'Mecca Pact' for regional security. The distance between the event and the frame is the thing to watch, because it shows what Tehran wants the format to become, and because an architecture story is the available alternative to a bilateral deal with Washington.

5 Escalation on the channels, cohesion on the pages

The cycle's most consequential reporting, a claimed strike on Ras Tanura with Dammam's airport suspended, the Vance letter, a Turkey venue with a compressed clock, a parliamentary bill to leave the NPT, Kataib Hezbollah threatening the Saudi and Jordanian borders, ran on Telegram channels and, where it reached paper at all, only as a headline list. This separation is now a stable pattern across the factional spectrum rather than a hardline device. Its effect is deniability: readers get the escalation, the system does not have to own it.

6 The war priced in households

A 77 percent monthly inflation print, a housing wait measured in decades, car prices rising in a market with no buyers, a Labour Ministry red alert and a simultaneous Covid and influenza warning appeared on the economic and reformist pages while the political pages carried covenant language. The war's cost is being published, accurately and without euphemism, in the part of the press that decision-makers read and the mass audience does not. That is the constraint on endurance, and it is the number any assessment of Iranian staying power has to start from.

Key Judgments

KJ-1 [HIGH] **KJ-1. The Leader's first mass civilian address of the post-succession period was published as a covenant, with near-total uniformity across the factional spectrum, and it says nothing about the war.** The evidence is six mastheads building a headline from the same root on one morning: Jam-e Jam «هم عهد تا قله», Javan «در ساختن آینده هم‌عهدیم», Hamshahri «هم‌عهد برای آینده ایران», Vatan-e Emrooz «تا رسیدن به قله‌های پیشرفت هم‌عهدیم», Etemad «لشکریان هم‌عهد» and Chaharsouq's entire front page given to the single word, with Kayhan carrying the same message as a direct imperative and Jomhouri Eslami top-right. An economic daily suspending its own subject matter for a leadership message indicates centrally-guided distribution rather than organic convergence. The significance is the register: the instructions are study, self-purification and redoubled work toward اقتدار, which is a vocabulary of endurance, published two cycles after the same office made ending the war the declared objective in front of a security audience. Calibration: this is a judgment about publication and content, not about reception; nothing here measures whether students or the public accept the framing.

KJ-2 [HIGH] **KJ-2. The Qatari exit draft now exists as a text, and the Guard's newspaper moved to devalue it before any official Iranian rejection was published.** The evidence is Javan's «پیشنهاد تقریباً هیچ!» with the deck that Tehran, insisting the United States is not serious about diplomacy, treats the plan attributed to Qatar as being at the level of an 'idea'; Jomhouri Eslami's single unadorned line that Iran is reviewing Qatar's proposal to end the war; and Foreign Minister Araghchi's statement, carried by Iran's channel and Defa Press, that Iran will keep communicating through intermediaries to give diplomacy a chance. Open reporting of 28 October carries both a Qatari seven-day framework handed to Tehran with guarantor states, and a senior Iranian official telling Reuters that Qatar brought no proposal, only unacceptable 'ideas'. Javan's headline reproduces the second in a form the first cannot answer. The significance is that the pre-emptive

devaluation appeared on the same page as the Leader's covenant message, which is the clearest available indication of where resistance to the declared exit sits institutionally. Calibration: a newspaper headline is not a policy decision, and reading it as a rejection would overstate it; reading it as merely one paper's opinion would understate the position of this particular paper.

KJ-3 [HIGH] **KJ-3. Israel's electoral deadlock entered the Iranian front-page register in force, and every outlet chose paralysis rather than victory as the frame.** The evidence is six titles on one morning: Jam-e Jam «بن‌بست خونخواران» with the deck that the two principal blocs failed to reach the quorum for a cabinet; Javan «فلج سیاسی اسرائیل در انتخابات بدون برنده», whose body prints 61 of 120 needed, the Netanyahu bloc at 53, the Eisenkot bloc at 48 and the Arab parties at 19; Hamshahri's two scenarios for Netanyahu personally; Ta'adol's «باتلاق کابینه»; Etemad's interview with Rahman Ghahremanpour on a coalition to unseat him; and Kayhan's «پایان رقابت بین دو نسل‌کُش هیچ‌کدام پیروز نشدند!». The arithmetic matches open reporting with counting incomplete. The significance is twofold: KJ-9 of 28 October, filed as negative evidence when Israel voted and no Persian front page led on it, is closed as a timing artefact; and a paralysed adversary is an argument for waiting, which is consistent with the rest of this edition.

KJ-4 [MODERATE-HIGH] **KJ-4. A reformist party used a whole front page to attack the war-versus-negotiation binary by name, and claimed the Leader's own instruction as its licence.** The evidence is Sazandegi's front page given to Mohsen Hashemi, head of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi central council, and Mohammad Atrianfar, deputy for political affairs to its secretary-general, welcoming what the deck calls the Leader's order to end the war and declaring that the national interest requires avoiding the dichotomy of war and negotiation (دوگانه‌سازی جنگ و مذاکره) and moving to real action, with Hashemi's pull-quote demanding that Iran stop relying on slogans it cannot realise; and Ali Bigdeli's signed column on the same page asking whether the emphasis on ending the 'neither war, nor peace' condition is the negotiating path opening. The significance is symmetry: on the same morning that the Guard's paper devalued the only text in play, the reformist flank spent the Leader's authority in the opposite direction. The exit's content is now contested in public by both flanks simultaneously. Calibration: Kargozaran is a party, not a government, and this is advocacy, not a statement of Iranian policy.

KJ-5 [MODERATE-HIGH] **KJ-5. The American diplomatic channel is now in the Iranian press, carried as a foreign claim and printed on no Persian front page.** The evidence is Etemad's channel carrying the Wall Street Journal report that Vice President JD Vance wrote to the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council to restart talks; Vatan-e Emrooz's channel carrying Axios's version, that a US official says any talks must address the nuclear issue; Nour News carrying it as a 'Wall Street Journal claim' of a confidential letter sent with Trump's knowledge; and Etemad's channel carrying Al-Hadath on consultations about a meeting in Turkey before 4 November, with Iran seeking to compress seven days to four and the nuclear file, including an invitation to inspectors, inside the timetable. Not one of the ten scanned front pages prints any of it. The significance is that the system is permitting the channel to be known while conceding nothing: a letter reported by the adversary's press can be read by Iranians without any Iranian institution having to acknowledge receipt. Calibration: absence from ten scanned pages is not absence from the thirty-odd national dailies, and this judgment is bounded by the scan set.

KJ-6 [MODERATE-HIGH] **KJ-6. The most consequential reported escalation of the cycle, damage to Saudi energy infrastructure, was left entirely to the channels.** The evidence is four channels carrying the same cluster: flight data indicating operations suspended at King Fahd International Airport in Dammam; Saudi reports of explosions in the Eastern Province and in Najran; and, citing OSINT accounts and satellite imagery, the claim that Ras Tanura's main cracking unit was disabled, with Yemen's armed forces claiming to have targeted Aramco facilities. Open reporting records a Houthi claim of a ballistic missile strike on Ras Tanura on 27 October, a contained fire near the export terminal, and no Saudi confirmation of refinery damage. Not one scanned front page leads on any of it. The significance is that this is precisely the development the previous cycle's watch list named as the escalation to look for, and the Iranian press has handled it the way it handles things it wants circulated but not owned. Calibration: everything in this cluster is a claim; this monitor reports no confirmed battle damage, and the absence of Saudi confirmation is itself evidence worth weighing.

KJ-7 [MODERATE-HIGH] **KJ-7. The Tehran quadrilateral has become the system's preferred architecture story, and the establishment paper has given it a frame that exceeds anything the participants published.** The evidence is Jomhouri Eslami's «تحلیل سیاسی هفته», which names Monday's Tehran session on regional security arrangements attended by Saudi Arabia's defence minister, Pakistan's army commander and the head of Turkey's intelligence service under the Supreme National Security Council secretary's chairmanship, and then argues that because those three states are signatories of the 'Mecca Pact', Iran will be its complementary side. Open reporting confirms the meeting of 26 October, its participants (Khalid bin Salman, Asim Munir, Ibrahim Kalin, hosted by Mohsen Rezaei) and an agreement to continue consultations; no participant's statement carries the complementary-side claim. The significance is the gap: Tehran is publicly converting a first consultative session into membership of an existing arrangement, which is the alternative on offer to a bilateral deal with Washington. Watch whether any of the other three states contradicts the framing.

KJ-8 [MODERATE] **KJ-8. The Strait of Hormuz held its place as administered coercion priced for foreign audiences rather than as a domestic threat.** The evidence is the IRGC's claim of a fourteenth MQ-1 destroyed east of the strait off Sirik, carried in identical wording by Defa Press, Nour News, Fars, Jam-e Jam's channel and Vatan-e Emrooz's channel; Iran Daily's above-the-masthead banner that a new Israeli-instigated attack would be 'devastating' for global markets; Vatan-e Emrooz's channel carrying global food companies' warning on next year's prices; Nour News on American diesel at $6.25 a gallon; and a recirculated Obama clip, on three channels, saying Iran now holds a veto over the strait. The significance is continuity with the administration thread recorded on 28 October: the chokepoint is being invoiced rather than brandished. Negative evidence, filed as part of this judgment: the 1 November enforcement deadline against a named carrier, which led this monitor's watch list a cycle ago, appears on no scanned front page three days out.

KJ-9 [MODERATE] **KJ-9. Lebanon returned to the register after two cycles of silence, through Hezbollah's own leader and not through any Iranian front page.** The evidence is Sobh-e No's channel carrying Naim Qassem rejecting the Lebanese government's framework agreement with Israel as illegitimate and unconstitutional, refusing any discussion of disarming the resistance while occupation continues, and reading the Israeli election result as an example of the enemy's failure;

and Defa Press carrying Israeli shelling of Kafr Tebnit and Wadi al-Saluqi and demolitions in Khiam. No scanned Persian front page carries Lebanon at all. The significance is that KJ-11 of 28 October is only half closed: the file is active again in Iranian media space, but front-page Lebanon remains absent, which is the measure that matters for how much political weight Tehran is currently placing on that front.

KJ-10 [MODERATE] **KJ-10. The economic press published the cycle's hardest constraint on any endurance strategy, and the political press did not engage it.** The evidence is Ta'adol's lead that inflation in the month of Mehr reached the 77 percent threshold, run with its housing series asking whether the wait to own a home is twenty-seven or eighty-two years; Sazandegi's «آژیر قرمز» box carrying a Labour Ministry warning about the consequences of the negative trend running to year end; Jam-e Jam on car prices rising in a market with no buyers; and Ta'adol again on Covid and influenza crossing the red line together. Against that, Chaharsouq, an economic daily, printed no number at all and gave its page to the Leader. The significance is that the figure which governs how long Iran can wait is appearing only where the mass audience is not, and the one economic paper closest to the kiosk suspended its own coverage to carry a cohesion message. Calibration: the 77 percent figure is as printed by Ta'adol and was not independently verified here; it should be corroborated from a second title before being carried forward as established.

KJ-11 [MODERATE] **KJ-11. The internet-control file has returned under parliamentary cover and the reformist press broke it while attention was on the leadership message.** The evidence is Etemad's lead «طرح محرمانه», reporting that the 'ordering of cyberspace' is now before a special parliamentary commission and that the instruction attached to it is that it not yet be publicised, strapped as the paper's own report on the silent reproduction of the Siyanat bill; and, the same morning, a deputy communications minister telling Etemad's channel and Fars that domestically originated denial-of-service traffic outnumbered foreign traffic over ten days and that this, together with filtering, has degraded connection quality. The significance is procedural: a control measure moving under a special commission during a war, with publicity deferred, is the standard route by which contested legislation has advanced before, and it warrants a standing tracker row.

KJ-12 [MODERATE] **KJ-12. Proxy coercion against two Gulf land borders was advertised on the Leader's flagship rather than by any state institution.** The evidence is Kayhan's front-page line attributing to Kataib Hezbollah the threat that if Iran's borders are not opened, the Saudi and Jordanian borders will be closed; and, on Jomhouri Eslami's front page, continuing Iraqi protests over the closure of the Chazabeh crossing. Open reporting dates that closure to about 21 October, records Baghdad's official explanation as a security and equipment review, and records claims from Iraqi officials and from the Islamic Resistance in Iraq that Washington pressed for it; this monitor found no independent confirmation of the Kataib Hezbollah statement as worded. The significance is the choice of vehicle: a threat against Saudi and Jordanian trade, published in the Supreme Leader's flagship and attributed to an Iraqi faction, applies pressure to the Qatari track without any Iranian official saying anything. Calibration: attribution by Kayhan is not verification, and the threat is reported here as the paper's claim.

KJ-13 [LOW-MODERATE] **KJ-13. Negative evidence, filed as a finding: Kayhan's daily editorial was not published to any surface this monitor could reach, for the second time in recent record.** The evidence is that the Kayhan channel's posts for 7 Aban carry the front-page headline list, the

> Leader's message and a run of Saudi and American items, but no «یادداشت روز»; the paper's own site was unavailable at compile time; and no Kayhan scan reached the scan set. The significance is a coverage gap rather than an editorial silence: the hardline flagship's daily argument is the single highest-value read in this product, and on this cycle it is missing. It should not be interpreted as the paper having nothing to say. Calibration: this is a judgment about this monitor's access, not about Kayhan's output.

Named-Figure Tracker

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini Khamenei (سیدمجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای)	Leader of the Revolution	Named in full on Jam-e Jam's front page; his reply to students carried on nine of ten pages as a covenant, with a large portrait on Javan and a full-page composite on Chaharsouq. Instructions are study, self-purification and work toward اقتدار; the war is not mentioned.	WATCH
Masoud Pezeshkian	President	Iran Daily's lead has him condemning US and Israeli attacks on civilians as a violation of international law; Javan carries his pledge to pursue the Leader's directives with full capacity; Etemad has him ordering the closure of unproductive state bodies; his Moscow gas-summit address supplies the sanctions language Jomhouri Eslami attributes to the summit's statement.	WATCH
Benjamin Netanyahu	Israeli prime minister	Photographed on Hamshahri as 'the butcher of Gaza' with two scenarios	TARGET FRAMING

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
		for his survival; on a Tel Aviv billboard in Etemad's illustration behind a red stop-hand; Kayhan places him in a pair of 'genocidaires' with neither winning.	
Gadi Eisenkot	Leader of the rival Israeli bloc	Named in Javan's body text as the head of the 48-seat bloc against the Netanyahu bloc's 53. First appearance by name in this monitor's record.	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Donald Trump	US president	Vatan-e Emrooz's whole cover is a synthetic image of him as a club-carrying primitive under «جنگل جهانی»; Jomhouri Eslami and Iran's channel carry the Foreign Ministry spokesman on his admission regarding the Islamabad understanding; Jam-e Jam prices his war at $250 billion.	TARGET FRAMING
JD Vance	US vice president	Reported by the Wall Street Journal and Axios to have written to the Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council; carried on three Iranian channels as a foreign claim and printed on no front page.	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Mohsen Rezaei	Secretary, Supreme National Security Council	Addressee of the reported Vance letter and host of the 26 October Tehran quadrilateral, both carried without any	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
		front page naming him in either role.	
Abbas Araghchi	Foreign Minister	Iran Daily's banner warns that a new Israeli-instigated attack would be devastating for global markets; Iran's channel and Defa Press carry his statement that Iran will keep communicating through intermediaries to give diplomacy a chance.	COERCION SPOKESMAN
Esmail Baghaei	Foreign Ministry spokesman	Carried by Jomhouri Eslami and Iran's channel: Trump's admission regarding the Islamabad understanding is a double scandal for those who whitewash the United States.	WATCH
Mohsen Hashemi and Mohammad Atrianfar	Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party officers	Given Sazandegi's whole front page to welcome the instruction to end the war and demand that the war-versus-negotiation binary be dropped for pursuable objectives.	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Ali Bigdeli	International-affairs commentator	Signed Sazandegi front-page column asking whether the end of the 'neither war, nor peace' condition opens a negotiating path, and arguing that military positions do not convert themselves into political outcomes.	NEW NAMED FIGURE

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
Rahman Ghahremanpour	International-affairs analyst	Interviewed by Etemad on a coalition proposal to bring Netanyahu down; the only named Iranian analyst making a prediction on an Iranian front page this cycle.	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Hossein Ajorlou	International-affairs analyst	Interviewed by Iran Daily's Delaram Ahmadi, reading repeated American references to the GBU-43 as strategic signalling intended to shape calculations rather than as disclosed intent.	NEW NAMED FIGURE
Naim Qassem	Secretary-General of Hezbollah	On Sobh-e No's and Defa Press's channels rejecting the Lebanese framework agreement with Israel and refusing any discussion of disarmament; carried on no Iranian front page.	WATCH
Pete Hegseth and Lt. Gen. Brett Sylvia	US defense secretary; dismissed Joint Staff senior planner	The dismissal, sourced to The Atlantic and CNN, is carried by five Iranian channels and framed as occurring while Washington reviews renewed strikes on Iran.	WATCH
Khalid bin Salman, Asim Munir and Ibrahim Kalin	Saudi defence minister; Pakistani army chief; head of Turkish intelligence	Named by Jomhouri Eslami's weekly analysis as the Tehran quadrilateral's participants, and recruited by that paper into a 'Mecca Pact' framing none	WATCH

Figure	Role / relevance	Today's framing	Flag
		of them has published.	
Barack Obama	Former US president	A clip saying Iran now holds a veto over the Strait of Hormuz, and that the war has not ended despite claims otherwise, recirculated by Kayhan, Etemad's channel and Nour News. An adversary-origin voice used to validate the chokepoint claim.	WATCH
Hossein Shariatmadari and Kayhan's «یادداشت روز»	Kayhan managing editor; the paper's daily editorial	No editorial was published to any surface this monitor could reach for 7 Aban, and no Kayhan scan reached the scan set. Recorded as a coverage gap, not as a silence.	absence noted
Sinokor and the 1 November enforcement deadline	Named carrier and dated threat from the previous cycle	Three days out from the deadline this monitor flagged on 28 October, no scanned front page mentions the carrier, the deadline or the Gulf waterway authority.	absence noted

Headline Summary Table

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
Iran Daily	President condemns US-Israel's attacks on civilians as violation of int'l law	State-affiliated English daily; the system's outward-facing title	The next round priced in markets; the US threat read as signalling	MODERATE-HIGH - economic deterrence for foreign markets
Javan	In building the future we are bound by	Hardline, IRGC-affiliated	Covenant at home; the Qatari draft reduced to 'an idea'	HIGH - pre-emptive devaluation of the live mediation track

Outlet	Lead Headline (English)	Orientation	Theme	Threat signal
	covenant / An almost-nothing proposal!			
Kayhan	Add to dear Iran's strength and standing with redoubled work and initiative	Hardline flagship, editor appointed by the Leader's office; read from its channel	Leader as command; proxy pressure on the Saudi and Jordanian borders	HIGH - proxy coercion plus unverified strike claims on Saudi energy
Vatan-e Emrooz	Global jungle	Hardline principlist	Trump as the collapse of international order	HIGH - escalation on the channel, delegitimisation on the page
Jomhouri Eslami	Firm opposition of the gas-exporting countries to unilateral sanctions	Establishment daily of the revolution's founding generation	Gas-exporter solidarity; the Tehran quadrilateral framed as a pact	MODERATE - regional architecture as the alternative to a bilateral deal
Jam-e Jam	Bound by covenant, all the way to the summit	Daily of the state broadcaster IRIB	Leader's covenant; Israeli deadlock; the war's cost to America	MODERATE - cohesion and adversary-cost messaging
Etemad	The confidential plan	Leading reformist daily	Internet-control bill revived; a coalition to unseat Netanyahu	MODERATE - domestic control measure surfaced; mediation kept off the page
Ta'adol	An alarm bell for livelihoods	Economic daily of the Iran Chamber of Cooperatives	77 percent inflation; the Israeli cabinet quagmire	MODERATE - economic stress at a level that constrains strategy
Sazandegi	A decision for Iran	Reformist daily of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party	Reformist party demands real objectives over slogans	LOW - de-escalation advocacy from inside the system
Hamshahri	Hope-giving prescriptions	Tehran municipality daily, centrist	Medical capability as national standing; Netanyahu's survival	LOW-MODERATE - national-capability reassurance
Chaharsouq	We are bound by covenant	Economic daily, third year	The covenant word given an entire front page	LOW - message discipline, no operational content

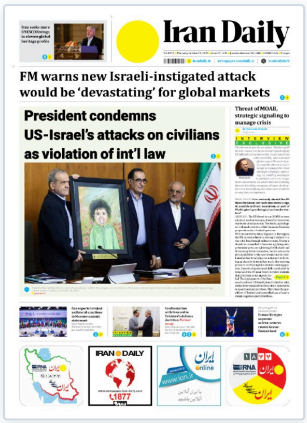
Per-Paper Front-Page Analysis

Iran Daily

English-language daily of the state-affiliated Iran newspaper group (IRNA stable); the system's outward-facing title, written for foreign readers, embassies and markets rather than for the kiosk.

“President condemns US-Israel's attacks on civilians as violation of int'l law”

MODERATE-HIGH - economic deterrence addressed to foreign markets



- Banner: 'FM warns new Israeli-instigated attack would be ‘devastating’ for global markets' runs above the masthead rule, putting the economic consequence of the next round, not its military shape, at the head of the paper.
- Main: 'President condemns US-Israel’s attacks on civilians as violation of int’l law', photographed with President Pezeshkian being presented a painted portrait of a child at a cabinet-side ceremony.
- Interview: 'Threat of MOAB, strategic signaling to manage crisis', by staff writer Delaram Ahmadi, marked INTERVIEW EXCLUSIVE, with international-affairs analyst Hossein Ajorlou, who reads repeated US references to the GBU-43 ‘Mother of All Bombs’ as signalling to multiple audiences in order to shape their calculations rather than as a disclosed operational intention.
- Sub-item: 'Gas exporters reject unilateral sanctions in Moscow summit statement', the paper's rendering of the Gas Exporting Countries Forum summit of 27 October.
- Sub-item: 'Confrontation with Iran not in Pakistan’s defense doctrine: Former envoy', an interview placed two items below the quadrilateral story's natural home.
- Right rail: 'Iran seeks more UNESCO listings to elevate global heritage profile'; sport: 'Esmaeili reigns supreme as Iran secures record Greco-Roman haul'.

ANALYST NOTE Iran Daily is doing two things on one page that the Persian press is not doing at all. It converts the next Israeli-attributed strike into a global-markets event, which is deterrence addressed to shipping, insurance and energy desks rather than to Iranians; and in the MOAB interview it reads the loudest American threat of the cycle as signalling rather than intent, which lowers the temperature at the same moment the banner raises the price. That combination, priced threat outward and calmed threat inward, is the house line of the outward-facing title and it has now held for several cycles.

Jam-e Jam (جام جم)

Daily of the state broadcaster IRIB; institutional, not factional, and a reliable index of what the broadcasting apparatus wants carried.

"Bound by covenant, all the way to the summit" «هم عهد تا قله»

MODERATE - cohesion and adversary-cost messaging, no operational content



- Main: the deck prints the serving Leader's name in full, «حضرت آیت‌الله سیدمجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای رهبر معظم انقلاب», replying to letters from a body of the country's students and urging them to arm themselves with the weapon of knowledge (سلاح علم و دانش), self-purification (تهذیب نفس) and work to raise Iran's اقتدار (eqtedar, authority or standing).
- Right rail: «بن‌بست خونخواران», 'The deadlock of the bloodthirsty', with the deck that the failure of the two principal Zionist blocs to reach the quorum for forming a cabinet has put Tel Aviv on the threshold of a new round of political crisis.
- Sub-item: «باتلاق ۲۵۰ میلیارد دلاری جنگ برای آمریکا», 'The $250 billion war quagmire for America', a cost-of-war argument addressed at the US midterm calendar.
- Sub-item: «سینمای مقاومت؛ روایت جنگ، قصه زندگی», the nineteenth Resistance Film Festival opening with a declared focus on the shortage of cinematic heroes and on support for Palestinian cinema.
- Sub-item: «گرانی خودرو در بازار بی‌مشتری», car prices rising in a market with no buyers; and «غارت در اروپای گران», a cost-of-living piece on European street anger.
- Banner: «کاش چند علیرضا دبیر داشتیم», a bottom-of-page sports banner holding up the wrestling federation's management as a model of planning and result-oriented administration.

ANALYST NOTE Jam-e Jam is the clearest single piece of evidence for the day's identification problem being settled: it prints the serving Leader's name in full rather than relying on the title, which is the anchor every other reading on this page rests on. Its Israel item is the register the state broadcaster chose, deadlock and crisis rather than defeat or victory, and it reaches for the dehumanising noun خونخواران while describing an ordinary coalition arithmetic problem. The $250 billion item and the European cost-of-living item belong to the same argument: that the war is being lost on the other side's household budgets, which is the proposition the Iranian system needs if endurance is the strategy.

Hamshahri (همشهری)

Daily of the Tehran municipality; centrist, service-oriented, and the title most likely to lead on something other than the war.

"Hope-giving prescriptions" «نسخه‌های امیدبخش»

LOW-MODERATE - national-capability reassurance; adversary coverage framed as a question



- Main: a full-page good-news package on Iranian medicine, decked 'good news from medical advances and falling treatment costs in Iran': Iran entering the world's top five in stem-cell treatment of the eye, chemotherapy and heart transplantation becoming free, and artificial intelligence used to save patients' lives.
- Sub-item: «هم‌عهد برای آینده ایران», the Leader's reply to the students' letters rendered as a firm covenant (میثاق) to build the future and raise Iran's اقتدار.
- Sub-item: «قصاب غزه می‌ماند یا می‌رود؟», 'Does the butcher of Gaza stay or go?', over a photograph of Benjamin Netanyahu, decked as an examination of two scenarios now that the election in the occupied territories is finished.
- Op-ed: «اقتدار پزشکی، پشتوانه سلامت مردم», 'Medical eqtedar, the guarantor of public health', which applies the regime's standing power-word to the health system.
- Sub-item: «عروس رفته آمپول لاغری بزنه!», a consumer-protection item on weight-loss injections sold through bridal packages.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Hamshahri is the control case for the day: a municipal paper with no factional stake chose national capability over the war, and even its op-ed borrows اقتدار from the security vocabulary and attaches it to hospitals. That is the endurance argument expressed as civic reassurance. Its one Israel item is also the day's sharpest question, put plainly in two scenarios rather than in slogans, and it is the only front page to make Netanyahu's personal survival, rather than the Knesset arithmetic, the subject.

Vatan-e Emrooz (وطن امروز)

Hardline principlist morning daily; the title that most often converts a foreign-policy argument into a single cover image.

“Global jungle”
«جنگل جهانی»

HIGH - escalation material carried on the channel, civilisational delegitimisation on the page



- Main: «جنگل جهانی» over a full-bleed synthetic image of Donald Trump as a club-carrying primitive in a jungle, decked 'how the normalisation of the rhetoric of military aggression by the US president is driving the world toward an age of chaos and the collapse of the international order'. The channel carries the same piece as the paper's كيوسك front-page column, unsigned.
- Kicker: «تا رسیدن به قله‌های پیشرفت هم‌عهدیم», the Leader's reply to the students, placed top-right above the image.
- Op-ed: «خوانشی از گفتمان پیشرفت ملی» and «از ترامپیسم به ترامپ‌گریزی», 'from Trumpism to Trump-aversion', running as a pair at the foot of the page; bylines are printed but are not legible at the resolution of the available scan.
- Channel (same cycle): Axios's claim that a US official says JD Vance wrote to Mohsen Rezaei that any talks to prevent US strikes must include the nuclear issue; and the IRGC's claim of a fourteenth MQ-1 downed east of the Strait of Hormuz off Sirik.
- Channel (same cycle): the claim, sourced to OSINT accounts and satellite imagery, that Saudi Arabia's Ras Tanura is out of service with its main cracking unit disabled; the death toll from a Saudi strike on a Yemeni market put at fourteen; and Ansarallah's Mohammed al-Bukhaiti warning that Saudi crimes will not go unanswered.
- Channel (previous evening): the national security commission chair's statement that a bill to leave the NPT is ready if the political will exists, and global food companies' warning that a closed Strait of Hormuz will drive prices next year.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Vatan-e Emrooz spent its front page on a synthetic image rather than on a claim, which is the tell: the hardline argument this cycle is civilisational rather than operational, aimed at the legitimacy of the American presidency rather than at any Iranian decision. Everything with operational weight, the Vance letter, the NPT bill, Ras Tanura, sits on the channel and not on the page. That separation is the house pattern and it is worth tracking as a deniability device: the paper can carry an escalation to its readers without printing it where the rest of the system has to answer for it.

Javan (جوان)

Hardline daily affiliated with the IRGC; the closest front-page proxy for the Guard's political line.

"In building the future we are bound by covenant" «در ساختن آینده هم‌عهدیم»

HIGH - pre-emptive devaluation of the live mediation track



- Main: a near-half-page portrait of the Leader over the covenant headline, decked that he replied to letters from a body of students and called for work and striving (مجاهدانه) to add to Iran's strength and اقتدار.
- Op-ed: «پیامی سرشار از راهبرد و عاطفه و امید», 'A message replete with strategy, feeling and hope', a signed column reading the letter as a leadership instrument; the byline is printed but is not legible at the resolution of the available scan.
- Sub-item: «پیشنهاد تقریباً هیچ!», 'An almost-nothing proposal!', decked that Tehran, insisting the US government is not serious about diplomacy, regards the plan attributed to Qatar as being at the level of an 'idea' (طرح منتسب به قطر را در سطح «ایده» می‌داند).
- Sub-item: «فلج سیاسی اسرائیل در انتخابات بدون برنده», 'Israel's political paralysis in an election without a winner', whose body prints the arithmetic: 61 of 120 seats needed, the Netanyahu bloc at 53, the rival bloc under Eisenkot at 48, and the Arab parties at a combined 19.
- Sub-item: «پزشکیان: با تمام ظرفیت تحقق تدابیر رهبری را دنبال می‌کنیم», the President pledging to pursue the Leader's directives with full capacity.
- Right rail: an item on Islamabad's role in reducing the aggression, a گرفتار در قفس piece, and a science-and-technology development item; a strip of six commentator portraits runs along the foot of the page.

ANALYST NOTE This is the most consequential front page of the cycle. Javan placed the Leader's covenant message and the demolition of the Qatari draft on the same page, and the demolition came before any official Iranian rejection had been published: 'an almost-nothing proposal' reproduces, in a headline, the line a senior Iranian official gave Reuters on 28 October, that Qatar brought ideas rather than a proposal. Read with Sazandegi's front page on the same morning, the exit declared on 27 October is now being fought over in public by both flanks within forty-eight hours, with the IRGC-affiliated title lowering the value of the only text in play. Track whether Javan's framing is picked up by Kayhan or stays an IRGC-flank position.

Sazandegi (سازندگی)

Reformist daily of the Kargozaran-e Sazandegi party (the Hashemi Rafsanjani political tradition); masthead «روزنامه کارگزاران سازندگی ایران», year 9.

"A decision for Iran" «تصمیم برای ایران»

LOW - de-escalation advocacy from inside the system



- Main: photographs of Mohsen Hashemi, head of the party's central council, and Mohammad Atrianfar, deputy for political affairs to its secretary-general, under a deck that both men welcomed the Leader's instruction to end the war and declared that securing the national interest requires avoiding the manufactured dichotomy of war versus negotiation (دوگانه‌سازی جنگ و مذاکره) and moving toward real action.
- Pull-quote: Mohsen Hashemi, that Iran's key strategy must be defined and that, without leaning on slogans there is no possibility of realising, the country must concentrate on real and pursuable objectives.
- Pull-quote: Mohammad Atrianfar, that the way out of the war-versus-negotiation binary is to move foreign policy from a contest over slogans to the field of obtaining real results.
- Op-ed: «وقت خروج از بن‌بست», 'Time to come out of the deadlock', signed by Ali Bigdeli, described in the paper as an international-affairs specialist, opening by asking whether the emphasis on the necessity of ending the war and of the 'neither war, nor peace' condition can be a sign that the negotiating path is opening.
- Top-left box: «آژیر قرمز», 'Red alert', carrying a warning from the Labour Ministry's deputy for entrepreneurship development and employment about the consequences if the negative economic trend continues to the end of the year.
- Top strip: culture, education and sport items, including a women's sporting win and an item on compulsory educational measures.

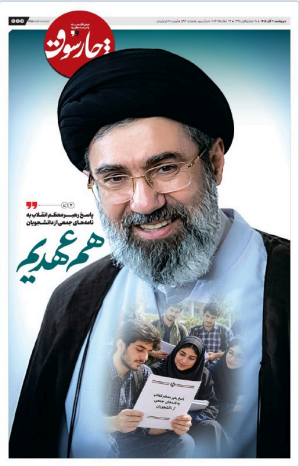
ANALYST NOTE Sazandegi's front page is the reformist flank claiming the Leader's 27 October audience as a licence and then spending it immediately: welcome the instruction, then attack the binary, then demand that slogans be dropped for pursuable objectives. Naming Mohsen Hashemi and Mohammad Atrianfar rather than a government official keeps the demand inside party politics and outside the state's negotiating position, which is how this argument has been advanced safely before. Set against Javan on the same morning, both flanks have now moved on the exit within forty-eight hours of its declaration, in opposite directions, and the Bigdeli column is the one place on any front page today that puts the word 'negotiation' in an approving sentence.

Chaharsouq (چارسوق)

Economic daily, masthead slogan «نبض اقتصاد را در دست بگیرید» (take the pulse of the economy); year 3, issue 594.

"We are bound by covenant" «هم‌عهدیم»

LOW - message discipline, no operational content



- Main: the entire front page is a single image, a portrait of the Leader with a photograph of students reading his letter composited into his robe, under the one-word headline «هم‌عهدیم» and the line 'the Leader of the Revolution's reply to the collective letters of students'.
- Banner: no second item, no index, no economic figure appears above the fold; the paper suspended its own subject matter for the day.
- Kicker: the quotation marks set in red beside the headline present the single word as a direct utterance rather than as a report of one.

ANALYST NOTE An economic daily giving its whole front page to a leadership message, with no market number anywhere on it, is a stronger piece of evidence for centrally-guided message discipline than any political paper's lead, because the subject is not its own. The treatment, a composite image rather than a photograph, also matters: the serving Leader is being presented pictorially to a mass readership for the first time in this monitor's record at this scale, which closes some of the distance left by the three-cycle absence recorded earlier in October.

Jomhouri Eslami (جمهوری اسلامی)

Establishment daily of the revolution's founding generation; critical of the hardline flank and unusually willing to print regional diplomacy in detail.

MODERATE - regional-architecture advocacy; mediation acknowledged without content

"Firm opposition of the gas-exporting countries to unilateral sanctions" «مخالفت قاطع کشورهای صادرکننده گاز با تحریم‌های یک‌جانبه»


جمهوری اسلامی

مخالفت قاطع کشورهای صادرکننده گاز با تحریم‌های یک‌جانبه

ادامه اعتراضات مردم عراق بر سر بسته شدن مرز چذابه

- Main: the lead attributes firm opposition to unilateral sanctions to the closing statement of the summit of the Gas Exporting Countries Forum. Open reporting of the Moscow summit of 27 October records that language in the speeches of Pezeshkian, who called US measures 'economic terrorism', and of Putin, rather than confirming it in the text of the Moscow Declaration; the attribution to the statement is the paper's and should be read as such.
- Right rail, «تحلیل سیاسی هفته» (weekly political analysis): the Tehran session of four regional states on Middle East security arrangements, held on Monday, attended by Saudi Arabia's defence minister, Pakistan's army commander and the head of Turkey's intelligence and security service, hosted by the secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, and read by the paper as the start of a security cooperation to prevent regional tension and to protect peace and security by the countries themselves and without foreign interference.
- Right rail (continued): the paper then argues that because Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Turkey are signatories of the 'Mecca Pact', their presence in Tehran means the Islamic Republic will be the complementary side of that pact for regional security arrangements. This inference is the paper's own; no participant's published statement carries it.
- Right rail: «ایران در حال بررسی پیشنهاد قطر برای پایان جنگ است», that Iran is reviewing Qatar's proposal to end the war, printed as a bare line without conditions, mechanism or date.
- Sub-item: «ادامه اعتراضات مردم عراق بر سر بسته شدن مرز چذابه», continuing Iraqi protests over the closure of the Chazabeh crossing; and the Iranian embassy in Kuwait's categorical denial of Iranian involvement in an assassination plot.
- Sub-item: «اعتراف ترامپ رسوایی مضاعف تطهیرکنندگان آمریکاست», the Foreign Ministry spokesman Esmail Baghaei on Trump's admission regarding the Islamabad understanding; a centre photograph of a flag-lined track bed reports the south-western railway at 93 percent completion; the page closes on a quotation from Ayatollah Beheshti.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Jomhouri Eslami is the only front page today that treats the regional architecture as the main story, and its weekly analysis does more work than the rest of the Persian press combined: it names the quadrilateral's participants correctly and then adds a claim nobody at the table made, that Iran becomes the complementary side of an existing Sunni-state pact. The gap between the event and the frame is the thing to watch, because it tells you what Tehran wants the quadrilateral to become.

> Printed one column away from a bare line that Iran is reviewing Qatar's proposal, the page offers the architecture as the alternative to a bilateral deal.

Ta'adol (تعادل)

Economic daily published in association with the Iran Chamber of Cooperatives; business readership, policy-critical.

"An alarm bell for livelihoods"
«زنگ هشدار برای معیشت»

MODERATE - domestic economic stress at a level that constrains strategy



- Main: decked «تورم مهرماه به مرز ۷۷ درصد رسید», that inflation in the month of Mehr reached the threshold of 77 percent. The figure is as printed; this monitor did not independently verify the underlying release.
- Banner: «۲۷ 27' سال یا ۸۲ سال انتظار برای خانه‌دار شدن؟», 82 years or 27 years of waiting to own a home?', strapped «تعادل» شکاف عمیق درآمد و قیمت مسکن را بررسی می‌کند», the paper examining the deep gap between income and housing prices.
- Centre image: a road sign with two diverging arrows photographed against a Tel Aviv skyline hung with portraits of Netanyahu and a rival, captioned «باتلاق کابینه», 'the cabinet quagmire': an economic paper illustrating the Israeli coalition deadlock as a wrong-turn problem.
- Sub-item: «بورس ایران سبز شد، اروپا بنفش ماند!», the Tehran exchange closing up while European markets did not; and «واردات خودرو زیر سایه قیمت‌های نجومی», car imports under astronomical prices.
- Sub-item: «کرونا و آنفلوآنزا هم‌زمان از خط قرمز گذشتند», Covid and influenza crossing the red line together, with a respiratory alert for Khuzestan.
- Op-ed: «مالی شدن اقتصاد و فرار نقدینگی», on the financialisation of the economy and the flight of liquidity.

ANALYST NOTE Ta'adol prints the number that governs every other argument on every other front page today: a 77 percent monthly inflation reading is the constraint on an endurance strategy, and it appears on the same morning the political press is publishing covenant language. The paper's one foreign item is the Israeli coalition deadlock, illustrated rather than argued, which suggests that even for a business readership the adversary's paralysis is being offered as compensation for the domestic figure. Watch whether a second economic title prints the same inflation number: a single-source figure of this size is worth corroborating before it is carried forward.

Etemad (اعتماد)

Leading reformist daily; the title that most reliably prints what the rest of the press leaves out.

"The confidential plan" «طرح محرمانه»

MODERATE - domestic control measure surfaced; mediation mechanics kept off the page



- Main: «طرح محرمانه», decked that 'the ordering of cyberspace' is now before a special commission in parliament, and strapped «از «اعتماد» راز تولید خاموش «صیانت» در مجلس گزارش می‌دهد»: the paper reports the silent reproduction of the Siyanat user-protection bill, with the instruction that it is for now not to be publicised.
- Sub-item: «پیشنهاد ائتلاف برای سقوط نتانیاهو», 'A coalition proposal to bring down Netanyahu', an interview with the international-affairs analyst Rahman Ghahremanpour, illustrated with a billboard of Netanyahu and Trump behind a red stop-hand sign.
- Kicker: «حرکت «لشکریان هم‌عهد» به سمت قله‌های پیشرفت», the Leader's reply to the students rendered in explicitly military vocabulary, 'the covenanted armies' advancing toward the summits of progress.
- Sub-item: «تعطیلی مجموعه‌های کم‌بازده و بی‌بازده دولتی», the President ordering at the cabinet session the closure of low-yield and unproductive state bodies.
- Sub-item: «دست ایران پر است», Mohammad Mohajeri in conversation with Etemad on the country's military capabilities; and «چرا سهم ایران از بازار چین کوچک مانده», why Iran's share of the Chinese market has stayed small.
- Channel (same cycle): the Wall Street Journal's report that JD Vance wrote to the secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council in an effort to resume talks; Al-Hadath's report of Iranian consultations with mediators about a meeting in Turkey before 4 November, with Iran asking to compress a seven-day period to four and the nuclear file, including an invitation to inspectors, inside the new timetable; and Ettela'at's argument that a Republican loss in the midterms would not materially reduce Trump's capacity to drive conflict.

ANALYST NOTE Etemad is running the day's only genuine scoop and it is a domestic one: the internet-control bill moving quietly while the political press is occupied with a leadership message. Its Israel item is also the only Iranian front page to put a named analyst's name to a prediction rather than a slogan. The most consequential material it has, the Vance letter and a Turkey venue with a four-day clock, is on the channel and not the page, which is now the settled pattern for the reformist title as much as for the hardline one: the exit's mechanics circulate, but nobody prints them where they would have to be defended.

Kayhan (کیهان)

Hardline flagship, published under a managing editor appointed by the Supreme Leader's office; read here from the paper's own Telegram channel because no scan of its front page reached this monitor's scan set.

HIGH - proxy coercion advertised against two Gulf borders; unverified strike claims on Saudi energy

"Add to dear Iran's strength and standing with redoubled work and initiative" «با کار و ابتکار مضاعف بر قوّت و اقتدار ایران عزیز بیفزایید»

- Main: the Leader's reply to the students carried as the paper's top line, the only outlet to print the message as a direct imperative quotation rather than as a reported covenant.
- Sub-item: «پایان رقابت بین دو نسل‌کُش هیچ‌کدام پیروز نشدند!», 'The contest between two genocidaires ends, neither won', the paper's rendering of the Israeli result, which denies both blocs any legitimacy rather than preferring either.
- Sub-item: «کتائب حزب‌الله: اگر مرزهای ایران باز نشود، مرزهای عربستان و اردن را می‌بندیم», attributed to Kataib Hezbollah: if Iran's borders are not opened, we will close the Saudi and Jordanian borders. This monitor found no independent confirmation of the statement as worded; it is reproduced as the paper's attribution.
- Sub-item: «جنگ با ایران چگونه چتر امنیتی آمریکا در منطقه را منهدم کرد؟», how the war with Iran destroyed America's regional security umbrella; and the medical item on eye stem-cell transplantation that Hamshahri also leads on.
- Channel (same cycle): flight data indicating operations suspended at King Fahd International Airport in Dammam; Saudi reports of explosions in the Eastern Province and in Najran; and, citing OSINT accounts and satellite imagery, the claim that Ras Tanura's main cracking unit was damaged, with Yemen's armed forces claiming to have targeted Aramco facilities. All are claims and none is confirmed by Saudi Aramco or by Saudi authorities.
- Channel (same cycle): a video of Barack Obama saying Iran now holds a veto over the Strait of Hormuz; The Atlantic's report that the US defense secretary removed Lieutenant General Brett Sylvia, the Joint Staff's senior military planner, without explanation; and a BBC clip in which a former Israeli prime minister's senior adviser is quoted saying Israel's war aim was to break Iran up, a second-hand rendering that this monitor could not verify against the original broadcast.

> **ANALYST NOTE** Kayhan's front page this cycle is unusually free of its own quarrel: no attack on the security council, no attack on Riyadh, and the Leader's message printed as a command. The two load-bearing items are both about coercion by proxy, the Kataib Hezbollah border threat and the Saudi energy claims on the channel, which is where the flagship's escalation argument has moved while the Qatari draft is live. Its treatment of the Israeli election, denying victory to either bloc rather than celebrating one, matches the whole Persian press today and is a better guide to Tehran's reading than any analyst column. One gap: no «یادداشت روز» editorial was published to any surface this monitor could reach for 7 Aban, and the paper's own site was unavailable at compile time.

Appendix A - The Leader's reply to the students' letters (partial reconstruction)

Reconstructed from the front pages of Jam-e Jam, Javan, Chaharsouq, Vatan-e Emrooz, Hamshahri, Etemad and Jomhouri Eslami for 7 Aban 1405, and from the Kayhan channel's rendering of the same text. khamenei.ir was unavailable at compile time, so no authoritative full text was obtained. PARTIAL: the paragraphing below follows the published renderings, not the original document.

Printed attribution, as it appears on Jam-e Jam's front page: «حضرت آیت‌الله سیدمجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای، رهبر معظم انقلاب». This is the serving Leader, Seyyed Mojtaba Hosseini Khamenei, and the name is printed in full rather than carried by title alone. It is reproduced here because it is the identification anchor for every other reading in this edition.

Kayhan prints the message as a direct imperative and makes it the paper's top line: «با کار و ابتکار مضاعف بر قوّت و اقتدار ایران عزیز بیفزایید»: 'With redoubled work and initiative, add to the strength and the standing of dear Iran.'

The substance, as the renderings agree on it: the Leader is replying to letters from a large body of young people and students across the country. He describes the determination he reads in those letters as a covenant (عهد, and in Hamshahri's rendering میثاق, a firm compact) between the leadership and the young, and he returns the covenant: Jam-e Jam's headline reads «هم عهد تا قله», bound by covenant all the way to the summit; Javan's reads «در ساختن آینده هم‌عهدیم», in building the future we are bound by covenant; Vatan-e Emrooz's reads «تا رسیدن به قله‌های پیشرفت هم‌عهدیم», we are bound by covenant until we reach the summits of progress.

Three instructions recur across the renderings. First, to be equipped with the weapon of science and knowledge (مجهز شدن به سلاح علم و دانش): the metaphor is martial and it is applied to study, not to arms. Second, self-purification (تهذیب نفس), the standard clerical formula for moral discipline. Third, striving, in Javan's rendering مجاهدانه, in a manner befitting a mujahid, in order to add to Iran's اقتدار.

On اقتدار (eqtedar): the word carries authority, standing and the capacity to impose one's will, and it is the regime's standing term for the quality the war is meant to demonstrate. Its appearance as the object of a message to students, rather than to armed forces or security officials, is the analytically significant move in this text.

Etemad's rendering is the outlier and is worth recording as printed: «حرکت «لشکریان هم‌عهد» به سمت قله‌های پیشرفت», 'the movement of the covenanted armies toward the summits of progress'. لشکریان is an explicitly military noun, and the reformist title chose it where the hardline titles did not.

Analyst flag: no condition, mechanism, interlocutor or date relating to the war appears anywhere in this message as published. It is addressed to endurance and to national capability, not to the exit declared from the same office two days earlier. Verification note: this appendix is a reconstruction from seven front-page renderings and one channel rendering of the same document, not a translation of an authoritative source text; the wording of individual clauses should not be quoted as the Leader's own without primary-source confirmation.

Source line: front pages of 7 Aban 1405 (29 October 2026), NewspaperTasnim album https://t.me/NewspaperTasnim/45492; Kayhan channel rendering, https://t.me/s/kayhan_online, post of 04:04 on 7 Aban 1405.

Appendix B - «وقت خروج از بن‌بست» / 'Time to come out of the deadlock', Sazandegi front-page column by Ali Bigdeli (partial)

Sazandegi, front page, Thursday 7 Aban 1405 (29 October 2026), scans/fa-05.jpg. Author as printed: علی بیگدلی, described by the paper as کارشناس مسائل بین‌الملل (international-affairs specialist); the byline photograph and name were verified by magnified crop of the scan. PARTIAL: the available scan resolves the headline, byline, opening sentence and the column's argument, but not every clause; passages below marked as reconstructed are rendered from legible fragments and should not be quoted as verbatim translation.

Headline as printed: «وقت خروج از بن‌بست». Standfirst as printed: «نه جنگ، نه صلح؟», 'Neither war, nor peace?', with the question mark, which is the point of the column.

Opening sentence, legible in the scan: 'Can the emphasis on the necessity of ending the war and of the «نه جنگ، نه صلح» condition be a sign that the path of negotiation is opening?' The author poses it as an open question rather than answering it.

Reconstructed from legible fragments: the column sets the country's position between two pressures, economic and military, and argues that in such an atmosphere a statement from the top that leaves the door open is itself a development in foreign policy. It then makes its central move: military achievements, however they are counted, cannot by themselves be converted into a political outcome, and the real question is how a position gained in the military domain is turned into a durable gain.

Reconstructed from legible fragments: the obstacle the author names is the distance between political demands and what is attainable. A part of the slogans and demands raised since the beginning of the revolution, he writes, is not actionable, and insistence on them, without an assessment of their costs, reduces the possibility of reaching an agreement. The economic difficulties, he adds, are of a kind that cannot be set aside while the question is argued.

Analyst flag: this is the only column on any front page in this edition that puts the word 'negotiation' into an approving sentence, and it does so on the same page as the Kargozaran party's attack on the war-versus-negotiation binary. Its argument, that slogans carried since 1979 are now a cost, is the furthest a front page went this cycle. It should be read as a party-aligned intervention in a live factional argument, not as a report of government policy.

Verification note: the author, Ali Bigdeli, is a long-standing Iranian commentator on international affairs who appears regularly in the reformist press; the byline and descriptor were read directly from the scan. The clauses marked reconstructed above are not to be reproduced as a verbatim translation without the published text.

Source line: Sazandegi, year 9, Thursday 7 Aban 1405, front page; album https://t.me/NewspaperTasnim/45492.

Appendix C - Methodology and sourcing notes

iran-press-digest pipeline, 29 October 2026

Scan set. Ten front pages were retrieved: nine Persian pages from the NewspaperTasnim kiosk album of 7 Aban 1405 (https://t.me/NewspaperTasnim/45492, posted 01:19 UTC on 29 October 2026) and one English page, Iran Daily, from the Newspapers_Iran album (https://t.me/newspapers_iran/3593). The stale-batch guard passed on the first attempt: the album's own printed Jalali date, 7 Aban 1405, matches the target date, so no fallback sources were used and nothing in this edition is carried over from a previous day's batch.

Scan quality. The kiosk album serves pages at roughly 800 pixels on the long edge. Headlines, decks, pull-quotes and bylines are legible, in several cases only after magnification; continuous body text generally is not. Where a judgment in this edition rests on body text, it is because the same figure or claim was independently available from a text channel or from open reporting. Where a byline could not be read, the entry says so rather than guessing: the Vatan-e Emrooz op-ed pair and the Javan front-page column are both recorded as having printed bylines that are not legible at the available resolution.

Papers identified. Jam-e Jam, Hamshahri, Vatan-e Emrooz, Javan, Sazandegi, Chaharsouq, Jomhouri Eslami, Ta'adol and Etemad from the Persian scans, each by masthead; Iran Daily from the English scan. Chaharsouq was identified by magnified crop of the nameplate and its own channel handle printed in the top rule, and is an economic daily in its third year.

Text channels. Nine channels were read for the same cycle: six daily-newspaper channels (Kayhan, Vatan-e Emrooz, Jam-e Jam, Etemad, Iran, Sobh-e No) and three agency channels (Defa Press, Fars News, Nour News). Agency material is treated throughout as claims and corroboration, never as front-page content. Two limitations are recorded: the Sobh-e No channel's most recent posts at read time were from 5 and 6 Aban, a cycle behind, so that title contributes Lebanese material but no 7 Aban front page; and tehrantimes.com and khamenei.ir were both unavailable at compile time, so Tehran Times contributes nothing to this edition and no authoritative text of the Leader's message was obtained.

Kayhan. No scan of Kayhan's front page reached the scan set, and no «یادداشت روز» editorial was posted to the paper's channel for 7 Aban; the paper's own site was unavailable. Kayhan is therefore reconstructed from the headline list its channel published and is marked as such. The absence of the editorial is recorded as a gap in this monitor's coverage, not as an editorial silence to be interpreted.

Verification performed. Five load-bearing items were checked against open reporting before being carried: the Israeli seat arithmetic (53 for the Netanyahu bloc, 48 for the Eisenkot bloc, 19 for the Arab parties, 61 needed of 120, with counting incomplete), which matches what Javan's body text and Jam-e Jam's channel print; the Vance letter to Mohsen Rezaei, reported by the Wall Street Journal and by Axios, with Axios adding that the letter insists talks cover the nuclear issue and recording that Trump publicly characterised it differently; the Tehran quadrilateral of 26 October, whose participants (Saudi Arabia's Khalid bin Salman, Pakistan's Asim Munir, Turkey's Ibrahim Kalin, hosted by Mohsen Rezaei) are confirmed, while Jomhouri Eslami's 'complementary side of the Mecca Pact' framing is the paper's own and appears in no participant's statement; the Qatari draft, which exists in open reporting as a seven-day framework handed to Tehran, with a senior Iranian official separately telling Reuters that Qatar brought only unacceptable 'ideas', the phrasing Javan's headline reproduces; and the Chazabeh

crossing closure, dated to about 21 October in open reporting and officially attributed to a security and equipment review, with claims of US pressure recorded on several sides.

Corrections and caveats carried into this edition. Jomhouri Eslami attributes firm opposition to unilateral sanctions to the closing statement of the Gas Exporting Countries Forum summit; open reporting locates that language in the speeches of Pezeshkian and Putin and does not confirm it in the text of the Moscow Declaration, so the attribution is reported as the paper's. The Ras Tanura damage, the Dammam airport suspension and the explosions in Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province and Najran are claims sourced to flight data, OSINT accounts and satellite imagery; the Houthi claim of a ballistic missile strike on 27 October is on the record, Saudi authorities have not confirmed refinery damage, and nothing here should be read as confirmed battle damage. The Kataib Hezbollah threat to close the Saudi and Jordanian borders is reproduced as Kayhan's attribution; no independent confirmation of the statement as worded was found. The BBC clip in which a former Israeli prime minister's adviser is quoted on war aims is a second-hand rendering carried by Kayhan and was not verified against the original broadcast. Ta'adol's 77 percent inflation figure is as printed and was not independently verified against the Statistical Centre release.

Succession evidence. The serving Leader is named in full on Jam-e Jam's front page as سیدمجتبی حسینی خامنه‌ای, which is the strongest single-page corroboration this monitor has recorded for the succession, since most titles carry the office title alone. Every other reference to 'the Leader' in this edition should be read against that printed name.

Handling. This product documents and analyses hostile foreign-press rhetoric for defensive assessment only. Nothing in it endorses, amplifies or operationalises that rhetoric. Attributed quotations reproduced here are not to be treated 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.