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Rafsanjani's Friday Prayers Sermon

The USG Open Source Center translates the second, political, portion of Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani's Friday prayers sermon.

Iran: Rafsanjani Calls For Release of Detainees; Hopes To Resolve Current 'Crisis'

Second Friday Prayer sermon delivered by Ayatollah Akbar Rafsanjani, head of the Expediency Council at Tehran University -- live
Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran Radio 1

. . . I will briefly speak about another issue, the killings in China. Muslims in China are experiencing some bitter days. I would like to mention a few points to the Chinese government. The Chinese government is expected to exercise patience

in the face of aggressions that people are facing.

(At this point a number of people began chanting: "Down with China." Rafsanjani continued with his sermons and told worshippers :)

Please allow me. Dear gentlemen! I, as the leader of the Friday prayers, pleaded with you not to chant any slogans. Considering the situation here (the venue of the Friday prayers), the adjacent streets and the entire area, I would like to ask you not to chant slogans. Please allow (me to continue). Thank you.

We would like to give a friendly word of advice to the Chinese government which we believe is a wise government working towards the progress of China. We would like to tell the Chinese government that what is going on is not in its interests. They (Chinese officials) are aware that there are one billion and 600 million Muslims in the world. They live in around 60 independent countries. Muslims in all parts of the world enjoy their own identity and character and all their hearts are linked to those Muslims in China who are experiencing acts of oppression today. China must be careful and consider its own interests and its relations with the world of Islam and the hearts of Muslims. And, God willing, from now on we would not witness such acts of oppression against Muslims in China or other parts of the world.

Problems in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan and Pakistan are unfortunately the same as they have been in previous weeks and months, and bloodshed, corruption and clashes continue. Those problems will be solved one day, God willing.

And now to an issue which concerns us and the discussions to which I promised to dedicate the second and third part of my remarks.

As far as the (presidential) election which was held (on 12 June) is concerned, praise be to God we made a very good start. A sound competition took shape and good preparations were made. The four candidates who were approved by the Guardian Council competed against each other and demonstrated a good competition. The people became hopeful that the elections were completely free and they truly demonstrated an unprecedented participation. In these circumstances the conditions were set for the creation of a proud moment for the country. We have to present this glory to the people. It is their right. It was the people who demonstrated a good presence. The people broke a record as far as the presence at the ballot boxes was concerned. We all have to thank the people who participated freely in the election at a time when no other country has seen such a level of participation. That was very valuable.

I wish those conditions could have continued until today, and today we would have been experiencing the most proud moments in the world regardless of the election results.

However, developments did not take shape as we wished them to, and I will explain them now.

The principle issue concerns what we want, as I mentioned earlier, and, secondly, to ask what is required by the revolution.

What you are hearing now is from a person who has been with the revolution second by second from the very beginning of the struggle which was started by our leader the Imam (Khomeini). We are talking about 60 years ago up until today. I know what the Imam wanted and am familiar with the basis of the Imam's thinking.

Even during the time of the struggles, when it came to a suggestion, for example to use arms, terror (proceeding in English), this party (words indistinct), the Imam would always say, all I am concerned about is the people. He would say, you do as much as you can to solve the people's problems and familiarize them with the struggle. He would tell those of us who were theology students that our mission was to go to mosques, prayer houses and villages and explain what we were after.

We have everything if people are with us. (Words indistinct) The Islamic Revolution was based on what the Prophet (Muhammad) did, bringing people on board who themselves wished to take part based on their own will and beliefs.

That was (the secret?) of the Imam's victory.

It took less than 20 years for people to become alert. Obviously the price was also paid in terms of people who were martyred, people who were put in prison, the Imam who himself was sent to exile and many other things. However, our gains were much more. People became so alert that those whose ages allow have seen how, in the final couple of years, people poured into the streets.

All the streets were full of the Imam's supporters. And all the forces which were supporters and believers in the Imam were alongside the Imam, all ranged against the very arrogant forces of the Pahlavi regime.

(Poor reception) The Shah whose coffers were filled to the brim from oil revenues could do anything it wanted. The people came to the fore and the demands of the people were such that they had to abandon everything and go.

(Loss of reception) the Revolution, we worked round the clock for it and all on the

basis of (loss of reception) all his (presumably Imam Khomeini) worry was that Islamic rule is not possible without the people.

Whatever the people will, will be done! And I have a story to recount; one which I have heard from the era of the Imam. I did not ask where the proof for this is. I then went and asked his eminence about this. It is a very interesting story. It formed the basis of the Imam's reasoning. Of course, it is far greater than that. His (poor reception) the role that Imam accords to the people. I noted this from a book called Kashf ol-Mohajjam which belongs to Seyyed Ibn-Tavus who is one of our very erudite Ulema from the seventh century. He is a great personality. Please listen to this story.

This is one of the (indistinct words)

Ali Ibn-Abi-Talib himself says that when the prophet (Mohammad) was (indistinct words) rather worried in the last year of his life. He said this to Abi-Talib; (reads a short verse from Koran) this is after Eid-e Ghadir. He said that you are the Guardian of this Ummah (nation), this is a Guardianship that belongs to you, and is something that God has given you.

(Reads a passage from Koran) If you felt that these people are satisfied (with you) and they accept you, and felt that you are a worthy person (ruler) and there was consensus, of course consensus is always relative it can never be absolute; if the majority coalesced around you, then have to accept it. You will become the Guardian and see to their day to day affairs and resolve their problems.

(Reads another passage) If you saw that they opposed you, and that they do not come along with you, then you have to leave them. Let them do what they want to; they know themselves what they need to do with their lives.

(Reads another passage) God will find a way for you to realize your goals. This chronicle is one from authoritative sources. It is using these authoritative sources that Seyyed Ibn-Tavus uses; not that we just have this chronicle; we have many others. We have books on this. This was just a one off chronicle that I read.

This test was what formed the basis of later rule. It was the basis of the rule of the prophet, and we in the Islamic Republic set ourselves the mission of practicing exactly this.

We have to be with the people; the people acted very wisely.

The same thought of the Imam (the late Ayatollah Khomeini) can be witnessed when he appointed Mr. Bazargan as the head of the interim government. The power had not been handed over to us and Bakhtiar (the last prime minister of the Shah) was still in power in Tehran at that time. The Imam was in a hurry to hand over the power to the people. As you know, in his decree to Bazargan, which I also read, the Imam said that the Revolution Council should keep on working for a short term, the Majles should be established as soon as possible, the constitution should be drafted so that the people can live under the new (word indistinct) constitution. When we were preparing the draft of the constitution, before it was handed to the Assembly of Experts, the Imam gave his advice on that and stressed and strengthened the principles which related to the people. The issue of the councils (presumably the municipality councils) had actually been proposed by other individuals, but the Imam strengthened them and assigned the tasks to the people. Later on, when we had meetings with the leaders of other countries, they were surprised about that. The Algerian leaders said that it took them 20 years after their revolution, before they could draw up their constitution. They asked: How could you do so in a hasty manner? We said that since we achieved the victory by people's power (word indistinct) and since

the people support their revolution and religion, we were not worried. That was a fact.

As you are aware, according to the constitution, everything in the country is determined by people's vote. People elect the members of the Assembly of Experts and then they elect the leader, that is, the leader is (indirectly) elected by the people's vote. Presidents, MPs, members of the councils are elected by direct votes of the people. Other officials are also appointed (indirectly) through the people's vote. Everything depends on people. This is the religious system. The title of Islamic Republic is not used as a formality. It includes both the republican and Islamic nature.

(People chant in support)

I asked you not to chant slogans so that I can finish sooner. Thank you very much.

The title of Islamic Republic is not just a formality. This is a reality passed on to us on the basis of Koran, as well as the religious sayings of the (Shiite) Imams and prophet. We believe in them. We should have them at the same time. Rest assured if one of those two aspects is damaged we will lose our revolution. If it loses its Islamic aspect, we will go astray. If it loses its republican aspect, it (The Islamic Republic) will not be realized. Based on the reasons that I have offered, without people and their vote there would be no Islamic system. Ali bin Abi-Talib (the first Shiite Imam) stayed at home for 19 years for the same reason. When the people came forward (word indistinct), Ali bin Abi-Talib accepted to come to power after people's insistence, despite the difficulties he faced.

This was our path. We should reach the destination. We should strengthen it day

by day. If the problems after the (presidential) election had not emerged, we would have had taken the best, largest step towards realizing the Islamic (aspect of the establishment) at the 30th anniversary of the revolution. I am not going to say that we have not taken the step. I want to explain why this happened.

What I understand is that towards the end of the election campaign we were taken over by doubt. In other words, people started to have doubts and the seeds of doubt were sown, for whatever reason. Whether it was unfavorable publicity or the Voice and Vision's inappropriate actions or other things, seeds of doubt were planted in the minds of the people. We consider doubt the worst disaster. (Talking to some people in the audience) Please allow me; I am saying it much better than you would. Your slogan and approval is enough. Leave it.

Doubt came down on our nation like the plague. Of course, there are two separate currents. There is a group of people who have no doubts, they (word indistinct) and mind their own business. But there is also another group, whose numbers are not few and include a great section of our erudite and knowledgeable people, who say: "We doubt." We should take measures to remove this doubt. This period, after the results of the elections, is a bitter era. I do not believe anyone from any faction wanted this to happen. We have all lost in this event. We have all lost, and now ask ourselves: why did it happen? We need unity today, more than ever.

Our county should be united against all the dangers that threaten us. They have now upped their ransom demands and are coming forward to take away our achievements in the fields of hi-tech and particularly nuclear technology. Of course, God will not give them the opportunity to do so, but they are greedy. My brothers and sisters, first of all, you all know me; I have never wanted to abuse this platform in favor of a particular faction, and my remarks have always

concerned issues beyond factionalism. I am talking in the same manner today. I am not interested in any faction. In my view, we should all think and find a way that will unite us, to take our country forward and save ourselves from these dangerous and bad effects, and the emerging grudges. We should disappoint our enemies so that they would not covet our country. What should we do? I have a few suggestions. Of course, I have discussed these suggestions with a few jurists and members of the Expediency Council, with whom I can intellectually connect. We have decided, and I will read them out as solutions and maybe others will accept them and God willing, put them into force with sincerity.

Our important issue is that the trust that brought so many people to the polls, and is now harmed, will be restored. This should be our holy objective, that this trust is returned. Whether (words indistinct), I will tell you later.

One, we should all, the system, government, Majles, security forces, police and the people, i.e. the protestors, move in line with the law. If we violate the law, then there will be no boundaries left. We should raise our issues in the context of the law and find solutions for them within the framework of the law. We should accept whatever the law says and if there are some people who have problems with some laws, they should wait until those laws are corrected. God willing, all these problems that we have seen, will be resolved one day. But everything should be within the framework of the law.

Two, we must act in a way that the trust of the people is restored. Of course this cannot be achieved in one day. This is a relatively long process.

We have to create an atmosphere in which all sides can come and express their views. And all sides must act rationally and without quarrel. Logic should rule. Of course the main task here falls on the Voice and Vision (of the Islamic Republic,

meaning state broadcaster) as it has a greater audience. And all other media outlets must do the same. (Sentence indistinct). They should sit down and talk to each other in a brotherly and sisterly manner and point out their reasons. Eventually the people will find out the truth and we can ask the people too. We have to provide the ground to return this trust to the people. Unfortunately, good use was not made of the opportunity that the Supreme Leader (Ali Khamenei) gave the Guardian Council in which an extra five days was given to them to talk to the ulema. I do not of course want to blame anyone for this lost opportunity, but, nonetheless, it did not happen. (Crowd chanting) We have passed that stage. We are going through another stage now. I believe that, for the sake of the future and our unity and for preventing the danger facing the system and for safeguarding the values created by the Revolution and for the sake of the martyrs and the efforts of those who struggled on this path whose achievements are now passed on to us and in order for these achievement to be passed on to the third and fourth and following generation, at this juncture we can move along this path. If we accept the above two points that we move in line with the law and leave the door to debate, negotiations, and open reasoning, perhaps in a short while we will be satisfied.

Meanwhile, we have to do other things. Under current circumstances, there is no need for us to have people in prisons. Allow them to return to their families. (Chants of indistinct slogans from the masses in support of the cleric's comment). Let's not allow our enemies to reprimand and laugh at us and hatch plots against us just because a few certain people are in prison. We should be brave and patient enough to tolerate one another. Sympathy should be shown to the victims of the recent incidents which took place. We should offer condolences to those who are mourning and bring their hearts closer to the establishment. And this is possible. Those who are faithful to the Revolution and know that the system needs them can cooperate with us with their heart and soul. We have to do this,

be tolerant and show them sympathy.

There is no need to make haste here and place ourselves in trouble. We should not limit our media, which have legal permission for their activities. They should be able to work within the framework of the law. As I mentioned before, the law is the criteria. Neither should the media expect to have activities beyond the legal framework, nor should the establishment expect them to ignore their legal rights. All should let a calm, open, critical, or even confirming atmosphere be created. I think that our officials, Law Enforcement Force, military and security forces should help to create that atmosphere.

We are all members of a family. All of us have endured hardship in the path of the revolution. All of us have invested in this long holy jihad and given martyrs. All of us (word indistinct). We have our own idea. Why should others from long distances come and make up a prescription for us (give us advice)? We are independent (word indistinct). Don't we have 30-years experience of running the country? Do we not have the ulema? Why should our Sources (of Emulation, meaning senior clerics), who have always been supportive, and our seminary schools, which have never had any expectations for their efforts, be upset today? We should keep their support and rely on them. If we preserve the unity, God willing, I hope that this Friday prayer sermon will be a turning point for the future and we will be able to successfully resolve this problem, which unfortunately can be described as a crisis. I hope that unity, fraternity, and fair competition (in elections) will again prevail, so that people can elect whoever they like.

(People chant in support)

May God bless you. May God support all of you. May God protect you and help you (word indistinct) to be present at the scene. Thank you very much.

(Reading a surah from the Holy Koran meaning: Surely We have given you Kausar; Therefore to thy Lord turn in Prayer and Sacrifice, Surely your enemy is the one who shall be without posterity)

(Description of Source: Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran Radio 1 in Persian -- state-run radio)

رفسنجانی: افرادی که در ناآرامی ها بازداشت شدند باید آزاد شوند

رسانه های ایران گزارش می دهند این مراسم با وجود گرمای شدید هوا، با حضور گسترده مردم و در میان تدابیر امنیتی برگزار شد.

مهدی کروی و میرحسین موسوی نامزدهای اصلاح طلبان و محسن رضایی دیگر نامزد محافظه کاران در انتخابات، در نماز جمعه امروز حضور داشتند.

برخی منابع از جمله خبرگزاری ایلنا می گویند شبکه تلفن همراه در مناطق پیرامون دانشگاه تهران قطع شده بود. این در حالی است که سرویس اس ام اس یا پیام کوتاه نیز قطع است.

آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی در خطبه نخست درباره به پیامبری مبعوث شدن پیامبر اسلام و تاریخ صدر اسلام سخنرانی کرد. او تاکید کرد که پیامبر اسلام با مردم با انس و الفت برخورد می کرد، نه زور و فشار.

احمد سلامتیان، تحلیلگر مسائل سیاسی ایران به بی بی سی فارسی گفت که منظور آقای رفسنجانی از طرح این سخنان یادآوری تاکید پیامبر اسلام بر 'مردم مداری و رضایت عامه مداری' است که اکنون مورد غفلت قرار گرفته است.

آقای هاشمی در آغاز خطبه دوم با اشاره به کشتار و سرکوب اخیر مسلمانان سین کیانگ، دولت چین را "برادرانه نصیحت" کرد که با مسلمانان ساکن این کشور بهتر رفتار کند. هنگامی که گروهی از نمازگزاران شروع به شعار دادن علیه چین کردند، آقای رفسنجانی از آنها دعوت کرد بخاطر شرایط موجود خویشترنداری کنند.

منتقدان می گویند دولت محمود احمدی نژاد در قبال حوادث چین سکوت معناداری اختیار کرده حال آن که در قبال قتل یک زن مصری در آلمان، بسیار اعتراض کرده است.

'خوب شروع شد'

رییس مجمع تشخیص مصلحت ایران سپس به بحث درباره مساله انتخابات و اتفاقات بعد از آن پرداخت. او گفت

که انتخابات خوب شروع شد و همه چیز آماده یک افتخار بزرگ برای کشور ایران بود، اما اینطور نشد. آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی سپس به نقش خود در پیروزی انقلاب ایران اشاره کرد و گفت که حضور مردم در خیابانها بود که کمر حکومت "مغرور و متکبر" محمدرضا پهلوی، شاه سابق ایران را شکست. او با اشاره به روایتی که می گفت مبنای تفکر و استدلال آیت الله خمینی بوده، اعلام کرد که پیامبر اسلام به امام علی گفته است "اگر دیدی مردم راضی بودند و تو را قبول کردند و به تو این سمت را دادند، شما بپذیر. اگر احترام کردند، بگذار هر کاری می خواهند بکنند".

آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی که رییس مجلس خبرگان رهبری نیز هست، در ادامه به بحث درباره خدشه به جمهوریت پرداخت و گفت: "جمهوری اسلامی لفظ تشریفاتی نیست. هم جمهوری است و هم اسلامی. باید این دو با هم باشند. اگر هر یک از این دو آسیب ببیند، دیگر انقلاب و جمهوری اسلامی نخواهیم داشت".

چند پیشنهاد

جمهوری اسلامی لفظ تشریفاتی نیست. هم جمهوری است و هم اسلامی. باید این دو با هم باشند. اگر هر یک از این دو آسیب ببیند، دیگر انقلاب و جمهوری اسلامی نخواهیم داشت

امام جمعه موقت تهران ضمن دعوت همه به حفظ وحدت اعلام کرد که برای فرونشاندن 'بحران'، چند پیشنهاد دارد که عمده ترین آنها حفظ اعتماد مردم به حکومت است. او گفت که این پیشنهادها را با برخی از اعضای مجلس خبرگان و مجمع تشخیص مصلحت نظام در میان گذاشته است.

آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی گفت که نخست باید اعتماد را به عنوان هدفی مقدس به مردم بازگرداند و کل اجزای حکومت ایران باید در چارچوب قانون عمل کنند.

او افزود که باید فضایی فراهم شود که همه افراد بتوانند حرفشان را منطقی و بدون دعوا و مشاجره بیان کنند.

آقای هاشمی از رادیو و تلویزیون دولتی ایران خواست که چنین فرصتی به مردم بدهد.

بعد از حملات آقای احمدی نژاد به آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی در جریان مناظره ها، او خواستار فرصتی از تلویزیون برای دفاع از خود شده بود که مدیران تلویزیون اعلام کردند چنین فرصتی قبل از انتخابات امکان پذیر نیست.

آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی در ادامه خطبه دوم در حالی که به نظر می رسید بغض کرده، گفت که افرادی که در جریان ناآرامی ها بازداشت شدند، باید آزاد شوند و "نباید به خاطر زندانی بودن عده ای، دشمنان ما را استهزا کنند".

این در حالی است که خانواده شادی صدر، وکیل و فعال حقوق زنان، به بی بی سی فارسی گفتند که او هنگامی که عازم نماز جمعه امروز تهران بود، از سوی افراد ناشناس بازداشت شد.

او همچنین به سرکوب رسانه ها در ایران اعتراض کرد و گفت رسانه هایی را که با استفاده از قانون مجوز گرفته اند، نباید محدود کرد.

'اذعان به بحران'

آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی در پایان ابراز امیدواری کرد که سخنانش بتواند راهگشا باشد و به آنچه او بحران خواند، پایان دهد.

احمد سلامتیان، تحلیلگر سیاسی، این سخنان را نقطه عطفی می داند زیرا یکی از عالیرتبه ترین رهبران جمهوری اسلامی به وجود یک بحران سیاسی اذعان می کند و برای خروج از آن راه حلهایی دلسوزانه ارائه می دهد.

صادق صبا، تحلیلگر امور ایران در بی بی سی، نیز می گوید که آقای رفسنجانی سیاستمداری معتدل و آرام است و عصبانی نمی شود، اما می شد در حرفهایش بغض و حزن حس کرد.

آقای صبا عقیده دارد آقای رفسنجانی با این سخنان می کوشید چهره ای فراجناحی از خود به تصویر بکشد ولی واکنشهای اولیه رسانه های محافظه کار نشان می دهد آنها از این حرفها خشنود نیستند.

'گاز اشک آور برای نمازگزاران'

معترضان به نتایج انتخابات ریاست جمهوری بیست و دوم خرداد در یک هفته اخیر قرار گذاشته بودند با حضور در نماز جمعه به حرکت اعتراضی یک ماهه خود ادامه دهند.

آقای هاشمی رفسنجانی که در جریان انتخابات از میرحسین موسوی، نامزد اصلی اصلاح طلبان حمایت کرده و مورد حملات شدید محمود احمدی نژاد قرار گرفته بود، تاکنون از بازگشت به امامت جمعه تهران اکراه داشت. خبرگزاری فارس گزارش می دهد که نمازگزاران محافظه کار پیش از شروع سخنان آقای هاشمی شعارهایی در حمایت از رهبر جمهوری اسلامی و محمود احمدی نژاد سرداده اند. رسانه های حامی دولت از یکی دو روز پیش به هواداران آقای احمدی نژاد توصیه کرده بودند که چه شعارهایی بدهند تا از نمازگزاران اصلاح طلب متمایز شوند. خبرگزاری رویترز نیز از سردادن شعار توسط حامیان میرحسین موسوی خبر می دهد.

همچنین خبر می رسد که نیروهای امنیتی در جریان نماز جمعه تهران در خیابانهای اطراف دانشگاه با حامیان میرحسین موسوی درگیر شده و از گاز اشک آور و باتوم استفاده کرده اند.

احمد سلامتیان می گوید از زمان نماز تاریخی عید فطر در قیطریه تهران در بیش از سی سال پیش که یکی از بزرگترین گردهمایی های سیاسی - عبادی مخالفان شاه بود، تاکنون سابقه نداشته است که نیروهای دولتی علیه نمازگزاران گاز اشک آور شلیک کنند یا به زور متوسل شوند.

با پایان یافتن نماز جمعه، مخالفان محمود احمدی نژاد در خیابانهای مرکزی تهران راهپیمایی کرده و شعار داده اند.

Call for Iran protesters' release

Former Iranian President Ali Akbar Rafsanjani has called for the release of people jailed after protesting at the result of the recent election.

In his first Friday sermon since the vote, he also said large numbers of Iranians still doubted its result.

Outside, police fired tear gas at thousands of opposition supporters who were chanting slogans in support of defeated candidate Mir Hossein Mousavi.

Chanting also broke out among some of the tens of thousands of people inside.

Thousands of opposition supporters rallied in streets near the university - the first public opposition demonstration for more than a week.

Many were wearing green bands on their heads or wrists to indicate support for Mr Mousavi, and some could be heard chanting "death to the dictator" and "Allahu Akbar" [God is great].

"Police fired teargas and beat supporters of Mousavi in Keshavarz Boulevard," said one witness quoted by Reuters.

Witnesses said a number of people were arrested, including a prominent women's rights activist, Shadi Sadr.

Friday's rally followed warnings from a minister against turning the occasion into a "stage for undesirable scenes".

Mr Mousavi, who attended the Friday prayers at which Mr Rafsanjani spoke, has demanded a re-run of the vote and described the new government as illegitimate.

Another defeated opposition candidate, Mehdi Karoubi, also attended the prayers, according to the website of his party, Etemad Melli.

The site quoted his son as saying that Mr Karoubi had been jostled and insulted as he arrived at the university, causing his turban to fall off.

The reports could not be immediately confirmed.

Foreign media organisations including the BBC are subject to severe restrictions.

'Crisis'

Mr Rafsanjani is a key power-broker in Iranian politics and has been a backer of Mr Mousavi.

During his sermon, broadcast live on state radio, he said something had to be done to allay people's doubts about the recent election result. Tehran University sermon

"In the current situation it is not necessary for us to have a number of people in prisons... we should allow them to return to their families," Mr Rafsanjani said.

"We are all members of a family. I hope with this sermon we can pass through this period of hardships that can be called a crisis."

Mr Rafsanjani also appealed for an open debate on radio and TV about the disputed 12 June election and called for media restrictions to be eased.

"It is not necessary to pressure media. We should allow them to work freely within the law," he said.

The hall was reportedly packed with opposition supporters who shouted "freedom, freedom" during the sermon. Many had green prayer mats.

The former president's comments came very close to a direct challenge to Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, says the BBC's Tehran correspondent Jon Leyne, who was ordered out of Iran last month.

It was the first time in two months that Mr Rafsanjani had led weekly prayers at Tehran University.

Although he did not voice his opinion during the unrest that followed the election, members of his family - including his daughter Faezeh - openly supported Mr Mousavi.

Defiant

Violent street protests broke out in Iran last month, as news of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's victory was met with accusations of fraud.

At least 20 people have died and hundreds have been arrested in the unrest.

Ayatollah Khamenei, Iran's most senior political figure upheld Mr Ahmadinejad's landslide victory and demanded an end to protests.

Despite this, Mr Mousavi has remained defiant.

Announcing his decision to attend Friday prayers, Mr Mousavi said on his website, "I feel obliged to respond to the call of companions on the path to protecting rights to a noble and free life".

It could be a key moment in the confrontation between Mr Ahmadinejad's government and members of the opposition, our correspondent says.

Intelligence Minister Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejehi on Thursday urged the "wise Iranian people" to be "vigilant that the Friday prayers not be turned into a stage for undesirable scenes".

مشروح سخنان هاشمی رفسنجانی

هاشمی رفسنجانی رییس مجلس خبرگان رهبری در نماز جمعه تاریخ تهران و در اجتماع میلیون‌ها تن از مردم گفت: نماز جمعه امروز بی شباهت به نماز جمعه اول انقلاب که آیت الله طالقانی و با حضور همه سلیقه‌ها اقامه می‌کردند نیست.

نیروهای افراطی که اجازه حضور در صفوف نخست نماز را یافته‌اند با سردادن شعارهای تحریک‌کننده مانع آغاز خطبه‌ها شدند که با وجود آغاز خطبه‌ها اقدام به شعار دادن کردند که با اقدام هاشمی ساکت شدند و وی به آنها تذکر داد که جایگاه نماز جمعه را آلوده نکنند.

هاشمی در بخش اول اظهارات خود به تبیین سیره پیامبر در ایجاد حکومت بمناسبت سالروز مبعث نبوی پرداخت.

وی گفت: در قرآن کلمه ناس (مردم) حدود 500 بار بکار رفته و کار پیامبر اداره حکومت با زور نبود بلکه با انس و الفت بود.

هاشمی در پایان خطبه اول با اشاره به حضور پیامبر اکرم در قبرستان بقیع در روزهای پایانی عمر مبارکشان گفت: پیامبر خطاب به اموات مومنین بقیع گفتند که خوشا بحالتان که نیستید و این روزهای تفرقه را نمی‌بینید.

هاشمی افزود: از دولت چین انتظار داریم که به وضع اسفبار مسلمانان رسیدگی کند و به نفع دولت چین نیست که با يك میلیارد و ششصد میلیون مسلمان مقابله کند. هاشمی رفسنجانی با اشاره به کشتار چین و روزهای تلخی که به مسلمانان این کشور می‌گذرد، بیان کرد: به دولت چین عرض می‌کنم که انتظار می‌رود در برابر مظالمی که برای مردم وارد می‌شود، صبر کند و آرامش خود را حفظ کند.

رئیس مجمع تشخیص مصلحت نظام گفت: ما دولت چین را دولتی عاقل می‌دانیم و در جهت توسعه کشور در روی کار است و برادرانه آنها را نصیحت می‌کنیم که آنچه که اتفاق می‌افتد به نفع آنها نیست و آنها می‌دانند که يك میلیارد و 600 میلیون مسلمان در دنیا در 60 کشور جهان زندگی می‌کنند و در همه دنیا اکنون مسلمانان دارای هویتی مستقل و شخصیت هستند و همه اینها دلشان مرتبط با مسلمانانی است که در چین مورد ستم قرار می‌گیرند. از چین می‌خواهیم که ملاحظه کند و منافع خودش را با دنیای اسلام و با دل‌های مسلمانان در نظر بگیرد که انشاءالله از این به بعد شاهد چنین ظلمی در این کشور و چه در سایر کشورهای مسلمانان نداشته باشیم.

در این زمان تعدادی از نمازگزاران شعار مرگ برچین را دادند که هاشمی با اشاره به وضعیت خیابان‌های اطراف گفت که از شعار دادن خودداری کنند که این صحبت با تشویق مردم حاضر در خیابان‌ها مواجه شد.

رئیس مجلس خبرگان رهبری درباره انتخابات گفت: ای کاش شرایطی که در آستانه انتخابات وجود داشت ادامه پیدا می‌کرد و ما در دنیا سربلند می‌شدیم که متأسفانه اینگونه نشد که اگر آزادی و نشاط ادامه داشت هرکسی پیروز انتخابات می‌شد برای ما مایه افتخار بود.

هاشمی با اشاره به روایتی که از پیامبر به نقل از امام خمینی درباره اساس انقلاب شنیده، متن روایت را بر لازم‌ه حمایت اکثر مردم از حکومت اسلامی دانسته و افزود: پیامبر به علی (ع) فرمود که اگر مردم از تو حمایت نکردند وظیفه ای برای حکومت نداری و این نقش بی‌مانند مردم در نظام اسلامی را می‌رساند در واقع حکومتی که رای مردم را ندارد اسلامی نیست.

وی با اشاره به تاکید امام خمینی بر واگذاری حکومت به مردم گفت امام حتی پیش از پیروزی انقلاب و در زمان صدور حکم مهندس بازرگان بر نقش مردم و قانون در اداره حکومت تاکید داشتند.

هاشمی ادامه داد: در اواخر دوران تبلیغات ما دچار تردید شدیم که اواخر دوران انتخابات ما بدلیل عملکرد نادرست صداوسیما و برخی دیگر، عده زیادی از مردم و نخبگان دچار تردید شدند و البته گروهی هم محکم ایستاده اند و می‌گویند وضع خوب است.

امروز تلخ است هیچ يك از جریانات دلش نمی خواست اینطور شود من چند پیشنهاد به ذهنم می رسد بعنوان راه حل عرض می کنم:

مساله مهم برگرداندن اعتماد ملت است که تا حدودی مغشوش شده است، همه ما چه حکومت چه نیروهای امنیتی و چه مردم به قانون پایبند باشند.

باید فضایی بوجود بیاید که همه بتوانند حرفشان را بزنند بخصوص در صدا و سیما، متأسفانه از فرصتی که رهبری به شورای نگهبان 5 روزه دادند که عقلا را بیاورید به خوبی استفاده نشد، برای حفظ ارزشها و انقلاب در این مقطع می تواند این حرکات انجام شود و به قناعت برسیم.

لازم نیست در این شرایط ما افرادی را در زندان داشته باشیم نگذارید بخاطر زندانی بودن يك عده دشمنان به ما بخدمت.

با آسیب دیدگان این حوادث دلجویی شود و همدردی شود.

با سعه صدر برخورد شود رسانه های قانونی را محدود نکنیم و اجازه دهیم فضای آرام انتقادی و تاییدی بوجود بیاید و نیروهای انتظامی نظامی و امنیتی اجازه دهند این فضا بوجود بیاید.

مراجع ما همیشه که همیشه پشتیبان نظام بودند چرا باید برنجد.

امیدوارم خطبه های امروز نماز جمعه شروع تحولی در جامعه باشد.

در پایان نماز جمعه شعار های چند میلیون نمازگزار حاضر در نماز جمعه تهران با عنوان هاشمی حمایت می کنیم سر داده شد و تعدادی از نیروهای افراطی حاضر در صحنه هم شعارهای دیگری را سر دادند.

با وجود اقامه نماز تعدادی از هواداران افراطی دولت اقدام به همه و سر دادن شعار می کردند.