

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK**

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF RELIGION; AMERICAN
ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS;
PEN AMERICAN CENTER; TARIQ RAMADAN,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MICHAEL CHERTOFF, in his official capacity as
Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security;
CONDOLEEZZA RICE, in her official capacity as
Secretary of State,

Defendants.

**SECOND
DECLARATION OF
TARIQ RAMADAN**

Case No. 06-588 (PAC)

SECOND DECLARATION OF TARIQ RAMADAN

I, Tariq Ramadan, do declare:

1. I was born in Geneva, Switzerland, on August 26, 1962. I am a Swiss citizen. I currently live in the United Kingdom with my wife and four children.
2. I am currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Lokahi Foundation in London and a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Oxford's St. Antony's College. At Oxford, I teach and tutor at the Middle East Studies Center and European Studies Center. Since January of this year, I have also been a Visiting Professor at Erasmus University in Rotterdam. This post was created on the initiative of the Rotterdam City Council and I will hold it for two years.
3. This is the second declaration I have filed in this litigation. In my first declaration, which was dated March 10, 2006 and which I hereby incorporate by reference, I discussed my scholarship at some length. Since I filed that declaration, I

have continued to write about Islam, the Muslim world, and Muslim and European identity. Oxford University Press has just published my new book, In the Footsteps of the Prophet: Lessons From the Life of Muhammad, which is a study of the contemporary relevance of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. I am currently working on another book, titled Radical Reform, which argues that Islam is facing a crisis of authority and that this crisis can be resolved only if interpretive authority, which is currently the exclusive domain of textual scholars, is shared with scholars whose project it is to understand the religious sources in our current historical, political, and social context. Oxford University Press anticipates publishing the new book in October.

4. Since I filed my first declaration, I have also written and published numerous articles, including . . . *And Where He's Still in the Dark*, Time Magazine (Nov. 19, 2006) (concerning Pope Benedict XVI's controversial speech about Islam) (attached hereto as Exhibit A); *Pakistan: The Meaning of a Moratorium*, The American Muslim (Oct. 24, 2006) (concerning my call for a moratorium on capital and corporal punishments in the Muslim world) (attached hereto as Exhibit B); *Why I'm Banned in the USA*, Washington Post (Oct. 1, 2006) (concerning my continuing exclusion from the U.S.) (attached hereto as Exhibit C); and *The Way Toward Radical Reform*, The New Statesman (Apr. 6, 2006) (concerning religious authority in Islam) (attached hereto as Exhibit D).

5. My scholarship continues to focus on the situation of Muslims living in the West, and in particular on the situation of Muslims who live in Europe. In November 2006, European Voice Magazine named me "Non-EU Citizen of the Year" for my "explorations of Muslim and European Identity." Other nominees in the category of non-

EU citizens were Mahmoud Abbas, Kofi Annan, Bill Gates, Alan Greenspan, and Orhan Pamuk. Press Release, European Voice Magazine, EV50: The Europeans of the Year (Nov. 28, 2006) (attached hereto as Exhibit E).

6. I am submitting this declaration to respond to the government's allegation that I have provided "material support" to a terrorist organization. As the Court is aware, I have been barred from the United States since July of 2004, when the government revoked an H-1B visa that would have permitted me to teach at the University of Notre Dame. The government's revocation of my visa in July of 2004 prevented me from taking up a double-tenured position as the Henry R. Luce Professor of Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding and as Professor of Islamic Studies in the Classics Department. The revocation also required me to break a residential lease in South Bend, Indiana; to ship my family's personal effects back to the U.K.; to re-enroll my children in U.K. schools; to cancel numerous speaking engagements in the U.S.; and to search for a teaching position outside the U.S. A spokesperson for the Department of Homeland Security stated to the press on August 25, 2004, that my visa had been revoked "because of a section in federal law that applies to aliens who have used a position of prominence within any country to endorse or espouse terrorist activity."

7. My efforts to obtain a visa since July of 2004 have been unavailing. In October of 2004, the University of Notre Dame submitted a second H-1B petition on my behalf, but the Department of Homeland Security deemed the petition to have been withdrawn when I resigned my teaching post at the University of Notre Dame in December 2004. I resigned the teaching post after the State Department told the University of Notre Dame that it did not expect to adjudicate the visa petition in the near

future. While I very much wanted to teach at the University of Notre Dame, the uncertainty about whether or not the government would grant me a visa was very difficult for my family and I felt that I had no choice but to move on.

8. In September of 2005, at the encouragement of individuals and organizations in the United States, I applied for a B visa, a nonimmigrant visa that would allow me to enter the United States to attend and participate in various conferences. At a visa interview on Dec. 20, 2005, representatives of the Departments of State and Homeland Security asked me numerous questions about my political views and associations, all of which I answered to the best of my ability. At the end of the interview, the government officials told me that consideration of my application would likely take close to two years and that I might not receive a visa even then. It was largely because of that statement that I, the American Academy of Religion, the American Association of University Professors, and PEN American Center decided that this lawsuit was necessary.

9. The filing of this lawsuit did not itself result in the government's adjudicating my visa application. The government adjudicated the application only after this Court issued an order, on June 23, 2006, requiring the government to do so within 90 days. On September 19, just before the 90-day period was to expire, the U.S. Consul in Bern called me to tell me that my visa application had been denied. The Consul's letter (which the Consul read to me over the telephone and later sent to my attorneys at the American Civil Liberties Union by e-mail) made no mention of the provision that the Department of Homeland Security had previously cited as the basis for revoking my visa in August 2004. Instead the letter stated that I had been found inadmissible "for engaging

in terrorist activity by providing material support to a terrorist organization.” The letter explained that the basis for the denial was that, during my interviews with consular officials, I had stated that I had made donations to the Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens and the Association de Secours Palestinien, two European charities. The letter stated: “Donations to these organizations, which you knew, or reasonably should have known, provided funds to Hamas, a designated Foreign Terrorist Organization, made you inadmissible under INA 212(a)(3)(B)(i)(I).” Letter from John O. Kinder, Consul, U.S. Embassy Bern, to Tariq Ramadan (Sept. 19, 2006) (Attached hereto as Exhibit F).

10. While I am relieved that the U.S. government is no longer accusing me of having “endorsed or espoused” terrorism, the government’s new accusations are equally unfounded and unjust. It is true that I gave small amounts of money to ASP between 1998 and 2002; indeed I volunteered this information to government officials in my visa interview. However, I gave money to ASP because I believed that ASP was a legitimate humanitarian organization engaged in legitimate humanitarian work in the West Bank and Gaza. The Consul’s September 19 letter states that I “knew[] or reasonably should have known” that ASP provided funds to Hamas, but I did not know any such thing. ASP did not advertise a relationship with Hamas, and I did not have any reason to believe that it had one. In addition, ASP was a lawful organization in Switzerland and it was registered as a charity with the Swiss government. It operated openly and sent solicitations through the mail, and I used receipts provided by ASP to claim deductions on my tax forms. If ASP was engaged in activity that was illegal under Swiss or U.S. law, I did not know it, and I don’t know how I can be expected to have known it. My

attorneys tell me that even the U.S. government did not blacklist ASP until August 2003, more than a year after my last donation.

11. I would not have given money to ASP if I had thought my money would be used for terrorism or any other illegal purpose. As I discussed in my earlier declaration, I have condemned terrorism at every opportunity. I have done so in countless interviews, articles, speeches, and I have done so in my books. At the invitation of the Brookings Institution, I joined a group whose mandate it was to “examine how the United States can reconcile its need to eliminate terrorism and reduce the appeal of extremist movements with its need to build more positive relations with the wider Islamic world.” I also accepted an invitation from Prime Minister Tony Blair to join a government task force to combat extremism in the United Kingdom. Over the last fifteen years, I have spent a great deal of my energy working to discourage extremism of all kinds and terrorism in particular. All this is to say that I have opposed terrorism not only through my words but also through my actions. To knowingly support terrorism, as the U.S. government now accuses me of having done, would have been completely inconsistent with everything I was trying to do.

12. I donated to ASP for the same reason that countless Europeans – and Americans, for that matter – donate to Palestinian causes: because I wanted to provide humanitarian aid to people who desperately needed it. On more than one occasion, ASP sent me literature stating that the organization was supporting Palestinian schools. I have always been sympathetic to the plight of Palestinians, but ASP’s literature was especially compelling to me because I have had a special interest in children’s education for many years. In the early 1990s, I founded an organization called “Cooperation Coup de Main”

which focused on building schools in developing countries. With the support of the Swiss Ministry of Education, we built an educational center in Senegal. In 1990, the city of Geneva named me one of ten "citizens of the year" for my work with Cooperation Coup de Main. I have always had a special commitment to education and my charitable donations to ASP, like my work with Cooperation Coup de Main, reflected that commitment. As I stated in my 2005 visa application, I have also given money to, among other charities, the Red Cross, Amnesty International, and several smaller organizations that provide aid to the mentally and physically disabled.

13. The consul's September 19 letter states that I gave money not only to ASP but to CBSP as well. In fact I have never given money to CBSP. Because I was confused about the relationship between CBSP and ASP, I may have stated in my visa interview that I gave money to both organizations. If I said this, I was incorrect; again, I have never given money to CBSP, and I recently contacted CBSP to confirm this. In any event, I did not know that CBSP was connected in any way to terrorism or to Hamas.

14. To ASP, I gave a total of 1670 Swiss francs – approximately \$1336 at today's exchange rate – between December 1998 and July 2002. No single donation was for more than 250 francs, and most were for 100 francs or less. My last donation to ASP was made on July 5, 2002. After I received the Consul's letter denying my visa application, I asked ASP to send me a complete list of the donations I had made to the organization. The list ASP sent me is attached. Liste Des Dons (attached hereto as Exhibit G). Again, I gave money to ASP because I believed that it was a legitimate humanitarian organization engaged in legitimate humanitarian projects. I did not know

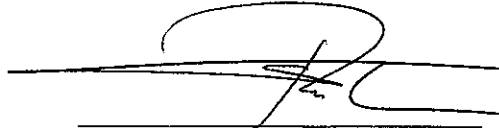
of any connection between ASP and Hamas and I did not know of any connection between ASP and terrorism.

15. In my first declaration, I explained that the U.S. government's refusal to grant me a visa had prevented me from attending numerous conferences and meetings in the United States. Since I filed my first declaration, I have had to decline many other invitations. Among the invitations I have had to decline are invitations from a group at Columbia University; the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.; the Council on American-Islamic Relations in Washington, D.C.; a group at the University of Texas at Arlington; the Muslim Public Affairs Committee in Los Angeles; the New Yorker Magazine; and a group at the University of California, Berkeley. If not for the U.S. government's refusal to grant me a visa, I would have accepted some or all of these invitations.

16. Several organizations have invited me to speak in the U.S. in the future. The American Academy of Religion has invited me to speak at its November 2007 annual meeting; the American Association of University Professors has told me that it will invite me to speak at its June 2008 annual meeting and to deliver the address recognizing recipients of the Alexander Meiklejohn Awards for Academic Freedom; and PEN American Center has invited me to speak at its World Voices Festival in April 2007 and has also said that it would like me to speak at other events later in the year. My continuing exclusion from the U.S. precludes me from accepting these invitations.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America
that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on this 19th day of February, 2007.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'R' followed by a horizontal line and a vertical stroke.

Tariq Ramadan

EXHIBIT A

TIME ARCHIVE



AVAILABLE FOR FREE

 [Back to Article](#)

 [Click to Print](#)



Sunday, Nov. 19, 2006

... And Where He's Still in the Dark

By Tariq Ramadan

Since delivering the speech in which he quoted a 14th century Emperor who said the Prophet of Islam had given nothing positive to humanity and had commanded followers to use violence to spread their faith, Pope Benedict XVI has been subjected to bitter Muslim reaction around the world. Benedict has responded by saying he regretted the consequences of his misunderstood words, but he did not retract his statement--perhaps rightly so. After all, he had simply cited an ancient Emperor. It is Benedict's right to exercise his critical opinion without being expected to apologize for it--whether he's an ordinary Roman Catholic or the Pope.

But that doesn't mean he was right. Muslim attention has focused mainly on the lecture's association between violence and Islam, but the most important and disputable aspect of it was Benedict's reflection on what it means to be European. In his speech at Regensburg, the Pope attempted to set out a European identity that is Christian by faith and Greek by philosophical reason. But Benedict's speech implicitly suggested that he believes that Islam has no such relationship with reason--and thus is excluded from being European. Several years ago, the Pope, then Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, set forth his opposition to the integration of Turkey into Europe in similar terms. Muslim Turkey has never been, and never will be, able to claim an authentically European culture, he contended. It is another thing; is the Other.

As I have written before, this profoundly European Pope is inviting the people of his continent to become aware of the central, inescapable character of Christianity within their identity, or risk losing it. That may be a legitimate goal, but Benedict's narrow definition of European identity is deeply troubling and potentially dangerous. This is what Muslim must respond to: the tendency of Westerners to ignore the critical role that Muslims played in the development of Western thought. Those who "forget" the decisive contributions of rationalist Muslim thinkers like al-Farabi (10th century), Avicenna (11th century), Averroes (12th century), al-Ghazali (12th century), Ash-Shatibi (13th century) and Ibn Khaldun (14th century) are reconstructing a Europe that is not only an illusion but also self-deceptive about its past.

What the West needs most today is not so much a dialogue with other civilizations but an honest dialogue with itself—one that acknowledges those traditions within Western civilization that are almost never recognized. Europe, in particular, must learn to reconcile itself with the diversity of its past in order to master the coming pluralism of its future.

The Pope's visit to Turkey presents an opportunity to put forward the true terms of the debate over the relationship between Islam and the West. First, it is necessary to stop presenting this visit as if it were a trip to a country whose religion and culture are alien to Europe. Selective about its past, Europe is becoming blind to its present. The European continent has been home to a sizable population of Muslims for centuries. While visiting Turkey, the Pope must acknowledge that he is encountering not a potential threat but a mirror. Islam is already a European religion.

Rather than focus on differences, the true dialogue between the Pope and Islam, and between secularized societies and Islamic ones, should emphasize our common, universal values: mutual respect of human rights, basic freedoms, rule of law and democracy. Though most of the media attention is directed at a marginal minority of radicals, millions of European Muslims are quietly proving every day that they can live perfectly well in secular societies and share a strong ethical pedestal with Jews, Christians and atheist humanists.

Let us hope that the Pope will be able to transform his former perception of the threat of "the Other," of Islam, into a more open approach--by strongly highlighting the ethical teachings the religions have in common and the ways they can contribute together to the future of a pluralistic Europe. Benedict XVI should be free to express his opinions without risk of impassioned denunciation. But the least one can expect from the Pope--especially in this difficult era of fear and suspicion--is that he help bridge the divide and create new spaces of confidence and trust.

• Tariq Ramadan, a research fellow at Oxford, is the author of several books on Islam, including *To Be a European Muslim*

 Click to Print

Find this article at:
<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1561146,00.html>

Copyright © 2007 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without permission is prohibited.

[Privacy Policy](#) | [Add TIME Headlines to your Site](#) | [Contact Us](#) | [Customer Service](#)

EXHIBIT B

[Retour au format normal](#)

Pakistan : The Meaning of a Moratorium

17 November 2006

par Tariq Ramadan

Good News Tahir Mirza condemnation has been commuted yesterday. This is what we were calling for. After having been jailed for 18 years, he has been freed and has come back to UK

Covered or not by the media, cases of questionable judgements, summary trials and executions continue throughout the world and in particular in the Islamic majority countries.

At the international level, denunciations follow a shifting geometry depending on whether the country in question is rich or an ally of the West. Hypocrisy is general and the Islamic world remains silent confining itself to defending its record (or to back tracking) when the political and/or media pressure is too strong. One does not seem interested in justice and human dignity... In the West as well as in the Islamic world up to China, human rights seem to become a pretext, a game at the service of politicking and management of well understood national interests. At that level of general cynicism, the naivety of some people is a fault and no longer a mitigating circumstance.

We have heard today that Mirza Tahir Hussain, who was to be executed by the end of this month, has seen his execution postponed on President Pervez Musharraf's order. This move is without doubt due to the coincidence with Prince of Wales' visit to Pakistan. Voices were heard from all over the world asking to save Mirza Tahir Hussain : yet with no success.

His guilt is still doubtful. He was once acquitted and then, after an appeal, condemned to death by the Islamic judiciary authorities. Mirzan Tahir Hussain being also a British national, his case has drawn some political pressure from the West to prevent the execution. The response of the officials consisted in saying that this was impossible on pain of "giving the impression" that the Pakistani justice was bending to the Western requests. "Impression" has had precedence over law.

Here we are in a very pernicious situation. The West, on one hand, reacts only if its citizens are involved or when the countries in question are poor or among the enemies (but never when it comes to petromonarchies or allied dictatorships). On the other hand, we witness the Islamic majority countries, which either bend to the Western pressure or, precisely, refuse to do so in the name of national independence and dignity or, simply, to save face. Through this hypocritical and politicking game, few lives are spared but, all things considered, children, women and poor people are still badly treated, tortured and executed in silence for they are not lucky enough to be either Western citizens or from a country that may be interesting from a regional or international geostrategic viewpoint.

It is intolerable! It is urgent to get out of this vicious circle that transforms lives in simple elements of political influence's calculation. Far from such sad considerations, it is urgent that the Muslim consciences throughout the world call, in the name of their religion, its principles and its universal requirement of justice, to an immediate stop to these executions. We need to enforce an immediate moratorium and to open a thorough debate on the necessary reforms to be promoted within the contemporary judiciary systems. Far from the media spotlights, children, women and men suffer the worst treatments - up to the capital punishments - and the Islamic world remain silent while everybody knows that the judiciary systems are failing, that children, women and men are sometimes judged without having a lawyer, without the slightest respect of the fundamental rights, sometimes simply as an example or after a trial's parody.

To call for a moratorium (on capital punishments as well as on corporal punishments and stoning - a recent case in Afghanistan went with no publicity for the revelation would have tarnished the image of the liberating American policy in the region) is to give ourselves the means to open a debate far from the current political games and calculations. It means, above all, to put an immediate end to injustices and to prevent people being executed in silence.

It means as well to call upon the Pakistani government not only to postpone Mirza Tahir Hussain's execution but to decide a commutation of sentence while reconsidering the very troubling elements related to this very judgement. Finally, it means that it should be dealt the same way with all the accused people in Pakistan and in the Islamic world who are waiting to be executed while they are very often tortured and with nobody knowing what and who condemned them and how and if they were even judged!

Would it not be a sufficient reason to enforce a moratorium and to open the debate we have been asking for for so many years now? How many dead people should we count to ask ourselves if it is worth thinking of it?

But our lack of concern is terrifying.

EXHIBIT C

Stanford, Princeton and the William Jefferson Clinton Presidential Foundation. None of these institutions seemed to consider me a threat to national security.

The U.S. government invited me to apply for a new visa and, with Notre Dame's help, I did so in October 2004. But after three months passed without a response, I felt I had little choice but to give up my new position and resume my life in Europe. Even so, I never abandoned the effort to clear my name. At the urging of American academic and civic groups, I reapplied for a visa one last time in September 2005, hoping that the government would retract its accusation. Once again, I encountered only silence.

Finally, in January, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Academy of Religion, the American Association of University Professors and PEN American Center filed a lawsuit on my behalf, challenging the government's actions. In court, the government's lawyers admitted that they could establish no connection between me and any terrorist group; the government had merely taken a "prudential" measure by revoking my visa. Even then, the government maintained that the process of reconsidering my visa could take years. The federal court -- which issued a ruling recognizing that I have been a vocal critic of terrorism -- rejected the indefinite delay. In June, it ordered the government to grant me a visa or explain why it would not do so.

On Sept. 21, the long-awaited explanation arrived. The letter from the U.S. Embassy informed me that my visa application had been denied, and it put an end to the rumors that had circulated since my original visa was revoked. After a lengthy investigation, the State Department cited no evidence of suspicious relationships, no meetings with terrorists, no encouraging or advocacy of terrorism. Instead, the department cited my donation of \$940 to two humanitarian organizations (a French group and its Swiss chapter) serving the Palestinian people. I should note that the investigation did not reveal these contributions. As the department acknowledges, I had brought this information to their attention myself, two years earlier, when I had reapplied for a visa.

In its letter, the U.S. Embassy claims that I "reasonably should have known" that the charities in question provided money to Hamas. But my donations were made between December 1998 and July 2002, and the United States did not blacklist the charities until 2003. How should I reasonably have known of their activities before the U.S. government itself knew? I donated to these organizations for the same reason that countless Europeans -- and Americans, for that matter -- donate to Palestinian causes: not to help fund terrorism, but because I wanted to provide humanitarian aid to people who desperately need it. Yet after two years of investigation, this was the only explanation offered for the denial of my visa. I still find it hard to believe.

What words do I utter and what views do I hold that are dangerous to American ears, so dangerous, in fact, that I should not be allowed to express them on U.S. soil?

I have called upon Western societies to be more open toward Muslims and to regard them as a source of richness, not just of violence or conflict. I have called upon Muslims in the West to reconcile and embrace both their Islamic and Western identities. I have called for the creation of a "New We" based on common citizenship within which Buddhists, Jews, Christians, Muslims and people with no religion can build a pluralistic society. And yes, I believe we all have a right to dissent, to criticize governments and protest undemocratic decisions. It is certainly legitimate for European Muslims and American Muslims to criticize their governments if they find them unjust -- and I will continue to do so.

At the same time, I do not stop short of criticizing regimes from Muslim countries. Indeed, the United States is not the only country that rejects me; I am also barred from Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and even my native Egypt. Last month, after a few sentences in a speech by Pope Benedict XVI elicited protests and

violence, I published an article noting how some governments in the Muslim world manipulate these imagined crises to suit their political agendas. "When the people are deprived of their basic rights and of their freedom of expression," I argued, "it costs nothing to allow them to vent their anger over Danish cartoons or the words of the Pontiff." I was immediately accused of appeasing the enemies of Islam, of being more Western than Muslim.

Today, I live and work in London. From my posts at Oxford University and the Lokahi Foundation, I try to promote cultural understanding and to prevent radicalization within Muslim communities here. Along with many British citizens, I have criticized the country's new security laws and its support for the war in Iraq. Yet I have never been asked to remain silent as a condition to live or work here. I can express myself freely.

I fear that the United States has grown fearful of ideas. I have learned firsthand that the Bush administration reacts to its critics not by engaging them, but by stigmatizing and excluding them. Will foreign scholars be permitted to enter the United States only if they promise to mute their criticisms of U.S. policy? It saddens me to think of the effect this will have on the free exchange of ideas, on political debate within America, and on our ability to bridge differences across cultures.

web@tariqramadan.com

Tariq Ramadan, a fellow at Oxford University, is author of "Western Muslims and the Future of Islam."

© 2006 The Washington Post Company

Ads by Google

The Oil Shale Discovery

Learn How Colorado and Alberta Sit on More Oil Than the Middle East
www.DailyWealth.com/Oil_Report

Top Stock Pick

Nanotech Analyst Stock Pick "APIO" Revenues Expected to Rise by 100%
www.wallstreetstockreview.com

Alternative Fuel Vehicles

Honda's environmental thinking in action.
environmentology.honda.com

EXHIBIT D

[Retour au format normal](#)

The way toward Radical Reform

6 April 2006

par Tariq Ramadan

This article was published in Newstetaman, UK, 6th April 2006

For decades reform has been on the agenda in the Muslim world. Everywhere things are changing and Muslims are struggling to respond to new challenges. Fierce debates have arisen between those who want reform and those who argue that it will mean either a betrayal of the principles of Islam or a dangerous westernization. Though we face deep and alarming crises of religion, of science, of politics and of economics, as well as a crisis of identity, the differences between us over what we should do seem intractable.

Central to our debate is the concept of *ijtihad*, which means the critical reading of the key Muslim textual sources - the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions, known as the Sunna. Through *ijtihad* we ought to be able to sustain a historically grounded approach to these sources while at the same time employing human creativity to respond to the particular problems of our age.

Yet so grave is our crisis that there is now a breakdown in Muslim thought in fields as essential as education, science, democratisation and respect for fundamental human rights. Why are we unable to move forward? And how can we extricate ourselves from this downward spiral?

Part of the problem is that Muslim scholars agree neither on the definitions nor on the interpretation of a number of concepts that are central to Islamic

terminology. Take sharia. Literalists and traditionalists view sharia as a body of law that forms a closed, timeless universe opposed to any evolution or any reading that takes history into account.

Many reformists, conversely, define sharia as the "the path of fidelity to the principles of Islam". They believe that the fields of creed and religious observance are distinct from those of social affairs: in the former the prescriptions of the Qur'an and hadith are immutable; in the latter, they should work in tandem with human rationality.

The reformist trend is present in virtually all Muslim communities, yet the results of reform in the past century have been unsatisfactory. This reflects a deficiency in the reformist approach itself. For decades we have studied the writings of reforming scholars who re-examined the texts and offered new interpretations, but this approach has proved too reactive. By its nature, work that is oriented exclusively toward the texts struggles to keep pace with emerging situations.

Our scholars lack the necessary deep understanding of the complex issues of the modern world with which their judgements must deal.

Though they speak about economy, natural and social science, they have in fact little to offer in any of these fields. When they pronounce on current matters their rulings often contradict one another, and we are unable to decide which of them is best qualified. To make matters worse, they jealously guard their authority in religious prescription (fatwâ). When, for example, specialists in the so-called "profane" sciences try to assist in formulating contemporary Muslim jurisprudence, their efforts are often resented as dangerous intrusions. Though they may have relevant expertise, unless they are specialists in Islamic law they find their opinions dismissed. This is where the need for radical reform is greatest.

Our task is to shift the centre of gravity back to the fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence. For the texts are not the only normative references in Islamic

law. The universe - the "book of the world", to use the expression of the great scholar al Ghazali - represents a source equal to the texts. Instead of being pushed to the margin, scholars and specialists in applied sciences and social sciences must become important contributors to contemporary Islamic ethics.

Their mastery of contemporary knowledge positions them eminently to guide the religious scholars' deliberations, and to produce a transformative, ethically-driven reform rather than the necessity-driven adaptations of today.

Textual interpretation specialists, though their competence is beyond dispute, do not have exclusive ownership of ijtihâd. They must be joined at the table by women and men versed in other fields who can help find new directions for reform that are both faithful to Islamic principles and fully engaged with the issues of the day.

We desperately need spaces for ijtihâd that reconcile ordinary Muslims with their references by restoring their right to speak, their competences and their authority. The tasks at hand are immense: promoting a critical spirit and educational reform; developing a Islamic ethics of science; proposing alternatives in global economics; transforming the status of women in Muslim communities; creating civic societies and managing violence.

To achieve the radical reform we need and hope for, we must shift the centre of gravity away from the religious scholars and back to the centre of the Islamic universe. All must participate and each individual's conscience must awaken. Alongside our scholars of the texts, in other words, we need scholars of the contexts.

The role of the West and its intellectuals is important: in their questions, their constructive criticisms, their ability to listen to the multiplicity of Muslim voices (and not only those that please them) they can become partners in our revolution. In this dynamic, all parties will discover shared values. Though we may not all walk together on the same path, we can and must commit together to making this world better, together. We do not want modernization without soul or values; we want ethical reform. We want to transform the world in the name of the justice and human dignity that, sadly, are often forgotten in the current inhumane global (dis)order.

Tariq Ramadan

EXHIBIT E



Embassy of the United States of America

September 19, 2006

Dr. Tariq Ramadan
St. Anthony's College at the University of Oxford
62 Woodstock Road
Oxford, UK OX2 6JF

Dear Dr. Ramadan,

Your application for a B1/B2 non-immigrant visa has been refused. You have been found inadmissible to the United States for engaging in terrorist activity by providing material support to a terrorist organization. Please see sections 212(a)(3)(B)(i)(I) and 212(a)(3)(B)(iv)(VI) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) (attached).

The basis for this determination includes the fact that during your two interviews with consular officials, you stated that you had made donations to the Comité de Bienfaisance et de Secours aux Palestiniens and the Association de Secours Palestinien. Donations to these organizations, which you knew, or reasonably should have known, provided funds to Hamas, a designated Foreign Terrorist Organization, made you inadmissible under INA § 212(a)(3)(B)(i)(I).

Under U.S. law, this ineligibility is permanent and you will be unable to enter the United States in the future unless the ineligibility is waived in accordance with INA Sec. 212(d)(3).

Yours sincerely,

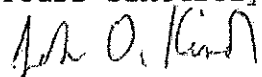

John O. Kinder
Consul
US Embassy Bern

EXHIBIT F



28 November 2006

UNDER EMBARGO UNTIL 23.00 (11 PM)

President José Manuel Barroso is the European of the Year

Brussels 28 November 2006: The President of the European Commission, **José Manuel Barroso**, was declared "European of the Year" at a gala awards ceremony in Brussels hosted by *European Voice* this evening. President Barroso was awarded the distinction for concentrating the work of his Commission on delivering real benefits to citizens.

European Voice, published by The Economist Group, is the leading European weekly newspaper. A distinguished panel of opinion leaders from across the EU - including three former Heads of State - selected the 50 nominees. The winners were chosen by the general public in an on-line poll and via paper ballot forms in the *European Voice*. Polls closed on 10 November.

Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, was awarded the distinction "Stateswoman of the Year" for brokering an agreement on the EU's multi-annual budget. The "Commissioner of the Year" award went to **Olli Rehn**, the enlargement commissioner, for sustaining the hopes of countries aspiring to join the EU, while maintaining pressure for reform.

Colin Firth was voted "Campaigner of the Year" for his adventurous role as champion of the developing countries in negotiations to open up world trade.

The "MEP of the Year" award went to **Josep Borrell**, President of the European Parliament, for having made a serious attempt to reform the Parliament and create a more focused, lively and political assembly. **Jean-Marc de la Sablière**, France's Ambassador to the United Nations and diplomatic advisor to President Jacques Chirac, won the distinction "Diplomat of the Year" for his work drafting United Nations Security Council resolution 1701 to end fighting between Hizbullah and Israel.

Niklas Zennström and Janus Friis, the co-founders of Skype, won the "Business leader of the Year" award for changing the face of telephony. For his persistent campaign to oblige the Danish government to disclose details on who gets what from the EU's Common Agricultural Policy **Nils Mulvad**, a Danish journalist was awarded the title "Journalist of the Year".

The distinction "Non-EU Citizen of the Year" was won by **Tariq Ramadan**, the Swiss author, for his courageous explorations of Muslim and European identity.

Finally, **Andrej Bajuk**, Finance Minister of Slovenia, won the prestigious title "Achiever of the Year" for winning approval for his country to become the first new EU member state to join the Eurozone.

Media enquiries: Catherine St-Laurent E-mail: Catherine_st-laurent@be.bm.com Tel: 0499 204461
Olalla Michelena E-mail: Olalla_michelena@be.bm.com Tel: 0477 627707



Note to Editors:

The EV50 selection panel included:

Carl Bildt, former Prime Minister of Sweden

Wilfried Martens, President of the European People's Party; former Prime Minister of Belgium

George Vassiliou, former President of the Republic of Cyprus

John Micklethwait, Editor of The Economist

Maria João Rodriguez, Professor, University of Lisbon

Paul Demaret, Rector of the College of Europe, Bruges

Helen Wallace, Director of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence

Mario Monti, Chairman of the board of BRUEGEL, President of Bocconi University in Milan and former European Commissioner

Dana Spinant, Editor of European Voice

The full list of the EV50 in 2006 – and why they were selected – is as follows:

COMMISSIONER OF THE YEAR

Jacques Barrot, transport commissioner – *for his work on airline safety and security*

Neelie Kroes, competition commissioner, and **Charlie McCreevy**, commissioner in charge of the internal market – *for confronting protectionism masquerading as economic patriotism*

Franco Frattini, commissioner for justice, freedom and security – *for seeking a measured response to migration and terrorism*

Viviane Reding, commissioner for media and information society – *for taking the side of consumers and forcing a cut in mobile phone roaming charges*

Olli Rehn, commissioner in charge of enlargement – *for sustaining the hopes of countries aspiring to join the EU, while maintaining pressure for reform*

MEP OF THE YEAR

Josep Borrell, president of the European Parliament – *for a serious attempt to reform the Parliament, to create a more focused, lively and political assembly*

Evelyne Gebhardt, German Socialist, and **Malcolm Harbour**, UK Conservative – *for salvaging the services directive*

Sophie in 't Veld, Dutch Liberal – *rapporteur on the Passenger Name Record (PNR) agreement with the US, for holding out for the protection of civil liberties*

Martine Roure, French Socialist – *for defending immigrants' rights and campaigning for their better treatment in Europe*



Terry Wynn, UK Socialist – *for campaigning to get national finance ministers to take responsibility for the proper spending of EU funds under shared management*

STATESMAN/ WOMAN OF THE YEAR

José Manuel Barroso, president of the European Commission – *for concentrating the work of his Commission on delivering benefits to citizens*

Angela Merkel, German chancellor - *for brokering an agreement on the EU's multi-annual budget*

Stjepan Mesić, president of Croatia – *for being prepared to brave popular opposition and hand over fugitive general Ante Gotovina to international justice*

Romano Prodi, Italian prime minister - *for giving the lead to the rest of Europe in contributing to a peacekeeping force in Lebanon*

Wolfgang Schüssel, Chancellor of Austria – *for restoring harmonious relations to the European Council after a difficult year for the EU*

DIPLOMAT OF THE YEAR

Aldo Ajello, the EU's representative to Africa's Great Lakes region – *for exerting European influence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, resulting in this year's elections*

Jean-Marc de La Sablière, France's ambassador to the United Nations and diplomatic advisor to President Jacques Chirac - *for his work drafting United Nations Security Council resolution 1701, to end fighting between Hizbullah and Israel*

Christian Schwarz-Schilling, high representative to Bosnia - *for weaning the country off international rule and demanding that Bosnia's political class rise to the challenge of transformation*

Javier Solana, EU high representative for foreign policy - *for tenaciously pursuing a European line in negotiations with Iran to abandon its nuclear programme*

Erkki Tuomioja, Finland's foreign minister – *for steering EU foreign ministers towards an agreed position on Lebanon, from an unpromising start*

CAMPAIGNER OF THE YEAR

Colin Firth, UK actor - *for playing an adventurous role as champion of the developing countries in negotiations to open up world trade*

Monica Macovei, Romania's justice minister - *for driving through tough laws tackling corruption and reforming the judiciary, improving her country's readiness to join the EU*



Cecilia Malmström, Swedish Liberal MEP - *for mobilising EU citizens to campaign for a single seat for the European Parliament*

Hubert Sauper, Austrian filmmaker – *for challenging, in his documentary 'Darwin's nightmare', assumptions about the shape and direction of the global economy*

Yvonne Watts, UK citizen - *for setting a precedent at the European Court of Justice obliging her national health service to pay for a medical operation in another member state*

BUSINESS LEADER OF THE YEAR

Josef Ackermann, chief executive of Deutsche Bank - *for raising Deutsche Bank's game by moving into global investment*

Wulf Bernotat, chief executive of E.ON – *for maintaining the right of his company to expand across national borders in the face of protectionism*

Sir John Bond, chairman of HSBC Holdings - *for propelling HSBC's growth through a series of acquisitions in America and Asia*

Lakshmi Mittal, chief executive of Mittal Steel - *for winning the battle for Arcelor and leading consolidation in the steel industry*

Niklas Zennström and Janus Friis, co-founders of Skype - *for changing the face of telephony*

JOURNALIST OF THE YEAR

Sara Daniel, Le Nouvel Observateur – *for brave and incisive reporting from Iraq, Afghanistan and Lebanon*

Nils Mulvad, Danish journalist – *for a persistent campaign to oblige the Danish government to disclose details on who gets what from the EU's Common Agricultural Policy*

Guido Olimpio, security correspondent of Corriere della Sera - *for research into illegal CIA activities in Europe carried out in the name of the fight against terrorism*

William Samii, Radio Free Europe - *for his reporting on Iran, free of stereotypes*

Martine Vandemeulebroucke, Le Soir - *for her work on the plight of immigrants reaching Europe*

ACHIEVER OF THE YEAR

Andrej Bajuk, Slovenia's finance minister – *for winning approval for his country to join the eurozone, the first of the new EU states to do so*



Franz Beckenbauer, chairman of the Germany 2006 World Cup organizing committee – *for accomplishing a peaceful and well-run World Cup, from which Europe was the winner*

Bernard Devauchelle and Jean-Michel Dubernard, French surgeons - *for performing the first face transplant in the world*

Nicolas Sarkozy, leader of the centre-right UMP party and French interior minister - *for putting forward the clearest vision for the future of Europe yet to emerge from France*

Jean-Claude Trichet, president of the European Central Bank - *for having consolidated the reputation of his institution in difficult economic times*

NON EU-CITIZEN OF THE YEAR

Mahmoud Abbas, president of the Palestinian Authority – *for his efforts to create a government of national unity*

Kofi Annan, secretary-general of the United Nations – *for mobilising the international community to end the fighting in Lebanon and put in place a peace-keeping force*

Bill Gates, co-chair of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation - *for showing that well-focused private foundations have much to teach government agencies about giving aid to Africa*

Alan Greenspan, retired chairman of the Federal Reserve Board– *for presiding over a long period of financial stability*

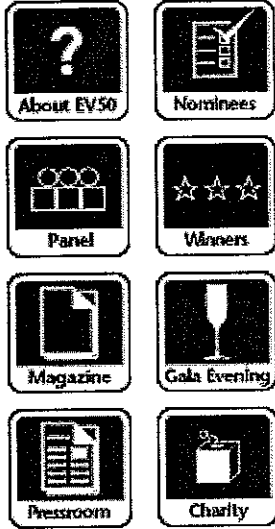
Orhan Pamuk, Turkish author – *for encouraging Turkish society to confront painful aspects of its past and for contributing to the soul-searching debate between tradition and modernisation*

Tariq Ramadan, Swiss author – *for his explorations of Muslim and European identity*

ENDS



[home](#) [contact us](#)



The Annual Awards Evening and Magazine from **European Voice**

2006 Winners

The following were voted Europeans of the Year in 2006:

- Commissioner of the Year: Olli Rehn
- MEP of the Year: Josep Borrell
- Stateswoman of the Year: Angela Merkel
- Diplomat of the Year: Jean-Marc de la Sablière
- Campaigner of the Year: Colin Firth
- Business Leader of the Year: Niklas Zennström and Janus Friis
- Journalist of the Year: Nils Mulvad
- Achiever of the Year: Andrej Bajuk
- Non-EU citizen of the Year: Tariq Ramadan

European of the Year: José Manuel Barroso

European Voice

An Economist Group business

©2007 The Economist Newspaper Ltd. All rights reserved

in association with:

Burson-Marsteller **ExxonMobil**



GE imagination at work



NOVARTIS



SANDOZ

EXHIBIT G

LISTE DES DONS

Nom	N°Orph	N°Recu	Date	Somme	Mois
Tariq Ramadan		375/98	24/12/1998	200,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		104/99	12/02/1999	250,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		270/99	21/05/1999	250,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		335/99	09/07/1999	50,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		453/99	16/10/1999	100,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		666/99	31/12/1999	100,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		2000/272	31/03/2000	170,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		2000/435	31/05/2000	100,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		2001/173	25/01/2001	100,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		2001/342	28/02/2001	100,00 F	



LISTE DES DONS AU BUREAU DE L'ASP

Nom	N°Orphelin	Année/N°Reçu	Date de valeur	Somme	Mois de parrainage
Tariq Ramadan		2001/1489	31/08/2001	100,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		2002/1922	14/06/2002	100,00 F	
Tariq Ramadan		2002/2098	05/07/2002	50,00 F	



ASSOCIATION DE SECOURS PALESTINIEN

ATTESTATION

L'association de Secours Palestinien (ASP), atteste avoir reçu de Monsieur Tarik Ramadan des dons d'une valeur totale de 1670 Francs Suisse selon les pièces ci-jointes, entre la période du 24/12/1998 et du 05/07/2002.

Cette attestation est délivrée pour servir et valoir ce que de droit.

