



INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT ON
DEMOCRACY, TERRORISM AND SECURITY

8-11 March 2005 Madrid

Monday

16:30-17:30 Briefing for all Rapporteurs (closed session)
Room: **Sala del Consejo, 4th Floor**

18:00-19:30 Meeting of Subject Area and Working Group Coordinators
(closed session)
Room: **Sala del Consejo, 4th Floor**
Subject Area Coordinators and Working Group Coordinators meet
to prepare the Working Group discussions the following day.

21:00 Welcome Dinner for all Club of Madrid and Working Group
Members
Location: **Mónico Restaurant**

Tuesday

Sessions this day are reserved for Working Group members and Club of Madrid Members.

08:30-09:00 Information Briefing for Working Group Members

Room: **Polivalente**

Briefing on issues relating to the Working Group Process.

I. Causes or Underlying Factors

Subject Area Coordinator: Richardson, Louise

1 Individual and Psychological Explanations

Post, Jerrold (*co-ordinator*)

Atran, Scott

Gupta, Dipak

Hassan, Nasra

Horgan, John

Merari, Ariel

Sageman, Marc

Schmid, Alexander

Stout, Chris

Victoroff, Jeff

Weine, Stevan

Rapporteur: Leube, Michael

2 Political Explanations

Crenshaw, Martha (*co-ordinator*)

Alonso, Rogelio

Crelinsten, Ronald

Farid, Azzi Mohammed

Gunartna, Rohan

Herrero, Jose-Luis

Ibrahim, Barbara

Ibrahim, Saad

Reinares, Fernando

Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio

Stepanova, Ekaterina

Sznajder, Mario

Weinberg, Leonard

Externals: Manikkalingam, Ram;

Gerecht, Reuel Marc

Rapporteur: Echagüe, Ana

3 Economic Factors

Gurr, Ted (*co-ordinator*)

Abadie, Alberto (*advisor*)

Alonso, José Antonio

Bjorgo, Tore

Carmon, Yigal

Eckert, Sue (*advisor*)

Gold, David (*advisor*)

Gotchev, Atanas

Gunning, Jeroen

Mincheva, Lyubov

Sheffer, Gabriel

Stohl, Michael

Zimmermann, Ekkart

External: Kolodko, Grzegorz

Rapporteur: Klein, Florian

4 Religion and Religious Extremism

Juergensmeyer, Mark (*co-ordinator*)

Al-Mashta, Jalal

Azra, Azyumardi

Elorza, Antonio

Esposito, John (*advisor*)

Gladney, Dru
Peleg, Samuel
Puri, Harish
Reader, Ian
Rosen, David
Shahandeh, Behzad
Tibbi, Bassam
External: Riza, Iqbal;
Vendley, William
Rapporteur: Mitchell, Melanie

5 Cultural Explanations

Stern, Jessica (*co-ordinator*)
Abdullaev, Nabi
Abbas, Hassan
Amirah Fernández, Haizam
Beissinger, Mark
Haider, Ejaz
Kepel, Gilles
Marret, Jean-Luc
Ortega, Andrés
Peckham, Gardner
External: Picco, Giandomenico;
Sendagorta, Fidel
Rapporteur: Ross, James

II Confronting Terrorism

Subject Area Coordinator: Kendall,
Raymond

6 Policing

Storbeck, Jurgen (*co-ordinator*)
Akerboom, E.S.
Bigo, Didier (*advisor*)
Bruggeman, Willy
Eddy, Randolph P.
Ekberg, Christer
Hidalgo, Juan
Lafree, Gary
Leclair, Gilles
Lopes, Antero

Rayón, Mariano
Senior Representative from Federal
Crime Office, Germany
External: Sorasio, Denise;
Beers, Rand
Rapporteur: Ana del Hoyo Barbolla

7 Intelligence

Jenkins, Brian (*co-ordinator*)
Cohen, David
Haering, Barbara
Hurley, Michael
Kam, Ephraim
Kostin, Aleksandr
Landaburu, Cristina
Mantici, Alfredo
Mermet, Francois
Minami, Takashi
Oatley, Michael
Pascal, Jean-Jacques
Smidt, Wolbert
Treverton, Greg
Externals: Elcock, Ward; Ekeus, Rolf
Shapcott, William
Rapporteur: Goodman, Michael

8 Military Responses

Freedman, Lawrence (*co-ordinator*)
Ballesteros, Miguel Ángel
Gamba, Virginia
Gautier, Louis
Karlsson, Roger
Lindstrom, Gustav
Nambiar, Satish
Olonisakin, Funmi
Roy-Chaudhury, Rahul
Vogt, Andreas
Wright-Neville, David
External: Halperin, Morton; Whiteside,
Ted
Rapporteur: Armbruster, Benjamin

9 Terrorist Finance

Napoleoni, Loretta (*co-ordinator*)

Boyer, Jan

Bruh, Brian (*advisor*)

Carisch, Rico

Castresana, Carlos

Champion, Daryl

Chandler, Michael

Fielding, Nick

Magnus, George

Sahathevan, Ganesh

Rapporteur: Jessup, Paul

10 Legal Responses

Corell, Hans (*co-ordinator*)

Aguirrezabal, Irune

Bekker, Pieter

De Vel, Guy

Donohue, Laura

Hafner, Gerhard

Holmes, Stephen

Perera, Rohan

Scharf, Michael

Stone, Chris

Externals: Kapplinghaus, Jurgen;

De Kerchove, Gilles

Rapporteur: Almqvist, Jessica

III Democratic Responses

Subject Area Coordinator: Bobbitt, Phil

11 Human Rights

Jahangir, Asma (*co-ordinator*)

Azzam, Fateh

Basombrío, Carlos

Hasina, Sheikh

Kane, Ibrahima

Mani, Rama

Méndez, Juan

Nadery, Ahmad Nader

Rashid, Ahmed

Ryan, Karin

External: Cooper, Abraham;

Posner, Michael

Rapporteur: Dixon, Kwame

12 Promoting Democracy and Accountable Government

Nodia, Ghia (*co-ordinator*)

Biehl, John

Bonino, Emma

Cepeda, Fernando

Diamond, Larry

Gyimah-Boadi, Emmanuel

Heintz, Stephen

Krastev, Ivan

Nemyria, Grygoriy

Obe, Ayo

Ottoway, Marina

Sussman, Gary

Zeedani, Said

Externals: Luers, William;

Rose-Ackerman, Susan

Rapporteur: Youngs, Richard

13 International Institutions

Hampson, Fen (*co-ordinator*)

Bluth, Elias (*advisor*)

Esposito, Carlos

Evans, Gareth

Farer, Tom

Heinbecker, Paul

Laurenti, Jeffrey

Luck, Edward

Picado, Sonia

Sadiq, Nafis

Slaughter, Anne-Marie (*advisor*)

External: Jiménez Ugarte, Javier

Rapporteur: Secares, Vasile

IV Civil Society

Subject Area Coordinators: Darcy de Oliveira, Miguel & Kaldor, Mary

14 Citizens as Actors

Abdullayeva, Arzu (*moderator*)

Darcy de Oliveira, Rosiska

El Banna, Hanny

Hilder, Paul

Khromey, Anna

Madhuku, Lovemore

Rocamora, Joel

Said, Yahia

Salame, Ghassam

Son, Gi-Woong

External: Shonholtz, Ray;

Stern, Nikki

Rapporteur: Juan Andrés Walliser

15 Civil Society and Political Violence

Fayemi, Kayode (*moderator*)

Al Fassi, Hatoon Ajwad

Al Rawi, Isam Kadhem

Al Sadeq, Heba

Belge, Murat

Cardoso, Ruth

Gorelick, Steven

Kumar, Radha

Raouf Ezzat, Heba

Walden, Tsvia

Wilson, Robin

Externals: Luers, Wendy;

Siemens, María Ángeles

Rapporteur: Sánchez Millas, María del Pilar

16 Strategies against Violence

Faber, Mient Jan (*moderator*)

Civico, Aldo

Chammari, Khémaïis

Edwar, Hana'a

Imroz, Parvez

Jendoubi, Kamel

Kandic, Natasa

Khan, Irene

Orlando, Leoluca

Shiva, Vandana

Salem, Walid

External: De Capitani, Emilio;

Martínez Gorriarán, Carlos;

Lubetzky, Daniel

Rapporteur: Ben O'Loughlin

V. International Institutions Oversight

Subject Area Coordinator: Hampson, Fen

17 Ad hoc Working Group: Science and Technology

Dalgaard-Nielsen, Anja (*co-ordinator*)

Ganley, Declan

Jenkins, Brian

Lukasik, Stephen

Zimmerman, Peter

Rapporteur: Eva del Hoyo Barbolla

Tuesday

Sessions this day are reserved for Working Group members and Club of Madrid Members.

08:30 Logistics and Information Briefing for Working Group Members
Room: **Polivalente**

09:00-10:30 Working Group Session I (parallel sessions)
Room: **Polivalente**

Thematic Subject Area I: The Causes or Underlying Factors of Terrorism

Individual and Psychological Explanations

The psychological make-up of individual terrorists and terrorist leaders can be an important factor in explaining their actions. This working group is concerned with what drives terrorists to commit violent acts, and how understanding their motivations can lead to a more effective response.

Political Explanations

Terrorism is politically motivated violence, and terrorists have exploited real as well as perceived political grievances. This working group examines the political causes of terrorism, and aims to identify if there are legitimate grievances which can be addressed.

Economic Explanations

This working group surveys the economic factors that underlie and sustain terrorism. Most radical movements that espouse violence arise from broader political conflicts centred on the demands of disadvantaged groups. What role is played by economic factors, and how do they inter-play with extreme ideologies and repressive state policies? What influence can be attributed to globalisation?

Religion and Religious Extremism

Some of the most violent terrorist groups in recent years have presented religion as a justification for their actions. This working group investigates the role of religion as a cause of terrorism, and explores what steps can be taken to foster inter-religious dialogue, tolerance and understanding.

Cultural Explanations

Terrorism is sometimes seen as a violent reaction to alien cultural values and influences. This working group deals with the question of how perceptions of cultural alienation and humiliation have contributed to the rise of international terrorism, and how these can be addressed.

Thematic Subject Area II: Confronting Terrorism

Policing

Global terrorism is local in its consequences, and it is national police forces that shoulder much of the responsibility for dealing with terrorism. This working group is devoted to how police forces can fight terrorism within the rule of law, and how international co-operation can improve their effectiveness.

Intelligence

In the struggle against terrorism, good intelligence is key. At the same time, many intelligence agencies have found it difficult to adapt to the challenge. This working group deals with the reform of the intelligence services, and how international co-operation could improve their effectiveness.

Military Responses

Terrorists do not function as conventional armies. They rarely wear uniforms and hold territory. Any potential role for the military in responding to the rise of global terrorism, therefore, requires continuously evolving approaches as part of a comprehensive strategy. This working group focuses on the role and the limitations of military force in confronting terrorism.

Terrorist Finance

No terrorist organisation can operate without financial resources. This working group debates the most important measures that need to be taken by governments and the financial community in order to make it more difficult for terrorist organisations to fund their activities.

Legal Responses

The rise of international terrorism calls for new legal frameworks and increased co-operation at the inter-state level. What new laws are required to cope with the terrorist threat? How can international agreements be made more responsive to the demands of the new security environment?

Thematic Subject Area III: Democratic Responses

Human Rights

Faced with the need to identify and dismantle terrorist networks, the protection of human rights has come under increasing strain. This working group analyses the defence of human rights within the struggle against terrorism, and their essential role as part of a democratic response to terrorism.

Promoting Democracy and Accountable Government

Lack of democracy can create conditions in which terrorist movements and their ideologies flourish. This working group examines democracy as a response or antidote to terrorism, including the priorities, efficacies and limits of the acceptable in the equation of democracy, terrorism and security.

International Institutions

Global terrorism requires a global response. Yet, while international co-operation is more necessary than ever, the struggle against terrorism has raised serious questions about the effectiveness and relevance of some international institutions. This working group explores how international cooperation can effectively contribute to the fight against terrorism.

Thematic Subject Area IV: Civil Society

Citizens as Actors

In the fight against terrorism, citizens have all too often been forgotten. In addition to the state response, the strengthening of civil society is critical in formulating a long-term response to terrorism. This working group discusses the roles citizens can play in strengthening democracy and countering terrorism.

Civil Society and Political Violence

While terrorists usually aim their campaigns of violence at governments, it is the citizens that suffer the most. This working group examines the impact of terrorism and political violence on civil society, and attempts to define the sometimes delicate relationship between the citizens and the terrorists.

Civil Society Strategies

If civil society is to become an effective means of prevention in the struggle against terrorism, it needs to develop a systematic understanding of its potential and limitations. This working group debates the various ways and means in which civil society can be mobilised to counter violence, and it aims to outline practical strategies that can be implemented across the globe.

10:30-10:45 Break

10:45 Participants are requested to go directly to the Polivalente for the Inauguration Plenary

11:00-12:00 Inaugural Plenary
Room: **Polivalente**

Presided by **Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Asturias.**

Brief Statements by:

Esperanza Aguirre, President of the Comunidad de Madrid

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President of the Club of Madrid

Alberto Ruiz Gallardón, Mayor of Madrid

Miguel Ángel Moratinos, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain

12:00-12:30 Break

12:30-14:00 Working Group Session II
Room: **Polivalente**
Continuation of previous sessions (see above).

12:30-14:00 Ad-Hoc Working Group on Science and Technology
Room: **Polivalente**
This group will meet to debate and discuss key issues of science, technology and terrorism and operates in parallel with Working Group Sessions for the remainder of the day.

14:00-15:30 Lunch
Room: **3rd floor restaurant**

15:30-17:00 Working Group Session III
Room: **Polivalente**
Continuation of previous sessions (see above).

17:00-17:30 Break

17:30-19:00 Working Group Session IV
Room: **Polivalente**
Continuation of previous sessions (see above).

Wednesday

09:00-10:30 Subject Area Report Out (closed session)

Working Group Coordinators share their conclusions with other Working Group members in their respective thematic subject areas.

09:00-10:30 Parallel sessions open to all Summit Participants

The War On Terror and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

The Arab-Israeli conflict has been a major source of instability in the Middle East. How has the war on terror affected that conflict? To what extent, if at all, has the war on terror improved the prospects for peace in the Middle East?

Panel organised in cooperation with Toledo International Centre for Peace (TICpax).

Room: **Roma**

Moderator:

Shlomo Ben-Ami, Vice-President of the Toledo International Centre for Peace, Spain; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Israel

Discussion Leaders:

Sa'eb Erekat, Chief Palestinian Negotiator

Efraim Halevy, Head, Centre for Strategic and Policy Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

Abdel Monem Said Aly, Director, Al Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt

Terje Rød-Larsen, President, International Peace Academy, USA, Special Envoy for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1559

Respondent:

Robert Malley, Director, Middle East Program, International Crisis Group (ICG), USA

Terrorism and the Travel Industry

Recent terrorist attacks have profoundly affected the tourism industry. How can we restore public confidence in international travel? How can we maximize security without obstructing the international flow of people that is so important to breaking down prejudices and creating cross-cultural opportunities?

Panel organised in cooperation with the Instituto de Empresa.

Room: **Londres**

Moderator:

Roger Collis, Travel Columnist, International Herald Tribune, United Kingdom

Discussion Leaders:

Victor Aguado, Chief Executive Officer, Eurocontrol, Belgium

Isabel Aguilera, Chief Operating Officer, NH Hotels, Spain

Pedro Argüelles, President, Boeing-Spain

William Fell, International Risk Adviser, British Airways Corporate Security, United Kingdom

Francisco Frangialli, Secretary-General, World Tourism Organization (WTO), Spain

Protecting the Humanitarian Space in the Face of Violence and Terror

In recent conflicts, the lines between humanitarian and military efforts have become increasingly blurred. Humanitarian agencies struggle in their work because they are no longer regarded as neutral actors. What can be done to recover this lost humanitarian space?

Panel organised in cooperation with Intermón Oxfam.

Room: **Paris**

Moderator:

María Angeles Espinosa, Journalist, El País, Spain

Discussion Leaders:

Denis Caillaux, Secretary-General, CARE International, Belgium

Hany El-Bana, Founder and President, Islamic Relief, United Kingdom

Juan Manuel Suárez del Toro, President, International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

Rafael Vila Sanjuán, Director General, Doctors Without Borders of Spain

Rapporteur:

Francisco Marcos Rey, Program Coordinator, Institute of Studies of Conflict and Humanitarian Action (IECAH), Spain

10:30-11:00 Break

11:00-12:30 Parallel sessions open to all Summit Participants

Democratic Reform in the Arab World

The weakness of democracy in the Arab world is often cited as inhibiting development and as a key underlying cause of international terrorism. What is the state of democratic reform in the region, and how can it be promoted and supported? What impact will recent events in Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the West Bank and Gaza have on democratic reform?

Room: **Roma**

Moderator:

Richard Beeston, Diplomatic Editor, The Times, United Kingdom

Discussion Leaders:

Amat A. Alsoswa, Minister for Human Rights, Yemen

Carl Bildt, Member, Club of Madrid; Former Prime Minister of Sweden

Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Chairman, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Egypt

Amre Moussa, Secretary-General, League of Arab States, Egypt

Respondents:

Frederick Halliday, Professor of International Relations, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom

Marina Ottaway, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, USA

From Conflict to Peace: Lessons from the Frontline

Latin America, Asia and Africa have spawned numerous violent political movements. The experiences of individual nations in dealing with these groups have great relevance to the contemporary debate about political violence. What lessons do they hold? What are successful institutional mechanisms?

*Panel organised in cooperation with The Project on Justice in Times of Transition at Harvard University and The Columbia University Center for International Conflict Resolution. **Sponsored by the Government of Norway.***

Room: **Paris**

Moderator:

Timothy Phillips, Co-Founder, The Project on Justice in Times of Transition, Harvard University, USA

Discussion Leaders:

Harriet C. Babbitt, Senior Vice-president, Hunt Alternative Funds, Former US Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States (OAS)

David Ervine, Leader, Northern Ireland Progressive Unionist Party, UK

John Hume, MP and former MEP, Nobel Prize Laureate, UK

Ram Manikkalingam, Senior Advisor to the President of Sri Lanka

Alonso Salazar, Deputy Mayor, Medellín, Colombia

Immigration: Is Integration Failing?

Like the perpetrators of the March 11 attacks, some immigrants have become radicalised only after taking up residence in Western-especially European-societies. How successful have Western states been in their efforts to integrate minorities? What practical steps can they take to foster a climate of democracy and tolerance?

Panel organised in cooperation with European Policy Centre & The Center for American Progress.

Room: **Londres**

Discussion Leaders:

Assia Bensalah Alaoui, Professor of International Law and Director, Research Centre for Strategic Studies, University of Mohamed V, Morocco

Morton H. Halperin, Senior Vice President and Director of Fellows, Center for American Progress, USA

Gilles Kepel, Professor, Institut d'Études Politiques, France

Tariq Ramadan, Scholar of Islamic Studies, France

Jan Ting, Professor of Law, Temple University, USA

Missing the Plot? The Politics of Intelligence Post 9/11

Whether 9/11 or 3/11, in the aftermath of large-scale terrorist attacks, the period of mourning is often followed by a phase of investigation, critical self-reflection, and-in some cases-even political controversy. The most obvious question: Why could the attack not be prevented? What could intelligence services have done better, how can they have improve their methods and practices? How do countries cope with the aftermath of terrorist attacks, and how can they deal with the politics of anti-terrorism?

Room: **Madrid**

Moderator:

Richard Ben Veniste, Commissioner, The Commission on the Attacks Against America, USA

Discussion Leaders:

Juan Hidalgo, Terrorism Advisor for the Spanish Secretary of State

Alexandr Kostin, Head, International Cooperation Department, Russian Ministry of the Interior

Ronald Noble, Secretary General, Interpol

Alfredo Prada Presa, Deputy Vice-President and Councillor for Home Affairs, Autonomous Government of Madrid

12:30-13:00 Break

13:00-14:30 Plenary: Working Group Conclusions
Room: **Polivalente**

Following several months of work by two hundred of the world's most eminent experts of terrorism the conclusions and practical policy recommendations on how to confront terrorism are presented to summit participants by the Subject Area Coordinators.

Chaired by:

Kim Campbell, Secretary-General, Club of Madrid

Remarks By:

Phil C. Bobbitt, Coordinator, Democratic Responses to Terrorism

Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President, Club of Madrid

Miguel Darcy, Co-coordinator, Civil Society

Fen Hampson, International Institution's Oversight Coordinator

Mary Kaldor, Co-coordinator, Civil Society

Ray Kendall, Coordinator, Confronting Terrorism

Peter R. Neumann, Content Director, International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security

Louise Richardson, Coordinator, The Causes or Underlying Factors of Terrorism

14:30-15:45 Lunch
Room: **Lower Level 3**

16:00-17:30 Parallel sessions open to all Summit Participants

Balancing the Agenda: How to Promote Development and Fight Terror

Some argue that the war on terror and international co-operation policies have conflicting needs and goals. How can we balance the policies intended to achieve the Millennium Development Goals with counter terrorism efforts?

Panel organised in cooperation with: Intermón Oxfam & Instituto Complutense de Estudios Internacionales (ICEI).

Room: **Roma**

Moderator:

Moisés Naim, Editor and Publisher, Foreign Policy Magazine, USA

Discussion Leaders:

Ignasi Carreras, Executive Director, Intermón Oxfam, Spain

Eveline Herfkens, Executive Director, UN Millennium Development Fund, USA

Kumi Naidoo, Secretary-General and Chief Executive Officer, CIVICUS, South Africa

Theo Sowa, Consultant, Ghana

Peter S. Watson, Chairman, President & CEO, Overseas Private Investment Corporation, USA

Rapporteur:

José Antonio Sanahuja, Professor and Director, Development and Cooperation Department, Institute of International Studies, Complutense University of Madrid, Spain

The Necessary Alliance: Strengthening Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century

While few would doubt that the transatlantic partnership remains central to global peace and stability, the global struggle against terrorism has presented the alliance with a significant challenge. How can the great democracies of Europe and North America move beyond political differences and further strengthen their alliance?

Room: **Madrid**

Moderator:

Nik Gowing, News Presenter, BBC World, United Kingdom

Discussion Leaders:

Madeleine K. Albright, Principal, The Albright Group LLC, and Former Secretary of State, USA

Timothy Garton Ash, Director, European Studies Centre, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, United Kingdom

Rand Beers, President of the Alliance for American Leadership and Profesor Ayudante, John F. Kennedy School of Government, University of Harvard

Emma Bonino, Member of the European Parliament

Ana Palacio, Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain

Hubert Vedrine, President, Hubert Vedrine Council; Former Foreign Minister of France

Gijs de Vries, Counter-Terrorism Coordinator, Council of the European Union

Respondent:

John Edwin Mroz, President and Founder, EastWest Institute, USA

Werner A. Perger, Journalist, Die Ziet, Germany

Freedom, Security and Civil Liberties

Protecting civilians from the threat of terrorism and safeguarding individual civil liberties are two of the most pressing tasks facing democracies today. How can we reconcile these two critical priorities? Is a trade off between freedom, security and civil liberties inevitable?

Panel organised in cooperation with Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE).

Sponsored by the Government of Norway.

Room: **Londres**

Moderator:

Celso Lafer, Professor of Law, University of São Paulo; Former Foreign Minister, Brazil

Discussion Leaders:

A.S. Anand, President, National Committee of Human Rights, India

Terry Davis, Secretary-General, Council of Europe, France

Jorge Dezcallar, Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See

Robert K. Goldman, Professor of Law and Co-Director, Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, Washington College of Law, The American University, USA

Nicholas Howen, Secretary-General, International Commission of Jurists, Switzerland

Irene Khan, Secretary-General, Amnesty International, United Kingdom

Women, Terror, Religion, Democracy: An Interactive Dialogue

Terror strikes the lives of women on many levels. Women worldwide are the subject of domestic violence, religious and political persecution and disproportionate risk of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Women are the victims of terrorism far more than they are the perpetrators of it. How does the tangle of terror affect women's lives? Can democracy help to create a safer world for women?

Panel organised in collaboration with: Globalitaria & The Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Room: **Paris**

Moderator:

Michael E. Conroy, Programme Officer, Rockefeller Brothers Foundation, USA

Discussion Leaders:

Mahnaz Afkhami, Founder and President, Women's Learning Partnership; Foreign Minister of State for Women's Affairs, Iran

Aleya El Bindari Hammad, Chair, International Advisory Board, Wagner School of Public Service, and visiting professor, New York University and George Washington University

Huda Imam, Director, Centre for Jerusalem Studies, Al-Quds University

Morena Argueta Herrera, Member of Parliament, El Salvador

John Raines, Professor of Religion, Temple University, USA

Relator:

Rosemary Vargas, Vocal, Globalitaria

17:30-18:00 Break

18:00-19:30 Plenary: Democracy and Terrorism

Democracy is the most effective tool for confronting terrorism and political violence. Prominent decision makers and thinkers engage in a free exchange of ideas on how best to deploy democracy in the struggle against terrorism.

Room: **Polivalente**

Moderator:

Jonathan Dimbleby, Presenter, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), United Kingdom

Discussion Leaders:

Madeleine K. Albright, Principal, The Albright Group LLC, and Former Secretary of State, USA

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Member, European Parliament, Germany

Robert L. Hutchings, Former Chairman, US National Intelligence Council; Assistant Dean, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Fernando Savater, Professor, Universidad Complutense, Spain

Lars Thunell, Executive Director, SEB, Sweden

19:30 Madrid in Memoriam

A service in remembrance of M11

Room: **Polivalente**

19:45 Reception Hosted by the Mayor of Madrid

Room: **Polivalente**

Thursday

09:00-10:30 Parallel sessions open to all Summit Participants

UN High Level Panel Report

The UN Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change provides crucial recommendations for the multilateral system to address the terrorist threat. Does the current international framework allow effective action against terrorism? How should international institutions address the link between terrorism and other major threats?

Room: **Madrid**

Moderator:

Antonio Vitorino, Former EU Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs, Portugal

Discussion Leaders:

Gareth Evans, Director, International Crisis Group, Belgium; Former Foreign Minister, Australia

Amre Moussa, Secretary-General, League of Arab States, Egypt

Satish Nambiar, Director, Council of the United Service Institution of India

Anand Panyarachun, Chairman, Thailand Research Institute; Former Prime Minister of Thailand

Kenneth Roth, Executive Director, Human Rights Watch, USA

Javier Rupérez, Executive Director, UN Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate

Respondents:

Robert Badinter, Senator, France

Jão Clemente Baena Soares, Former Secretary-General, Organisation of American States (OAS), Brazil

Enrique Iglesias, President, Inter-American Development Bank, USA

Qian Qi Chen, Former Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China

Nafis Sadik, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary-General for HIV/AIDS in Asia

Terrorism Goes High Tech

Science and technology have improved our daily lives, yet in many respects they have also made our societies more vulnerable. How are terrorists likely to exploit recent advances in all forms of technology? What future threat scenarios are most likely? In turn, how can we harness technology and science to fight terrorism more effectively.

This panel is the public presentation of several closed sessions held previously.

Room: **Amsterdam**

Moderator:

Brian Jenkins, Special Advisor to the President of RAND Corporation, USA

Discussion Leaders:

Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, Research Fellow, Danish International Studies Institute, Denmark

Declan Ganley, Chairman, Rivada Communications, Ireland

Steve Lukasik, Consultant, USA

Peter Zimmerman, Professor of War Studies, King's College London, United Kingdom

The World Over a Barrel: The Politics of Energy

The rise of global terrorism has highlighted both our dependence on oil from the Middle East and the vulnerability of the energy supply. What contributions can business make to enhance the safety of the world's energy? A geo-political assessment of the links between energy and terrorism.

Panel organised in cooperation with: Instituto de Empresa.

Room: **Paris**

Moderator:

David Buchan, Senior Editor for Energy, Financial Times, United Kingdom

Discussion Leaders:

Marcello Colitti, Consultant and Former Vice President, AGIP, Italy

Roger Diwan, Managing Director, PFC Energy, USA

Gary Hart, Former United States Senator, Colorado

Alastair Morrison, Chairman and CEO, Kroll International Security, United Kingdom

Religion and Religious Extremism

From Tokyo to Madrid, more terrorist groups than ever before are using religion to justify their actions. What explains the rise in religiously motivated terrorism? How can we prevent abuses and misinterpretations of religious texts? What role can all faiths play in promoting religious tolerance and inter-religious dialogue? **Sponsored by the Government of Norway.**

Room: **Roma**

Moderator:

Oliver McTernan, Fellow, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, USA

Discussion Leaders:

Feisal Abdul Rauf, Founder and CEO, American Sufi Muslim Association (ASMA), USA

Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway

Hassan Hanafi, Professor of Philosophy, Cairo University, Egypt

Syed Iqbal Riza, Former Chef de Cabinet, Executive Office of the Secretary General, United Nations

Ben Mollov, Lecturer of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, Conflict Management Program, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Respondents:

William Vendley, Secretary General, The World Conference of Religions for Peace, USA

Brian Glynn Williams, Assistant Professor of Islamic Civilization, University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, USA

From Violence to Voting: Armed Groups and Peace Processes

Non-state armed actors frequently enter political negotiations to reach peace agreements, yet the conditions that enable successful engagement remain elusive. This panel explores the case for engagement with armed groups, and the impact that the *war on terror* has had on peacemaking processes. *Panel organised in cooperation with Conciliation Resources.* **Sponsored by the Government of Norway.**

Room: **Londres**

Moderator:

Margaret Anstee, Former Under Secretary-General, United Nations

Discussion Leaders:

Alastair Crooke, Founder and Director, Conflicts Forum, UK

Tore Hattrem, Director-General, Section for Peace and Reconciliation, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Celia McKeon, Accord Programme Manager, Conciliation Resources, United Kingdom

Andrés Pastrana, Member, Club of Madrid; Former President of Colombia.

Joaquin Villalobos, Researcher, Oxford University, UK

10:30-11:00 Break

10:45-12:45 Terrorism and Anti-Terrorism in Spain

After three decades of ethno-nationalistic terrorism by ETA, the March 11th Attacks of last year awakened Spain to Islamic terrorism. This panel will examine the most important characteristics of terrorism in Spain, the Government's anti-terrorist response as well as the role of civil society and public opinion in the face of what is today, the principal concern of citizens.

Panel coordinated with University Rey Juan Carlos.

Room: **Madrid**

Moderator:

Rogelio Alonso, Professor, University Rey Juan Carlos, Spain

Discussion Leaders:

Florencio Domínguez, Editor-in-chief, Vasco Press, Spain

Antonio Elorza, Chair of Political Theory, University Complutense of Madrid, Spain

Carlos Fernández de Casadevante, Chair of Public International Law, University Rey Juan Carlos, Spain

Oscar Jaime Jiménez, Professor of Political Science, Public University of Navarra, Spain

Francisco Llera, Chair of Political Science, University of Basque Country, Spain

José Manuel Mata, Profesor of Political Science, University of the Basque Country, Spain

Maite Pagazaurtundua, Vice-President, Foundation for the Victims of Terrorism, Spain

Jesús Ramírez Castanedo, Vice-President, Association for the Victims of 11M, Spain

Fernando Reinares, Chair of Political Science, University Rey Juan Carlos, Spain

Eduarne Uriarte, Chair of Political Science, University Rey Juan Carlos, Spain

The Media and Terrorism: Friends or Foes?

Terrorism is a strategy of communication. How do terrorists use the modern media? What is the media's role and responsibility in the struggle against terrorism? How can responsible journalists strike the right balance between the need to inform the public and the desire to protect it from terrorism?

Panel co-ordinated with Grupo Prisa.

Room: **Paris**

Moderator:

Juan Luis Cebrian, Chief Executive Officer, Grupo Prisa, Spain

Discussion Leaders:

Hasan Cemal, Senior Columnist, Milliyet National Daily, Turkey

Jean-Marie Colombani, Editor, Le Monde, France

Antonio Franco, Editor and Chief, El Periodo de Cataluña, Spain

Paolo Garimberti, Director International Relations and Corporate Development, La Repubblica Gruppo l'Espresso, Italy

Matthias Naas, Deputy Editor-in-Chief, DIE ZEIT weekly Magazine, Germany

Giannini Riotta, Managing Editor, Corriere della Sera, Italy

Stopping the Spread of WMDs

Chemical, biological, nuclear or radiological weapons in the hands of terrorists represent perhaps the greatest potential threat to international security today. How great is this risk, and how can we avert it? What can democracies do to improve international co-operation on non-proliferation?

Room: **Roma**

Moderator:

Christopher Dickey, Paris Bureau Chief and Middle East Regional Editor, Newsweek, France

Discussion Leaders:

Il Hwan Cho, Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism, Republic of Korea

John Colston, Assistant Secretary-General, Defence Planning and Operations, NATO, Belgium

Rolf Ekeus, Former Head, UNSCOM Weapons Inspection Mission to Iraq; High Commissioner on National Minorities, OSCE, Belgium; Chairman of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Sweden

Eugene Habiger, Lt. General (retired), United States Air Force (USAF);
Board Member, Nuclear Threat Initiative, USA

Respondent:

Mahmoud Barakat, Professor and Consultant, Department of Safeguards and
Physical Protection, Atomic Energy Authority, Egypt

Jonathan Schell, Senior Fellow, Yale Center for the Study of Globalization

The Impact of Terrorism on Financial Institutions

Even though financial markets proved remarkably robust in the weeks after 9/11, terrorism has had a profound impact on financial markets and institutions. What can we do to make markets and institutions even more robust, in terms of both infrastructure and systemic stability? How has the fight against terrorist financing affected financial markets? Are existing approaches sufficient or is there more we should be doing?

Panel organised in cooperation with: Instituto de Empresa.

Room: **Berlin**

Moderator:

Arpad von Lazar, Professor Emeritus, The Fletcher School, Tufts University, USA

Discussion Leaders:

Rico Carisch, Journalist and Analyst, USA

Peter Eigen, Chairman, Transparency International, Germany

Reto Francioni, President and Chairman, Board of SWX-Group, Italy

Hermann Alexander Schindler, Board Member, Union Investment,
Germany

Peter Sutherland, Chairman, Goldman Sachs International, United Kingdom

Democracy, Terrorism and the Open Internet

Despite their anti-modern ideology, some of the most violent terrorist groups have also been the most skilled in exploiting the advantages of the Internet. How can we stop this abuse of modern communications technology, while preserving the advantages and freedoms that it offers?

Panel co-ordinated with The Safe Democracy Foundation.

Room: **Londres**

Moderator:

Marko Ahtisaari, Director, Insight and Foresight Unit, Nokia, Finland

Joichi Ito, Founder and Chief Executive Officer, Neoteny, Japan

Discussion Leaders:

John Gage, Chief Researcher, Sun Microsystems, USA

Dan Gillmor, Founder, Grassroots Media Inc., USA

Rebecca MacKinnon, Media Fellow, Joan Shorenstein Center for Press Politics and Public Policy, Harvard University, USA

Noriko Takiguchi, Journalist and Author, Japan

Martin Varsavsky, President, Safe Democracy Foundation, Spain

The other participants from the working sessions on the previous day will attend in the audience and contribute to the discussion.

12:30-13:00 Break

13:00-14:30 Plenary: The Way Ahead

Today, the world's democracies are confronting the threat of terrorism all over the globe, yet our work is far from over. Prominent political leaders and thinkers share their thoughts with Summit participants in a highly interactive process.

Room: **Polivalente**

Moderator:

Miguel Angel Moratinos, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Development, Spain

Discussion Leaders:

Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway

William J. Clinton, Former President of the United States

Enrique Iglesias, President, Inter-American Development Bank, USA

H.M. Queen Noor of Jordan

Javier Solana, Secretary-General, Council of the EU and EU High Representative, Common Security and Foreign Policy

George Soros, Founder and Chairman, Open Society Institute, USA

14:30-16:00 Lunch

Room: **Basement 3**
