



Democracy
for a safer world

INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT ON
DEMOCRACY, TERRORISM AND SECURITY

8-11 March 2005 Madrid

Terrorism

“Any action, in addition to actions already specified by the existing conventions on aspects of terrorism, the Geneva Conventions and Security Council resolution 1566 (2004), that is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such an act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.”

The United Nations' Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, Final Report (1 December 2004)

March 11, 2004

Ten bombs exploded on four trains during rush hour in Madrid. More than 190 people died, almost 2,000 were injured. It was one of the most devastating terrorist attacks in Europe in recent history. As in the United States of America on September 11, 2001, it was an attack on freedom and democracy by an international network of terrorists.

One year on, Madrid will be the setting for a unique conference, the **International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security**. Its purpose is to build a common agenda on how the community of democratic nations can most effectively confront terrorism, in memory of its victims from across the world.

Objectives and Philosophy

Against the background of the March 11 attacks, the Summit aims to promote a vision of a world founded on democratic values and committed to effective co-operation in the fight against terrorism. The Summit will bring together the world's leading experts and most influential policymakers, as well as ordinary citizens from across the globe.

The result will be an innovative plan of action – The Madrid Agenda – that strives to bring together the world's nations to develop a common strategy for confronting terrorism in all its forms through democratic means.

The **International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security** is a non-partisan event that aims to unite democratic forces from across the political spectrum. Since terrorism is a global phenomenon requiring a global response, our objective is to provide an international forum to discuss pragmatic strategies, comparative lessons and concrete, forward-looking steps.

The Summit

The Summit will begin on Tuesday March 8 and culminate on Friday March 11, 2005:

- **On the first day**, working groups of experts will engage with political leaders and decisionmakers;
- **On the second and third day**, a wider audience will examine the most challenging questions facing the democratic community as we work to reduce the vulnerability of our societies to terrorist violence;
- **On March 11**, the official commemoration ceremonies of the Madrid attacks will take place.

The Participants

The Summit will bring together global leaders and other exceptional individuals, whose experience and expertise will transform the ideas from the Summit into a plan of action. The Summit will be attended by:

- Heads of State and Government
- The Members of the Club of Madrid
- Key policymakers
- Leading scholars
- Heads of international and non-governmental organisations
- Business and religious leaders
- Outstanding intellectuals, artists and journalists

However, it is citizens who are most directly affected by terrorism. They therefore must participate in the debate on how to confront terrorism. The Summit will give a voice to individual citizens and civil society groups from across the world, including victims of terrorism and their families.

The Organisation

The Summit is organised by the **Club of Madrid** (www.clubmadrid.org), an independent, non-partisan organisation dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world by drawing on the unique experience and resources of fifty-five former democratic Heads of State and Government, including all four former Prime Ministers of Spain since the democratic transition in 1975.

The President of the Club of Madrid is the former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and the Vice President is the former President of Ireland and United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson. Its Secretary General is Kim Campbell, former Prime Minister of Canada. Bill Clinton, the former President of the United States of America, is Honorary Co-Chairman.

The Summit, a politically inclusive event, will be held under the High Patronage and in the presence of H.M. the King of Spain. It has the support of the country's principal political forces and is funded by the Spanish Government, the regional government of Madrid, the Madrid City Authorities and the Government of Norway.

The Madrid Agenda

The democratic strategy against terrorism that emerges from the Summit will be embodied in the **Madrid Agenda**. This agenda will include:

- **The Madrid Principles**, a set of guidelines aimed at shaping democratic responses to terrorism;
- **The Madrid Policy Recommendations**, the most important practical steps that democracies can take to make the international struggle against terrorism more effective.

To prepare the **Madrid Agenda**, more than 200 of the world's leading experts are currently involved in a process of intense study focused on the following Subject Areas:

- **The Causes and Underlying Factors of Terrorism**. To overcome terrorism, we need to understand why it occurs. Any effective strategy against terrorism requires knowing what motivates this form of violence against innocent civilians.
- **Confronting Terrorism**. We owe it to the thousands of victims of terrorism to find better ways to stop terrorists from threatening our democratic way of life. For this reason, we will explore the most effective use of the police, the military, the intelligence services and other national and international agencies to prevent and fight terrorism.
- **Towards a Democratic Response**. Defending our core democratic values means responding to terrorist attacks in ways that strengthen our democratic institutions and spread freedom where it does not yet exist. We aim to construct a strategy against terrorism based on the principles of democracy and international co-operation.
- **Civil Society**. Strengthening civil society against extremists and violent ideologies, as well as mobilising citizens in favour of democracy, are essential parts of the long-term response to terrorism. Civic engagement will therefore be one of the key issues addressed at the International Summit.

Programme - Time schedule

Updates on www.safe-democracy.org

The **International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security** will begin on Tuesday, March 8, and culminate on Friday, March 11, 2005:

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

09.00 The Madrid Agenda Working Groups Session I (parallel sessions)

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

Individual and Psychological Explanations of Terrorism

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.

Good governance

Both political instability and authoritarianism can create the conditions in which terrorist movements and their extremist ideologies flourish. This working group examines how transparent and accountable governance structures can be created and promoted.

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 co-operation can effectively contribute to the fight against terrorism.

Thematic Subject Area IV: Civil Society

Democracy From Below

A healthy democracy needs a vibrant civil society and a strong democratic political culture. This working group is directed at how to promote the spread and growth of democracy and how to encourage political transition from the grassroots, not least because authoritarian regimes often provide the breeding ground for violent movements.

Marginalising the Extremists

Extremist ideologies and fundamentalism thrive in conditions of despair and limited opportunities. This working group analyses the political ideologies that are used to justify violence, and the strategies that can be employed to counter them. How can we break the cycle of violence, fear and extremism?

Dealing with Violence

Ordinary people are directly affected not only by the most extreme manifestations of violence, such as terrorism, but also by a pervasive 'culture of violence'. This working group explores what citizens can do to deal with all forms of violence in their societies – political, criminal and domestic.

10.30 Break

11.00 Inaugural Plenary presided by H.R.H Prince of Asturias

12.30 Break

13.00 Working Group Session II
Continuation of previous session (see above).

14.30 Lunch

16.00 Working Group Session III
Continuation of previous session (see above).

17.30 Break

18.00 Working Group Session IV
Continuation of previous session (see above).

20.00 Dinner for Working Group Members and Panellists

Wednesday

Sessions open to all Summit participants

08.30 Registration for New Participants

09.00 First Round of Sessions
(Sessions run simultaneously)

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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with the Toledo International Centre for Peace.

From Violence to Voting

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.

This panel will be organised in co-operation with Conciliation Resources

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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with Internón Oxfam.

Subject Area Report Out *(working group members only)*

Working Group Coordinators share their conclusions with other working group members in their respective thematic subject area.

10:30 Break

11.00 Second Round of Sessions
(Sessions run simultaneously)

Building Democracy in the Arab World

The weakness of democracy in the Middle East has been cited as one of the key underlying causes of international terrorism. How can we promote sustainable democracy in the Middle East, and what can we learn from recent attempts at nation building in Afghanistan and Iraq?

From Conflict to Peace: Lessons Learned 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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with The Project on Justice in Times of Transition at Harvard University and the Columbia University Center for International Conflict Resolution

Immigration: Is Integration Failing?

Like the perpetrators of the March 11 attacks, some immigrants have become radicalized 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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with the European Policy Centre and the Center for American Progress.

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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with the Instituto de Empresa.

12:30 Break

13:00 Presentation of Working Group Conclusions

Following several months of work by two hundred of the world's best experts, their conclusions and practical policy recommendations on how to improve the struggle against terrorism are presented to summit participants.

14.30 Lunch

16.00 Third Round of Sessions
(Sessions run simultaneously)

Women and Terrorism: The Invisible Players?

Although most terrorists are men, women have come to play an increasingly important role as terrorists, terrorist sympathisers, and in the struggle against terrorism. How do women experience and view terrorism? What are women's organisations around the world doing to fight terrorism, and what can we learn from them?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with Globalitaria and the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation.

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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with Intermón Oxfam and the Instituto Complutense de Estudios Internacionales.

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?

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?

18:00 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.

20:00 Cultural Programme

20:30 Reception hosted by Club of Madrid

Thursday

08.30 Registration for New Participants

09.00 First Round of Sessions

(Sessions run simultaneously)

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? *This panel will be organised in co-operation with Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE).*

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?

The World Over a Barrel

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.

This panel will be organised in co-operation with the Instituto de Empresa.

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?

10.30 Break

11.00 Second Round of Sessions
(Sessions run simultaneously)

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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with Grupo Prisa.

Terrorism: The Spanish Experience

In spite of its successful transition to democracy, Spain has had to live with the threat from terrorism throughout its recent history. This workshop reviews the Spanish experience with terrorism, including the March 11 attacks. How has terrorism changed Spanish society? What lessons have been learned?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with Rey Juan Carlos University

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?

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?

This panel will be organised in co-operation with the Instituto de Empresa.

Workshop: Terrorism, Democracy and the 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?

This workshop will be organised in co-operation with the Safe Democracy Foundation. The Safe Democracy Foundation is also organising on March 11, in the Atocha Station, a workshop on the same subject that will bring together internet experts from around the world to promote creative thinking in the struggle against terrorism.

12.30 Break

13:00 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.

14.30 Lunch

16:00 Closing Plenary: Part I

Presided over by Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, this will feature a conversation with attending Heads of State and Government.

17.30 Break

17.45 Closing Plenary: Part II

Keynote address by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and concluding remarks by H.M. the King of Spain.

20.00 Dinner

Cultural Activity

Friday

Participants will be invited to attend the official commemorative activities, time and place to be confirmed by the Spanish Authorities.

Summit Venue

The Summit will take place in Madrid's **Palacio Municipal de Congresos Convention Center**. The Centre will provide a dynamic, fluid and self-contained environment to facilitate the exchange of ideas and experiences.

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Accommodation

Working group members and external experts participating in the Summit will stay at the Sofitel and Novotel Hotels which are both within walking distance of the **Palacio Municipal de Congresos** and 5 minutes away from **Barajas International Airport**. This will provide working group members with a focused working environment and an opportunity to relax and interact informally.

Heads of State and Government and other dignitaries attending the Summit will be staying at **The Westin Palace Hotel**. Built in 1912 and located in the heart of Madrid, it is one the city's leading hotels and has played a central role in all of the important events connected with Spain's history.

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MEMBERS of the CLUB de MADRID

and its Executive Committee (As at 1 December 2004)

Adamkus, Valdas (-)	President of Lithuania
Ahtisaari, Martti	Former President of Finland
Alfonsín, Raúl	Former President of Argentina
Al-Mahdi, Sadig	Former Prime Minister of Sudan
Arzú, Alvaro	Former President of Guatemala
Aylwin, Patricio	Former President of Chile
Aznar, José María	Former Prime Minister of Spain
Betancur, Belisario	Former President of Colombia
Bildt, Carl	Former Prime Minister of Sweden
Brundtland, Gro Harlem	Former Prime Minister of Norway
Calvo-Sotelo, Leopoldo	Former Prime Minister of Spain
Campbell, Kim (*)	Secretary General. Former Prime Minister of Canada
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique (*)	President. Former President of Brazil
Cavaco Silva, Aníbal	Former Prime Minister of Portugal
Clinton, William J.	Honorary Co-Chairman. Former President of the United States of America
Delors, Jacques	Former President of the European Commission
Dimitrov, Philip	Former Prime Minister of Bulgaria
Fernández, Leonel (-)	President of the Dominican Republic
Figueres, José María (*)	Former President of Costa Rica
Frei Ruiz-Tagle, Eduardo (*)	Former President of Chile
Gaviria, César (*)	Former President of Colombia
González Márquez, Felipe	Former Prime Minister of Spain
Gorbachev, Mikhail	Former President of the Soviet Union
Gujral, Inder Kumar	Former Prime Minister of India
Guterres, Antonio Oliveira	Former Prime Minister of Portugal
Havel, Václav	Former President of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic
Hurtado, Osvaldo	Former President of Ecuador
Jospin, Lionel	Former Prime Minister of France
Kohl, Helmut	Former Chancellor of Germany
Konaré, Alpha Oumar	Former President of Mali
Kučan, Milan	Former President of Slovenia
Lee, Hong-Koo (*)	Former Prime Minister of Korea
Major, John	Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
Mascarenhas Monteiro, Antonio	Former President of Cape Verde
Masire, Ketumile	Former President of Botswana
Mazowiecki, Tadeusz	Former Prime Minister of Poland
Meidani, Rexhep (*)	Former President of Albania
Meri, Lennart	Former President of Estonia
Paniagua, Valentín (*)	Former President of Peru
Panyarachun, Anand	Former Prime Minister of Thailand
Pastrana, Andrés	Former President of Colombia
Pérez de Cuellar, Javier	Former UN Secretary-General. Former Prime Minister of Peru
Prodi, Romano	Former President of the EC. Former Prime Minister of Italy
Quiroga, Jorge Fernando	Former President of Bolivia
Ramos, Fidel Valdes	Former President of the Republic of the Philippines
Rasmussen, Poul Nyrup	Former Prime Minister of Denmark
Robinson, Mary (*)	Vice President. Former President of Ireland
Roman, Petre	Former Prime Minister of Romania
Sánchez de Lozada, Gonzalo	Former President of Bolivia
Sanguinetti, Julio María (*)	Former President of Uruguay
Shipley, Jennifer Mary	Former Prime Minister of New Zealand
Soares, Mário	Former President of Portugal
Suárez, Adolfo	Former Prime Minister of Spain
Suchocka, Hanna (*)	Former Prime Minister of Poland
Zedillo, Ernesto (*)	Former President of Mexico
Hidalgo, Diego (*)	President of FRIDE
Jones, T. Anthony (*)	Vice-president and Executive Manager of GFNA
Matthews, George (*)	President of GFNA
Romero, José Manuel (*)	Trustee of FRIDE
H.E. José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (+)	Prime Minister of Spain
H.E. Esperanza Aguirre (+)	President of the Regional Government of Madrid
H.E. Alberto Ruíz-Gallardón (+)	Mayor of Madrid

(*) Members of the Executive Committee

(-) Inactive status while holding executive office

(+) Honorary Member