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
      Crenlinsten, Ronald
      Farid, Azzi Mohammed
      Gunartna, Rohan
      Herrero, Jose-Luis
      Ibrahim, Barbara
      Ibrahim, Saad
      Reinares, Fernando
      Sánchez-Cuenca, Ignacio
      Stepanova, Ekaterina

   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: Ana del Hoyo Barbolla

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
External: 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
Castreresana, 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

11 Human Rights
Jahangir, Asma (co-ordinator)
Azzam, Fateh
Basombrio, 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
Sadik, 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
Khrome, Anna
Mdhuku, 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, Hatou Ajwad
Al Rawi, Isam Kadhem
Al Sadeq, Heba
Belge, Murat
Cardoso, Ruth
Gorelick, Steven
Kumar, Radha
Raouf Ezzat, Heba
Walden, Tsvia
Wilson, Robin
External: Luers, Wendy;
Siemens, María Ángeles
Rapporteur: Sánchez Millas, María del Pilar

16 Strategies against Violence
Faber, Mient Jan (moderator)
Civico, Aldo
Chammari, Khémaïs
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
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Room</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:00-12:00</td>
<td>Inaugural Plenary</td>
<td>Polivalente</td>
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<td>Presided by Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Asturias.</td>
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<td>Brief Statements by:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Esperanza Aguirre, President of the Comunidad de Madrid</td>
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<td>Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President of the Club of Madrid</td>
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<td>Alberto Ruiz Gallardón, Mayor of Madrid</td>
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<td>Miguel Ángel Moratinos, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain</td>
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<td>12:00-12:30</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<td>12:30-14:00</td>
<td>Working Group Session II</td>
<td>Polivalente</td>
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<td>Continuation of previous sessions (see above).</td>
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<td>12:30-14:00</td>
<td>Ad-Hoc Working Group on Science and Technology</td>
<td>Polivalente</td>
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<td>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.</td>
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<td>14:00-15:30</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>3rd floor restaurant</td>
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<td>15:30-17:00</td>
<td>Working Group Session III</td>
<td>Polivalente</td>
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<td>17:00-17:30</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<td>17:30-19:00</td>
<td>Working Group Session IV</td>
<td>Polivalente</td>
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<td>Continuation of previous sessions (see above).</td>
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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

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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
Jôao 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
Edurne Uriarte, Chair of Political Science, University Rey Juan Carlos, Spain
11:00-12:30  Parallel sessions open to all Summit Participants

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: Polivalent
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