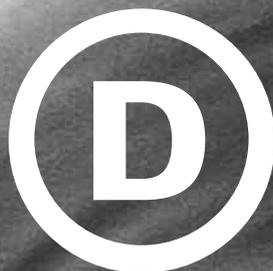


INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT ON
DEMOCRACY, TERRORISM AND SECURITY

8-11 March 2005 Madrid



Democracy
for a safer world

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 was the setting for a unique conference, the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security. Its purpose was 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 Results

The Summit aimed to promote a vision of a world founded on democratic values and committed to effective co-operation in the fight against terrorism. The Summit brought together the world's leading scholars, practitioners and most influential policymakers and was the largest gathering of security and terrorism experts that has ever taken place.

- 250 experts on terrorism and security.
- 23 Heads of State and Government.
- 34 former Heads of State and Government.
- Official Delegations for more than 40 countries.
- Heads of inter-governmental and international organisations including the European Parliament, Council and Commission, NATO, Interpol, the League of Arab States and many others.

The result of more than one hundred panels, plenaries and working group sessions was an innovative plan of action: The Madrid Agenda.

This document was adopted by an Extraordinary General Assembly of the Club of Madrid on March 11, 2005.





The Madrid Agenda

To remember and honour the victims of the terrorist attacks of March 11, 2004, the strength and courage of the citizens of Madrid, and through them, all victims of terrorism and those who confront its threat.

We, the members of the Club of Madrid, former presidents and prime ministers of democratic countries dedicated to the promotion of democracy, have brought together political leaders, experts and citizens from across the world.

We listened to many voices. We acknowledged the widespread fear and uncertainty generated by terrorism. Our principles and policy recommendations address these fundamental concerns.

Ours is a call to action for leaders everywhere. An agenda for action for Governments, institutions, civil society, the media and individuals. A global democratic response to the global threat of terrorism.

The Madrid Principles

Terrorism is a crime against all humanity. It endangers the lives of innocent people. It creates a climate of hate and fear, it fuels global divisions along ethnic and religious lines. Terrorism constitutes one of the most serious violations of peace, international law and the values of human dignity.

Terrorism is an attack on democracy and human rights. No cause justifies the targeting of civilians and non-combatants through intimidation and deadly acts of violence.

We firmly reject any ideology that guides the actions of terrorists. We decisively condemn their methods. Our vision is based on a common set of universal values and principles. Freedom and human dignity. Protection and empowerment of citizens. Building and strengthening of democracy at all levels. Promotion of peace and justice.



A Comprehensive Response

We owe it to the victims to bring the terrorists to justice. Law enforcement agencies need the powers required, yet they must never sacrifice the principles they are dedicated to defend. Measures to counter terrorism should fully respect international standards of human rights and the rule of law.

In the fight against terrorism, forceful measures are necessary. Military action, when needed, must always be coordinated with law enforcement and judicial measures as well as political, diplomatic, economic and social responses.

We call upon every state to exercise its right and fulfil its duty to protect its citizens. Governments, individually and collectively, should prevent and combat terrorist acts. International institutions, governments and civil society should also address the underlying risk factors that provide terrorists with support and recruits.

International Cooperation

Terrorism is now a global threat. We saw it not only in Madrid, New York and Washington, but also in Dar-es-Salaam, Nairobi, Tel Aviv, Bali, Riyadh, Casablanca, Baghdad, Bombay, and Beslan. It calls for a global response. Governments and civil society must reignite their efforts at promoting international engagement, cooperation and dialogue.

International legitimacy is a moral and practical imperative. A multilateral approach is indispensable. International institutions, especially the United Nations, must be strengthened. We must renew our efforts to make these institutions more transparent, democratic and effective in combating the threat.

Narrow national mindsets are counterproductive. Legal institutions, law enforcement and intelligence agencies must cooperate and exchange pertinent information across national boundaries.



Citizens and Democracy

Only freedom and democracy can ultimately defeat terrorism. No other system of government can claim more legitimacy, and through no other system can political grievances be addressed more effectively.

Citizens promote and defend democracy. We must support the growth of democratic movements in every nation, and reaffirm our commitment to solidarity, inclusiveness and respect for cultural diversity.

Citizens are actors, not spectators. They embody the principles and values of democracy. A vibrant civil society plays a strategic role in protecting local communities, countering extremist ideologies and dealing with political violence.

A Call to Action

An aggression on any nation is an aggression on all nations. An injury to one human being is an injury to all humanity. Indifference cannot be countenanced. We call on each and everyone. On all states, all organizations -national and international- and on all citizens.

Drawing on the deliberations of political leaders, experts and citizens, we have identified the following recommendations for action, which we believe should be extended, reviewed, and implemented as part of an ongoing, dynamic process.

The Madrid Recommendations

Political and philosophical differences about the nature of terrorism must not be used as an excuse for inaction. We support the Global Strategy for Fighting Terrorism announced by the Secretary General of the United Nations at the Madrid Summit on March 10. We urgently call for:

- the adoption of the definition proposed by the United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change in December 2004.
- the ratification and implementation of all anti-terrorism-related conventions by those states which have not yet done so.
- the speedy conclusion of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism.

And we believe it is a moral and practical necessity to address the needs of the victims of terrorism. We therefore recommend:

- exploring the possibility of creating high commissioners for victims both at the national and international level, who will represent the victims' right to know the truth, obtain justice, adequate redress and integral reparation.



International Co-operation

The basis for effective co-operation across national borders is trust and respect for the rule of law. Trust is built through shared norms, reciprocity and the practical experience of effective collaboration. To encourage this sense of mutual confidence, we propose:

- the establishment of regular forums for law enforcement and intelligence officials, which may grow from informal bilateral consultations into a formalised structure for multilateral co-operation.
- the strengthening of regional organisations, so that measures to combat terrorism are tailored to local needs and benefit from local knowledge and networks.
- the effective co-ordination of these mechanisms at the global level.

International collaboration in the fight against terrorism is also a question of human and financial capital. We call for:

- the establishment of an international mechanism -including states, non-governmental organisations and the private sector- to help link states that are in need of resources with those that can provide assistance.
- the creation of a trust fund for the purpose of assisting governments that lack the financial resources to implement their obligations, as proposed by the United Nations High-Level Panel.

Underlying Risk Factors

Terrorism thrives on intimidation, fear and hatred. Authorities have a responsibility to ensure freedom, including religious freedom. Leaders, including religious leaders, have a responsibility, in turn, not to abuse that freedom by encouraging or justifying hatred, fanaticism or religious war. We propose:

- the systematic promotion of cultural and religious dialogue through local encounters, round tables and international exchange programmes.
- the continuous review by authorities and the mass media of their use of language to ensure it does not unwittingly or disproportionately reinforce the terrorist objective of intimidation, fear and hatred.
- the creation of programmes, national and international, to monitor the expression of racism, ethnic confrontation and religious extremism, their impact in the media, as well as to review school textbooks for their stance on cultural and religious tolerance.



While poverty is not a direct cause of terrorism, economic and social policy can help mitigate exclusion and the impact of rapid socioeconomic change, which give rise to grievances that are often exploited by terrorists. We recommend:

- the adoption of long-term trade, aid and investment policies that help empower marginalised groups and promote participation.
- new efforts to reduce structural inequalities within societies by eliminating group discrimination.
- the launch of programmes aimed at promoting women's education, employment and empowerment.
- the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.

Terrorists prosper in societies where there are unresolved conflicts and few accountable mechanisms for addressing political grievances. We call for:

- new initiatives at mediation and peace-making for societies which are marked by conflict and division, because democracy and peace go hand in hand.
- a redoubling of efforts to promote and strengthen democratic institutions and transparency within countries and at the global level. Initiatives such as the Community of Democracies may contribute to these goals.



Confronting Terrorism

Democratic principles and values are essential tools in the fight against terrorism. While any successful strategy for dealing with terrorism requires terrorists be isolated, the preference must be to treat terrorism as a criminal act to be handled through existing systems of law enforcement, with full respect for human rights and the rule of law. We recommend:

- taking effective measures to make impunity impossible either for acts of terrorism or for the abuse of human rights in counter-terrorism measures.
- the incorporation of human rights laws in all anti-terrorism programmes and policies of national governments as well as international bodies.
- the implementation of the proposal to create a special rapporteur who would report to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights on the compatibility of counter-terrorism measures with human rights law, as endorsed by the United Nations Secretary General in Madrid.
- the inclusion and integration of minority and diaspora communities in all our societies.
- the building of democratic political institutions across the world embodying these same principles.

In the fight against terrorism, any information about attacks on another state must be treated like information relating to attacks on one's own state. In order to facilitate the sharing of intelligence across borders, we propose:

- the overhaul of classification rules that hinder the rapid exchange of information.
- the clarification of conditions under which information will be shared with other states on the basis of availability.
- the use of state of the art technology to create regional and global anti-terrorism data bases.

The principle of international solidarity and co-operation must also apply to defensive measures. We recommend:

- the creation of cross-border preparedness programmes in which governments and private business participate in building shared stockpiles of pharmaceuticals and vaccines, as well as the seamless co-operation of emergency services.



Solidarity must be enhanced by new efforts at co-ordinating the existing instruments of anti-terrorist collaboration. We propose:

- the streamlining and harmonisation of national and international tools in the fight against terrorism.
- the creation of clear guidelines on the role of the armed forces in relation to other agencies of law enforcement at the national level.
- the drawing up of national plans to co-ordinate responsibilities in the fight against terrorism, allowing for agencies or organisations with special skills to contribute to a comprehensive effort.

The threat from terrorism has made efforts to limit the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction even more urgent. We call for:

- the United Nations Security Council to initiate on-site investigations where it is believed that a state is supporting terrorist networks, and if necessary to use the full range of measures under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.
- the conclusion of the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, and the strengthening and implementation of the biological weapons convention.
- the continuation of innovative global efforts to reduce the threat from weapons of mass destruction, such as the Global Threat Reduction Initiative and the Global Partnerships.

Terrorists must be deprived of the financial resources necessary to conduct their campaigns. To curb terrorist funding networks, we recommend:

- increased and co-ordinated law enforcement and political and civic education campaigns aimed at reducing the trafficking of illegal narcotics, revenues from which are used to finance terrorism.
- the creation of an international anti-terrorist finance centre, which furthers research, trains national enforcement officials, and serves as a source of co-ordination and mutual assistance.
- the development of tools to increase the transparency of fundraising in the private and charitable sectors through the exchange of best practices.
- the expansion of 'financial intelligence units', which facilitate the effective cooperation between government agencies and financial institutions.



Civil Society

The process of building democracy as an antidote to terrorism and violence needs to be supported by the international community and its citizens. We propose:

- the creation of a global citizens network, linking the leaders of civil society at the forefront of the fight for democracy from across the world, taking full advantage of web-based technologies and other innovative forms of communication.
- an 'early warning system' as part of this network, helping to defuse local conflicts before they escalate, as well as providing a channel for moral and material support to civil society groups facing repression.

Taking The Madrid Agenda Forward

The Club of Madrid will present the Madrid Agenda to the United Nations, the forthcoming Community of Democracies ministerial meeting in Chile, as well as other institutions and governments. The Club of Madrid will engage with universities, specialised research institutes and think-tanks to elaborate the proposals made by the Summit's working groups and panels.

The space for dialogue and exchange of ideas opened by this Summit, drawing on the work of the numerous experts, practitioners and policymakers involved, must continue. The papers prepared provide a powerful tool for all those who wish to understand the challenge from terrorism and seek effective solutions.

Keeping in our hearts the memory of the victims of terrorism in different continents, and the terrible attacks in the United States in 2001, we believe it would have both symbolic and practical value to hold a further global conference on September 11, 2006, to take stock of the progress made in realising the Madrid Agenda.

Club of Madrid
Madrid, March 11, 2005



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The Organisation

The Summit was organised by The Club of Madrid (www.clubmadrid.org), an independent organization dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world by drawing on the unique experience and resources of its members, fifty-seven democratically elected former heads of state and government. It frequently acts as a consultative body for governments, democratic leaders and institutions involved in processes of democratic transition.

The personal and practical experience of its members is the Club of Madrid's unique resource. Along with the experience and cooperation of other high-level political practitioners and governance experts, this resource is a working tool to convert ideas into practical recommendations and plans for implementation.

The Club of Madrid's President is the former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Its Vice-President is the former President of Ireland, Mary Robinson, and Kim Campbell, the former Prime Minister of Canada, is the Club's Secretary-General.

The Summit, a politically inclusive event, was held under the High Patronage of H.M. the King of Spain and was attended by the Secretary General of the United Nations. It had the support of the country's principal political forces and was funded by the Spanish Government, the regional government of Madrid, the Madrid City Authorities and the Government of Norway.



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

(*) On-leave while holding executive office.



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