



GOVERNMENT OF NORWAY



International Peace Academy



Fighting Terrorism for Humanity
A Conference
on the Roots of Evil

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Introduction

Two years after the terrorist attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania, the Government of Norway and the International Peace Academy convened a day-long conference in New York. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, seventeen heads of state and government, the Secretary General of the League of Arab States, the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, three foreign ministers, academic experts, religious leaders, victims of terrorism, journalists and representatives of non-governmental organizations convened to shed new light on the roots of terror and thereby to broaden and enhance our common campaign against this evil.

The initiative for the conference came from the Prime Minister of Norway, Kjell Magne Bondevik, and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Professor Elie Wiesel, whose goal was to provide an opportunity for world leaders to renew their commitment to stand together against terrorism. Under the rubric “Fighting Terrorism for Humanity: A Conference on the Roots of Evil,” the organizers sought to elicit the views, analyses and recommendations of the conference participants on how best to combat terrorism, to understand the conditions that generate support for it and to listen to the voices of some who have suffered directly from terrorism.¹ Barely a month after the terrorist attack on United Nations headquarters in Baghdad on 19 August 2003, the role of the UN in the fight against terrorism has never been more obvious or important.

Executive Summary

As Prime Minister Bondevik noted in his conference summation, world leaders highlighted several key issues on which there seemed to be broad consensus:

1. While failed states, repressive regimes, foreign occupation and lack of self-determination can be contributing factors to terrorism, no political goal or cause justifies intentionally attacking civilians. Terrorism can never be justified or excused.

2. All member states must reject religious extremism while encouraging greater inter-religious dialogue down to the level of individual congregations in churches, temples and mosques, building on the values and principles that unite them.
3. There must be no trade-off between human rights and terrorism; human rights abuses in fact fuel terrorism, along with misery, ignorance and despair.
4. The UN—its programs, its funds and its agencies—must do more to explore how it can focus more directly on the roots of terrorism and work harder to resolve festering conflicts that can give rise to acts of terrorism.
5. While there is not a simple, direct, causal link between poverty and terrorism, lack of development, poor governance and a sense of desperation, alienation and hopelessness provide conditions in which terrorism can flourish and which can be exploited by extremists. Peace, security, development and respect for human rights are all essential to combat terrorism.
6. In the education of young people, great emphasis must be placed on promoting tolerance and mutual respect.



Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Elie Wiesel and Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik of Norway

¹ This conference builds on the research inputs of an International Expert Meeting entitled “Root Causes of Terrorism,” held in Oslo, Norway, 9-11 June 2003. See “Root Causes of Terrorism: Findings from an International Expert Meeting in Oslo, 9-11 June 2003,” a publication of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). Also available at <http://www.nupi.no/IPS/filestore/Root_Causes_report.pdf>.

Keynote Addresses

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan launched the discussion by denouncing terrorism, noting that nothing could ever justify its use and that terrorism defiles its purported objective regardless of how worthy that objective might be. He urged everyone to “use our heads as well as our hearts” to understand what works and what doesn’t work in combating terrorism. While not the automatic result of any one factor, terrorism is related to social, political and economic conditions. Terrorists thrive on despair and the UN must find a way to deal with legitimate grievances. Yet there can be no trade-off between human rights and fights against terrorism; in fact, abuses of human rights can fuel terrorism and prolong cycles of violence.

Peace, security, development and respect for human rights are key to combating terrorism. “We...delude ourselves if we think military force alone can defeat terrorism. Terrorism will only be defeated if we act to solve the political disputes and long-standing conflicts which generate support for it. If we do not, we shall find ourselves acting as a recruiting sergeant for the very terrorists we seek to suppress.”

Ideas matter in the struggle against terrorism. The Secretary-General noted that the effort to achieve the Millennium Development Goals has assumed a new meaning and increased importance. All those combating terrorism should follow international humanitarian and human rights law. The moral vision of respecting human rights and the inherent dignity of every human being is a powerful tool for winning people’s hearts and minds and the battle of ideas.

Echoing the Secretary-General’s insistence on the importance of ideas and morality, Prime Minister Bondevik emphasized the centrality of education, both at home and at school, in church, mosque and temple, to instill respect and tolerance. He reminded participants that extremists cannot be allowed to poison the minds of children and young people. School texts and curricula must promote human rights, respect for diversity and tolerance of other viewpoints and cultures. Extremist ideologies exploit grievances and twist religious beliefs. Religious leaders at all levels—

international, national and local, down to individual congregations—must take the lead in denouncing terrorism, hatred and intolerance. He called for increased inter-religious dialogue and greater understanding across cultures.

He seconded the Secretary-General’s view that building lives of dignity is extremely important not only for its own sake but also because it helps individuals resist the appeal of terrorists. Part of the problem is that terrorists thrive in the many weak states around the globe where governance is either minimal, bad or both. Repressive regimes fuel hate and despair, so the rule of law is the best way to provide people with legitimate outlets for their opinions and to express their needs.

Co-chair of the conference Elie Wiesel underscored the importance of building international solidarity to oppose the fear manipulated by terrorists. Misery, ignorance, despair, hopelessness and fanaticism bring terrorism to the foreground. Terrorists thrive on despair and the UN needs to help give people hope.

Professor Wiesel observed that while one must strive to understand terrorism and its various causes, nothing justifies such acts. He reminded the participants that in the 19th century, terrorists attacked political leaders but not children, women and old people—innocents. He asserted that there are some lines that can never be crossed; true martyrs are willing to give up their own lives for a cause but not to take innocent lives along with them, a morally repugnant act.

He urged that the UN and the world leaders declare terrorism a crime against humanity. While admitting that he detested war and violence, Professor Wiesel observed that in some cases fighting terrorism may require violence, and quoted André Malraux on war: “Victory belongs to those who made war but didn’t like it.”

President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan, the final keynote speaker, noted terrorism’s ancient origins and how a “reign of terror” originally described state behavior, while anti-colonial movements were also frequently labeled “terrorist.” What is new is the upsurge in violence in the 1990s, and he cited as examples mass killings in Bosnia and Kosovo and Indian repression in Kashmir.

President Musharraf warned of the dangers of an artificial linkage of terrorism with Islam. Many Moslems feel targeted. He urged the participants to fight religious extremism while addressing long-term issues too. Operations against al Qaeda are necessary and rely on modern technology, quick reaction forces, halting financing and improving human intelligence. But more creative responses are needed that rely not only on conventional military and police responses. President Musharraf emphasized the importance of developing a long-term strategy that would include understanding terrorism's causes and resolving festering political disputes that create desperation and hopelessness, which these days disproportionately affect Moslems.

He asserted that foreign occupation and a lack of self-determination are direct causes for suicide bombings and terrorist attacks. He noted that it is both ironic and instructive that the UN has not agreed on a definition of terrorism, and wondered whether political expediency militates against doing so. President Musharraf nevertheless concluded that the UN needs a legal definition of terrorism, applied with no exceptions, allowing for no double standards and including all forms of terrorism, including state terrorism, the most deadly form. He urged the UN to pay more attention to the question of self-determination, which is a basic human right found in UN human rights treaties but is enormously complex and politically delicate. Resisting occupation is often depicted as terrorism, he observed, yet a key challenge is differentiating between terrorism and legitimate acts of resistance. The UN needs to provide guidance, consistency and fairness in all these matters. He recommended that the UN examine the East Timor model as a way of promoting self-determination while combating terrorism.

President Musharraf concluded his remarks by emphasizing that Islam is consistent with democracy and human rights, and that protecting minorities is a religious obligation. Moslems must shun militancy, favor enlightened moderation, reform *madrassas* and eradicate poverty. The West must help resolve disputes, and then help marginalize extremists.

Voices of the Victims

Panel moderator Giandomenico Picco urged the conference never to forget the victims of terrorism.

Their voices must be heard and could help to build an anti-terrorist culture. They are the real heroes in this struggle. Four victims of terrorist attacks, Mr. Ahmad Yusran from Bali, Mr. Luis Portero and Ms. Maite Pagazaurtundua from the Basque Country of Spain, and New York City Fire Department Battalion Chief Joseph Pfeifer, described the impact that those events have had on their lives. Evoking the personal suffering that acts of terrorism had inflicted on their families and themselves, the victims urged the importance of maintaining memory, defending truth and obtaining justice. They warned of the dangers when extremists distort history and exploit grievances, however real. The Basque representatives echoed their Indonesian colleague's call for greater attention to the victims of terrorism while building popular support in the struggle against terrorism.



Voices of the Victims panel: Mr. Ahmad Yusran of Bali, New York City Fire Department Chief Joseph Pfeifer, Ms. Maite Pagazaurtundua of Spain, panel moderator, Mr. Giandomenico Picco, and Mr. Luis Portero of Spain

An American Perspective: Senator Richard Lugar on Fighting Catastrophic Terrorism

Senator Richard Lugar, Chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, queried whether there was a global anti-terrorism strategy. Military responses have a limited impact and can breed more terrorists. Economic and diplomatic initiatives are needed too, not just military. He recommended adopting a multi-faceted approach to combat



Senator Richard Lugar, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, flanked by IPA President David Malone and IPA Board Chair Rita Hauser

terrorism, one that includes fair trade, strong alliances, democracy, limiting weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and enhanced diplomacy.

The Senator then turned his attention to the dangers of WMD proliferation. “Given economic globalization, there will be no safe haven from an instance of catastrophic terrorism.” Suicidal terrorists cannot be deterred and they must be prevented from gaining access to WMD. He noted that “the Cold War was an unconventional war, as is the war on terrorism.” One objective shared by both is to control access to nuclear weapons. Nuclear materials are vast but finite; making them fissile is hard, and they can be secured. Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus have eliminated huge stocks and the recent decision by the G8 countries to help Russia dismantle its nuclear stockpile is a good precedent. Senator Lugar concluded by emphasizing that a unified, multilateral approach is essential to combating terrorism, most importantly by establishing a worldwide system of accountability for nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

Round Table of World Leaders

Prime Minister Bondevik then opened the next session in which heads of state, foreign ministers and others presented their views on terrorism. [The Round Table of World Leaders list can be found in Appendix III.]

Terrorism is Never Justified

- No cause or ideology can justify terrorism. The mystique surrounding terrorism masks the ignominy of the act. No one should romanticize terrorists by focusing only on their alleged cause but instead focus on the horror of their acts. Terrorists cannot enjoy any moral legitimacy/empathy. They are murderers and must be held accountable for their crimes. Politically motivated violence against civilians is the essence of terrorism. States can also commit terrorist acts.
- The UN and all the international community must focus on how to fight terrorism and look at the problem pragmatically. Increased knowledge about the roots of terrorism will help make the fight against it more effective.

Need for Enhanced Cooperation and Dialogue

- International cooperation is essential, based on a unified, multilateral, multi-faceted strategy.
- Greater dialogue between cultures and civilizations is crucial. Islam opposes terrorism and supports social justice. Islam abhors anarchy. Care is needed because some see the war on terror as an attack on Islam, so many people in the Moslem world are dubious about this campaign.
- There is no clash of civilizations or of religions, nor is there a war between north and south, rich and poor. Yet globalization is seen as a new form of dominance, imperialism and aggression against some cultures; terrorists exploit this sentiment. Greater dialogue and respect for cultures must be encouraged, down to the local level. Religions and ethnic groups should not be stigmatized.
- There should be a heavy focus on youth, emphasizing tolerance and mutual respect in their education. All too many young people are exposed to propaganda which must also be combated.



Members of the panel of world leaders convened to discuss terrorism

Conditions Conducive to Terrorism

- Terrorism takes root in chaos and the absence of good governance. Democracy and proper governance, including free expression and a vibrant civil society, respect for human rights and a functioning, fair judiciary, allow dissent to be expressed in non-violent and legitimate ways.
- The causes of terrorism are difficult to pinpoint. But some factors or conditions that enable terrorists to function include: extreme nationalism, discrimination, foreign occupation, humiliation and social and economic inequalities. In the view of some leaders, denial of the right to self-determination is a major factor in assessing strategies for combating terrorism.
- While poverty and terrorism are not in a mechanistic cause-effect relationship, underdevelopment, inequality and ensuing despair lead to frustration, anger and alienation and comprise a heady brew that terrorists exploit. Perceptions of marginalization and exclusion require long-term initiatives in which the UN should have a key role. Eradicating terrorism requires new policies toward non-traditional security threats, including finding solutions to economic, environmental and social problems that extremists manipulate and exploit.
- An extremely small minority cannot be allowed to hijack real grievances. Poverty and inequality are very fertile breeding grounds for discontent,

despair and fragmentation. Based on the Millennium Declaration, all UN member states have pledged to create a more equitable world; significant arms reductions and provision of more resources dedicated to health, education and work for the impoverished are important components of the anti-terrorism effort.

- Alienation breeds terrorists who are isolated; the challenge is how to engage them. One way is to encourage debate within and between open societies.
- Terrorism itself helps breed poverty because it is so destructive, devastating economies, killing thousands and costing billions to combat.

Primacy of Upholding Human Rights in Combating Terrorism

- Those fighting terrorism cannot sacrifice their values and rights in the struggle. Terrorism threatens universal values and human rights, but the best way to combat terrorism is with more democracy, more development, a cleaner environment and the reduction of poverty. Respect for human rights must never be sacrificed in fighting terrorism; to do otherwise is to hand terrorists a victory they could never have achieved on their own.

Role for the United Nations

- The UN must reconfirm its opposition to and condemnation of terrorism, and must work harder to resolve conflicts peacefully. If local actors cannot find a solution, then the UN and international community must step in. The UN must work harder to resolve long-festered conflicts that terrorists exploit. Terrorists' appeal diminishes as the space for political dialogue grows.
- It is important to recognize that defeating terrorism will take a long time and a concerted international effort, with the UN playing a key role in all these initiatives. It is not the humanitarian aspects alone that should be left to the UN. The UN should take the lead in promoting dialogue, diplomacy and human rights.

- The UN Counter Terrorism Committee must become more assertive and effective. There should be more effective cooperation, enhanced networks and shared intelligence databases. The UN must make full use of all available tools.

The Voices of Islam: Two Shiite Leaders

Seyed Aiad Jamal Aldin and Seyed Houssein Mustavi al-Khomeini provided perspectives from the Middle East in the following session, moderated by Dr. David Malone, IPA president, and Dr. William Vendley from the World Conference of Religions for Peace. Their message was clear: terrorism thrives on creating a climate of fear, and the West has a great humanitarian responsibility to counter this fear. Nothing in Islam or Moslem culture justifies terrorism. All must work to spread democracy and the respect of human rights everywhere while also respecting religious principles. When misused, religion can become the most dangerous instrument on the globe. Islam has been hijacked; terrorists have corrupted the Koran and suppressed alternative interpretations. The two religious leaders urged the formation of secular states in the Middle East in which religion is separated from the state. Many horrible acts, including the murder of Imam Hussein, have been committed in the name of the Koran. Regimes have crushed religion for their own purposes. “We need rights and human dignity for every



Voices of Islam panel: Panel moderator David Malone, President of IPA, Seyed Houssein Mustavi al-Khomeini, Seyed Aiad Jamal Aldin, and panel moderator Dr. William Vendley of the World Conference of Religions for Peace

human being.” In writing a new constitution for Iraq, they urged its authors to adopt the principles of secularism, democracy and respect for human rights, thus ending the abuse of history and religion. “Future generations will thank them.”

Underlying Factors in Global Terrorism

David Malone of IPA chaired the next session, which consisted of a panel of experts on terrorism.

Professor Martha Crenshaw of Wesleyan University prefaced her remarks by noting that terrorism’s causes are complex and varied. It is difficult to pinpoint a single cause; rather, there are categories of causes. The first category includes culture, religion, values, norms, doctrines and ideology. If one concludes that these are the main causes, then the response reflects this analysis and is designed accordingly: change school curricula, emphasize teaching more tolerance and understanding so that you de-legitimize terrorism, and promote greater cross-cultural and inter-religious understanding. The second category covers the material argument: poverty, inequality and resentment of the “have-nots” against the “haves” spur terrorism. So the response is to build greater equality, reduce gaps, and raise prospects and hopes for a better future among the impoverished or those left behind. The third category involves a purely political analysis: lack of freedom, repression of human rights, failure to resolve historical grievances, denial of self-determination and closed legitimate avenues of dissent are what lead people to turn to violence. So more democracy, honoring human rights, respect for human dignity, granting self-determination and resolving long-festered political/historical grievances will reduce terrorism.

Professor Crenshaw noted that the various conditions outlined in the three categories above affect millions, but only a very few people resort to terrorism. She urged the group to examine the incentives that motivate these people: what are the small group dynamics of underground conspiracies? Look at the problem instrumentally: terrorists are supremely goal-oriented. Terrorism attracts publicity to the cause and places it on the international agenda. Yet terrorism

rarely succeeds, it rarely accomplishes its goals. This should be shown to the terrorists with the goal of encouraging them to adopt other, more legitimate methods. “We need to go beyond mere coercion; the challenge is how to halt those people who have already started to use terrorism and to convince those who have not yet started by showing that terrorism doesn’t pay. We need to ameliorate conditions that may facilitate terrorism but we need to understand that this is very costly and will require lots of resources.” Professor Crenshaw questioned where the resources will come from. This will require a multilateral effort.

Professor Dipak Gupta of San Diego State University reiterated the need to define terrorism once and for all and for adoption of a unified counter-terrorism strategy. Terrorists are not insane as is sometimes believed; rather, they are deliberate and act with a purpose. There is no unique terrorist profile just as there is no automatic or mechanical connection between poverty and terrorism or religion. What motivates the individual must also be understood in the context of the “group” too: how is the individual seeking validation from the group to which he belongs? It is not just a question of individual self-interest. Two types of actors are involved in terrorism. He described the first as the “true believers” who want power, prestige and money. The second is the “captive participants” who see there is too much to lose if they don’t participate. Both are represented in most terrorist groups.

Yet all terrorism is not the same. There is specialization. Professor Gupta recommended distinguishing among ideologies; not all threaten the whole world, some just have national or sub-national goals while others have a wider, international goal. He compared al Qaeda and the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka on this point. He acknowledged that self-determination can be a motivating factor but the 1949 Geneva Conventions prohibit deliberately targeting civilian non-combatants, regardless of the cause.

Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani summed up his impressions of the morning’s discussions, noting that leaders see the problem in their own national boxes. This approach will not work anymore because the terrorists have discovered the world beyond the borders of the nation-state. The UN Counter Terrorism



Mr. Bjorn Skogmo, Deputy Secretary General of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and President Jacques Chirac of France

Committee receives reports from states but needs to move beyond borders and craft truly international counter-terrorism strategies. He compared the situation to a pleasure boat in which the passengers monitor only the conditions in each of their cabins while ignoring the situation in the galleys and halls of the ship.

Ambassador Mahbubani noted that no one at the conference had mentioned the role of geopolitics in terrorism, counter-terrorism and the UN’s capacity to act. While the UN must act and be perceived to be acting in a fair and impartial manner, geopolitics complicates the situation. He compared the Security Council to the New York City Fire Department. The latter responds to every fire, whether in a Park Avenue penthouse or a public housing building in the South Bronx. In contrast, the Security Council picks and chooses the emergencies it responds to in view of the national interests of its key member states and simply ignores others. This is a real problem for the Security Council, as it opens the door for charges of double standards and lack of fairness. The consequences will be felt globally. As an example, the recent failure of the Cancun Summit on world trade will adversely affect development in many poor countries. The ongoing dispute over subsidies and tariffs could also lead to ongoing impoverishment in the developing world and growing desperation which will have global consequences.

Ambassador Mahbubani also questioned the conclusion that there is no clash of civilizations; there is a raw nerve

there. Many Moslems do feel that they are especially targeted in the “war on terror.” “We are in trouble when our cruise ship with 6 billion passengers includes 1.5 billion deeply unhappy and alienated travelers on board.”

Closing Remarks and Follow-Up

This conference has contributed to our understanding of the causes of terrorism and terrorism as a phenomenon. However, while we have gained some insight which will help us identify long-term measures to combat terrorism, we still have more to learn and much remains to be done.

After having heard all participants, Prime Minister Bondevik identified five possible tracks for the follow-up of the Conference:

1. With its broad mandate and universal membership, the UN should continue to play a leading role in global anti-terrorism efforts. The report from this conference will be presented to the Security Council’s Counter Terrorism Committee, the main UN body charged with anti-terrorism issues, as an input to its important work. Other relevant UN bodies and international as well as regional organizations should do more to combat terrorism.
2. Education is of paramount importance as a tool to achieve tolerance and respect. Organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF and the UN Human Rights Committee are already engaged in activities that correspond to the theme of our conference. Efforts should be made to bring this work forward through all relevant UN agencies, as well as other international, regional and national governmental and non-governmental organizations.
3. International monitoring of indicators on terrorism should be considered, in particular as regards potential access to weapons of mass destruction.
4. We will seek to integrate our findings in ongoing inter-religious dialogues. Inter-religious dialogues are key in promoting tolerance and understanding. We will seek to mobilize religious leaders to raise their voices against intolerance and extremism.

5. To make the fight against terrorism truly global, we must involve civil society and the private sector. We will urge civil society to persevere in their efforts in conflict prevention, and make them partners in our efforts to build a global culture of tolerance. Our goal must be to achieve universal respect for the fundamental value of all human beings, based on the rule of law and respect for human rights.

Prime Minister Bondevik then closed the meeting by reading the following Manifesto issued by Professor Wiesel and himself:

On September 22, 2003, a gathering took place in the city of New York, with the participation of concerned men and women from a variety of countries and disciplines, united in the belief that civilization is in peril due to a nefarious aspect of globalization, that of terrorism.

We have listened to experts analyzing the roots of international terrorism, both visible and invisible, and heard leaders of the world expressing their resolve that whatever the cause, it must not and cannot be justified by the ultimate brutality embodied in terrorism.

Surely religious fanaticism, social humiliation resulting from persecution, discrimination and misery may move frustrated young people to use all available and imaginable means to put an end to their own victimhood. But these must not include terrorism, which, if unchecked, could pervert and negate promises the world community had made for this new country.

Nations and their governments, spiritual leaders and business chieftains, educators, law enforcement agents and simple citizens are duty-bound to mobilize their collective energies in the fight against terrorism. This fight is necessary and unavoidable if we want our children everywhere to live in a society free of fear and open to hope.

*Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik
Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Professor Elie Wiesel*

Appendix I: Keynote Addresses

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan



UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan delivers his keynote address

Let me congratulate you, Mr. Prime Minister, and you, Elie, for organizing this unique conference on a subject of fundamental importance. Terrorism has threatened Member States of the United Nations for many years, and the Organization remains active against it on many fronts. Recently, the United Nations itself has been the target of a vicious and heartless terrorist attack, in which many irreplaceable colleagues and friends were killed. I am deeply saddened by their loss. They were some of our best.

If we are to fight terrorism effectively, and avoid mistakes in doing so, we need more debate, not less, regarding possible policy responses. I hope my short remarks this morning contain some ideas that can contribute to that debate.

Terrorism is a global threat, and it can never be justified. No end can give anyone the right to kill innocent civilians. On the contrary, the use of terrorism to pursue any cause—even a worthy one—can only defile that cause, and thereby damage it.

While terrorism is an evil with which there can be no compromise, we must use our heads, not our hearts, in deciding our response. The rage we feel at terrorist attacks must not remove our ability to reason. If we are to defeat terrorism, it is our duty, and indeed our

interest, to try to understand this deadly phenomenon, and carefully to examine what works, and what does not, in fighting it.

The experts who met in Oslo in June to contribute ideas to today's discussion rightly pointed out that terrorists are often rational and intentional actors who develop deliberate strategies to achieve political objectives. We should not pretend that all terrorists are simply insane, or that the decision to resort to terrorism is unrelated to the political, social and economic situation in which people find themselves. But we are also mistaken if we assume, equally, that terrorists are mere products of their environment. The phenomenon is more complex than that.

We also delude ourselves if we think that military force alone can defeat terrorism. It may sometimes be necessary to use force to counter terrorist groups. But we need to do much more than that if terrorism is to be stopped.

Terrorists thrive on despair. They may gain recruits or supporters where peaceful and legitimate ways of redressing a grievance do not exist, or appear to have been exhausted. By this process, power is taken away from people and placed in the hands of small and shadowy groups.

But the fact that a few wicked men or women commit murder in its name does not make a cause any less just. Nor does it relieve us of the obligation to deal with legitimate grievance. On the contrary, terrorism will only be defeated if we act to solve the political disputes and long-standing conflicts which generate support for it. If we do not, we shall find ourselves acting as a recruiting sergeant for the very terrorists we seek to suppress.

We should also remember that, in the fight against terrorism, ideas matter. We must articulate a powerful and compelling global vision that can defeat the vivid, if extreme, visions of some terrorist groups. We must

make clear, by word and deed, not only that we are fighting terrorists, but also that we are standing, indeed fighting, for something—for peace, for resolution of conflict, for human rights and development.

Accordingly, there needs to be more on the horizon than simply winning a war against terrorism. There must be the promise of a better and fairer world, and a concrete plan to get there. For this reason, the vision of the Millennium Declaration has become more, not less, important, as has the need to take action to turn its promise into reality.

We must never, in the fight against terrorism, lower our standards to theirs. States therefore need to ensure that, in fighting terrorists, they respect the limits which international humanitarian law places on the use of force. The failure to do so can erode our shared values. Paradoxically, terrorist groups may actually be sustained when, in responding to their outrages, governments cross the line and commit outrages themselves—whether it is ethnic cleansing, the indiscriminate bombardment of cities, the torture of prisoners, targeted assassinations, or accepting the death of innocent civilians as “collateral damage.” These acts are not only illegal and unjustifiable. They may also be exploited by terrorists to gain new followers, and to generate cycles of violence in which they thrive.

For these reasons, and for many others, I believe that there is no trade-off to be made between human rights and terrorism. Upholding human rights is not at odds with battling terrorism: on the contrary, the moral vision of human rights—the deep respect for the dignity of each person—is among our most powerful weapons against it.

To compromise on the protection of human rights would hand terrorists a victory they cannot achieve on their own. The promotion and protection of human rights, as well as the strict observance of international humanitarian law, should, therefore, be at the center of anti-terrorism strategies.

To fight terrorism, we must not only fight terrorists. We have to win hearts and minds. To do this, we should act to resolve political disputes, articulate and work towards a vision of peace and development, and promote human rights. And we can only do all this effectively if we work together, through multilateral institutions—first and foremost, through the United Nations.

If these ideas guide us in shaping our response to terrorism, our moral position in the fight against terrorism will be assured. And we will not hand terrorists a victory, but a stinging rejection, both of their methods and their world view. Thank you very much.

Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik

Excellencies, Mr. Secretary-General, Distinguished participants, Ladies and gentlemen,

First of all, let me warmly thank the Secretary-General for his support and for his opening statement.

We are here in New York two years after the tragic events that changed the world. But it did not start here and it did not stop here. We have later experienced atrocities in Bali, Casablanca and Riyadh—and most recently in Baghdad where the terrorist attacked the world’s peace organization itself: the United Nations.

The names of these—and other cities—have been charged with a new meaning: victims of terrorism. So has the United Nations.

We remember the victims from all these onslaughts. And here in New York, where 3000 victims from 90 nations perished. We pay our respect and tribute to their families and to the fine people of this city. The Fire Department of New York and the New York Police Department lost hundreds of brave men and women. Their officers gave their lives so others could live.

We owe it to the victims to make every effort to

prevent such atrocities. More than 40 years ago President John F. Kennedy let the world know that the US would “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty”. Although ours is a new world, with new threats and challenges, we should take his words to our heart. That means fighting terrorism for humanity.

There is no excuse for terrorism. No goal can justify it.

It defies comprehension that some people choose to take completely innocent lives, the lives of people they do not know—even children—for some cause.

- How can people justify random killings and suicide bombings?
- Why do people invoke the name of God when doing devilish deeds?
- How do we eliminate the breeding grounds of hate?

All of us here are part of the global coalition working relentlessly to track down terrorist groups. We do so by military and police efforts as well as by financial and judicial means. These efforts must continue vigorously. But we must do more.

We have called this conference to shed new light on the roots of terror, and thereby to broaden and enhance our common campaign against this evil. To renew our commitments. To hear the victims of terrorism testify of their ordeals.

Our ambition is to help women and men around the world to build lives of purpose, opportunity and dignity. To stake out a path towards a safer future.

There are no easy solutions to these challenges. The International Expert Meeting on terrorism that was held in Oslo in June this year made that abundantly clear. But I am convinced that the following issues are among those that have to be addressed.

Firstly, history has shown us that terrorists take advantage of weak and failed states, from where they can operate and plan new horrendous attacks. Afghanistan before 9/11 is a case in point.

Moreover, failed states and repressive regimes often breed hate, fuel extremism and support terror. Economic and social development is necessary to prevent states from failing and give to those in need hope for a better future.

But there seems only to be a marginal connection—if any—between poverty and terrorism. Terrorism is not particularly prevalent among the poorest. On the contrary, terrorists have often proven to come from middle-class or wealthy families.

The rule of law and respect for human rights are the first and the best way to counter terrorism. We must provide outlets for human ambitions, for hopes and beliefs, but also for anger and grief.

In the city of New York this needs no further explanation. But millions of people around the world are denied these basic rights and values.

Secondly, extremist ideologies are also a cause of terrorism. As an ordained Lutheran minister, I am especially concerned about the abuse of religion in the making of a terrorist. Love, respect, brotherhood and tolerance are central to all the great religions. Terrorism is totally alien to them all.

People often express their desires, aims and anger in religious terms. Extremists misuse such language to justify atrocities. This is a perverted use of our religions.

Religious leaders have too often failed to raise their voices against intolerance and extremism, and have not given their followers the guidance they needed.

Why do so many seem so ambivalent?

As human beings we are guided by our hearts and minds. Most rules of behaviour are expressed in words, which speak more to the mind than to the heart. The anti-terror campaign should win the battle of hearts, as well as minds.

It has been said that “terrorists hate us more than they love life.” The challenge is to make the potential terrorist chose life, not death.

This battle will have to be waged on the grass-roots level, in the congregations and places of worship and meditation. It will have to be fought by local religious leaders and their superiors. To succeed, we must work together, through inter-religious dialogue. And we must reinvigorate these efforts.

In short, our goal must be to achieve universal respect for the fundamental value of all human beings.

Thirdly, countless children are today being raised in an atmosphere of hatred and intolerance. Of lack of human rights.

Education can and should be our primary tool to achieve the opposite. It should promote tolerance and mutual respect. Education should be part of our antiterrorist campaign.

Parents have a special responsibility. They are their children's first teachers, and must teach them not to hate or to take pride in collective hate. The same applies to school curricula and religious teachings. There are efforts to eradicate hate-inciting statements from schoolbooks and curricula, as a part of wider confidence-building measures. UNESCO is doing useful work in this area.

We need to devote more attention to the role of teaching material and religious teachings in shaping

children's attitudes towards terror and violence in their early, formative years.

Excellencies, Mr. Secretary-General, Ladies and gentlemen,

Fighting terrorism is an immense task—for individuals, governments, as well as the world community. Much has been achieved, but more remains to be done. The victims of terror as well as future generations deserve nothing less than our total commitment in fighting terrorism.

- Children must be taught tolerance and not hate.
- Religious leaders must be guided by compassion and respect.
- Governments must satisfy the needs and rights of their citizens.

By shedding new light on the roots of terror, we will help developing more effective measures in fighting terrorism. A broad and enhanced strategy requires the involvement of the United Nations, political and religious leaders, the private sector and civil society. Together we shall prevail in the battle against terrorism.

Thank you for your attention.

Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Professor Elie Wiesel

WHY TERROR MUST BE UNMASKED AND DEFEATED

As co-chairman with Norway's distinguished Prime Minister Bondevik of this gathering of world leaders in politics, culture and spirituality, may I thank you for responding with such concern and enthusiasm to our invitation. You have come from near and far, representing all areas of human intelligence and sensitivity, united by a common sense of urgency and sharing a common hope that civilization, now so challenged and threatened, will find the strength and the wisdom in saving this new century from absurd, unnecessary, contagious and murderous violence.

I belong to a generation that has endured a thousand ways of dying but not of living. We have antennas, built-in early-warning systems. We *know* when humanity is in mortal danger.

Once upon a time, when at war, only soldiers on the frontline were in danger. Civilians in their homes, students at school, children in their cribs or in gardens in bloom were meant to remain unharmed. Later, beginning with the Second World War, civilian homes were destroyed and their inhabitants killed from air

attacks. But today, every city can become a frontline, every street a battlefield, every person a corpse. We all are in peril, many dwell in fear.

Fear is what theoreticians and practitioners of terror are eager to inspire wherever democracy appeals to the humanity of human beings—and solidarity of fate must be our answer to their glorification and globalization of fear.

For what we have already learned in recent years is that the noble idea of globalization has also penetrated the underworld of terrorists. When they attack a hotel in Asia, an Embassy in Jordan, a ship in Africa and innocent children in Jerusalem, they want us to go on believing that all of us, everywhere, that they are our Masters for we are their targets.

An ultimate aberration of ideology or religion, Terrorism has always been philosophically indefensible, morally repulsive and humanly obscene—for it means the brutal rule of the few over the many. Believers in Terror begin by using it as a means to attain a goal but, at the end, it becomes a goal in itself. And so, here and there, small groups of excited militants would decide that they will move History in a different direction because they simply know better what is good for their people. But if such an arrogant line of thinking is contrary to whatever civilized nations and individuals believe in, suicide-terror is more so. Just as in warfare, there are lines neither side may cross with impunity.

In terrorism, suicide-terrorists are doing just that. They call themselves, and their allies call them, martyrs. But the history of martyrdom has taught us that martyrs are those who are willing to die but not to kill for their faith. Servants of Death, suicide-killers are killers. Killers of innocent human beings, killers of the very concept of innocence. To claim that they obey God's will is making God their accomplice, a perverse notion that no religious tradition would now espouse or condone.

Specialized groups have in recent months met here and elsewhere to discuss and prepare the topic before us. They included political scientists and psychiatrists, historians and philosophers, ethicists and physicians. Their professional help is needed for if we want to

eradicate terrorism we must understand its causes. They are not only religious in their orientation; in Europe, in the late sixties, they were politically motivated. Social conditions have their effect on the terrorist's psyche. Poverty, misery, hunger, helplessness, hopelessness, romantic idealism of national pride, and, of course, blind and blinding fanaticism in all its forms—all these do contribute to a youngster's decision to give up on improvement by any means other than terrorism.

What is the meaning of terror? It is, among others, an upside-down pyramid using absolute force to impose its implacable will. Under its reign of limitless fear, it operates on more than one level, for more than one reason, yet its goal remains the same; to reduce "the other" to the state of slave or object. Under terrorist rule, the human being is no longer a unique creature endowed with infinite possibilities, thus with a variety of choices and options.

That is why even if one may wish to understand terrorists and their murderous activities, nothing can justify them, especially since, unlike their distant predecessors of the last two years of the nineteenth century, and the early years of the twentieth, the nihilist, anarchist and other revolutionaries, who would target political leaders but never assassinate children, they attack anonymous men and women, young and old, all defenseless, all innocent human beings, spectators, bystanders and passengers—and children, yes, children.

Heartless cowards, that's what terrorists are. They attack people, any people, all people at a certain place, simply because they happen to be there, at that moment. Most victims had done nothing against the terrorists, personally or professionally, they weren't involved in political affairs—and yet these pitiless, senseless, soul-less aggressors will maim them and slaughter them. They are ready to die in the process? Their death itself is the work of cowards. They do not seek suicide but murder. They are ready to kill themselves in order to better kill others, and the more the better.

Thus it is incumbent upon us to declare that when terror runs amok at the risk of becoming chemical, biological and nuclear, those irresponsible people who are engaged in educating, poisoning and

conditioning the terrorist, wherever he or she lives, of any faith or ethnic origin, are as guilty as the terrorists themselves.

To save humanity and its inherent quest for dignity and freedom, terrorism must be brought to its knees. Terror and democracy are incompatible.

To submit to terror would mean to abdicate our rights to liberty, joy, surprise, happiness, our right to aspire to

what is elevated in the human condition.

To submit to terror's brutally acquired power is to strengthen it. But if we decide to fight and disarm it, it is enough to do away with fear. And use force? It is with a heavy heart that one must say: Yes. Use force. And we shall win. We must.

It is André Malraux who put it most elegantly: victory will belong to those who made war but did not like it.

General Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan



Secretary-General Amre Moussa of the League of Arab States, Foreign Minister Khurshid M. Kasuri of Pakistan, and General Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Secretary-General, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I thank Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik, Mr. Elie Wiesel and the International Peace Academy for this timely initiative.

The theme of the Conference "Fighting Terrorism for Humanity" is particularly apt, because humanity is the first victim of terrorist acts. The venue chosen is tragically very appropriate. It is here in New York where, two years ago, nationals from about 80 countries—Pakistanis included—fell victim to international terrorism.

The horrors of 9/11 forced us to mount an international campaign against terrorism. Today the Al Qaida is only a shadow of its past, but the questions before us are: Will terrorism outlive Al Qaida? What precisely is terrorism? What are the causes of terrorism including religiously inspired terrorism? What can the leaders of the world do to purge this menace for all times to come? And most importantly how can we avert a clash of civilizations and work for understanding and cooperation between diverse faiths?

The world today has indeed become a dangerous place riven with strife, suspicion and confrontation. Religious faiths—which should be the source of hope, tolerance and peace—are pitted against each other. Our destiny, and the future of succeeding generations, is held hostage by a minority of extremists.

I urge the world leaders here to use their wisdom and authority to influence events and be the catalysts of change. They must not flow with the current that threatens the collapse of global civilization into confrontation and conflict.

Mr. Prime Minister,
Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. It predates its modern description by centuries. Its history is as much Asian and Middle Eastern as European and Latin American. Terrorism transcends secular and religious barriers. The "reign of terror" was originally associated with states suppressing people. Non-state actors also committed acts of indiscriminate violence. Anti-

colonialist movements were often dubbed as terrorist. Since the end of Second World War, terrorists have been motivated by considerations ranging from ethnicity to ideology to cults.

What is new is that the decade of the '90s saw a sudden upsurge in militancy and violence. At the end of the Cold War, hopes were kindled for a peaceful and harmonious world. But these hopes were soon shattered with the genocide in Bosnia and Kosovo. Militancy in Palestine grew and Kashmir saw the rise of an armed indigenous resistance in response to Indian repression. In Afghanistan a self-destructive civil war raged, creating a vacuum and a haven for international terrorists. Militants spread their tentacles to Central Asia. After 9/11, terrorism became equated with Al Qaida and its franchises—and by a misperceived extension, with Islam. This is an artificial and very perilous linkage. Now, the Middle East has become even more volatile because of the situation in Iraq. And, there is a growing sense among Muslims that Islam, as a religion, is being targeted and pilloried.

Mr. Prime Minister,

To fight terrorism, the strategic decisions which Pakistan took after September 11 are very consistent with our moral principles, our national interests and our vision of Pakistan, standing tall among the nations of the world that respect and strongly adhere to the principles of humanity.

Pakistan's actions speak louder than words. Our support has been critical in the war against terrorism. This support will continue until our shared objectives are fully met.

In Pakistan we are fighting terrorism in all its dimensions. We are operating against Al Qaida or any elements which misuse our territory for the export of terrorism across our borders or internationally. No foreigner, no terrorist will be allowed to use our soil for plotting or launching attacks from Pakistan. The other dimension, and I dare say, the more serious dimension of our anti-terrorist campaign targets sectarian and religious extremism.

While operating against Al Qaida and their supporters is a short-term strategy, the longer-term strategy is

designed to deal with religious extremism. For overall success we must address the menace of terrorism simultaneously in its short and long term perspectives.

For operating against Al Qaida, we have developed an effective intelligence network based on human intelligence, technological capabilities and aerial surveillance. This is now backed by an effective Quick Reaction Force to hit located targets. We are also adopting measures to choke the sources of terrorist financing. Therefore, in the short-term strategy of striking against terrorists, we are well poised for success in Pakistan. A similar capability and action is required in the vast vacuums of the Afghan countryside to produce the optimum impact in the entire region. It must be understood that it is not a conventional military operation that is required of sweeping and searching the entire mountain ranges which would be practically impossible. It is more an intelligence operation where we locate hostile targets and launch a swift military action against that located target. Assertions in the Western and Indian media that all Taliban activity in Afghanistan emanates from Pakistan, or that Pakistan is not doing enough, are baseless and, may I add, thankless. Such aspersions display either deliberate discrimination or insufficient understanding of the ground realities. No nation has done more in the war against terrorism than Pakistan.

The short-term actions against terrorism must be accompanied by a long-term strategy. Otherwise, the war against terrorism may fail. We have to look beyond Al Qaida to the breeding grounds of terrorism. What motivates a suicide bomber to take his own life and kill innocent civilians? In order to eliminate terrorism, we must understand its causes. The fact is that today most of the unresolved political disputes and issues involve Muslims. Their demands for justice are often brushed aside. This has given rise to hopelessness, frustration and desperation. Foreign occupation and the suppression of the right of peoples to self-determination leading to a sense of despair is a direct cause for suicide bombings and terrorist acts.

Is it not ironic that even as we come to grips with the ravages of terrorism, we do not have its precise definition? Is it that political expediency dictates avoiding

the truth? We must have a clear, legal definition of terrorism. Terrorism has many forms, different motivations and diverse causes.

There should be no selective application of the international norms and standards against terrorism. Terrorism in all its forms and manifestations—including state terrorism—has to be opposed without any discrimination.

To start with, there is the reality of state terrorism, which is the most deadly form of terrorism. Mostly, state terrorism targets people seeking freedom from foreign occupation—as in Palestine and Kashmir. Their oppression through state terrorism is all the more unacceptable because they were assured self-determination by no less than the UNSC.

There are also acts of violence and mass murder committed by individuals and groups. They kill innocent civilians and inflict havoc in our cities and towns. No ideology, no doctrine can justify their acts or condone their crimes.

The need to evolve a definition of terrorism has become more essential because those who are committing state terrorism against occupied peoples often depict their legitimate movements for self-determination as terrorism. It is the UN's responsibility to develop a definition of terrorism which clarifies that such movements for self-determination, recognized by the United Nations, are legitimate and cannot be equated with terrorism. Indeed, these freedom movements are, in essence, resisting the violators of United Nations resolutions.

The right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for self-determination has been sanctioned explicitly by the UN Security Council. Until India agrees to implement the Security Council resolutions, and while it persists in its violent suppression of the Kashmiris people, they have a legitimate right to resist Indian occupation. Equating their freedom struggle with terrorism is quite a travesty. The United Nations must promote a solution for Kashmir—as it did for East Timor—on the basis of the UN resolutions. And, the international community, which desires peace and

security in South Asia, must persuade India to end its repression in Kashmir and resume a dialogue process with Pakistan. We are ready for dialogue. Now it is India's call. It should respond positively. It's not that we ask for a solution in favour of Pakistan. It should be a win-win solution, in favour of Pakistan, India and most of all, Kashmiri people.

Mr. Prime Minister,

Most of the political disputes of our times afflict Islamic peoples and nations. Religious extremism and militancy have risen because these conflicts have been allowed to fester without solution. There is a feeling in the Muslim world that Islam is being targeted. In the West, misperceptions persist that Islam inspires or endorses extremism. Expressions such as "Islamic terror," "Muslim rage," "Islamic threat" and the "Crisis of Islam," offer only very facile explanations. This widening gulf of perceptions between the West and the Islamic world has to be bridged. There is no such thing as "militant Islam." There are only some "militant Muslims"—as there are militant Hindus, militant Christians and militant Jews.

The thesis of a clash of civilizations put forward by some influential Western intellectuals, and now increasingly embraced at the popular level, is a recipe for confrontation. We must advance an antithesis—of cohesion and understanding between civilizations. In this post-modern era, we must not go back to medievalism. We, the world leaders, should dictate the global agenda, not allow the terrorists and extremists to do so.

The essence of Islam must be clearly understood.

- The scare in the West about the Shariah is misplaced. The Shariah is simply an Islamic way of life.
- There is no incompatibility between Islam and democracy. The early Islamic State was a model of democracy. And, the Holy Quran prescribes the promotion of human rights, social equality, freedom of speech and adoption of decisions through consultation and consensus—in short, the practice of democracy in all walks of life.

- The protection of minorities is an article of faith in Islam. Islam makes no discrimination on basis of color, caste, creed or religion. In this sense secularism is embedded in our Faith. We do not need to proclaim it.
- Islam's tenets provide for continuous renewal and adoption—through the process of Ijtihad (or consultation) and an emphasis on education and the acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge. Islam's vision is not trapped in any one period of history, it is modern and futuristic.

Of course, the problem is that there is today a dichotomy between Islam's principles and their actual practice in extremist quarters. The introduction of extremist laws or practices through a twisted representation of the Shariah by vested, misguided interests in no way reflect the tolerant spirit and tenets of Islam. Those who abuse the faith of Islam to propagate violence do not represent Muslims. They do not serve Islam. They are an aberration and a negation of the tenets of our faith. We need to marginalize and exclude them in our polity and society.

Mr. Prime Minister,

All nations must cooperate and contribute to ensure success in the long-term strategy against terrorism. We must adopt a two-pronged strategy.

The Muslim world, for its part, must shun militancy and extremism in favor of 'Enlightened Moderation.' We must reform those madrassahs which are preaching hatred, extremism and militancy. We must concentrate on emancipating ourselves through an emphasis on the social sector, raising the level of our education and health standards and pursuing social justice and poverty eradication.

Yet this will be feasible only if the West joins us by



IPA President David Malone greets President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria

helping to resolve all political disputes involving Muslims with justice. The resolution of the Palestinian and Kashmir disputes will inevitably marginalize extremist organizations—like Hamas, Jaish-e-Muhammad or Lashkar-e-Tayyaba. The advanced countries must also promote the development of human resources, investment and technology in the Muslim world to marginalize extremism.

Mr. Prime Minister,

This then is the complete recipe for success against the destructive forces of extremism and terrorism. There is no quick fix solution. Yet, we cannot opt for inaction. Inertia and lack of resoluteness on our part will only strengthen the extremists and weaken the moderates. Terrorism has to be addressed in its entirety. A piecemeal or unifocal approach will only create distortion, diffusion and mistrust.

We, the leaders of the world, must ensure that the principles of humanity win. We have no choice but to prevail. We owe this to our future generations.

I thank you all.

Appendix II: Conference Agenda

Two years after 9/11, the Conference offers an arena for discussing the next generation of policy measures in the ongoing campaign against terror, and an opportunity for world leaders to renew their commitment to standing together throughout this campaign. The Conference is the result of an initiative taken by the Prime Minister of Norway, Kjell Magne Bondevik, and the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Professor Elie Wiesel.

09:00 Opening

Mr. Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations

Mr. Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway

Professor Elie Wiesel, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

General Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan

Convenor: Rita Hauser, International Peace Academy

09:45 The Voices of the Victims

The experience of survivors from Bali, the Basque Country and New York.

Moderated by: Mr. Giandomenico Picco

Bali: Mr. Ahmad Yusran

Spain: Mr. Luís Portero

Spain: Ms. Maite Pagazaurtundua

USA: FDNY Chief Joseph Pfeifer

10:15 An American Perspective

Senator Richard Lugar, Chairman, U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

10:35 Coffee Break

10:45 **Round Table of World Leaders**

The United Nations	Secretary-General Kofi Annan
Spain	President of Government José Maria Aznar
Afghanistan	President Hamid Karzai
Canada	Prime Minister Jean Chrétien
Macedonia	President Boris Trajkovski
The Netherlands	Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende
France	President Jacques Chirac
Italy	Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi
Latvia	President Vaira Vike-Freiberga
Portugal	Prime Minister Jose Manuel Durao Barroso
Estonia	President Arnold Rüütel
Brazil	President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva
Nigeria	President Olusegun Obasanjo
Pakistan	President Pervez Musharraf
Peru	President Alejandro Toledo Manrique
Senegal	President Abdoulaye Wade
Indonesia	President Megawati Sukarnoputri
Russia	Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov
Israel	Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom
Palestinian Authority	Foreign Minister Nabil Shaath
USA	Senator Richard Lugar
League of Arab States	Secretary General Amre Moussa
Co-chairs	Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik Professor Elie Wiesel

13:15 **Lunch**

15:00 **The Voices of Islam**

Moderated by: Dr. David Malone, International Peace Academy, and
Dr. William Vendley, World Conference of Religions for Peace

Seyed Aiad Jamal Aldin

Seyed Houssein Mustavi al-Khomeini

15:15 **Underlying Factors in Global Terrorism**

Chair: Dr. David Malone, International Peace Academy

Participants: Dr. Martha Crenshaw, Wesleyan University
Dr. Dipak Gupta, San Diego State University
Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Permanent Representative of Singapore
to the United Nations

16:50 **Closing Remarks**

Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik

Professor Elie Wiesel

17:00 **Conference Concludes**

Appendix III: Round Table of World Leaders

Co-chairs	H.E. Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Professor Elie Wiesel
The United Nations	H.E. Secretary-General Kofi Annan
Spain	H.E. President José Maria Aznar
Afghanistan	H.E. President Hamid Karzai
Canada	H.E. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien
Macedonia	H.E. President Boris Trajkovski
The Netherlands	H.E. Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende
France	H.E. President Jacques Chirac
Italy	H.E. Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi
Latvia	H.E. President Vaira Vike-Freiberga
Portugal	H.E. Prime Minister Jose Manuel Durao Barroso
Estonia	H.E. President Arnold Rüütel
Brazil	H.E. President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva
Nigeria	H.E. President Olusegun Obasanjo
Pakistan	H.E. President Pervez Musharraf
Peru	H.E. President Alejandro Toledo Manrique
Senegal	H.E. President Abdoulaye Wade
Indonesia	H.E. President Megawati Sukarnoputri
Russia	H.E. Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov
Israel	H.E. Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom
Palestinian Authority	H.E. Foreign Minister Nabil Sha'ath
USA	Senator Richard Lugar
League of Arab States	H.E. Secretary General Amre Moussa

Appendix IV: List of Participants

- Ms. Birute Abraitene**
Permanent Mission of Lithuania to the United Nations
- H.E. Mr. Joël Wassi Adechi**
Permanent Mission of the Republic of Benin
to the United Nations
- H.E. Mr. Robert Guba Aisi**
Permanent Mission of Papua New Guinea
to the United Nations
- Ms. Bente Angell-Hansen**
Director-General
Prime Minister's Office, Norway
- Mr. George C. Biddle**
International Rescue Committee
- Dr. Alex Boraine**
International Center for Transitional Justice
- Dr. Craig C. Calhoun**
Social Science Research Council
- Mr. Fernando Matias Campana**
UN Department of Peacekeeping Affairs
- H.E. Mr. Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury**
Permanent Mission of the People's Republic
of Bangladesh to the United Nations
- Mr. Oscar Cornelio**
Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations
- Dr. Elisabeth Cousens**
Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum
- Dr. Martha Crenshaw**
Wesleyan University
- Ms. Nicole Diller**
Lawyer's Committee for Nuclear Policy
- Dr. Michael Doyle**
Columbia University School of Law & IPA Board
- Ms. Catherine Dumait-Harper**
Doctors Without Borders/MSF
- Dr. Shepard Forman**
Center on International Cooperation at NYU
- Professor Thomas Franck**
NYU School of Law
- Ms. Nina Frisak**
Secretary to the Government
Prime Minister's Office, Norway
- H.E. Mr. Shofry Abdul Ghafor**
Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam
to the United Nations
- Mr. Whitney I. Gerard, Esq.**
Chadbourne & Parke, LLP
- Dr. Dipak Gupta**
San Diego State University
- H.E. Mr. Jose Luís Guterres**
Permanent Mission of the Democratic Republic
of Timor-Leste to the United Nations
- Mrs. Rita Hauser, Esq.**
Chair, IPA Board of Directors, & Hauser Foundation
- Mr. Stephen Heintz**
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
- Ms. Kathleen Hunt**
CARE International
- Dr. Andrew Hurrell**
New York University School of Law

Mr. Syed Shahid Husain
Office of the Permanent Observer for the Organization
of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations

Mr. Oleksiy Ilnytskyi
Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations

Mr. Aleg Ivanou
Permanent Mission of Belarus to the United Nations

Ambassador Andrew Jacovides
Former Permanent Representative of Cyprus
to the United Nations

Dr. Rounaq Jahan
Southern Asian Institute at Columbia University

Ms. Ann Kaiser
Women's International League of Peace and Freedom

Ambassador Muhammad Shahid Amin Kahn
International Human Rights Commission

Ms. Peggy Kerry
United States Mission to the United Nations

Ambassador Krister Kumlin
Stockholm International Forum

H.E. Mr. Mirza Kusljagic
Permanent Mission of Bosnia and Herzegovina
to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Stuart W. Leslie
Permanent Mission of Belize to the United Nations

Mr. Iain Levine
Human Rights Watch

Mr. Bjarne Lindstrom
Secretary-General
Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Niklas Lundqvist
Permanent Mission of Finland to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Don MacKay
Permanent Mission of New Zealand
to the United Nations

Mr. Aiman Mackie
The Ford Foundation

H.E. Mr. Kishore Mahbubani
Permanent Mission of the Republic of Singapore

Mr. Alexander Marschik
Permanent Mission of Austria to the United Nations

Ms. Millie Meyers
United States Mission to the United Nations

Mr. Brynjulf Mugaas
International Federation of Red Cross and
Red Crescent Societies

Ms. Joanne Myers
Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs

Ms. Valerie Nash

Mr. Adam Neff
United States Mission to the United Nations

Mr. Vernon Nichols
NGO Committee on Disarmament

Ms. Roksanda Nincic
Permanent Mission of Serbia and Montenegro
to the United Nations

Ambassador Herbert S. Okun
School of Advanced International Studies,
Johns Hopkins University

Mr. Georges Paclisanu
International Committee of the Red Cross

Mr. Axel Palmason
International Monetary Fund

General Major Petr Pelz
Permanent Mission of the Czech Republic
to the United Nations

Ann Phillips
IPA Board of Directors

Mr. Giandomenico Picco
GDP Associates Inc. & IPA Board of Directors

Ms. Shazia Z. Rafi
Parliamentarians for Global Action

Ms. Nicola Reindorp
Oxfam International

H.E. Mr. Gert Rosenthal
Permanent Mission of Guatemala
to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Sylvester Rowe
Permanent Mission of the Republic of Sierra Leone
to the United Nations

H.E. Mr. Isikia Rabici Savua
Permanent Mission of the Republic of Fiji
to the United Nations

Ms. Enid B. Schoettle
United States National Intelligence Council

Mr. Matt Scott
World Vision

Mr. Charles Small
State University of New York

Ambassador Nancy Soderberg
International Crisis Group

Mr. Theodore C. Sorensen
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison

Ms. Ionut Suseanu
Permanent Mission of Romania to the United Nations

Mr. John Temple Swing
Foreign Policy Association

H.E. Mr. Stefan Tafrov
Permanent Mission of the Republic of Bulgaria
to the United Nations

Ms. Yvonne Terlingen
Amnesty International

H.E. Mr. Peter Tesch
Permanent Mission of Australia to the United Nations

Ms. Elisabeth Tison
European Commission

Mr. James Traub
New York Times Magazine

Ms. Emine Gökçen Tugral
Permanent Mission of Turkey to the United Nations

Mr. Vasu Vaitla
Initiatives of Change

Dr. William Vendley
World Conference of Religions for Peace

Ambassador Curtis Ward
United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism
Committee

H.E. Mr. Christian Wenawesser
Permanent Mission of the Principality of Liechtenstein
to the United Nations

Ms. Joanna Weschler
Human Rights Watch

H.E. Mr. Adolfo Aguilar Zinser
Permanent Mission of Mexico to the United Nations

Permanent Mission of Norway to the UN

H.E. Mr. Johan L. Løvald
Permanent Representative of Norway
to the United Nations

Ambassador Wegger Strømmen
Deputy Permanent Representative of Norway
to the United Nations

Mr. Ole Berthelsen
Press Counsellor

Norwegian Staff

Ambassador Morten Wetland
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway

Mr. Erik Giercksky
Senior Executive Officer

Ms. Laila Refsnes
Coordinator

Ms. Grethe Strand
Executive Secretary

IPA Staff & Associates

Dr. David M. Malone
President

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