CLUB DE MADRID

Digital Technologies for 21ˢᵗ Century Democracy

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Foreword

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On November 8 and 9, 2011, Members of the Club de Madrid – democratic former Heads of State and Government – met in New York City with renowned scholars, representatives of international organizations and leaders from the business sector and civil society to discuss, in the context of their 10th Anniversary Annual Conference, the future of governance and democracy in light of the openings that technology has been bringing across the globe.

This Conference on '**Digital Technologies for 21st Century Democracy**' was an important watershed as participants sought to understand not just how technology can help us do what we do faster or cheaper but how it fundamentally changes the institutions that we have heretofore thought of as unchanging, inviolable and constant.

Whether in longstanding or fledgling democracies, Internet technologies such as social networks, big data or collective intelligence tools have initiated a process that is bound to make governance, civic engagement and information mediation more efficient, more transparent, more inclusive and, most importantly, more human. Just as music, publishing, and other commercial industries are changing, so, too, must the institutions of our democracy evolve with the changing technological reality. This process will not happen without risks and challenges that we, in our own communities and specific contexts, will have to address. This final report seeks to reflect, in a proactive way, on both sides of this same coin – and both discussed during this utterly enriching two-day Conference.

In underlining the significance of this Conference for the Club de Madrid, it is also incumbent upon me to express my profound appreciation of the outstanding expertise and spirit of open engagement which the participants brought to the discussions. While the leadership experience, independence and recognition that define the Members of the Club de Madrid constitute our principal added value, our work also depends on the relations we forge with outstanding individuals and institutions who channel their time and efforts to fostering and strengthening democracy.

On behalf of the Club de Madrid, I would also like to thank our Special Advisor for this Conference, Beth S. Noveck, for the guidance received. Her knowledge and expertise were instrumental in shaping the conversations that laid the platform for this Conference, and we are very grateful for her commitment and contribution.

The world is changing and so must we. Digital technologies have opened countless doors of opportunities that we must take advantage of if we want to make this world a better place for all. Let me once again thank all the sponsors and participants, the Members of the Club de Madrid and our Secretariat staff for their support and hard work. I hope you will enjoy this report as much as we enjoyed the Conference.

Wim Kok
Prime Minister of the Netherlands (1994-2002)
President of the Club de Madrid

Click here to watch Club de Madrid President Wim Kok's Opening Speech
http://www.clubmadrid.org/2011conference

About

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The **Club de Madrid** is an independent non-profit organization composed of more than 80 democratic former Presidents and Prime Ministers from 60 different countries, constituting the world's largest forum of former Heads of State and Government, who have come together to respond to a growing demand for support among leaders in two key areas: **democratic leadership and governance; and response to crisis and post-crisis situations**.

Once a year, on the occasion of its General Assembly, the Club de Madrid holds an Annual Conference on a topic of high importance on the international agenda, and upon which Members can have a particular impact on the medium and longer term. The focus for this year's Conference was "**Digital Technologies for 21ˢᵗ Century Democracy**".

Held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York on November 8 and 9, the Conference gathered close to **300 participants**. It was structured around three plenary sessions, six breakouts and a special dinner talk[1].

What was really **unique** about this Conference was not only the fact that it was the Club de Madrid's tenth Conference since its creation in 2001, but most importantly the quality and diversity of the speakers and participants, rarely seen in events of this nature. Sharing the stage and the floor to discuss innovative and creative solutions for 21st century democracy were experts with political and technological experience, practitioners from the North and from the South, academics working on a wide range of social sciences, representatives from the public and from the private sector, and last but not least over 40 Members of the Club de Madrid. As such it was a true trans-cultural and trans-disciplinary conversation and experiment.

In the webpage created for the occasion - www.clubmadrid.org/2011conference - you will find all the details related to the Conference, including photos, videos, audios and transcripts. You can also refer to the Conference's Twitter hashtag (#cdm2011nyc), which increased the level of participation and visibility during and after the event, to get a sense of what the discussions delivered.

1 See Annex 1: Program of the Club de Madrid 10th Anniversary Annual Conference on Digital Technologies for 21st Century Democracy

#cdm2011conference

Digital Technologies for 21ˢᵗ Century Democracy

I don't think there could be a more important or more timely subject for your work. Everyday, events in every part of the world show us how the Internet and social networks are dramatically transforming the way people engage with their government and one another

Michael R. Bloomberg, Mayor of New York City.

There is a global movement in the **offing transforming what we mean by government and democracy** from the ground up. The Palestinian Prime Minister crowdsourced the popular selection of new cabinet picks using Facebook to ask for nominations. The Icelandic government has turned to a brainstorming platform to invite strategies for rebuilding after the financial crisis, including how to redraft its constitution, and then considering those suggestions. In post-earthquake New Zealand and Japan, tech-enabled networks of civil society organizations and individuals are collaborating with public first responders to coordinate disaster relief and recovery.

Local governments from Amsterdam to Vladivostok are implementing tools to open up the way they search for solutions to social problems and bring citizens more effectively into governance processes to help with everything from policing to public works in manageable and relevant ways.

Ordinary people using network technology can do extraordinary things by working together for the public good with far-reaching implications for our public institutions. When non-professionals can write Wikipedia, the most comprehensive and highest quality global encyclopaedia; spend their evenings moving a telescope via the Internet and making discoveries half a world away; get online to help organize a protest in cyberspace and in the physical world; or pore over purloined State Department cables, we are at an **inflection point** where we have the use of technology at our disposal to further democratize our democracy and thus increase its very legitimacy.

Everyone is expert in something and so many would be willing to participate in the life of our democracy, if given the opportunity to do so in a meaningful way. From Egypt to the U.K., governments are taking advantage of network technology to "mak[e] every citizen an acting member of the government," as Thomas Jefferson aspired, and thereby attach to him "by his strongest feelings to the independence of the country, and its republican constitution."

Today, more than ever, **we need accountable and legitimate governments that "deliver"**. It is not only in the democratizing states of the Middle East that nations are desperate for innovative strategies to deliver better services and more efficiently to citizens. One billion of the world's population lives on an income of less than $150 per year without access to clean water, basic education, or even minimal healthcare. Environmental catastrophes such as the Haitian earthquake of 2010 or the tsunamis of 2004 and 2011 exacerbate their plight. Rising temperatures threaten the planet itself. At the same time, we are making tremendous leaps in science and technology that could allow us to address these challenges better than ever before.

We have arrived at a point in history when technology is making it possible for government to gather better and greater scientific information and innovative ideas on how to solve problems faster and, at the same time, to democratize governance. This is not to say that the crowd is always wiser than the institution. We can't replace government with Google or Wikipedia with guaranteed, right answers. There are no right answers. In other words, direct or "crowdsourced" democracy is too simplistic for the complexities of modern life.

Twenty-first-century institutions are neither bigger nor smaller. Instead, networked institutions work differently. They accelerate the rate of interaction within and between institutions with new ideas and information. They are smarter hybrids – an amalgam of bounded organization and fluid, dynamic network – that leverage somewhat anarchic technologies within tightly controlled bureaucracies to connect professionals and data within the institution to people with good ideas and information outside of it in order to solve problems democratically. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said: "**Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy.**"

Sadig Al Mahdi, Prime Minister of Sudan (1966-1967, 1986-1989) and Member of the Club de Madrid

Dr. Judith Rodin, President of the Rockefeller Foundation & Luisa Diogo, Prime Minister of Mozambique (2004-2010) and Member of the Club de Madrid

Building on these trends, the 2011 Annual Conference of the Club de Madrid addressed the future of **three pillars of democratic governance: the State, civil society and the media**. Having invited representatives from all three sectors, the Conference engaged in an analysis of the impact of technology on each of these groups as well as on the relationships between them.

It was assumed that all three – the State, civil society, and the media – should be active participants and not merely passive recipients of a transformative process that can be framed along the following **rationale**:

- Digital tools have important **transformative societal effects** affecting and induced by the three focal groups – public institutions, citizens and the media.

- The disruptive power of technology has generated or strengthened **expectations** from and for each of these groups.

- New expectations reflect the existence of **needs**, be they problematic or not, that must be addressed by the society as a whole to make 21st century democracy work.

The **objective** of this final report is to present the lessons learned during the Conference using this rationale, while also including a section recompiling practical recommendations formulated by speakers and participants and that the Club de Madrid and its Members are committed to champion individually and collectively on the international scene.

Jorge Quiroga
President of Bolivia (2001-2002) and Member of the Club de Madrid

Aneesh Chopra
US Chief Technology Officer and Assistant to the US President Barack H. Obama

Olusegun Obasanjo
President of Nigeria (1976-1979, 1999-2007) and Member of the Club de Madrid

I.   Understanding the Context: Technology and its Disruptive Power

You don't understand the future of governance if you don't understand Wikipedia.
That capacity to solve problems, to come together to understand the collective good as something that we can produce together without the need to rely on a market that is purely based on getting the incentive and self-interest right was, ten years ago, considered utopianism and today, if you don't understand it, you just don't understand where the world is going.

Prof. Yochai Benkler, Harvard Law School

Throughout history, technologies have set in motion economic, political, social, cultural or environmental **transformations** that have deeply affected societies across the globe. In the 21st century, big data and network technology are the drivers and catalysts of the changes happening in our way of living, communicating or interacting.

What are the principal **symptoms** of this new age of digital revolution?

First and foremost, what digital technologies have brought to the table is that they have created an infrastructure for **human networking**. They fostered networks of people coming together sharing information on platforms that intrinsically expand their roles and connections, and thereby stimulate **collaborative behaviour** and a greater sense of "we-feeling" in our communities. A perfect example of this is the Standby Task Force, an online volunteer community for live mapping launched by Patrick Meier, Director of Crisis Mapping and Partnerships at Ushahidi.

This expansion of social networking has **let voices emerge** from places where citizen frustration and the desire to tear down unfair and undemocratic regimes were enormous and often unresolved, as was the case in Northern Africa and the Middle East.

Patrick Meier
Director of Crisis Mapping
& Partnerships,
Ushahidi

Note that technology-driven change happens at an impressive and often inconceivable **speed**, and this is also what makes this revolution different from the previous ones. As Club de Madrid Member Jorge Quiroga (President of Bolivia, 2001-2002) pointed out, "technology and interconnectedness has compressed time and widened the scale of the debate."

Both in and beyond the Arab world, collective intelligence technologies have in fact created a rich information ecology that has not only let voices emerge but they have more fundamentally **disrupted power structures**. This is particularly the case in hierarchical and pyramidal systems which are often employed in authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, although in established and more participatory democracies, citizens have also been defying the understanding and functioning of public governance. An illustrative symptom of this is the erosion of the line dividing domestic and foreign policy, as evidenced by the Wikileaks episode in the United States.

When you think about social media in the Arab Spring, don't get caught up too much in the bells and whistle of technology. Think about the human connections that were made and the ability for those people to share information among themselves and share it with the rest of the world, so we knew what was truly going on. Think about the people getting themselves to a critical mass in which, if and when the governments tried cracking down on them, they could not truly crack the movement because the movement was the network, and the network was the movement.

Andy Carvin, National Public Radio (NPR)

In a way, the **boundaries** between the governed and the governing are becoming evermore **blurred**. The reason for this is that these tools and technologies promote and magnify **individual empowerment**. When using Facebook, Twitter or their mobile phones, human beings become increasingly aware of their own personal identity, interests and aspirations.

At the same time, they realize they are part of a larger community to which they belong, and that the future of this community lies in the hands of each and all. This has also led to waves of **social mobilization** across the world with the objective of protecting and realizing human rights and core democratic values. "When technology informs us of our rights, it becomes transformative" summarized Chat García Ramilo from the Associations of Progressive Communications.

Finally, this move has also affected the media industry, for information mediation is no longer solely the prerogative of "traditional" journalists. Those we have for long considered as democracy's **watchdogs** are now themselves been **watched** by citizens who claim they too have a story to tell, an ushahidi to leave to society.

Clearly, the picture that we get from this period of change is indeed messy but in this disorganization, people are finding ways to organize themselves and give meaning to their identities, to their actions, to their lives and collectively solve problems of general interest. Referring to Jürgen Habermas, Patrick Meier explained tools of open expression, like live maps, foster a **sense of shared awareness and synchrony** which transform ordinary citizens into a public that ultimately can bring about long-lasting change in their communities.

Chat García Ramilo
Women's Networking
Support Programme Coordinator,
Association
for Progressive Communications

Cassam Uteem
President of the Republic of Mauritius
(1992-1997, 1997- 2002)
and Member of the Club de Madrid

Rachel Silver
Movements.org

II. The Rise of New Expectations

Big data and network technology not only affect ways of organizing political, social or economic life, they intrinsically alter the **expectations** public institutions, citizens and the media have towards one another and towards themselves in the *res publica*.

First and foremost, digital tools pave the way for **greater civic participation** and **collaboration** in our communities. As Professor Benkler explained, for the first time since the Industrial Economy, the most important capital inputs into the core economic activities, or at least in the most advanced economies, are widely distributed within the population while computation storage and communications allow for a greater common experience and thus collaboration within and between communities. Yet when we have the practice and ability to actually manage things by ourselves as citizens or to participate in complex governance problems, we begin to have the expectation that our voice can be heard in things that are meaningful to us, and that the 'other' will listen and act upon it.

As such, they create the yet unrealized expectation of a sort of **21st century agora** in which all can speak and listen and participate. As Personal Democracy Forum's co-founder Micah L. Sifry pointed out, US President Barack Obama's 2008 campaign constituted a remarkable precedent in this respect. Moreover, the cost of storing, copying and sharing information is dropping dramatically. One thus expects people to take advantage of this and socialize, interact, exchange views on how the community can function better.

The truly new phenomenon here is this opportunity of people to take action together. In the political sphere we have too long assumed that what citizens can do is either vote or talk. They can deliberate; they can chat with their neighbours, but the notion that people can actually do things together… There is more to democracy than just voting.

Beth S. Noveck
Conference Special Advisor

Because of this greater shared experience, there is also a greater call for **accountability** in our communities. The tools of big data and analysis coupled with the spread of communication technologies create increasing pressure to be **socially responsible** and **consistent between discourse and practice**. If we are all in this together, it is logical we assume a greater sense of responsibility for the sake of the community.

Digital tools have thereby made the **role of journalists** – be they citizen or investigative journalists – **even more essential**. Even though the Internet and user-generated content are forcing the journalism industry to rethink its way of working, one still expects it to safeguard the free flow of information and accountability of all within society.

The prediction of convergence and world peace after any given communications technology gets launched is a common trope of these new tools.

Clay Shirky
New York University

Most fundamentally, what this digital revolution has to offer to public institutions, citizens and journalists is the possibility to **renew the social contract** that has lain at the heart of modern society ever since Rousseau imagined it. While it offers the opportunity for political representatives to reconnect with their disillusioned citizens at the local and national level, it magnifies the potential to address collectively global challenges, from health to climate change, from financial crisis to food shortages. One can even wish to make technology an **instrument for peace**, as Club de Madrid Honorary Member Aung San Suu Kyi wished in her video-message for the Conference.

Finally, with visionary leadership more essential to democracy than ever, there are great expectations associated with the use of digital tools towards our own organization – the **Club de Madrid** – as the world's largest forum of democratic former Presidents and Prime Ministers, to make even greater contributions to implement a legitimate and effective democracy that delivers in the 21st century.

III. Meeting Expectations, Fulfilling Needs, Accepting Trades-Offs

Expectations reflect the existence of certain needs in our communities and force us to think how and whether we can and should meet them. In this respect, Conference participants expressed **four broad reflections** on the changes taking place:

a. First of all, we must **recognize that something is happening** out there and that technology will inevitably change our way of thinking and organizing society. Therefore we need to challenge every bit and piece of status quo around us.

b. To ensure we use technology for the betterment of democracy, we need to embrace and implement policies of **innovation**, open data, transparency, and most importantly we need to promote **collaboration and collaborative behaviour**.

c. Thirdly, we need to be aware that there will be **disappointment and frustration** along the road to enhanced democracy.

d. Finally, to make this process smoother, we will need to reach **consensus** on a series of issues related to the democratic 'use' of technologies in social life.

John Bruton
Prime Minister of Ireland (1994-1997)
and Member of the Club de Madrid

Derrick N. Ashong
Host of "The Stream",
Al Jazeera

a. Assume this change is happening and challenge the status quo

During the Conference Lightning Talks, Luke Williams, Professor of Innovation at New York University and author of *Disrupt*, offered an excellent picture of how to **challenge the status quo** in our contemporary societies. He argued we ought to think and act by 'provocation' rather than prediction, like young children do. Young children at play are provocative. They are busy experimenting to trigger reactions. In this age of digital revolution, we need **more deliberative provocation** and less prediction in government institutions and business organizations.

Potential for reinvention is all around us. There has never been a better time to challenge the status quo.

Orlando Ayala
Microsoft

Participants unanimously urged governments to be more assertive or 'aggressive' and increasingly **use** and **invest** in new technologies to allow citizens to participate and collaborate, to uphold expectations of accountability, to solve collective problems. Technology is no longer the bottleneck as José María Sanz-Magallón, CEO of Telefónica International USA pointed out.

Citizens also need to take advantage of the opportunities they are given, and effectively participate to make 21st governance and democracy work. They need to increase their **ownership** in and of these processes to make their aspirations come true.

As to the **media**, it must **address the identity** crisis it has been facing in the last few years. PRISA's Chief Digital Officer Kamal Bherwani issued a warning in this respect. He argued technology and the Internet are going to revolutionize, not just influence, democracies around the world – maybe we'll end up with virtual governance, he said. In this process, we have seen newspapers – but not journalism – dying and media companies adapting very slowly to these changes – mainly because they often have "robot mentalities". Yet whatever the format it embraces, the media still has a vital role to play in building the future. Journalists need to re-envision how they can best and most effectively provide information to their fellow citizens and ensure that appropriate accountability is exercised in society.

One of the key elements in this process of reinvention is that journalists need to avoid their incestuous relationships with politics. Media has power but media isn't the power. Too often, information is considered a **commodity** that both costs and generates money. This happens both in democracies, as evidenced by the Murdoch scandal, and in totalitarian or authoritarian regimes where media is at the service of the ruling authorities. We need to overcome cases of collusion between those who provide information and those whose work depends on it.

José María Sanz Magallón,
CEO of Telefonica International USA

Finally, while the Conference focused very much on the State, civil society and journalists, participants also urged the **private sector** to align its behavior with the one they were prescribing to the former. Business must no longer be 'hierarchies as usual'. We must all challenge companies to **open their data** and participate in the experience of shared learning and collaborative networking.

Eric Braverman
Partner,
McKinsey &Co.

José María Figueres
President of Costa Rica (1994-1998)
and Member of the Club de Madrid

b.   Embrace Policy of Innovation and Collaborative Networking

Once we assume and agree technology can be at the service of good governance and foster 21st century democracy, we have to embrace and implement policies of innovation that support collaborative behavior in our daily routine. This means we ought to move from the e-government we have known for the past ten years to what Personal Democracy Forum's co-founder Andrew Rasiej coined as "**we-government**".

Andrew Rasiej
Co-Founder, Personal Democracy Forum

While the former is generally understood as the use of digital technologies by governmental agencies to deliver the services we expect them to deliver, "we-government" goes a step further. It refers to the increasing quantity of data that governments are making available about what they are doing; and they are doing so in open formats so that people can use that data and their ingenuity to build tools, platforms and applications that are useful for society as a whole. In other terms, "we-government" is the juncture **where "e-government" meets "e-society"**.

Jeff Jarvis, Associate Professor,
City University of New York\'s
Graduate School of Journalism

This has various important implications. First, beyond policies of innovation and increased efficiency, we need to encourage governments to "**go public**". As journalist Jeff Jarvis exhorted, governments should be open by default, secret by necessity. Instead, too much of government is secret by default, and public by force. If the government doesn't have its own agents of openness, the public will. Wikileaks was such an agent.

In her panel on "**If We Build It, Will They Come?**" Susan Pointer from Google concurred with this observation, arguing that "we should build it to show a willingness to listen, because if we don't, they will come, but they will come angrily." Syrian blogger Anas Qtiesh also stated that whether it is Occupy Wall Street, angry youth in Tottenham or Arab populations yearning for freedom, when citizens feel they don't have a channel to communicate with their government, they lose trust in their representatives, in their officials and turn to protest and revolt.

I think we can take a significant step forward in opening up public sector data. It is citizens who pay for such data to be collected; it is citizens who can benefit from making it open, accessible and reusable by all. The payoff is not just in terms of transparency and accountability. Public sector data is also a rich raw material for innovation, offering economic impacts that amount to tens of billions of euros per year, and significant social benefits too.

Neelie Kroes, European Commission

In turn, **citizens** must also assume their share of the responsibility and take advantage of the data and the networks to effectively address collective problems. One way to do so is by creating incentives for interoperability or resort to mechanisms of **emulation** for innovation as Todd Park did when revolutionizing the US Department for Health and Human Services.

Craig Newmark
Craigslist.org

The most effective way for technology to serve democracy well, however, is if it fosters **dialogue and collaboration** between citizens and the different groups that form part of their respective communities. Citing James Surowiecki, Club de Madrid Member Kim Campbell (Prime Minister of Canada, 1993) reminded the audience "why the many were smarter than the few and how collective wisdom can shape business, economies, societies and nations." In his own way, Craig Newmark referred to Joy's Law arguing that no matter who you are, you have to remember that the smartest people in the world always work for someone else. So each of us is better interacting and cooperating with the rest of the community if our objective is to improve the lives of all.

This also means citizens will need to assume that although there are values and ideals they share, there might be discrepancies on how to materialize them in real life. **People must thus agree to disagree**.

Finally, building on the expectations that the rest of society beholds towards them, journalists too must embrace **innovative ways of telling their story** and do so without losing the quality of the story. They need to invest in collaborating with readers to make sense of the information flow and partner-up for distribution. They must find a way to work with those who claim to be citizen journalists and take advantage of all these new technologies, platforms, tools they have at their disposal to be 21st century democracy's watchdogs.

In short, public institutions, civil society and journalists need to promote and use collective thinking, collective networking, collective problem-solving if we want our 21st century aspirations to be fulfilled.

I believe we are in a historic moment in human time… But we [have] got to remember that the social media revolution was born out of human beings, the hunger and thirst to connect, learn and grow, and relate to one another beyond the existing boundaries.

Michele Hunt
Centre for Digital Inclusion

c. Understand the risks, downfalls and shortcomings of digital tools

If digital tools are to open new opportunities for social change, this does not mean that this change will happen smoothly or without pain. Public institutions, citizens and the media need to be aware that there will be frustration along the road; that all their expectations and needs will not be met or at least immediately; and that each will need to negotiate and accept a series of **trade-offs** for the well-functioning of society.

The challenge, here, is that by creating applications that work on smartphones, and by expecting citizens to know a lot more, we actually empower the people who already have power in our societies.

Alex Howard
Government 2.0 Correspondent, O'Reilly Media

First of all, we must remember that **tools alone will by no means be enough**. To solve collective problems, we will always need the ingenuity and creativity of individuals, coupled with the collaboration of each and all.

In this process, we must also be aware that technology can be used for purposes that end up going against democracy and democratic values. If network technology – and particularly the Internet – has offered new and expanded opportunities to disseminate and access information and ideas of all kinds, it has at the same time been used by public and private institutions to monitor, identify, locate and persecute individuals and groups who disseminate critical or sensitive information using these same means.

Technology can in some cases be a **threat to civil liberties**; something that Club de Madrid Member Andrés Pastrana (President of Colombia, 1998-2002) illustrated very well with his anecdote on the "Assange vs. Zuckenberg dilemma". He quipped, one gives private corporate information to the public and is declared an enemy; the other give private personal information to corporations and is the man of the year.

Andrés Pastrana
President of Colombia, 1998-2002 and
Member of the Club de Madrid

The major challenge, however, for the majority of the people is to actually understand what and where the problems actually lie. This is particularly the case for government agencies. Opening up the floodgates of data and communication threatens to drown unprepared bureaucrats and politicians who might get lost in what Irving Wladawsky-Berger called the "**cacophony of voices**".

Irving Wladawsky-Berger,
Strategic Advisor, IBM and Citigroup,
MIT and Imperial College

On the other hand, however, political representatives cannot and should not implement policies without sufficient concertation and consultation. Data is "big" and instantaneous but decision- and policy-making still require **time** and **reflection**. Surely governments must find ways to embrace the immediacy of digital interaction but they also need time to shape the right public policies.

This also applies to journalists who will need to focus on the **story-telling**, on the context of their testimony and not become sources of entertainment as Arianna Huffington observed. "Our addiction to technology and our addiction to be constantly wired often means we do not have time to connect with ourselves and with our wisdom" she said. We therefore need to promote and reinforce new models of **investigative and quality journalism** in the implementation of 21st century democracy.

Arianna Huffington
President and editor-in-chief,
AOL Huffington Post Media Group

In short, as Palantir Technologies' CEO Alex Karp argued, the biggest issue is not necessarily how you get access to the data, bur rather how you provide access to data to everyone.

Building on this remark, Club de Madrid Members Olusegun Obasanjo (President of Nigeria, 1999-2007), Alejandro Toledo (President of Peru, 2001-2006) and Mary Robinson (President of Ireland, 1990-1997), among others, reminded the audience that in many regions of the world, the effective use of digital tools and access to information and technology first require us to **address major development challenges** such as poverty, access to water, healthcare and education.

Big data and network technology is only useful if you have the system to use it and if you know how..

Mary Robinson
Member of the Club de Madrid

As a matter of fact, there is already a huge **digital divide** between developed and developing countries in this respect. We also often observe a significant digital divide between urban and rural areas, and finally, apart from these horizontal divides, there exist vertical or intergenerational divides which may also put at risk the effective delivery of 21st century democracy across the globe.

Finally, Conference participants noted that while it is true that technology comes with risks, more often than we think people are aware of these **risks** and **assume them entirely**. It is worth highlighting here Andy Carvin's experience in this respect in covering events in the Arab uprisings:

Time after time after time, I've talked to people who have been involved in revolutions and uprisings across the region and I hear a similar narrative. I remember just about a week after President Ben Ali left Tunisia, I had a Tunisian colleague come to the US and I asked her: how on earth did you feel comfortable doing all of this on your Facebook account where it says quite clearly who you are and who your friends and family members are. Didn't you feel like you were putting yourself and them at risk? She paused for a second and said yes, that's true, but we realized pretty quickly, that this could only end so many different ways, so either we were going to win in some fashion, or we would be crushed, we would be arrested, we would have to run and go into exile, some of us might die, or we might just have our hopes crushed and have to worry about the time when secret police would come knocking on our door. No matter which one of those scenarios plays out, she said, I do not want to be forgotten. I want to make sure that when people look back in the history of books, when they open up the ledger on who did what, that my name was on the right side, and I hear that again and again and again.

Andy Carvin
Senior Strategist, National Public Radio

Kamal M. Bherwani
Chief Digital Officer (CDO),
PRISA

Daoud Kuttab
Director,
Community Media Network

d. "Using" technologies well

Be it in political life, in citizen mobilization or in the media industry, what has changed over the past decade is in fact not the nature of information but rather our access and our **interpretation of information**, as Club de Madrid Member Vaira Vike-Freiberga (President of Latvia, 1999-2007) explained. The future of democracy and governance therefore depends on what use we want to make of this information and of the technology that provides it.

We all know this noise, this messiness, this disorganisation is necessary if we are to unleash the cognitive surplus, the power of collective intelligence, first to make governance more effective and more efficient, and ultimately to transform what we mean by governance, but what does it mean to "use technology well"

Beth S. Noveck

Used well, digital technologies have the potential to improve human flourishing and quality of life for people and the planet.

Wim Kok
President of the Club de Madrid

This forces us to reach a consensus on **what we mean by a "good" use of technology**; and one that genuinely serves democracy. While there is still a long road ahead of us, we can already agree on some cases of good use of big data and network technology – some were put forward in the Conference.

The most significant example is the increased enactment of policies favoring free publication of public data in manipulable forms. **Open data** is indeed key to the creation of more participatory governance for it provides the raw material for people to devise models, visualizations, evidence-based policies and other means of addressing social and economic problems. Data can help deliver accountability, better services for less money and entrepreneurial opportunity, as former US Deputy Chief Technology Officer Beth S. Noveck affirmed.

Another issue is how to effectively r**egulate big data**, social networks and digital technology. Participants agreed that there special attention should be paid to privacy concerns, data integrity, intellectual property and national security. While we do need to regulate, it is essential **not to over-regulate**. Heavy monitoring of online access not only leads to greater distrust in government but may indeed lead to a greater distrust in technology.

Finally, if this consensus on technology is bound to be global, one must not close the door to **other levels of decision-making** – regional, national, local – as initial steps in the right direction. As a matter of fact, with greater perspectives of inclusion and sustainability, local actors are often better positioned to draft, test and recommend corresponding legislation.

Big data is not about creating big brother but rather to defeat notions of big brother in governments..

Lionel Jospin
Prime Minister of France (1997-2002) and
Member of the Club de Madrid

IV. Making 21st Century Democracy Happen

If there is one thing that Conference participants agreed on, it is that we are still very much **in the infancy** of "digital technologies for 21st century democracy". We are still in an experimental phase in many respects. This is also why we cannot expect to have black and white answers straight away as to how technology is and will be affecting governance and democracy. Yet this does not change our compromise to make 21st century democracy happen.

This section looks at concrete **recommendations** on how to extract value out of big data, networks and digital tools to make governance better, democracy stronger and citizens more powerful, setting the basis for the **Club de Madrid's commitment for a "21st century democracy that delivers"**.

We need the people in this room who have been in government to legitimize these innovations and pave the way.

Beth S. Noveck
Conference Special Advisor

a.   General Recommendations

First and foremost, we – public institutions, citizens and journalist – will need to **collaborate** and **partner** with other stakeholders to effectively solve problems of governance, engagement and responsibility.

In this effort, we, and governments particularly, will need to facilitate and legitimize **bottom-up approaches** and avoid the temptation of limiting actions to top-down applications, platforms or methods.

On a more general basis, we must address the persisting reticence of public institutions to innovate and leave 'politics as usual' behind. We must **mobilize political will and challenge the status quo** of our administrations and go from e-government, which is already in place in many parts of the world, to what the 'we-government' described above.

Once such political will exists, we must proactively **support those governmental-led initiatives** that, like the Open Government Partnership, effectively pave the way for 21st century democracy. In this respect, governments need to remember that the cost of building platforms to allow collaboration is as low as the opportunity of incrementing their legitimacy through openness and transparency policies is great.

On a general basis, we must **advocate**, each of us in our own communities, **for open data, transparency and accountability** both in public policy and decision-making and in private sector activities; while at the same time focusing on how to protect personal data and privacy, not simply from governments but also from large companies that control much of the data, so that all can effectively be held accountable.

Anita Gurumurthy
Founding Member
and Executive Director,
IT for Change

Along the same line, we need to **protect open-source data software** to help journalists mine data and strengthen, by lowering the costs of inputs, **investigative journalism**, i.e. original work that is of significant interest to people, and that other people want to be kept secret, as Director of the Wallace Centre of Media and Democracy Jay Hamilton recommended.
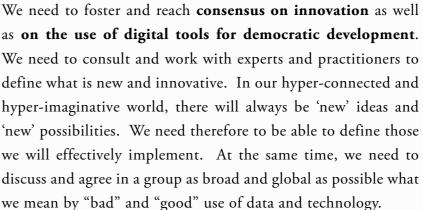
In many cases, we will need to protect the **very basic function and efforts of journalists**. From Great Britain to Mexico, from social media activists and citizen journalists to traditional media reporters, governments should take action to uphold the principle that journalism equals the public good, as Club de Madrid Member Alfred Gusenbauer (Federal Chancellor of Austria, 2007-2008) noted.

As do prestigious organizations such as Freedom House and Human Rights Watch, we must advocate and **protect the rights to freedom of expression and freedom of assembly**, always bearing in mind that in democracy, one's liberty always ends where another's begins.

We must promote the use of digital technologies to deliver major development challenges and effectively reach the Millennium Development Goals. As stated by Beth S. Noveck, we must "**get from here to there and everywhere**" in order to **accelerate connectivity and access to technology** around the globe. Organizations like the Bangalore-based IT for Change led by Anita Gurumurthy that enable underprivileged, marginalized people and communities to harness the potential of networked societies by creating local architectures that people govern and participate in on the ground must be fostered and supported.

Spanish Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Juan Antonio Yánez-Barnuevo, reminded us that Francis Bacon taught us that 'scientia potentia est '(Knowledge is Power). We must **invest in innovation, research and development** and look for the right talent to make good sense and use of data.

We need to foster and reach **consensus on innovation** as well as **on the use of digital tools for democratic development**. We need to consult and work with experts and practitioners to define what is new and innovative. In our hyper-connected and hyper-imaginative world, there will always be 'new' ideas and 'new' possibilities. We need therefore to be able to define those we will effectively implement. At the same time, we need to discuss and agree in a group as broad and global as possible what we mean by "bad" and "good" use of data and technology.

In this still messy, disorganized, buzzing world, we must **promote dialogue and understanding** between citizens, between nations, between peoples. Democracy is not a single view. It is many views that agree to tolerate each other's diversity while sharing the common desire to be effectively governed, as Jenny Shipley framed it.

Most fundamentally, and counter-intuitively, what we need is **leadership** that supports rather than fights against change in order to ensure that people do not feel disempowered or disengaged. That is exactly what the Club de Madrid is all about and what it has committed to in this Conference.

b. The Club de Madrid's 21st Century Democracy Commitment

Club de Madrid Annual Conferences always serve a practical **purpose** and strive to position the organization in a specifically challenging area on the medium and longer term. In New York Members of the Club committed to "keep(ing) up with the issues of today and tomorrow so that while sharing the experience gained through governance, they can reapply it as others have to make decisions."

Vice-President Jenny **Shipley** assured that the Club de Madrid was committed not only to helping people achieve a democratic environment in which to live and be governed but also to deliver effective, inclusive and resilient democracy. Democratic architecture is much more complex than a simple electoral system and voting. It must take into account the impact of issues, challenges and objectives raised and discussed in the Conference and that the Club de Madrid is committed to take forward to improve democracies and the experience of people worldwide as they seek to live their lives well.

We have talked a lot about platforms and dialogue in this Conference…The Club de Madrid members would want to say that in the end, leadership is required. Leadership is not only the prerogative of those who have been elected to lead. Outstanding participatory democracies have leaders everywhere who understand that the fragile bird of freedom relies on people stepping forward and stepping up to help define what that freedom means and I want to encourage each of you in your sphere of influence to take what you've heard and to become champions for change, seeking ways in which we can adopt technology to further enhance democracy worldwide.
I can give you the commitment of the Club de Madrid members to do exactly that and we look forward to working with you all in some form or another in the future.

Jenny Shipley
Prime Minister of New Zealand (1997-1999)
and Vice-President of the Club de Madrid

In the weeks that followed the Conference, the Club de Madrid worked to materialize this commitment into lines of action that can be pursued from New York onwards. Possibilities for projects and collaborations had already been identified prior to the celebration of the Conference, such as the **LEND Network Initiative** (Leaders Engaged in New Democracies) – an initiative supported by the US State Department aimed at connecting current transitional leaders with those who have personally navigated through the challenges of democratization.

On a broader basis, the ideas and issues discussed during the Conference will also feed the work implemented through **existing Club de Madrid programs and projects**, such as the Shared Societies Project (http://www.clubmadrid.org/sspblog/), the Energy and Democratic Leadership initiative or activities to be implemented in the Middle East and North Africa region.

Finally, as expressed by Vice-President Shipley, while the Club de Madrid Members have a great appetite to work with people who have a desire to help shape the future in meaningful ways, it is our hope that the Conference itself ignited some lightening shots which may ultimately lead to new contributions through which we may strengthen fundamental values and freedoms which are very much at the heart of democracy and the Club de Madrid's mission and objectives; including freedom of expression, freedom of association, the right to information and so on.

No matter what, the **Club de Madrid commitment** for a 21st century democracy that delivers remains **unwavering**, and in this sense very much follows Rockefeller Foundation's President Dr. Judith Rodin's final observation in her keynote speech:

Because there is not now and there never will be enough money in the world to solve the challenges that we face […] we must not only seek to invent a new model, but we must rework and reframe and recombine what we already have and what we already know into something that is vastly more powerful and that's why we must invest in the process of innovation to built a better and more open society, because we not only have the obligation to build a better world, I think we actually have the ability to do so.

Dr. Judith Rodin
President of the Rockefeller Foundation
(watch video of her speech at
http://www.clubmadrid.org/2011conference)

**Click here to watch a video summary
of the X Annual Conference Club de Madrid
Digital Technologies for 21ˢᵗ Century Democracy**
http://www.clubmadrid.org/2011conference

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements

On behalf of the Club de Madrid, we want to acknowledge and thank the sponsors and partners who have made our 10th Anniversary Annual Conference possible.

First and foremost we thank the Regional Government of Madrid and Telefónica for their very significant support as well as the Hyatt Regency, the Rockefeller Foundation, a long standing friend of the Club de Madrid, and our new technology partners Google, Samsung, Microsoft and of course McKinsey and GDF Suez.

The Conference's main Media Partners were Grupo PRISA and The Huffington Post, while El País, Cinco Días, Cadena Ser, I TVI, W Radio, Caracol Radio, Excelsior, openDemocracy and movements. org also contributed to the wide press coverage and visibility of the event. We thank all of them for sharing their insights and "spreading the word" during and after the Conference.

We thank Michael R. Bloomberg for honouring us with his presence in the Conference and welcoming us in New York.

We thank all the speakers and participants for their insights, comments, warnings, even tweets and thank all of those who could not it make to New York yet managed to participate in other ways.

We want to particularly thank our Special Advisor Beth S. Noveck, absolutely instrumental in shaping the conversation during this Conference with great skill, commitment and intelligence.

Carlos Westendorp
Secretary General of the Club de Madrid

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Annex I

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BLOGGING
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VOICE
DEBATE
COMMUNICATION
CITIZENSHIP
EQUALITY
INTERACTION
USABILITY
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Program

Tuesday November 8th

14.30 - 16.30

Opening Plenary:

Digital Technologies and the Future of Governance in the 21st Century

Official Welcome to New York City:
Michael R. Bloomberg, Mayor of New York City

Welcoming Words:
Wim Kok, Prime Minister of the Netherlands (1994-2002), President of the Club de Madrid

Framing the Debate:
Yochai Benkler, Berkman Professor for Entrepreneurial Legal Studies at Harvard Law School. Author of The Wealth of Networks
Arianna Huffington, President and Editor-in-Chief, AOL Huffington Post Media Group
Michele Hunt, Change Catalyst. Member of the International Board, Centre for Digital Inclusion. Author of DreamMakers: Putting Vision & Values to Work
Beth S. Noveck, Club de Madrid Conference Advisor. US Deputy Chief Technology Officer (2009-2011) and leader of the White House Open Government Initiative. Professor at New York Law School. (Facilitator)
José María Sanz-Magallón, C.E.O, Telefónica Internacional USA
Irving Wladawsky-Berger, Strategic Advisor, IBM and Citigroup; Visiting Faculty, MIT and Imperial College

Discussants:
Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria (1999-2007), Member of the Club de Madrid
Alejandro Toledo, President of Peru (2001-2006), Member of the Club de Madrid

17.00 – 18.30

Breakout Sessions – **What is actually changing and how?**

1. The Changing Nature of Statecraft: The Impact of Big Data

Speakers:
Michael Chui, Senior Fellow, McKinsey Global Institute
Alex Karp, Palantir Technologies
Todd Park, US Department of Health and Human Services
Stefaan G. Verhulst, Markle Foundation (Facilitator)
Juan Antonio Yáñez-Barnuevo, Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Government of Spain

Discussants:
Lionel Jospin, Prime Minister of France (1997-2002), Member of the Club de Madrid
Mary Robinson, President of the Republic of Ireland (1990-1997), Member of the Club de Madrid

2. WeGov: How Network Technology is Strengthening Democracy

Speakers:
Susan P. Crawford, Cardozo School of Law; former Special Assistant to President Barack H. Obama for Science, Technology and Innovation Policy
Craig Newmark, Founder, Craiglist
Andrew Rasiej, Personal Democracy Forum, techPresident (Facilitator)
David Steel, Executive Vice President of Strategy and Corporate Communications, Samsung Electronics North America
Katrin Verclas, Co-founder and Editor, MobileActive.org

Discussants:
Joaquim Chissano, President of Mozambique (1986-2005), Member of the Club de Madrid
Vicente Fox, President of Mexico (2000-2006), Member of the Club de Madrid

3. The Changing Nature of Accountability Journalism

Speakers:
Anthony Barnett, openDemocracy.net (Facilitator)
Ernesto Paglia, Rede Globo
Mario Tascón, Prodigioso Volcán
Christopher Walker, Freedom House

Discussants:
Luis Alberto Lacalle, President of Uruguay (1990-1995), Member of the Club de Madrid
Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of Latvia (1999-2007), Member of the Club de Madrid

19.30

Official Conference Dinner
Welcoming Words: Aneesh Chopra, US Chief Technology Officer and Assistant to the US President Barack H. Obama

Dinner Talk: **New Technologies, the Arab Spring and 21st Century Statecraft**
Sadiq Al Mahdi, Prime Minister of Sudan (1986-1989), Member of the Club de Madrid
Derrick N. Ashong, Host of "The Stream", Al Jazeera (Facilitator)
Andy Carvin, Senior Strategist, National Public Radio
Alec Ross, Senior Advisor for Innovation to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton

Wednesday November 9th

09.00 – 10.30

Lightning Talks on Global Networks and Local Action: Innovation for Inclusive and Sustainable Development

Facilitators:
John Bruton, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland (1994-1997), Member of the Club de Madrid
José María Figueres, President of Costa Rica (1994-1998), Member of the Club de Madrid

Presentations:
Luke Williams, NYU Stern School of Business
Eric Braverman, Partner, McKinsey and Co.
Patrick Meier, Ushahidi
Orlando Ayala, Microsoft
Anita Gurumurthy, IT for Change
David R. Miller, 63rd Mayor of Toronto (2003-2010)
Bilel Jamoussi, ITU Telecommunication Standardization Bureau

Reflections: Harnessing the power of global creativity and technologies to solve social and environmental problems

Judith Rodin, Rockefeller Foundation

11.00 – 12.30

Breakout Sessions – **Innovation in Governance, Civic Engagement and Media: Opportunities and Constraints**

4. Does 'Politics as Usual' Stand in the Way of Innovation

Speakers:
Luis G. Babino, CiGob – Fundación Desarrollo de Ciencias y Métodos de Gobierno
Alex Howard, O'Reilly Media
Micah L. Sifry, Personal Democracy Forum

Discussants:
Ricardo Lagos, President of Chile (2000-2006); President of the Club de Madrid (2006-2009)
Petre Roman, Prime Minister of Romania (1989-1991), Member of the Club de Madrid

5. If We Build It, Will They Come: Why Meaningful Citizen Engagement is Hard

Speakers:
Sean Cleary, Future World Foundation; Board Member, IFES (Facilitator)
Chat García Ramilo, Association for Progressive Communications
Susan Pointer, Google Inc.
Anas Qtiesh, Program Officer, Meedan; Global Voices Online contributor
Henry Sweetbaum, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence

Discussants:
Kjell Magne Bondevik, Prime Minister of Norway (1997-2000; 2001-2005), Member of the Club de Madrid
Kim Campbell, Prime Minister of Canada (1993), Member of the Club de Madrid

6. Journalism is Dead, Long Live Journalism

Speakers:
Kamal Bherwani, PRISA Group
James T. Hamilton, Wallace Center for Media and Democracy (Facilitator)
Jeff Jarvis, Associate Professor, City University of New York's Graduate School of Journalism
Daoud Kuttab, Community Media Network
Nguyen Anh Tuan, VietnamNet Media Group

Discussants:
Alfred Gusenbauer, Federal Chancellor of Austria (2007-2008), Member of the Club de Madrid
Andrés Pastrana, President of Colombia (1998-2002), Member of the Club de Madrid

14.30 – 16.30

Final Plenary – **Making Governance Better, Democracy Stronger and Citizens More Powerful: Getting from Here to There**

Opening Words: Neelie Kroes, Vice-President and Digital Agenda Commissioner, European Commission (Video Message)

Reflections:
Jorge I. Domínguez, Vice-Provost for International Affairs, Harvard University; Club de Madrid Advisor
Beth S. Noveck, US Deputy Chief Technology Officer and leader of the White House Open Government Initiative (Facilitator)
Jorge Quiroga, President of Bolivia (2001-2002), Member of the Club de Madrid
Clay Shirky, Associate Arts Professor at the Interactive Telecommunications Program (ITP) and Distinguished Writer in Residence in the Journalism Department, New York University
Cassam Uteem, President of Mauritius (1992-2002), Member of the Club de Madrid

Club de Madrid's commitments to action and final words:
Jennifer Mary Shipley, Prime Minister of New Zealand (1997-1999), Vice-President of the Club de Madrid

Annex II

List of Participants

Members of the Club de Madrid

Abdul-Kareem Al-Eryani	Prime Minister of Yemen (1980-1983; 1998-2001)
Sadig Al-Mahdi	Prime Minister of Sudan (1986-1989)
Belisario Betancur	President of Colombia (1982-1986)
Valdis Birkavs	Prime Minister of Latvia (1993-1994)
Kjell Magne Bondevik	Prime Minister of Norway (1997-2000; 2001-2005)
John Bruton	Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland (1994-1997)
Kim Campbell	Prime Minister of Canada (1993)
Joaquim Chissano	President of Mozambique (1986-2005)
Philip Dimitrov	Prime Minister of Bulgaria (1991-1992)
Luisa Diogo	Prime Minister of Mozambique (2004-2010)
José María Figueres	President of Costa Rica (1994-1998)
Vicente Fox	President of Mexico (2000-2006)
Eduardo Frei	President of Chile (1994-2000)
César Gaviria	President of Colombia (1990-1994) and Vice-President of the Club de Madrid
Alfred Gusenbauer	Federal Chancellor of Austria (2007-2008)
Osvaldo Hurtado	President of Ecuador (1981-1984)
Lionel Jospin	Prime Minister of France (1997-2005)
Wim Kok	Prime Minister of the Netherlands (1994-2002) and President of the Club de Madrid
Chandrika Kumaratunga	President of Sri Lanka (1994-2005)
Luis Alberto Lacalle	President of Uruguay (1990-1995)
Ricardo Lagos	President of Chile (2000-2006)
Zlatko Lagumdzija	Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2001-2002)
Thabo Mbeki	President of South Africa (1999-2008)
Rexhep Meidani	President of Albania (1997-2002)
Olusegun Obasanjo	President of Nigeria (1999-2007)
Andrés Pastrana	President of Colombia (1998-2002)
Jorge Quiroga	President of Bolivia (2001-2002)
Mary Robinson	President of the Republic of Ireland (1990-1997)
Petre Roman	Prime Minister of Romania (1989-1991)
Jenny Shipley	Prime Minister of New Zealand (1997-1999) and Vice-President of the Club de Madrid
Alejandro Toledo	President of Peru (2001-2006)
Martín Torrijos	President of Panama (2004-2009)
Cassam Uteem	President of Mauritius (1992-2002)
Vaira Vike-Freiberga	President of Latvia (1999-2007)

Representatives of the Club de Madrid Constituent Foundations

T. Anthony Jones	Vice-President and Executive Director of the Gorbachev Foundation of North America (GFNA)
Diego Hidalgo	President, Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE)
George Matthews	Chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation of North America
José Manuel Romero	Vice-President, Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE)

Advisors of the Club de Madrid

Rut C. Diamint	Professor, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Argentina
Jorge I. Domínguez	Vice Provost for International Affairs, Harvard University
Grzegorz Ekiert	Professor of Government, Center for European Studies, Harvard University
Lucinio Muñoz Muñoz	Senior Advisor, Spanish Treasury, Ministry of Economy and Finance
Peter R. Neumann	Director, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence
Tim Phillips	Co-Founder of the Project on Justice in Times of Transition, Harvard University
Theodore Piccone	Senior Fellow & Deputy Director for Foreign Policy Program, Brookings Institution

Conference Institutional Guests

Michael R. Bloomberg	Mayor of New York City
Juan Antonio Yáñez-Barnuevo	State Secretary for Foreign and Ibero-American Affairs, Spanish Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Special Advisor of the Conference

Beth S. Noveck	Former US Deputy Chief Technology Officer and leader of the White House Open Government Initiative

Speakers and Moderators (1)

Derrick N. Ashong	Host of "The Stream", Al Jazeera
Orlando Ayala	Corporate Vice President, Chairman of Emerging Markets, and Chief Strategist, National Competitiveness, Microsoft Corporation
Luis G. Babino	President, CiGob Fundación Desarrollo de Ciencias y Métodos de Gobierno
Anthony Barnett	Founder of openDemocracy.net
Yochai Benkler	Berkman Professor for Entrepreneurial Legal Studies at Harvard Law School and the author of The Wealth of Networks
Kamal Bherwani	Chief Digital Officer, PRISA Group
Eric Braverman	Partner, McKinsey & Co
Andy Carvin	Senior Strategist, National Public Radio
Aneesh Chopra	US Chief Technology Officer and Assistant to the US President Barack H. Obama
Michael Chui	Senior Fellow, McKinsey Global Institute
Sean Cleary	Founder and Executive Vice-Chair, Future World Foundation; Board Member, FES
Susan P. Crawford	Professor of Law, Cardozo School of Law; Former Special Assistant to President Barack H. Obama for Science, Technology, and Innovation Policy
Chat García Ramilo	Women's Networking Support Programme Coordinator, Association for Progressive Communications (APC)
Anita Gurumurthy	Founding Member and Executive Director, IT for Change, India

Speakers and Moderators (2)

James T. Hamilton	Director, DeWitt Wallace Center for Media and Democracy, Sanford School of Public Policy, Duke University
Alexander B. Howard	Government 2.0 Correspondent, O'Reilly Media
Arianna Huffington	President and Editor-in-Chief, AOL Huffington Post Media Group
Michele Hunt	Change Catalyst; Member of the International Board, Centre for Digital Inclusion, Rio de Janeiro
Bilel Jamoussi	Chief of the Study Groups Department, ITU Telecommunication Standardization Bureau
Jeff Jarvis	Associate Professor, City University of New York's Graduate School of Journalism, Author, What Would Google Do?
Alex Karp	CEO and Co-founder, Palantir Technologies
Daoud Kuttab	Director General, Community Media Network
Patrick Meier	Director of Crisis Mapping & Partnerships, Ushahidi
David R. Miller	63rd Mayor of Toronto (2003-2010)
Craig Newmark	Founder, Craigslist.org
Nguyen Anh Tuan	Founder and Chairman, VietnamNet Media Group; Associate, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government
Ernesto Paglia	Rede Globo (Brazil)
Todd Park	Chief Technology Officer and entrepreneur-in-residence at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
Susan Pointer	Director for Public Policy & Government Relations, Google Inc., Southern & Eastern Europe, Middle East & Africa
Anas Qtiesh	Program Officer, Meedan; Global Voices Online contributor
Andrew Rasiej	Founder and Publisher, Personal Democracy Forum; Co-Founder, techPresident
Judith Rodin	President, Rockefeller Foundation
Alec Ross	Senior Advisor for Innovation to US Secretary of State Hillary R. Clinton
José María Sanz-Magallón	C.E.O, Telefónica Internacional USA
Clay Shirky	Associate Arts Professor at the Interactive Telecommunications Program (ITP) and Distinguished Writer in Residence in the Journalism Department, New York University
Micah L. Sifry	Co-founder and Executive Editor of the Personal Democracy Forum
David Steel	Executive Vice President of Strategy and Corporate Communications, Samsung Electronics North America
Henry Sweetbaum	Founder and Trustee, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence
Mario Tascón	Managing Director, Prodigioso Volcán
Katrin Verclas	Co-founder and Editor, MobileActive.org
Stefaan G. Verhulst	Chief of Research, Markle Foundation
Christopher Walker	Vice President for Strategy and Analysis, Freedom House
Luke Williams	Adjunct Professor of Innovation, NYU Stern School of Business; Author of Disrupt
Irving Wladawsky-Berger	Strategic Advisor, IBM and Citigroup; Visiting Faculty, MIT and Imperial College

Participants (1)

Matthew Addai II	Advisor, African Relations, Ibadesa
Marcos Arroyo Borbujo	Financial Analyst, Dragados USA
Juan Ignacio Babino	Coordinator of the Foro PoliTICs, CiGob –Fundación Desarrollo de Ciencias y Métodos de Gobierno
Rye Barcott	Special Advisor, Officer of the Chairman and CEO, Duke Energy
Solon Barocas	PhD Candidate, New York University
Clara Barreneche	Executive Director, ACC10 Catalonia Trade and Investment
Mark Belinsky	President and Founder, Digital Democracy
Avraham Berkowitz	Director, Chabad
Mike Berkowitz	Co-Founder & CEO, Third Plateau Social Impact Strategies, LLC
Federico Bonaglia	Head of Policy Dialogue Division, OECD Development Center
Bob Boorstin	Director of Corporate and Policy Communication, Google
Stefan Brathwaite	Chief Strategy Officer, Fair Observer
Kim Brizzolara	President, Brizzolara Productions
Karl Brown	Associate Director of Applied Technology, Rockefeller Foundation
Ron Bruder	Founder and Chairman, Education for Employment Foundation (EFE)
Pierre Cannet	Chef de cabinet to the Executive Coordinator, United Nations Conference Rio+20
David Carriedo	Assistant to the State Secretary for Foreign and Ibero-American Affairs, Spanish Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Oliver Carroll	Editor, open Democracy Russia
Juan Luis Cebrian	CEO, PRISA Group
Thomas Cormier	Director of Programs, Rights & Democracy
Storm Cunningham	CEO, Revitaliz, LLC
Tony Curzon Price	Editor-in-Chief, openDemocracy.net
Emma Daly	Director of Communications, Human Rights Watch
Yvette Daoud	Deputy Consul General / Head of the Economic Department, Consulate General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
Andrew Davis	Head of Delegation in the USA, Government of Catalonia
Henry de Cazotte	Special Advisor to the Executive Coordinator, United Nations Conference Rio+20
Juan Pablo de Laiglesia	Spanish Ambassador to the Unite Nations
Lucía de la Morena Escamilla	Financial Analyst, Dragados USA
Benjamin de la Peña	Associate Director for Urban Development, Rockefeller Foundation
Ignacio Del Valle	MBA Candidate, Columbia Business School
Ignacio de Ramón	MBA Candidate, Columbia Business School
Ellen Sue L. Ewald	Partner, Tysvar
Gilda Farrell	Acting Head of Department, DG Social Cohesion, Social Cohesion Development Division, Council of Europe
Sharon Fernandez	Principle Consultant, Creative Policy Consulting
Rick Friedberg	Founder and President, Liberty Connections Ltd
Tom Glaisyer	Knight Media Policy Fellow, Open Technology Initiative, New America Foundation
Blair Glencorse	Associate, Institute for State Effectiveness
Daniel L. Goroff	Programs Director, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation
Nicolas Granatino	Consultant
Barbara Haig	Deputy to President for Policy & Strategy, National Endowment for Democracy
Nadia Hasam	Director of Crisis Mapping / Student, Columbia University
Annette Hauser	Executive Director of the Bertelsmann Foundation Washington DC
David Hawley	Senior Advisor, External Relations, International Monetary Fund

Participants (2)

Marco Herrera	Executive Director, Fundación Global Democracia y Desarrollo, Funglode
Ann Hoffmann	Director of Online Communications, Vital Voices
Michael Hurley	Adviser, Palantir Technologies
Carlos Isoma	MBA Candidate, Columbia Business School
Emily Jacobi	Executive Director and Founder, Digital Democracy
Dean Jannone	Director, Center of Expertise, Schindler Management AG
Paloma Juncos Jimenez	Senior Trade Advisor, IPEX - Foreign Trade Institute of Castilla-La Mancha
Murat Karimsakov	Chairman of Executive Board, Astana Economic Forum
Daniel Karpantschof	Co-Founder, Nexus: Global Youth Summit on Innovative Philanthropy and Social Entrepreneurship
Elad Katz	Program Officer, Yad Hanadiv
Joe Kelley	Principal, Joe Kelley Consulting
Liana M. Kleeman	Fellow, Virginia Commonwealth University
Maxat Kurbenov	Head of the Scientific-Analytical Department, Eurasian Economic Club of Scientists
Daniel Lasaga	Masters of International Relations Candidate, Columbia University
Kam Lasater	Co-Founder, SeeClickFix
Angie Lee	Marketing Lead, IDEO
Panthea Lee	Co-founder and Principal, ReBoot
Francine LeFrak	President, LeFrak Productions
Shelley B. Leibowitz	Chief Information Officer and Vice President, Information Solutions, World Bank
Laura Liswood	Secretary General, Council of Women World Leaders
Shannon Malone	Masters of International Relations Candidate, Columbia University
Alan Marcus	Senior Director & Head of ICT, World Economic Forum
Ricardo Martínez Vázquez	Director, Casa África, Spain
Lord McConnell of Glenscorrodale	First Minister of Scotland (2001-2007)
Peter McQuibban	Senior Advisor to CEO Dr. Alex Karp, Palantir Technologies
Rusmir Mesihovic	Minister of Health, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Gregory Mevs	CEO, WINGROUP
Terje Mikalsen	CEO and Partner, Tysvar
Amy L. Miller	Gorbachev Foundation for North America
Gonzalo Moro Aguilar	Deputy Director, Casa África, Spain
Dave Moss	Consultant, Nexus Youth Summit
Carmen Muñoz-Vicedo	Executive Director, IVEX New York
Barbara Navarro	Public Policy Director, Google Inc.
Borja Olaso	MBA Candidate, Columbia Business School
Nathalie Ormazabal	MBA Candidate, Columbia Business School
Matthew Owens	Product Manager, Fair Observer
John Packer	Senior Adviser, Institute for Quiet Diplomacy
Clive Palmer	Executive Chairman, Mineralogy Pty. Ltd.; Member of the Club de Madrid President's Circle
Theresa Pardo (Dr.)	Director, Centre for Technology in Government, University at Albany, State University of New York
Priyanka Pathak	Graduate Student, Columbia University
Stacey Pellegrino	Graduate Student, Columbia University
Rafael Pérez Colón	Microsoft Corporation
Miguel A. Porrúa	e-Government Senior Expert, Department for Effective Public Management, Secretariat for Political Affairs, Organization of American States
Maxime Poulin	Director, Development, Rights & Democracy

Participants (3)

Ajay Pratel	Consultant
Werner Puschra	Executive Director, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Iñigo Ramírez De Haro	Consul for Cultural Affairs, Consulate of Spain in New York
Waqas Rana	Graduate Student, Columbia University
Haana Rifaey	President and Publisher, The American Independent News Network
Denisse Rios-Carbonell	Corporate Liaison, Zambrano Family, Ltd.
Victoria Ritvo	Slifka Foundation
Alejandro Roche del Fraile	MIA Candidate, Columbia University
Francisco Rodriguez Chaparro	Grantee, Fullbright Fellowship
Claudia Rodríguez Rodríguez	Financial Analyst, Hermès
Sarina Russo	Managing Director, Sarina Russo Group
Alejandro Salinas Gomez	MBA-MGM Candidate 2012 and James N. Fernandez Fellow Fordham Graduate School of Business
Katja Samuel	World Justice Project
Maria Alexandra Sánchez	Corporate Liaison, Zambrano Family, Ltd.
Roland Schatz	President, Media Tenor International
Ben Scott	Policy Advisor for Innovation, US Department of State
Daniel A. Sharp	Chief Executive Officer, The Eisenhower Foundation
Katherine Sierra	Senior Fellow, Global Economy & Development, Brookings Institution
Rachel Silver	Movements.org
Atul Singh	Founder & Editor-in-Chief, Fair Observer
Riva Slifka	President, Slifka Foundation
Robert Smith (Dr.)	Provost and Senior Vice President, Texas Tech University
Chris Spence	Chief Technology Officer, National Democracy Institute
Ingrid Stange	Founder, Partnership for Change
Jorge Suarez de Lezo	MBA Candidate, Columbia Business School
Michael Svetlig	Vice-President of Programs, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)
Tomicah Tilleman	Senior Advisor to the Secretary for Civil Society and Emerging Democracies at U.S. Department of State
Massimo Tommasoli	International IDEA Representative to the United Nations
Bjarte Tørå	Special Advisor, Oslo Centre for Peace and Human Rights
Edwin Torres	Associate Director for New York City Opportunities Fund and Innovation, Rockefeller Foundation
Natalie Touzet	Investment Manager, ACC10 Catalonia Trade and Investment
Alvaro Travesedo	MBA Candidate, Columbia Business School
Sarah Troup	Program Operations Associate, Rockefeller Foundation
Barbara Ubaldi	Policy Analyst for E-government, Public Governance and Territorial Development Directorate; OECD
José Zambrano	Founder, Zambrano Family, Ltd.
Dorothy S. Zinberg	Lecturer in Public Policy, Senior Research Associate, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

CLUB DE MADRID

Carrera de San Jerónimo 15, 3ª B
Madrid   28014   Spain
Tel: + (34) 91 154 8230
Fax: + (34) 91 154 8240
clubmadrid@clubmadrid.org

www.clubmadrid.org

www.facebook.com/ClubMadrid

@CLUBdeMADRID

www.youtube.com/clubmadrid

www.flickr.com/clubdemadrid/