

SAPERE AUDE

**Freedom and
Responsibility**

Stockholm, 25-29 April, 2017

Association of Schools of Political
Studies of the Council of Europe

venue

Skogshem & Wijk

Hustegavägen 1 181 90 Lidingö, Sweden



in collaboration with

SITE (Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics)

with support from

The Council of Europe

The Mott Foundation

The Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the Council of Europe

We don't receive wisdom; we must discover it for ourselves after a journey that no one can take for us or spare us.

Marcel Proust

Tuesday, 25 April

FREEDOM, ECONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY

10.00–10.30 **Opening ceremony:**

Lena Nemirovskaya

FOUNDER, MOSCOW SCHOOL OF CIVIC EDUCATION

Michael Sohlman

CHAIRMAN OF THE SWEDISH INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN POLICY;

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SWEDISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

10.30–12.00 **Session:**

World After Fact

John Lloyd

12.00–12.30 **Coffee break**

12.30–14.00 **Session:**

The European Economy in the age of Brexit and Trump

Fredrik Erixon

14.00–15.00 **Lunch**

15.00–16.30 **Session:**

The Russian Economy: Challenges and Opportunities

Torbjörn Becker

16.30–17.00 **Coffee break**

17.00–18.30 **Session:**

Democratic Institutions Today: Crisis or Transformation?

Tatiana Vorozheikina

18.30–18.45 **Break**

18.45–19.30 **Plenary:**

Anastasia Gontareva

Alexander Shmelev

Marina Skorikova

19.30

Dinner

Two things are important in life – purpose and meaning; however, citizenship and public welfare simply provide the necessary conditions for them. If one thinks about this properly, a modern civic society isn't the worst place we can live our lives in, as long as the will to improve our way of life has not been extinguished.

Ralf Dahrendorf

Wednesday, 26 April

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE MODERN STATE

10.00–11.30 Session:
Human rights, Democracy and The Rule of Law: The Role of the Council of Europe
Daniel Tarschys

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.30 Session:
The Evolution of the Trial by Jury
Sergei Pashin

13.30–14.30 Lunch

14.30–16.00 Session:
Reforms Russia Needs
Evgeny Gontmakher

16.00–16.30 Coffee break

16.30–18.30 Round table:
Civilisation and Culture
Alexander Shmelev

19.00 Dinner

Thursday, 27 April

POLITICS AND BEYOND

10.00–11.30 Session:
“Post-order” in the Head
Andrey Kolesnikov

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.30 Session:
The Russian Word *Pravda* and its Meanings
Maxim Trudolyubov

13.30–14.30 Lunch

14.30–16.00 Session:
Is a Reasonable Balance Between Democracy and Nationalism at all Possible?
Vladislav Inozemtsev

16.00–16.30 Coffee break

16.30–18.00 Session:
Populism and Liberalism
Charles Gati

18.00–18.30 Coffee break

18.30–20.00 Session:
The Russian Orthodox Church and Radical Russian Nationalism
Nikolay Mitrokhin

20.00 Dinner

Friday, 28 April

HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

10.00–11.30 Session:
Global Citizenship
Elisabeth Eide

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.30 Session:
**Sweden from 1917: The Welfare State and
Competitive Capitalism**
Gunnar Wetterberg

13.30–14.30 Lunch

14.30–16.00 Session:
1917: February versus October
Alexey Kara-Murza

16.00–16.30 Coffee break

16.30–18.00 Session:
**Populism and Elitism: Lessons of Russian
Revolutions of 1917**
Emil Pain

18.00–18.30 Coffee break

18.30–20.30 Round table:
Rule of Law
Alexander Shmelev

20.30 Dinner

Saturday, 29 April

CIVICS WITHOUT BORDERS

09.00–10.30 Session:
The Origins of Civics
Andrey Zakharov

10.30–11.00 Coffee break

11.00–12.30 Session:
Global Civics
Hakan Altınay

12.30–13.30 Lunch

13.30–15.00 Session:
**Democratic Citizens and Politicians: Disparities
in Experiences and Expectations**
Lev Shlossberg

15.00–15.30 Coffee break

15.30–16.00 Closing Remarks
Yury Senokossov

16.00–16.30 Participants' comments

21.00 Dinner

Experts

Hakan Altınay (Turkey)	Director, <i>European School of Politics</i> ; President, <i>Global Civics Academy</i>	John Lloyd (United Kingdom)	Contributing Editor, <i>The Financial Times</i>
Torbjörn Becker (Sweden)	Director, <i>Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics</i>	Nikolay Mitrokhin (Russia)	Academic researcher, Research Centre for East European Studies, <i>University of Bremen</i>
Elisabeth Eide (Norway)	Professor, Department of Journalism and Media Studies, <i>Oslo and Akershus University College</i>	Elena Nemirovskaya, OBE (Russia)	Founder, <i>Moscow School of Civic Education</i>
Fredrik Erixon (Sweden)	Economist, Author; Director, <i>European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE)</i>	Emil Pain (Russia)	General Director, <i>Center for Ethnopolitical and Regional Studies (CEPRS)</i>
Charles Gati (USA)	Senior Research Professor of European and Eurasian Studies, <i>Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies</i>	Sergei Pashin (Russia)	Professor, <i>National Research University Higher School of Economics</i> ; Member, <i>Presidential Commission on Human Rights and Civil Society</i>
Anastasia Gontareva (Russia)	Project coordinator, <i>Association of Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe</i>	Yury Senokossov (Russia)	Founder and Director of Publishing Programmes, <i>School of Civic Education</i>
Evgeny Gontmakher (Russia)	Deputy Director, Institute of World Economy & International Relations, <i>Russian Academy of Sciences</i>	Lev Shlossberg (Russia)	Chairman, Pskov regional branch; Member, Federal Political Committee of the <i>Yabloko</i> Political Party; Deputy, <i>Pskov Regional Assembly</i> ; Human Rights Activist
Vladislav Inozemtsev (Russia)	Director, <i>Centre for Post-Industrial Studies</i> , Moscow	Alexander Shmelev (Russia)	Political Writer, Blogger
Alexey Kara-Murza (Russia)	Deputy, Department of Social and Political Philosophy, <i>Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences</i>	Marina Skorikova (Russia)	Project Coordinator, <i>Association of Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe</i>
Andrey Kolesnikov (Russia)	Senior Associate and Chair, <i>Carnegie Moscow Center's Russian Domestic Politics and Political Institutions Program</i>	Michael Sohlman (Sweden)	Chairman, <i>Swedish Institute for Foreign Policy</i> ; Member, <i>Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences</i> ; Executive Director, <i>Nobel Foundation</i> (1992 to 2011)

Daniel Tarschys (Sweden)	Professor of Political Science, <i>Stockholm University</i> ; Secretary General, <i>Council of Europe</i> (1994 - 1999)
Maxim Trudolyubov (Russia)	Russia and Eastern Europe Correspondent, Columnist, <i>Vedomosti Daily</i> ; Author and Chief Editor, <i>The Russia File</i> , Kennan Institute; Columnist, <i>The New York Times</i>
Tatiana Vorozheikina (Russia)	Political Analyst
Gunnar Wetterberg (Sweden)	Social Scientist, Historian, Author
Andrey Zakharov (Russia)	Editor, <i>Neprikosnovennyi Zapas: Debates on Politics and Culture Magazine</i>

Participants

ARMENIA

Arpine Asatryan	Leading Expert, Finance and Economy Division of the Administration Department of the Government of Armenia
Lilit Avagyan	Leading Expert, Information Technology and Special Systems Division of the Administration Department of the Government of Armenia
Garegin Nadiryan	Senior Expert, Administration Department of the Government of Armenia
Margarita Poghosyan	Section Head, Monitoring and Evaluation Department, Armenian Ministry for Sports and Youth Issues

BELARUS

Olga Gedranovich	Senior Lecturer, Information Technology Chair, Minsk Innovation University
Svyatoslav Kurilenko	Expert, <i>Liberal Club</i> Non-Profit Organisation
Yelena Novikova	Manager, <i>Social Weekend</i> Social Project Competition
Yunelya Salnikova	Manager, <i>Pact</i> International Non-Profit Organisation



BULGARIA

Ivaylo Tihov Manager, Regional Government
District of the City of Sofia

GEORGIA

Olga Dorokhina Programme Manager, Georgian
Committee of the Helsinki Civil
Assembly

KAZAKHSTAN

Dmitry Mazorenko Journalist, *Vlast.kz* Internet Magazine

KYRGYZSTAN

Elita Bakirova Freelance Journalist, *Global Voices*
Central Asia Non-Profit Project

Ulan Usoyun Uulu Director, *Kochmon – Nomad* Public
Foundation

MONTENEGRO

Nihad Canovic Associate, Cabinet of the Parliament of
Montenegro

Vladislav Dajkovic Activist, *DEMOS* Political Party

Ana Rasovic President of the Youth Forum, *URA –*
United Reform Action Political Party

POLAND

Olimpia Bronowicka Polish-Russian Cooperation Expert, *The*
Centre for Polish-Russian Dialogue and
Understanding

Igor Isayev Editor-in-Chief, *PROstir.pl* Web Portal
for Ukrainians in Poland

Katarzyna Kołakowska Coordinator, *The Centre for Polish-*
Russian Dialogue and Understanding

Agnieszka Pikulicka-
Wilczewska Editor, *New Eastern Europe*
News Magazine

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Sergey Alekseyev Historian, Researcher
(Irkutsk Oblast)

Grigory Bailo Chairman of the Board, *Naslediye*
(Samara Oblast) (Heritage) Foundation

Pavlina Baldovskaya Information Manager, *Rostov Association*
(Rostov Oblast) *of Homeowner Companies*

Yulia Barlova Deputy Head, Human Rights
(Yaroslavl Oblast) Commissioner Administration

Magomed Bekov College Member, *Kavkaz.Pro* Expert Club
(Ingushetia)

Andrey Bystrov Assistant Professor, Theory and History
(Moscow) of Law Chair, *Higher School of Economics*
Research Institute

Victor Dereza Editor, Details Department, *Yuga.ru*
(Krasnodarsky Krai) Internet Portal

Maria Dubkova (St Petersburg)	Coordinator, <i>Vesna</i> (Spring) Youth Democratic Movement, St Petersburg	Andrey Linev (Chelyabinsk Oblast)	History and Social Sciences Teacher, Secondary General Education School
Ksenia Fadeyeva (Tomsk Oblast)	Volunteers Coordinator, <i>Aleksey Navalny Election Headquarters</i> , Tyumen Oblast	Svetlana Lobunova (Bryansk Oblast)	Volunteer, <i>Activists School</i> Project
Natalia Gaisak (Permsky Krai)	Social Sciences and Law Teacher, <i>Secondary General Education School No. 2</i> with In-Depth Humanities Studies	Pavel Luzin (Permsky Krai)	Senior Lecturer, <i>Perm State National Research University</i>
Sergey Gevorkyan (Astrakhan Oblast)	Regional Department Chairman, <i>Yabloko</i> Political Party	Darya Manuylova (Penza Oblast)	Journalist, <i>Valentin Manuylov</i> Publishing House
Yana Goncharova (Rostov Oblast)	Coordinator, <i>RosUzник</i> Volunteer Project	Anna Medyukh (Krasnoyarsky Krai)	Chief Expert, <i>Yenisey</i> TV Channel, Promotion Department
Alexander Gurov (Ryazan Oblast)	Head, <i>EKA-Ryazan</i> Non-Profit Organisation	Kira Meshcherina (Volgograd Oblast)	Junior Researcher, <i>RAS Institute for African Studies</i> ; Researcher, <i>Laboratories for the Monitoring of Social and Political Destabilization Risks</i>
Nikita Khabarov (Voronezh Oblast)	Masters Degree Student, Voronezh State Pedagogical University	Igor Mikhailov (Chuvash Republic)	Practicing Lawyer
Larisa Khomaiko (Altaysky Krai)	Analyst, Siberian Centre, <i>Transparency International – R</i>	Darya Nazarova (Moscow)	Coordinator, <i>Institute for Humanitarian Research and Social Technologies</i> Non-Profit Organization
Dmitry Kochetkov (Tver Oblast)	Deputy Editor-in-Chief, <i>Karavan+Ya</i> Weekly, Tver Region	Dmitry Pashnev (Novosibirsk Oblast)	Civic Activist
Sergey Konovalov (Tomsk Oblast)	Journalist, Cameraman, Founder of Independent Video Production Studio	Vladimir Petrakov (Primorsky Krai)	Director, <i>F. S. Mackenzie</i> Company, Vladivostok Branch
Andrey Krivorotko (Ryazan Oblast)	Chairman, <i>Bureau for Social and Cultural Projects</i> Non-Profit Organisation	Anna Petrenko (Bryansk Oblast)	Journalist, Photo Reporter, <i>Kofe Ponedelnika</i> (Monday Coffee) Newspaper
Vasily Kustov (Tatarstan)	Practicing Lawyer	Yevgeny Potapov (Oryol Oblast)	Elections Observer, <i>Golos</i> (Voice) Association
Yevgeny Kuzmin (Kamchatski Krai)	Head, <i>Kam24</i> Information Agency	Irina Pys (Moscow Oblast)	Sociologist, <i>Social Projects Agency</i>
Valentina Kuzmina (Amur Oblast)	Chief Correspondent, <i>Amur.info</i> Information Agency		

Artur Ramazanov (Dagestan)	General Director, <i>First Kaspian</i> TV Channel	Yulia Tarkovskaya (Yaroslavl Oblast)	Live Broadcast Announcer, <i>Artvis</i> <i>Media</i> Management Company
Irina Rydanskaya (Oryol Oblast)	Financial Advisor, <i>Golden Hills Capital</i> Investment Company	Anastasia Titova (Krasnodarsky Krai)	Chairperson, <i>Party of Progress</i> Political Party, Regional Branch
Ruslan Sabirov (Tatarstan)	Assistant, <i>Prometheus</i> Research Institute	Tatiana Tokareva (Irkutsk Oblast)	Director, <i>Status</i> Social Education Centre
Roman Sadykov (Tyumen Oblast)	Civil Activist	Marina Tsurkan (Tver Oblast)	Associate Professor, Tver State University
Ruzilya Sadykova (Tyumen Oblast)	Lawyer, <i>Vasilchenko & Partners</i> Company	Dmitry Velikovskiy (Moscow)	Investigative Journalist, <i>Novaya Gazeta</i> (New Gazette) Newspaper
Oleg Savilov (Khakassia)	Individual Entrepreneur	Olga Yefimkina (Smolensk Oblast)	Editor, <i>AiF</i> – Bryansk Internet Portal
Alexander Seleznev (Yaroslavl Oblast)	Managing Partner, <i>Shprits, Seleznev and</i> <i>Partners</i> College of Lawyers	Idris Yusupov (Dagestan)	Correspondent, <i>Novoye Delo (New</i> <i>Business)</i> Dagestan General News Weekly
Aleksey Shabanov (Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District – Yugra)	Journalist, Special Correspondent, <i>Yugra</i> TV and Radio Company	Ksenia Zheleznikova (Volgograd Oblast)	Author, Supervisor, <i>Common Future</i> <i>Projects Festival</i>
Rimma Shabanova (Ryazan Oblast)	Deputy General Director, <i>Telesem</i> Journal	Yulia Zmanovskikh (Irkutsk Oblast)	Chief Expert, <i>Irkutsk Oblast Culture and</i> <i>Archive Ministry, Department for</i> <i>Government Policy, Law, Information and</i> <i>Analysis Support</i>
Yevgeny Shprits (Yaroslavl Oblast)	Managing Partner, Lawyer, <i>Shprits,</i> <i>Seleznev and Partners</i> College of Lawyers	Victor Zyryanov (Oryol Oblast)	Creator and Editor, <i>Orlets Local History</i> <i>Social and Political Resource</i>
Veronika Shulgina (Moscow)	Masters Degree Student, Public Activist, <i>Higher School of Economics</i> Research Institute		
Marina Smirnova (Ryazan Oblast)	Commissioning Editor, <i>Vid Sboku</i> (Side View) Internet Newspaper		
Pavel Stepanyan (Stavropolsky Krai)	Deputy Head, <i>Public Environmental</i> <i>Control of Russia</i> Company, Regional Branch		
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		UKRAINE	
		Yelena Brintseva	Associate Professor, <i>Vadim Getman</i> <i>University of National Economy</i> , Kyiv
		Oleg Derenyuga	Editor-in-Chief, <i>NikVesti</i> TV Company

Notes

Lesya Leshchenko	Correspondent, Department of Politics, <i>UNIAN</i> Information Agency
Andrey Lokhmatov	Correspondent, <i>Prestupnosti.NET</i> (Crime.NO) Internet Periodical
Artem Nikolenko	Board Member, <i>Republic</i> Political Party
Katerina Sereda	Commissioning Editor, <i>NikVesti</i> Newspaper
Oksana Shchirba	Programme Announcer, <i>Voice of Kyiv</i> Radio Station
Roman Shirokikh	Acting Director, <i>Ukrainian Interregional Specialized Exchange</i>





Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed nonage. Nonage is the inability to use one's own understanding without another's guidance. This nonage is self-imposed if its cause lies not in lack of understanding but in indecision and lack of courage to use one's own mind without another's guidance. *Sapere aude!* "Have the courage to use your own understanding", is therefore the motto of the enlightenment.

Immanuel Kant "Answering the Question: What Is Enlightenment?"

