

ADVANCED PROGRAMME

Cohort 1, Session 1

Civic Education for a Society of Citizens

Helsinki, 12-16 March, 2018

**Association of Schools of Political Studies
of the Council of Europe**

**Hotel Haaga Central Park,
Nuijamiestentie 10, 00320,
Helsinki, Finland**

with support from

The Council of Europe
Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland
Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK



Learning to understand, learning to trust

Monday 12 March

Opening of the Advanced Programme of the School of Civic Education

9.00–10.30 Opening ceremony Global civics. Global experience.

Lena Nemirovskaya

Founder, Moscow School of Civic Education

John Lloyd

Contributing Editor, The Financial Times

Ambassador René Nyberg

Diplomat, Author, Former CEO East Office

Vytis Jurkonis

Lecturer, Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University

Yury Senokosov

Founder, Moscow School of Civic Education

10.30–11.00 Coffee break

11.00–11.15 Address

Ambassador Matti Anttonen

Permanent State Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland

11.15–12.45 Session: “The End of History” Revisited

Michael Mertes

Author, Political Advisor to Chancellor Helmut Kohl (1987–1998)

12.45–14.00 Lunch

14.00–15.30 Session: The Roots of Democratic Life from Luther’s Ethics

John Vikström

Archbishop Emeritus of Finland

15.30–16.00 Coffee break

16.00–17.30 Session: Globalisation and Multilateralism in Crisis: Challenges of Convergence in a Multi- Polarising World

Ambassador Francis Martin O’Donnell

Advisor, Global Partnerships Forum; Life Member of the Institute of International and European Affairs; Former Ambassador of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta (SMOM) to the Slovak Republic (2009–2013) and UN Representative (retired)

17.30–18.00 Coffee break

18.00–19.30 Session: On the Responsibility of an Intellectual

Professor Anatoli Mikhailov

President, European Humanities University

19.30–20.30 Dinner

Tuesday 13 March

9.00–10.00 Course 1, Lesson 1
The Archeology of Civic (Self)-Consciousness:
Origins, Ideas, Personalities

Introduction – Dissidence and Difference of Opinion

1950–1980: Our Velvet Revolution

Andrey Kolesnikov

10.00–10.10 Break

10.10–11.10 Course 1, Lesson 2
The Archeology of Civic (Self)-Consciousness:
Origins, Ideas, Personalities

The Thaw and “Novyi mir/New world” by Tvardovsky –

Samples of Resistance from Within the System

Andrey Kolesnikov

11.10–11.30 Coffee break

11.30–12.30 Course 2, Lesson 1
Illusions of Choice – 25 Years of Post-Soviet
Russia

From Soviet Authoritarianism to the Modern Political System

Professor Lev Gudkov

12.30–12.40 Break

12.40–13.40 Course 2, Lesson 2
Illusions of Choice – 25 Years of Post-Soviet
Russia

Problematics of the “Soviet Man” and Socio-Anthropological

Factors of the Blocking of Democratisation

Professor Lev Gudkov

13.40–14.40 Lunch

14.40–16.40 Lab Work
Personal Experience:

Acting as a Citizen

Personal Experience:

Understanding and Practising Freedom

Group Reflection:

The Limits of our Imagination in Understanding

Citizenship and Freedom

Professor Mikhail Minakov

16.40–17.00 Coffee break

17.00–19.00 Round Table
Our Individual Odyssey(s): *Setting Out*
Leon Conrad, Alexander Shmelev

19.00–20.00 Dinner

Wednesday 14 March

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- 9.00–10.00 Course 2, Lesson 3**
Illusions of Choice – 25 Years of Post-Soviet Russia
Retrospective Analysis of Different Trajectories of Social Evolution after the Collapse of the Soviet Union
Professor Lev Gudkov
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- 10.00–10.10 Break**
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- 10.10–11.10 Course 2, Lesson 4**
Illusions of Choice – 25 Years of Post-Soviet Russia
Russian Society and the Post-Crimea State
Professor Lev Gudkov
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- 11.10–11.30 Coffee break**
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- 11.30–12.30 Course 1, Lesson 3**
The Archeology of Civic (Self)-Consciousness: Origins, Ideas, Personalities
Galitch, Kormer, Tarkovsky, Mamardashvili, Trifonov, etc. – a Word, a Sound, an Image
Andrey Kolesnikov
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- 12.30–12.40 Break**

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- 12.40–13.40 Course 1, Lesson 4**
The Archeology of Civic (Self)-Consciousness: Origins, Ideas, Personalities
1968 in the History of Civic Consciousness
Andrey Kolesnikov
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- 13.40–14.40 Lunch**
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- 14.40–16.40 Lab Work**
Personal Experience:
What do we Understand as Justice?
Personal Experience:
People who have Practised What They Believe In?
Group Reflection:
Believing in and Practising our Values
Professor Mikhail Minakov
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- 16.40–17.00 Coffee break**
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- 17.00–19.00 Round Table**
Our Individual Odyssey(s): Sailing the High Seas
Leon Conrad, Alexander Shmelev
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- 19.00–20.00 Dinner**

Thursday 15 March

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- 9.00–10.00 Course 3, Lesson 1**
The Enlightenment and its Heroes: European Ideas and European Legacy
Revolutionists: Socrates and the Sophists
Andrey Zakharov
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- 10.00–10.10 Break**
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- 10.10–11.10 Course 3, Lesson 2**
The Enlightenment and its Heroes: European Ideas and European Legacy
Statists: Niccolò Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes
Andrey Zakharov
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- 11.10–11.30 Coffee break**
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- 11.30–12.30 Course 4, Lesson 1**
Universalism and Liberalism in Foreign Policy
The Origins and Spirit of a Universalist Take on Foreign Policy
Vasily Zharkov
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- 12.30–12.40 Break**

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- 12.40–13.40 Course 4, Lesson 2**
Universalism and Liberalism in Foreign Policy
War as a Universal Problem: the Legacy of Thomas Hobbes
Vasily Zharkov
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- 13.40–14.40 Lunch**
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- 14.40–16.40 Lab Work**
Personal Experience:
“The War of All against All”
Personal Experience:
What is the Price of Public Peace and Order?
Group Reflection:
Can Public Order Coincide with Freedom in Social Reality?
Professor Mikhail Minakov
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- 16.40–17.00 Coffee break**
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- 17.00–19.00 Round Table**
Our Individual Odyssey(s): *Land Ahoy!*
Leon Conrad, Alexander Shmelev
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- 19.00–20.00 Dinner**

Friday 16 March

9.00–10.00 Course 4, Lesson 3
Universalism and Liberalism in Foreign Policy
General Grounds for Peace: the Legacy of Immanuel Kant
Vasily Zharkov

10.00–10.10 Break

10.10–11.10 Course 4, Lesson 4
Universalism and Liberalism in Foreign Policy
*Liberal Principles and International Institutions:
20th Century Practices*
Vasily Zharkov

11.10–11.30 Coffee break

11.30–12.30 Course 3, Lesson 3
**The Enlightenment and its Heroes: European
Ideas and European Legacy**
Democrats: Baruch Spinoza and Jean Jacques Rousseau
Andrey Zakharov

12.30–12.40 Break

12.40–13.40 Course 3, Lesson 4
**The Enlightenment and its Heroes: European
Ideas and European Legacy**
Atheists: Ludwig Feuerbach and Marxists
Andrey Zakharov

13.40–14.40 Lunch

14.40–16.40 Practical Session:
Peace and Prosperity:
*The Personal Journey – The Social Journey – Reconciling
Theory and Practice*
Our Individual Odyssey(s):
Finding the Treasure
Professor Mikhail Minakov
Leon Conrad, Alexander Shmelev

16.40–17.00 Coffee break

17.00–18.00 Participants' Reflection
Closing
Yury Senokosov

18.00–19.00 Dinner

PARTICIPANTS

Georgiy Chizhov (Kyiv, Ukraine)	Program Director, <i>Reforms Assistance Centre</i> Public Organisation	Anna Sheliia (Yaroslavl, Russia)	History Teacher, <i>Secondary School #37</i> ; Member of the Public Council, <i>Regional Department of Education</i>
Evgenii Drogov (Kirov, Russia)	Director, <i>O-Kratkoe</i> publishing house	Alisa Shishkina (Moscow, Russia)	Research Fellow, National Research University, <i>Higher School of Economics</i>
Marina Guryeva (Moscow, Russia)	Co-founder, Director, CyberFund	Svetlana Shmeleva (Moscow, Russia)	Tutor, i-Class Distance Education Programme, <i>School of Civic Education</i>
Igor Isajew (Warsaw, Poland)	Editor-in-chief, <i>PROstir.pl</i> , Ukrainians' portal in Poland	Ilia Shumanov (Kaliningrad, Russia)	Deputy Director, <i>Transparency International Russia</i>
Leonid Issaev (Moscow, Russia)	Associate Professor, National Research University <i>Higher School of Economics</i>	Iuliia Tarkovskaia (Yaroslavl, Russia)	Radio Anchor, <i>Echo of Moscow</i> radio station, Author and Anchor, <i>Probel (Gap)</i> radio talk show,
Viacheslav Ivanetc (Irkutsk, Russia)	Lawyer, <i>Bar Association</i>	Artem Torchinskiy (Moscow, Russia)	Project Manager, <i>Anti-Corruption Foundation</i>
Igor Knyazev (Moscow, Russia)	Bishop-Vicar, <i>Evangelical Lutheran Church of Karelia</i> ; Director, <i>Christian Pension for Nursing Care</i>	Zelimkhan Yakhikhanov (Chechnya, Russia)	Member of the Russian Union of Journalists, Honoured Journalist of the Chechen Republic
Andrii Kruglashov (Kyiv, Ukraine)	PhD in Political Science, Strategist, Consultant & Trainer; Associate Professor, <i>National Academy of Public Administration</i>	Idris Yusupov (Dagestan, Russia)	Correspondent, <i>Novoe Delo (New Business)</i> , Dagestan socio-political weekly
Alexey Kulesh (Krasnoyarsk, Russia)	Member of the Legislative Assembly		
Dmitry Loboiko (Samara, Russia)	General Manager, <i>Zasekin LLC</i>		
Elmira Nogoibaeva (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan)	Founder and Director, <i>Academy of Civic Education</i>		
Marina Potekhina	Project Manager, <i>History through Culture</i> ; Freelance Journalist		

EXPERTS

Ambassador Matti Anttonen is the Permanent State Secretary of the *Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland* (1 March 2018–). Before that he served as Ambassador of Finland to Sweden. Prior to his Ambassadorial position in Stockholm, he served as Under-Secretary of State for External Economic Affairs at the *Ministry for Foreign Affairs*. Much of his career has been connected with Russia; He served as Finland's Ambassador to Russia (2008–2012), as Head of the Russian Unit (1994–2002) and later as Deputy Director General of the Division for Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia in the *Ministry for Foreign Affairs*. He has worked at diplomatic missions in Washington DC, as Minister and Deputy Head of Mission and at the Permanent Mission of Finland to the UN in Geneva. He holds Master's degrees in economics and modern history.

Leon Conrad is a co-founder of *The Academy of Oratory*. He teaches effective communication techniques based on universal values and draws on an integrated approach to teaching the classical liberal arts, in particular the trivium of logic, grammar and rhetoric. Leon is a Teaching Associate at *The Negotiation Lab*, specialising in effective communication techniques for negotiation. He is a keen advocate of traditional ways of thinking and working and in 2016 founded *The LifeLore Institute* to promote better understanding and appreciation of the role that tradition bearers can play in society at large.

Lev Gudkov is a Russian sociologist, director of the analytical Levada Center and editor-in-chief of the journal *The Russian Public Opinion Herald*. Gudkov studied journalism, sociology and philology at the *Lomonosov Moscow State University* and graduated in 1971. He continued his post-graduate studies at the Institute for philosophy of the *Russian Academy of Sciences* until 1977. In 1995, completed his doctorate in philosophy. Gudkov is the author of several books and articles on the theory and methodology of sociology, sociology of literature, ethnonational relations and social problems of Post-Soviet society.

Vytis Jurkonis is Project Director at *Freedom House*. He leads its Vilnius office and lectures at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, *Vilnius University* (2006–). Vytis Jurkonis is primarily known as an expert on Belarus-related issues, Eastern Partnership region and Russia, as well as Lithuanian foreign policy, however his previous engagements have also included fact-finding missions to and training for civil society activists and human rights defenders in Afghanistan, Cuba, Burma and Georgia. Prior to joining *Freedom House*, Vytis Jurkonis led the Policy Analysis and Research Division at the Vilnius-based *Eastern European Studies Centre* think-tank and was a national researcher for European Foreign Policy Scorecard by the *European Council on Foreign Relations*.

Andrei Kolesnikov is a Senior Fellow and the Chair of the Russian Domestic Politics and Political Institutions Program at the *Carnegie Moscow Center*. Kolesnikov also works with the Gaidar Institute for Economic Policy and is a frequent contributor to *Vedomosti*, *Gazeta.ru*, and *rbc.ru*. He sits on the board of the *Yegor Gaidar Foundation* and is a member of the *Committee of Civil Initiatives* (the *Alexei Kudrin Committee*). Kolesnikov has worked for a number of leading Russian publications. He was previously the managing editor of *Novaya Gazeta* newspaper and served as deputy editor in chief of *Izvestia* and *The New Times*. Kolesnikov has taught courses on journalism and modern media at the *Higher School of Economics*, Moscow. He has won numerous journalism awards, including the *Russian Golden Quill Award* (*Zolotoye Pero Rossii*), the *Adam Smith Prize*, and the *Federal Press Agency Award*. Kolesnikov is author of several books, including a biography of Anatoly Chubais and an analysis of how speechwriters have impacted history.

John Lloyd is a journalist, presently contributing editor to the *Financial Times*, and Director of Journalism at *Reuters Institute*. He is a member of the editorial board of *Prospect*, and a columnist for *La Repubblica* of Rome. He has won awards for journalism, including *Specialist Writer of the Year in the British Press Award* and *Journalist of the Year in the Granada What the Papers Say Awards*. His books include *Loss without Limit: the British Miners' Strike* (with Martin

Adeney,1985); *Rebirth of a Nation: an Anatomy of Russia* (1998), *What the Media are doing to our Politics* (2004), *Reporting the EU: News, Media and the European Institutions* (with Cristina Marconi, 2014), and *The Power and the Story* (2017).

Michael Mertes is a German writer and political analyst for *Dimap*, Germany's leading public opinion research institute. He was a political adviser to Chancellor Helmut Kohl from 1987–1998. He worked as a journalist from 1998–2006 and represented the State of North Rhine-Westphalia to the Federal and European institutions in Berlin and Brussels from 2006–2010. From 2011–2014, he headed the Israel Office of the *Konrad Adenauer Foundation* in Jerusalem. He also published a German translation of William Shakespeare's sonnets (2006–2014) and selected love poetry, verse letters and religious poems by John Donne (2017).

Anatoli Mikhailov is President and Founding Rector of the *European Humanities University* established in Minsk, Belarus, in 1992 and closed by President Lukashenko in 2004, presently located in Vilnius, Lithuania. He defended his PhD in Philosophy in Jena, Germany, and had his habilitation on Philosophical Hermeneutics in Minsk. He has been a member of the *Belarusian National Academy of Sciences* since 1991. He has been awarded the *Ordre des Palmes Academiques* (France, 2003), the *Goethe Medal* (Germany, 2004), the *Ion Ratiu Democracy Award* (USA, 2007), the *Commander's Cross for Special Merit to the Republic of Lithuania* (2008) and the *Edita Morris Foundation Award* (Sweden, 2015).

Mikhail (Mykhailo) Minakov is a philosopher and political scholar. He is also Editor-in-Chief of the *Ideology and Politics Journal*, Editor-in-Chief of *Kennan Focus Ukraine*, Professor at the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, *National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine)* and DAAD Visiting Professor, *Europe-University Viadrina* (2017–2018, Frankfurt/Oder). He graduated in Philosophy (M.A.) from *Kiev-Mohyla Academy*, and defended his Candidate (2000) and Doctoral (2007) dissertations at the *Kiev Institute of Philosophy*. Mikhail Minakov's main interest is dedicated to human

experience, time and history, as well as to political modernization, theories and practices of revolutions, political imagination and ideologies.

Lena Nemirovskaya is co-founder of the *The Moscow School of Political Studies* (in 1992) and *The School of Civic Education* together with Yury Senokosov. Dr. Nemirovskaya received her PhD in Art Theory in 1974 and PhD in Philosophy from the Institute of Philosophy of the *USSR Academy of Sciences*. Between 1966 and 1978, she published over 100 articles on the philosophy of art in leading specialist journals while working at the *Moscow Research Institute of Theory and History of Art*. She was awarded the *OBE* in 2003 by the British government. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Dr. Walter Schwimmer, awarded the School the Council's special *Pro Merito* medal in 2002. In 2006, Elena Nemirovskaya was awarded with the *Hiroshima Foundation Award for Peace and Culture*. In 2008, she became an Officer of the *French National Order of Merit*. In 2010, was awarded a Polish *Bene Merito* medal. In 2013, she received the *Egor Gaidar Award*. In 2014, was made a *Chevalier of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland*.

Ambassador René Nyberg is a long-time Finnish diplomat and a former CEO of the East Office of Finnish Industries consultancy. He retired in 2013. Nyberg graduated from the German school of Helsinki in 1965 and has a bachelor's degree in political science from the *University of Helsinki* (1969). In 1971, he joined the *Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland* and served in Moscow, Leningrad, Brussels, and Bonn; and as the Ambassador to the *OSCE*, Vienna (1992–1995). In 2000, he was appointed Ambassador to Moscow and, in 2004, Ambassador to Berlin. Nyberg took up the position of CEO of the *East Office of Finnish Industries* in 2008. He is the author of *The Last Train to Moscow*, which has been translated into Estonian, Russian and Latvian.

Ambassador Francis M. O'Donnell is a Life Member of the Institute of International and European Affairs (Dublin) under the patronage of the President of Ireland. At the end of the Cold War,

he pioneered rapid deployment of volunteer expertise to emergency operations in 40 war-torn countries, helped broker negotiations stabilizing post-conflict peace agreements, secured humanitarian access corridors, and enabled disaster relief. Following the overthrow of Milošević and the end of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, he renewed broad UN cooperation there during 2000–2004, and fostered civil society engagement with new government, promoted judicial and security reforms, helped launch economic, environmental and public administration initiatives, and advanced poverty reduction and human rights in Serbia and Montenegro. As UN Resident Coordinator of the United Nations system, he also facilitated strategic multi-party consultations on the transformation of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. In Ukraine, he also served as UN Resident Coordinator promoting policy reforms, human rights, social inclusion, corporate governance, border management, and area-based development from the Orange Revolution (2004–2009). Following his UN retirement, he served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary accredited to the Slovak Republic from 2009 to 2013. In more recent years, he served as advisor to the *Global Partnerships Forum* (New York) and as strategic advisor to the *Nonviolent Peaceforce* (Brussels). An honours graduate in Economics and Philosophy (1975) from University College Dublin, *National University of Ireland*, he later read International Law and Diplomacy at postgraduate level in Geneva, and qualified in Disaster Management at the *University of Wisconsin–Madison*. He has received various honours from several countries and institutions.

Yury Senokosov is a specialist in the history of philosophy and philosophy of history. He graduated from the Faculty of History, *Moscow State University* in 1962. He worked for the Main Library of Social Sciences, *Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, and for *Questions of Philosophy* magazine. Between 1980 and 1990, he published a series of books under the title, *From the History of Russian Philosophical Thought*. Yury Senokosov started a foundation for philosophical and interdisciplinary research named after Merab Mamardashvili and, together with Lena Nemirovskaya, founded

The Moscow School of Political Studies (1992) and *The School of Civic Education*. He is also publishes the School's quarterly journal, *Obschaya Tetrad'*. Yury Senokosov has written forewords to *How I understand Philosophy* and *Cartesian Meditations* by Mamardashvili. He has also edited and written the afterword to *Meditation about Russia and Russians. Features of the Russian national character*.

Alexander Shmelev is a political writer. He was a founder of the Youth All-Russia Movement *First Free Generation* and of the *New Rights* political party (1997–2005), an Editor-in-Chief of *Vzglyad* newspaper (2006–2008) and was Director of Internet-Based Projects for *The Moscow School of Political Studies* (2009–2014). He is currently a Moderator of Online Sessions for *The School of Civic Education*.

John Edvin Vikström is Archbishop Emeritus of Finland. He is also a popular speaker in academia and business. An acclaimed author of numerous books and papers, Archbishop Vikström is a Doctor of Theology, Honorary Doctor at *Saint Petersburg Theological Academy* (among others), and was Associate Professor of Ethics and Philosophy of Religion at *Åbo Akademi*, the Swedish-speaking university in Turku in the 1960s. He was ordained Bishop of the Swedish-speaking and bilingual Diocese of Porvoo (Borgå stift) (1970–1982) and Archbishop of Turku and Finland (1982–1998). John Vikström has also participated in the cooperation of the different churches of the world, serving in different positions in organisations such as the World Council of Churches, The Lutheran World Federation and the Conference of European Churches. He has published books in theology and social ethics.

Andrei Zakharov holds an MA and a PhD in Philosophy from *Moscow State University*, and a Master's in Public Administration from the *Moscow Academy of Economics*. He is an expert on federalism in Russia and abroad, on parliamentary developments, civic activity and Russian politics. He is the author of more than 150 publications on these topics. He served as a Member of the Russian Parliament (1990–1995). Currently, he is Associate Professor at the *Russian State University for the Humanities* and Editor of *Neprikosnovenny Zapas*:

Debaty o Politike I Kulture magazine. He is also an expert for the *Moscow School of Civic Education*, the *Gorbachev Foundation*, and the *European Dialogue* expert group. From 2003 to 2017, he published five books.

Vasily Zharkov is a historian and political researcher, he holds a PhD in Historical Sciences. He is Head of the British *International Politics* Master's Programme of the *Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences*. He is the author of a number of publications in Russia and abroad.

Notes



“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?”

