



Sverige

COUNCIL OF EUROPE



CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE



SAPERE AUDE: Freedom and Responsibility

Riga, May 29 - June 1, 2025

in partnership with:

Stockholm School of Economics

Venue:

AC Hotel by Marriott Riga, Dzirnau iela 33

Thursday, May 29

Democracy, Economy, EU Politics, International Liberal Order

9.30 - 10.30

Opening session:

Lena Nemirovskaya, *Founder, School of Civic Education*

Anders Paalzow, *Rector, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga*

Armaz Akhvlediani, *Founder and Director, Tbilisi School of Political Studies*

10.30 - 11.30

Ice-breaker with *Agnieszka Kaniewska*

11.30 - 12.00

Coffee break

12.00 - 13.00

Session:

Bird's-Eye-View of the World

Michael Sohlman, *Co-Chair of the Board of Directors, School of Civic Education*

13.00 - 14.30

Lunch

14.30 - 16.00

Round table with: Lisbeth Pilegaard

16.00 - 16.30

Coffee break

16.30 - 17.30

Session:

Why Democracy?

Valdis Birkavs, *Politician, former Prime Minister of Latvia*

17.30 - 18.00

Coffee break

18.00 - 19.30

Talk to: Sergei Petrov

Friday, May 30

International Relations, Democracy, Political Philosophy

10.00 - 11.30

Panel:

Arctic as a Global Common

Ilya Shumanov

Erdem Lamazhapov

11.30 - 12.00

Coffee break

12.00 - 13.00

Live:

India / Pakistan

Harinder Sekhon (India)

13.00 - 14.00

Lunch

14.00 - 15.30

Session:

*Realism and Beyond: Theory of Imperialism after
1945 in approaches by Hans Morgenthau and
Hannah Arendt*

Vasily Zharkov

15.30 - 16.00

Coffee break

16.00 - 17.30

Panel:

New Security Order for Europe

Alex Yusupov

Beata Patašova

17.30 - 18.00

Coffee break

Saturday, May 31
History, Equality, Freedom

9.00 - 10.30

Panel:
Notes On Prefix: The Colonizer Within
Deniss Hanovs

10.30 - 11.00

Coffee break

11.00 - 12.30

Session:
History as a Field of Freedom
Nikita Sokolov

12.30 - 13.30

Lunch

13.30 - 15.00

Session:
The Return of History
Maksim Kournikov

15.00 - 15.30

Coffee break

15.30 - 17.00

Workshop:
AI, Civics, Security
Nikolay Kvantaliani

17.00 - 17.30

Coffee break

17.30 - 19.00

Side Event:
Kafka/Orwell Post-Intellectual Forum
Boris Grozovsky
Inna Berezkina
Moderator: Denis Djendjera

Sunday, June 1

Rule of Law, Constitutions, Transitional Justice, Civics

10.00 - 11.30

Panel:

Justice for Ukraine

Mikhail Savva

Larisa Pylgun

Nataliia Yashchuk

11.30 - 12.00

Coffee break

12.00 - 13.30

Round table with: Pilar Bonet

On Humanism

13.30 - 14.30

Lunch

14.30 - 16.00

Round table with: Inese Voika

16.00 - 16.30

Coffee break

16.30 - 17.30

Closing:

Lena Nemirovskaya

Yuri Senokosov

19.00 - 20.30

Side event in cooperation with the Media Hub

Riga

Fish Do Not Cry by Elena Petrovskaya

EXPERTS AND GUESTS

Armaz Akhvlediani (Georgia) is the Founder and Director of the Tbilisi School of Political Studies - the oldest and most established institution promoting democratic culture in Georgia. He is also the Vice President of the Association of Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe. Mr Akhvlediani has served three terms as a Member of the Parliament of Georgia, where he was a member of the Defence and Security Committee and the Ethics Council. He has represented the Georgian Parliament in various international bodies, including the Council of Europe and NATO. He brings over 30 years of experience in democratic governance, politics, and elections. Throughout his career, he has worked extensively with political parties, civil society organisations, and legislative bodies at both local and national levels. He has also led academic programmes and international projects in close collaboration with donor organisations and diplomatic missions in Georgia.

Valdis Birkavs (Latvia), politician, pursuing a diverse educational background at the University of Latvia, focusing on philosophy, sociology, law, psychology and mathematical logic. His political journey began in 1990, when he was first elected to the Latvian Parliament and played a key role in founding the Latvian Way party. Following Latvian Way's victory in the 1993 parliamentary elections, Birkavs assumed the role of Prime Minister, leading a coalition government with the Latvian Farmers' Union. He later served as deputy prime minister and foreign minister for five years under four different prime ministers in subsequent governments, resigning from the latter position in 1999. He came second in the 1999 presidential elections as a parliamentary candidate and subsequently served as Minister of Justice until 2000. Beyond his national roles, Birkavs is a member of the Club of Madrid, a prestigious organization of 81 democratic former presidents and prime ministers from 57 countries.

Pilar Bonet Cardona (Spain) is a distinguished Spanish journalist. She began her career in the 1970s and worked during three years as a correspondent for the EFE agency in Vienna, where she covered developments in the allies of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. In 1982 Bonet joined El País and in 1984 she became its chief correspondent in the Soviet Union, based in Moscow, a position she held till 1997. During her career, Bonet covered historic events such as the rise of the Polish trade union Solidarity, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the German reunification, Mikhail

Gorbachev's leadership of the Soviet Union, the coup d'etat of 1991, the transformation of Russia under Boris Yeltsin and the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. She moved to Germany in 1997 before returning to Moscow in 2001 to cover Russia and the countries members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Away from the world of journalism, Pilar Bonet is a respected researcher and as such joined the Kennan Institute in Washington from November 1991 to August 1992, and spent several months at the Woodrow Wilson International Center. Bonet has written four books and has been awarded several prestigious prizes for her outstanding contributions to journalism throughout her career. Her last book ("Náufragos del Imperio") deals with the origins of the Russian invasion of Ukraine and has just been published.

Boris Grozovsky (Russia), journalist and public educator, editor at “Strana i Mir” (Sakharov Review), author of “EventsAndTexts” telegram channel, contributor at The Russia File, Kurdish, Important Stories, Insider, Vot Tak, Econs.Online and others.

Dr. art. **Deniss Hanovs** (Latvia - Germany) is cultural historian and professor at Latvian Art Academy and scientific advisor for German Federal Union of Russian-speaking parents BVRE. His major research themes include cultural history of French 1789 revolution, ancien regime culture and opera seria, as well as human rights and minority representation in contemporary European culture. He has been for a decade radio DJ on intercultural issues at Baltimore radio. He was 2003-2008 Head of the European anti-discrimination department at Secretariat for Society Integration issues (IUMSILS).

Maksim Kournikov (Russia), journalist and media manager, head of broadcasting and publishing media company Echo, leading editor of BILD. Co-author of the award-winning documentary «Golod (Famine)», 2022.

Nikolai Kvantaliani (Belarus) is a Belarusian entrepreneur and co-founder of the Digital Skills Coalition Belarus, a non-profit organization that aims to improve digital literacy and education in Belarus. He is also the founder and CEO of SolbegSoft, a software development company based in Minsk, Belarus. The coalition works to promote the development of digital skills among young people, as well as the growth of the country's IT industry.

Erdem Lamazhapov (Norway) is a PhD research fellow at the Fridtjof Nansen Institute and the University of Oslo. His research focuses on China's Arctic policy and explores

how China's great power status and ambitions impact its engagement with the Arctic region. His main research interests are the relationship between China and Russia, with a particular focus on the Arctic and related areas such as the Polar Silk Road, shipping on the Northern Sea Route, and climate change policy in Russia. He holds an MPhil in Peace and Conflict Studies from the University of Oslo and a BA in International Relations from Seoul National University.

Lena Nemirovskaya (Russia) is co-founder of 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. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Dr. Walter Swimmer, 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 Yegor Gaidar Award. In 2014, was made a Chevalier of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland. In 2023 she was awarded the Moscow Helsinki Group annual award for contributions to human rights and the Russian human rights movement.

Anders Paalzow (Sweden) has been the Rector of Stockholm School of Economics in Riga since 1999 and is Chair of the Board for the Baltic International Centre of Economic Policy Studies (BICEPS) and Connect Latvia. Holding a PhD in Economics from the Stockholm School of Economics, he is also a member of the Latvian Academy of Science with elected members, such as prominent scientists and other scholars to report promptly to the Government about scientific research findings. His main research interests are macroeconomics, economic growth, public debt, regional development and the economics of racetrack betting.

Beata Patašova (Lithuania) Programme Officer, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO HQ Beata Patašova is responsible for the NATO public diplomacy engagements in Eastern European partners. Beata also leads NATO's communications effort towards Russian-speaking audiences. She acts as a NATO face in Russian-language on social media. Beata has previously worked in the NATO Press Office performing long-term,

data driven analysis of media and Russian disinformation. Her previous assignments include Ministry of National Defence of Lithuania and Lithuanian Embassy to the EU.

Sergei Petrov (Russia) is a Russian politician and entrepreneur. A trained pilot-engineer, he was dismissed from the army in 1982 and expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) for participating in a democratic organisation. He was elected twice as a State Duma deputy from the "A Just Russia" party. Petrov is known for his criticism of the government and for voting against laws that restrict citizens' rights. He founded the company "Rolf," which became one of the largest car dealerships in Russia. In 2019, a criminal case was initiated against Petrov due to his political views. He was forced to step down from the Board of Directors of "Rolf." In 2023, the company was placed under state control.

Lisbeth Pilegaard (Denmark) is a chair of the Executive Committee of the European Endowment for Democracy. Earlier Lisbeth Pilegaard founded and ran a Foreign Policy Consultancy, serving the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Civil Society, think tanks and the UN. Pilegaard has also served in various NGO/UN/EU committees and working groups on development and humanitarian aid coordination, coherence, and transparency. She has been a civil society member of the Danish Delegation to the UN Commission of the Status of Women (CSW) and sat in the Council of the NGO *ActionAid* – Denmark. She has also been a board member of Transparency International – DK Chapter and was appointed Adviser to the UN Compact Cities Programme in Australia. Pilegaard is a Steering Member of the Nordic Women Mediators Network working for the inclusion of women into peace processes globally and is a Leadership Fellow at the St. George's House, Windsor Castle, UK. She has held board positions in the LIVIA Foundation, the Anna Lindh Foundation and has been the chairperson of the Danish Council for International Conflict Resolution (RIKO). Pilegaard has been a guest lecturer at different institutions such as the University of Aalborg and the NATO School in Oberammergau. Pilegaard has a MA in Rhetoric with a focus on peace negotiations from the University of Copenhagen.

Larysa Pylgun (Ukraine) since 2015 has been evaluating projects to help veterans and people affected by war, as well as post-war reconstruction programs. She works with state (central government and local self-government bodies), international (UN, USAID,

EU) and non-governmental organizations, and foundations working in Ukraine (Renaissance International Fund, Eastern Europe Fund and others). In 2022, she joined the documentation of war crimes in the Kyiv region. Ms. Pylgun is a co-founder and board member of the Ukrainian Evaluation Association and has played an important role in promoting the development of evaluation practice in Ukraine. Until 2015, Larysa Pylgun worked both in education and civil service. She has Master of Business Administration, Master of Public Administration. She is also a certified teacher of European integration.

Mikhail Savva (Ukraine), Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Expert on political motives for criminal prosecution, Member of the War Crimes Documentation Group public initiative Euromaidan-SOS, member of the Expert Council of a human rights organization Center for Civic Liberties (Ukraine). He is expert in examining the political motivations behind criminal prosecution and evaluating projects. He holds a PhD in Political Science and a candidate degree in Sociology, and is also a professor. He has published around two hundred academic papers, including in European and Japanese journals. He spent the 1990s working in government in Russia before transitioning to the public sector and university. In 2013, he was listed as a political prisoner by Memorial and has been in exile since 2015. He collaborates with lawyers from various countries, non-governmental organizations, and the Free University.

Yury Senokosov (Russia) is a specialist in the history of philosophy and philosophy of history. Graduated from Moscow State University in 1962, faculty of history. Worked for the Main Library of Social Sciences, Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, “Questions of Philosophy” magazine. In the years 1980-90 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. Together with Lena Nemirovskaya founded Moscow School of Political Studies (1992) and School of Civic Education. He also edits and publishes the School’s quarterly journal “Obschaya Tetrad’”. Yury Senokosov wrote forewords to “How I understand Philosophy” and “Cartesian Meditations” by Mamardashvili. He also edited and wrote afterwards to “Meditation about Russia and Russians. Features of the Russian national character.”

Dr. **Harinder Sekhon** (India) is Distinguished Fellow, CUTS International, a Public Policy think tank, where she looks at the Indo-Pacific and US-India Defence relations.

Prior to that, she was a Senior Fellow at the Vivekananda International Foundation and has over three decades of research, writing and teaching experience on various aspects of Indo-US relations, US policy and strategy in Asia, US - Russia relations and regional security challenges in South Asia and the Indo-Pacific.

Dr. Sekhon also worked as an Intelligence and Strategic Analyst with the National Security Council Secretariat, Government of India for two years and was engaged in data analysis and preparing assessments on strategic issues for policy implementation by the Government of India. Dr. Sekhon was Associate Professor of History at MCMDAV College for Women, Chandigarh from 1986 till 1998 and was a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the Centre of Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library from 1999 to 2001. She has authored three books: *Garland Around My Neck: The Story of Puran Singh of Pingalwara*, published by UBS Publishers, New Delhi in 2001, *Five Decades of Indo-US Relations: Strategic and Intellectual* published by UBS Publishers, New Delhi, in 2002, and *India and the United States: Breakthroughs, Prospects and Challenges Ahead* published by Macmillan India in 2008. More recently, the VIF has published her monographs titled *Russia, Europe and the United States: Emerging Power Play* (2016) and *Russia's Evolving Equations with China and the USA: Implications for India* (2017).

Ilya Shumanov (Russia) founder of the Arctic research Center "Arctida", executive director of the Russian office of the international anti-corruption organization Transparency International. Investigative journalist, winner of Redkollegia Award, AML expert. He is a regular speaker at anti-corruption conferences and frequently comments on corruption cases in the media in Russia and abroad.

Michael Sohlman (Sweden) Co-chair person, School of Civic Education. Director of the Budget Department, Ministry of Finance 1985-1987; Secretary of State, Ministry of Agriculture (1987–1989); Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1989–1991), Executive Director of the Nobel Foundation (1992–2011). He is a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, former Chair of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, a former chair of the Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics, and a former member of the International Crisis Group.

Dr. **Nikita Sokolov** (Russia) is a historian, previously serving as the Deputy Director for Research at the Museum of Moscow and Eltsin Center. He has also been the editor of several magazines including *Otechestvennye Zapiski* (Notes of the Fatherland,

2003-2014), *Ezhenedelnyi Zhurnal* (Weekly Magazine, 2001-2003), and *Itogi* (Newsweek, 1996-2001). He received his PhD in History from Moscow State Institute of History and Archives in 1987.

Inese Voika (Latvia) has more than 25 years of experience in implementing reforms in Latvia and other Eastern European countries. She was a member of the Latvian Parliament and Deputy Secretary of the Parliament in 2018-2022. During her career as a political expert and NGO activist specializing in anti-corruption and good governance, Inese has worked with the governments of Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Uzbekistan, and other countries. She has also worked with international organizations - NATO, Council of Europe, OECD, and has taught at several universities. Inese was the founding president of the Latvian branch of Transparency International (TI) and served on TI's international board. Since 2014, Inese has led the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' work with reformers from Ukraine on anti-corruption and good governance. She has also worked with UNDP in Ukraine on strategic corruption prevention issues. Inese holds a Master's degree in Public Administration from Harvard University (USA) and a degree in Communication and Journalism from the University of Latvia. She has taught leadership development at the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga and Harvard University.

Nataliia Yashchuk (Ukraine) is the Project management coordinator working on civilian hostages and POW rights in the context of Russian invasion at the Center for Civil Liberties. Co-author of Center for Civil Liberties Strategy for the Release of Illegally Detained Civilians and Find Missing Persons as a result of Russian Aggression.

Alex Yusupov (Germany) is the Head of the Russia Programme of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES). Alex Yusupov is a political scientist, he specializes in security policy and social crisis resilience. Previous positions: head of office in Kazakhstan, Afghanistan and Myanmar.

Vasily Zharkov (Russia) is a historian, political researcher, visiting lecturer PhD at European Humanities University (Vilnius, Lithuania), known for his expertise in the fields of Russian and Soviet history, as well as international relations. He was born on September 13, 1974, in Moscow, Russia, and received his education at Moscow Pedagogical State University, where he earned a PhD in history. Dr. Zharkov has authored a huge number of articles on Russian and international history and politics,

including “The Russian Revolution and World Politics of the 20-th Century” (2017); “Clash of Narratives and Blind Spots in Russia-Europe Relations” (2021), and “The Westphalian System at the Beginning of the 21- st Century: Old Challenges and New Responses” (2022). He has also conducted extensive research on international relations, focusing on the evolution of international order since the Westphalian Treaty and its impact on the people’s struggle for democracy in the World. In addition to his academic work Dr. Zharkov has served as an external consultant for various non-governmental organizations, providing expertise on issues related to history, international relations, and political science.

The play ‘**Fish Don't Cry**’ is a mono-performance based on the play by Elena Petrovskaya, dedicated to the tragic events in Mariupol and their reflection in the human soul. The play was written after the author’s communication with an actress of Mariupol theatre, who survived the Russian bombardment of the city with a three-month-old child in her arms. The main idea of the work is to preserve humanity and compassion even in the most difficult circumstances.

The play became a common point of intersection of experience, feelings and responsibility for the team from different countries. It reflects on how to preserve humanity when the world around us is changing irreversibly, and on the fact that the feeling of loss is the same for everyone.