



SAPERE AUDE: Freedom of the Media and the Message

Riga, December 7-9, 2025

Marking The 50th Anniversary of the Life of Hannah Arendt (1906-1975)

in partnership with:

**Stockholm Institute for Transition Economics
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs**

Sunday, December 7

Democracy, EU Politics, Fighting Disinformation

9.00 - 10.30

Opening session:

Lena Nemirovskaya, *Founder, School of Civic Education*

Manuel Lafont Rapnouil, *French Ambassador to Latvia*

Sabina Sille, *Founder, Mediahub Riga*

Barbara von Ow-Freytag, *Member of the Board, Prague Civic Society Center*

10.30 - 11.00

Coffee break

11.00 - 12.30

Session:

Why Democracy

Valdis Birkavs

12.30 - 13.30

Lunch

13.30 - 15.00

Panel:

Media and Politics

Sylvie Kauffmann

John Lloyd

15.00 - 15.30

Coffee break

15.30 - 17.00

Session:

Disinformation, Propaganda, Cyberattacks: How Russia is Attacking Democracy

Arndt Freytag von Loringhoven

Moderator: Roman Sacharov

17.00 - 17.30

Coffee break

17.30 - 19.00

Round table with Olesya Gerasimenko

Moderator: Leonid Ragozin

19.00 - 20.00

Dinner

Monday, December 8

Global Threats, Challenges, Ethics in the Times of War

9.00 - 10.30

Session:

Global Outlook

Michael Sohlman

10.30 - 11.00

Coffee break

11.00 - 12.30

Session:

Truth on the Line: Journalism and Safety in the Age of Disinformation

Kristin Skare Ogeret

12.30 - 13.30

Lunch

13.30 - 15.00

Session:

Dealing with Dictators (and Technology): Who Can You Trust in the Age of Trump, Putin - and Artificial Intelligence?

Quentin Peel

15.00 - 15.30

Coffee break

15.30 - 17.30

Training: Asbjørn Leirvåg

Strengthening democracy through transparency:

Journalism, local news and reformed strategies

17.30 - 18.00

Coffee break

18.00 - 20.00

Screening “The Cannibals - Voices from 1944”*

with Zulai Magazieva

**The story of the deportation of the Chechens, told by survivors, children at the time. In February 1944 all the inhabitants of the then Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic were deported from their home in the Caucasus to Central Asia as enemies of the Soviet Union. Many died during the journey or upon arrival, from cold and hunger. This historic trauma is an inseparable part of every Chechen, including the director, Zulai Magazieva, who weaves the fate of her own family into the narrative. Award for Best Feature Documentary, UK Film Festival, London, 2020*

19.30 - 20.30

Dinner

Tuesday, December 9

Global Disorder, Journalism in Exile, Ethics, Civics

9.00 - 10.30

Session:

Journalism in Exile

Mikhail Fishman

10.30 - 11.00

Coffee break

11.00 - 12.30

Session:

The Disorderly Society Rethinking Global Governance in an Age of Anarchy

Bobo Lo

12.30 - 13.30

Lunch

13.30 - 15.00

Workshop :

Ethics in the Times of War

Natalie Nougayrède

15.00 - 15.30

Coffee break

15.30 - 17.00

Closing

Oliver Morwinsky

Lena Nemirovskaya

Yuri Senokosov

Marcia Levy

19.00 - 20.00

Dinner

EXPERTS AND GUESTS

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.

Arndt Freytag von Loringhoven (Germany) is a German diplomat and a distinguished biochemist. His extensive diplomatic career included significant roles such as serving as the German Ambassador to Poland, where he played a crucial part in fostering diplomatic relations between the two countries. Loringhoven's contributions to the realm of intelligence were equally noteworthy, as he held the position of Vice-President of the German Federal Intelligence Service (BND) from 2007 to 2010. Additionally, he made history by becoming NATO's inaugural Chief of Intelligence, a role that demanded astute strategic thinking and a deep understanding of international security dynamics.

Mikhail Fishman (Russia) Journalist, television presenter, Anchor TV-Rain. Author and columnist at Forbes, Die Welt, The Moscow Times and others. Author of “Preemnik (Successor)”, a book dedicated to the biography of Boris Nemtsov. TBC

Olesya Gerasimenko (Russia) independent author and editor, 15 years in journalism, previously special correspondent at "Kommersant" and the Russian service of the BBC. On 13 January 2014, Olesya Gerasimenko was awarded the Paul Khlebnikov Prize for the Development of Civil Society in Russia. The Harriman Institute Committee recognised her series of reports on nationalism, extremism, regionalism and opposition. In 2015, she won the CJEI Business Journalism Award in the category "Person in the World of Business and Finance" for the text "Borrowed Settlements". She has also received the monthly journalistic award "Redkollegiya" three times: the last one was in 2023 for her article "Labour under bombs: stories of patients and doctors of maternity hospital No. 3 in Mariupol". Her main focus is socio-economic problems of Russian regions. She left the country due to the threat of criminal prosecution in 2022. For the last two years she has been writing about war and the Russian military.

Sylvie Kauffmann (France) worked for Agence France-Presse in France in 1979 and as a foreign correspondent from 1980 to 1988, joined *Le Monde* as Moscow correspondent in 1988 and later Eastern and Central Europe correspondent from 1989 to 1993. She worked in the United States from

1993 to 2001 and Latin America in 2002 and 2003. Kauffman was appointed deputy chief editor of *Le Monde* in 2003 and covered Southeast Asia as reporter-in-large from 2006 to 2009. In 2010, she was appointed the newspaper's first woman editor-in-chief, serving in the role until 2011.

Asbjorn Leirvag (Norway) is a journalistic coach at the Center for Investigative Journalism (SUJO) at the University of Bergen. He has a background as a journalist for 30 years and has a master degree in comparative politics. The center's mission is to strengthen investigative journalism in Norwegian editorial offices, particularly in local and regional media. By workshops or hands-on guiding, SUJO facilitates education in the craft, culture, and methodology of the journalism in question. He is also leading an AI-project providing automated tools for journalists covering local democracy in Norway. SUJO is a member of the Global Investigative Journalism Network, and is also cooperating with the Nordic Press Centre and the American University in Washington D.C.

Marcia Levy (United Kingdom), former judge, was working on investment projects in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. She continued to work on projects in emerging markets, from London, until 2003. From 2004 until 2016 she was a Circuit Judge, specializing in family and criminal law.

Bobo Lo (United Kingdom) is an independent international relations analyst and a Non-resident Fellow at the Lowy Institute in Sydney, Australia. He was formerly Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House and Deputy Head of Mission at the Australian Embassy in Moscow. His latest book, *The Disorderly Society: Rethinking Global Governance in an Age of Anarchy*, is coming out this November. Previous books include *A Wary Embrace: What the China–Russia Relationship Means for the World* (2017), *Russia and the New World Disorder* (2015), and *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the New Geopolitics* (2008).

Zulai Magazieva (Russia) is a Chechen documentary filmmaker and author based in Copenhagen, specializing in capturing stories from the Caucasus. She holds a Master's degree in Journalism and Law from Grozny State University (1999) and has lived in Scandinavia since 2004. Since 2008 she has been a freelance filmmaker. Among her films are *The Cannibals – Voices from 1944* (2020) and *Days of Hope* (2011). She also published a memoir in 2020, *The lost Chechnya: Recollections from a Civil War*.

Magazieva previously worked as a reporter for the Associated Press (2000–2003) and volunteered at The Human Rights Center Memorial in Grozny. She speaks Chechen, Russian, Danish, and English.

Oliver Morwinsky (Germany) Head of office for the Baltic States based in Riga since July 2022. Previously, Mr. Morwinsky was an advisor for European Competitiveness in the Analysis Division (AuB) (January 2020 to July 2022), coordinator of the cross-divisional project “Europanarrative” in the Foreign, Security and European Policy Division in the European and International Cooperation Department (2019 to 2020) and Advisor in the European Office in Brussels with responsibility for the Eastern Partnership, Economics and Finance and the European institutions, among other things, from 2015 to the end of 2018. Mr. Morwinsky completed his studies in Cologne (Business Law (LL.B.)) and

Erfurt (Political Science (M.A.)). He is also a trained notary's assistant with several years of professional experience at the Droste & Haibt notary's office in Düsseldorf.

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 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 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.

Natalie Nougayrède (France) journalist and columnist, and a member of the editorial board of The Guardian newspaper. Nougayrède began her career as a journalist in the early 1990s, reporting on Eastern Europe and Russia for French publications including Le Monde and Libération. In 2013, Nougayrède was appointed editor of Le Monde, becoming the first woman to hold the position in the newspaper's 70-year history. After leaving Le Monde, Nougayrède joined The Guardian as a columnist and member of the editorial board. She has written extensively on European politics, international relations and the media, and has been a vocal advocate of press freedom and independent journalism. Nougayrède has received numerous awards and honours throughout her career, including the Prix Albert Londres in 2005, one of the most prestigious awards in French journalism.

Barbara von Ow-Freytag (Germany) is a journalist, political scientist and expert on civil society developments in Eastern Europe, Russia and Central Asia. Board member of Prague Civil Society Centre, which supports civil society and independent media in post-Soviet states. Founding member of the association "Zukunft Memorial" in Berlin.

Quentin Peel (United Kingdom) is an independent journalist. Before he worked for the Financial Times as correspondent and Brussels bureau chief, Moscow correspondent, chief correspondent in Germany, foreign editor and international affairs editor.

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."

Sabine Sīle (Latvia) Co-founder and Director of *Sustainability Foundation* in Latvia, managing *Media Hub Riga*. She is also a board member of the *International Civic Forum* and an Advisory Board member of the *Fix Media Foundation*. Previously, the Director at the Centre for Media Studies at the Stockholm School of Economics in Riga, the co-founder of the *Social Entrepreneurship Association* in Latvia and the first charity shop foundation chain in Latvia – *Otra elpa*. After starting off her professional work in a consulting firm, she transitioned to the venture philanthropy field – managing *Partners in Ideas Foundation*. Sabine's children and her cross-cultural experience from her studies in Hong Kong and USA, have been formative to her life, work and worldview.

Kristin Skare Orgeret (Norway) is a professor in the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at OsloMet University, Norway, where she co-heads the research group MEKK (Media, War, Conflict). She has published extensively within the fields of global digital journalism, democratisation and conflict resolution, and gender and the media.

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.

Guests:

David Kierski (USA)

Kimberly Scrivner (USA)

Jennifer Uhler (USA)

Ambassador HMA Kathy Leach (United Kingdom)

John Levitt (United Kingdom)

