



# SAPERE AUDE:

Civic Education for a Society of Citizens

*June 16-19, 2026*

*In the loving memory of Alexander Kazachkov (1954 - 2025)*

*This project is funded by the Swedish Institute (Detta projekt finansieras av Svenska institutet)*

*in collaboration with*

**Fundación Valsaín para la Promoción y la Defensa de los Valores Democráticos**

**Venue:** Finca El Rancho, Plaza del Marqués de Lozoya 3, 40160, Torrecaballeros, Segovia

**June 16, Tuesday**

***Global World Disorder, Resilience and Civic Agency***

**10.00 - 11.30**

**Opening:**

*Lena Nemirovskaya, Founder, School of Civic Education*

*Álvaro Gil-Robles y Gil-Delgado, Presidente, Valsain,*

*Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe (1999 - 2006)*

**Key note: Alvaro Gil-Robles**

**11.30 - 12.00**

**Coffee break**

**12.00 - 13.30**

**Session:**

*Constitutions and Why They Matter*

Miguel Beltran de Felipe

**13.30 - 14.30**

**Lunch**

**14.30 - 16.00**

**Session:**

*The State as a Machine of Exclusion: Indigenous Peoples,*

*Far-Right Allies, and the New Architecture of Political Violence in Russia*

Ilya Shumanov

**16.00 - 16.30**

**Coffee break**

**16.30 - 18.00**

**Project Rig with Anton Pominov**

**June 17, Wednesday**

***History, Political Philosophy, Rule of Law, Memory***

**10.00 - 11.30**

**Course 1 Lesson 1-2**

*Classical Theories of Social Revolution?*

Vasily Zharkov

**11.30 - 12.00**

**Coffee break**

**12.00 - 13.30**

**Panel:**

*The Inside Story of a Broken Generation*

Irina Borogan

Andrey Soldatov

**13.30 - 14.30**

**Lunch**

**14.30 - 16.00**

**Session:**

*Rule of Law as a Condition Sine Qua Non for Peace*

Tomás de la Quadra-Salcedo

**16.00 - 16.30**

**Coffee break**

**16.30 - 18.00**

**Talk to:** Elena Zhemkova

**18.00 - 18.30**

**Coffee break**

**18.30 - 20.00**

**Project Rig** with Anton Pominov

**June 18, Thursday**

***History, Political Philosophy, Rule of Law, Communication***

**9.00 - 10.30**

**Course 2 Lesson 1-2**

*On Constitutions: Constitutional Projects of the Decembrists*

Ekaterina Schulmann

Maksim Kurnikov

**10.30 - 11.00**

**Coffee break**

**11.00 - 12.30**

**Course 1 Lesson 3-4**

*Classical Theories of Social Revolution?*

Vasily Zharkov

**12.30 - 13.30**

**Lunch**

**13.30 - 15.00**

**Project Rig** with Anton Pominov

**15.00 - 15.30**

**Coffee break**

**15.30 - 17.00**

**Retreat Lab on *Harvard Principles of Negotiation***

**June 19, Friday**

***Rule of Law, Agency, Civics***

**10.00 - 12.00**

**Course 2, Lesson 3-4**

*On Constitutions: Constitution of 1936*

Ekaterina Schulmann

Maksim Kurnikov

**12.00 - 12.30**

**Coffee break**

**12.30 - 14.00**

**Session:**

*Politics: Spain on the Edge of the Far Right*

Pilar Bonet

José Manuel López Benítez

**14.00 - 15.00**

**Lunch**

**15.00 - 16.00**

**Talk to Yuri Senokosov**

**Closing. Reflections**

## KEY EXPERTS AND GUESTS

**Miguel Beltrán de Felipe** (Spain) is Professor of Law at the University of Castilla-La Mancha, Spain. He has worked as law clerk in the Spanish Constitutional Court; as legal counsel in the Government of Spain; as Fulbright/APSA Congressional Fellow in the House of Representatives in Washington D.C. He is the author of books, papers and articles on Constitutional Law, Human Rights and Administrative Law; of two historical drama scripts; and co-author of a TV documentary on the history of the Spanish Constitutional Court.

**Pilar Bonet Cardona** (Spain), 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.

**Irina Borogan** (Russia), Investigative journalist, co-founder and deputy editor-in-chief of Agentura.ru, a website that monitors the activities of Russian intelligence services. She chronicled the Kremlin's campaign to take control of civil society and strengthen the government's police force under the guise of fighting extremism. She is co-author of Andrey Soldatov's books *The New Nobility: The Restoration of the Security State in Russia and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB* (2010), *The Red Web: The Struggle Between Russia's Digital Dictators and the New Online Revolutionaries* (2015), *The Compatriots: the cruel and chaotic story of Russian exiles, emigrants and agents abroad* (2019), *Our Dear Friends in Moscow: The Inside Story of a Broken Generation* (2025).

**Tomás de la Quadra-Salcedo** (Spain), Emeritus Law Professor Universidad Carlos III, Former Minister of Justice and of Regions and Territory, former President of the Council of State

**Alvaro Gil-Robles y Gil-Delgado** (Spain), Professor of Administrative Law at the Complutense University of Madrid. He is also a member of the Madrid Bar Association from 1968. He was an Attorney of the Constitutional Court from 1980 to 1983, and the 2nd Spanish Ombudsman between 1988 and 1993. He served as the First Ombudsman of the Council of Europe from October 1999 to March 2006. He also served as a president to the Foundation for the Spanish-Russian Council. He has been one of the key experts of the School of Civic Education (Moscow School of Political Studies) since 1994. Member of the Spanish Association for human rights, Álvaro Gil Robles was President of the Spanish Commission of help to refugees (CEAR), and Vice-President of the CEAR Foundation, whose Honorary President is the queen Doña Sofia. Also, between 1995 and 1999, chaired the Forum for the Social integration of immigrants, an advisory body of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and composed of representatives of all public administrations related to said topic, by members of different NGOs and by contributors to other relevant institutions such as the Red Cross and UNHCR.

**Maksim Kurnikov** (Russia), Journalist and media manager. Editor of the Russian department of Bild. Director of the internet edition of "Echo" radio. Co-author of the award-winning documentary "Golod (Famine)", 2022.

**Lena Nemirovskaya** (Russia), 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 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 the Hiroshima Foundation Award for Peace and Culture. In 2008, she became an Officer of the French National Order of Merit. In 2010, she was awarded a Polish Bene Merito medal. In 2013, she received the Yegor Gaidar Award. In 2014, she was made a Chevalier of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland.

**Anton Pominov** (Russia), non-profit organisation manager and fundraising specialist for NGOs and media with experience in anti-corruption and business ethics. He is the founder and CEO of *El Granto*, a fundraising startup using artificial intelligence to support non-profit organisations. Successfully raised over \$350,000 for clients in 2023-24, and over \$6 million in his career. As a partner at the Ethical Dilemmas Bureau, Anton implements ethics and performance improvement solutions for non-profit organisations and media. From 2007 to 2014, he worked at Transparency International Russia, and from 2014 to 2021, he managed the Russian office, providing valuable experience in leading a team of 50 people during a pandemic. From 2017 to 2022, he held an

elected position on one of Transparency International's steering committees. Co-author of the TI movement's 2030 strategy. In 2010, he participated in the creation of the Laboratory of Anti-Corruption Policy at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, where he worked until the change of the team in 2018.

**Yury Senokosov** (Russia), co-founder of the Moscow School of Political Studies and School Of Civic Education. 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. Chief-editor at 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." He is also the author and visionary of the Berlin forum, being held since 2015 In Search of Lost Universalism (<http://www.berlinforum.online>) His recent books include: "Power as a problem. An Experience of Philosophical Consideration" (2005), "History Teaches. Letters about Civic Education" (2013), "In Search of Lost Universalism. 25 years of the School" (2017), "In Search of Lost Universalism. On the School of Civic Education" (2021), "Thirty Years of Civic Education. Trusting Universalism" (2022).

**Ekaterina Schulmann** (Russia) is a nonresident scholar at the Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center in Berlin. She is a political scientist specializing in the decision-making and bureaucratic behavior of modern authoritarian regimes with particular emphasis on Russia. She has a PhD in political science and teaches political science as an invited lecturer in Osteuropa Institut Freie Universitat Berlin. In 2022-2023 Schulmann taught political science as an associate professor at the Maqsut Narikbayev KAZGUU University in Astana, Kazakhstan. Since 2022, she served as a Jury Chair, Jury Member of the Pushkin House Book Prize and, currently, as a Trustee of the Pushkin House, London. She is also a member of the Editorial Board of the UNESCO Courier magazine. Prior to joining Carnegie, Schulmann was a Richard von Weizsäcker fellow at the Robert Bosch Academy in Berlin. Before 2022, she was an associate professor at the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences (Shaninka) and a senior lecturer at the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) and head of its Center for Legislative Studies. From December 2018 to October 2019, Schulmann was a member of the Russian Presidential Council for Civil Society and Human Rights. She previously worked as a civil servant in local administration, as well as a parliamentary deputy's aide, political faction analyst, and expert in the analytical department of the Russian State Duma. Schulmann is the author of the

books *Legislation as a Political Process* and *Practical Political Science: A Guide to Contact with Reality*. She is also one of the co-authors of *The New Autocracy: Information, Politics, and Policy in Putin's Russia*. Schulmann's YouTube channel, which has over one million subscribers, is one of the most closely-followed online sources of insight and analysis for Russian-speaking audiences on the Internet. Since 2017, she has hosted *Status*, a popular weekly online program. Following the closure of Moscow-based independent radio station *Ekho Moskvy* in early 2022, the program has continued, thanks to a collaboration involving the Russian platform of *Bild*, the German media organization, and *Zhivoy Gvozd'*, the successor to *Ekho Moskvy*.

**Ilya Shumanov** (Russia) founder of the Arctic research Center "Arctida", executive director of the Russian office of the international anti-corruption organisation Transparency International. Investigative journalist, winner of Redkollegia Award, AML expert.

**Andrei Soldatov** (Russia), investigative journalist, co-founder, and editor of *Agentura.ru*, a watchdog of the Russian secret services' activities. He has been covering security services and terrorism issues since 1999. He is co-author with Irina Borogan of *The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB* (2010), *The Red Web: The Struggle Between Russia's Digital Dictators and the New Online Revolutionaries* (2015), *The Compatriots: The Brutal and Chaotic History of Russia's Exiles, Émigrés, and Agents Abroad* (2019), *Our Dear Friends in Moscow: The Inside Story of a Broken Generation* (2025).

**Vasily Zharkov** (Russia), historian, political researcher, associate professor 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.

**Elena Zhemkova** (Russia) Executive Director of Memorial Zukunft e.V. She was one of the founders of the human rights and historical educational organization Memorial in 1987, which was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2022. From 1995 to 2022, until its liquidation in Russia, she served as Executive Director of International Memorial, overseeing Russian-German projects

and coordinating the work of an international network that included more than 40 regional organizations from Germany, Italy, France, the Czech Republic, Poland, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Russia, and Ukraine. Following the liquidation of the International Memorial in Russia in 2022, she and her colleagues founded the non-profit association Zukunft Memorial e.V. in Berlin to continue Memorial's historical and educational work.