

SAPERE AUDE

**Freedom of Speech,
Media, and Society**

Oxford, 23-27 January, 2017

Association of Schools of Political
Studies of the Council of Europe

in collaboration with

The European Studies Centre *and*
The Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre
St Antony's College, Oxford

with support from

The Council of Europe
Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation



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

Monday, 23 January

Investcorp Lecture Theatre, St Antony's College, Woodstock Road, Oxford

09.00–09.30 Opening ceremony:

Lena Nemirovskaya

FOUNDER, MOSCOW SCHOOL OF CIVIC EDUCATION

Baroness Shirley Williams

FOUNDER, SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP), UK

Matjaž Gruden

DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL PLANNING, COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Kalypso Nicolaïdes

DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

09.30–11.00 Session:

The Age of Confusion: The Consequences of Brexit, Trump and the Eurocrisis

Baroness Shirley Williams

11.00–11.30 Coffee break

11.30–13.00 Session:

What do the Rule of Law and its Promotion Mean?

Kalypso Nicolaidis

Adis Merdzanovic

13.00–14.30 Lunch

14.30–16.00 Panel discussion:

Western Organisations Based on Practitioner Knowledge

The Role of Diplomacy John Beyer

The Role of Foreign Policy Think Tanks Roy Allison

The Role of NGOs Dennis Sammut

Chair: Paul Chaisty

16.00–16.30 Coffee break

16.30–18.00 Session:

State and Religion

Raymond Asquith, the Earl of Oxford and Asquith

18.00–18.30 Coffee break

18.30–20.00 Session:

Is a Motherland Worth More Than the Truth?

Sergei Petrov

21.00 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

Tuesday, 24 January

Hawkwell House Hotel, Church Way, Iffley Village, Oxford

MEDIA MATTERS

10.00–11.30 Session:
Reinventing Russia
Arkady Ostrovsky

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.30 Session:
Twin Nightmares and the Inexorable Rise of Populism: Where Does it Come From, Where Does it Take Us?
Quentin Peel

13.30–15.00 Lunch

15.00–16.30 Session:
Media and the Challenge of Post-Truth Politics
Sylvie Kauffmann

16.30–17.00 Coffee break

17.00–18.30 Session:
Trust me, I'm a Reporter
Shelby Coffey

18.30–19.00 Coffee break

19.00–21.00 Round table:
Journalism and Propaganda
Leon Conrad
Alexander Shmelev

21.00 Dinner

Wednesday, 25 January

Hawkwell House Hotel, Church Way, Iffley Village, Oxford

THE GLOBAL WORLD

10.00–11.30 Session:
Russia: Traditionalism or Modernity?
Alexey Makarkin

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.30 Session:
Can the Social Framework of Russian Society be Understood?
Lev Gudkov

13.30–15.00 Lunch

15.00–16.30 Session:
The Traumatic Birth of Russian Free Media 1990-91
Vladislav Zubok

16.30–17.00 Coffee break

17.00–18.30 Session:
The World's Order and Disorder
Bobo Lo

18.30–19.00 Coffee break

19.00–21.00 Session:
Hackers and Democracy
Irina Borogan
Andrey Soldatov

21.00 Dinner

Thursday, 26 January

Hawkwell House Hotel, Church Way, Iffley Village, Oxford

ETHICS AND POLITICAL LIFE

10.00–11.30 Session:
Ethics in Politics
Edward Skidelsky

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.30 Session:
Ethics in Politics
Nikolay Epple

13.30–15.00 Lunch

15.00–16.30 Session:
The Liberal Press: Under Attack, East and West
John Lloyd

16.30–17.00 Coffee break

17.00–18.30 Session:
Freedom of Expression and Hate Speech
Miguel Beltrán de Felipe

18.30–19.00 Coffee break

19.00–21.00 Round table:
What is True Journalism?
Leon Conrad
Alexander Shmelev

21.00 Dinner

Friday, 27 January

Hawkwell House Hotel, Church Way, Iffley Village, Oxford

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

10.00–12.00 Session:
**The Age of Enlightenment: Charles-Louis de
Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu
and François-Marie Arouet Voltaire**
Andrey Zakharov
Vasily Zharkov

12.00–12.30 Coffee break

12.30–14.00 Session:
**Nothing Is True and Everything Is Possible:
The Surreal Heart of the New Russia**
Peter Pomerantsev

14.00–15.30 Lunch

15.30–16.00 Closing remarks
Yury Senokossov
Quentin Peel

16.00–17.00 Final observations
Participants

21.00 Dinner

Experts

Roy Allison
(United Kingdom)

Professor of Russian and Eurasian International Relations; Director of the *Russian and Eurasian Studies Centre*, St Antony's College, *University of Oxford*; Head of the Russia and Eurasia Programme, *Chatham House* (1993-2005)

Raymond Asquith, the Earl of Oxford and Asquith
(United Kingdom)

Member of the House of Lords, UK Parliament

Miguel Beltrán de Felipe
(Spain)

Professor of Administrative Law, *University of Castilla-La Mancha*

John Beyer
(United Kingdom)

Academic Visitor, St Antony's College; Tutor, Foundations of Diplomacy, Department of Continuing Education, *University of Oxford*

Irina Borogan
(Russia)

Investigative Journalist, Author, Co-Founder and Editor of the *Agentura.Ru* Website

Paul Chaisty
(United Kingdom)

Associate Professor in Russian Government at the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies (SIAS) and the Department of Politics and International Relations, *University of Oxford*

Shelby Coffey
(USA)

Vice Chair, *Newseum*

Leon Conrad
(United Kingdom)

Co-Founder, *The Academy of Oratory*

Nikolay Eppe
(Russia)

Contributing Editor, *Vedomosti*

Matjaž Gruden
(Council of Europe)

Director of Political Planning, *Council of Europe*

Lev Gudkov
(Russia)

Director, *Levada-Center*

Sylvie Kauffmann
(France)

Journalist, Editorial Director, *Le Monde*

John Lloyd
(United Kingdom)

Contributing Editor, *The Financial Times*

Bobo Lo
(United Kingdom)

Associate Fellow with the Russia and Eurasia Programme, *Chatham House*; Associate Research Fellow with the Russia and New Independent States Center, *French Institute of International Relations*

Alexey Makarkin
(Russia)

First Vice-President, *Center of Political Technologies*

Adis Merdzanovic
(United Kingdom)

Junior Research Fellow, St Antony's College, *University of Oxford*

Lena Nemirovskaya
(Russia)

Founder, *Moscow School of Civic Education*

Kalypso Nicolaidis
(United Kingdom)

Professor of International Relations, Director of the Centre for International Studies, Faculty Fellow, St Antony's College *University of Oxford*; Advisor to Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou on European affairs (1996-2004)

Arkady Ostrovsky
(Russia)

Russia and Eastern Europe Editor, *The Economist*

Quentin Peel
(United Kingdom)

Mercator Senior Fellow, Europe Programme, *Chatham House*

Sergei Petrov
(Russia)

Founder, *ROLF Group*

Peter Pomerantsev (United Kingdom)	Journalist, Author, TV Producer
Dennis Sammut (United Kingdom)	Director of LINKS (Dialogue-Analysis-Research); Member of the Advisory Council of the <i>European Policy Centre</i> , Brussels
Yury Senokossov (Russia)	Founder and Director of Publishing Programme, <i>Moscow School of Civic Education</i>
Alexander Shmelev (Russia)	Political Writer
Edward Skidelsky (United Kingdom)	Lecturer, <i>University of Exeter</i> , Author
Andrey Soldatov (Russia)	Investigative Journalist; Author; Co-Founder and Editor of the <i>Agentura.Ru</i> Website
Baroness Shirley Williams (United Kingdom)	Politician; Founder of the <i>Social Democratic Party</i> (SDP), Adviser on Nuclear Proliferation to Prime Minister Gordon Brown (2007 - 2010), Professor Emerita of Electoral Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, <i>Harvard University</i>
Andrey Zakharov (Russia)	Editor, <i>Neprikosnovennyi Zapas: Debates on Politics and Culture</i> Magazine
Vasily Zharkov (Russia)	Programme Director; Head of the International Politics Master's Programme, <i>The Moscow School of Social and Economic Studies</i>
Vladislav Zubok (Russia)	Professor of International History, <i>London School of Economics</i>



Participants

ARMENIA

Kristine Gevorgyan	Coordinator for Partners' Cooperation, MA in Human Rights and Democratisation in the Caucasus Project
Liana Marukyan	Project Coordinator, Armenian Office, <i>Konrad Adenauer Foundation</i>

AZERBAIJAN

Fuad Jafarli	Head, <i>Urban Initiative</i> , Azerbaijan
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BELARUS

Aliaksandra Dynko	Reporter, <i>Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty</i>
Aliaksandr Filipau	Dean of the Faculty of Extended Education, <i>Belarusian State University of Culture and Arts</i>

GEORGIA

Giorgi Butikashvili	Project Coordinator, Regional Programme on Political Dialogue, South Caucasus Office, <i>Konrad Adenauer Foundation</i>
Shorena Gharibashvili	Project Coordinator, South Caucasus Office, <i>Konrad Adenauer Foundation</i>

KAZAKHSTAN

Dmitriy Mazorenko Journalist, *Vlast.kz*
Internet Magazine

KYRGYZSTAN

Zhibek Begalieva Journalist, *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*

Olga Gein Special Correspondent, *Kloop Media Foundation*

Zukhra Khurova Regional PR, External Communications and Development Manager, *Optima Bank*

LATVIA

Olga Kuzmenkova Editor, *Medusa* Web-Portal

Olesya Shmagun Researcher and Investigative Reporter, *Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP)*

LITHUANIA

Vytis Jurkonis Project Director, *Freedom House*
Lecturer, Institute of International Relations and Political Science, *Vilnius University*

MACEDONIA

Darko Pavlovski National Legal Officer, OSCE Mission to Skopje, *Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*

Toshe Zafirov Project Coordinator, *Progress Institute for Social Democracy*

POLAND

Anton Barbashin Managing Editor, *Intersection Project*

Valentina Chubarova Columnist, *Eastbook*

Olga Irisova Editor-in-Chief, *Intersection Project*

Igor Isayev Editor-in-Chief, *PROstir.pl*
Ukrainian Web-Portal

Yevgeny Klimakin Journalist, *Culture.pl* Web-Portal,
Instytut Adama Mickiewicza

Paulina Siegien Columnist, *Gazeta Wyborcza* Newspaper

Marta Tomaszewicz Journalist, *Newsweek Polska* Magazine

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Artem Aleksandrov Correspondent, *Echo of Moscow*
(St Petersburg) Radio Station, St Petersburg

Mariia Borisova Director, *Dragonfly* Advertising and
(Vologda Region) Production Centre

Oxana Chizh Editor, *Echo of Moscow* Radio Station
(Moscow Region)

Svetlana Chugunova Advisor to the General Director on
(Belgorod Region) Public Relations and Media,
Gazprom Gas Distribution Belgorod
Public Corporation

Kristina Farberova Product Manager, *Shelly*
(Novosibirsk Region)

Aleksandra Filonova Correspondent, *SibKrai.ru* Web-Portal
(Novosibirsk Region)

Mariia Gerdler (Chelyabinsk Region)	Brand Manager, <i>Ural1</i> On-Line TV Channel	Sergei Markelov (Republic of Karelia)	Freelance Journalist
Aida Gergova (Kabardino-Balkar Republic)	Digital Manager, <i>Kavkazskiy Uzel</i> Web-Portal	Dmitrii Mitrokhin (Nizhny Novgorod Region)	CEO, <i>Nizhny Novgorod</i> Independent News Agency
Yuriy Grechko (Krasnodar Krai)	CEO, Director, <i>Yugopolis</i> Web-Portal	Irina Murakhtaeva (Nizhny Novgorod Region)	Journalist, <i>KozaPress</i> Web-Portal
Sergei Kagermazov (St Petersburg)	Correspondent, <i>MR7.ru</i> Web-Portal	Kirill Pashkov (Moscow)	Freelance Journalist
Larisa Khomaiko (Altay Krai)	Independent Journalist	Natalia Pavlova (Republic of Bashkortostan)	Editor-in-Chief, <i>Kommersant</i> Newspaper, Ufa
Nikita Kolpakov (Saratov Region)	Journalist, <i>Echo of Moscow</i> Radio Station, Saratov	Ekaterina Pereplavchenko (Novgorod Region)	Editor-in-Chief, <i>Pryamaya Rech</i> Web-Portal
Larisa Konovalova (Tomsk Region)	Journalist, <i>TV2</i> TV Station	Elena Polichuk (Kemerovo Region)	Editor-in-Chief, <i>Business zhurnal.</i> <i>Kuzbass</i> Federal Business Publication
Daniil Kuznetsov (Yaroslavl Region)	Freelance Reporter, <i>Radio Svoboda</i>	Alexander Polozov (Sverdlovsk Region)	Release Editor <i>Znak.com</i> Web-Portal
Iliia Labunskii (Krasnoyarsk Region)	Owner and Editor-in-Chief, <i>Prospect</i> <i>Mira</i> On-Line Magazine	Ekaterina Potapova (St Petersburg)	Head of the Alumni Association Project, <i>St Petersburg State University</i>
Anna Lapshina (Kirov Region)	Editor of Informational and Analytical Programmes, <i>Echo of</i> <i>Moscow</i> Radio Station, Kirov	Mariia Pustovaia (Kaliningrad Region)	Journalist, <i>rugrad.eu</i> Web-Portal
Yegor Lapshov (St Petersburg)	Media Researcher; Freelance Journalist	Ekaterina Rachkova (Rostov Region)	Director and Screenwriter, <i>Orthodox</i> <i>Don</i> Telecasting Studio
Roman Larionov (Moscow Region)	Executive Editor, <i>Politcom.RU</i> Web-Portal	Natalia Rodikova (Moscow)	Editor-in-Chief, <i>Domashny Ochag</i> Magazine
Irina Levina (Orenburg Region)	Journalist, <i>Echo of Moscow</i> Radio Station, Orenburg	Marina Roshchupkina (Voronezh Region)	Teacher of English, <i>Institute of</i> <i>Modern Education</i>
Elena Malykhina (Tomsk Region)	Managing Editor, <i>Russia Today</i> International News Agency	Anton Rubin (Samara Region)	Blogger and Publicist
Daria Manuilova (Penza Region)	Journalist, <i>Valentin Manuilov</i> Publishing House	Anna Ryzhova (Samara Region)	Journalist, <i>W-city.net</i> Informational and Analytical Web-Portal

Evgeniya Shaffert (Novosibirsk Region) Professor, Faculty of Journalism, *Novosibirsk State University*

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Nina Shilonosova (Krasnodar Krai) Editor-in-Chief, *Zhivaya Kuban* On-Line Publication

Natalia Shreiter (Novosibirsk Region) Director, *Soviet Siberia* Publishing House

Anna Shur (Moscow) PR Director, *Pink Giraffe* Publishing House

Aleksandr Shurshev (St Petersburg) Expert, Center for Anti-Corruption Research and Initiative, *Transparency International*, St Petersburg

Marina Smirnova (Ryazan Region) Editor, *Vid Sboku* Web-Portal

Ilya Suraev (Krasnoyarsk Region) Director of Development, *TV PRIMA*

Elizaveta Surganova (Moscow) Editor-in-Chief, *Kinopoisk* Web-Portal

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Sergei Takhtamyshev (St Petersburg) Architect, *Architectural Studio*

Alan Tskhurbaev (Republic of North Ossetia) Correspondent, *Caucasian Knot* Website, North Ossetia Region

Aleksandr Tupolev (St Petersburg) Editor, *Channel Five* TV Channel

Shamil Valeev (Republic of Bashkortostan) Director, *MKSet.ru* Regional News Agency, Volga District

Dmitry Velikovskiy (Moscow) Investigative Journalist, *Novaya Gazeta* Newspaper

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Andrey Zayakin (Moscow) Cofounder, *Dissernet Project*; Columnist, *Novaya Gazeta* Newspaper

Sergey Zhukov (Moscow) Special Correspondent, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* Newspaper

UKRAINE

Oleh Dereniuha Editor-in-Chief, *NikVesti* Newspaper

Oksana Schyrba Presenter, *Black Sea* TV Channel



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?"

