# FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN POLITICAL 

# List of speakers 

## OPENING SESSION

## Professor Yves Flückiger Rector of the University of Geneva

Yves Flückiger was born on 2 December 1955 and holds a degree in Economics and Sociology as well as a doctorate in Political Economy from the University of Geneva. He has served as a research fellow at Harvard and Oxford, has been a visiting professor at the universities in Fribourg and Lausanne, and a senior lecturer at Australia's Deakin University. He joined the Faculty at the University of Geneva in 1992, directing the University Employment Observatory and the Leading House center of excellence in Education Economics. He has authored numerous books as well as more than 120 articles in international peer-reviewed journals. His teaching at the University of Geneva focused on labor economics, industrial organization, and public finances. As head of the University Employment Observatory at the University of Geneva he coordinated a wide variety of research projects financed by public and private institutions. From July 2007 to July 2015 he was
 Vice-Rector of the University of Geneva, responsible for finances, international relations, strategic planning, and the objectives agreement with the Council of State. Since 15 July 2015 he has been the Rector of the University of Geneva. He's also since February 2020 the President swissuniversities, the association of Higher education Institutions.

## Ignazio Cassis President of the Swiss Confederation and acting Foreign Minister

## Marija Pejčinović Burić Secretary General of the Council of Europe

Secretary General of the Council of Europe Marija Pejčinović Burić is the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, the pre-eminent Pan-European international organisation in the field of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Prior to being elected to her current position, Ms Pejčinović Burić was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia, having served previously, on two occasions, as State Secretary for EU Affairs. During her time as a Deputy in the Croatian Parliament, she chaired the delegation of the Croatia-EU Joint Parliamentary Committee, headed the delegation of the Croatian Parliament to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly and served on a range of foreign and Europeanthemed committees, including in the position of Substitute Member of the Croatian Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Earlier in her career, Ms Pejčinović Burić held a number of senior positions relating
 to the Croatia's EU accession process. She went on to be a Negotiator on several chapters in the context of Croatia's EU accession negotiations. She has written, lectured and consulted widely on European affairs, has served as a president and board member for a number of organisations and is a former Secretary General of the Europe House, Zagreb. Ms Pejčinović Burić holds a Bachelor of Science Degree from the Faculty of Economics at the University of Zagreb, and a Master in European Studies from the College of Europe.

Dunja Mijatovic Commissioner for Human Rights, CoE


Dunja Mijatović was elected Commissioner for Human Rights on 25 January 2018 by the Parliamentary Assembly and took up her position on 1 April 2018. She is the fourth Commissioner, succeeding Nils Muižnieks (2012-2018), Thomas Hammarberg (2006-2012) and Alvaro Gil-Robles (1999-2006). National of Bosnia and Herzegovina, she has been working to promote and protect human rights for the past two decades, thus acquiring extensive knowledge in the field of international monitoring, in particular as regards freedom of expression. Prior to her appointment as Commissioner for Human Rights, she has served as OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media (20102017), Director of Broadcast of the Communications Regulatory Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (20012010), Chair of the European Platform of Regulatory Agencies (2007-2010) and of the Council of Europe's Group of Specialists on Freedom of Expression and Information in Times of Crisis (2005-2007). Dunja Mijatović has regularly given lectures in national and international fora and has been awarded several human rights prizes. She has also been active in supporting NGO activities in the field of human rights education and asylum.

## FIRST PANEL - THE IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION FOR DEMOCRACY

## Professor Frédéric Bernard University of Geneva

Frédéric Bernard obtained a Law degree from the University of Geneva in 2002, a Diploma of advanced studies in Torts Law in 2005 and a PhD in Public Law 2009. His thesis examined the relationship between the rule of law and the fight against terrorism. In 2010, he was a visiting scholar at the University of California UC Berkeley. He was admitted to the Geneva Bar in 2013 and practiced law at a Geneva law firm where he is still working as Counsel. Before becoming Professor of Public Law at the University of Geneva in 2019, Frédéric Bernard was a senior lecturer at the Global Studies Institute of the University of Geneva (2011-2019). He specialises in administrative law, constitutional law, human rights and the fight against terrorism. He is the author of various publications in French and English.


Boriss Cilevics Member of Parliamentary Assembly CoE, Legal Affairs Committee,


Rapporteur
Boriss Cilevics is educated in physics. From 1991-1998, Mr Cilevics has worked with human rights NGOs, participated in international projects, published several research papers on minority rights, non-discrimination and democracy in plural societies. Since 1998, he is member of the Parliament of Latvia. In the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, Mr Cilevics prepared 30 reports, chaired the PACE Sub-Committee on the Rights of Minorities, the Committee on the Election of Judges of the European Court of Human Rights, and the Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights. Along with the parliamentary work, he stays involved with civil society and participates in NGO projects.

## Herdis Kjerulf Thorgeirsdottir Member of Venice Commission, CoE



Herdis Kjerulf Thorgeirsdottir is an Icelandic lawyer and political scientist. Dr. Thorgeirsdottir has developed an international reputation in promoting freedom of expression in an era of globalisation where the significance of large media conglomerates and big tech in shaping public opinion threatens the fundamental democratic right of imparting and receiving information on matters of public concern. She has done extensive research on freedom of the press and theprotection of rights of journalists from self- censorship due to the intertwined interests of financial and political power and her work has been published internationally. Her recent focus has been on the growing impact of oligarchs and their unconstrained power in political economies outside the constitutional framework.

Patrick Penninckx Head of Service of the Information Society Department, CoE

Patrick Penninckx has spent the last 30 years of his career with the Council of Europe, contributing to the transformation processes of the Organisation and developing partnerships with international and national institutions. Currently heading the Information Society Department under the Directorate General Human Rights and the Rule of Law, Patrick coordinates standard setting and cooperation activities in the fields of media, internet governance, data protection, cybercrime and artificial intelligence. His professional focus encompasses areas such as freedom of expression, safety of journalists, sound internet governance, international standards in the data protection, action against cybercrime and the impact of AI on human rights.


Meaghan Fitzgerald Head of Election Department, ODIHR


Meaghan holds degrees in International Affairs, Russian Studies, and Law. She began her career with the US State Department in Belarus and Estonia as a political analyst. Her first experience with the OSCE was in 2002 in Belarus as the Human Dimension Officer after which she spent two years with the OSCE Centre in Dushanbe. Following law school, Meaghan began working in election assistance for the United Nations Mission in Sudan where she was the External Relations Adviser for the 2010 elections and Legal/Political Adviser for the 2011 Referendum. From 20112019, she contributed to election observation missions as Mission Director, Deputy Head of Mission and Legal Analyst with the OSCE and The Carter Center, analysis of election legislation for Democracy Reporting International and lecturing on observation. Meaghan joined the OSCE's office for Democratic Institution and Human Rights in 2019 as the Deputy Head of the Democratization Department and later served as the Head of the Democratization Department. In June 2021, Meaghan became the Head of ODIHR's Election Department managing all of the offices work on elections and all ODIHR election observation efforts.

# FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN POLITICAL 

## SECOND PANEL - LIMITS TO THE FREEDOM OF POLITICAL SPEECH

## Petra Bayr Member of Parliamentary Assembly, CoE, General Rapporteur on combating racism and intolerance

Petra Bayr is a Member of the Austrian National Council and SPÖ spokesperson for global development. She is currently President of the European Parliamentarian Forum on Sexual and Reproductive Rights (EPF), General Rapporteur on Combating Racism and Intolerance at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Member of the Committee on Strategy, Investment and Policy of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, Board Member and Treasurer of Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA).


Eric Wennerström Judge, European Court of Human Rights, CoE

Mr Erik Wennerström was born in Sweden in 1962. He is a Doctor of Laws in International law, EU law and legal jurisprudence. He has been Director for International Relations and EU affairs and Head of International Law Enforcement Affairs at the Ministry of Justice and Interior (2007-2011) and Principal Legal Adviser on International Law at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (2007-2012). From 2012 he has served as Director General at the National Council for Crime Prevention. Erik Wennerström has also served as board member in numerous international organisations. He was elected judge at the European Court of Human Rights in April 2019.

Yevheniya Kravchuk Member of Parliament (Rada), Ukraine
Yevheniya Kravchuk is a Ukrainian politician, journalist and communication expert, Deputy Chair of the Servant of the People faction, Deputy Head of the Committee on Humanitarian and Information Policy, Head of the Subcommittee on Information Policy, and Expert in communications and media consulting. Yevheniya Kravchuk was born in Ternopil, Ukraine, in a family of doctors. She graduated from the Institute of Journalism of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. Kravchuk is a graduate of the FLEX. Yevheniya Kravchuk worked in management positions in analytical centers, in journalism. She participated in the filming of the documentary «Spell your name» and «Alive». She was a partner in New Center Consulting and member of the organizing committee of the Odessa International Film Festival (2010-2014). In cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy, she worked on the development of the Ukrainian nationwide project on media literacy, the State
 strategy for the reading promotion 2021-2025. Ms Kravchuk is Member of the Ukrainian Permanent Delegation to the PACE and PA OSCE, full member of the PACE

Committee on Equality and Non-Discrimination and the PACE Rapporteur on "Justice and security for women in peace reconciliation". She is member of the United for Ukraine (U4U) platform.


## Professor Nula Frei Universities of Fribourg and Geneva

Dr Nula Frei is a senior researcher and lecturer at the Institute of European Law, University of Fribourg, Switzerland, and a lecturer at the Global Studies Institute of the University of Geneva. She teaches European Human Rights Law as well as Swiss and European constitutional law. She has previously worked at the Centre for Migration Law of the University of Bern, the Swiss Centre for Expertise in Human Rights and the UNHCR Office for Switzerland and Liechtenstein and holds a PhD in Law from the University of Bern as well as a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from the University of Zurich.

Anne Weber Secretariat of States against Corruption (GRECO), CoE
Anne Weber graduated in law from the University of Strasbourg in 1999. In 2006, she completed a PhD on the non-contentious control mechanisms of Human Rights at the Universities
of Strasbourg and Geneva. Since November 2009, she is working as Legal Adviser in the Council of Europe (Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights, 2009-2021; GRECO Secretariat - Group of States against Corruption - since December 2021). Previously, she has served as a teaching assistant at the Robert Schuman University in Strasbourg and for the European Master's Program in Human Rights and Democratization in Venice; she was visiting
 researcher at New York University and worked as scientific collaborator for the International Institute of Human Rights, as Legal Assistant at the UNHCR Representation to the European Institutions, as well as postdoctoral fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg. Her research interests include human rights protections systems, freedom of expression, and she is the author of the Council of Europe Manual on hate speech.

# THIRD PANEL - LIMITS TO LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL SPEECH 

## Professor Ledi Bianku Former Judge at the European Court of Human Rights, CoE



Ledi Bianku holds the office of international judge of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He is also, since 2018, an associate Professor at the University of Strasbourg. From 2019 he is an Associate Attorney with Doughty Street Chambers, in London, UK. From 2008-2019 he was a Judge at the European Court of Human Rights in respect of Albania. He served previously as Member of the Venice Commission for the Democracy through Law from 2006-2008. He also chaired the National Audio-visual Authority from 2006-2007. He taught Public International Law, EU law and Human Rights law at the Tirana Law Faculty and the Albanian School of Magistrates from 1993-2007. He also served as legal advisor for various national and international bodies and currently is a Trustee of AIRE Centre Ireland and a member of the Ethics Committee of the Prince Albert II Foundation. Mr. Bianku is a graduate from Tirana University and College of Europe in Bruges.

## Professor Maya Hertig University of Geneva

Maya Hertig Randall holds a Ph.D. from the University of Fribourg, a first-class LL.M. degree from the University of Cambridge, UK, and was admitted to the Geneva bar in 2002. Before joining the Law Faculty of Geneva University as a ordinary (tenured) Professor of constitutional law in 2007, she was first a junior and senior research fellow, and later Assistant Professor of European and International Economic Law, at the University of Berne, as well as a visiting scholar at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary, and the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Her main fields of research and publications in French, German and English are international and comparative human rights, in particular freedom of speech and religious freedom, judicial
 review, international constitutionalism and federalism, and diversity accommodation. Since 2012, she has been a member of the Swiss Federal Commission against Racism, and since 2020, Vice-President of the same Commission. Since 2014, she has been a member of the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC). Within the ICRC, she is the President of the Recruitment and Remuneration Commission and a Member of the Data Protection Independent Control Commission. Within the Faculty, she co-directs the Certificate of Advanced Studies on Human Rights, as well as the Law Clinic on the Rights of Vulnerable Persons and currently holds the position of Vice-Dean.


## Kirill Bellogubets Officer in Unit for RUS, Registrar's department, ECTHR, CoE

Kirill Belogubets is a senior case lawyer at the Registry of the European Court of Human Rights (Strasbourg, France). He studied public international law, EU law, human-rights law and national legal systems at Central European University (Budapest, Hungary) and Université Pierre-Mendès-France (Grenoble, France). He holds a Magister Juris in European and comparative law from the University of Oxford (United Kingdom). After joining the Registry in 2004, he assisted the Court in examining hundreds of applications and acted, in 2014, as a non-judicial rapporteur supervising a team of assistant lawyers. Since 2012 he has been acting, within the Registry and for national legal professionals, as a trainer on the European Convention on Human Rights. He has given presentations and lectures on invitations from departments of the Council of Europe, national authorities, universities, the Academy of European Law and other organisations, on a variety of topics relating to, in particular, freedom of expression and hate speech.

## Peter Noorlander Consultant for Human Rights law

Peter Noorlander is a media law and policy analyst with 25 years of experience working across Europe on issues such as access to information, journalists' safety, and developing civil society. He is a frequent contributor to Council of Europe publications; most recently reports on the impact of COVID on free speech and on the safety of journalists. He has also developed training curricula such as the Council of Europe course for legal professionals on freedom of expression. Peter currently consults to international organisations as well as to civil society organisations on human rights. In the past he has worked at organisations such as ARTICLE 19, Open Society Foundations, and Media Defence. Born and educated in the Netherlands, he now lives and works in the United Kingdom.


## FOURTH PANEL - HOW TO ASSESS AND JUSTIFY THE EFFECTS ON A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY OF LIMITATIONS ON FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN POLITICAL SPEECH

## Professor Yuliya Kaspiarovich University of Groningen



Yuliya Kaspiarovich is Assistant Professor in European Law at the University of Groningen. She was previously a postdoctoral researcher at the Global Studies Institute of the University of Geneva and Emile Noël fellow at the Jean Monnet Center for International and Regional Economic Law and Justice, New York University School of Law (2020/2021). She holds a PhD in Law from the University of Geneva (summa cum laude). She also holds a Master's degree in European studies from the Global Studies Institute as well as a Master's degree in European and International Law from the Université Montesquieu Bordeaux IV. In 2017, she was awarded the Diploma of the Academy of European Law of the EUI in Florence. Yuliya's thesis questioned the rationale behind investment protection in the EU legal order in the light of the principle of mutual trust. Her broader research interests also cover European institutional and constitutional law and EU external relations law.

## Jeroen Schokkenbroek Director of the Anti-Discrimination Directorate (including fight against hate speech), DG II, CoE

Mr Schokkenbroek studied law at the University of Leiden (The Netherlands) where he lectured in Constitutional and Administrative Law until 1993. Other past functions in that period include: President of the Dutch Section of the International Commission of Jurists, representative of the ICJ with the Council of Europe and editor-inchief of the Netherlands Human Rights Law Journal (NJCM-Bulletin). Since 1993, he has held various functions in the Council of Europe Secretariat, mostly in the field of Human Rights, including that of Head of the Human Rights Development Department and Head of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly's Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights. In November 2010, he was appointed Special Representative of the Secretary General for Roma Issues. From October 2013 to February 2014, he also acted as Director ad interim of the Directorate of Democratic Citizenship and Participation in the Directorate General of Democracy. He subsequently served as Special Adviser of the Secretary General for Ukraine until 1 July 2014, when he was appointed Executive Secretary of the Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT). Since June 2018, Mr Schokkenbroek is Director of Anti-Discrimination in the Directorate General of Democracy of the Council of Europe. Mr Schokkenbroek has published various books and articles in the field of human rights and constitutional law.


Dr. Elina Steinerte President of Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, UN


Dr Elina Steinerte (LLB, Lawyers Diploma, LLM, PhD) is an academic and human rights lawyer with nearly 20 years of experience. She is a member of the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (WGAD), appointed on 30 September 2016. After having served its Vice Chair for four consecutive years, in 2021 she was elected Chair Rapporteur, the first representative from the Eastern Europe to hold the post in WGAD's history of years. In her role with the WGAD, Dr Steinerte has lead numerous UN missions including to Argentina, Sri Lanka, Hungary, Bhutan, Qatar and the Maldives. She has participated in the delivery of over 450 Opinions of the WGAD regarding allegations of arbitrary deprivation of liberty globally. She also lead the WGAD's work on the formulation of its Deliberations on detention in the context of migration in 2017 and detention in the context of public health emergencies (COVID-19) in 2020. Dr Steinerte is academic with extensive teaching background having taught public international and human rights law at numerous Universities in Latvia, the United Kingdom and the Bailiwick of Jersey. The prime focus of her work and research has been the implementation of the United Nations Convention against Torture and its Optional Protocol (OPCAT). She has worked worldwide with respect to the implementation of the Convention including advising upon the calibration of domestic legislation and the designation and effectiveness of National Preventive Mechanisms. Additionally, she has provided expert advice on a variety of criminal justice reforms concerning pre-trial detention, overuse of imprisonment, overcrowding and independent oversight over the places of deprivation of liberty and child justice. She has also worked with the UNHCR on streamlining its methodology for monitoring immigration detention. Since 2018 she has been working closely as advisor to the Commissioner for Children in Jersey with specific focus on child justice.

## Professor Müller-Török University of Ludwigsburg

Prof. Dr. Müller-Török is an Austrian National and lives in Germany since 1997. Originally, he worked as a fulltime ITdeveloper in the Austrian Ministry of Defense. In Germany he was a Business Consultant in the Financial Services Sector, held positions in municipal Asset Management and the Automotive. In 2012 he was appointed Full Professor of e- Government in Ludwigsburg. His research areas are e-Voting, e- Participation and in general e-Democracy. Major contributions were journal papers on e-Voting algorithms and the current Recommendation on e-Voting of the Council of Europe; a feasibility study on a participatory budget in the Federal State of Baden-Württemberg, Germany; and a book on mass citizens' participation for the Austrian Federal Chancellery. In 2022 he published a book on fake news and hate speech supported by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, which is available Open Access at https://ocgitservice.com/demo/counterfake2022/index.html. He is an organizer of the Central and Eastern European e|Dem and e|Days which are held annually in Budapest and a Member of the Board of the Austrian Computer Society.


## Professor Joaquin Pablo Urías Martínez, Constitutional Law, University of Sevilla



Prof. Dr. Joaquín Pablo Urias Martinez, born in 1968, is a titular Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Sevilla since 2002. He obtained his PhD in Constitutional Law in 1997 after having made pre-doctoral studies in the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg. From 2005 to 2010 he served as legal secretary at the Spanish constitutional Court. In 2010 he was appointed as team leader of the EU-project "Consolidation of the Judicial system in Albania- EURALIUS" and he hold this position for three years. Then he worked as legal adviser for the EU Delegation to Albania. He is autor of several books and scientific papers focused on free speech, freedom of information, artistic freedom and privacy and right to honor. He collaborates in strategic litigation before the Spanish Constitutional Court with some Spanish Human Rights organizations and has a frequent presence in the Spanish media for issues related with human rights and free speech.

## CONCLUSIONS

Professor Nicolas Levrat Director of Institute of Global Studies, University of Geneva


Nicolas Levrat, born in 1964, is since 2001 full Professor of European and International Law at the Law Faculty of the University of Geneva. He obtained a PhD in International Law from the University of Geneva in 1992. He has been a European civil servant at the Council of Europe from 1991 to 1994. He obtained research grants from Belgian and European institutions from 1995 to 1997 to research on minority rights in Belgium and in Europe. From 1998 to 2004, he was professor at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB). Since 2001, he is a full professor at the Law Faculty at the University of Geneva. He has been appointed Director of the European Institute of the University of Geneva in 2007. He transformed the European Institute in a Global Studies Institute (GSI), a new structure within the University of Geneva. He's been Director of the GSI from 2012 to 2015, and again from 2019 to present. GSI currently hosts 1'700 students and about 110 researchers. GSI delivers a bachelor's in international relations, five Masters in area and Global studies, and runs an interdisciplinary PhD school. He has been the director of the International Law Department at the University of Geneva from 2016 to 2019. Levrat is President of the Geneva Human Rights Week. He's co-director of the Geneva Transformative Governance Lab. He just established, in partnership with ETH Zurich, a "Lab for Science in diplomacy". He's the author more than 120 scientific articles and about 20 books. His research and publications are quite eclectic, mostly concerned with Federalism, European integration and the structure of European legal orders, International Organizations and human rights, Computational Diplomacy, Minority \& Peoples' rights, Cross-border cooperation, as well as the impact of globalisation on democratic institutions.

Christos Giakoumopoulos Director General for Human Rights and the Rule of Law of the Council of Europe

Christos Giakoumopoulos has been Director General of Human Rights and Rule of Law of the Council of Europe since 1 August 2017.He was previously Director of Human Rights from 2011 to 2017 and also the Secretary General's Advisor for Ukraine from June 2014 to September 2016. He was Director of Monitoring in the same Directorate General between 2006 and 2011. Before joining the Directorate of Human Rights, he was General Counsel and Director General for Legal and Administrative Affairs of the Council of Europe Development Bank (Paris). Since joining the Council of Europe in 1987, he held posts in the Registry of
 the European Court of Human Rights and the Directorate of Legal Affairs. He was Deputy Executive Secretary of the Venice Commission (19942002) and Director of the Office of the first Commissioner for Human Rights, Alvaro Gil Robles (2002-2004).

## Moderator: Dr. Frédéric Esposito University of Geneva



Dr. Frédéric Esposito (PhD, University of Geneva and MA in international relations from the Graduate Institute) is senior lecturer at the Global Studies Institute of the University of Geneva and Director of the bachelor's in international relations. He was successively visiting researcher at the European Institute in Florence; lecturer at the European Institute Geneva and initiator and manager of the "Eurocity Platform" project (a project dealing with the modalities of teaching Europe to the younger generations); lecturer at the Faculty of Law and executive director of the University Forum "Democracy and Terrorism" of the Academic Society of Geneva. At the same time, he participated as a project manager in the European Commission's "Cities against Terrorism" programme (DG Justice, Freedom and Security, pilot project for aid to victims of terrorist acts), developed within the European Forum for Urban Security. Areas of expertise: European governance, global counterterrorism, participatory democracy, project management.

