New Eastern Europe

No 4(IX)/2013

Price 19 PLN (w tym 5% VAT) 10 EUR 12 USD 7 GBP

ISSN: 2083-7372 *auarterly* October - December

www.neweasterneurope.eu

SEARCHING FOR SUCCESS

Why Europe's integration with the East can still be achieved and what it will take

Carl BILDT European (Re)Union

Sergey Utkin

Radosław SIKORSKI European Neighbours, Not Neighbours of Europe

Jana KOBZOVA Shedding the Soviet Skin **Rafał SADOWSKI The Summit and the Day After** Adam BALCER Central Europe, Where Art Thou? Vitaly PORTNIKOV Ukraine Needs Healing Paweł KOWAL All Bets on Moldova Kakha GOGOLASHVILI Georgia at the Head of the Class

PASS OR FAIL? GRADING THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP



Yaroslav Hrvtsak

to Communism

Contents

Opinion and Analysis

7 Towards a Reunited Europe Carl Bildt

My vision is clear. I want Europe to be a continent without dividing lines, where people, ideas, trade and investment can move freely, across increasingly irrelevant borders. This would make Europe and its people more prosperous, innovative and secure.

12 Spurring on the European Project Radosław Sikorski

The Eastern Partnership is an ambitious endeavour. It is bringing change to countries that are not just neighbours of Europe – they are our European neighbours.

21 Europe's Give and Take Jana Kobzova

29 Grading the Eastern Partnership: Between fair and poor

In August 2013, New Eastern Europe asked ten experts from across Europe to participate in a survey on the Eastern Partnership programme (EaP). The experts completed a scorecard with a series of categories for each of the six EaP countries.

- 35 To Vilnius and Beyond Rafał Sadowski
- 42 Last Call for the Eastern Partnership Adam Balcer

51 The Sick Man of Europe Vitaly Portnikov

If the Ukrainian authorities manage to fulfil the conditions and sign the Association Agreement with the European Union, this decision will be met with enthusiasm by most Ukrainians. But any real change will be a long process. We should, therefore, be patient and understand that we are dealing with the long-term treatment of the metastatic disease of communism.

- 56 The Moldovan Gambit Paweł Kowal
- 64 Georgia on the Fast Track Kakha Gogolashvili

71 The Honest Broker Kinga Dudzińska

78 The German View of Russia Agnieszka Łada and Cornelius Ochmann

89 How the Nation State Killed Europe Lucian Tion

Just like childhood traumas that come back to haunt us in our adult lives, the mistakes of Europe's political infancy of a century ago are only now starting to claim their first victims. And the concept of the nation state may be at the very top of the list.

- 96 One Election, Two Czech Republics Geoffroy Berson
- **103 Exploring the Roots of Montenegro** Anna Jagiełło-Szostak

Special Section: Digital Eastern Europe

111 New Media and Democracy in Post-Soviet Countries Natalya Ryabinska

> With its high penetration rates, the internet has entered the reality of post-Soviet societies extremely quickly. This penetration, however, does not necessarily equate to greater democratisation in these countries.

- **119 Toys for the Super-Rich** Mykola Kniazhytsky
- 123 Tales from the (Ru)Net Sergey Utkin
- 130 The End of Journalists Eryk Mistewicz

Over the last 20 years in Poland, a new type of creation, distribution and perception of information has been shaped. Research shows that Poles trust their peers in their social networks and the opinions of "people like me", more than the opinions of professionals.

136 Ukraine's Parallel Realities Igor Lyubashenko

Interviews

- **142** Tatarstan's Disappearing Identity A conversation with Leila Almazova
- 147 Turning Over a New Leaf A conversation with Andrzej Pukszto

Reports

152 Heroic Adventures in Transnistria Rory MacLean

History

163 A Stumbling Block of Reconciliation Yaroslav Hrytsak

Polish-Ukrainian reconciliation is a remaining key to Europe's Eastern relations which, with the passing of the generation of its architects, is slowly slipping away.

169 The Forgotten War Mart Laar

People, Ideas, Inspiration

177 A Proud Moldovan?

Interview with Nicoleta Esinencu

182 A Domestic Charade An excerpt from Zośka Papużanka's Szopka

Books and Reviews

186 Kamil Catus – In Search of What Never Existed On Rory MacLean's Back to the USSR – Heroic Adventures in Transnistria

188 Zlata Kopřivová – The Surrealist Spirit of Prague

On Derek Sayer's Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century. A surrealist history

191 Paweł Pieniążek – The Art of Demonstrating

On Post-Post-Soviet? Art, Politics & Society in Russia at The Turn of the Decade. Edited by: Marta Dziewańska, Ekaterina Degot and Ilja Budraitskis

193 Tomasz Mróz – The Everyday Life of Today's Revolutionary

On Eduard Limonov's Sermons. Against the Government and the Venal Opposition

196 Elvyra Krupovic – A Return from the Dangerous Past

On Return from Life. Literary Letters, Conversation. By Marcelijus Martinaitis and Viktorija Daujotytė

199 Łukasz Wojtusik – The Tangerine Flavour of Freedom

On Wojciech Górecki's Abkhazia

201 Father Józef Puciłowski – The Last Prince-Primate of Hungary

Letters to the Presidents. Cardinal Mindszenty to the Political Leaders of the United States, edited by Rev. Adam Somorjai