

Ukraine – EU

What can 2023 bring?

What can the Swedish presidency achieve?



Looking back? 1999

into the New Millennium

European Council
Helsinki
10-11 December 1999



Looking foward?





This winter

“There are 90 days ahead, which will be **more crucial than 30 years of Ukraine's independence**; these 90 days that will be more crucial than all the years of the existence of the European Union.”




“This winter we must do absolutely everything to **say in the spring: we are fully ready to start negotiations** on Ukraine's membership in the European Union.”

This is about financial support – seizing Russian Central Bank assets

It is about weapons –to stop people from having to flee

It is about refugee reception – requiring European civil society



that by December, 20 million Ukrainians will flee

An extraordinary crisis already





1.5 million



450,000



Germany
1 million

128,000



110,000

 HM Government

HOMES
for
UKRAINE

**Mobilise
European civil
society *now***

Platform: 500 Euros

**Getting across the
winter**

This is about financial support

It is about weapons

It is about refugee reception

It is also about rethinking enlargement process

Rethinking Europe



What is likely to happen?
What must happen?

Reality today: never-ending accession?

Length of EU accession talks (till end of June 2022)

Country	Length	Status
Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia	34 months	Completed
Estonia, Poland, Slovenia	56 months	Completed
Bulgaria, Romania	58 months	Completed
Croatia	68 months	Completed
Serbia	101 months	closed 2 chapters
Montenegro	120 months	closed 3 chapters
Turkey	200 months	closed 1 chapter

Montenegro

**Candidate status 2010
Negotiations 2012**

3 (!) chapters closed





Albania

Candidate status 2014

NO chapters open

North Macedonia

Candidate status 2005

NO chapters open



Bosnia and Herzegovina

No candidate





Kosovo

**No candidate
No visa free travel
No Council of Europe**

A wooden ladder extends from the bottom of the frame towards the top, set against a bright blue sky filled with fluffy white clouds. A faint rainbow is visible in the background, adding a sense of hope and aspiration.

Countless vetoes ...

EU internal politics

One veto is enough ...



A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, the President of France, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a dark tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing his index finger. The background is a blue wall with a gold emblem on the left. Two microphones are visible in the foreground.

**Key: Serious
doubts**

**New members in a very different EU ...
(in uncertain future)**

A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, President of France, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a dark tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing his index finger upwards. The background is a blue wall with a gold emblem on the left.

April 2018

Galloping off to ... 30

“ ... I don't want a Europe that, functioning with difficulty at 27, would decide that we can continue to **gallop off, to be **tomorrow 30 or 32**, with the same rules.”**

A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, President of France, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a dark tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing his index finger upwards. The background is dark and out of focus.

May 2018

Weakening Europe

"What we've seen over the past 15 years is a **path that has weakened Europe every time** we think of enlarging it ...

A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, President of France, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a dark tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing his index finger. The background is a blue wall with a gold emblem on the left.

June 2022

Waiting with a ticket

“We have countries in this [accession] procedure, as far as *they are concerned*, the train has already left the station. In any case they are on the platform with a **ticket in their hands ...**

Today, we **cannot tell them that it is over!**“

A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, President of France, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a dark tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing his index finger. The background is a blue wall with a gold emblem on the left.

June 2022

Not in the same house

“When we talk to our neighbourhood and we want to stabilize it, we tell them: ‘Enter the house!’ And what we do not think of, is that **we can have a neighbourhood that does not stay with us in the same house ...**”

A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, the President of France, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a dark tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing his index finger. The background is a blue wall with a gold emblem on the left.

June 2022

Keep offering “prospect”

“So the geopolitical response in the current context of war is to keep on offering a membership prospect.”

A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, President of France, speaking at a podium. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a dark tie. He is gesturing with his right hand, pointing his index finger. The background is a blue wall with a gold emblem on the left.

June 2022

The right prospect ...

“Do I think that, *in the long run, this is the right prospect* to offer? Let me tell you frankly, and like what I said three years ago: ‘No!’ Because this will take time, and we witness a kind of enlargement fatigue amongst those countries ... It is **a long road to travel.**”

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June 2022

The right prospect ...

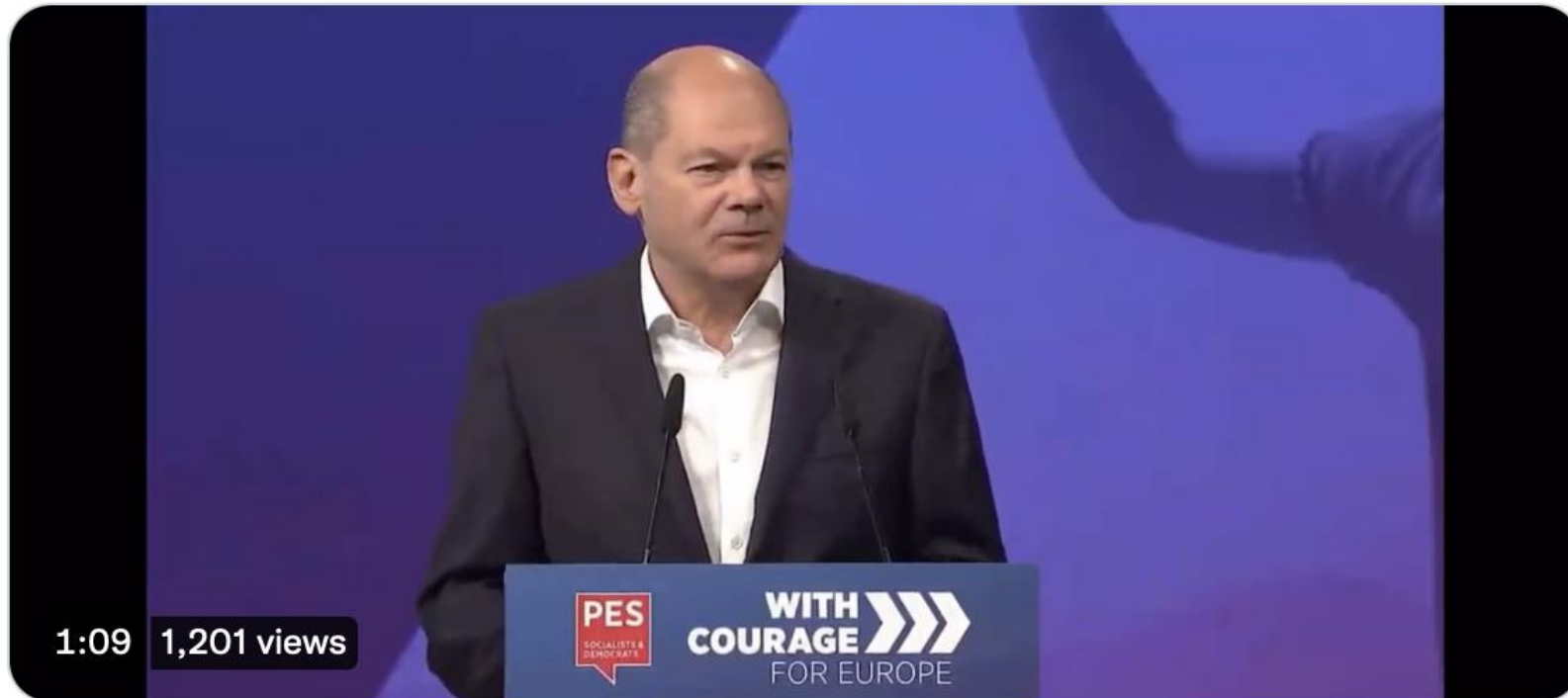
“Do I think that, *in the long run, this is the right prospect* to offer? Let me tell you frankly, and like what I said three years ago: ‘No!’ Because this will take time, and we witness a kind of enlargement fatigue amongst those countries ... It is **a long road to travel.”**

**How about
Berlin?**



“EU with 36 member states will be able to assert itself better in the world of 8 or 10 billion people,” says 🇩🇪 Chancellor [@OlafScholz](#) at this week-end’s [@PES_PSE](#) congress.

“We gave our word to the Western Balkans almost 20 years ago. These words must now follow with deeds.”



**EU 36
vision**

🇩🇪 Chancellor Olaf #Scholz on 🇪🇺 enlargement to Balkans six:

“I just want to say: This [#enlargement] should be done as quickly as possible. The Thessaloniki conclusions are 19 years old. Nobody thought at the time that it would take 20 years. That's why it has to be fast now.”



„As quickly as possible“



Olaf Scholz, 29 August 2022

“First and foremost, the candidate countries are required to **fulfil the criteria** for accession. We will support them in this endeavour to the best of our abilities. But we must also make the **EU itself fit** for this major enlargement. **This will take time ...** So let’s talk about reforms.”

„This will take time“

As little or as much as possible?

The reality of the process today



Ursula von der Leyen ✓

@vonderleyen



🇷🇸 Serbia is well advanced on its EU path.

Progress must continue.

The EU wants to count on Serbia as a reliable European partner.

Aligning in defence of common principles and values.

Working together for security and prosperity.

28 Oct 2022



**Serbia
„well advanced“**

Rule of law fundamentals - 2022

Reform area	North Macedonia	Montenegro	Albania	Serbia	Bosnia	Kosovo	Turkey
Functioning of judiciary	3.5	3	3	4	4.5	5	5
Fight against corruption	3.5	4	4	4	4.5	4.5	5
Fight against organised crime	4	3.5	4	4	4.5	5	4
Freedom of expression	3.5	4	3.5	4	4	4	5
Total	14.5	14.5	14.5	16	17.5	18.5	19

The mechanics do not work

Commission: assessing alignment

Well advanced
Good level of preparation
Moderately prepared
Some level of preparation
Early stage



Chapter		2015	2019	2020	2021	2022
1	Free movement of goods	3	3	3	3	3
2	Freedom of movement for workers	5	4	4	4	4
3	Establishment and service provision	3	3	3	3	3
4	Free movement of capital	3	3	3	3	3
5	Public procurement	3	3	3	3	2.5
6	Company law	3	2	2	2	2
7	Intellectual property law	1	2	2	2	2
8	Competition policy	3	3	3	3	3
9	Financial services	3	3	3	3	3
10	Digital transformation and media	3	3	3	3	3
11	Agriculture and rural development	4	3	3	3	3
12	Food safety, veterinary, phytosanitary	4	3	3	3	3
13	Fisheries	5	4.5	4	4	4
14	Transport policy	3	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
15	Energy	3	2	2	2	2
16	Taxation	3	3	3	3	3
17	Economic and monetary policy	3	3	3	3	3
18	Statistics	4	3	3	3	3
19	Social Policy and employment	4	4	4	4	4
20	Enterprise and industrial policy	3	3	2.5	2.5	2.5
21	Trans-European networks	3	3	2.5	2.5	2.5
22	Regional policy, structural instruments	3	3	3	3	3
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights	3	3	3	3	3
24	Justice, freedom and security	3	3	3	3	3
25	Science and research	2	2	2	2	2
26	Education and culture	2	2	2	2	2
27	Environment and climate change	5	4	4	4	4
28	Consumer and health protection	3	3	3	3	3
29	Customs union	3	3	3	3	3
30	External relations	2	2	2	2	2
31	Foreign, security and defence policy	2	2	2	2	2
32	Financial control	3	3	3	3	3
33	Financial and budgetary provisions	5	5	5	4	4
	Total	105	98	96.5	95.5	95

Montenegro

Chapter		2015	2019	2020	2021	2022
1	Free movement of goods	3	3	3	3	3
2	Freedom of movement for workers	3	3	3	3	3
3	Establishment and service provision	3	3	3	3	3
4	Free movement of capital	3	3	3	3	3
5	Public procurement	3	3	3	3	3
6	Company law	2	2	2	2	2
7	Intellectual property law	2	2	2	2	2
8	Competition policy	3	3.5	3	3	3
9	Financial services	3	3	3	3	3
10	Digital transformation and media	3	3	3	3	3
11	Agriculture and rural development	5	4	4	4	4
12	Food safety, veterinary, phytosanitary	3	3	3	3	3
13	Fisheries	3	3	3	3	3
14	Transport policy	3	2	2	2	2
15	Energy	3	3	3	3	3
16	Taxation	3	3	3	3	3
17	Economic and monetary policy	3	3	3	3	3
18	Statistics	3	3	3	3	3
19	Social Policy and employment	3	3	3	3	3
20	Enterprise and industrial policy	3	3	3	3	3
21	Trans-European networks	3	3	3	3	3
22	Regional policy, structural instruments	3	3	3	3	3
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights	4	4	4	4	4
24	Justice, freedom and security	4	4	4	4	4
25	Science and research	2	2	2	2	2
26	Education and culture	2	2	2	2	2
27	Environment and climate change	5	4	4	4	4
28	Consumer and health protection	3	3	3	3	3
29	Customs union	3	2	2	2	2
30	External relations	3	3	3	3	3
31	Foreign, security and defence policy	3	3	3	3	3
32	Financial control	3	3	3	3	3
33	Financial and budgetary provisions	5	4	4	4	4
	Total	103	98.5	98	98	98

Serbia

Chapter	2015	2019	2020	2021	2022
1	Free movement of goods	3	3	3	3
2	Freedom of movement for workers	5	5	5	5
3	Establishment and service provision	3	3	3	3
4	Free movement of capital	3	3	3	3
5	Public procurement	3	3	3	3
6	Company law	2	2	2	2
7	Intellectual property law	3	3	3	3
8	Competition policy	3	3	3	3
9	Financial services	3	3	3	3
10	Digital transformation and media	2	3	3	3
11	Agriculture and rural development	3	3	3	3
12	Food safety, veterinary, phytosanitary	4	2	2	2
13	Fisheries	3	3	3	3
14	Transport policy	3	3	3	3
15	Energy	3	3	3	3
16	Taxation	3	3	3	3
17	Economic and monetary policy	3	3	3	3
18	Statistics	3	3	3	3
19	Social Policy and employment	3	3	3	3
20	Enterprise and industrial policy	3	3	3	3
21	Trans-European networks	2	2	2	2
22	Regional policy, structural instruments	3	3	3	3
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights	4	3.5	3.5	3.5
24	Justice, freedom and security	3	3	3	3
25	Science and research	2	2	2	2
26	Education and culture	3	3	3	3
27	Environment and climate change	3	4	4	4
28	Consumer and health protection	3	3	3	3
29	Customs union	2	2	2	2
30	External relations	3	3	3	3
31	Foreign, security and defence policy	3	3	3	2
32	Financial control	3	3	3	3
33	Financial and budgetary provisions	5	5	5	5
	Total	100	99.5	99.5	98.5

North Macedonia

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Chapters		2019	2020	2021	2022
1	Free movement of goods	5	5	5	5
2	Freedom of movement for workers	4	4	4	4
3	Establishment and service provision	5	5	5	5
4	Free movement of capital	3	3	3	3
5	Public procurement	4	4	4	4
6	Company law	4	4	4	4
7	Intellectual property law	3	3	3	3
8	Competition policy	4	4	4	4
9	Financial services	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5
10	Digital transformation and media	5	5	5	5
11	Agriculture and rural development	5	5	5	5
12	Food safety, veterinary, phytosanitary	4	4	4	4
13	Fisheries	5	5	5	5
14	Transport policy	4	4	4	4
15	Energy	5	5	5	5
16	Taxation	4	4	4	4
17	Economic and monetary policy	5	5	5	5
18	Statistics	5	5	5	5
19	Social Policy and employment	4	4	4	4
20	Enterprise and industrial policy	5	5	5	5
21	Trans-European networks	4	4	4	4
22	Regional policy, structural instruments	5	5	5	5
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights	4	4	4	4
24	Justice, freedom and security	4	4	4	4
25	Science and research	4	4	4	4
26	Education and culture	5	5	5	5
27	Environment and climate change	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
28	Consumer and health protection	5	5	5	5
29	Customs union	4	4	4	4
30	External relations	4	4	4	4
31	Foreign, security and defence policy	4	4	4	4
32	Financial control	5	5	5	4
33	Financial and budgetary provisions	5	5	5	5
	Total	144	144	144	143

Opening chapters?

**Serbia:
all open
chapters**

Nr.	Chapter	Opened	2019	2021
32	Financial control	Dec 2015	3	3
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights	July 2016	4	4
24	Justice, freedom and security	July 2016	4	4
5	Public procurement	Dec 2016	3	3
25	Science and research	Dec 2016	2	2
20	Enterprise and industrial policy	Feb 2017	3	3
26	Education and culture	Feb 2017	2	2
7	Intellectual property law	June 2017	2	2
29	Customs union	June 2017	2	2
6	Company law	Dec 2017	2	2
30	External relations	Dec 2017	3	3
13	Fisheries	June 2018	3	3
33	Financial and budgetary provisions	June 2018	4	4
17	Economic and monetary policy	Dec 2018	3	3
18	Statistics	Dec 2018	3	3
	Total		43	43

This process does not make sense

Getting to final goal is NOT linked to merit



A hamster wheel

**So how can this be turned
around?**

Wisdom of the founders



Focus on key **breakthroughs**

Link to **interests** (including economic)

Breakthrough one:

Make strict Commission assessments the key to reach a
meaningful goal

Commission reports

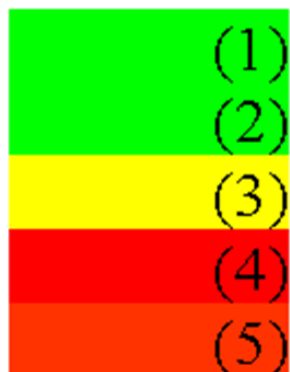
Well advanced

Good level of preparation

Moderately prepared

Some level of preparation

Early stage



	Chapter	2025
1	Free movement of goods	2
2	Freedom of movement for workers	2
3	Establishment and service provision	2
4	Free movement of capital	2
5	Public procurement	2
6	Company law	2
7	Intellectual property law	2
8	Competition policy	2
9	Financial services	2
10	Information society and media	2
11	Agriculture and rural development	2
12	Food safety, veterinary, phytosanitary	2
13	Fisheries	2
14	Transport policy	2
15	Energy	2
16	Taxation	2
17	Economic and monetary policy	2
18	Statistics	2
19	Social Policy and employment	2
20	Enterprise and industrial policy	2
21	Trans-European networks	2
22	Regional policy, structural instruments	2
23	Judiciary and fundamental rights	2
24	Justice, freedom and security	2
25	Science and research	2
26	Education and culture	2
27	Environment and climate change	2
28	Consumer and health protection	2
29	Customs union	2
30	External relations	2
31	Foreign, security and defence policy	2
32	Financial control	2
33	Financial and budgetary provisions	2

**Define *what* happens
when a country meets all these conditions**

Breakthrough two:

Make getting into **Single Market** and **4 Freedoms**
dependent on this



1990

**Four Freedoms for
European democracies**

**People
Goods
Services
Capital**

The Finnish-Norwegian road



Treaty of Rome (1957)



“RESOLVED to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action to **eliminate the barriers** which divide Europe.”

Single market

vision and realities



“The Commission will work with Ukraine **to ensure seamless access to the Single Market.** And vice-versa.”

Ursula von der Leyen, 14 September 2022



“Our Single Market is one of Europe’s greatest success stories. Now **it’s time to make it a success story for our Ukrainian friends, too.**”

“We discussed some of our priority issues. In particular, we are interested in joining the EU single market...We deserve this. While we are on this path towards full EU membership, we would like to join [#EU](#) [#single](#) [#market](#). This is very important for us.”

President [#Zelensky](#)  



Single Market
on path
**towards full
membership**

15 September 2022

Draft Council Conclusions on Enlargement, 24 October 2022

“The Council invites the Commission to prepare a **roadmap** outlining next steps to deepen the sectoral cooperation with Ukraine, including **the integration of Ukraine into the EU internal market.**”

Clarify this in 2023

Vilnius miracle



European tigers

1999

Lithuania	37
Romania	26

European tigers

1999

Lithuania 37

Romania 26

2018

Lithuania 81

Romania 65

What made Vilnius miracle possible?

Full integration in EU **single market**

What made this miracle possible?

Full integration in EU **single market**

Four Freedoms: goods, services, capital and people

Transformation: regulation, administration, daily life

What made this miracle possible?

Full integration in EU **single market**

Four Freedoms: goods, services, capital and people

Transformation: regulation, administration, daily life

EU support

This would be good for everyone



**This is what reformers
in Ukraine and Moldova need**

Goals for spring 2023

Opening talks

**But also: lock in commitment of
merit based full access to
four freedoms / single market / rule of law**



Winter 2022



Spring 2023