

DSE NEWS

|| NEWSLETTER || ISSUE NR. 1 || SPRING 2023 ||

News from DSE and member institutions

This is the first issue of *DSE News*. Its readers will receive it on a semestrial basis – in the Spring and in the Fall. The aim of *DSE News* is for the Danish Association for European Studies-ECSA / Dansk Selskab for Europaforsking (DSE) to connect with interested readers and stakeholders, among which the scholarly community, students, and practitioners. *DSE News* aims at sharing information on the DSE's various activities as well as on activities of its member institutions. DSE, committed to interdisciplinary approaches in European Studies, is interested in sharing information on conferences,

Table of content

P.1 News from DSE and member institutions.
p.3 EU News
p.5 Dates for your agenda

workshops, events, PhD courses; reflections on (selected) current topics in the EU and in Denmark; good reads (good will for writing reviews is welcome!); and important dates, which are recapitulated in the section "Dates for your agenda".

DSE and NAES...

2023 has seen the **collaboration** between the national

associations and academic institutions for

European studies from Denmark, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, move one step forward. For DSE, this means that from now on, conferences will no longer be held on an annual basis but on a biennial basis, alternating with the Nordic Association for European Studies (NAES) conferences. This new rhythm will hopefully contribute to intensify exchanges between the EU scholars of the Nordic region while at the same time continue offering a regular opportunity for Danish scholars in European studies to meet and exchange. Concretely, this means that DSE held its last Annual Conference in 2022. The next DSE conference will take place in 2024.

The **2022 Annual Conference** of the Danish Association for European Studies-ECSA/ Dansk Selskab for Europaforsking (DSE) and its annual General Assembly took place on 3 October 2022 in Aalborg. The Keynote Speaker was Prof. Dr. Sven Biscop, University of Gent, and Director of the 'Europe in the World Programme' at the Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations who offered an interesting talk on 'European security in a new setting'? The talk was following by a stimulating discussion with the participants.

During the **DSE General Assembly**, the [new board](#) was elected. DSE wishes to thank for her longstanding participation in the activities of the association Professor of EU Law Ulla Neergaard (Copenhagen University). Current President, Associate Professor Sevasti



Chatzopoulou (Roskilde University), was reelected for a second term.

In the Fall semester of 2023, the **Nordic Association for European Studies (NAES)** will organize its first inaugural conference. It takes place at the University of South-Eastern Norway, on the Campus of Drammen (1-2 November 2023). The conference topic is "EU-Nordic Relations". The call can be found on the [website](#) of the University of South-Eastern Norway. Please consider organizing a panel or submitting a paper proposal. NAES and DSE hope to see many colleagues in Drammen!

News from RUC...

A **new center** was created at Roskilde University (RUC). The [Centre for Statecraft and International Order](#), headed by Associate Professor Laust Schouenborg (RUC), organizes its research around four programmes: 1. The Legal Foundations of International Order Programme; 2. The Alfred Vagts Programme on Defence, Diplomacy and International Order; 3. The Programme on Past, Present and Alternative International Orders; and 4. Between Statecraft and Global Governance: The Programme on International Bureaucrats and Order Making. DSE wishes the new center

good luck and is looking forward to a dynamic research output.

Federica Mogherini is coming to Roskilde University to talk about EU foreign Policy! [Federica Mogherini](#) is the Rector of the College of Europe and Director of the pilot Programme of the European Diplomatic Academy. She was previously (2014-2019) High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-president for the European Commission. Prior to joining the EU, she was the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation (2014) and a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies (2008-14). Thus, Federica Mogherini has extensive experience of foreign policy, and this is your opportunity to ask her questions.

Everybody is welcome to the event. Contact person: Helene Dyrhauge <dyrhauge@ruc.dk>

Date: Monday 22nd May 2023 – **Time:** 14.00-15.30 – **Place:** building 25 room: 25.2-035.

*

* *

EU News...

Zelensky: One year of war, two European Parliament addresses.

By Magali Gravier, Associate Professor, Copenhagen Business School.

The Ukrainian President gave a speech to the European Parliament (EP) on 9 February 2023. For his second trip abroad since Russia invaded Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, traveled to three European capitals: London, where he addressed the UK parliament; Paris, where he met with French President Emmanuel Macron and German Chancellor Olaf Scholz; and Brussels, where he gave a speech to the EP – his second address to this institution. His first address to the EP took place on 1 March 2022, by video, on the occasion of the Extraordinary Plenary session on the Russian aggression against Ukraine. The address was much awaited by some, although the hemicycle in Brussels was not completely full. Its content and delivery were powerful, but different from the speech of 9 February 2023. International media agree that the war in Ukraine is also a communication war.

A comparison of the speeches shows how communication has changed within one year. The first speech is what one could call a “shock speech”. The Ukrainian president, his country, and Europe are under the shock of the Russian invasion that started on 24 February 2022. It is probably not wrong to say that many Western and NATO countries were wondering how Ukraine would fight back and how long it would take Russia to take control of it. Russia had already annexed Crimea in 2014 without much reaction from NATO or Western countries, and a controversial 2017 [wargame from the RAND corporation](#) had “predicted” that Russia would be able to take over the

capitals of the Baltic countries within 2 or 3 days without NATO having time to react before the invasion was over. Against this rather skeptical and gloomy mood, Zelensky’s speech was assertive and combative: “Nobody is going to break us. We are strong. We are Ukrainians.”¹ The US had offered a few days earlier to evacuate the Ukrainian president who refused, famously answering: [“I need ammunition, not a ride”](#). The first speech to the EP was also very emotional. Zelensky decided not to read his speech; it is unclear how much was improvised. He dared, a bit softly, an argument with words and body language: “There is an expression: European choice of Ukraine. [...] So I would like to hear that from you to us: the Ukrainian choice for Europe, from you” – his hands pointing frontwards and backwards as he says “you” and “us”. The day before, on 28 February 2022, Ukraine had applied for EU membership. His speech the next day gently nudged the European Parliament. As he continued, his intonation became powerful and emotional. “Can you imagine this morning two cruise missiles hit [the] Freedom Square. Dozens of dead ones. This is the price of freedom. We’re fighting just for our land and for our freedom.” As he translated this passage, the interpreter was suddenly taken by his emotions and struggled to refrain from crying. His voice was broken, but he continued conveying Zelensky’s message. On day 6 after the Russian offensive, the speech was strong. It was centered on two main topics: the price the Ukrainian population was already paying, including children

¹ Transcript cross-checked from three sources, [National world](#); [CNN recording with English translation](#), and the [European Parliament’s website](#)’s .srt file, retrieved on 23 Feb. 2023.

("Yesterday, 16 children were killed. [...] what kind of military factories do they work at? What tanks are they going with [...]?"), and the fighting spirit of Ukrainians. It was already clear then that this war is a nation building moment for Ukraine.

A year later, Zelensky has metamorphosed from an almost novice in politics into the chief of a country at war. Two weeks before the anniversary of the Russian invasion, he addresses the European Parliament for the second time. The speech differs from the first one in many respects. He and his team have much more experience with this exercise: between 1 March 2022 and 24 March 2022 alone, Zelensky gave [11 speeches to various parliaments](#). His second EP address is almost twice as long as the previous one (about 800 words for the transcript of the 2022 speech vs about [1500 words for the 2023 speech](#)). Its content is bolder: Zelensky came to the European capitals to ask for weapons and jets. Also, this time, he came in person to the EP. And this time, the hemicycle in Brussels is almost full. Roberta Metsola, President of the EP, in a short introductory speech, offers strong support to the Ukrainian President: "Ukraine is Europe and your nation's future is in the European Union. [...] We have your back. We will be with you for as long as it takes. You will win." No date of accession is given in this speech, but Ukraine has obtained candidate status at the 23 June 2022 European Council meeting – an unthinkable decision before the war. Although Ukraine still relies predominantly [on the USA and the UK](#), the EU and its member states now offer strong military support, even if the [levels of help vary between member states](#). When Zelensky arrived to the EP on 9 February, he was welcomed as an extraordinary guest. His leadership and unflinching resistance to the Russian aggression surprised Western and NATO countries and already made him an historical figure. The Ukrainian anthem was

played soon after he has entered the EP. It was the first time an anthem other than the *Ode to Joy* was played in this building.

After Metsola's speech, Zelensky came down to the podium. This time, he read his speech. But before he started, he looked at the audience and said: "Slava Ukraini!" The [audience immediately responded with one voice](#) "Slava Ukraini!" This time, the Ukrainian president was the one visibly taken by emotions. Unable to speak for a few moments, he struggled to keep his composure. The content of this speech can be analyzed at different levels. An important part of the president's agenda was his request for weapons and jets. But this is not the most dominant part of this speech: he already delivered this message in London and in Paris, and met the EU leaders during the Special European Council meeting. Two other themes in his speech were even more notable. The first is captured by the expression "European way of life". Although his speech was given in Ukrainian, Zelensky actually uttered this phrase in English the first time he used it, as if to reach out more intensely to his audience. There were also a few expressions conveying the idea of belonging, such as "our continent" or "our Europe". The second notable theme of his speech was that of gratitude, captured by such expressions as "I thank you", "I thank everyone", and "I want to thank you".

The expression "European way of life" echoes the much older notion of "American way of life", but shifts the relative positions of Europeans. They are no longer the ones envying a better place to live, they are the ones with a better place to live. At a time when Europe is challenged from the inside, through increasing euro-skeptical opinions, parties, and governments, as well as Brexit, the expression "European way of life" unexpectedly delineated a positive contour to the European identity from its outskirts. A collective identity

always results from a negotiation between the bearers of an identity and the “others” with whom the bearers interact. While the EU seems uncertain about itself, Ukraine reminds us of its significance and desirability. Ukraine’s embrace of Europe and its stand against Putin’s aggression may end up reinforcing or even redefining the EU’s identity.

The theme of gratitude, second theme of Zelensky’s speech, acknowledges the massive disruptions that Russia’s war has inflicted on Europe and its peoples. One year after the beginning of the war, surging prices throughout Europe (the highest inflation rate in the EU reaches [18,6% in Estonia](#)) and uncertainty concerning energy supply raise the issue of public support within member states for the EU’s commitment to Ukraine. European citizens worry about the war and its duration. Despite an overall high level of support, a cleavage in public opinions could develop. In Denmark, pacifists demonstrated on several occasions since the invasion of Ukraine by Russia, [some against NATO membership and asking to drop weapons](#), others, like the [young parties and organizations, demonstrated against the militarization of Europe](#). How to react, as a pacifist, in the face of this war? Can one support Ukraine and be against militarization at the same time? The Romans had a saying: *si vis pacem, para bellum*. In France, [Green MPs](#) and [a hundred left wing French intellectuals](#), traditionally pacifists, now ask for accelerated weapon delivery to Ukraine.

The EU was created as a peacekeeping project; it has ontological difficulties navigating war. The eradication of war within its borders since World War II is one of the EU’s greatest successes. As a result, the armies of its member states are no longer ready for high intensity conflicts. They are running short of ammunition to deliver to Ukraine. Estonian Prime minister, Kaja Kallas, suggested, during the special European Council meeting a common procurement strategy. Member states bordering Russia, some of which former Soviet republics, are the most eager to support Ukraine and Ukrainians, as they fear they could be the next target of Russia’s imperialist revival. Citizens of all member states rightly worry about the war and the consequences it breeds. The ripples of this conflict are impossible to asset for the moment. But it seems inevitable that the EU will need to redefine its attitude towards peace and war. Being a passive peacekeeper may no longer be enough. The EU as a [“seasoned, robust liberal democracy”](#) might need to become a more vigilant peacekeeper in all its troubles zones. In this respect, the war in Ukraine also marks a turning point for the EU. Zelensky’s February address to the EP, with its emphasis on gratitude and the “European way of life”, illustrated this, as evidenced by the EU’s pledge to [“stand by Ukraine with steadfast support for as long as it takes”](#).

*

* *

Dates for your agenda

NAES conference: 1 November 2023-2 November 2023. Deadline for submission: 16 June 2023. Acceptance information: 10 July 2023.

Frederica Mogherini at RUC: Date: 22 May 2023 - Time: 14.00-15.30 - Place: building 25/room: 25.2-035