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EU's Goals and Legitimacy

The Lisbon Treaty Debate in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

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Abstract

This Masters' thesis contributes to the empirical and theoretical academic literature on the debate on European integration in new EU member states. It analyzes Czech and Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty in the parliament and media through a Grounded Theory method of data analysis. Actors' differentiation between two issues in the debate lead to development of two dimensions on which actors positioned themselves – EU's ability to act in national interest and condition of sovereignty and democracy. In order to theorize outcomes of this empirical analysis, this thesis compares them to selected theoretical models, through which their explanatory power is considered. Theorizing with Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) three normative orientations to European integration – intergovernmental, supranational and postnational – shows that this theoretical model can characterize the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate when a differentiation is made between EU's goals and legitimacy within the orientations. This thesis concludes from a comparison of the post-accession debate with Braun's (2008) pre-accession debate model that only a slight change took place in the debate on European integration in these two countries. It became less ideological and more concrete issues of EU's functioning were discussed.

Key words – European integration, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Lisbon Treaty

Length: 23 143 words

Table of Contents

| | | |
|----------|---|----|
| 1 | Introduction | 1 |
| 2 | Research overview | 4 |
| 2.1 | Theoretical framework for thesis' analysis | 4 |
| 2.2 | Other empirical and theoretical research | 7 |
| 2.3 | Contribution of the Master thesis | 8 |
| 3 | Research method | 9 |
| 4 | The Czech and Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 14 |
| 4.1 | Creating two dimensions | 15 |
| 4.1.1 | Indication of two initial categories in Czech debate | 15 |
| 4.1.2 | Confirmation of initial categories in Slovak debate | 16 |
| 4.1.3 | Czech and Slovak initial categories merged | 18 |
| 4.1.4 | Initial theoretical framework considerations | 19 |
| 4.2 | EU ability to act in national interest | 20 |
| 4.2.1 | EU able to act in national interest | 20 |
| 4.2.1.1 | Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 20 |
| 4.2.1.2 | Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 25 |
| 4.2.1.3 | Merging Czech and Slovak debate | 27 |
| 4.2.2 | EU unable to act in national interest | 28 |
| 4.2.2.1 | Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 28 |
| 4.2.2.2 | Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 31 |
| 4.2.2.3 | Merging Czech and Slovak debate | 33 |
| 4.3 | Sovereignty and democracy debate | 35 |
| 4.3.1 | Sovereignty and democracy unchallenged | 35 |
| 4.3.1.1 | Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 35 |
| 4.3.1.2 | Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 39 |
| 4.3.1.3 | Merging Czech and Slovak debate | 40 |
| 4.3.2 | Democracy and sovereignty challenged | 41 |
| 4.3.2.1 | Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 41 |
| 4.3.2.2 | Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty | 43 |
| 4.3.2.3 | Merging Czech and Slovak debate | 45 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 4.3.3 In-between views | 46 |
| 4.4 Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate summarized | 49 |
| 4.5 Validity of the analysis of the Lisbon Treaty debate | 51 |
| 5 Conclusion | 53 |
| Executive Summary | 55 |
| Bibliography | 60 |
| Appendices | 65 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| CFSP | Common Foreign Security Policy |
| ČSSD | Czech Social and Democratic Party |
| ERM II | exchange-rate mechanism II |
| EU | European Union |
| High Representative | High Representative of the Union for Common Foreign and Security Policy |
| HZDS | People's Party – Movement for a Democratic Slovakia |
| IR | International Relations |
| KDH | Christian Democratic Movement |
| KDÚ-ČSL | Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party |
| KSČM | Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia |
| KSS | Slovak Communist Party |
| NR SR | National Council of the Slovak Republic |
| ODS | Civic Democratic Party |
| PSP ČR | Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic |
| QMV | qualified majority voting |
| SDKÚ-DS | Slovak Christian and Democratic Union – Democratic Party |
| Senate | Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic |
| Smer-SD | Smer – Social Democracy |
| SMK | Party of the Hungarian Coalition |
| SNS | Slovak National Party |
| SZ | Green Party |

1 Introduction

After the end of communist regime isolation from Western Europe, Central and Eastern European countries endeavoured to adopt a Western style of functioning of state and society – symbolized by the metaphor “return to Europe” - with larger or smaller success. The Czech Republic and Slovakia are two out of ten postcommunist countries which have up until this point achieved membership in the European Union (EU), one of the “return to Europe” goals. Although these countries share common history within one state, attitudes towards the EU are perceived in both general public and political science knowledge to be very dissimilar. The Czech Republic is considered to be a Eurosceptic country, whereas a pro-European consensus, where European integration is not questioned, is thought to be shared by main opinion-making elites in Slovakia.

The detailed analysis aims of Political Science go beyond this general and descriptive knowledge. It seeks to provide an analytic tool – in other words, a simplified abstract explanation of the volume of words expressed in a debate which enables one to quickly understand the viewpoint and argumentation logic. There is empirical literature analysing the Czech and Slovak debate on European integration available, but there are only few academic accounts which comprehensively theoretically analyze outcomes of their empirical findings. Moreover, while there is some research about the post-accession debate, most of the academic literature deal with period before the Czech Republic and Slovakia became EU members in May 2004. Realizing these deficiencies, I chose to analyze the debate on European integration in these two countries on the recent debate on the ratification of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, so called the Lisbon Treaty¹. The choice of the debated issue was influenced an assumption that opinion of an actor on the Lisbon Treaty, which is a concrete issue, is influenced by his/her general views on how the European integration and how it should develop. In order to contribute not only to empirical, but also to theoretical knowledge, this Masters’ thesis theorized its outcomes in relation to two selected theoretical models through which it considers the explanatory power of a general model of debate on European integration, and it analyzes the changes in the EU debate since the accession.

Since the Lisbon Treaty has stimulated debate which has occurred at multiple times in numerous places within both countries and the scope of this Masters’ thesis research is limited in that , this paper analyzes only parliamentary and media debates shortly before a ratification vote in the Czech and Slovak parliament. Empirical material is constituted by parliamentary session

1 In further text the term Lisbon Treaty is used to refer to these two treaties.

debates and opinion articles from two traditional newspapers in each country. The research questions, which outline methodologically and theoretically this thesis, were posed as follows: *How can parliamentary and media debate about the Lisbon Treaty ratification in the Czech Republic and Slovakia be conceptualized? How can it be theorized in intergovernmental, supranational and post-national normative orientations on European integration and EU democracy (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007)? Does the debate indicate continuation or change in the pre-accession meta-narratives about modernity and sovereignty, which Braun (2008) identified?* These indicate that the research problem is analyzed from a social constructivist perspective, i.e. how the EU and European integration is constructed by actors. The empirical material was analyzed through a Grounded Theory research method. Its final outcomes were then analyzed in relation to theoretical models mentioned in the research question. This stage considered the explanatory power of Eriksen and Fossum (2004, 2007) and Braun's (2008) models for the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate.

Therefore, this study has a twofold contribution to political science. Firstly, it contributes to empirical knowledge by creating an abstract model and categories characterising the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate. Secondly, it engages in academic discourse because it analyzes the explanatory power of two theoretical models in circumstances under which they have not been previously tested. This Masters' thesis shows that the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate was structured in a two dimensional model where actors discussed both whether the *EU can act in national interest* (which was identified with actors' perception of national interest) and the *condition of sovereignty and democracy*. Analysis of the two dimensions showed that actors may distinguish between EU goals and its legitimacy and so they can adopt different normative orientation on European integration (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007). These two dimensions of the Lisbon Treaty debate are similar to modernity and sovereignty meta-narratives, which Braun (2008) identified in his pre-EU-accession debate research. However, the models are not identical, because the Lisbon Treaty debate was less ideological and there was more discussion regarding the concrete issues of EU's functioning. In this way, the Czech and Slovak status as member states shaped the debate on the EU. These conclusions are an outcome of limited research, conclusions of this thesis however indicate how the debate on European integration can be characterised by the two theoretical models.

This thesis is structured as follows: The second chapter considers relevant literature and in greater detail elaborates the two theoretical models on European integration – Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) three perspectives and Braun's (2008) model of pre-accession debate – against which this thesis analyzes its outcomes. The third chapter acquaints with the selection of data and research method. The fourth chapter follows with an analysis of the Lisbon Treaty debate

while, at the same time, theorizes its outcomes in relation to the two theoretical models. The end of this analytical chapter summarizes its outcomes and it considers the validity of this thesis research. The fifth chapter concludes the outcomes of the thesis and discusses the potential for further future research.

2 Research Overview

A considerable amount of research about the Czech Republic and Slovakia is available on a variety of topics. Although most of it could be characterized as empirical research, I have found two approaches in the research overview phase, which provide suitable theoretical and analytical tools for an empirical research project, on which I can base my analysis of the Lisbon Treaty ratification debate in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The structure of this chapter is as follows: firstly, I summarize two theoretical models against which the outcomes of this thesis will be analyzed. After I have outlined how I build my research on these models, in the second part of the chapter, I shortly assess other empirical research. The research overview is concluded with a deliberation of this research will contribute to the existing research.

2.1 Theoretical framework for thesis' analysis

The first relevant theoretical model, which was studied in the literature overview, is Eriksen & Fossum's conceptualization, in which the authors outline three logics of integration and strategies of legitimation (2004) and models of EU democracy (2007). The first normative preference is intergovernmental. Its proponents in ideal case see the EU as a problem-solving institution where nation-states delegate competency to the EU to solve perceived problems they are facing. In this model legitimacy is “derived from the democratic character of the member states” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2007, 12) and the EU's legitimacy is related to its performance. States are expected to retain their right of veto and confer on the EU technical-economic competences (i.e. areas of low politics) and, if at all, limited competences in foreign and security policy.

The second logic conceives the EU as value-based community, for which “to be legitimate a *common identity* [i.e. a symbolic collective “we”] is needed for securing *trust*. It is required to enable actors to cooperate and to let their differences be settled in neutral procedures.” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 442) In this logic, there will be direct democracy in the EU founded on basic rights; will formation (including a European-wide discourse); and “norm enforcement and policy implementation which will be institutionalized at both core levels of government (member state and European).” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2007, 17)

The third logic, inspired by Habermasian discourse theory, views the EU as a post-national community based on a cosmopolitan conception of democracy. In this logic, legitimacy is

ensured as:

“such an order can ensure compliance and consent through a series of ‘soft’ mechanisms, ranging from a worldwide moral consensus on the protection of human rights, via consultancy, deliberation and problem-solving in transnational structures of governance, to the institutionalised procedures for authoritative decision-making in intergovernmental and supranational institutions, which are similar to the ones that at the national level confer legitimacy upon results.” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2007, 20)

These three logics do not have to be strictly separated and overlap in real life; for example, in his research, Conrad (2009) applies a model in which intergovernmental and postnational logic overlap with supranational. I chose Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model as the first theoretical framework because the three normative preferences are developed enough to be able to theorize outcomes of this thesis research using this model. At the same time - despite the fact, that it was developed in the context of the debate about the Constitutional Treaty - they are general enough to characterize normative orientations on the European integration in any EU member state at any point of time.

The second theoretical conceptualisation, which was chosen for this Masters' thesis, is an outcome of Grounded Theory research of discourse on European integration before accession to the EU in the Czech Republic, Sweden, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary. Braun (2008) identifies two meta-narratives (modernity and sovereignty) around which the discourse in these countries is structured. Modernity is elaborated in the first two proposals quoted below (Braun, 2008, 12) and sovereignty in the third and fourth proposal.

1. *'The EU as instrument'* – The EU is understood as the rational instrument to use in order to achieve progress in a wide sense and to be able either to catch up with more developed countries or maintain a certain position *vis-à-vis* other countries. The alternative would be irrational and lead to stagnation and isolation.
2. *'The EU as a hindrance'* – The EU is a hindrance because it forces an ideological project on its member states. This might lead to policy outcomes undesired by the country's citizens.
3. *'The EU as a natural unit'* - The EU is understood as a natural political unit, but one that does not challenge the existence of the nation state.
4. *'The EU as an artificial unit'* – The EU is understood as an unnatural political construction that challenges the natural unit, the nation state, since some sovereignty is handed over to this political entity.

By comparing outcomes of the Lisbon Treaty debate analysis to Braun's (2008) model, this thesis considers how the debate has developed since a state became EU member. The comparison is relevant, because it will discuss outcomes of two qualitative researches conducted by a Grounded Theory method of data analysis in respective countries. We have to be aware, however, that the compared researches are not equal and are another consequence of the limited scope of the Masters' thesis. Firstly, Braun (2008) applied a theoretical sampling of a larger research analysis of an additional three countries – Poland, Hungary and Sweden (beyond the Czech Republic and Slovakia study conducted over a longer period). Secondly, the Slovak debate was incorporated into Braun's (2008) conceptualization, not via analysis of primary sources, through secondary material: academic research. These methodological differences are not so fundamental as to disable the comparability of this thesis research and Braun's (2008) ;where I would consider whether or not occur a change occurred in the Czech and Slovak debate on European integration after the accession to the EU.

In addition, a closer inspection of Braun's (2008) proposals discloses that they include instrumental reasoning (used by Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) intergovernmental perspective) or contextual reasoning (argumentation strategy in supranational perspective) or both. Clearly, the first proposal includes intergovernmental and supranational perspectives, whereas the second argues that the EU cannot provide solutions for nation states' problems solely intergovernmentally. The third proposal refers to shared values and could be connected to supranational logic. As the fourth proposal claims that the EU challenges state sovereignty, it argues in intergovernmental perspective that EU integration should roll back (i.e. downscale) (Eriksen & Fossum, 2007, 15). So, Braun's (2008) findings show that Eriksen and Fossum's perspectives (2004, 2007) could theorize outcomes from a Grounded Theory debate analysis, and so can be used by this thesis. Presence of two perspectives in argumentation indicates an overlap between perspectives. Conrad (2009), for example, used such a flexible interpretation of Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) ideal perspectives in order to be able to study real life. Therefore, this thesis can also utilize overlaps, for the research of the parliamentary and media debates on the Lisbon Treaty in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Theorizing with Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model and Braun's (2008) pre-accession debate model was not sufficient for this research and in order to gain further relevant knowledge, other research was consulted, a discussion of which is provided below.

2.2 Other empirical and theoretical research

There are several other academic accounts which deal with the discourse in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Unless indicated, research, which is mentioned in this subheading below, can be characterized as empirical research (i.e. research which contributes to the understanding of a topic, but it does not engage in more comprehensive theoretical discussion). Several academic accounts dealing with the Czech Republic -which analyze explicitly the Constitutional Treaty (Liebert, 2008, 28-29 and 53-54) and its successor the Lisbon Treaty - were found, (Maršič, 2009). However, no research was found on this topic in relation to Slovakia . Another theoretically-interesting research is Drulák's (2006) quantitative and qualitative analysis of metaphors in the discourse on the future of Europe, which analyzes speeches of the highest political leaders, delivered in connection with EU's constitutional convention. It identifies four metaphors, which were used: *motion* – neofunctional view; *container* – supranational view; *equilibrium* – intergovernmental view; *corporation* – EU as a business organization. Although Drulák's (2006) analysis is not appropriate for this thesis research design as a theoretical basis, it is relevant, especially because the *container* and *equilibrium* metaphors have their equivalents in the Eriksen and Fossum' (2004, 2007) model.

The second category of relevant empirical research deals with analysis of debate on the EU generally. There are a few more current research accounts from the period after the Czech (Beneš & Karlas, 2009; Král & Bartovic & Říháčková, 2009) and Slovak accession to the EU (Houghton & Malová, 2007). In addition, there are several pre-accession studies, which analyze EU debate generally (Drulák, 2001) or focus on Euroscepticism and debate the relationship of political party positions to public opinion (Henderson, 2001; Novotna, 2007; Pridham 2002, Linden & Pohlman, 2003). Several empirical research accounts analyze the EU debate in the case of both the Czech and Slovak accession referendum, which provided a good opportunity for information (Henderson, 2004; Hanley, 2004; Illner et al., 2006)².

On the other hand, several works on the influence of EU's conditionality in relation to development before and after the accession deepen theoretical discussion between rationalists and social constructivists. These studies provided exemplary insights for this thesis on how the outside world can be characterized by theories. The following issues were explained by rationalist approaches in the research: successes and failures of liberal-democratic transformation in Central and East Central Europe (Schimmelfenning, 2005), introduction of the Euro in new member states (Johnson, 2008) and historical institutionalism and the slow pace of reform of self-government and

² Braun's (2008) research is not enumerated in this category, because analysis of the Czech/ EU accession referendum debate was just first stage in analysis, which was widened in time and to other countries by the Grounded Theory research method, where findings from the data lead selection of further data in, so called, theoretical sampling.

civil service in the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Scherpereel, 2009). On the other hand, Dimitrova & Rhinard (2005) identify sociological institutionalism to explain delays in the transposition of anti-discrimination EU directives in Slovakia. Pridham (2008a, 2008b) concludes from a study of EU conditionality on Slovakia in several issues - before and after the EU accession - that both, rationalist and constructivist approaches, have a partial explanatory power.

In order to be able to analyze the Czech and Slovak Lisbon-Treaty debate, related research had to be consulted before the analysis, in order that I was familiarized with different aspects of political science knowledge on the Czech Republic and Slovakia. For example, I have consulted research on political culture generally (Holý, 2001; Miháliková, 2002; Miháliková, 2005; Rákos, 2001) attitudes to democracy (e.g. Klicperová-Baker, 2009; Wagner, 2006; Whitefield & Evans, 1999), the relation of the Central European parties to European political parties (Pridham, 1999; Delsoldato, 2002) and the relationship of the Catholic church to politics (Enyedi & O'Mahony, 2005).

2.3 Contribution of the Masters' thesis

The above discussed research overview touches on the areas of research which will be useful for this thesis, and also chooses Eriksen and Fossum (2004, 2007) and Braun (2008) to be a theoretical framework against which outcomes of Lisbon Treaty debate analysis will be compared. A question, which comes into mind is why such research should be done and how can it contribute to current knowledge? In addition to the fact, that there has been little research done on the EU debate after the Czech and Slovak accession, a large part of the available research is only loosely embedded in theoretical discussions, as the research overview showed.

Comparing outcomes to the academically respected Eriksen & Fossum model (2004, 2007) could make my analysis comparable with research in other states. At the same time, this thesis has not disregarded theoretical research about the pre-accession discourse on European unity (Braun, 2008), because it will consider whether change in the debate has occurred since the Czech Republic and Slovakia became EU members.

3 Research Method

Before the analysis of the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate in the parliament and media and discussion its findings to European and pre-accession debate on European integration could begin, I had to clarify the selection of data and how it was going to analyze them. This chapter discusses these methodological choices.

Since there no research was found, which would analyze the Czech or Slovak debate on European integration after the accession to the EU or the Lisbon Treaty concretely, I decided to contribute to that knowledge through this Masters' thesis. For analysing this, qualitative research was chosen, the goal of which is "less to test what is already known (for example, theories already formulated in advance), but to discover and develop the new and to develop empirically grounded theories." (Flick, 2006, 15) The analysis of arguments in the debate aims to research the EU and European integration are constructed in the debate, which represents a social constructivist approach to analysis of social reality. This Masters' thesis researches focuses on one of three contributions of this theory to a better understanding of the EU identified by Risse (2004, 165-166); "focusing on communicative practices permits us to examine more closely, how Europe and the EU are constructed discursively and how actors try to come to grips with the meaning of European integration." Although analysis of the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate will also reflect the other two contributions of social constructivism - "impact [of Europeanization] on statehood" perceived by actors and "how European integration shapes social identities and interests of actors" (Risse, 2004, 165) –, this thesis will not focus on these aspects, because it would require a larger research project with more data and several research methods.

The focus on the social constructivist analysis of the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate implies that the underlying theoretical position of this research is symbolic interactionism, whose "empirical starting point is the subjective meaning individuals attribute to their activities and their environments." (Flick, 2006, 66). Following this realization, Grounded Theory was selected as a research method partly because its epistemology is influenced (according to Corbin and Strauss (2008, 2)) by symbolic interactionism and pragmatism, which studies "the act itself and the relationship of thought to the act". Advantage of this method, which includes discovering categories and analysing categories their properties, dimensions and relationships between them, is that it "can contribute to the development of a deeper understanding of the content and meaning of the text beyond paraphrasing and summarizing it (which would be the central approaches in the qualitative content analysis [...])" (Flick, 2006, 305-306)

The various limitations of a Masters' thesis research, such as time, scope of research and financial limitations, mean that it can not develop a theory grounded in the data, i.e. the strict application of the method which requires asking a broad research question, which “identifies the phenomenon to be studied”, (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 41) and narrowing it down through a process of theoretical sampling based on emerging concepts, until it is not saturated, i.e. “when no new information seems to emerge during coding, that is, when no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences are seen in the data.” (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 136) Instead, the Grounded Theory is utilized as a research method for analysis of selected data, so this thesis will not run into “potential endless options for coding and comparisons” (Flick, 2006, 306), a disadvantage of this research method.

When analysis of the data was completed, its outcomes were then theorized through both the Eriksen and Fossum (2004, 2007) model and Braun's (2008) model. In this stage, I scrutinized validity of these two models with the aim of indicating whether assumptions of the general European model (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007) and pre-accession debate (Braun, 2008) can conceptualize the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate whether modification is needed. By doing this, I began my research project with preconceived theories in mind which I validated and further elaborated, on which Corbin and Strauss (1998, 12) suggest Grounded Theory can be utilized. Corbin and Strauss (1998, 24) outline validation as “a process of comparing concepts and their relationships against data during the research act to determine how well they stand up to such scrutiny.” (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 24) The two theories served for this thesis as a tool for enhancing sensitivity “to subtle nuances in data” (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 49). In other words, I knew on which aspects to focus in the data, but they were systematically compared only against final outcomes of data analysis, so that the literature did not hinder creativity (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 49-52), i.e. the wrong application of the research method.

With the aim of maximization of the quality of data for a limited Masters' thesis research, two sources were selected on basis of Flick's (2006, 248) criteria of: authenticity; credibility; representativeness; and clear and comprehensible meaning. The first source selected was parliamentary debate before the ratification vote, in order to reflect a variety of relevant political actors' opinions on the Lisbon Treaty. More precisely, it was the 19th session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic (Národná rada Slovenskej republiky - NR SR) from 29th - 30th January 2008³, the 46th session of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic (Poslanecká sněmovna parlamentu České republiky – PSP ČR) from 17th - 18th February 2009⁴ and

3 Records and transcripts of sessions of the National Council of the Slovak Republic are downloaded from: <http://www.nrsr.sk/default.aspx?sid=schodze/rozprava> [online], 2010 January 20th.

4 Records and transcripts of sessions of the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic are

the 6th session of the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic (further referred as the Senate) from 6th May 2010⁵. Here, with unrestricted access to the debate for the government, coalition and opposition parliamentarians, the media reported on the debates or transmitted them live on the Czech TV which meant that opinions were heard not only by persons present in the plenary room, but also by the general public.

The second source of data was selected with the aim of including part of the public debate, which not only discusses the author's opinions, but also may scrutinize politicians. The advantage of increasing the representativeness of the data lead to the decision to include articles from printed media, which are accessible in library archives, despite methodological disadvantages of using media as data which, according to the agenda-setting theory, “present a limited view of the larger environment, something like the highly limited view of the outside world available through the narrow slit windows of some contemporary buildings.” (McCombs, 2004, 21-22) I decided on using opinion articles, whose function is to express opinion (contrary to informative function of reportages) from two traditional daily newspapers per country with different political viewpoints and the highest shares of circulation in relevant time. On the basis of circulation statistics from a media portal⁶ and from Transparency International Slovak media analysis⁷ (there was no research on the Slovak media on European issues found), there were selected *SME*, a newspaper inclined to the right, and *Pravda*, a newspaper inclined to the left. From the Czech Republic *Mladá Fronta DNES* (*MF DNES*) and *Právo* were selected according to circulation statistics of the Czech Publishers' Association⁸ and outcomes of a research of media debate on the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe (Rakušanová, 2007). According this research, members of the Government Czech Social and Democratic Party (ČSSD) were “quite often” authors of the articles or passively mentioned in *Právo* which devoted less space to the president, a key actor in the debate. Articles of the *MF DNES*, however, were more balanced, although “members of the opposition [the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSČM)] were given slightly more space.” (Rakušanová, 2007, 346) The analyzed period, from which articles were selected, was two weeks before the first analyzed debate on the Lisbon Treaty was held in the parliament until one week after the approval vote. According to this criteria, 30 articles dealing with the Lisbon Treaty were selected from *SME*, 22 from *Pravda*, 25 from *MF DNES* and 28 from *Právo* (see appendix 2).

downloaded from: <http://www.psp.cz/eknih/2006ps/stenprot/> [online] 2010 January 20th.

5 Transcripts of sessions of the Senate of the Czech Republic are downloaded from: <http://www.senat.cz/xqw/xervlet/pssenat/finddoc> [online], 2010 January 20th.

6 Stratégie ONLINE [online]. http://www.strategie.sk/showdoc.do?docid=40&citanost_tlace=2008 . 2010 February 22nd.

7 Transparency International [online]. <http://spw.blog.sme.sk/> . 2010 June 2nd.

8 Unie vydavatelů [online]. <http://www.uvdt.cz/Default.aspx?section=30&server=1&article=103> 2010 February 22nd .

Having justified the selection of data and research method, I am now going to elaborate the research process. As I was not familiar with the parliamentary debate and articles, I decided to conduct a global analysis, a supplementary research method, the aim of which is to “obtain an overview of thematic range of the text, which is to be analyzed” (Flick, 2006, 315) and is (according to Flick (2006, 315)) compatible with theoretical coding, i.e. Grounded Theory. I not only familiarized myself with the data and collected some key words, central concepts and statements during this first reading, but this knowledge also enabled me to make some decisions in relation to the main analysis by Grounded Theory method. Firstly, because the Lisbon Treaty itself was subject of the Czech debate, and no domestic issues were discussed in connection to it (as happened in Slovakia), I decided to analyze the Czech debate first and then follow with Slovakia. Secondly, since the opinion articles reflected the parliamentary debate and politicians' views generally, I decided to start with analysis of the parliamentary debate in both countries and then undertook analysis of articles.

Following these decisions, I started analysing the data through Grounded Theory, which includes two types of coding, which I will further explain and exemplify. One example is open coding, during which “data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, and compared for similarities and differences. Events, happenings, objects and actions/interactions that are found to be conceptually similar in nature or related in meaning are grouped under one abstract concepts termed “categories.”” (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 102). I followed the research process elaborated by Corbin and Strauss (1998), where the analyst starts with identifying concepts; labelled phenomena, which are “an abstract representation of an event, object, or action/interaction that a researcher identifies as being significant in the data.” (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 103). This is done with help of microanalysis, a detailed line-by-line analysis of the data, which is utilized mainly in the beginning of the analysis and later if necessary. For example, if advocates of the Lisbon Treaty claimed in the Czech parliamentary debate that member states decide unanimously to give competences to the EU (e.g. Sefzig, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th) and decision-making in key national competences remains unanimous (e.g. Svoboda, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th), these and similar arguments were subsumed under *competence delegation* concept, because they argue the member states decide on delegation of competences to the EU, not the supranational EU organs such as the European Commission or the European Parliament. The second step in open coding is development of categories, i.e. more abstract concepts, from the identified concepts later in analysis stage. I will continue with the example of *competence delegation* concept, which is graphically illustrated in Table 1 (Appendix 1). I saw, that this and other advocates' concepts (*mutual respect*, big member

states can not create *QMV*⁹ majority alone, the Lisbon Treaty *compromise, developing integration* through compromises, *Czech sovereign decision...*)¹⁰ could be characterized by an argument that sovereignty of member states will not be challenged by the EU functioning under the Lisbon Treaty. I named this concept as *sovereignty unchallenged*. Since it had attributes of a more abstract concept, I created a category from it.

The second type of Grounded Theory coding is axial coding, which “is the act of relating categories to subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions.” (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 124) The subcategories answer “questions about the phenomenon such as when, where, why, who, how and with what consequences, thus giving the concept greater explanatory power.” (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 125) Continuing with the *sovereignty unchallenged* category (see Table 1 in appendix 1; for a detailed explanation see the chapter 4), whereas *competence delegation, mutual respect, QMV majority* conceptualize sovereignty in functioning of the EU, *compromise and developing integration* refer to neofunctional compromise-based character of the European integration, and *sovereign decision* argues that member states should make a sovereign deliberation whether or not to ratify an EU treaty. These three subcategories, which deal with different impacts of European integration on state sovereignty, have a common consequence that state *sovereignty is unchallenged* by European integration, which affirms it as a category. The axial coding also includes a second process, too, which is “[l]ooking for cues in the data that denote how major categories might relate to each other”. (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 126). For example, advocates of the Lisbon Treaty approval challenged opponents’ claims about loss of national sovereignty, which they were aware of and referred to them in the speeches: “[t]he Treaty opponents often support [their attitude] on fear of loss of sovereignty and formation of a superstate. Excuse me, but the fact if it was so, an overwhelming majority of Europe would not have approved the Treaty.”¹¹ (Svoboda, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th) And, conversely, opponents challenged advocates' views. Because of this, opposing categories – *sovereignty unchallenged* and *sovereignty challenged* – were created (see Table 1 in Appendix 1).

Although I did not initially apply axial coding in the beginning of the analysis, when some categories became visible, I started to utilize the method and ultimately I used both codings in turns. Shortcomings and advantages of this thesis research design are discussed after the analysis of research outcomes, so that the evaluation is based on the findings.

9 Abbreviation of Qualified Majority Voting.

10 See Table 1 (Appendix 1).

11 The main text of the Masters' thesis includes my own translations into English, if not indicated otherwise. The authentic text in other languages is in Appendix 2.

4 The Czech and Slovak Debate on the Lisbon Treaty

This chapter analyzes the parliamentary and newspaper debates the Czech Republic surrounding the Lisbon Treaty, which took place shortly before and after the ratification vote in the parliament in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The findings, on which this chapter is based, are an outcome of a Grounded Theory data analysis according to Corbin and Strauss (1998, 2008) from my familiarization with the data during global analysis (as was elaborated on in the methodological chapter (see chapter 3)). The analysis follows the research process in the sense that it always analyzes the Czech debate first, then the Slovak debate. In the end, it makes conclusions by merging findings from the two debates.

Although empirical literature did not guide the process of data analysis, in order to prevent the researcher from making omissions in the data (see chapter 3), this chapter discusses other research, to ensure the analysis is more academically embedded. Besides engaging in discussion with the relevant empirical literature in the analysis, this chapter includes a discussion of this thesis' outcomes within two theoretical models so that it is related to European debate (beyond Czech and Slovak national debate), and beyond the specific issue of the Lisbon Treaty at a certain point in time. The former theoretical widening is based on Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) general model of intergovernmental, supranational and postnational normative preferences towards European integration. The second theoretical widening – beyond specific issue at a certain point in time – is undertaken using Braun's (2008) model of the pre-EU-accession debate (see 2.2). As the scope of Masters' thesis research is very limited, its research can not make definite statements. It can, however, indicate how the debates in the Czech Republic and Slovakia have developed since they became EU members in May 2004.

The chapter is structured as follows: first, the emergence of two dimensions in the empirical data is analyzed and discussed in relation to theoretical framework chosen for this Masters' thesis. The next parts are devoted to detailed analysis of categories, because one of main characteristics of Grounded Theory method is the development of abstract categories through in depth analysis of their properties, dimensions and relationship with each other (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). The detailed analysis refers to Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model throughout the chapter. Analysis of each category concludes its meaning and summarizes its interpretation in light of Eriksen and Fossum (2004, 2007) model and compares it with the respective Braun's (2008) proposal from pre-accession debate. The fourth subheading summarizes the analysis in this chapter and makes conclusions regarding the outcomes of the empirical research of the this thesis. The fifth

subheading includes consideration of the validity of this Masters' thesis research.

4.1 Creating two dimensions

4.1.1 Indication of two initial categories in Czech debate

The global analysis indicated that some actors did not express a clear yes or no view of the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, but, instead, they reasoned “although, I do/think ...”. I decided to devote my attention to this in the Grounded Theory analysis of the Czech debate, which was analyzed before the Slovak.

The Czech data showed that some actors, who in overall evaluation supported the Lisbon Treaty ratification, differentiated between two issues: which are initial categories¹². On the one hand, they considered the Czech reputation in the EU as a reliable partner and argued in favour of an active approach to EU politics at domestic and European level. On the other hand, they acknowledged that the Lisbon treaty is not perfect and/or that some provisions weaken Czech sovereignty and power in the EU. After deliberation, they came to the conclusion that advantages override the disadvantages: i.e. they were in favour of the Lisbon Treaty ratification. For example Mirek Topolánek, the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic then from the ODS:

“The right of veto ceases to be applied in some areas with the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and, at the same time, the voting power of big member states is strengthened from 2017. It's unpleasant. But not of crucial importance. The right of veto is not really used and I know, what I am talking about. It is always necessary to have allies on your side. A state that would remain completely isolated with its opinion is to find itself under immense pressure, and that's right. It is necessary to form coalitions, it is necessary to search for allies, it is necessary to put through our views in this wide discussion. We need to have the power to put through actively changes, which we want, not just passively resist those which we reject.”(Topolánek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th)

This view was presented not only by several ODS politicians (Sobotka, *Senate*, 2009

12 I call these two different issues, upon which actors differentiated, initial categories, since because they are not clearly developed; , neither is clear are their character, range and other properties, (which will be analyzed below). Later on, when these issues are clarified, they are called categories, which, as the analysis shows, are located on in one of two dimensions.

May 6th; Grulich, *ibid.*; Sušický, *ibid.*;) and one politician from the KSČM (Balín, *ibid.*) in the parliamentary debate, but also by some writers of newspaper articles, who are not officially associated with any political party (Mitrofanov, *Právo*, 2009 February 9th; Fišera, *MF DNES*, 2009 May 6th; Hanák, *Právo*, 2009 May 13th).

4.1.2 Confirmation of initial categories in Slovak debate

The statement “although . . . , I do/think . . .” was then analyzed in Slovakia. There, opposition parties demanded changes in the press law proposal, which, in their opinion, restricted freedom of press. Moreover, they demanded more respect for and dialogue with opposition in exchange for the SDKÚ-DS and SMK votes, which were required for the ratification by the constitutional majority. The boycott was joined not only by advocates of ratification of the Lisbon Treaty – the Slovak Christian and Democratic Union – Democratic Party (SDKÚ-DS) and the Party of the Hungarian Coalition (SMK)¹³ – but also by a ratification opponent – the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH). How was this move justified by the SDKÚ-DS and the SMK in a country, where there is a political consensus on pro-European attitude? In order to be able to analyze the justification, first, I have to explain situation in which this boycott took place.

Continuation of the pre-accession pro-European integration political consensus (e.g. Henderson, 2004; Drulák, 2001) was confirmed after the EU accession by smooth ratification of the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe in the Slovak Parliament without was any “passionate” public discussion about the Treaty¹⁴. The only serious criticism in the parliamentary debate was expressed by the KHD¹⁵ (Pataj, *SME*, 2005 May 12th). It represented traditional-conservative Euroscepticism, one out of three potential soft Euroscepticisms¹⁶ in Slovakia¹⁷ identified by Drulák (2001, 54-55). The consensus continued after a change of government in June 2006 despite the fact that a pro-European commitment of the new government parties was dubious, because they had

13 When the text below will refer to boycotting party, the SDKÚ-DS and the SMK are meant, because the KDH would have voted against ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and therefore, its abstention was not boycotting its approval.

14 Aneta Antušová, an expert on European integration, stated for a newspaper that, in her opinion, this absence of vivid public discussion was caused by the fact that “no political party did not manage to make a serious discussed topic in public debate.” (Pataj, *SME*, 2005 May 12th)

15 A smaller Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) also opposed the ratification, but this political party is not an established relevant political party, because it got just was elected just once into the Slovak parliament in the period 2002-2006 with 6,32% of votes (Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky [online], 2002).

16 In contrast to hard Euroscepticism, which rejects EU membership, soft Euroscepticism is characterised by Henderson (2001, 20) in her research of Slovak pre-accession debate as position which “does not reject membership per se, but embraces rhetoric which articulates substantial criticism of aspects of the accession process or of the implications of membership.”

17 The other possible Euroscepticisms in Slovakia are the liberal critique and the socialist-populist critique.

occasionally presented critical Eurosceptic statements before entering government¹⁸. The pro-European profile was very important for the SDKÚ-DS and the SMK, because, except for harmonisation in taxation and social policy, they had a strong pro-European integration profile (Haughton & Malová, 2007, 70). Moreover, their voters were strongly in favour of the EU (Henderson, 2004, 660). According to Pridham (1999), relations with partners in the European People's Party and pro-European profile are important for these right-wing parties since Mečiarism when transnational party cooperation “acquired a surrogate function, given unproductive line of the Mečiar government and its risk of isolating the country from mainstream EU politics.” (Pridham, 1999, 1236) Later, they served “as an unofficial channel for influencing EU entry.” (Pridham, 1999, 1235)

Returning back to the Lisbon Treaty ratification boycott, the SDKÚ-DS and the SMK justified their boycott as follows: although they (e.g. Csáky, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Kukan, *ibid.*; Hort, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th) acknowledged support for the Lisbon Treaty ratification and pro-European integration commitment, they argued that their commitment to democracy in Slovakia, the quality of which has worsened, is more important for to them than having potential disputes with European partners and leading to damage to their pro-European reputation. This claim is exemplified by the vice-chairman of the Slovak Parliament from the SDKÚ-DS:

“I would like to say that minimally the same way as is indubitable our responsibility for European Community and further development in it, than minimally the same large is our responsibility for state of democracy in our country. And here we have to say that that the state is serious if not critical.” (Hort, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th)

This distinguishing the between two issues was confirmed later by the SMK, when it betrayed the boycott. The party justified its move by increasing the importance of its pro-European commitment (Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 April 11th; Morvay, *SME*, 2008 April 12th). All in all, there were two aspects in the Slovak debate which actors distinguished and balanced in their speeches: domestic and European political interests versus concern for democracy at national level.

18 Leading government party, social democratic Smer-SD, did had a “mild flirtation with soft Euroscepticism” (Henderson, 2004, 655) in 2002 election. One of his coalition partners, the People's Party – Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) with Vladimír Mečiar as chairman (prime Prime minister Minister in 1994-1998, under whose government violations of democratic principles happened and Slovakia was not invited to begin EU accession negotiations for not fulfilling Copenhagen democracy criterion), turned from soft Eurosceptic (Henderson, 2001, 22-23) to pro-European, after it was made “uncoalitionable” (Henderson, 2004, 656) after 1998 election, where it was defeated by pro-European parties. The second coalition partner Slovak National Party (SNS) also refrained from sound EU criticism in the government since 2006, although it expressed a critical attitude to the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe for media in 2005 (SNS, 2005) and earlier views of this party were classified by Henderson (2001, 22) as “verging increasingly on hard euroscepticism, [which] occupies a position most nearly comparable to the far right of the British Conservative Party.”

4.1.3 Czech and Slovak initial categories merged

If character of two differentiated issues, with which actors in the Czech Republic and Slovakia worked, is compared, Slovak reasoning in favour of the Lisbon Treaty – economic and political interests to engage in the EU affairs at national and European level – is similar to Czech argumentation – Czech reputation as reliable partner and active participation in the EU are important. It regards active participation in EU affairs at national and European level as positive. On the other hand, what is the relationship between sovereignty and democracy, which were mentioned disadvantages of voting for the Lisbon Treaty in the Czech and Slovak debate? Did actors consider these concepts together or separately? The parliamentary and media debate, which was analyzed by this thesis, did not indicate that the actors would have different positions on these two aspects. For example:

“It is a question of responsible approach of government or of the National Council to what we get on our table from Brussels as proposals and we can endorse, amend or decline them. We have alternatives for that. Do not frighten ourselves, please, that we are that, or do not try to seduce public that we, government or legislative, sit here in order to accept something. We have rights. The matter is that we use them and we should endeavour to find and tune mechanisms, which we will use by this.” (Kubiš, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th)

As this example shows, actors did not differentiate between the two concepts. Therefore, I decided to keep them together in one initial category.

Corbin and Strauss (1998, 2008) would ask, whether the division between two initial dimensions really emerged in the data or it is professional experience or literature which are making the researcher blind. Is there some other way, how I could make sense of data? Czech and Slovak parliamentary and newspaper debates showed high clarity in opinion in favour or against the Lisbon Treaty¹⁹. So, the first thought could have been to differentiate between opponents and advocates of the Lisbon Treaty.

How could be conceptualized the actors' argumentation “although, I do/think ...” then? The two initial categories - active participation in EU issues at national and European level

19 Only one politician said (Žák, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th) that he will abstain from voting, but his arguments were not developed in the speech enough in order to be able to do a fruitful analysis. If a newspaper article rarely did not express an attitude towards the Lisbon Treaty, it was because its focused to express opinion on other issue, e.g. critique all Slovak political parties for lack of dialogue with opposition, when they get into government (Červeň, *SME*, 2008 February 1st) or another example is a strategical analysis of political situation of the ODS (Pehe, *Právo*, 2009 May 2nd).

AND concern for lower level of sovereignty and democracy – seem to provide a more flexible explanation, which allows to distinguish between these views. Since other distinctions were not made in the empirical data, it was not possible to make other division, because it would not stem from the data. For example, advocates and opponents could not be identified in the Lisbon Treaty debate on basis of for example government-opposition or left-right distinction, because these cleavages do not characterize attitudes on European integration.

4.1.4 Initial theoretical framework considerations

A detailed analysis of the two differentiated initial categories will follow in next subheadings, but the fact of this differentiation in the empirical data leads to consideration with this thesis' theoretical framework. Because actors in the Czech Republic referred to active approach, i.e. promoting someone's or country's interests, and in Slovakia they expressed their pro-European commitment in a partially intergovernmental and partially supranational terms, the first initial category indicates to include intergovernmental and supranational arguments from Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) normative preferences on European integration. The second initial category, sovereignty and democracy, indicates intergovernmental sovereignty and postnational deliberation perspectives. Since explanatory power of Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model can be fruitfully analyzed after a detailed analysis of empirical data had been done, I will do this analysis below by respective categories.

On the other hand, if the initial categories are compared with the pre-accession debate model (Braun, 2008), we can see that it was differentiated between two issues in both debates, the Lisbon Treaty and pre-accession. Braun (2008) identified modernity and sovereignty meta-narratives and this thesis identified active EU policy and impacts for sovereignty and democracy. Do these categories express the same or different concepts? Because Braun (2008, 42) subsumed preservation of democracy at national level under sovereignty category, I can conclude according to initial findings of this thesis that concept of sovereignty and democracy seems to emerge in both debates. The second initial category in the Lisbon Treaty debate – active participation in EU affairs at national and European level – can be linked in this initial stage of analysis to modernity meta-narrative (Braun, 2008), because Braun subsumed under this meta-narrative a *voice* category, which refers also “to the ability to have a say in European affairs or in world affairs.” (Braun, 2008, 40) Similarly as by Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model, a more detailed comparison of this thesis' outcomes with Braun's (2008) model can be done after a detailed analysis of relevant

categories of Lisbon Treaty debate.

4.2 EU ability to act in national interest

The previous subheading explained the suitability of the separation of active participation in the EU affairs at national and European level from with regards to sovereignty and democracy issues. Structure of this chapter is based on outcomes of the empirical data, which showed that there were two main opinions on the usefulness of active participation in EU affairs in the Lisbon Treaty debate in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Actors thought that the EU can act and to promote national interest or it can not. These views corresponded with attitudes on the Lisbon Treaty: its advocates held the former view while opponents held the latter.

The order of the analysis does not matter, so I decided to take the advocates' arguments as first and then to analyze the opponents' views. Respective categories are analyzed on the basis of Table 1 (appendix 1) which summarizes outcomes of this thesis by highlighting the terms and how they merge into larger units. The Table differentiates between the terms mentioned only in one state and the common terms used in both the Czech and Slovak debates to show differences and commonalities.

4.2.1 EU able to act in national interest

4.2.1.1 Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty

The Grounded Theory method of data analysis lead to the development of five sub-categories under this category whose meaning implied, that being an active member in the EU is essential. These views were expressed by pro-European wing of the ODS, the Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (KDÚ-ČSL), the ČSSD and by the Green Party (SZ). Although I named the subheading according to the category, explanation of its naming description has to be based on the analysis of its constituent subcategories.

An *active approach* to European issues was already vaguely mentioned by in the initial findings, from which the first subcategory was developed. Analysis of the Czech debate showed that the actors using these arguments argued for *active diplomacy* at the European level, including crucial strategy of creating *coalitions*, in order to put through national interests at a European level. At the same time, a *domestic scrutiny* of the EU was welcomed in form of lively domestic political

debate: national parliament scrutiny was especially discussed. Analysis of the Czech Lisbon Treaty debate pointed out towards the influence of *political contest* on character of national interest – one of the fundamental theoretical roots of liberal intergovernmentalism. According to liberal theories of International Relations “state preferences are neither fixed nor uniform: they may vary within the same state across time and issues, and they may vary between states depending on different domestic constellations of preferences, institutions, and power.” (Schimmelfenning, 2004, 77)

Analysis of empirical data pointed points to a continuation of the Czech political parties' views on preferred character of integration, which was identified in previous research (Illner, 2006; Hanley, 2004; Linden-Pohlman, 2003). The ČSSD preferred a more social rights-based community, which is more integrated. The extreme left communist KSČM had an anti-ratification attitude, demanded a referendum and objected to the loss of national sovereignty. The KDÚ-ČSL supported more integration which, as the Lisbon Treaty was perceived to provide, but did not debate Christian issues (Svoboda, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Kasal, *ibid.*). In relation to the ODS, three aspects have to be mentioned. Firstly, it expressed preferences for a more liberal EU, i.e. less regulated and less integrated. Secondly, politicians with extreme liberal views were opponents of the Lisbon Treaty and thought that the EU does did not reflect their preferences (see 4.2.2.1). Thirdly, differentiation between the two initial categories was characteristic of mostly for pro-European ODS politicians in the Czech debate, who used to justify by this their pragmatic approval of the Lisbon Treaty. This attitude indicates continuation of the party's longer-term pragmatic approach to the EU since pre-accession period (Illner, 2006, 175). The fraction between the Eurosceptic and the pragmatic pro-European wing of the ODS was identified not only in pre-accession period (Hanley, 2004), but it continues to persist according to Maršić (2009) during the Lisbon Treaty ratification, “[a]lthough influence of the prominent Eurosceptic Václav Klaus has been fading in the ODS for some time” (Maršić, 2009, 11)

The *active active approach* subcategory was used to refer to a whole spectrum of time-frames - past (e.g. *active diplomacy* of the Czech government Government in the Lisbon Treaty negotiations) present (e.g. *veto not applied*) to future (e.g. implementation of the Treaty depends from its *interpretation*). In conclusion, the first subcategory argues for the active promotion of the political party's and national interest at a national and European level in past, present and future. The *active approach* subcategory created from the Czech debate can be located in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) perspectives on European integration in the intersection of intergovernmental and supranational perspective. Firstly, it includes intergovernmental – promotion of national interests through active diplomacy at European level; democracy in form of national parliamentary scrutiny is associated with nation state. Secondly, a supranational aspect is present in

it, too. The EU was perceived rather as a supranational forum, where delegates of “people(s) of Europe are able to come together to discuss who they are and what their common goals are” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 443), than a post-national community with active participation of citizens in the deliberation and scrutiny of representatives.

The second subcategory, *more action capable* EU was differentiated in the Czech debate, because these arguments included problems and tools to solve them which are shared by all EU member states and not associated solely with the Czech Republic. The EU was presented as a forum for the solution of global, as well as internal challenges, where member states are committed to face problems, and disagreements were almost neglected, which the opponents frequently remind the advocates (see 4.2.2.1). Various challenges are subsumed under the concept *global challenges*, such as, for example: economic; rising power and competition of other states (e.g. China, India, Brasil, Russia...); environmental challenges including climate change; hard and soft security concerns including energy security and immigration; *stabilisation of neighbourhood* regions, where priority is put on *enlargement* in the Balkans. and *enlargement* there. The internal dimension of challenges refers to the need of for wide wide-ranging *EU policy reforms*, but “until this Treaty is not ratified, there is no will in the European Union to reform anything.” (Topolánek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th) The Lisbon Treaty's *institutional reforms* – changes in decision-making (increase in areas using qualified majority voting (QMV)) and institutional design (High Representative of the Union for Common Foreign and Security Policy²⁰, fewer Commissioners) – were argued to be tools for facing these challenges, which should make the EU better institutionally suited and so, *more action capable*.

This subcategory includes explicit and implicit perspectives on European integration (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007). On the one hand, advocates in the Czech Republic argued with instrumental logic of an intergovernmental perspective in which the EU is “entirely subject to member states' preferences” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2007, 12). On the other hand, the challenges, -which the EU should solve according to actors in the Czech debate, - are not only economic, but include a considerable number of foreign policy activities which seem to offer more than “a very limited scope for foreign and security policy” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2007, 12). Moreover, the character of the EU's goals, which were presented in the Czech debate, is post-national, pointed out also highlighted also by Eriksen and Fossum (2007, 18), rather than supranational primordial. For example, associated with the *stabilisation of neighbourhood* regions are associated the promotion of democracy, liberty, rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, which are founding principles of the EU as a 'normative power' identified by Manners (2002). Alternatively as

20 Further on referred as the High Representative

postnational can be evaluated EU's concern for environmental protection and climate change, which is regarded to be characteristic value for the EU not only in internal policies but also in external relations (Linklater, 2005, 383; Keukeleire & MacNaughton, 2008, 245-248).

Advocates discussed in the Czech debate also the issue of whether there exists an alternative to the Lisbon Treaty and what the potential impacts its of its non-ratification would have. According to them, there was *no alternative* to ratification for three reasons. Firstly, *absolute sovereignty* of states is *impossible*. Secondly, the Lisbon Treaty was a complicated *compromise* of 27 member states and no other Treaty could be negotiated. Thirdly, *non-ratification* would have, according to them, *no gains or larger disadvantages* than gains for the Czech Republic itself as well as for the EU's external environment. The latter consequence argued that reforms would slow down at progress in the *Balkans* and so enlargement, a vital Czech national interest, would be postponed (Schwarzenberg, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Vondra, *ibid*). The former consequence, for the Czech Republic itself, was more developed and emotional than the external implications. This could be exemplified by the emotional argumentation in *isolation* or *peripherization* concept. This claims that the Czech Republic would be on the periphery not only in the day-to-day decision-making (Dienstbier, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th) and by future treaty negotiations (e.g. Topolánek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th), categorized in the slower group of a double-speed EU (Hokovský, *MF DNES*, 2009 May 2nd) and loose coalition partners in the EU (Topolánek, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th), but also Russian influence would increase. Emotionality of the analyzed the Lisbon Treaty debate could be influenced by the high politicization of the EU in Czech politics. This was identified an analysis of the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe media debate (Liebert, 2008, 28-29) or by a 2008 foreign policy yearbook (Beneš – Karlas, 2009, 51). Even in 2003, it was concluded that the “division line between supporters and opponents of the Constitution [in the Czech Republic] does not arise solely from the Constitution *per se* but is rather an expression of a more general pattern of transnational political conflict between competing models for the European polity.” (Liebert, 2008, 29) Although deliberations about a non-ratification scenario included issues from the *active approach* and *more action capable EU* subcategories, a separate subcategory was created, because it was argued that the Lisbon Treaty had to be ratified as there was *no alternative* to the EU.

As this thesis analyzes debate from a social constructivist perspective, its research design does not provide research methods for analysing the validity of these advocates' and opponents' (see 4.2.2) hypothetical arguments. Nor can it be analyzed why certain arguments were said and others not. Advocates' 'no alternative' argumentation is an argumentation strategy in which advocates tried to expel the non-cooperation option from available options choices in Prisoner's dilemma game. The effects of non-ratification for the Czech Republic are reflected in Eriksen and

Fossum's model (2004, 2007) of intergovernmental considerations, where participation of the member state in negotiations and its negotiation power are important. On the other hand, external consequences argued that the postnational goal of Balkans' stabilization would be endangered.

If there is *no-alternative* to the EU, how was this supranational organization, and membership in it, evaluated by advocates in the Lisbon Treaty debate? Advocates claimed that the *EU membership* has been *beneficial* for the country not only in economic terms, but in wider sense of life quality. For example, it was argued that the EU ensures social welfare (Hanák, *Právo*, 2009 February 18th), *peace* in Europe, *rule of law*, more *democracy* and *good governance* (Uhl, *Právo*, 2009 February 19th), because European bureaucracy is better than national (e.g. Dienstbier, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th). The only disadvantages of the membership were, according to advocates, due to negotiated *unfavourable accession conditions*. From these arguments a fourth subcategory was developed, because it discussed an independent issue –: expedience of EU membership, evaluation of which can change. This perception of the EU by Czech advocates reveals that its legitimacy is not only based on its performance from intergovernmental perspective (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007), but also has also postnational features, i.e. an intersection of two perspectives.

Global analysis showed that term *responsibility* was often used in the data, so I decided to devote attention to it during the Grounded Theory analysis which showed that *responsibility* was used in three ways. The first one argued that it is in vital national interest to remain fully-engaged responsible member state of the EU, which located it in the initial category analyzed in this subheading. The second and third meaning of the term *responsibility* was used by opponents of the Lisbon Treaty, who expressed their commitment to national sovereignty and democracy, which located them in the second initial category dealing with these concepts (see 4.3.2). Within the first meaning, *responsibility to the EU*, advocates of the Lisbon Treaty ratification appealed to retain states' reputation as *reliable partner* in the EU, respect *compromise* reached by all member states and not worsen its reputation by its refusal. The no-confidence vote to the EU presidency holding Czech government in March 2009 was a triggering event to utilize this argument even more in the Senate debate in May 2009. For example, an ODS senator argued:

“I came to the conclusion, that if we say yes to the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, it will be a clear signal to our European partners, that we are not at all such a untrustworthy, maybe slightly banana, republic, as we make an impression now, after the spoiled presidency. It will be, according to me, a smaller out of possible wrongs.”
(Sušický, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th)

The argument to remain a reliable member state had not only external but also domestic reference. Advocates argued that it is in *national interest*, because a country's population wants to be part of the EU project, not only for economic benefits but also for general well-being generally. This could not be ensured outside the EU or isolated in it, according to the advocates, which creates a rhetorical connection to the *no alternative to the EU* and *active approach* subcategories. Additionally, *responsibility* also had a procedural meaning, too, because prime minister or the government were argued to be responsible for securing support for Lisbon Treaty's approval in the parliament. All in all, advocates were concerned with reputation, commitment to European partners, national interest and procedural responsibilities by the term responsibility, which expressed by an independent meaning located under independent subcategory.

In Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model this includes intergovernmental concern for states' reputation and postnational concern for general well-being. However advocates did not express an ideal postnational perspective on European integration, because they referred passively to public interest in this subcategory and did not discuss the responsibility of the Czech population for a European integration project by active participation of the Czech public in a European public sphere deliberation. Because it was almost absent in the first *active approach* subcategory, public participation does not seem to play important role in the first category, which discusses influences on the EU's decision-making. Is there a perceived a lack of public participation in the Czech Republic? This question, which deals with personal opinions, is analyzed in the second initial category dealing with democracy and sovereignty (see 4.3).

4.2.1.2 Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty

Grounded Theory analysis of the Slovak debate pointed out that it was not necessary to create new subcategories, because arguments fitted and refined the subcategories developed on the Czech debate. I am going to discuss just substantial differences and not factual arguments (e.g. an *additional fourteenth seat in the European Parliament* which Slovakia had until Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU and elected their parliamentarians).

Within the first category, *active approach*, Slovak debate pointed out to a continuation of slightly different political cleavage in debate on the EU than in the Czech Republic. The KDH was the only political party, which voiced criticism towards the Lisbon Treaty in the data analyzed by this thesis. Its conservative Christian views are analyzed by the respective category below (see 4.2.2.2). Whereas the Czech KSČM has stable support of voters for getting into the Parliament and

so its views on the Lisbon Treaty were expressed in the parliamentary debate, this thesis could not analyze opinion of the Slovak Communist Party (KSS), because it is neither an established political party²¹, nor an opinion-making elite participating in the public debate, which was exemplified by no reference to it in the analyzed newspaper articles. The Smer - Social Democracy (Smer-SD) was the only party in the analyzed Slovak debate, which expressed ideological preferences on the European integration by welcoming rights laid down by the Lisbon Treaty, i.e. rights-based postnational union (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007).

Moreover, if the ratification boycott motivated by clearly domestic issues is not counted, a prevailing political consensus on pro-European issues seems to continue from pre-accession period (Henderson, 2004) with the exception of the KDH. All other political parties represented in the Parliament were in favour of the Lisbon Treaty's ratification (Smer-SD, Slovak National Party (SNS), HZDS, SDKÚ-DS, SMK). A puzzling case is the attitude of the coalition SNS. It voted for approval of the Lisbon Treaty, but did not to discuss its “minor reservations to this Treaty” (Slota, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th) in the parliamentary debate, even though it issued a critical statement towards the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe for the media (SNS, 2005) as a opposition party. This inconsistency in views was also criticized by the Eurosceptic KDH in the analyzed parliamentary debate (Abrhan, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th). Widening of researched data would be necessary in order to analyze this question. Subsequently, low level of politicization of EU issues may have influenced that Slovak debate on alternatives to the Lisbon Treaty ratification was not so much emotional as the above analyzed Czech debate (see 4.1.2). Another factor could be that the SDKÚ-DS and the SMK, who were in favour of the Lisbon Treaty itself, did not engage in exchange of views with their Eurosceptic opposition partner KDH, because it supported boycott of the Lisbon Treaty ratification by leaving the plenary room although it would have voted against. However, this question could not be researched by this thesis, because it would have been necessary to either to include debate on the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe, when KDH, a coalition party, was outvoted by alliance of coalition and opposition parties, or other widening of data would be necessary.

On the other hand, the ratification boycott intensified debate about *responsibility to the EU* subcategory, because the Slovak coalition parties appealed to the opposition SDKÚ-DS and SMK to end the boycott and be loyal to *pro-European consensus, pro-European identity* (e.g. Paška, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Číž, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th). For example:

21 The KSS passed only in the election period 2002-2006 the 5% quorum for getting into the Slovak parliament, therefore it could participate in the parliamentary debate on the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe. It received only 3,88% of valid votes in 2006 elections.

“One of those game rules, which all of us players accepted, is our pro-European heading, our mutual responsibility for Europe, for the European integration project. Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to appeal to you and ask you that we continue in the game according to rules.” (Paška, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

This argument was further developed by denouncing the boycotting opposition parties as *extortioners* (e.g. Tóthová, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Fico, *ibid.*; Zala, *ibid.*), with whom democratic governments do not tend to negotiate. Although arguments about pro-European identity were declaratory rather than debated in Slovakia, and so its supranational or post-national content could not be analyzed by the Masters' thesis, the character of the Slovak debate on *responsibility to the EU* was more contextual in comparison to focus of the Czech debate on effects for the country. Still, the Slovak debate did not refrain from instrumental reasoning. Besides external consequences of the boycott damaging of image of Slovakia, the coalition politicians argued that it damages reputation of the SDKÚ-DS and the SMK as *reliable partners*, especially in European political parties. “The problem is whether someone in the Europe will answer your phone [call].” (Paška, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

4.2.1.3 Merging Czech and Slovak debate

Analysis of the initial category showed that argument of being active in the EU has a wide meaning in the Czech and Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty. The Slovak debate was indicated to be more common pro-European integration identity based in comparison with more instrumental reasoning in the Czech Republic, which may reflect influence of a pro-European political consensus in the former country and high politicization in the latter. When meanings of all five subcategories of this category are summarized, a typical argument within this category would argue: *Since the EU membership has been beneficial for the country, it is essential to remain a reliable member state, which actively participates in shaping the decision-making in a more action-capable EU facing challenges which it is confronted with. If a member state would not ratify the Lisbon Treaty or an actor could be blamed for it, its influence in the EU would decrease.* This category was named as *EU able to act in national interest* in the end of the analysis, because it is general enough and expresses the notion that EU's policies are in member state's advantage, no least because they can influence it.

The ability to act in national interest category has a twofold characterisation in Eriksen

and Fossum's model (2004, 2007). Firstly, according to analysis of Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate, goals, which the EU should be seeking to promote, were located in the intersection of intergovernmental and postnational perspectives on European integration, because the EU seeks to ensure not only economic but also postnational goals such as promotion of democracy, rule of law and environmental protection. Although commitments to European identity were expressed, this thesis did not identify agreement on common values in supranational perspective, just on postnational goals. Secondly, analysis of advocates' views showed that character of the EU and European integration is shaped by influences from the intersection of intergovernmental and supranational perspective, because member states' and common interests are perceived to shape EU's preferences not participation of citizens in European public sphere deliberation.

'The EU as an instrument' proposal is respective category from pre-accession debate (Braun, 2008) from modernity meta-narrative, because it implies expedience of full membership in the EU. Analysis of the Lisbon Treaty indicates that the instrumental logic remained important since pre-accession in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, in which the EU is perceived as an instrument for achieving 'progress in wide sense' and to gain more voice in globalized world via alliance of European states. On the other hand, if Lisbon Treaty debate is compared with a detailed analysis of the Czech pre-accession debate (Braun, 2008, 39-42), emergence of the *responsibility* subcategory in the Lisbon Treaty debate indicates identification of Slovak and Czech actors with the role of a full member of the EU who takes responsibility for that; who identifies with values, aims and interests of the EU; and who actively engages in EU issues at national and European level. This conclusion is supported by depth of the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate on EU issues (e.g. challenges, active approach, influence in the EU...) rather than own 'progress' and catching up with more developed countries, which was discussed in pre-accession debate.

4.2.2 EU unable to act in national interest

4.2.2.1 Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty

As the introduction to category dealing with EU's ability to act showed, there were positive and negative opinions on this issue. The former was analyzed above and now I am going to analyze the content of negative views. Grounded theory method of data analysis lead to development of three subcategories in the Czech debate (see table 1).

The first subcategory of arguments was developed from argumentation, which

challenged claims that the Czech Republic *can put through its interests in the EU* by active diplomacy. This was exemplified by claims that *voting procedure* matters and doubts, whether attention will be paid to national interests of smaller and middle member states in the QMV in areas, which were before under unanimity. Moreover, opponents criticized that ability to put through Czech interests in the EU decreases, because Lisbon Treaty decreases its *voting power*; whereas it increases voting power of big member states. An ODS senator argued by a parallel with functioning of the national parliament:

“From what I conclude, that it won't have a good end? When the party's chairperson and prime minister of the government, which day after day fights for 101st vote, tells us with serious tone here, that neither quorums – or in other words to define a majority – nor vetoes matter a lot in the parliament and that much more important is communication ability, to find allies and to make political decisions. ... Already tomorrow, Mr. chairman, we will see here again, how each vote matters to you. How voting quorum matters and how neither friends matter nor communication ability. Each day of this parliament's work proves, that you lie to us. The issue at stake is, whether the Czech Republic will have veto and who will be able to build majorities which will outvote the others.” (Tlustý, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th)

All these arguments expressed intergovernmental perspective (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007) in which unanimity is perceived as ideal voting procedure for promoting states' interest. What character of European integration Czech opponents prefer? This thesis analysis showed that they disapprove the Lisbon Treaty, because character of the European integration does not reflect their preferences in their opinion. KSČM preferred less integration with more sovereignty (Grospič, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 18th) and more democracy, including a Czech referendum on the Lisbon Treaty (e.g. Kováčik, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Filip, *ibid.*; Grebeníček, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 18th). On the other hand, anti-European wing of ODS preferred *more liberal EU*. The Lisbon Treaty threatened according to them *euroatlantic partnership* and precluded *Turkish membership* (e.g. Schwippel, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Škaloud, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Pospíšil, *ibid.*). All in all, opponents' views argue for downscaling of the integration, which reflect intergovernmental perspective on European integration (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007). A closer inspection of opponent's views reveals that it is not only the EU which does not reflect their interests, but their views were in minority at national level, too. This finding supports liberal intergovernmentalist assumption, which the category above indicated, according to which negotiations of EU issues take

place at two levels - European and national. Therefore, the first subcategory includes arguments that the *EU does not act* in their personal view of *national interest*.

Second subcategory was developed from counterargument to advocates, by which opponents argued that the EU will not become more action capable with the Lisbon Treaty. Opponents pointed out that *the EU* is actually *disunited* what is according to them proved by the member states *acting* not rarely *unilaterally*, as was exemplified by current economic crisis or energy issues (e.g. Vojříř, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Exner, *ibid.*). Thereby, they argue that EU's ability to act depends from ability of the member states to agree on every-day issues, what is supported by European studies research. The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is one of the most obvious and often mentioned examples by the research (see for example Hill - Smith, 2005; Keukeleire - MacNaughton, 2008), which caused big disappointments after adoption of the Maastricht Treaty, since the EU member states were not able to react resolutely to events, such as Balkans wars, due to lack of consensus. The second subcategory argues, therefore, from intergovernmental perspective (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007) in which “[t]here is little emphasis on collective tasks and obligations beyond the narrow interests and preferences of the Member States.” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 439)

Furthermore, since opponents disagreed with ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, they discussed consequences of non-ratification in the analyzed Czech debate. A third subcategory was developed from arguments that *the Lisbon Treaty* was *dispensable*, by which they challenged advocates' claims that there is no-alternative to ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. Firstly, it was pointed out that the EU continued to function *with the Nice Treaty* despite failure of the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe (e.g. Vojříř, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Pakosta, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th) and *nothing happens* if the Lisbon Treaty will not be ratified. Secondly, in order to oppose advocates' argument that institutional reform is essential for further enlargement at Balkans, opponents argued that *no decision-making deadlock* happened after 2004 and 2007 enlargements (e.g. post-accession research in the CFSP by Juncos and Pomorska (2007) also comes to this finding). Quite contrary, the EU had been passing large numbers of legislation and further enlargement negotiations continued (e.g. Schwippel, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th). Thirdly, opponents challenged seriousness of the threat of being ostracized for non-ratification of the Lisbon Treaty by claiming that *nobody* would push an EU member state to *periphery*. Thereby, they argued that resistance point (BATNA) of other EU member states, as is theorized by Hopmann (1996, 53-58), is above readiness to isolate an EU member state.

All in all, the third subcategory is located in a intersection of intergovernmental and supranational perspective in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model. On the one hand it points

out that the EU can work under more intergovernmental rules than the Lisbon Treaty introduces, but on the other hand it includes contextual logic in which community members would not be pushed to periphery due to one deviation by non-ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. A fourth subcategory was developed from argument, in which opponents criticized *over-bureaucratisation* of the EU, but they did not evaluate membership *per se*, as advocates did.

4.2.2.2 *Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty*

Analysis of the Slovak debate did not lead to creation of new subcategories in addition to the Czech debate. On the other hand, Slovak debate refined three findings from the Czech debate by KDH's Eurosceptic views. Firstly, KDH's criticism of *less Commissioners* than member states and one *seat less in the European Parliament* for Slovakia²² (Bauer, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th) pointed out in the first subcategory, which deals with (in)ability to put through interests at the EU level, that it is not only the voting power, but generally the representation of state's interests in the EU, which matter for the opponents. Besides that, the KDH criticized that Slovakia did *not* have *requests* by the Lisbon Treaty negotiations and Slovak officials were criticized for lack of activity and ability to promote interests with intergovernmental character (Bauer, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th). By these arguments, the KDH confirmed intergovernmental content of the first subcategory.

Secondly, development of Eurosceptic KDH's attitude from its preferred ideological perspective on European integration provided other refinement to the Czech debate. This quotation exemplifies KDH's preferred character of European integration:

“The more identify Europeans themselves with the Union and its institutions, the more will be the EU able to play role of an important player in global geopolitics. However, the European Union can only keep the Old Continent on the economic, political and cultural map of the world, if it will remain faithful its traditions and roots. Unfortunately, the European leaders draw away from this heritage and it is reflected also in the Lisbon Treaty text. References to Christian identity of Europe were left out actually already in the text of Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe.” (Gabura, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

As we can see, that the KDH prefers *Christianity value*-based European integration, i.e.

22 The fourteenth Slovak seat in the European Parliament was actually additional until Bulgaria and Romania join and elect their representatives.

supranational perspective on European integration arguing with contextual logic (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007), which was absent from Czech debate. This reflects more religious character of Slovakia as compared to the more secular Czech Republic, which was showed for example by a 2005 special survey (Eurobarometer, 2005, 7-11) according to which 61% of respondents in Slovakia believed in God, 26% in some sort of spirit or life force and 21% did not believe compared to Czech 19%, 50% and 30% in the same order. According to Holý (2001, 93), this difference has distinguished political scenes of the two nations since they gained sovereignty from Austro-Hungarian Empire and formed together a common Czechoslovak state.

KDH's dissatisfaction with EU's character reflects the EU's failure to agree on Christianity to be value basis for this community pinpointed also by Eriksen and Fossum (2004, 441), which is visible also in every-day EU decision-making (e.g. *lack of agreement on policies concerning value issues* (Bauer, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)). The KDH not only criticized the EU for being too much secular and for challenging Christian values in some policies (e.g. Palko, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Mikloško, *ibid.*; Gabura, *ibid.*), but it argued in the Lisbon Treaty debate that the EU should *not regulate value-based areas* and be *less social democratic*. In other words, it requested downgrading of the integration to an intergovernmental organization with unanimity voting from clearly intergovernmental perspective (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007). By this argumentation, the KDH remained committed to its longer term Eurosceptic profile in contrast to the SNS, which supported the Lisbon Treaty despite its critical media statement on the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe (see 4.2.1.2). Thereby, the KDH entrenched itself further in conservative-Christian Eurosceptic attitude, where according to concept of path dependency “the costs of switching from one alternative to another [for example less Eurosceptic] will, in certain social contexts, increase markedly over time.” (Pierson, 2000, 251) By this the party refines meaning of the first subcategory, because it points out that regardless of actor's ideological preference for character of European integration – Slovak Christian or Czech liberal and anti-Western anti-liberal communist – he may turn to intergovernmental perspective to try to put through its viewpoints at national level if his perspective is not satisfactorily reflected in EU's character.

Third issue, with which analysis of Slovak debate contributed to deepening of understanding from Czech debate, was unique position of the KDH as the only relevant Slovak Eurosceptic actor in pro-European political consensus. The Lisbon Treaty debate indicated that influence of the KDH on European policy was small, as exemplify no requests of Slovakia during Lisbon Treaty negotiations. Slovak foreign minister reasoned this as follows:

“I know, that you try to bring [new] views [into the debate] and you might try to change

atmosphere here, maybe you try to change the decision. But I depart from an assumption that Slovak citizens spoke out: spoke out by direct support for the European Union's development and the way it strengthens. They spoke out, I am sorry, don't take it polemically, also by the number of votes [which] they gave your program and your political ideas in the elections. And now, on the basis of this vote, you try to put through certain views regarding Slovak attitude towards the EU. You are in clear minority. You are in clear minority of Slovak society and you are in clear minority in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, too.” (Kubiš, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th)

On the other hand, KDH was able to contribute to transposition delays of anti-discrimination directives in two previous election periods from 1998 to 2006 (Dimitrova & Rhinard, 2005), which were normatively problematic for this conservative Christian party, but as minor coalition party it did not have power to block ratification of the Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe. The KDH's varying influence on European issues, therefore, strengthens liberal intergovernmental explanation, according to which national interest is subject to political contest European and national level.

4.2.2.3 Merging Czech and Slovak debate

Analysis of opponents' arguments in the Slovak and Czech debate showed that advocates' and opponents' arguments reflect and oppose each other on some issues encompassed in the subcategories. For example, actors debated, whether or not active approach in the EU can contribute to the EU acting in national interest; whether or not the Lisbon Treaty enables the EU to be more action capable in facing challenges; and whether the Lisbon Treaty is dispensable. Thereby, the two categories create a dimension with two categories of opposing views. They are not identical, however, because opponents did not evaluate membership in the EU *per se* just over-bureaucratization of the EU and opponent's *responsibility* towards *their country* argument is located it in the second initial category, which deals with democracy and sovereignty (see 4.3.2). The Masters' thesis research design does not provide analytical tools for analysing why evaluation of the membership in the EU was not discussed by the opponents, so further research on this question would be necessary. Besides that, as counterargument to advocates' responsibility to Europe, opponents declared responsibility to their state, which due to differentiation between two initial categories developed by this thesis analysis (see 4.1) is located in the sovereignty and democracy

debate.

Analysis of critical views on EU's ability to act in national interest showed that different reasons lead to an outcome that opponents in the final evaluation preferred less integration. They either preferred less integrated EU *per se* – as did extreme liberal wing of the ODS and extreme left communist KSČM in the Czech debate – or character of the European integration did not reflect their preferred type of the European integration and the actor turned to intergovernmentalism to prevent the EU from interfering by undesired policies – as was the case of KDH. Besides dissatisfaction with character of the EU, analysis of the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate pointed out that part of opponents' dissatisfaction is caused also by the fact that their views are in minority at national level. This means that they have only limited possibility to influence European policy of their state which depends on their current institutional position as the analysis of KDH's case showed. Because it is opponents' views which are not reflected in European integration, I decided to call the category *EU not able to act in national interest*, which actor identifies with his own perspective on European integration. A typical opponent's argument would claim in this category: *The EU does not need a new Treaty, because it is able to function under the old Treaty and even with that it is over-bureaucratized. The Lisbon Treaty will neither improve ability of the EU to act, since it depends from the ability of member states to find consensus on issues, nor will the middle and smaller member states be able to put through their national interests in the EU.*

All in all, opponents' ultimate views be characterized as intergovernmental perspective on European integration (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007), according to which integration should be downscaled in line with their ideological positions, so that member states can pursue those types of policies without interference of the EU, which are preferred by opponents. Reference to supranational community feeling was used only to claim that no member state would ostracize the Czech Republic or Slovakia if it would not ratify the Lisbon Treaty.

The *EU unable to act in national interest* category, which was developed by this thesis on Lisbon Treaty debate, points out changes to pre-accession respective proposal from Braun's (2008) modernity meta-narrative - “EU as hindrance” - representing Eurosceptic views. Although opponents still criticized the EU in the Lisbon Treaty debate that it “forces an ideological project on its member states” and it “might lead to policy outcomes undesired by the country's citizens” (Braun, 2008, 13), they criticised the EU whether it is able to act in state's interest. This has two aspects – firstly opponents doubted whether the Czech Republic and Slovakia will be able to put through their interests at European level as middle member states because their voting power and representation in institutions decreases. Secondly, opponents pointed out that EU's ability to act depends from ability of the member states to agree and not from the Lisbon Treaty amendments.

Thereby, analysis of the Lisbon Treaty indicates that opponents adjusted their arguments to fact of country's membership in the EU and so they discuss EU's functioning besides its policies, too.

4.3 Sovereignty and democracy debate

After the first initial category was analyzed and turned out to constitute one dimension, the analysis proceeds with the second initial category identified in the in the beginning of this chapter, which deals with sovereignty and democracy. What views had the actors in democracy-sovereignty debate? The Grounded Theory analysis of empirical data lead to identification of three types of attitudes to the Lisbon Treaty in this issue. The first position was, that it does not challenge national sovereignty and that it improves democratic legitimacy of the EU. In the second one, opponents claimed the opposite, i.e. the Lisbon Treaty challenges member states' sovereignty and it does not improve democracy. The third position was an in-between view on this issue of actors who differentiated between the two initial categories, whose claims included a mixture of arguments from both former views on sovereignty and democracy issue. Since there could not be found a clear pattern of differentiation of the third position from the other two, the first and second view developed into two opposing categories, which create a dimension, and in between views are on the verge between them. In relation to Braun's (2008) sovereignty meta-narrative, the first category does not perceive challenge to national sovereignty, which is also encompassed in 'the EU as a natural unit proposal', whereas the second as antithesis can be allocated to Braun's 'the EU as an artificial unit' proposal. First, I will analyze the two opposing views on the Lisbon Treaty on basis of table 1 and analysis of the in-between views builds then on this explanation.

4.3.1 Sovereignty and democracy unchallenged

4.3.1.1 Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty

Actors, who thought that the Lisbon Treaty does not challenge sovereignty and democracy of member states (ČSSD, SZ, KDÚ-ČSL), used several arguments for support of their view. Four subcategories, which were developed in this category during Grounded Theory analysis of the Czech debate, are based either on issues, meaning of which implied a separate subcategory, or on theoretical concepts, which provided connecting explanation for arguments used in the data.

Although actors did not have different views regarding impacts of the Lisbon Treaty on

sovereignty and democracy, arguments about these concepts were put into a separate subcategories, because, as their analysis in the paragraphs below shows, they expressed different ideas in the debate, which reflected differences between the two theoretical phenomena. I am not going to engage in scholarly or political debate about their character and relationship, because aim of the Masters' thesis is to analyze how they were debated in the Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate. For example, also Eriksen and Fossum (2007), the theoretical framework with which this thesis works, differentiate between them: “The crucial question that this debate [about deliberation and problem-solving in transnational networks] brings forth is whether the state form and a collective identity are necessary preconditions for democracy to prevail, or whether a leaner structure made up of legal procedures and criss-crossing public discourse can ensure democratic legitimation. In short, can democracy prevail without state and nation?”

Sovereignty was found to be unifying explanatory concept for arguments that the Lisbon Treaty and its effects does not challenge sovereignty of the member state, so the subcategory was named *sovereignty unchallenged*. For example, advocates' argument that the Lisbon Treaty does not open the possibility of restitution of expropriated properties, because *the Beneš Decrees* are *in force* (Topolánek, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Dienstbier, *ibid.*; Vondra, *ibid.*; Dienstbier, *Právo*, 2009 May 5th) was subsumed during analysis under this subcategory from an initial separate concept, because the Grounded Theory showed that the debated issue was the the Lisbon Treaty will not challenge their validity in national legal system.

A closer look at the concepts from the Czech debate – *competence delegation*, where member states retained unanimity in key competences; *legalize already existing EU competences*; *clearer competence delineation* between European and national level; *the EU Charter not increase EU competences* – shows that advocates support sovereignty unchallenged argument by pointing out that it is the member states who decide which competences will the EU execute and the Lisbon Treaty provides clearer rules for that (e.g. Topolánek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Zaorálek, *ibid.*; Mocek, *Právo*, 2009 February 20th). These arguments reflect intergovernmental perspective from Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) “that the member states delegate competence to the Union, a competence that in principle can be revoked.” (Eriksen & Fossum, 2007, 11) Because the analyzed data did not enough information on influences on Czech actor's deliberations, this thesis could not analyze what role plays instrumental logic – theorized for example by rational choice institutionalist principal-agent model (see Pollack, 2004, 142) – and what other factors influence it, such as for example contextual 'logic of appropriateness' (March – Olsen, 1998).

The (International Relations) *IR anarchy mitigated* concept, which points out to increased mutual respect between EU member states and mitigation of power unevenness between

them, stands out between the intergovernmental terms in the first subcategory. This line of reasoning pointed out in that the EU is not just intergovernmental problem-solving entity, but it includes collective self-understanding as a community of peacefully cooperating states (e.g. Schwarzenberg, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Komárek, *MF DNES*, 2009 May 5th) This indicates contextual conception of rationality in which, according to sociological institutionalism, “people act according to a 'logic of appropriateness' taking cues from their institutional environment as they construct their preferences and select the appropriate behaviour for a given institutional environment.” (Pollack, 2004, 139) Therefore, since the *sovereignty unchallenged* subcategory included intergovernmental and supranational perspectives on European integration (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007), it was placed their intersection.

Grounded Theory analysis showed that advocates used sometimes the term *compromise* to point out that member state sovereignty was respected by the Lisbon Treaty negotiations, which this outcome is a *compromise* with package deals (e.g. Topolánek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Vondra, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th). This concept was placed into a separate subcategory, because it included a wider neofunctional spill-over meaning, according to which the Lisbon Treaty was just a stage in a *constantly developing* European *integration* (Topolánek, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Sobotka, *ibid.*). This meaning assumes that the EU member states can negotiate more integration than intergovernmental minimal integration. Therefore, the *compromise* subcategory is located on the intersection of intergovernmental and supranational perspectives (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007).

Regarding ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, advocates argued that the Czech Republic should *sovereignly* deliberate and *decide* whether the Lisbon Treaty is in national interest (Bursík, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Dienstbier, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Hanák, *Právo*, 2009 May 5th). They declined voluntary external influences on Czech decision-making, because they challenged to opponents' proposal to wait with the ratification until the second Irish referendum. Beside that, advocates highlighted a contradiction in opponents' arguments (Bursík, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Dienstbier, *Právo*, 2009 May 5th) who, on the one hand, argued to wait for the Irish and, on the other hand, criticized that the Lisbon Treaty challenges national sovereignty and does not improve EU's democratic deficit (see 4.3.2). Because this argument combines concept of sovereignty and democratic deliberation about ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, it was placed into a separate subcategory. The *sovereign decision* subcategory argues from intergovernmental perspective (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007), because deliberation about ratification should be a sovereign national democratic process in advocates' view.

A fourth subcategory was differentiated in the Czech debate from issues dealing with democracy, which is the second more abstract concept in this category. Unifying message for

several types of arguments was that the EU is *democratically legitimate* and the Lisbon Treaty *improves it*. The first type argued that the Lisbon Treaty improves EU's democratic deficit, if actors adjust to possibilities provided in the Lisbon Treaty at European (European *Parliament control* through co-decision, *citizens' initiative*, *public sessions* of the Council) as well as national level (e.g. national *parliamentary control* of the EU through 'orange card'²³ procedure and of the Czech government, which will not be able to delegate competences to the EU without consent of the Czech parliament, when the EU Treaty is not amended; Czech Constitutional Court ruled that it has a right to *review constitutionality* of EU law). Actors with this views seem to be more understanding towards EU's non-state condition, because “most views of how to democratise the EU are reducible to conferring upon it the condition of statehood, and thus applying conventional principles of liberal democracy at the Union level.” (Warleigh, 2003, 30)

Second source of arguments, which tried to legitimize ratification the Lisbon Treaty, was *public support* in favour of the EU. It was supported by several resources, e.g. statistical data (e.g. Paroubek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th), positive EU accession referendum (e.g. Paukrtová, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th) or public interest (e.g. Dryml, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th). Newspaper opinion articles, however, pointed out that *public opinion* it does not have to be an outcome of thoughtful public deliberation, because it may be *manipulated*, e.g. French, Dutch and Irish “misused direct democracy” (Hekrdla, *Právo*, 2009 May 9th).

Third argument arguing in favour of democratic legitimacy of the Lisbon Treaty was quality of deliberation on it in the Czech Republic. Advocates – politicians as well as analyzed article authors – thought that there was *sufficient* or even too much *deliberation* (e.g. Paroubek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Severa, *ibid.*; Topolánek, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th). A journalist wrote:

“Czech politicians can apply courageously for an advertisement Oscar. They managed to make a brilliant propagation for a super-boring lengthy Lisbon Treaty by super-boring lengthy debate. If they had approved it immediately, nobody would have been interested. When they voted on it after months of obstruction, piffle, dirty tricks and lies, it is very well known. [...] One of the biggest “propagators” was president Klaus. It was him, who literally wrested it public publicity.” (Komárek, *MF DNES*, 2009 February 19th)

This view was supported by argument that there was “enough time to deliberate” during

23 The Lisbon Treaty innovations is possibility for the national parliaments to control application of subsidiarity and proportionality principles. The European Commission will have to review subsidiarity of a proposed a legislative act, which will be objected by the half of the national parliaments within 8 weeks from the date of transmission of a draft legislative act in the official languages of the EU.

more than one year-long ratification process in the Czech Republic, during which the Lisbon Treaty was discussed at several sessions of both chambers of the Czech parliament and its constitutionality was ruled by the Czech Constitutional Court. As the analysis of this category shows, advocates' view is located in intersection of intergovernmental and supranational perspectives on European integration (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007), because they do not perceive need of post-national communicative logic, in which citizens empowered by political rights participate in public sphere deliberations and critically scrutinize decision-makers, is not very much discussed. Is it perceived so in other countries as well, or is it specific for the Czech Republic? Due to limited scope of research for the Masters' thesis, I can not analyze debate in several other countries, just in Slovakia.

4.3.1.2 Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty

Analysis of Slovak advocates' arguments, with which Smer-SD, HZDS and SNS political parties can be associated, did not lead to development of new subcategories, but contributed to refinement of outcomes from the Czech debate, similarly as in previous categories. Firstly, some actors utilized more instrumental line of reasoning in *sovereignty unchallenged* subcategory, in which the EU was perceived as essential tool for promotion of national interests. For example:

“Ladies and gentlemen, the European Union is not only a goal in itself, thanks to which we can be and live in stable peaceful and united environment. The European Union is a tool for strengthening of national interests and, therefore, also for strengthening of real sovereignty of small states in global economy. And patriotism is also about this. For this reason, Ratification of the Reform Treaty is for me also not only a good news for Europe, but also good news for people in Slovakia.” (Paška, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

Since size and population of Slovakia is approximately twice smaller than of the Czech Republic, realist power conceptions may be one of the factors explaining stronger utilization of instrumental logic in Slovakia. Research design of this thesis did not provide tools for research of this hypothesis or for investigation of other factors, so other research could give some indications from other areas. Johnson's (2008, 831) analysis of why some new EU member states became 'pacesetters' and the other 'laggards' to enter the exchange-rate mechanism II (ERM II) argues that “[s]ize is important for two related reasons: it affects foreign trade dependence and exchange-rate regime choices. In small states with open economies, external market forces tend to discipline fiscal policy more effectively than in larger ones.”

Second essential difference in comparison to the Czech Republic is that there were no references to *sovereign decision* from other countries. This might have been influenced by time difference when the debate took place and Czech opponents utilized negative vote in the first Irish referendum (see 4.3.2.1).

Thirdly, although the Lisbon Treaty was to be ratified in the beginning of the ratification period in Slovakia contrary to the Czech Republic, its clear advocates though that there had been not only enough political dialogue on the EU Treaty reform Treaty (Kubiš, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Fico, *ibid.*; Krajkovič, *ibid.*) – i.e. the Lisbon Treaty and the Constitutional Treaty, which was negotiated by the boycotting opposition's government – but also public dialogue with seminars organized on the occasion of the Convention on the Future of Europe at several towns in the country (Kubiš, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th). The latter dialogue included postnational communicative logic, but its quality could not be analyzed, because there was only one remark, that it took place and the remaining data discussed quality of political dialogue. Thereby, analysis of Slovakia showed that there can be perceived satisfaction with quality of political and public debate, on the Lisbon Treaty shortly after its adoption, i.e. *sufficient deliberation* in general sense, in which actors may include discussion during negotiation of a EU Treaty.

Besides that, boycotting parties' linkage of quality of democracy in Slovakia to Lisbon Treaty ratification was reflected in advocates' counterarguments. So, Slovak advocates widened discussion on democracy beyond its narrow meaning of EU's democracy to argue that there is *sufficient deliberation* and democracy generally, including national level and including the proposed press law, which was objected by boycotting opposition parties (e.g. Fico, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Zala, *ibid.*; Kubiš, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th).

4.3.1.3 Merging Czech and Slovak debate

The analysis of Czech and Slovak debate showed that advocates discussed sovereignty and democracy together in positive sense – i.e. they argued favour of the Lisbon Treaty, because *sovereignty and democracy* are *unchallenged* by it according to them, which is how I called this category. At the same time, axial coding showed that the two concepts were dealing with different issues. Whereas sovereignty considered whether Lisbon Treaty was negotiated, ratified in line with sovereignty principle and does not endanger it, democracy, on the other hand, dealt with democracy at EU and national level. A generalized argument of the *sovereignty and democracy unchallenged* category would claim that: *The Lisbon Treaty not only does not challenge national sovereignty and*

national democracy and in the EU, but provides possibilities to increase them. It is one out of many compromises of sovereign member states, ratification of which has to be deliberated by each state according to its interests.

When considerations of Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model about this category are summarized, advocates' views include intergovernmental and supranational perspectives on European integration, where democratic legitimacy of the EU stems from national and supranational level. Role of communicative logic from post-national perspective is discussed very little by them. Comparison of *democracy and sovereignty unchallenged* category with Braun's (2008) proposal 'the EU as a natural unit' points out that advocates' argumentation shifted from pre-accession general contextual to discussion of concrete issues dealing with sovereignty and democracy after the accession. Therefore, analysis of the Lisbon Treaty debate indicates that broad goal of reaching 'natural political unit' was reached by the accession, and actors can pose counterarguments to criticism that the EU challenges national sovereignty and democracy, which is analyzed in the following paragraphs.

4.3.2 Democracy and sovereignty challenged

4.3.2.1 Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty

The following part is going to analyze positions of the Lisbon Treaty's opponents, the KSČM and Eurosceptic wing of the ODS, who thought that it challenges national sovereignty and that it does not improve democratic legitimacy of the EU. Although adherents of this view claimed negative effects of the Lisbon Treaty on both concepts – sovereignty and democracy – and so they were placed in one category, the Grounded Theory analysis pointed out to conceptual difference between them. For this reason, they were placed in separate subcategories, which is the same outcome as in the previous *ability to act in national interest* category.

The first subcategory to be analyzed are opponents' views with sovereignty as common denominator. The Lisbon Treaty *challenges national sovereignty* according to opponents with internal as well as external consequences. The *internal challenge* to national sovereignty included general expressions (Dundáčková, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Grospič, *ibid.*) as well as concrete issues such as endangering of transatlantic partnership, which was an ODS interest (Schwippel, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Nedoma, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Škaloud, *ibid.*), or overruling of Beneš Decrees (Schwippel, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Grebeníček, *ibid.*). External challenge to national

sovereignty deals with sovereignty in international relations. Opponents criticized abolition of *unanimity* voting in several EU policy areas possibility of change to QMV from unanimity by executive decision, because it was an essential tool for preserving national sovereignty according to them (e.g. Oberfalzer, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th). Besides that, they criticized relative decrease of *voting power* of middle and smaller member states due to increase of *voting power* of big member states, whereby they challenged advocates' view that power matters less in the EU (e.g. Schwippel, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Grospič, *ibid.*, Oberfalzer, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Janáčková, *ibid.*). Even if the sovereignty might not be challenged right now when the Lisbon Treaty enters into force, some opponents criticized neofunctional character of the EU's *developing integration*, because European institutions – such as Common Defence and Security Policy, the position of High Representative and the President of the European Council – would challenge national sovereignty later by strengthening of their power according to them (e.g. Škaloud, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th). Because veto and absolute sovereignty are crucial for opponents and they would prefer roll-back in integration, views in the first subcategory maintain purely intergovernmental perspective in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model. In connection with this, Czech opponents stated commitment to *responsibility to national state*, which constitutes the second type of the term *responsibility*²⁴.

Second subcategory was created in the Czech debate from arguments which pointed out to *pressure* to ratify the Lisbon Treaty, because its meaning included aspects of both concepts present in this category. Firstly, according to opponents, *external pressure* challenging sovereignty was exerted by European partners not only on the Czech Republic, but also on other countries which had not yet ratified the Lisbon Treaty, such as Ireland (e.g. Doktor, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Grospič, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 18th; Pakosta, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th). In this connection they asked, what is the *punishment* for non-ratification. Secondly, there was perceived *domestic pressure* by opposing parliamentarians as individuals being labelled as “conspirators” (Pospíšil, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th), who defended themselves with parliamentarians' freedom of deliberation and vote. Because opponents ascribed ratification deliberation to national level, the *pressure* subcategory argues in clear intergovernmental perspective (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007).

A third subcategory was developed from concepts dealing with democracy issues. Opponents' pointed out by several types of arguments that the Lisbon Treaty does not make the EU more democratic and legitimate, i.e. it has *democratic deficit*. Firstly, it was criticized by opponents not only for its content, but also for its legitimacy connected to its *undemocratic and illegitimate birth*, because it is almost identical with the rejected Treaty on Constitution for Europe with minor changes including less sensitive names to controversial EU positions (e.g. High Representative);

24 The first, *responsibility to the EU*, is analyzed 4.2.1 and the third, *responsibility for democracy*, is analyzed 4.3.2.2

referendums are avoided and Ireland will vote until it will not approve the Lisbon Treaty; and the Charter of Fundamental Rights is ratified indirectly. Besides that it was criticized for being *difficult* and *ambiguous* text. Second type of arguments pointed out that the Lisbon Treaty does not improve EU's democratic deficit in everyday functioning, which is exemplified by arguments that effective national *parliamentary control* is practically *infeasible* (e.g. Kubera, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th); *non-accountable European bureaucracy* (Hanák, *Právo*, 2009 February 20th; Mocek, *Právo*, 2009 February 20th). Some of these arguments indicate that Eurosceptics apply nation-state democracy standards to judge EU's democratic legitimacy, an argument expressed by Warleigh (2003, 30), such as for example easily readable Constitution or accountability of the legislative power to citizens.

Third issue within democracy subcategory, which opponents discussed, was *insufficient* quality of European and national *deberation* about the EU. National public discussion should be stimulated by *referendum* according to them, not least because the Lisbon Treaty substantially changed EU's functioning in their opinion (e.g. Grebeníček, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th; Balín, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Pakosta, *ibid.*). Regarding European debate on the European integration, Eurosceptics claimed that advocates in wide sense – from EU institutions, European and national pro-European politicians to media – lie that there is only one alternative in the European integration available, including the Lisbon Treaty. According to opponents, *criticism* was discredited or *unwelcomed* by advocates (e.g. Pospíšil, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th; Klaus, *MF DNES*, 2009 February 20th), which some speakers paralleled with communist regime. Czech opponents' views on EU's quality democracy could be characterised to be in the intersection of intergovernmental and postnational perspective in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model, because they associate democracy with nation state and they criticized insufficient quality of deliberation on European integration at national as well as European level.

4.3.2.2 Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty

If in-between arguments of boycotting SDKÚ-DS and SMK are left aside and analyzed in the respective subheading (see 4.3.3), analysis of KDH's criticism of the EU contributed to refinement of several aspects from the Czech debate, but it did not lead to creation of new subcategories. Firstly, parliamentarians from the KDH pointed out that the main concern of opponents in the first *sovereignty challenged* subcategory is: “the whole debate is about where decisions will be made [in Brussels or in national parliament] and who will decide.” (Lipšic, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th) KDH's view reconfirms intergovernmental character of this subcategory, because the political party

preferred decision-making at national level, especially in value-based policies, its main concern.

Secondly, external *pressure* to ratify the Lisbon Treaty, part of the second subcategory, was not discussed so intensively in the Slovak debate as in the Czech Republic. Limited research of the Masters' thesis did not allow to analyze factors influencing this difference. I can only hypothesize that one factor might have been time difference when the analyzed debates took place. Whereas the Slovak debate is from the end of January 2008, beginning of ratification period of the Lisbon Treaty when only Hungary had approved it, the analyzed Czech debate took place in the first half of 2009, when the Czech Republic was one of the four last countries to finish ratification²⁵. After majority of the member states had approved the Lisbon Treaty, including Eurosceptic countries such as the United Kingdom, expectation, that it will be approved in the few remaining member states, may have been perceived as legitimate in the EU and so it may have influenced the rhetoric with which the Czech Republic was approached.

Thirdly, *low accountability of the European Parliament* “without a European nation” (Lipšic, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th) is an explicit expression in the third subcategory – *democratic deficits* – which strengthens indication that opponents evaluate EU's democratic legitimacy according to nation state democracy standards. This indication was reaffirmed zero-sum relationship between national and European democracy according to which increase in EU's competences decreases accountability on national level and will cause increase of nationalism that will serve, according to KDĽ, as an excuse (e.g. Mikloško, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th). Opponents' views, therefore, associate democracy with nation state, which represents intergovernmental perspective on European integration in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model.

Fourthly, a question emerges, how was quality of debate on the Lisbon Treaty evaluated in Slovakia where its ratification was scheduled early in the beginning of the ratification period? The analysis of this thesis showed that insufficiency of public discussion was criticized not only by the Eurosceptic KDĽ (e.g. *Abrhan*, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th, *Sabolová*, *ibid.*; *Hrušovský*, *ibid.*), but also by some journalists in analyzed newspaper articles, who besides lack of public discussion criticized political elites' disinterest – opponents and advocates alike – to have it (Schutz, *SME*, 2008 February 5th; Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 March 31th; Schutz, *SME*, 2008 April 12th). Because the analysis of Czech debate showed satisfaction of several actors, both politicians and journalists, on this issue after a year of ratification process (see 4.3.1.1), a hypothesis can be formulated whether time to deliberate and lively public debate could be one of factors determining evaluation of quality of EU debate and its democratic legitimacy. A further research is needed to investigate this, because

25 Ireland was going to hold a second referendum in October 2009, Polish president was waiting for the repeated Irish referendum and the Supreme Court judged Lisbon Treaty's constitutionality in Germany.

this thesis can reflect findings of its limited research.

4.3.2.3 *Merging Czech and Slovak debate*

The analysis of opponents' views shows that they opposed advocates' arguments – i.e. the Lisbon Treaty challenged member state sovereignty and it does not improve EU's democratic legitimacy neither through national nor through European level. Therefore, these two categories constitute a dimension of opposing viewpoints. Even some subcategories developed by axial coding reflect each other, e.g. *sovereignty challenged* vs. *sovereignty unchallenged*, *democratic legitimacy improvement* vs. *democratic deficits*. Similarly, opponents seemed to evaluate democratic legitimacy of the EU generally and concretely the Lisbon Treaty rather on basis of criteria applied to nation state democracies, as opposed to advocates who were found to be more sympathetic to EU's non-state character. To summarize, a typical Czech or Slovak opponents' argument on sovereignty and democracy would claim that: *Individual freedom to decide, internal sovereignty of a member state and its external sovereignty in international relations are challenged by the Lisbon Treaty content and by the way of its ratification. Voting 'yes' on it improves neither its democratic deficit of the EU nor debate on European integration at national and European level*. Because both sovereignty and quality of democracy are perceived to be challenged by the Lisbon Treaty, this category was named *sovereignty and democracy challenged*.

A summary of insights of Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model on *sovereignty and democracy challenged* category shows that it is a rather clearly intergovernmental perspective. The EU should be, according to opponents, an intergovernmental organization of member states protecting of their national sovereignty during ratification stage as well as in everyday functioning of the EU, where unanimous voting is preferred. Although Czech and Slovak opponents associated democracy mainly with nation state, they utilized postnational perspective for criticism of quality of deliberation on the EU, because their views were perceived to be denounced rather than respected.

Comparison of the outcomes of the Lisbon Treaty debate analysis to pre-accession debate (Braun, 2008), when the EU was perceived to be “artificial unit” challenging the natural unit - nation state's sovereignty and democracy, lost of which “cannot be compensated for by the sovereignty gained at the European level” (Braun, 2008, 42) – shows, that although opponents still considered the EU to be an artificial unit, they accepted membership and engaged in the debate about desirable character of the EU. For example they discussed whether Lisbon Treaty changes will in practise improve democratic legitimacy of the EU, such as national parliaments' control of

subsidiarity and proportionality of EU's legislation proposals.

4.3.3 In-between views

After the positions of clear advocates and opponents on democracy and sovereignty were analyzed, views of actors in-between can be compared to them. Introduction to the subheading, which deals with sovereignty and democracy, already indicated that there was one group of in-between actors in each of the analyzed countries, the Czech republic and Slovakia. Each group had his own motives and explanatory arguments. Therefore, I analyze them separately first and then common considerations are made.

In the Czech Republic, the in-between views on democracy and sovereignty were held regarding the content of the Lisbon Treaty explicitly. On the one hand, actors acknowledged weakening of state's sovereignty, (e.g. increase of policies decided by *QMV*; increase of *voting power* of big member states and decrease by small member states; widening of the flexibility clause in Art. 352 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU; simplified revision of EU's primary law, i.e. the Treaties; third pillar comes into the first Community pillar; the High Representative post) or not sufficient quality of discussion on the EU generally and the Lisbon Treaty concretely. On the other hand, they acknowledged also, that the Lisbon Treaty has some features, which protect sovereignty and improve democratic deficit of the EU (e.g. *compromise*; transfer of competences on the EU has to be unanimous; biggest member states can not create *QMV* alone; outlined procedure of withdrawal from the EU; against increase of Russian influence; national *parliamentary control*; compulsory national parliament consent for *competence delegation* to the EU; increase of the European Parliament powers). This position was characteristic for pragmatic pro-European ODS politicians (e.g. prime minister Topolánek, Senate chairman Sobotka, Senator Sušický), although some other actors expressed this view in the parliamentary and media debate, too (KSČM Senator Balín; Mitrofanov, *Právo*, 2009 February 9th; Hanák, *Právo*, 2009 May 13th).

The in-between views on sovereignty and democracy in Slovakia were held by boycotting pro-European political parties SDKÚ-DS and SMK. The analysis showed that they did not have reservations regarding the content of the Lisbon Treaty, i.e. they shared views of *democracy sovereignty unchallenged* category. Boycotting political parties (e.g. Csáky, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Kukan, *ibid.*; Hort, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th) justified their action by larger importance of commitment to *responsibility for national democracy* of Slovakia, quality of which was according to SDKÚ-DS and SMK unsatisfactory regarding dialogue with opposition and

freedom of press, than the *responsibility* to their European partners and commitment to pro-European image (see 4.2.1). A third meaning of the term *responsibility*²⁶ was identified in this argumentation, which was differentiated by this thesis. Because SDKÚ-DS and SMK's concern for democracy refers to lack of democracy generally, this argument can be categorized into *democratic deficit* subcategory of *sovereignty democracy challenged* category, if interpretation of democracy is widened beyond narrow concern about democracy of the EU to democracy generally, i.e. national as well as the EU. Flexibility of interpretation of this issue was later proved by the boycotting SMK itself, which betrayed boycott in the end and voted for the Lisbon Treaty's ratification. Its move was officially justified by increasing the importance of pro-European commitment (Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 April 11th; Morvay, *SME*, 2008 April 12th).

On the other hand, sincerity of the opposition's democracy improvement justification was challenged by government coalition and journalists, who pointed to possible domestic political contest motives behind boycott (e.g. Fico, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th; Číž, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th; Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 February 1st; Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 January 31st). Similarly, several articles argued that a political deal with the government on Hungarian issues and SMK lobby group's interests were behind the SMK's betrayal of boycott (Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 April 11th; Morvay, *SME*, 2008 April 12th). These arguments point out to national political contest from perspective of the first dimension *EU's ability to act in national interest*.

How can be evaluated the two explanations, official political party and alleged back-stage claims, in the model developed by this thesis, if each of them is from other dimension? Because this thesis can not determine authenticity of neither of them, I decided to treat each as genuine explanation and so impact of each explanation is considered in relation to its respective dimension - alleged claim on *EU's ability to act* and official justification on *sovereignty and democracy*. Consequentially, the alleged back-stage claim about political contest weakened boycotting parties position of their pro-European commitment on *EU's able to act in national interest* category. This effected SDKÚ-DS more than the SMK, because it stuck to the boycott. For the SMK, on the other hand, pro-European commitment and stakes in political contest were more important, therefore, it had stronger *EU's able to act in national interest* position.

Besides concern for democracy, *pressure* to ratify the Lisbon Treaty was also discussed by boycotting political parties from opponent's views in *sovereignty and democracy challenged* category. Concretely, *domestic pressure* exerted by the government, which refused negotiations with opposition and tried to hold a vote on Lisbon Treaty ratification, was criticized. A columnist argued:

26 For responsibility to EU partners see 4.2.1 and for responsibility to national interests see 4.3.2.

“Maybe we suspect right that Mad’arič’s [27] idea to vote [about the Lisbon Treaty] on Thursday even without opposition support is mere increase of pressure according to a original template, that Dzurinda [28] and Csáky [29], stressed from the label mis-chief makers of the European integration, will surrender in the end-play.” (Schutz, *SME*, 2008 February 5th)

Columnists suspected in a newspaper articles (e.g. Schutz, *SME*, 2008 January 30th; Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 January 31st) that the government strongest party, Smer-SD, was motivated to act so, because it was interested to get credit for successful ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in review of its application to Party of European Socialists, which was at that time going on. SDKÚ-DS and SMK’s counterargument was that they have a right to condition ratification with the press law and that they have a right to boycott. Domestic *pressure* to ratify argument was for this controversy more developed in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic.

From this follows a question, how was perceived external pressure in Slovakia, which was in depth discussed by opponents in the Czech Republic? External pressure was not perceived as illegitimate challenge to national sovereignty in the Slovak debate, because the boycotting SDKÚ-DS and SMK expressed themselves a strong pro-European commitment and ties with the European parties were argued to be important for them, what other actors including the media was aware of (e.g. Daniš, *Pravda*, 2008 February 1st; Hrabko, *SME*, 2008 January 31st). As was pointed out above, Smer-SD had also strong self-interest to express pro-European attitude. Therefore, attitudes of political parties in Slovakia can be evaluated as *reliability to the EU* from *EU’s able to act in national interest* category rather than *external pressure* challenging national sovereignty and democracy, which was criticized only in the Czech Republic.

As the analysis of in-between views shows, actors’ views included a mixture of arguments from both categories on the sovereignty democracy dimension – *sovereignty and democracy unchallenged* and *sovereignty and democracy challenged*. There can not be identified a pattern, which would distinguish these views from the clearly profiled opponents or advocates. Characteristic for in-between attitudes is, however, that they are neither positively nor negatively radical. Therefore, position of pro-European ODS, SDKÚ-DS and SMK and other actors not affiliated them can be located on the verge between the two categories.

27 Minister of culture, who proposed the controversial press law, with which the opposition parties justified their boycott.

28 Chairman of pro-European SDKÚ-DS, a former prime minister, who defeated Mečiar in 1998 and lead Slovakia with his coalition to the EU and NATO membership.

29 Chairman of SMK, a pro-European political party, which was part of Dzurinda’s two governments. Csáky was deputy-prime minister responsible for European integration, human rights and minorities.

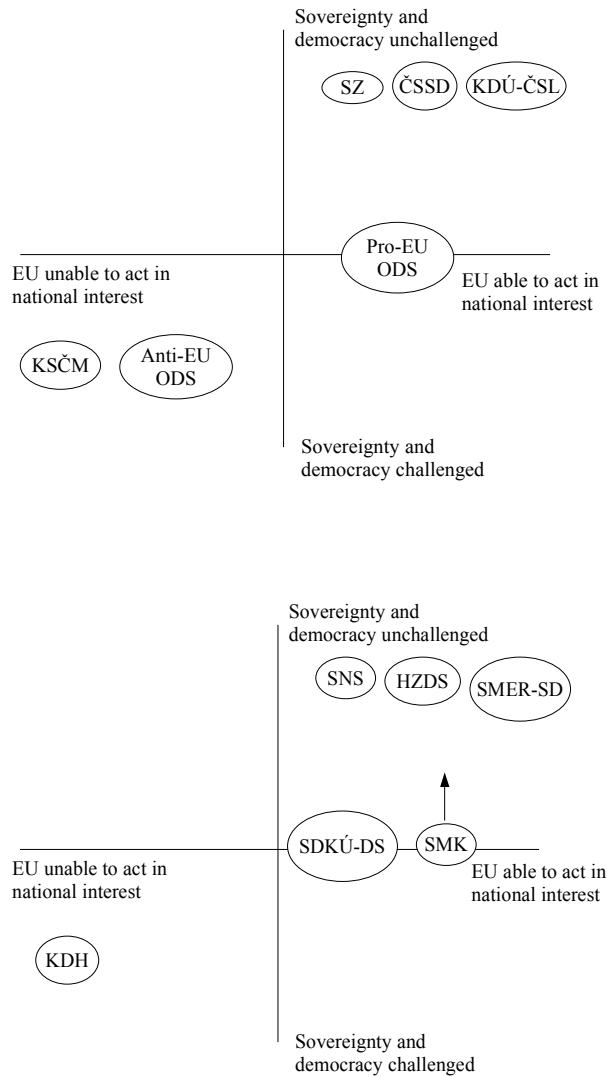
4.4 Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate summarized

The analysis of the structure of Czech and Slovak parliamentary and media debate about the Lisbon Treaty lead to a development of a two dimensional model of the debate with these axes: ability to act in national interest and condition of sovereignty and democracy. Although the analysis above referred also opinions of individuals not affiliated with the political parties expressed in the selected newspaper articles, summary of this subheading locates only political parties and groups in them. Reason for that is, that this Masters' thesis aimed to conceptualize the debate and not to analyze preferences of daily newspapers on European integration, as Conrad's (2009) research did, nor to identify views of concrete individuals, who engaged in the debate.

The axes allowed the actors to separate categories of arguments, if necessary, and to justify their attitude by giving more importance to one or the other dimension. As the analysis showed, this division was utilized by pro-European wing of the Czech ODS and Slovak SDKÚ-DS and SMK, who held in-between views on sovereignty and democracy dimension, which included arguments from both positions sovereignty and democracy challenged and sovereignty and democracy unchallenged. Other actors held either positive views on both dimensions, i.e. were clear advocates of approval of the Lisbon Treaty – Czech ČSSD, SZ, KDÚ-ČSL and Slovak Smer-SD, HZDS, SNS, or they had negative views on both dimensions. i.e. opposed ratification of the Lisbon Treaty – Czech Eurosceptic wing of the ODS and KSČM and Slovak KDH. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate these typical positions. Position of the political parties within the four categories does not distinguish strength of their commitment to each position, because it could not be measured in a qualitative study with limited data. The only aspect, which is graphically differentiated, is the strength of *EU ability to act in national interest* dimension for SMK and SDKÚ-DS, because it influenced ending of boycott by the SMK, as was pointed out above (see 4.3.3).

If the two dimensional model of the analysis of Czech and Slovak parliamentary and media debate is investigated through lens of Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model of three perspectives on European integration, a puzzle emerges: advocates argued in intersection of intergovernmental and postnational perspective to be the goals, which the EU pursues in the *EU able to act in national interest* category, and on the other hand their views on *sovereignty and democracy unchallenged* category were located in the intersection of intergovernmental and supranational perspective, where the legitimacy of the EU was generated and sustained according to them. Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) three perspectives are ideal position and if I would like to characterize findings of this thesis Grounded Theory research by them, they have to be adjusted. The difference in advocates' usage of perspectives, which was identified by this thesis, can be

Figure 4.1 Ideal positions of political parties in Czech debate on the Lisbon Treaty



explained, if a distinction is made in between performance of the EU and its legitimacy. Concretely, advocates' view of intergovernmental-supranational character of EU's legitimacy, in which role of communicative logic is little discussed and actors refer generally to public support for EU, does not preclude the member states and EU actors to agree on intergovernmental-postnational goals of the EU. Contrary to advocates, opponents of the Lisbon Treaty ratification pleaded for intergovernmental approach, i.e. downscaling of the integration in both dimensions. According to them, if state preserves its sovereignty, it is able to act in national interest and sustain sufficient quality of democracy. This viewpoint was supported by arguments from postnational and supranational perspective, e.g. low quality of European public debate, lack of unity on European values, or no EU member state would isolate other. Although advocates' views were not purely intergovernmental, this perspective played indispensable role also in their expressed attitudes, too. Since this Masters' thesis qualitatively analyzed debates only in two new EU member states and no

debate from an old member state, I can not evaluate influence of the membership on frequency of usage of intergovernmental and federal argumentation in the Czech Republic and Slovakia in comparison to Drulák's (2006) pre-accession qualitative and quantitative study, where he found out that "EU members are much keener on the picture of the EU as CONTAINER [metaphor standing for supranational approaches except for neofunctionalism], the EU candidates prefer the construction of the EU as EQUILIBRIUM [metaphor standing for intergovernmental approaches]." (Drulák, 2008, 520)

A comparison of the four Lisbon Treaty debate categories to Braun's (2008) theoretical model of pre-accession debate on the European integration showed that there is both, continuation and change, in the categories while two axial model remained to be relevant for explanation of actors' views. Continuation is reflected in partial relevance of Braun's (2008) four proposals encompassed in the meaning of respective Lisbon Treaty categories. Change is reflected in the adjustment to the fact of membership and engagement of the actors in discussion of concrete the issues of EU's functioning rather than ideological discussion whether the EU forces an 'ideological project' on the member states or whether it is 'a natural unit'.

4.5 Validity of the analysis of the Lisbon Treaty debate

Presentation of outcomes is one part of a research, but a validity has to be critically assessed, so that the researcher shows his ability to judge merits of his work. Since this thesis followed Grounded Theory elaborated by Corbin and Strauss (1998, 2008), in order to be consistent, the lines below follow evaluative criteria outlined by these authors (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 269) when their method of data analysis is applied. Selection of parliamentary debate shortly before the ratification vote proved to be useful for a limited scope of a Masters' thesis research, because it provided a wide variety of arguments on a limited space. Analysis of opinion articles shortly before and after relevant sessions was beneficial, despite the methodological disadvantages of using empirical data from media, where several forces, including agenda-setting, intervene. It provided historical and back-stage context besides widening of actors, who expressed their views. Although the selected parliamentary debate presented views of Czech and Slovak political parties, it was intense and some arguments, sincerity of which this thesis could not research, may have been over-exaggerated by politicians. Acknowledging this weakness, the analyzed data are relevant for a social constructivist research, because as comparison of results of this thesis with other research showed, that most Slovak and Czech political parties sustained consistency and continuity in their views on the

European integration or the Lisbon Treaty in the decisive moment of ratification vote. Even slight deviations from earlier positions or inconsistencies in positions were fiercely criticized and official positions were questioned, as was exemplified by the boycotting SDKÚ-DS and the SMK or by the SNS.

Although vague image of the division between two initial categories was perceived already after the global analysis stage and some subcategories were proposed, the detailed analysis of the Czech debate proved relevance of the initial categories, which lead to development of four categories on two dimensions. Analysis of the Slovak debate did not significantly change them, but provided a beneficial refinement. Due to limited scope of Masters' thesis, I could not apply theoretical sampling until theory is saturated, as Corbin and Strauss (1998, 136) outline. It would have required not only widening of research methods and data in Slovakia and the Czech republic, as became apparent during this Masters' thesis analysis, but also widening of the research to more EU member states would have been beneficial. For example, in order to incorporate in the research a debate from a state, which is for a longer time member of the EU, some of the old 12 or 15 member states could have been included. As the analysis above pointed out (see 4.1.3), the views of actors could be categorized and analyzed easily, because was high clarity of expressed opinion on the Lisbon Treaty and European integration. Only one politician (Senator Balín), who participated in the Czech parliamentary debate, deviated from position of his political party (KSČM), so his position was treated according to his attitudes, which fitted into the developed model. All in all, development of categories and characteristics of dimensions was gradual, constantly ongoing, difficult and complicated. The model developed by this thesis clearly clarified, when findings were interpreted in light of chosen theoretical models, and its relevance was confirmed when it engaged in discussion with other research.

5 Conclusion

A deeper analysis of Czech and Slovak Lisbon Treaty debate by Grounded Theory shows that in order to conceptualize debate on European integration in these two states, a simple differentiation between advocates and opponents of the Lisbon Treaty is not sufficient. There were also not-clear advocates in the Czech Republic and Slovakia who on the one hand pointed out to disadvantages of approving the Lisbon Treaty, but on the other hand acknowledged importance of commitment to the EU and active non-boycotting engagement in it. Differentiation between these two issues lead to development of two concepts – EU ability to act in national interest and condition of sovereignty and democracy – which actors discussed from negative, positive or mixed point of view and they could differentiate between them if necessary. These two concepts point out that attitudes of Slovak and Czech actors towards the EU and European integration are an outcome of judgement, which considers EU's impact and performance on these two issues. Although actors' evaluations tend to remain consistent (exemplified in continuation pro-European advocates and communist and liberal Eurosceptic views in the Czech Republic and conservative Christian Euroscepticism in Slovakia), balancing between evaluation on these two issues enabled actors to justify modifications in their attitudes and so to flexibilize them (e.g. affirmative attitude to the Lisbon Treaty of not clear advocates in the Czech Republic and boycott of its ratification by Slovak opposition parties). Explanatory power of this conclusion may be considered not only in research of debates on other issues of European integration in these two countries, but also analysis of debates in other countries may consider relevance of this model or its alternation.

Second conclusion is that, if distinction is made between arguments about EU's goals and legitimacy in propositions of Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) three perspectives on European integration, this theoretical model can characterize claims in the *EU ability to act in national interest* and *condition of sovereignty and democracy* concepts. This confirms Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) assessment of explanatory power of each perspective, according to which the current EU does not correspond to any ideal perspective. This thesis analysis of the Lisbon Treaty debate show that Lisbon Treaty advocates had intergovernmental-supranational character of their views and opponents' views had intergovernmental character. This indicates that Czech and Slovak actors locate EU's legitimacy primarily at national state or supranational level. Regarding EU's goals, the analysis showed that Lisbon Treaty's advocates' views were of intergovernmental and postnational character, whereas opponent's argued for minimalist intergovernmental approach of unanimous consensus on EU's activities. This points out that it is not decisive, whether a goal is

instrumental in intergovernmental sense or postnational (e.g. promotion of democracy, rule of law, environmental protection...), but whether it is in member states' interest. Inspection of this conclusion in other cases of debates on European integration in the Czech Republic and Slovakia or in other states could develop this finding more.

Third conclusion points out that although the model characterizing Czech and Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty remained similar to pre-accession debate (Braun, 2008), this thesis' research indicated changes in the argumentation in current discussion in these two new EU member states. The Lisbon Treaty debate was less ideological in the sense that concrete issues about EU's functioning and its evaluation were discussed in detail in both dimensions by actors with pro-European and Eurosceptic views. This could indicate influence of changed conditions – being a member of the EU. In order to provide relevant outcomes, research focused on comparing debates before and after the accession to the EU would have to investigate this issue.

These conclusions indicate, how current debate on European integration in the Czech Republic and Slovakia could be conceptualized and theorized. During analysis, the limitations of the Masters' thesis became apparent, mainly widening of researched data by theoretical sampling, which is assumed by Grounded Theory research method, would have been necessary in order to provide a less issue and country specific image of an EU member state debate. Although this thesis provides relevant outcomes, validity of such widened research would be larger. Despite its limitations, it contributes to understanding of debate on European integration in these new EU member states, where there is with lack of theoretically based academic discourse or there is little current empirical research on the topic as is for example in Slovakia.

Executive summary

Analysis of the debate on the European Union (EU) in the Czech Republic and Slovakia is intriguing, because it did not develop into a similar discussion due to common history and region, which these two countries share. On the contrary, it has completely different characteristics on the first sight. On the one hand, the Czech Republic is considered to be a strongly Eurosceptic country. On the other hand, the EU and European integration are perceived not to be questioned in Slovakia. Most of current research on this issue analyzes the debate in these new EU member states generally and it does not aim to develop a more abstract model, which would explain it in simpler terms. Advantage of such a model is, that it would make the Czech and Slovak debate on European integration easily comparable with debate in other states and also in time. Although scope of a Masters' thesis research is very limited, this thesis would like to fill in this hole in current research. This paper analyzes one of the most current debates, where future of European integration was discussed - the Lisbon Treaty, which is the newest EU's Treaty.

The Masters' thesis not only describes outcomes of its research, but it also engages in academic discussion with other research. By doing so, it utilizes the advantage of an abstract model, that it is comparable to other relevant theoretical models. Two theoretical models were selected for this paper. The first one is Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model, in which authors outline three ideal normative preferences on European integration. The first logic is intergovernmental, according to which European integration is perceived as a tool for problems-solving, which states can not handle alone. In this view, the EU's legitimacy is derived from member states and it is evaluated according to its performance. The second, supranational, logic assumes more integration which should be based on shared values and common identity. The EU is legitimized according to this logic by democratic procedures in the EU itself. The third normative preference conceives the EU to be a postnational community based on rights. In this case, the EU's legitimacy is derived from deliberation in European-wide public sphere. Analysis of the thesis' outcomes through this general theoretical model reinterprets them in acknowledged theoretical terms. Moreover, such application of the Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) work to empirical data shows this models' ability to explain real views of actors.

Motivation for selection of the second theoretical model is the fact, that there is a lack of research on post-accession debate in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The Master's thesis selects Braun's (2008) research, which developed an abstract model of the debate on European integration before the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and Sweden became members of the EU. According to Braun (2008), it can be described by a two dimensional model, in which actors express their views on two issues. The first one is, whether or not it is the EU who catalyzes progress of a state in general sense. The second issue, which actors evaluate, is whether or not the EU endangers sovereignty of a state. Comparison of the Lisbon Treaty debate analysis with this pre-

accession model enables this paper to consider, how the debate has changed after the accession.

Before the paper could proceed with the analysis part, methodological choices have to be made. The Masters' thesis is a qualitative research in which the Czech and Slovak debate on European integration are studied from social constructivist approach. In other words, it analyzes how actors discursively construct the EU and European integration. Grounded Theory is chosen as the method of data analysis. By applying it, an empirical research gradually develops abstract concepts and models. This method is not applied in its whole scope, because it is limited by Masters' thesis research possibilities. Rather, it is utilized for an analysis of selected data. In order to analyse a reasonable amount of data, which provide relevant views of politicians, the parliamentary session debates were selected, which took place before the ratification vote on the Lisbon Treaty. In order to widen empirical material by other actors, who expressed their views in public discussion, opinion articles were collected from two largest traditional newspapers per country, which have different political viewpoints – *Mladá fronta DNES* and *Právo* from the Czech Republic and *SME* and *Pravda* from Slovakia. The newspapers were reviewed for articles in a period which started two weeks before the first day of the parliamentary session, which is analysed by this thesis, and which ended one week after the parliament approved the Lisbon Treaty. When all these decisions were made, a research question, which this thesis analyzes, was formulated:

How can parliamentary and media debate about the Lisbon Treaty ratification in the Czech Republic and Slovakia be conceptualized? How can it be theorized in intergovernmental, supranational and post-national normative orientations on European integration and EU democracy (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007)? Does the debate indicate continuation or change in the pre-accession meta-narratives about modernity and sovereignty, which Braun (2008) identified?

After the empirical material was collected, I began to analyze it. First, I familiarized myself with the data in a global analysis. This enabled me to make some methodological decisions before I analyzed the debate by Grounded Theory research method. The fourth analytical chapter presents outcomes of this detailed analysis. In addition to this, the findings are discussed in relation to the two selected theoretical models, which were outlined above.

The analysis of the Lisbon Treaty debate shows that it was not possible to make a simple differentiation between opponents and advocates or opposition and coalition. Reason this is that there were actors who said: “although I think ..., I do ...”. Further analysis lead to a conclusion that actors' views on the Lisbon Treaty are an outcome of balancing attitudes between two issues – whether **the EU can act in national interest** and whether it **challenges sovereignty and democracy**.

Regarding the EU's **ability to act in national interest**, actors in the Czech and Slovak debate were divided on advocates and opponents. Advocates claimed that **the EU can act in national interest** if their member state adopts active diplomatic and political approach to the EU affairs. Furthermore, they claimed that the Lisbon Treaty makes the EU more action capable and there is no alternative to it. Besides that, advocates supported their claims by arguments that the EU membership was beneficial for their country and they appealed to be responsible towards European partners and public, because commitments should be kept. A detailed inspection of these advocates' views shows that goals, which the EU should promote have a mixture of intergovernmental and postnational character according to Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model. Although the reasoning of advocates in the Lisbon Treaty debate was also instrumental as before the accession (Braun, 2008), their argumentation was less self-centered, more community based and concrete EU issues were discussed in detail. This modification might reflect identification with the role of full member of the EU.

On the other hand, opponents claimed that **the EU can not act in national interest**. EU's ability to act does not depend from a Treaty, but from the ability of the member states to agree in this opinion. Furthermore, opponents claimed that the Lisbon Treaty is dispensable and pointed out to negative characteristics of the EU as an over-bureaucratized organisation. Because advocates' and opponents' arguments present opposing views on many issues, they constitute two poles of one axis. Although some concepts reflect each other, the reflection is not perfect. This paper argues that reason for opponents' refusal of current European integration is that the EU does not reflect their preferences, which have different philosophical background. The empirical data for this thesis included views of extreme liberal and extreme left communist Eurosceptics in the Czech Republic and conservative Christian Eurosceptics in Slovakia. The analysis shows that Czech and Slovak opponents recourse to intergovernmental views (Eriksen & Fossum, 2004, 2007), because, if they can not put through their interests at European level, they can try to do so at least national level, where it could be easier. Comparison with pre-accession debate points out, that opponents, too, adjusted their argumentation to the EU membership. The opponents discussed in detail concrete problems of EU's functioning during the Lisbon Treaty debate besides ideological dissatisfaction with character of the European integration, which they objected also before the accession to the EU.

When the question whether **the EU challenges or does not challenge sovereignty and democracy** was analyzed, actors' opinions could be categorized a little differently. There were not only advocates and opponents, but also there were actors, who had views from both viewpoints on sovereignty and democracy issue. Since the analysis of in-between views is based on arguments of clear advocates and opponents, they are outlined in the paper as first. According to advocates, **sovereignty and democracy are unchallenged** by the Lisbon Treaty, because it does not challenge state sovereignty, it is an outcome of compromise between member states and it improves democratic legitimacy of the EU. Besides that Czech advocates point out, that the Czech decision on ratification is a sovereign matter of their state. In advocates' opinion, the EU should be legitimized through democracy in the member states' and through supranational democracy in the

EU. This viewpoint positions advocates into an intersection of intergovernmental and supranational logic in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model. A comparison with pre-accession debate shows that they discussed more concrete issues regarding sovereignty and democracy. So, the advocates' argumentation became more concrete and less contextual.

Contrary to advocates, opponents argued that the Lisbon Treaty **challenges sovereignty and democracy**. According to them, not only state sovereignty is challenged by the new Treaty, but also it does not improve democratic deficit of the EU. Furthermore, opponents criticize that they perceive external and internal pressure to ratify the Lisbon Treaty. These opinions have mainly intergovernmental characteristic in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model, but opponents also utilized postnational logic, by which they criticized deficient quality of deliberation in the EU. Similarly, as by previous categories' comparison with the pre-accession debate, opponents engaged in the discussion of concrete issues about sovereignty and democracy. Opponents, however, did not cease to criticize the EU after the accession (Braun, 2008) from ideological point of view, that it is an artificial unit.

The third type of views on sovereignty and democracy were held by those actors, who positioned themselves on the verge between clear advocates and clear opponents, when the question of sovereignty and democracy was discussed. Their views were in-between, because they contained a mixture of advocates' and opponents' views. This argumentation was characteristic for those discussants who argued "although I think ..., I do ...".

So, the Masters' thesis empirical analysis led to a development of a flexible two dimensional model. Its axes locate actors according to his viewpoint on the issue of **EU's ability to act in national interest** and **condition of sovereignty and democracy**. In all categories, the Slovak debate on Lisbon Treaty did not prove to be completely different from the Czech debate. On the contrary, it was similar in many aspects and it refined findings from the Czech debate. As the brief reinterpretation of actors' views in Eriksen and Fossum's (2004, 2007) model showed above, advocates argued with different set of normative preferences in the two axes. The paper argues that, in order to explain Czech and Slovak debate on the Lisbon Treaty by this theoretical model, a distinction has to be made between views on EU's performance and its legitimacy within each ideal normative preference outlined by Eriksen and Fossum (2004, 2007). Comparison of the Lisbon Treaty debate with the pre-accession debate (Braun, 2008) shows that the pre-accession model is only partially relevant for explanation of the debate after the state acceded to the EU. More concrete issues of EU's functioning are discussed in the current debate. This modification probably reflects change in status - from a candidate state to a full member.

Although this thesis strived to increase its validity as much as possible and qualitatively analyses relevant data, methodological choices, which were made due to limitations of a Masters' thesis

research, limited this paper. Widening of research methods, by which data were gathered, and of the data itself would have been necessary. Then, Grounded Theory research method could be applied in whole and it would not be just utilized for analysis of selected data, as the Masters' thesis does. Despite these limitations, this paper contributes to current empirical and theoretical knowledge about the debate on European integration by analysing the debate on the Lisbon Treaty in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Although this research was limited, it provides relevant outcomes which can be further developed.

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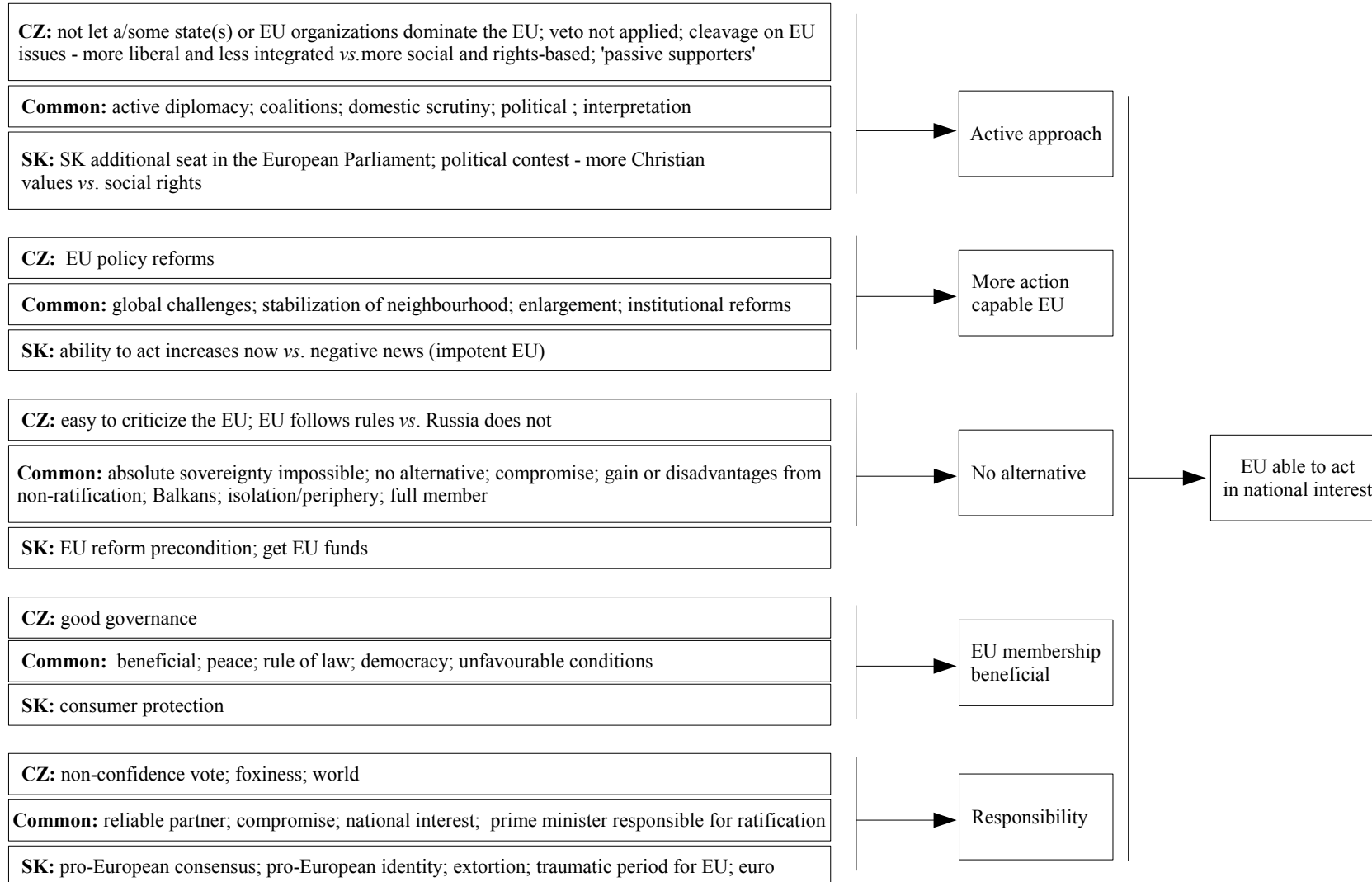
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Appendix 1

Table 1 The Czech and Slovak parliamentary and media debate on the Lisbon Treaty



CZ: quick integration; ODS: more liberal and less social-democratic; transatlantic alliance and Turkish membership

Common: voting procedure; voting power; unable to put through national interests

SK: less Commissioners; seat in the European Parliament; no requests; KDH – Christian values, not regulate value-based areas, less social democratic

CZ: unilateral actions

SK: not united in value-based policies

Common (including CZ): Nice Treaty; nothing happens; no decision-making deadlock; no periphery

SK: good proposals passed in unanimity; over-regulated

Common: EU over-bureaucratized

EU not act in national interest

Disunited EU

Lisbon Treaty dispensable

Over-bureaucratization

EU unable to act in national interest

CZ: Beneš Decrees in force; legalize already existing EU competences; big member states can not create QMV alone

Common: competence delegation; clearer competence delineation; the EU Charter not increase EU competences; IR anarchy mitigated

SK: realize national interests through EU; EU legal personality not endanger member states' sovereignty

CZ: national governments negotiated not Convent

Common (including SK): compromise; constantly developing integration

CZ: Czech sovereign decision

CZ: public sessions of the Council of the EU; of constitutionality

Common: parliamentary control; EU citizens' initiative; clearer EU structure; public support; public opinion manipulation; sufficient deliberation

SK: more citizens' rights

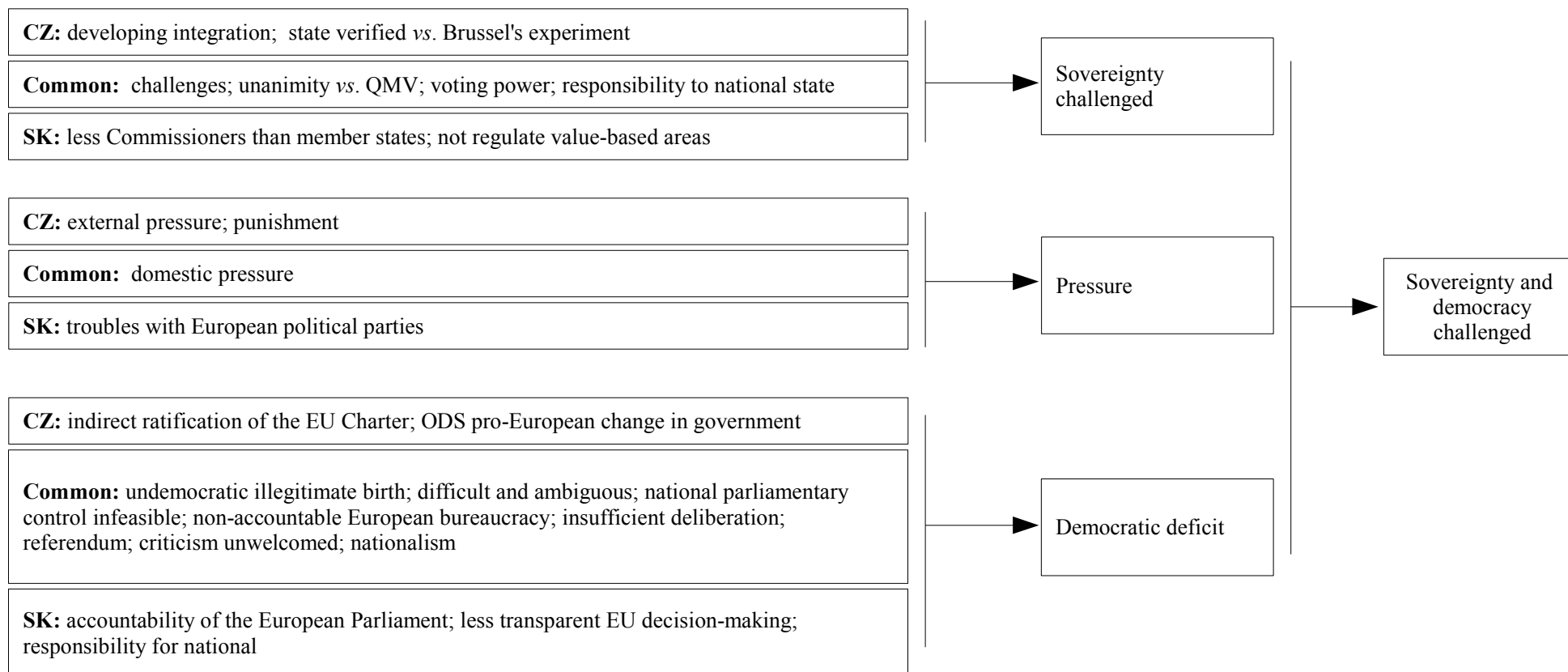
Sovereignty unchallenged

Compromise

Sovereign decision

Democratic Legitimacy improvement

Sovereignty and democracy unchallenged



* CZ – Czech Republic

* SK – Slovakia

Appendix 2 List of Analyzed Newspaper Articles

Mladá Fronta DNES (MF DNES)

- Bystroň, Petr. “Proti Lisabonu? Asi...”, *MF DNES* 2009 May 12th.
- Carré, Otto. “Ať nás zpravuje Brusel”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 6th.
- Fišera, Ivan. “Lisabon raději ano, ale bez iluzí”, *MF DNES* 2009 May 6th.
- Flek, Vladislav. “Euro za tuto krizi skutečně nemůže”, *MF DNES* 2009 April 22nd.
- Hagemann, Sara – Schmidt, Hans-Jörg. “Pasti české mission impossible“, *MF DNES* 2009 April 30th.
- Hokovský, Radko. “V Unii Česko obstálo. Zato naši politici ne“, *MF DNES* 2009 May 2nd.
- Klaus, Václav. “V Evropské unii se ztrácí svoboda”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 20th.
- Klokočka, Vladimír. “Prezidentovo otálení zavání ústavní šikanou“, *MF DNES* 2009 May 9th.
- Komárek, Martin. “U Lisabonu se bojuje o korýtka”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 5th.
- Komárek, Martin. “Lisabonská smlouva a sněmovní zoufalci”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 19th.
- Komárek, Martin. “Proč Václav Klaus popuzuje Brusel”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 20th.
- Komárek, Martin. “Klaus řídí Evropu”, *MF DNES* 2009 April 28th.
- Komárek, Martin. “Máme se bát Lisabonu?”, *MF DNES* 2009 May 5th.
- Komárek, Martin. “Uměle přerušené předsednictví”, *MF DNES* 2009 May 11th.
- Komárek, Martin. “Díry v ústavě a impeachment”, *MF DNES* 2009 May 12th.
- Komárek, Martin. “Evropský standard: šikana za šikanu”, *MF DNES* 2009 May 13th.
- Kulhánek, Věnek. “Chudáci politici by si měli zvýšit platy“, *MF DNES* 2009 May 11th.
- Matulík, Rostislav. “Zádomluva aneb co nám říkají, když nic neříkají“, *MF DNES* 2009 February 11th.
- Ochvat, Radim. “V Bruselu to bylo jinak”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 25th.
- Paroubek, Jiří. “Co vytýkáme Topolánkovu předsednictví Unii“, *MF DNES* 2009 January 26th.
- Rehn, Olli. “Učíme se za pochodu”, *MF DNES* 2009 April 27th.
- Spáčilová, Mirka. “Kolik stojí Evropa: dva miliony korun“, *MF DNES* 2009 May 7th.
- Steigerwald, Karel. “Klaus zlobí. Buďte šťastní, že ho máte”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 24th.
- Zahradníček, Tomáš. “Pohled do francouzského zrcadla”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 11th.
- Zahradníček, Tomáš. “Naši prezidenti někdy moc mluví”, *MF DNES* 2009 February 24th.

Pravda

- Bočkay, Juraj. "Chýba diskusia", *Pravda* 2008 January 31st.
- Daniš, Dag. "Trucujem, teda som", *Pravda* 2008 January 29th.
- Daniš, Dag. "Materská škola", *Pravda* 2008 January 31st.
- Daniš, Dag. "Mediálny expert", *Pravda* 2008 February 1st.
- Daniš, Dag. "Kukanova nočná mora", *SME* 2008 February 4th.
- Daniš, Dag. "Plán B", *Pravda* 2008 February 7th.
- Daniš, Dag. "Kde sa dvaja bijú", *Pravda* 2008 February 8th.
- Daniš, Dag. "Lisabonské pazvuky", *Pravda* 2008 March 31st.
- Daniš, Dag. "Pravica skončila", *Pravda* 2008 April 11th.
- Đurana, Richard. "Drahšie pôžičky „vd'aka“ europoslancom?", *Pravda* 2008 January 30th.
- Füle, Ján. "Aký spevokol, taká hymna", *Pravda* 2008 April 12th.
- Kopcsay, Mária. "Spojené nádoby", *Pravda* 2008 January 30th.
- Kopcsay, Mária. "Ústupok v mene únie", *Pravda* 2008 April 12th.
- Kováčik, Ladislav. "Pyrrhovo víťazstvo", *Pravda* 2008 February 7th.
- Le Monde. "Neistá ústava", *Pravda* 2008 January 17th.
- Onofrej, Milan. "Tvrdé gebule", *Pravda* 2008 February 7th.
- Päťprstý, Milan. "Aj tak sa robí politika", *Pravda* 2008 February 7th.
- Právo. "Ujovia z Bruselu", *Pravda* 2008 March 13th.
- Readers opinion. "SMS ring", *Pravda* 2008 January 31st.
- Readers opinion. "Opozícia má bojovať – ale inak", *Pravda* 2008 February 1st.
- Readers opinion. „Vydierať sa v demokracii nepatrí, ani keď ide o dobrú vec“, *Pravda* 2008 February 8th.
- Včelák, Ján. "Bilbordy a zmluva", *Pravda* 2008 January 31st.

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- Bek, Lukáš. "Lisabon na rebelii nestačí", *Právo* 2009 February 19th.
- Bendl, Petr. "Když jde o zájmy ČSSD, musí Evropa počkat", *Právo* 2009 April 30th.
- Dienstbier, Jiří. "Lisabon v Senátu – konečně", *Právo* 2009 May 5th.
- Franěk, Jiří. "Rozebírání státu", *Právo* 2009 May 12th.
- Hanák, Jiří. "Křížová cesta", *Právo* 2009 February 18th.
- Hanák, Jiří. "Boj s drakem", *Právo* 2009 February 20th.

Hanák, Jiří. "Bez hanby i s hanbou", *Právo* 2009 May 7th.
Hanák, Jiří. "Návyk", *Právo* 2009 May 13th.
Hekrdla, Martin. "Kapitál národu, národ sobě", *Právo* 2009 February 10th.
Hekrdla, Martin. "Včera bylo pozdě", *Právo*, 2009 May 9th.
Keller, Jan. "Kdy to už Evropě osladíme?", *Právo* 2009 April 23rd.
Koudelka, Zdeněk. "Cesta k ústavnímu puči", *Právo* 2009 May 13th.
Kuba, Jaroslav. "Zase jedna velezrada...", *Právo* 2009 May 12th.
Mitrofanov, Alexandr. "Eurokomisaři se budou střídat", *Právo* 2009 January 31st.
Mitrofanov, Alexandr. "Odklad hraje do karet ČSSD", *Právo* 2009 February 5th.
Mitrofanov, Alexandr. "Lisabonské brzdy a protiváhy", *Právo* 2009 February 9th.
Mitrofanov, Alexandr. "Máme na Hradě ctihodného kmeta", *Právo* 2009 February 14th.
Mitrofanov, Alexandr. "Exkluzivní Klaus proti proudu", *Právo* 2009 February 21st.
Mitrofanov, Alexandr. "Kdopak by se Klause bál", *Právo* 2009 April 28th.
Mitrofanov, Alexandr. "Naši odstřediví eurostátníci", *Právo* 2009 May 9th.
Mocek, Michal. "Trpký triumf nad Sarkozym", *Právo* 2009 February 10th.
Mocek, Michal. "Návrat není pro Evropu řešením", *Právo* 2009 February 20th.
Mocek, Michal. "Pohyb pro Evropu", *Právo* 2009 May 2nd.
Pere, Jiří. "Lisabonský trapas Česka", *Právo* 2009 January 23rd.
Pehe, Jiří. "ODS v evropské pasti", *Právo* 2009 May 2nd.
Uhl, Peter. "Když pravice a levice mluví stejně", *Právo* 2009 February 19th.
Uhl, Peter. "Pionýr Kubera v odstrkovaném Senátu", *Právo* 2009 April 23rd.
Verner, Pavel. "Trapas na pokračování", *Právo* 2009 February 4th.

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Červeň, Jozef. "Valec zastavený", *SME* 2008 February 1st.
Fico, Róbert. "Ad: Kto má chorú...", *SME* 2008 January 31st.
Gindl, Eugen. „Bože! Čo nám tá Európa vyviedla...!“ , *SME* 2008 March 17th.
Hrabko, Juraj. "Z parlamentného kúta", *SME* 2008 January 31st.
Hrabko, Juraj. "Choroba vládnej koalície", *SME* 2008 February 4th.
Hrabko, Juraj. "Hra na referendum", *SME* 2008 April 10th.
Kusý, Miroslav. "Keby radšej uniesli jeho hovoryňu", *SME* 2008 February 23rd.
Leška, Marián. "V záujme republiky", *SME* 2008 January 30th.
Leška, Marián. "Logika dohody", *SME* 2008 February 1st.

Leška, Marián. “Maďarič a Mečiar“, *SME* 2008 February 2nd.

Leška Marián. “Pokazená platňa“, *SME* 2008 April 2nd.

Leška, Marián. “Netrápiť občanov“, *SME* 2008 April 8th.

Mallok, Katarína. “Pochmúrne vyhliadky“, *SME* 2008 February 5th.

Mesežnikov, Grigorij. “Ochrana národnej identity“, *SME* 2008 January 21st.

Mitana, Dušan. “Samé dobré správy pre úniu“, *SME* 2008 February 8th.

Morvay, Peter. “Dajte nám ľavicu“, *SME* 2008 January 18th.

Morvay, Peter. “Logický krok SMK“, *SME* 2008 April 12th.

Palata, Ľuboš. “Neeurópske Česko, krajina Klause“, *SME* 2008 February 20th.

Schutz, Peter. “Kto má chorú myseľ?“, *SME* 2008 January 30th.

Schutz, Peter. “Synovia zmluvy“, *SME* 2008 January 31st.

Schutz, Peter. “Klinické bludy“, *SME* 2008 February 1st.

Schutz, Peter. “Právo na odpoveď“, *SME* 2008 February 2nd.

Schutz, Peter. “Odomkli trinástu komnatu“, *SME* 2008 February 5th.

Schutz, Peter. “V mene Lisabonu“, *SME* 2008 February 6th.

Schutz, Peter. “Lisabon a zmaz“, *SME* 2008 April 9th.

Schutz, Peter. “Inteligentný plán?“, *SME* 2008 April 12th.

Šafaříková, Kateřina. “Brusel by to nepochopil“, *SME* 2008 January 31st.

Vozár, Jozef. “Hlasovať sa môže viackrát“, *SME* 2008 February 6th.

Vozár, Jozef. “Referendum a Lisabonská zmluva“, *SME* 2008 February 19th.

Weiss, Peter. “Už nič nie je nadradené?“, *SME* 2008 February 7th.

Appendix 3 Untranslated Quotations

p. 12 - “Odpůrci smlouvy se často opírají o strach ze ztráty suverenity a nástupu evropského superstátu. Promiňte, nyní fakt, že kdyby tomu tak bylo, neodsouhlasila by smlouvu drtivá většina Evropy.” (Svoboda, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th)

p. 14 - „Ratifikací Lisabonské smlouvy se přichází v některých otázkách o právo veta a zároveň se od roku 2017 posiluje hlasovací váha velkých zemí. To je nepříjemné. Ale nikoliv zásadní. Právo veta se fakticky nenaplnuje ani dnes a přesně vím, o čem mluvím. Vždy je potřeba mít na své straně spojence. Země, která by zůstala se svým názorem zcela osamocena, se ocitá pod obrovským tlakem, a právem. Je potřeba vytvářet koalice, je potřeba hledat spojence, je potřeba prosazovat svůj názor v takovéto široké diskusi. Potřebujeme mít sílu aktivně prosazovat změny, které chceme, ne se pouze pasivně bránit těm, které odmítáme.” (Topolánek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th)

p. 16 - “Chcem povedať ale, že tak ako je nespochybniteľná naša zodpovednosť za Európske spoločenstvo a ďalší vývoj v ňom, minimálne tak veľká je naša zodpovednosť za stav demokracie v našej krajine. A tu je treba povedať, že ten stav dnes je vážny, dokonca kritický.” (Hort, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th)

p. 17 - “Je to otázka v každom prípade zodpovedného prístupu či už vlády, alebo Národnej rady k tomu, čo dostávame na stôl aj z Bruselu, ako návrhy a my ich môžeme endorsovať, pozmeniť, odmietnuť. Máme na to možnosti. Nestrašme sa prosím tým, že sme to, alebo nesnažme sa nahovoriť a najmä našej verejnosti, že tu sedíme, či už vláda, alebo legislatíva len na to, aby sme niečo akceptovali. My máme práva. Ide o to aby sme ich využívali a malo by nám ísť o to, aby sme našli a vyladili mechanizmy, ktoré budeme používať pri tomto.” (Kubiš, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th)

p. 20 - “Wenn gleich der Einfluss des prominenten Euroskeptikers Václav Klaus in der ODS seit einiger Zeit schwindet.“ (Maršić, 2009, 11)

p. 21 - “Do přijetí této smlouvy nicméně nebyla vůle v Evropské unii cokoli reformovat.“ (Topolánek, *PSP ČR*, 2009 February 17th)

p. 23 - “[D]ošel [jsem] k přesvědčení, že pokud se vyslovíme pro schválení Lisabonské smlouvy, bude to zřetelným signálem pro naše evropské partnery, že přeci jen nejsme tolik nedůvěryhodnou, možná lehce banánovou republikou, jako nyní po zmařeném předsednictví působíme. Bude to podle mne menší z možných zel.“ (Sušický, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th)

p. 26 - “Jedno z tých pravidiel, ktoré sme ako všetci hráči prijali, bolo aj naše proeurópske smerovanie, naša spoločná zodpovednosť voči Európe, voči projektu európskej integrácie. Dámy a

páni, chcem vás vyzvať a požiadať, aby sme ďalej pokračovali v hre podľa pravidiel.” (Paška, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

p. 26 - “Problém je, ak vám ešte niekto v tej Európe zdvihne telefón.“ (Paška, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

p. 28 - „Z čeho usuzuji, že to nedopadne dobre? Když předseda strany a premiér vlády, která den za dnem bojuje o 101. hlas, nám s vážnou tváří říká, že v parlamentu vlastně ani moc nejde o žádná hlasovací kvora neboli definici většiny, že vůbec nejde o žádná veta, že mnohem důležitější je schopnost komunikace, schopnost nalézt spojence, činit politická rozhodnutí. ... [U]ž zítra, pane předsedo, tady opět uvidíme, jak vám jde o každý ten hlas. Jak jde o to hlasovací quorum a jak nejde jen o ty kamarády a o schopnost komunikace. Každý den práce tohoto parlamentu dokazuje, že nám tady lžete. Že jde o to, jestli Česká republika bude mít veto, a jde o to, které národy budou schopny vytvořit většinu, která ty ostatní přehlasuje.” (Tlustý, *Senate*, 2009 May 6th)

p. 30 - “Čím viac sa Európania identifikujú s úniou a jej inštitúciami, tým viac bude Európska únia schopná hrať úlohu významného hráča v svetovej geopolitike. Európska únia však môže zachovať starý kontinent na ekonomickej, politickej a kultúrnej mape sveta iba vtedy, ak ostane verná svojim tradíciám a koreňom. Žiaľ, mnohí európski lídri sa od tohto dedičstva odťahujú a prejavilo sa to aj v texte Lisabonskej zmluvy. Vlastne už v texte odmietnutej ústavnej zmluvy pre Európu boli vynechané zmienky o kresťanskej identite Európy.” (Gabura, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

p. 32 - „Ja viem, že sa snažíte prísť s pozíciami a svojím spôsobom možno zmeniť atmosféru tu, možno zmeniť rozhodnutie, ale vychádzam z toho, že občania Slovenskej republiky prehovorili, prehovorili, či priamo podporou Európskej únie tak ako sa rozvíja, tak ako sa posilňuje. Prehovorili a je mi veľmi ľúto, neberte to ako polemicky, aj tým, koľko vášmu programu a vašim politickým názorom dali hlasov vo voľbách. A vy teraz na základe tohto hlasu sa snažíte presadiť určité pohľady pokiaľ ide o vývoj slovenského postoja k Európskej únii. Ste vo výraznej menšine. Ste vo výraznej menšine slovenskej spoločnosti a ste vo výraznej menšine aj v Národnej rade Slovenskej republiky.“ (Kubiš, *NR SR*, 2008 January 30th)

p. 37 - „Čeští politici mohou směle žádat o reklamního Oscara. Supernudnou sáhodlouhou debatou udělali skvělou propagaci pro supernudnou sáhodlouhou Lisabonskou smlouvu. Kdyby ji schválili hned, nikoho by nezajímala. Když pro ni hlasovali po měsících obstrukcí, žvástů, podrazů a lží, je smlouva známá jako Rychlé šípy. [...] Jedním z největších „propagátorů“ byl prezident Klaus. Byl to on, kdo jí svým tuhým odporem doslova vydupal veřejnou publicitu.“ (Komárek, *MF DNES*, 2009 February 19th)

p. 38 - “A dámy a páni, Európska únia je nielen cieľom o sebe, vďaka ktorému môžeme byť a

žiť v stabilnom mierovom a jednotnom prostredí. Európska únia je aj prostriedkom k posilneniu národných záujmov a teda aj k posilneniu reálnej suverenity malých štátov k globálnej ekonomike. A aj o tom je vlastenectvo. Aj preto je pre mňa schválenie reformnej zmluvy nielen dobrou správou pre Európu, ale aj dobrou správou pre ľudí na Slovensku.” (Paška, *NR SR*, 2008 January 29th)

p. 47 - „My zrejme správne tušíme, že Maďaričov nápad hlasovať vo štvrtok aj bez opozičnej podpory je obyčajné stupňovanie nátlaku podľa pôvodnej šablóny, že Dzurinda a Csáky, vystresovaní nálepkou kazisvetov európskej integrácie, v koncovke podľahnú.“ (Schutz, *SME*, 2008 February 5th)