

Winter Term 2015/2016

## **MA Seminar: The Maastricht Summit and European Narratives (HOMER-Seminar)**

Jürgen Mittag / Hartmut Marhold / Sophie Vanhoonacker  
with Kiran Patel and Wolfgang Wessels

### **The HOMER Project in brief:**

HOMER is a research-based teaching program that seeks to identify narratives, focusing on history making summits of national leaders in the history of European integration.

### **HOMER's background:**

- The future of the European Union will increasingly be shaped by the perception of its history and an evolving European memory culture. Against this backdrop, it is necessary to pay more attention to the European Council which has been the key institution in terms of history making decisions.
- The project will address three critical junctures in order to analyse their impact on the development of European narratives: The almost forgotten 1969 summit of The Hague was central to the emergence of the EU and the European Council as an entity. The Maastricht summit of 1991 was a history-making act for the deepening of European integration. The 2009 summit of Lisbon opened a new age for the construction of the EU. The project assesses these summits and analyses their roles in developing a 'master narrative' of European integration. In the academic year 2015-16, the focus will be on the Maastricht Summit, The main rationale of the project is to contribute to the evolving European memory culture by scrutinizing past and existing interpretations while simultaneously building on these.

### **HOMER's organisation:**

- is carried out jointly by the German Sport University Cologne (GSU), the University of Cologne, and the University of Maastricht
- is supported by the European Commission
- focuses on the European Council and its summits
- will be held in English
- will be credited with a Certificate on European Studies of all three Universities

- consists of a joint seminar taking place two days in 2015 in Maastricht (Friday 23 October 2015/ Friday 5 February) and an additional workshop in Brussels with experts (Friday 6 November)
- assessment will be based on identifying, collecting and analyzing material for an online-presentation
- will not cause any additional fees

#### **HOMER's key targets:**

- HOMER is of high political and societal relevance since it provides historical and cultural orientation on European memory by identifying master narratives of European integration.
- HOMER has a strong academic impact since it generates new insights into the perceptions of the role of the European Council and its summits that have received limited scholarly attention thus far.
- HOMER has a strong transnational impact since it brings together the German Sport University Cologne (GSU), the University of Cologne, and the University of Maastricht.
- HOMER is fully interdisciplinary by bringing together four EU experts representing history and political science.

#### **The HOMER MA-Seminar 2015/16: The Maastricht Summit and European Narratives**

Today, the European Council forms the key body in the institutional architecture of the EU. The Maastricht summit in 1991 has reassured its importance, since this summit paved substantially the way to today's European Union.

The seminar will, thus, address the question whether and to which extent the Maastricht summit can be considered as a critical juncture in the history of European integration. Beyond a focus on actors, motives, negotiations and outcomes of the summit, it will assess the way the Maastricht summit was perceived at the time, and how it is remembered today. What were and are the views of politicians? How do academic scholars write about it? How did the media report about it at the time, and do journalists sometimes refer to it today? On all these issues, are there differences between member states, political camps, and generations? Or do interpretations tend to converge? And, more generally, what is the place of the Maastricht summit in the wider history of EU summitry, and what is the role of summits in narratives of European integration?

The HOMER-Seminar is an interdisciplinary, research-oriented seminar open to students from the German Sport University Cologne, Maastricht University, and the University of Cologne. Students will work with a broad variety of sources (newspaper articles, archival material, memoirs, academic interpretations, interviews, etc.) and will contrast perceptions and narratives of the summit of the time with today's discussion. The introductory and final sessions will take place in Maastricht; the seminar will include a one-day workshop in Brussels.

Maximum number of students: 30

## Seminar Outline

### Session 1: Introduction: The Framework of the Maastricht Summit and Discourse Analysis and (European) Master Narratives

October 23<sup>th</sup>, 11am-5pm, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Grote Gracht 80-82 (Attic) Maastricht

- Organizational issues
- short introduction to the European Council/role of summits
- students form teams of 2 or 3 to work on one of the following sub-dimensions:
  - How do politicians refer to the Maastricht summit in their memoirs?
  - How did international newspapers report about the events at the time?
  - How and why did media write about the Maastricht summit in view of commemorating its anniversary?
  - Why do the media write differently about Maastricht summit?
  - What are the consequences of having different narratives in the member states?
- analysis of the history of the Maastricht summit

11:00 hrs: Welcome and Introduction (Mittag and Vanhoonacker)

11:30 hrs: First reflection with students on Maastricht summit and Maastricht Treaty

12:30 hrs: Lunch break

13:15 hrs: Analysing the Maastricht Treaty: A historical perspective (Mittag)

13:45 hrs: Analysing the Maastricht Treaty: A political science perspective (Vanhoonacker)

14:15 hrs: Discussion

14:45 hrs: Coffee Break

15:00 hrs: Discourse analysis and the concept of narrative (Marhold)

15:45pm: Identifying research sources (Mittag)

16:15 hrs: Students form teams

17:00 hrs: Conclusion

*Compulsory reading for first session*

1. Laursen, F. (2012), 'The Treaty of Maastricht', in E. Jones, A. Menon and S. Weatherill, *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 121-134.

2. **Wessels, W. (2012), *The Maastricht Treaty and the European Council: The History of an Institutional Evolution*. In: *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 34, No. 7, 753-767.**
3. **Bryman, A. (2012), *Social Research Methods*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 528-540.**

*General reading List on Maastricht summit and Treaty*

Caporaso, J. and Kim, M-H. (2012), 'The Maastricht Treaty at Twenty: A Greco-European Tragedy?', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 769-789.

Christiansen, T., Duke, S. and Kirchner, E. (2012), 'Understanding and assessing the Maastricht Treaty', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 34, No.7, 685-698.

Christiansen, T. and Reh, C. (2009), *Constitutionalizing the European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).

Dinan, D. (2013), 'From Treaty Revision to Treaty Revision: The Legacy of Maastricht'. *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol.19, No.1, 123-139

Dinan, D. (2012), 'The Arc of Institutional Reform in Post-Maastricht Treaty Change', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 791-808.

Dyson, K. (2012), 'Maastricht Plus': Managing the Logic of Inherent Imperfections', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 843-858.

Geary, M., Germond, C. and Patel, K. (2013), 'The Maastricht Treaty and Consequences in Historical Perspectives – Introduction', *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol.19, No.1, 5-22.

Kohler-Koch, B. (2012), 'Post-Maastricht Civil Society and Participatory Democracy', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 809-824.

Laursen, F., and Vanhoonacker, S. (1994), *The Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union. Institutional Reforms, New Policies and International Identity of the European Community* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers).

Laursen, F., and Vanhoonacker, S. (1992), *The ratification of the Maastricht Treaty: Issues, Debates and Future Implications*, (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers).

Loth, W. (2013), 'Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty', *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol.19, No.1, 67-83.

Mazzucelli, C. (2012), 'The Maastricht Treaty: Designing the European Union', in (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 147-179.

Monar, J. (2012), 'Justice and Home Affairs: The Treaty of Maastricht as a Decisive Intergovernmental Gate Opener', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 717-734.

Moravcsik, A. (1998), *The Choice for Europe. Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press).

Id. (1993), 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: a liberal intergovernmentalist approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.31, No.4, 473-524.

Rasmussen, A. (2012), 'Twenty Years of Co-decision Since Maastricht: Inter- and Intra-institutional Implications', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 735-751.

Saunier, G. (2013), 'La négociation de Maastricht vue de Paris', *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol.19, No.1, 45-65.

Smith, M. (2012), 'Still rooted in Maastricht: EU external relations as a 'Third-generation hybrid'', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 699-715.

Thiemeyer, G. (2013), 'Economic Models in France and Germany and the Debates In the Maastricht Treaty', *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol.19, No.1, 85-103.

Varsori, A. (2012), 'The Andreotti Governments and the Maastricht Treaty: Between European Hopes and Domestic Constraints', *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol.19, No.1, 43-23.

Weiler, J. (2012), 'In the Face of Crisis: Input Legitimacy, Output Legitimacy and the Political Messianism of European Integration', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 825-841.

Wessels, W. (2012), 'The Maastricht Treaty and the European Council: The History of an Institutional Evolution', *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.34, No.7, 753-767.

#### *General reading list on European Council*

de Schoutheete P. (2012a) The European Council. In: Peterson J and Shackleton M (eds) The Institutions of the European Union. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 43-67.

de Schoutheete P. (2012b) The European Council and the Community Method. Policy Paper Notre Europe 56.

General Secretariat of the Council (2011): The European Council. 50 years of summit meetings, (available online)

Rittelmeyer Y-S. (2014) The institutional consecration of the European Council: symbolism beyond formal texts. The European Council and the European Governance. The commanding heights of the EU. Abingdon: Routledge.

Tallberg J. (2007) Bargaining Power in the European Council. Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, Report No. 1 (Stockholm).

Werts J. (2008) The European Council, London: John Harper Publishing.

Wessels, W. (2015), The European Council, (London: Palgrave Macmillan): Chapter 3: Pre-History: the Birth of an Institutionalised Summitry; Chapter 4: History: Generations of Leaders and the Institutional Career.

Gilbert, M. (2008), 'Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.46 , 641–662.

*General reading list on (European) Narratives*

Crawford, N. C. (2004), 'Understanding Discourse: A Method of Ethical Argument Analysis', *Qualitative Methods: Newsletter of the American Political Science Association Organized Section on Qualitative Methods*, 2, 22–25.

Laffey, M. and Weldes, J. (2004), 'Methodological Reflections on Discourse Analysis', *Qualitative Methods: Newsletter of the American Political Science Association Organized Section on Qualitative Methods*, 2, 28–31.

**Session 2: Brussels Workshop with experts**

**November, 6th 10:30am-5pm, UM Campus Brussels, Avenue de l'Armée 10, Brussels (32 2 732 50 76)**

*Panelists:* Finn Laursen (University of Southern Denmark)  
Brigid Laffan (EUI) (TBC)  
Wilfried Loth (Duisburg-Essen University)  
Hartmut Marhold (Centre international de formation Européenne)  
Sophie Vanhoonacker (Maastricht University)

*Venue:* Brussels Campus of University of Maastricht

10:30:	Welcome and introduction by Sophie Vanhoonacker and Hartmut Marhold (and Johannes Müller-Gomez/Till Müller-Schoell)
10:45:	Theses concerning narratives on the Maastricht summit
11:30:	Coffee break
11:45:	Round-table debate among panelists
13:15:	Lunch break
14:15:	Selected participating students react as first commentators to the round-table's discussion
14:30:	General debate: panelists and students
15:45:	Coffee break
16:00:	Internal elaboration of discussion results and outlook

**[Session 3: Preparation of Research Outlines]**

**November and December 2015 (taking place individually with the respective supervisor at the different universities)**

Consultation hours with respective supervisor, discussion on research outlines

## **Session 4: Concluding Session**

**February 5<sup>th</sup>, 9am-6pm, Maastricht**

9.30am: Opening and Introduction

*Sophie Vanhoonacker (Maastricht University)*

*Hartmut Marhold (Cologne University)*

*Jürgen Mittag (German Sport University)*

9.45am: Final presentation (each 20 minutes) and discussion (20 minutes) of students' findings (topics are only provisional – need further discussion)

10.00am: Cartoons

10.45am: "Low" countries

11.30am: Coffee break

11.45am: Memoirs

12.30pm: German/French newspapers

13.30pm: Lunch

14.30pm: Candidate Countries

15.15pm: Non-EU newspapers

16.00pm: Coffee break

16.15pm: EU-Sources

17.00pm: Final debate and conclusions

17.30: Further perspectives and evaluation