

## FOREWORD

### MARTIAL LIBERA

Nowadays, uniting Europe gets a bad press. Opposition, in different shapes and forms, to European integration has indeed developed considerably over the past fifteen years. This “wave of refusal” has recently slowed down, if not totally halted the progress of the European Union (EU). Indirectly, this mood of anti-Europeanism has turned to the advantage of journalists, specialists in political sciences, economists and polemicists. For several years now, all have been making impromptu analyses, field investigations and attempts to decipher this complex and versatile phenomenon. Regardless of the focus of their interest, these deliberations generally only consider opposition to Europe in the “short run”. This is why a group of young researchers from the University of Strasbourg (Unistra) decided in 2008 to launch a research programme on these issues, covering the period since the Second World War. This research programme, which was entitled “Against Europe? Anti-Europeanism, Euro-scepticism and alter-Europeanism in uniting Europe from 1945 to today”<sup>1</sup>, was initiated by Frédéric Clavert<sup>2</sup>, Maria Gainar<sup>3</sup>, Carine Germond<sup>4</sup>, Martial Libera<sup>5</sup> and Birte Wassenberg<sup>6</sup>, all students of either Marie-Thérèse Bitsch<sup>7</sup> or Sylvain Schirmann<sup>8</sup>. In the same year (2008), this programme was selected after a call for applications by the Alsace Inter-university Social Sciences and Humanities Research Institute (MISHA)<sup>9</sup>, to encourage and support research undertaken by young researchers. It thus became the MISHA’s “Junior Programme 2009-2010”.

Apart from its aim to consider the phenomenon of resistance and opposition to uniting Europe in the « long run », this programme is also unique due to its decidedly interdisciplinary character. Approximately fifty speakers presented a paper at one of the four seminars organised in 2009 and 2010 and they are drawn from almost ten disciplines : history ; sociology ; political sciences ; law ; geogra-

- 1 For more information on this research programme see the dedicated website at <http://www.recherche-contreleurope.eu>.
- 2 Frédéric Clavert, who has a PhD in Contemporary History, is currently a researcher at the Virtual Centre of Knowledge on Europe in Luxembourg.
- 3 Maria Gainar, Doctor in Contemporary History and winner of the Jean-Baptiste Duroselle Prize in 2012, has just published her thesis on *Aux origines de la diplomatie européenne : Les Neuf et la Coopération politique européenne de 1973 à 1980* (Peter Lang).
- 4 Carine Germond, who has a PhD in Contemporary History, is currently lecturing in the History of European Integration at the University of Maastricht, Netherlands.
- 5 Since the academic year 2009, Martial Libera has been Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the Robert Schuman University Institute for Technology of the University of Strasbourg.
- 6 Having long been responsible for Franco-German-Swiss relations and for cross-border cooperation within the Alsace Regional Council, Birte Wassenberg has been Associate Professor of Contemporary History at the Institute of Advanced European Studies of the University of Strasbourg since 2006.
- 7 Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, an internationally renowned specialist in the History of European Integration, is Professor emeritus at the University of Strasbourg.
- 8 Sylvain Schirmann is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Strasbourg and Director of the Institute for Political Sciences.
- 9 The site <http://www.misha.fr> presents the whole array of the MISHA’s activities.

phy ; geopolitics ; musicology ; communication and media sciences. By bringing the researchers together to compare the subjects of their study, their methodologies and the issues, this interdisciplinary approach promoted a de-compartmentalisation of knowledge and thus enhanced shared discussions. This research project has also been designed from an international perspective : the researchers are from at least ten different countries. Most of the participants belong to EU member states. However, some of them are from European countries that are not members of the Union (Norway, Switzerland), and others from neighbouring countries (Turkey). There is no doubt that this subject of study required international participation. The latter was supposed to allow for the emergence of a European history of Europe which frees itself from visions that are sometimes still too much caught up in national historiographies.

This is also an international project thanks to its partnerships and financing. Our deepest gratitude goes firstly to the different university institutions which supported this research programme : the MISHA and, in particular, its director, Christine Maillard<sup>10</sup>, who gave us continuous scientific, financial and logistical support ; the University of Strasbourg (Unistra) and the Research Group in Contemporary History – Borders, Actors and Representations of Europe (FARE) – of that same university which both generously financed this programme ; still in Strasbourg, the Institute of Advanced European Studies (IHEE), the Centre of Research and Studies in Social Sciences (CRESS), the Institute of Political Sciences (IEP) and the MISHA provided the venues for the different seminars and covered the organisational costs incurred. Many thanks go also to the European partners : the Department of Contemporary History of the University of Duisburg-Essen, represented by Wilfried Loth<sup>11</sup> and Henning Türk<sup>12</sup>, the University of Oslo and particularly to Robin Allers<sup>13</sup>, as well as to the University of Turku, represented by Louis Clerc<sup>14</sup>, who lent their support to this project from the very beginning. The programme has also benefited from the support of the International Network of Young Researchers in the History of European Integration (RICHIE)<sup>15</sup>. Finally, we received special help from the Virtual Centre of Knowledge on Europe (CVCE)<sup>16</sup>, based in Luxembourg, which, besides particularly substantial financial backing, also filmed all of the seminars<sup>17</sup>.

Finally we extend our thanks to several local and regional authorities in Alsace : the funds that were awarded to us by the Communauté urbaine of Stras-

10 Christine Maillard is Professor at the University of Strasbourg and Director of the MISHA and specialises in German studies.

11 Wilfried Loth is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Duisburg-Essen and a great specialist in the History of International Relations and European integration.

12 Henning Türk, who has a PhD in Contemporary History, is Assistant Professor at the University of Duisburg-Essen.

13 Robin Allers, who has a PhD in History, is a researcher of German nationality at the Norwegian Institute of Defense Studies.

14 Louis Clerc, who has a PhD in Contemporary History from the Robert Schuman University of Strasbourg, is currently Lecturer in Contemporary History at the University of Turku in Finland.

15 RICHIE has an exhaustive site – <http://www.europe-richie.org>. A lot of information about the current state of research on Europe is available as well as the objectives and activities of the network.

16 For information on the CVCE's activities, see : <http://www.cvce.lu>.

17 These seminars can be viewed on the CVCE's European navigator site - <http://www.ena.lu> - under the title "research and teaching", subtitle "conferences, colloquia, seminars".

bourg, the Conseil général of the Bas-Rhin and the Conseil régional of Alsace were essential and made it possible for us to successfully carry out this project.

The publication that you are about to read, which is the second and last volume from this research programme, mainly contains the texts of the papers presented during the last two seminars<sup>18</sup> of this programme<sup>19</sup>. We should like to express our warmest gratitude to the translators – Joanne Hunting and Mirko Wittwar – who have helped us to prepare this trilingual publication.

18 The third seminar, which was held at the IEP in Strasbourg on 16 October 2009, discussed opposition from institutional stakeholders to Europe. The fourth and final seminar – “Political parties and civil society” – was held at the MISHA on 21 and 22 April 2010.

19 A first seminar, entitled “The Concepts of Anti-Europeanism” took place on 13 March 2009 at the IHEE ; the second one took place on 26 June 2009 at the *Palais universitaire* in Strasbourg on “Spaces, Regions and Borders”. The papers presented during these two seminars were published in WASENBERG, B., CLAVERT, F., HAMMAN, Ph. (dir.), *Contre l'Europe ? Anti-européisme, euroscepticisme et alter-européisme dans la construction européenne, de 1945 à nos jours*, volume I : *Les concepts*, Stuttgart, 2010, 498 p.