

Elites Educated for European Integration: Juan Churruga Arrellano and the Instituto de Estudios Europeos at the University of Deusto (1979-1987)

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Abstract: This article focuses on the process of rapprochement between Spain and Europe in the years after Spain's political transition to democracy and prior to its formal entry into the European Economic Community in 1986. It looks deeply into a concrete case at the regional level, namely the steps taken on the path towards European integration in the Basque Country with the founding of the Instituto de Estudios Europeos at the University of Deusto (Bilbao). The European issues taught at the Institute centered on technical and administrative elements, contributing to the education of a rather functional elite capable of responding to practical needs related to Spain's European integration. This article will first analyze the perspective of the Institute's founding-director, Basque-Navarre jurist and politician Juan Churruga Arrellano, looking into his intellectual socialization, as well as his idea of Europe. In this respect, Churruga followed an Ortegian conception of Europe, that is, a historical and cultural understanding of Europe very present in Spain's intellectual, cultural and political elite during that time. Furthermore, this study delves into the immediate political-historical context surrounding the Institute's foundation, paying particular attention to the relationship between Churruga and the University of Deusto in terms of national and regional politics. Finally, in the conclusion, this paper outlines an answer to the question of how the Instituto de Estudios Europeos contributed to Spain's initial European integration.

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1. Introduction

The Basque Country's European policy represents an important piece of Spain-Europe relations. This topic is particularly relevant to current politics when it comes to better understanding the political and social context of Spain's rapprochement during

the 1970s, as well as its integration into the European Economic Community in the mid 1980s. Historiographical research has primarily analyzed Spain and the Basque Country's different processes of exchange, adhesion and integration in relation with Europe as two separate issues. Recent monographic studies have investigated, for example, key representatives in the opening of the Franco regime to Europe prior to the transition or the continuity of European policy during the first years of democracy in Spain, but hardly mention the European prospect in the exiled republican regional governments or the respective regional policies regarding Europe after political transition (Lafuente, 2017; Mayer-Tarhan, 2017).

In the case of the former Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See and Minister of Education during the 1950s, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez Cortés (1913-2009), for example, research has underlined his importance in the various political sectors inside and outside the country that goes beyond ideological differences. In relation to concrete European projects during the transition, certain people especially stand out, for example, Ruiz-Giménez's and his role as a multiplier and the European Law professor in Geneva, Leandro Rodríguez (1934-), and his effort to coordinate an *Instituto de Europa* in 1976. During their exchange and dialogue, Rodríguez and Ruiz-Giménez contacted the *Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Madrid, as well as the European Council and the Court of Justice of the Institutions of the European Economic Community (Mayer-Tarhan, 2017, pp. 326-327).

Another case studied more exhaustively is that of Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo Bustelo (1928-2008), Minister for Relations with the European Community between 1978 and 1979 prior to becoming President. Research has focused mainly on his efforts to create structures for the new ministry from scratch, as well as on the decisive impact that José Ortega y Gasset's idea of Europe (1883-1955) had on him. It has not examined, however convergences and tensions in Spain's European policy with regard to the autonomous communities' projections and activities (Pérez & Lafuente del Cano, 2014).

Separate analysis – on the one hand, national and, on the other, regional – is also found in research focused on the European movement and the process of European integration in Spain. Here, studies clearly tend towards pre- or extra-scientific positions that identify the autonomous communities' social and cultural processes with regard to Europe *grosso modo* in light of a progressive dynamic of political emancipation from the Spanish State. In the case of the Basque Country, research has mostly been descriptive and has focused on representatives and key positions of Basque nationalism related to the so-called *Doctrina Aguirre* in order to measure its persistent influence on the idea of nation, state and Europe in Basque nationalist governments over the last decades. In this regard, one must highlight not only the early impact of ethno-racist concepts, for example from Luis de Eleizalde Breñosa (1878-1923), but also the decisive influence of Christian ethical-political personalism, in particular that of Maritain (Arrieta, 2019).

The *vicelehendakari* of the Basque Government in exile, Francisco Javier de Landaburu (1907-1963), particularly promoted the influence of a generalized pan-Europeanism, especially that of Richard Nicolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972) (Conze, 2004). According to the *Doctrina Aguirre*, Euzkadi represents a «small

spiritual metropolis» that is an innate and natural part of an organic Europe composed of cultural communities whose political recovery required definitively overcoming the Nation-State (Arrieta, 2009; 2012). Although different regional nationalisms in Spain have undergone exhaustive, systematic analysis, exiled Basque nationalism represents a desideratum of historical research and is in need of a critical evaluation within the broad framework of transnational antifascism in the twentieth century (Nuñez, 2016).

As a matter of fact, much recent research on European positions and policies related to Basque nationalism during the Second Spanish Republic and exile lack deeper critique of their ideological origins. In terms of shedding light on the current validity of these ideas and trends regarding Europe within Basque nationalism, the scope of these contributions is rather limited.¹ At the same time, current Basque-Spanish political discourse still host positions that conceive of the identity and future of the European integration process in terms of a new romanticism.² These positions seek to understand the driving force behind political innovation in European unification as a natural emergence of organically pre-existing societies; according to them, Europe's purpose in this process of (re)emergence consists, above all, in definitively overcoming the Nation-State, which is presented as the original goal of a so-called *longue durée* process of socio-historical Europeanization set against the mere technical construction of a political-legal framework through European integration starting in 1957 (Innerarity Grau, 2013, pp. 66, 69-72).

The present study highlights a case that offers insights regarding the differences and similarities between Spain's European policy and Spanish autonomous communities' European initiatives and projects at the final stage of political transition, including especially the 1979 foundation of the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* (referred to throughout as the Institute) at the University of Deusto by the Society of Jesus in Bilbao. The analysis carried out in the following pages is divided into three parts: first (2), the academic-political trajectory and intellectual socialization of the founder and first director of said European institute, Juan Churruca Arrellano (1923-2011), including (3) his notion of Europe at the time. Next (4), this paper will attempt to better understand the most important steps in the Institute's foundation and, in addition, in its further development during the 1980s. The conclusion (5) will summarize the results of this analysis in order to answer the question of what type of European elite the Basque Jesuits in Bilbao educated at the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos*.

2. Juan Churruca Arrellano: Trajectory and Socialization

Born in Bilbao in 1923 into a Guipuzcoan and Navarran-French family, Juan Churruca joined the Society of Jesus at eighteen years old as a novice. He studied classical philology at Loyola and Salamanca between 1942 and 1945 and graduated in philosophy in 1948 and then went on to the University of Valladolid to complete

¹ For more details, see Arrieta Alberdi's extensive study (2007).

² Regarding the impact of German political romanticism on Basque intellectuals socialized in the circle of the *Revista de Occidente*, see Lemke Duque (2019a).

a law degree in 1951. He then spent several years studying theology in Innsbruck (Austria), including research stays in Graz (Austria) and Bonn (Germany), to deepen his studies as a Romanist and, once he returned to Spain, he graduated in theology in Oña in 1956. Starting in 1958, Churruga taught law at the University of Deusto where he was also rector between 1960 and 1961. In 1963, he began to focus on Roman Law and, in 1966, defended his doctoral thesis under the direction of José Antonio Rubio Sacristán (1903-1995) in Valladolid on *Las Instituciones de Gayo en San Isidoro de Sevilla*. In the 1970s, he began to publish in specialized journals and soon became a recognized Visigoth history expert (Churruga, 1973; 1977; 1991 etc.).

Later, under the government of José Antonio Ardanza (1941-), one of his students at the University of Deusto, Churruga was appointed the Basque Councilor for Education, Universities and Research between 1985 and 1987. One of his great achievements during these years was the establishment of the Basque government's prestigious predoctoral grants program for research stays abroad that continues to this day.

Although Churruga did not ultimately become a Jesuit, his academic training in Jesuit institutions in Spain, Austria and Germany undoubtedly and profoundly influenced his intellectual development. During the 1950s, the prestigious theologian Karl Rahner SJ (1904-1984) taught Dogmatic theology at the same *Canisianum* of Innsbruck where Churruga went for further postgraduate studies. Thus, Churruga's academic specialization in theology was largely influenced by Rahner's theology, leading to the book *Sendung und Gnade* in 1959, prior to collaborating with the Cardinal of Vienna, Franz König (1905-2004), in preparing their participation at the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Alfonso Álvarez Bolado SJ (1928-2013) is another Spaniard who passed through Innsbruck during the 1950s and was also strongly influenced by Rahner. He went on to become founding-director of the Jesuit institute *Fe y Secularidad* in 1967 in Barcelona before being appointed to the Pontifical University of Comillas in Madrid. According to recent research, this Jesuit institute *Fe y Secularidad* indeed played an important role in the progressive liberalization and re-Europeanization of Catholicism during Late-Francoism (Igelmo & Lemke, 2018).

With respect to Churruga's doctoral thesis advisor in Valladolid, Rubio Sacristán, it is worth keeping in mind that he was an important collaborator in José Ortega y Gasset's (1883-1955) circle of disciples, known as the *Revista de Occidente* circle, during the late 1920s and early 1930s. After a two-year research stay at the University of Freiburg, Rubio Sacristán finished his doctorate at this leading university in Southwest Germany in 1926, defending a thesis on Pope Benedict XIII and the Council of Constance under the direction of two outstanding German historians, Georg von Below (1858-1927) and Heinrich Finke (1855-1937). The latter was president of the *Görres-Gesellschaft* and founder of the association's headquarters in Rome and Madrid. Significantly, Rubio Sacristán's doctoral thesis was immediately published in Zamora in 1926 and received a very favorable review the same year in the *Revista de Occidente* from the economist and later Councilor of State Ramón Carande and Thovar (1887-1986) (Carande, 1926; Rubio, 1926). After his appointment to the Chair of Law at the University of La Laguna in 1927, Rubio

Sacristan conducted a research stay in the United States between 1928 and 1929 with funds from the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios*. Besides his contribution to the *Revista de Occidente* and *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, in 1933, he became assistant secretary to the director of the groundbreaking international summer university *Universidad Internacional de Verano de Santander*, Pedro Salinas y Serrano (1891-1951), and furthermore, starting in 1941, he frequently collaborated with the newly founded Spanish journal of political studies, *Revista de Estudios Políticos* (Lemke, 2014, pp. 92-93).

3. Churruca's idea of Europe and how he arrived to it

At the opening of the 1979/1980 academic year, the same year in which the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* was founded, Churruca comprehensively and precisely presented his idea of Europe at the University of Deusto. In points two and three of this address, he spoke expressly of «the idea of Europe» and of the way «towards Europe's unity», «criticizing its historical contradictions». Here, he referred to the problematic «ideological weight» that had turned Europe into a tentative and ambiguous term. Churruca pointed to a «particularly romantic tone» in the «ideal of alliance among people» that underlay, according to him, the view of political freedom in thinkers like Giuseppe Mazzini (1802-1872), Victor Hugo (1802-1885) and other «nineteenth-century dreamers». Faced with the romantic charge of «Europe as a territorial designation» and its subsequent ideological deviation in European fascism under the slogan «Europe's salvation» through the «crusade against Bolshevism», Churruca highlighted the European movement and policies of the 1920s, particularly between Germany and France. Along with Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europeanism, he mainly referred to Aristide Briand (1862-1932), Édouard Herriot (1872-1957) and Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929), characterizing their views as «significantly moderate and leftist, as opposed to right-wing patriotisms». With respect to steps of political re-approachment during the 1950s, he underlined, at the same time, the importance of Robert Schuman's (1886-1963) conviction and European vision concerning the construction of Europe as a task of «concrete achievements based on real solidarity» (*solidaridad de hecho*) (Churruca, 1979, pp. 8-9).³

Insisting on this new political process of building up Europe as a «solid reality that is in the process of settling» despite «all inaccuracy of scope and variants of ideological content», the core of Churruca's 1979 reflections referred to three practical-legal needs he considered primary problems for the European integration process: (a) The «primacy of community law», (b) The «freedom of movement in its various aspects» and, (c) «Free market competition» (Churruca, 1979, p. 11-14).

Despite all its territorial and functional limitations, despite its setbacks and its slowness, and despite some political sectors' reservations and difficulties in the face of diminishing sovereign powers, the reality of a supranational European community is a fact. This reality has been imposed on the main

³ All translations are the work of the author.

countries of Western Europe in the economic field and has brought about profound transformation. (Churruca, 1979, p. 11).

Faced with this new reality, Churruca outlined the «important role» the university has in the «task of preparation and adaptation» given that «Spanish society has lived for many years on the margin and little concerned about community issues». Along with the need to «professionally train economists and jurists», especially «in a period of transition», Churruca explicitly understood this process of adaptation as an «effort of collective reeducation». According to him, people in Spain were in urgent need of «acquiring habits of work, discipline, and rigor in the fulfillment of multiple civic obligations comparable to other peoples in the Community, who, in civic terms, are more mature». In this context, he expressly referred to a conference organized in Madrid by the *Office Catholique d'Information sur les Problems Européens* of Brussels on *Interrogantes éticos en torno a la incorporación de España en la Comunidad Económica Europea*. In mentioning several precedents of Institutes of European Studies at other European universities (Paris, Strasbourg, Louvain, Luxembourg, Amsterdam, Leiden, Saarbrücken, Cologne, Pavia, Turin, Geneva, Manchester etc.), Churruca stressed, in addition, that even though the majority of these institutes were attached to Schools of Economics and Law, their basic character was interdisciplinary because they intended not only to «technically train professionals, but also to study and open up the ideal of Europe on the horizon, still so limited in its achievements and in need of development». In this regard, he stressed «close collaboration between the various institutes», insisting particularly, with reference to the *Association of Institutes of European Studies'* 1951 foundation and permanent representation in Geneva, on the practice of teaching exchanges (Churruca, 1979, pp. 16-17).

But there is something else. At most Institutes, there is an awareness that, in addition to academic rigor in terms of teaching and research, current European achievements still come up short; there is marked interest in publicizing, promoting, and overcoming difficulties, and in preparing for the realization of a broader, more intense and deeper idea of Europe (Churruca, 1979, p. 11).

Two contextual factors especially infused Churruca's idea of Europe and his demand to further deepen it. Taking into account the second phase of his intellectual socialization in a setting connected to a circle of former disciples and collaborators of the *Revista de Occidente*, we would do well to recall the strong influence of Ortega y Gasset's idea of Europe, and not just in Spain. There is no doubt that when speaking of Europe in terms of a «solid reality in the process of settling», Churruca was projecting the unification of Europe in terms of a preexisting socio-cultural unit. In this sense, for Churruca, the immediate process of European integration represented the practical, i.e., legal-political part of a long historical transformation conceived in light of a teleological conception that he expressly called the «current realizations» of this original cultural unit. Churruca's teleological conception of Europe precisely coincides with Ortega y Gasset's explanation, in pseudo-Hegelian terms, of the

significant «permanent creation» of a «Europe-Nation duality» since the 1930s that especially impacted Germany at the beginning of the 1950s (Lemke, 2015).

Given the intense academic exchange that Churruca maintained with his contacts in Strasbourg, Geneva, Paris, Brussels, etc., it seems probable, moreover, that his Ortegian view of Europe as a *historical reality to be realized* was also influenced by the diplomat and politician Salvador de Madariaga y Rojo (1886-1978), another Spanish thinker formed in the *Revista de Occidente* circle whose role in the League of Nations and later involvement in the European political process was decisive within and outside of Spain⁴.

In his inaugural 1979 address, on the other hand, Churruca explicitly referenced the Society of Jesus' European reach. By mentioning the *Office Catholique d'Information sur les Problems Européens* in Brussels, directed by Jean Weydert SJ (1920-2006) starting in 1963, Churruca not only underlined the most important supranational Catholic representation of the early 1960s, but also recalled the Jesuit involvement in the process of European reconciliation during the 1950s and 1960s. This involvement was additionally decisive for Spanish Jesuits' ideas of peace and Europe, primarily promoted starting in the late 1970s in the context of the Spanish-Jesuit institute *Fe y Secularidad* (Lemke, 2019c). The Jesuit presence, especially in bilateral relations between France and Germany and at the European supranational level starting in the 1950s and 60s, was strongly determined by Maritain's idea of an integral humanism that also notably influenced Weydert's social and political thought. Maritain's neo-Thomistic conception of a personalist renewal of Christian morality, conceived as a *sine qua non* for any future democratic society in Europe, was also significant for Schuman's political views (Fimister, 2008, pp. 100-124).

It is true that Weydert gradually distanced himself from his initial ideas on Europe during the 1960s, especially in the context of the ever-increasing need to concretize the European political goals that emerged within the international context of the 1970s. But, although he transformed his eschatological optimism of the 1960s regarding the «European type of man» as an «intermediate step towards the world community» into a more sociologically rationalized approach capable of overcoming «dehumanized materialism» by continuing «indispensable dialogue», Weydert persistently defended his idea of Europe in terms of political romanticism insisting on «implementing a permanent and organic union of European nations» (*Verwirklichung der permanenten und organischen Union der europäischen Völker*) (Weydert, 1979, pp. 12-16).

4. The Instituto de Estudios Europeos: Projection, foundation, program

The *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* was founded in December 1979 and immediately initiated its academic activities during the 1979/1980 academic year. According to Churruca's May 1979 memorandum on the desirability of such an institute for European studies, the Institute's purpose was mainly to address the «need to adapt (or prepare to adapt)» to Spain's integration into the European Economic Community that «seems to be a relatively close happening that we

⁴ For further details, see Lemke (2019b).

can reasonably count on». This reasoning was backed by Spain's admission into the European Council in the summer of 1977. Against this background, Churruga estimated that the Basque Country's economy in particular would probably need «a large volume of professionals» who need to «become familiar with the Community's legal regulations». The *Instituto de Estudios Europeos'* division of labor thus clearly emerged in this scenario: it referred, in the first place, to the «problematic consequences that integration begets», which fell «for the most part to the field of education at the University of Deusto, mainly to its Schools of Economics and Law, as well as to those of Sociology and History».

With this diagnosis, Churruga projected that the «Institute would have multiple purposes», that is, from «collecting information» and «carrying out studies» to «organizing and teaching at different levels». Churruga referred here, at first, to «short courses for professionals (lawyers, economists, businessmen, etc.)», as well as to «conferences or workshops for the interested public» and, finally, «eventually, courses in the Schools of Economics and Law». All this, above all, was done to ensure the «great advantages» of «placing» the University of Deusto «ahead of other Spanish public universities on this matter, as has been done on other occasions» (ARCHIVO Instituto de Estudios Europeos en la Universidad de Deusto/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Informe sobre un posible Instituto de Estudios Europeos (Mayo 1979)/sheet 1, 1-2)⁵.

Apparently, Churruga knew perfectly well the weak position facing Spanish educational centers in terms of specific programming for training a new type of Spanish professional prepared for European-level work. Except for an odd course at the Complutense University of Madrid's School of Law, the only institution that offered classes related to the European Economic Community at the end of the 1970s was the Diplomatic School in Madrid. Promoted by the former Minister of Commerce and first Spanish representative at the European Economic Community in Brussels from 1965-1976, Alberto Ullastres Calvo (1914-2001), the State Secretariat for Relations with the European Community within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to coordinate a specialized course at this school in 1977.

Churruga's dedication and involvement in the founding of the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* is also reflected in a trip he took at the end of June 1979 for about a week to visit other existing European institutes and learn about their structures and operation, especially in France, Belgium and Germany. During this trip, he visited the Universities of Paris, Brussels, Leuven, Luxembourg, Saarbrücken, Strasbourg and Nancy. He especially focused on the subjects of courses, smaller workshops and seminars that, according to the memorandum from this trip, were «taken from this year's programs at the different institutes» as basic «orientation for the subjects of the courses that could eventually be organized» in Bilbao. This list clearly prioritized Law and Economics, that is, legal-fiscal and business issues. However, at the end of the list, other topics in the Social Sciences also appeared, specifically regarding «European Security», «Contemporary Political Thought», «Political History», «Social Problems» and, in addition, «Conceptions and Models for Europe's Political Unity», as well «Immigration» and the question of «Peace» (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación

⁵ From here on, abbreviated as ARCHIVO IEEUD.

y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Informe sobre visita de centros en Francia y Belgica (05.07.1979)/sheet 2, 1-4).

One of Churruca's main supports in Madrid was Luis Ángel Sánchez-Merlo Ruiz (1947-), a former student at the University of Deusto and, in 1979, Assistant General Secretary to the General Secretary Matías Rodríguez Inciarte (1948-) in the Ministry of Relations with the European Community under Calvo Sotelo. Although it is important to take into account, it is difficult to definitively prove that Churruca's access to such decisive institutional support catalyzed his actions, including friendships with the former Minister of Foreign Affairs under the government of Carlos Arias Navarro (1908-1989) between 1975 and 1976, José María de Areilza and Martínez de Rodas, Count of Motrico (1909-1998). In his letter to Sánchez-Merlo in November 1979, Churruca mentioned in detail that the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos'* inaugural event was to be a conference on the occasion of Spain's incorporation into the European Economic Community. In addition, he insisted on the possibility of the minister attending the closing ceremony, as he had commented with Sánchez-Merlo in previous talks (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Letter of Juan Churruca to Luis Angel Sanchez Merlo (06.11.1979) /sheet 6).

The immediacy of this inaugural event and, in addition, the clarity and closeness reflected in Churruca and Sánchez-Merlo's exchange, brings us to the conclusion that if not originated entirely in Madrid, the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos'* founding was prepared from the beginning in close coordination with Calvo Sotelo's ministry (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Letter from Luis Angel Sanchez Merlo to Juan Churruca (27.11.1979)/sheet 6-7)⁶.

Following up on our conversation last week, I send you a possible plan for programming at the inaugural symposium on Spain's incorporation into the EEC to be organized at the University of Deusto. The plan you suggested was well received both inside and outside the University... I think that the possibility you suggested in our conversation of the Minister speaking during the closing ceremony would be very important as the symposium will officially inaugurate the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos'* activities. I take this opportunity to thank you once more for all your support and offer in return my help for anything that you might need (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Letter from Juan Churruca to Luis Angel Sanchez Merlo (06.11.1979)/sheet 6, 1).

In addition, in his exchange with Sánchez-Merlo, Churruca proposed the agenda in detail, which «the Ministry would have final say on», suggesting that it focus on the political-historical framework regarding the «meaning of Spain's incorporation into the EEC and the current state of negotiations» as a first approach, followed by others. However, the Ministry did not accept this proposal. In fact, the event's final program, held December 12-14, 1979, only included a series of strictly technical topics, including a presentation by Sánchez-Merlo himself, as director of the State

⁶ Research carried out for this study did not take into account corresponding documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or other sources (for example, from the Churruca family) beyond those consulted at the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos'* archive at the University of Deusto.

Secretariat for Relations with the European Community, on «the current state of negotiations and the preparation of Spain for inclusion in the European Community». The other presentations focused on aspects related specifically to industry in the Basque Country, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to fiscal and legal-business issues in general.

In addition, the Ministry chose all of the speakers, including Daniel de Busturía (n.d.) and Carlos Muñoz Betemps (n.d.), as well as Carlos Fernández-Lerga Garralda (1950-), who obtained a Master in European Studies from the University of Louvain and was, between 1978 and 1983, the main adviser to the Minister and to the State Secretariat for Relations with the European Community. As a member of the same team, the economist Juan María Nin Génova (1953-) also intervened; he went on to the *Banco Hispano Americano* in 1980 and, later, to the University of Deusto's Governing Council. In addition, the former Minister of Information and Tourism and, until 1978, president of the Banco Hipotecario de España, Alfredo Sánchez-Bella Carswell (1916-1999), spoke on fiscal and monetary issues, as did Carlos Díaz-Húder (n.d.), who was later director of foreign trade at the Superior Council of Chambers of Commerce. Finally, the Catalan official from the Ministry of Commerce, Manuel Guasch Molins (n.d.), delved into general business problems related to the process of Spain's inclusion in the European Community (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/ Programa de Inauguración de las Actividades del Instituto de Estudios Europeos en la Universidad de Deusto/sheet 8, 1-2).

Two years later, at the opening of the 1981/1982 academic year, these thematic approaches definitively reflected the Institute's role as a model within and outside the academic world. The regional press in Bilbao, *La Gaceta del Norte* in particular, branded the Institute's activities with the slogan, «A Europe without rights is a Europe without life». These words were from the jurist Étienne Cerexhe (1931-), Dean of the School of Law of Namur and Director of the Center for European Studies at the University of Louvain, who had participated at the Institute's opening ceremony in Bilbao as president of the Geneva *Association of Institutes of European Studies* (Inauguración del curso académico del Instituto de Estudios Europeos de la Universidad de Deusto, *Gaceta del Norte* - 27.10.1981).

According to *DEIA*, the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos'* role focused on «training professionals in issues related to the European Community», explicitly highlighting the opening of an *Office of European Community* in Madrid that coordinated its activities in line with the Institute's model, as well as the inauguration of other European Institutes in Santiago de Compostela, Granada, Seville, Barcelona, La Laguna and Madrid (Apertura del curso en el Instituto de Estudios Europeos, *DEIA* - 28.10.1981).

Throughout the first year after the founding of the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos*, Churruca was intensely committed to receiving support and recognition at the European level, and, above all, to obtaining the category of *Centre de Documentation Europeenne*, which came with an enormous advantage in terms of funding, resources and possible access to other types of financing and related activities. As part of this important goal, Churruca planned to establish more direct contact with the European Council and request publications on human rights and the environment. In order to

speed up the process, in May 1980, he personally talked to the general secretary of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) Xabier Arzalluz Antia (1932-2019), followed by a letter asking for more direct support, including in his letter the application form for the status he sought (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Letter from Juan Churruca to Javier Arzalluz (06.11.1979)/sheet 21 & 21a, 1-8).⁷

I would be interested in interacting with people from the Community, first to push this process and second to establish connections that may be useful for the future of the Institute... I would appreciate letters of support or announcements of my visit addressed to people you may know that might be of help in Brussels and Strasbourg (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Letter from Juan Churruca to Javier Arzalluz (06.11.1979)/sheet 21).

Churruca obtained the recognition as *Centre de Documentation Européenne* by the end of 1980, and immediately sent a series of identical letters not only to the University of the Basque Country (Lejona), the School of Industrial Engineers (Bilbao) and other educational centers in the Basque Country, but also to Governor Marcelino Oreja Aguirre (1935-) and to all the councils of the General Council of the Basque Country, including to its president Carlos Garaikoetxea (1938-), the *Diputación Foral, Banco de Vizcaya*, etc. in order to disseminate information and invite them to collaborate in the future. With the sole exception of the Basque Ministry of Agriculture, which contacted the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* immediately after its foundation in December 1979 (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Letter from José Francisco Ortúzar Santorcuato to Juan Churruca (14.12.1979) & Letter from Juan Churruca to José Francisco Ortúzar Santorcuato (24.01.1980), sheets 10-11), it seems that the Institute was not receiving the attention and interest it desired.

The Commission of the European Community has granted the Instituto de Estudios Europeos of the University of Deusto the status of CDE (...) the Institute receives publications from the Commission, Council, European Parliament, Court of Justice, Economic and Social Committee, Statistical Office and Investors Bank (...) I take this opportunity to let you know that said documentation is available to your Ministry, as well as to indicate that we would be very grateful for any suggestion you have concerning future activities or collaborations with the Institute (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Fundación y Correspondencia 1979-1980/Letters from Juan Churruca to: Ignacio Iriarte (17.12.1980)/Juan Urrutia Elejalde (17.12.1980)/Joaquín María de Aguinaga (17.12.1980)/Marcelino Oreja (18.12.1980)/Carlos Garaikoetxea (18.12.1980)/Pedro Miguel Etxenike (19.12.1980)/Javier Lasagabaster (19.12.1980) etc., sheets 33-61).

⁷ According to documents from the IEEUD archive, the PNV (or other parties in the Basque Country) did not respond and was not at all involved in the founding process of the IEEUD in 1979/1980.

Scheduled courses, other activities related to inaugural events, and extraordinary seminars at the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* continued to be limited to fiscal and legal-business issues until the mid-1980s. The Institute opened up a new «socio-political line» under Nicolas Mariscal Berastegui (1939-), the third director of the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* from 1984 to 1996 when appointed as Jean Monnet-Professor at the University of Deusto. The academic hours dedicated to this line, however, was not equitable at the beginning. It finally obtained the same scoring-factor as the legal section, coordinated by Ricardo García Vicente (sd), and the economic section, coordinated by Luis María Atienza Serna (1957-), in 1989. As the Institute's programs reflect starting in 1980, approaches to legal issues, fiscal problems and economic aspects progressively dominated the courses offered and the Institute only opened a «Course-seminar on European international relations, 1945-1975» starting in 1985/1986 and, finally, in 1988, integrated a socio-political major with the same 164 teaching hours as the other majors. The «novelty of this major» encompassed not only the history of «intra-European relations» since the First World War and the «regional, social and political structures of Western Europe», but also focused on «the religious factor in European construction» (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Memorias 1979-1996/Instituto de Estudios Europeos de la Universidad de Deusto (IEEUD) 1979-1991, p. 21).

In 1987, in celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Treaty of Rome and Spain's official integration into the European Economic Community, the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* received German Ambassador Guido Brunner (1930-1997). Within a series of commemorative events, he gave a conference on «The European Political Union», highlighting the importance of the Single European Act. In addition, emphasizing the symbolic-institutional value of his presence for the University of Deusto and the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* itself, the German ambassador participated in a round table coordinated by Areilza, a recently elected member of the Royal Spanish Academy. He spoke of his time as President of the Assembly Parliamentarian of the European Council and as the Spanish Ambassador to France when preparing, along with ministers Fernando María Castiella y Maíz (1907-1976) and Maurice Couve de Murville (1907-1999), Spain's possible membership in the Common Market (ARCHIVO IEEUD/Memorias 1979-1996/Instituto de Estudios Europeos de la Universidad de Deusto (IEEUD) 1979-1991, pp. 30-31).

5. Conclusion

The founding of the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* at the University of Deusto in 1979 unambiguously represents an important moment in the process of Spain's incorporation and integration into the European Economic Community. Both while it was being formulated and then at its foundation in 1979, as well as during its inaugural period, the Institute's founder, Churruca, received decisive support from the Ministry of Relations with the European Community in Madrid. Shortly after its foundation, the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* became a model for other European training and coordination centers founded in Spain at the beginning of the 1980s. It was a model of a specialized approach to fiscal and legal-business issues. At least until the mid-1980s, the European issues taught at the *Instituto de Estudios*

Europeos centered exclusively on technical and administrative elements. In this regard, the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos* powerfully contributed to the education of a Basque elite capable of responding to practical needs related to Spain's European integration. There was no substantial involvement from representatives of Basque nationalism or other regional Basque parties during the Institute's founding phase or during its initial years and program development throughout the 1980s. Basque governmental institutions were apparently uninterested, which is surprising precisely given the innovative technical training offered at the *Instituto de Estudios Europeos*.

The Institute's early deficit of a historical and political view in general, as well as of its specific relationship to European issue began to progressively expand starting with Spain's formal entry into the European Economic Community in 1986/1987. This late structural implementation of socio-political issues contrasts both with Churruca's idea of Europe in his inaugural lecture in 1979 and with his attempts to frame the Institute's early technical and administrative training with a more comprehensive dialogue on the historical background and political transcendence of Spain's incorporation into Europe. An important factor in this initial lack of historical and political views seems to be related to the supporting role that the Ministry in Madrid took on. At the same time, we must bear in mind that Churruca's own ideas in this respect followed an Ortegian conception of Europe, that is, a widespread, but rather diffuse historical and cultural understanding of Europe present in Spain's intellectual, cultural and political elite of the 1960s and 1970s, that had little to offer when grappling with and making sense of the process of political integration in Europe.

In this regard, Churruca's references are revealing concerning the presence and impact of the Society of Jesus in Strasbourg and Brussels. Although it is true that, at the end of the 1970s, the *Office Catholique d'Information sur les Problemes Européens* had diversified its institutional policy at the European level, it still maintained a firmly planted romantic idea of Europe centered on Maritain's personalism. In this context, it is also striking that neither Churruca nor the Institute throughout the 1980s mentioned the possibility of collaborating with the Jesuit Institute *Fe y Secularidad* in Barcelona and Madrid. It seems that regional fragmentation regarding Spain's European future during the 1980s was not characteristic of just political parties and state administrations, but also represented a deeply rooted gap among social actors and institutions.

The question of whether the idea and practice of an a-political Europe penetrated and became reinforced in the various sectors of Basque-Spanish society remains to be answered in a more comprehensive and systematic study.

6. References

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