

Paths of Portuguese Literature on the European Construction and the Integration of Portugal in the European Project

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1. Introduction

Taking stock of academic production in a given area of knowledge means trying to understand which “aspects and dimensions [have] received the greatest emphasis in different times and places”¹. As part of the Images of European Integration History Project, this chapter will seek to understand the trajectory taken by the theme of European integration in publications intended for higher education by Portuguese authors. Our objective is not to present an exhaustive literature review, but to offer a thematic analysis based on publications adopted as textbooks² in Portuguese universities, and which deal with the European construction and Portugal’s integration in the European project.

Currently, Portuguese universities offer eight undergraduate programs, eight master’s degree programs, one PhD program and two postdoctoral programs in European Studies, so many of the publications serve the needs of these programs. To give an example, the first training course in European Studies for high-ranking state officials dates back to 1980, and was held at the National Institute of Administration, which published the first textbook in 1981³.

The remainder of this chapter will be organized in two sections. The first, consisting of two subsections, will provide a chronological overview of the textbooks considered here, focusing on the themes proposed by the authors.

¹ Ferreira Norma (2002). “As pesquisas denominadas ‘Estado da Arte’”. *Educação & Sociedade*, 79, 257-272: 258.

² In Portugal, the term textbook applies to books adopted in secondary education. In higher education, the idea of a textbook is not limited to works classified as such, but also to applies books of acknowledged academic relevance and which are often used as a basic bibliography for academic disciplines.

³ Guerra Ruy Teixeira, Ferreira Antonio de Siqueira, Magalhães José Calvet de (1981). *Movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos*. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Administração.

A more detailed explanation will also be provided, with greater emphasis on the core issues pursued in the textbooks.

The second section will offer a historical summary of the process of European integration in Portugal.

In broad terms, this chapter will attempt to achieve two essential objectives: to understand the process of European construction as well as Portugal's integration in this project, and the interpretation given by the textbooks and their authors.

1.1 Methodological notes

Forty books were selected from the Portuguese-language literature dealing with the history of European construction, which also includes the history of Portugal's integration in this process. Drawn from various fields of knowledge, the books — all by Portuguese authors — were selected on the basis of being regarded as required reading in higher education programs, which in Portugal means that they are classified as textbooks.

To present an overview, the first stage of the analysis consisted of specifying the following data for each work: year of publication; area of knowledge; type of periodization; perspective adopted (national or European); single- or multidisciplinary approach; and type of publisher.

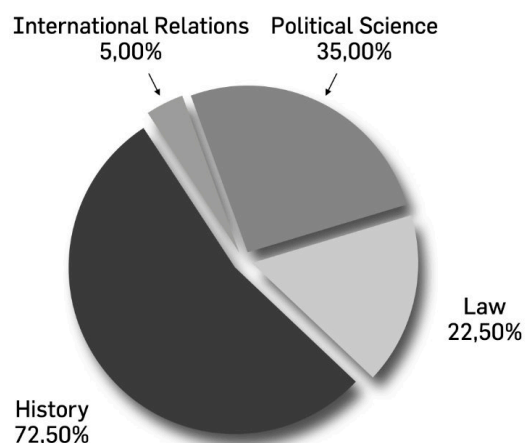
The next step was to identify and bring together the main themes present in the textbooks, i.e., the aspects emphasized by Portuguese authors in narrating the history of European integration.

2. Portuguese literature on the European construction and Portugal's integration

2.1 General data

The books selected for this study are distributed among four areas of knowledge, with History being the predominant area (Graph 1).

Knowledge Areas
Graph 1: Distribution of selected Portuguese literature on European integration by area of knowledge (Source: authors' calculations)⁴



⁴ The sum of the percentages exceeds 100%, as some books are referenced in more than one area of knowledge.

In grouping the textbooks by year of release, we see that the first publication dates from 1981, followed by a decade-long gap until the second publication in 1991, and that the years 2007 and 2011 had the highest numbers of published works (Table 1).

Methodologically, thirty-three of the forty books are organized by historical themes, which will be presented in the next section; those that are organized chronologically (five) do so through periodization by decades, by dates of crucial events for integration, by historical periods and by phases of the integration process. Two books mix chronology and thematic history. There is also an abundant use of primary sources, such as original texts of treaties, interviews, photographs and documents from ministerial meetings and agreements.

The predominant initial timeframe is the post-World War II period, although in a few books Greek mythology is used to provide a historical retrospective of the idea of Europe⁵.

There is a certain balance in the authors' approaches to the history of European integration: nineteen books take a single-disciplinary approach (History or Law), while twenty books and a dictionary take a multidisciplinary approach. As for the perspective adopted by the authors, eighteen books were written from a national perspective; sixteen from a European perspective; and five take a hybrid perspective.

Year of Publication	Number of Books
1981	1
1991	2
1997	1
2000	1
2001	2
2003	2
2005	3
2006	1
2007	5
2010	3
2011	5
2012	1
2013	2
2014	3
2015	2
2016	1
2017	4
2019	1
Total	40

Table 1: Number of books by year of publication
(Source: authors' calculations)

⁵ See Ribeiro Maria Manuela Tavares (2003). *A Ideia de Europa – Uma perspectiva histórica*. Quarteto; Campos João Mota de, Campos João Luís Mota de (2007). *Manual de Direito Comunitário: O sistema institucional – A ordem jurídica – O ordenamento económico da União Europeia*. 5ª Edição. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora; Gorjão-Henriques Miguel (2003). *Direito Comunitário. Sumários Desenvolvidos*. 2ª edição. Coimbra: Almedina; Valério Nuno (2010). *História da União Europeia*. Queluz de Baixo: Editorial Presença.

Lastly, grouping books by type of publisher shows that commercial publishers prevail (twenty-eight), followed by public institutions (seven), university publishers (four) and one classified as independent.

2.2 Thematic paths

This section presents the core themes that Portuguese authors use in addressing the history of the European construction and Portugal's integration in the European project.

In general, the books that focus on European issues engage in political, economic and legal analyses, at times highlighting aspects of federalism in the legal structures of the European Union.

Among the authors who express positions, the federalist approach predominates, though nuanced views are also presented, such as the defense of neo-federalism as a promising opportunity for overcoming the tension between intergovernmentalism and supranationalism⁶, as well as the statement that

[...] this is not the appropriate place or time for an analysis of the federal conception of the European construction, given the multiple meanings of the terms and contents inherent to it. [...] its value, today and for now, is greater as a future process and strategy than as an explanatory model of the legal and political reality⁷.

References to the idea of Europe as security, prosperity and democracy are reinforced by noting that Europe can also be a way of responding to the globalization movement. Peace as a fundamental value of the integration process is a factor that should not be forgotten⁸, and indeed, one of the books is a collection of articles exclusively dedicated to “thinking peace” by personalities who did so between 1849 and 1939⁹.

The question of European identity is seen as a challenge to national identity. Despite a Europeanist feeling, the European Union still seems to

⁶ Camisão Isabel, Lobo-Fernandes Luís (2005). *Construir a Europa – O processo de integração entre a teoria e a história*. Cascais: Editora Príncípa.

⁷ Gorjão-Henriques Miguel (2003). *Direito Comunitário. Sumários Desenvolvidos*. 2^a edição. Coimbra: Almedina, 27.

⁸ Camisão Isabel, Lobo-Fernandes Luís, *Construir a Europa ...*, op. cit.

⁹ Ribeiro Maria Manuela Tavares, Rollo Maria Fernanda, Valente Isabel Maria Freitas (eds.) (2014). *Pela Paz! For Peace! Pour la Paix! (1849-1939)*. Bern, Switzerland: P.I.E-Peter Lang S.A.

be something external to people or a second-order identity. One of the books analyzes the role of Christianity in constructing an idea of Europe, and the author introduces the text by stating that “Christianity was the great element of European unity, capable of impressing all Europeans with a common shared identity”¹⁰.

A forward-looking perspective is also evident in the concern for Europe’s future. Authors taking this perspective address such themes as Europe in a globalized world, the challenges of enlargement, including future ones, and the need for bold responses to the crises and transitions of the 21st century.

Lastly, we come the theme that pervades twenty-two of the selected books and which will be studied in depth in the next section of this text — Portugal’s integration in the European project.

This theme was analyzed from various standpoints, from the negotiation stages, through the political and diplomatic aspects of Portugal's application for membership in the European Community; impacts of integration on democracy, adaptation of national structures, economic, political and social evolution; the period of Salazarist Portugal and the transition to democracy and decolonization; Portuguese participation in collective institutions and, very prominently, the importance of national figures. To help understand this story, the books present the thoughts, actions, testimonies and writings of the main protagonists of Portugal's process of accession to Europe, including José Calvet de Magalhães, Ruy Teixeira Guerra, Valentim Xavier Pintado, José da Silva Lopes, João Cravinho, António de Siqueira Ferreira, Ernâni Rodrigues Lopes, Jaime Gama and Mário Soares.

It can be inferred that the approach to narrating the history of the European construction in terms of the history of Portugal's integration reflects a concern with the Portuguese public’s involvement in this process.

The European issue in Portugal has always been a matter for academic and political elites. Calvet de Magalhães, one of the leading figures of Portugal's participation in economic cooperation movements in the post-World War II years, was a pioneer in these issues, as he criticized the Portuguese public’s lack of interest and even a certain disbelief in European affairs¹¹. The concern remains: as Camisão and Lobo-Fernandes¹² point

¹⁰ Amaral Carlos E. Pacheco (ed.) (2015). *Cristianismo e Europa*. Coimbra: Almedina/CEIS20.

¹¹ Valente Isabel Maria Freitas (2015). *Calvet de Magalhães: Pensamento e Acção*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG.

¹² Camisão Isabel, Lobo-Fernandes Luís (2005). *Construir a Europa – O processo de integração entre a teoria e a história*. Cascais: Editora Príncípia, 21.

out in the introduction to their 2005 book, “debate and information on Portugal's European option” is still important.

Accordingly, the third part of this chapter will demonstrate that Portugal's approach to international movements resulted mainly from a combination of various personal efforts and initiatives, rather than being the outcome of a conscious government policy. We will thus analyze Portugal's integration in the European construction as a full member of the European Economic Community on the basis of how these movements are reflected in the literature used in higher education.

This literature can be grouped by four major themes:

- Political-legal analysis of the European Union
- Portugal and international organizations
- Portugal and the European construction
- The milestone of 20-25 years of Portuguese integration.

3. Historical summary

As we know, the genesis and evolution of the Idea of Europe trod a long historical path. It has been a complex process, a movement with continuities, ruptures and contradictions that has always sparked critical dialog and questioning among intellectuals, politicians and many other thinkers. An intense debate of ideas challenged and divided the defenders of different projects: the defenders of federalism and those who share the idea of union.

Was there, in Portugal, room for deep reflection and sufficient clarification on European issues? As a general rule, Portuguese politicians and intellectuals have not always shown much interest in the European movement, nor have they systematically participated in the various international meetings held after World War II.

Between 1945 and 1974, two political factors weighed on Portugal's integration in the process of European unification: the dictatorial nature of the Salazar regime and its tenacious resistance to decolonization. In 1974-1975, the first serious steps were taken towards integrating Portugal in the then EEC, as a strategic objective, and this became a consensual policy of the young democracy's moderate parties.

Europe had to reinvent itself after the torments of war, and one of these forms this reinvention took was that of European cooperation and integ-

ration, in which Portugal and its Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, MNE) participated. The emergence and growth of a pro-European internationalist current in the MNE during the *Estado Novo* (“New State”), is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the post-war history of Portuguese diplomacy.

In fact, ambassadors Ruy Teixeira Guerra and José Thomaz Calvet de Magalhães were two of the protagonists (and not infrequently they acted in what they considered to be the country's interest, without the government's explicit support) of Portugal's internationalization. As such, they were also protagonists of the country's involvement in the European construction, though this was initially presented in the form of cooperation — first with the OEEC (later OECD) in 1948 and the Marshall Plan, then in 1960 with EFTA (and indirectly and consequently in GATT), and lastly in the EEC, with whom Portugal signed a free-trade agreement in 1972.

After April 25, 1974, this rapprochement with Europe continued and EEC membership was taken as a kind of national objective.

3.1 Appearance of a pro-European and internationalist current in the MNE during the *Estado Novo*

At a time when the Portuguese government claimed that the future of Portugal was inextricably linked to our sovereignty over the overseas territories, a small group of diplomats (such as Ruy Teixeira Guerra and Calvet de Magalhães) thought differently. They considered our connection to Europe, a fundamental pillar of our culture, to be essential for future national economic and social development. As Calvet de Magalhães stated,

Initially, our efforts to establish a rapport with the European institutions were mainly the result of a combination of various personal initiatives, rather than a conscious government policy, and I found myself personally connected with these efforts at some crucial moments of this approach. [...] [at the official level] not only was there at that time no enthusiasm on the part of the Portuguese government for the idea of a European union, there was even marked hostility and disbelief about the viability of any initiatives in this direction¹³.

¹³ Magalhães José Calvet de (1981). “Os movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-Guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos”. In: Ruy Teixeira Guerra, A. Siqueira and J. C. Magalhães (eds.). *Os movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos*. Lisboa: INA, 44-45.

Thus, from 1948 Teixeira Guerra, joined by Calvet de Magalhães in 1956, discreetly but persistently exercised a significant influence in bringing Portugal closer to the great European economic organizations that emerged in the post-war period.

It is worth noting that both men were involved from the beginning in the negotiations for cooperating in the OEEC and Marshall Plan and later for the construction of the European union itself (EFTA, EEC). Moreover, Calvet de Magalhães acted simultaneously as the head of the Portuguese delegation to the Committee of European Economic Cooperation and the country's representative in the OEEC/OECD.

It is against this backdrop that we can appreciate these diplomats' strength in making an invaluable contribution to one of Portugal's most fruitful foreign policy strategies — that of the internationalization of the Portuguese economy through full participation in international and European institutions in the aftermath of the war.

In 1956, Calvet de Magalhães was posted to Paris, where his competence and prestige opened the doors of some of the most important institutions for European cooperation. In a flurry of activity, as we shall see, he put his concept of economic diplomacy into practice. João Rosas states that it was with

Calvet de Magalhães that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to take an interest in the economic part of international agreements. Before becoming Secretary General of the MNE, right at the beginning of his career, Calvet had a very important role in the MNE's intervention in economic agreements. He managed to assemble a team of diplomats with economic training and thus created the source of what became the economic diplomacy of the MNE, which took over the economic part of international agreements. Until then, ambassadors were not interested in economics, which was referred to in the corridors of the *Palácio das Necessidades* as “gravel”. In my opinion, this was one of the two reasons that made Calvet de Magalhães' action, as a diplomat, exceptional. The second was the approach and opening to Europe that he provided Portugal. In this area, his negotiating capacity flourished¹⁴.

The success that Calvet de Magalhães had in pursuing his objectives, in achieving Portugal's very much desired (and almost unattainable) participation in the cooperation movements that were then bubbling up in Europe

¹⁴ Interview with João Rosas, Rio de Janeiro, June 20, 2010.

is well known. His appointment in April 1959 as Portugal's representative in the European Coal and Steel Community, and to head the Portuguese delegation in most of the negotiations that gave rise to the EFTA in the same year are an example of this.

The history of our contact and integration with these international organizations was marked not only by Salazar's reserve policy, but also by the real commitment and the persistent, visionary and efficient efforts of diplomats Teixeira Guerra and Calvet de Magalhães, who inaugurated an internationalist and pro-European current in the MNE. This is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of post-war Portuguese diplomatic history.

At first, although Portugal participated actively in drawing up and implementing the Marshall Plan, the Portuguese government refused to accept American financial aid. However, this decision did not change Portugal's standing as a participating country. Portugal continued to take part in the meetings and activities of European countries and was a founding member of the OEEC.

The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Caeiro da Matta, was the spokesman for this position. In taking this stance, Portugal clearly showed that the regime's political and ideological convictions prevailed over the new international realities. In this way, the government intended to keep the country autonomous from an economic point of view, but the truth is that Portugal depended to a great extent on supplies from abroad.

Thus, it was in view of the potential advantages of economic cooperation that Salazar accepted the benefits of the Marshall Plan (November 24, 1948) and that Portugal joined the OECD and later the EFTA. Our country began to receive aid in the second year of the Marshall Plan (1949-1950), and also received direct assistance in the Plan's third year (1950-1951).

The correlation between Portugal's worsening economic and financial situation and the decision to retreat from the initial position of dispensing with American aid is widely recognized.

Given this situation, it is obvious that the Portuguese government would endeavor to ensure that our country was included among the Marshall Plan's beneficiaries. To do so, it enlisted the good offices of its diplomatic representatives, and in this first phase, the importance of Teixeira Guerra's efforts with the US government and the Marshall Plan administration to obtain the maximum amount of financial aid for Portugal should not be underestimated.

In Portugal's European adventure, there was a third actor who showed particular interest in the policy of liberalization and internationalization, i.e., the Europeanization of our country. This was Corrêa d'Oliveira, then an employee at the Ministry of the Economy and our representative on the Trade Committee, the main body of the OEEC. Corrêa d'Oliveira earned Salazar's admiration and sympathy. The government's confidence in him, particularly in matters of foreign trade, combined with the relationships of trust that Corrêa de Oliveira developed with important figures in European political life contributed to "enabling officials who worked in this sector to have access to the political support necessary for the success of its endeavors"¹⁵ during a period in which, as we know, Atlantic and overseas concerns took on greater weight in the conduct of Portuguese foreign policy.

The Circular on European Integration for the Diplomatic Missions of the Council of Ministers (*Circular sobre a Integração Europeia para as Missões Diplomáticas do Conselho de Ministros*) of March 6, 1953, is an example of this. However,

in European affairs, England will continue to be the benchmark. Accordingly, Portugal will closely follow the British positions on this matter until its entry to the EFTA as a founding member¹⁶.

But in 1956, when the British proposed the creation of a European Free Trade Area at the OEEC and unilaterally informed Portugal that only the organization's industrialized countries would be part of this zone and that our country, due to its backwardness, could not join, the Portuguese government reacted with "unusual energy to the British attitude which, by the way, was somewhat arrogant and above all awkward"¹⁷.

It is in this historical, political and economic context that Calvet de Magalhães, as head of our delegation to the OEEC, waged "a tough battle" against the British intention to exclude Portugal from a Free Trade Area which would include the countries that were our main export markets.

Following the British proposal, Working Group no. 17 was created (in

¹⁵ Magalhães José Calvet de, "Os movimentos ...", op. cit., 41.

¹⁶ See Teixeira Nuno Severiano, Pinto António Costa (eds.) (2007: 17). *Portugal e a Integração Europeia. 1945-1986*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores.

¹⁷ See Magalhães José Calvet de (1991). "Salazar e a unidade europeia". In: Hipólito de la Torre Gómez (ed.). *Portugal, España y Europa. Cien años de desafío (1890-1990)*. Mérida: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia/Centro Regional de Extremadura, 138.

June 1956) to study the initiative's feasibility, with our country being represented by Calvet de Magalhães. The positions taken by the Portuguese delegate during the meeting and expressed in his first report guided the Portuguese government's action during the negotiations for the creation of the Free Trade Area.

Calvet de Magalhães presented a cogent argument: Portugal intended to enter the free trade area under a special regime, as it considered itself a developing country.

In this connection, mention should be made of the creation (Working Group no. 17 had completed, but not published, its report) of a

committee in charge of studying the problems relating to the creation and function of the foreign trade area, of December 5, 1956, whose President was Corrêa de Oliveira, then Undersecretary of State for the Budget, and consisting of Ambassador Teixeira Guerra, Director General of Economic Affairs, Tovar de Lemos, President of the Technical Committee for External Economic Cooperation, Fernando Alves Machado, President of the Economic Coordination Commission, Carlos Câmara Pestana, Director General of Customs, and Isabel Magalhães Collaço (...) which prepared a report that was finalized on the following January 28th. This work served as the basis for Portuguese action in the negotiations initiated within the OEEC¹⁸.

The analysis developed in Calvet de Magalhães's report provided the main arguments underpinning the Portuguese position and, specifically, the speech by the Portuguese delegate in Working Group no. 17, Isabel Magalhães Collaço, on November 26, 1956.

On October 17, 1957, an Intergovernmental committee — known as the Maulding Committee — was created to implement the working groups' findings. Portugal was represented by Corrêa de Oliveira and, given the delegate's firm and well-founded position, the committee was forced to create a working group to study the case of Portugal.

Accompanied by Calvet de Magalhães and the Portuguese working group, the committee members and several advisors visited Portugal, finalizing their report, which became known as the Melander Report, on October 22, 1958. However, the Maulding Committee did not discuss Portugal's claims because it was adjourned *sine die* on November 13 as a result of De Gaulle's veto of the continuation of negotiations.

¹⁸ Magalhães José Calvet de, "Salazar e a ...", op. cit., 38-139.

The Melander Report was to be vitally important in the negotiations that followed the failure of the Maulding Committee, and were the basis of the creation of the EFTA and Portugal's integration as a founding member of this small Free Trade Area.

In this connection, the words of Luís Figueira provide useful insight into this period:

When the negotiations for the Maulding Zone failed and, given that the EEC already existed in effect, the British initiative emerged to create a small free trade area for the other six developed countries [...], from which they intended to exclude us given our economic backwardness, we finally came to participate in the more or less secret or informal meetings that then took place (which we had not even been aware of) as a result of the joint action of Ambassadors Calvet de Magalhães, then our Permanent Representative to the OEEC, and Ruy Teixeira Guerra, general director of Economic Affairs at the MNE. [...] Thanks to the careful and efficient diplomatic action, based only on the personal prestige that our two traditional representatives had been able to gain, we were able to avoid being left out of a process that was expected to be important. The negotiation process that led to the creation of the EFTA resulted from these meetings¹⁹.

After the French Minister for Information, Jacques Soustelle, announced the Gaullist government's veto on November 14, 1958, a meeting was scheduled in Geneva to discuss the consequences of the suspension of negotiations. As the Melander Report had not been discussed by the Maulding Committee, Portugal was not invited to this meeting.

Upon learning of this situation, Calvet de Magalhães immediately alerted Corrêa d'Oliveira, then Secretary of State for Commerce, to the vital importance of Portugal being present in Geneva, as there was a risk of being excluded from the two major economic groups in Europe. This would have serious consequences for our exports and for the Portuguese economy in general. Agreeing with the arguments of our ambassador, Corrêa d'Oliveira encouraged Calvet de Magalhães to take all necessary steps to contact the Swiss officials directly.

Thus, Calvet de Magalhães, in concerted action with the Director General of Business, Teixeira Guerra, pressured the Swiss Minister, Hans Shaffner,

¹⁹ Figueira Luís (2003). "Portugal e os movimentos de cooperação e integração económica na Europa". In: Álvaro de Vasconcelos (ed.). *José Calvet de Magalhães. Humanismo Tranquilo*. Lisboa: Principia, 46-47.

to allow Portugal to participate in the meeting on December 1, 1958. The Portuguese presence was accepted, and Calvet de Magalhães and Teixeira Guerra were able to attend the meeting in Geneva.

In this connection, Ambassador Siqueira Freire asks

would we have been admitted to the EFTA if we had not been present at the OEEC? Would we have been able to reach the terms on which we signed the 1972 Agreement with the EEC if we were not in EFTA? Would we have already been able to apply for membership of the Communities as a full member if we had not acquired the image and long experience of European integration acquired in EFTA and in the experience of the 1972 Portugal-EEC Agreement²⁰?

In fact, the knowledge acquired in the two years of negotiations for the EFTA, as well as Portugal's participation in the Marshall Plan and, as a result, in the organizations and economic bodies that followed, such as the OEEC and OECD, were decisive in modernizing the Portuguese economy and in bringing our country closer to Europe.

It should be stressed, however, that the negotiations were not easy for Portugal and without the Melander Report, as Calvet de Magalhães wrote, our country "would have had little chance of becoming a member of the EFTA"²¹.

Calvet de Magalhães headed the Portuguese delegation at all official meetings, which took place in Stockholm and Saltsjöbaden, between March 17 and October 1, 1959. At the last meeting of this nature, which took place in November of that year, he was replaced by Ambassador Teixeira Guerra, as he had been called to Paris when the OEEC became the OECD.

The Portuguese claims materialized in the last negotiation round of 1959, in Stockholm, where Portugal achieved victory on all fronts. According to Corrêa d'Oliveira, "we are part of a group of countries that lead European politics with equal rights, but without equal obligations"²².

In fact, as a signatory to the Stockholm Convention of January 4, 1960, Portugal became a full member of the group of EFTA founding countries, but with a special status — under the provisions of Annex G, modeled on the Melander Report. Annex G listed all the benefits that Por-

²⁰ See Siqueira Freire, "Os Movimentos...", op. cit., 21.

²¹ See Magalhães José Calvet de (1987-1988). "Portugal e a integração europeia". *Estratégia*, 4, 46.

²² In ANTT, AOS/CO/EC-17-A, Pt 4, 136.

tugal would enjoy, as well as establishing that overseas territories were excluded from EFTA. Portugal could thus continue to participate in the economic construction taking place in Western Europe without jeopardizing its privileged relationship with the colonies.

This was the argument used by the inter-ministerial commission, chaired by Corrêa d'Oliveira and assisted by Teixeira Guerra and Calvet de Magalhães, to convince prime minister Oliveira Salazar that the compromise reached in the Convention safeguarded the principles defended by the regime and reduced Portugal's international isolation.

The idea that belonging to EFTA would be the ideal solution for Portugal, as it would allow a compromise between the country's European and African interests and leave the overseas territories safe, turned out to be the fundamental turning point of our foreign policy. As a result, on May 18, 1962, the Portuguese government asked to open negotiations with the EEC.

After all the doubts and hesitations, Portugal had started its journey towards Community Europe.

This rapprochement would soon become inevitable in a Europe divided into two separate groups. Two vast areas of free trade in industrial products, the EEC and the EFTA, had been created in Europe. Both had enormous commercial and economic success, demonstrating that liberal theories and freedom should prevail over isolation and protectionism. On August 9, 1961, Great Britain requested admission to the Communities, followed immediately by Denmark and in April of the same year by Norway. Many other EFTA members, the so-called "neutrals", also asked for negotiations to be opened, although they were not aiming at membership of the Communities at the time. This was the case of Portugal, which could not run the risk of isolation. In deciding to join, it was thus fully aware of the enormous difficulties, both political and economic. For this reason, Portugal remained flexible regarding the legal formula to be proposed to the EEC.

Thus, in a letter addressed to the President of the EEC (May 18, 1962), and delivered by Calvet de Magalhães, Portugal requested that talks be initiated with a view to "*établir les termes de la collaboration entre les deux parties sous la forme considérée la plus adéquate*"^{23 24}.

²³ See Archives Commission CCE, BAC 3/1978 n. 853/3 1957/1971.

²⁴ "establishing the terms of the collaboration between the two parties in the form considered most appropriate" (loose translation).

It should be mentioned here that Calvet de Magalhães, after having participated actively in the OEEC's expansion and reorganization as the OECD, became our Permanent Representative. About a year later, on April 13, 1962, already bearing the honorary title of Ambassador, he was appointed the first Ambassador of Portugal accredited to the EEC and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The importance of this appointment should be emphasized. Calvet de Magalhães was a well-regarded diplomat in European circles, a convinced Europeanist who realized, from an early age, that the success of the European project was rooted in the matrix of European civilization, in the cohesion of the peoples of Europe and in the longed-for world peace. Furthermore, Portugal, an old European country, could not be alien to this movement. His speech when presenting his credentials to the then President of the EEC Commission, Walter Hallstein, illustrates this. Thus, the President-in-Office of the EEC Council, in a letter dated December 19, 1962, scheduled a hearing to consider Portugal's request on February 11, 1963.

It should be borne in mind that the difficult accession negotiations between Great Britain and the Communities were still going on at this time. Britain's attempts were, however, vetoed by De Gaulle. De Gaulle's removal from the French presidency in April 1969 made it possible for Great Britain to renew its application, and the accession agreements were signed in January 1972.

The Portuguese Government, now headed by Marcello Caetano, requested the President of the EEC Commission, through a Memorandum dated May 28, 1970, to start negotiations with the EEC in order to find a form of connection acceptable to both parties.

To prepare for these negotiations, a Study Committee on European Economic Integration was created by a joint order of the President of the Council Marcello Caetano, the Minister of Finance and the Economy João Dias Rosas and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ruy Patrício, dated March 23, 1970. This committee was tasked with "studying the present situation and future possibilities with regard to the country's participation processes in movements aimed at the economic integration of Europe"²⁵. The committee was chaired by Ambassador Teixeira Guerra, while its vice-chairs were Calvet de Magalhães and Raquel Bethencourt Ferreira.

²⁵ See *Diário do Governo*, No. 69, II Série, of March 23, 1970.

In the course of 1970, the committee prepared an extensive report. A highly technical document, it was of the greatest interest as a rigorous study of the negotiations with the EEC which were to be launched the following November. It addressed the wide range of problems that Portugal would face in its approach to the Common Market. It was considered a “revolutionary” report for the time because — contrary to the doctrine of the *Estado Novo* — it very explicitly recognized that the EEC and its institutions were

the most appropriate way to achieve a reasonable organization of the European space [outside of the Soviet orbit] possibly as the first step in a longer evolution towards the more ambitious goal of the formation of the United States of Europe²⁶.

Furthermore, it considered that the Communities had resulted from the action of a

group of far-sighted Europeans, led by the first French Plan Commissioner, Jean Monnet, who began a courageous campaign to create institutions with central bodies empowered to train and to make programs run for the intelligent and orderly use of existing resources in the entire area of the associated territories²⁷.

It also considered that the Community would be the most active and vigorous element of the European whole, in contrast to EFTA²⁸.

The report was to serve as the mainstay for all the negotiations taking place in Brussels with a view to establishing an agreement between Portugal and the EEC. It very clearly stated that Portugal's economic relations with Europe currently hinged on EFTA, and given that the latter would be weakened or destroyed with the United Kingdom's departure, Lisbon needed to find an equally effective way of coming closer to the EEC.

The most likely option would be a trade agreement, but it would be essential for Portugal to push for an association agreement. Once again, it was emphasized that a future accession was still a possibility. Therefore, the report stated, the Portuguese government should show moderation and flexibility in negotiations.

The exploratory talks between Portugal and the EEC, which began on November 24, 1970, as well as the actual negotiations that began in 1971

²⁶ AHD-MNE/EOI/686.

²⁷ *Idem*, 3.

²⁸ *Idem*, 4.

and continued into the first half of 1972, culminating in the signing of Portugal's Trade Agreement with the EEC, were all based on the strategies outlined in the committee's report.

Although this entire process was publicly carried out by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ruy Patrício, whose career until then had been as Secretary of State for Overseas Development, all the preparatory work, all the exploratory contacts, all the theoretical and discursive argumentation, that is, all the substantial work was done by Calvet de Magalhães²⁹. However, most of the negotiations were already the responsibility of the Minister of Finance and the Economy, João Augusto Dias Rosas, and his team.

It should be noted that Dias Rosas's thinking and speech are pervaded with a vision of Europe that is not simply economic. It was during his ministry that the last formal efforts at a closer relationship with the EEC during the *Estado Novo* began and concluded.

The study committee's report is, in fact, a fundamental text, not least because of its repercussions on Portuguese foreign policy. For Calvet de Magalhães, the report was a vehicle for proclaiming the ideal of Portugal's full membership in the EEC. In it, he explicitly states that economic conditions and the very nature of the regime did not allow Portugal to apply to join at that time, but that the Portuguese government would accept an association agreement providing for future membership³⁰.

This position was officially recognized by the Secretary of State for Commerce, Alexandre Vaz Pinto. As he stated, association "is seen by the EEC [...] as a mere transitional phase of preparation for a subsequent accession, delayed for economic reasons or because of political objections"³¹.

Thus, once the Portuguese claims, merely outlined in the report, were enunciated and accepted, December 17, 1971 was set for the beginning of negotiations, which culminated in reaching a trade agreement signed in Brussels on July 22, 1972, and which entered into force on January 1, 1973. For these talks, a Special Working Group for the Study of Problems Relating to the Negotiations between Portugal and the EEC was set up on January 4, 1971 with Calvet de Magalhães, then Director General of Economic Affairs, as vice-chairman and Teixeira Guerra as chairman.

In short, Portuguese rapprochement to European institutions in the period of Salazar and Marcello Caetano was a lengthy process where each

²⁹ Interview with João Rosas, Rio de Janeiro, June 20, 2010.

³⁰ Idem, 9-10.

³¹ AHD-MNE, EOI M. 684.

step paved the way to the next on the road to integration in a Europe that was once eschewed, but which would become the mainstay of Portuguese foreign policy after April 25, 1974.

3.2 From the EEC accession negotiations to the present day

It is time to ask: was it the Carnation Revolution that opened the door to Europe for us? Were the 1974 Revolution and the consolidation of democracy decisive for Portugal's integration in the supranational European project, with its emphasis on democracy, pluralism and ideological tolerance? Would Portugal's accession to the European Community be in the national interest?

Although Salazar repudiated parliamentarism or any form of European federalism in very concrete terms, it should be noted, as Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro remarks, that

in strategic terms, Salazar was a Europeanist, but his Atlantic vision of Portuguese foreign policy prevailed, with its Euro-American and Euro-African conception of a regime, the *Estado Novo*, which opted for isolation and distance from Europe in (re)construction³².

The shift took place gradually in the early Seventies. As António Martins da Silva points out, the

internal debate on bringing Portugal closer to Europe did not go beyond the framework of well-intentioned declarations that were more or less Europeanist and of effective action to strengthen our economic relations with the Common Market. The institutional nature of the European communities and the issue of deepening did not produce audible echoes³³.

This Portuguese lack of interest in the Idea of Europe was to persist during the April 1974 Revolution and even in the post-accession period. The attention shown by the academic and cultural milieu after Maastricht and, in particular, after the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference (CIG96), made an invaluable contribution to the emergence in Portugal of a more visible interest in the fate of Europe and its institutional architecture³⁴.

³² Ribeiro Maria Manuela Tavares (2003). *A ideia de Europa. Uma perspectiva histórica*. Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 55.

³³ Silva António Martins da (2002). "Portugal e a ideia Federal Europeia – Da República ao fim do Estado Novo". In: *Portugal e a Construção Europeia*. Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 99.

³⁴ Valente Isabel Maria Freitas, Martins Ana Isabel (2009). "Vinte Anos de União Europeia: Percepções e realidades em Portugal". In: *Cadernos do CEIS20*, 10, 13-16. Coimbra: CEIS20.

As we discussed above, however, there was also a certain broad, economically motivated openness to Europe during Salazar's time.

In a victory for democracy and party pluralism, the Revolution of April 25, 1974 overthrew the last government of the *Estado Novo*. Portugal's new aims were now to consolidate democracy, decolonization and join the EEC.

In fact, the 1974 April Revolution was also shaped by international opinion, where the Portuguese situation in 1974/77 raised some concern among the Western allies³⁵. Most of the world was more anxious about Portugal's final foreign policy choices than about what the internal political, economic and social regime of Portuguese society would be like³⁶. Still, during our country's so-called Ongoing Revolutionary Process (*Processo Revolucionário em Curso*, PREC) there were a series of internal cleavages, and some distinct international alignment preferences were outlined. Nuno Severiano Teixeira, for example, argues that "under the noisy struggles of the internal democratization process, another silent struggle took place about the objectives and ideological options of Portuguese foreign policy"³⁷. From the beginning of the democratic transition, however, the idea that Portugal should become a full member of the European Community began to gain strength, becoming a priority of Portuguese foreign policy. The democratic regime's European leanings were a break with African, third-world, *Gonçalvistas* and European trade policies that, even in 1976, were debated at the highest levels of power.

In this sense, the decision to seek European integration was based on three pillars of Portugal's new concept of geopolitics, viz.:

1. Redefining the dominant geostrategic vector³⁸ to center on "Portugal's European vocation"³⁹, but without ever excluding other forms of inter-

³⁵ Lopes Ernâni, op. cit., 27.

³⁶ See Ferreira José Medeiros (2001). "Introdução" to *Adesão de Portugal às Comunidades Europeias. História e Documentos*. Lisboa: Assembleia da República, 28.

³⁷ Teixeira Nuno Severiano (2000). "Entre África e a Europa: a política externa portuguesa, 1890-1986". In: António Costa Pinto (ed.). *Portugal Contemporâneo*. Madrid: Sequitur, 90.

³⁸ Magalhães José Thomaz Calvet de, opp. citt.; Ferreira José Medeiros, opp. citt., (1981). "Aspectos internacionais da revolução portuguesa". In: *Estudos de Estratégia e Relações Internacionais*. Lisboa: INCM, 63-73; Soares Mário (1975). "Nova Política Externa Portuguesa". In: *Democracia e descolonização (10 meses no governo)*. Lisboa: D. Quixote, 85-92.

³⁹ Expression used several times in the "Constitutional Government Program" ("*Programa de Governo Constitucional*"), *Diário da Assembleia da República*, suplemento no. 17, 3/8/1976, 438-465.

national relationships. This meant rethinking the concept of Atlantism and forging a Euro-Atlantic foreign policy which was to remain the cornerstone of Portugal's position until the end of the 70s and the consolidation of democracy. The statements of Jaime Gama, as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1983-85, are extremely enlightening. Gama spoke of

the role that Portugal could play either as a factor in the expansion of the European area to Africa and Latin America, or by bringing the logic of the community, institutions and decisions closer to Latin America and away from the African regions [...]. [...] As a member of the Community, Portugal will contribute to a greater interest in both directions, with regard to relations between Europe and Africa⁴⁰.

In other words, it was only after the construction of a Western-style democracy in Portugal that we see the emergence of a foreign policy resting on three fundamental poles: participating in the European integration process, building privileged ties with the Lusophone African States and the strengthening the Atlantic alliance, which had proved to be essential to of Portugal's security and defense, and seeking recognition of a special status both for Portugal's participation in NATO and for the Portuguese-American bilateral relationship (provided, also, by the strategic value of Lajes Field) [...] [as well as the need to overcome] the traditional mistrust of Spain and the consequent assumption of the strategic importance of this bilateral relationship, strengthening ties with Brazil, careful monitoring of the Maghreb situation, the need to resolve certain colonial legacies [...] Macau transition [...] and self-determination of the Timor people⁴¹.

2. Bolstering Portugal's position in the world. In this connection, as Mário Soares stated,

being a member of the Community was a national project that would launch Portugal on the path to new destinations. [...] Integration in the Community was essential to improving Portugal's capacity to assert itself in the world, giving us a scope for international intervention well above what our nation's size would permit⁴².

⁴⁰ *Política Externa Portuguesa 1983-1985*. Lisboa: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 1985, 197.

⁴¹ See Correia José de Matos (2006). "A Integração na União Europeia e o papel do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros". In: *Nação & Defesa*, 115, 3ª Série, 35-36.

⁴² Soares Mário (1994). *Intervenções 8*. Lisboa: INCM, 162.

3. The need for a historical-structural synthesis corresponding to new realities and new problems.

Portugal thus embarked on a new path in its external relations — the European way.

Nevertheless, the first provisional governments went no further than declaring their intention of moving closer to the European Economic Communities⁴³. Significant steps began to be taken during the Third Provisional Government, whose program expressed the desire to approach Community authorities and to strengthen the cooperative relationships based on the 1972 Agreement by renegotiating the clause in Article 35 which provided for extending the agreement to new areas.

In fact, Portugal's economic and technological backwardness, as well as its financial difficulties, were such that priority was assigned to concluding a financial protocol that would support the country's modernization and development, introduce new trade measures, guarantee that our emigrants would not be discriminated against for social security purposes, and establish true technological, industrial and financial cooperation between Portugal and the European Communities.

Accordingly, the I Constitutional Government conferred legitimacy and formalized the European option in its Government Program presented to the Assembly of the Republic by Prime Minister Mário Soares on August 3, 1976. Point *b* of the program clearly states that

with regard to the European Economic Community (EEC), our accession must also be considered, although the process is necessarily longer and more complex than that foreseen for the Council of Europe. However, this is the path that must be traveled⁴⁴.

The speech given by Prime Minister Soares during the inauguration of the I Constitutional Government on July 22, 1976 is worth recalling. This excerpt is very clear:

the Government now in office understands that it must make a decision according to its appreciation of the national interest. For this reason, it intends to request its immediate admission to the Council of Europe and

⁴³ See the *Circular confidencial enviada às Missões diplomáticas sobre o início das conversações exploratórias entre Portugal e a CEE de 18 de Janeiro de 1971*, AHD-EOI M.682.

⁴⁴ Program of the I Constitutional Government in the Assembly of the Republic, *Diário Assembleia da República*, no. 17, Supplement, August 3, 1976.

its accession to the EEC, with the opening of negotiations for short-term integration into the Common Market⁴⁵.

The words of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Medeiros Ferreira, when signing the additional Protocols to the 1972 Agreement on September 20, 1976 and joining the Council of Europe should also be considered. They confirm the intention of our “country to become a member of the Community and to present, at the appropriate time, an official request in this regard”⁴⁶. In other words, the political process laying the groundwork for Portugal's application for membership of the European Communities had begun. Once again, Medeiros Ferreira's words provide an insight into this process:

It was, in fact, about safeguarding the opportunities and potential of the present [Interim Agreement and the Additional and Financial protocols] but also to prepare those of the future, since for my Government and, before it, for the majority of the Portuguese people, democracy and the European option go hand in hand and could not be dissociated. As a country which is deeply European but fraternally open to the world and to the peoples it helped to access international society, Portugal today shares the ideals and principles enshrined in the preamble of the Treaty of Rome [...]. Today, it needs new impetus and a destiny that we believe can only be attained in a community of interests, ideas, concerns and objectives such as the Europe that Your Excellency, Mr. President, surely represents⁴⁷.

Given the importance of these objectives, it was logical that the strategy outlined by the Portuguese Government and its Minister for Foreign Affairs should center on contacts with the Council of Europe. No wonder, then, that the day after the Protocols were signed in Brussels, Medeiros Ferreira left for Strasbourg to deliver Portugal's instrument of accession following the formal invitation issued by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on September 22, 1976 in response to the request that the I Constitutional Government had made on August 12 of the same year.

⁴⁵ Cited by Cândido de Azevedo (1978). *Portugal e a Europa Face ao Mercado Comum*. Lisboa: Bertrand Editores, 87.

⁴⁶ José Medeiros Ferreira, “La Communauté et le Portugal” in *Bulletin des Communautés Européennes*, Commission Européenne, no. 9, 1976, Office des Publications Officielles des Communautés, 8.

⁴⁷ See *Discurso Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros de Portugal, Medeiros Ferreira, no Conselho das CE, por ocasião da assinatura do Acordo Interino e dos Protocolos Adicional e Financeiro, em que se anuncia pela primeira vez a intenção de Portugal solicitar a adesão às CE – 20 Setembro 76*. AHD-EOI Prov. 5.

As Calvet de Magalhães reports,

soon after the April revolution, the Council of Europe took several measures in order to approach the new Portuguese institutions. The political events that took place between us until the end of 1975 did not, however, allow the various attempts at rapprochement to produce immediate results. [...] After several contacts at the political level, we finally asked to join the Council of Europe. [...] It was the first political step towards European integration⁴⁸.

In light of this new paradigm, the Portuguese government requested that Portugal be admitted to the European Communities on November 29, 1976, and formalized the request on March 28, 1977. Negotiations were officially opened on October 17, 1978. The EEC Council of Ministers met in Luxembourg on April 5, 1977, when it decided to initiate the process of Portugal's accession to the European Communities under the terms of the respective treaties. This fact was communicated to the Portuguese Government in a letter signed by the acting President of the EEC, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, David Owen⁴⁹.

Thus began seven long years of countless efforts, at the most diverse levels of national life, towards convergence with the European project. However, these efforts were not without problems and difficulties. It was necessary to go beyond a mere formal definition of democracy on the one hand, and to consolidate and institutionalize the new regime on the other. In other words, an open, modern and democratic society had to be put in place of the old authoritarian/totalitarian edifice.

However, thanks to a massive diplomatic and political campaign supporting the national commitment, the guidelines for the Treaty of Accession of Portugal to the EEC were established in March 1985, while the treaty itself was signed on June 12, 1985 in the *Mosteiro dos Jerónimos* and entered into force on January 1, 1986. The words of Fernando d'Oliveira Neves strike us as extremely significant:

Portugal's accession to the then European Communities was an eminently political and strategic decision. Portugal took on the European integration

⁴⁸ Magalhães José Calvet de (1987). "Portugal e a Integração Europeia". In: *Revista Estratégia*, 4, 69-70.

⁴⁹ See Reply of the President of the Council of the EC, addressed to the Portuguese Prime Minister to the letter requesting Portugal's accession to the EEC, April 5, 1977. AHD-MNE, Dep. Cor., EOI Prov.3.

project with the aim of consolidating its democratic institutions, modernizing its economic structures and moving towards the opening of its society⁵⁰.

For the majority of the Portuguese intelligentsia, Europe was not, at that time, a very appealing project. Many were reticent at first. This is the case of Joel Serrão, Victor de Sá, Eduardo Lourenço and António José Saraiva, among others. These intellectuals recognized that Portugal had reached the end of a cycle and thus had to rethink its path and reflect on its strategic options. However, they did not dare to point out a clear and objective course for the Motherland. Others argued that if culturally Europe is our natural destination, economic or political accession to the European Communities could erode our national independence, as Spain would come to dominate the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, political or economic membership of the EEC was not, in general, a desirable destination for many Portuguese intellectuals.

On the other hand, some intellectuals, politicians, diplomats and economists spoke in favor of closer ties and integration in the European construction and sought historical, geographical, cultural or political arguments to support these positions.

When analyzing the beginnings of Portugal's integration in Europe and the public's perception of that integration and of the European Communities themselves, we can see that the levels of support for the European project gradually increased from 1980 to 2007, although the majority of the public had no opinion regarding membership. Since 2007, support has steadily decreased.

It should be stressed, however, that Portugal is an Atlantic country, with a Mediterranean sensitivity and a universalist vocation. It is also a European country that is equally aware of the original contribution it has made to Europe's image in the world and which it continues to make to today's Europe despite the challenges it faces⁵¹.

In this light, Portugal must assert its indisputable individuality in the Iberian setting, its decisive Atlantic vocation and awareness of the importance of the sea, but within the European framework. Portugal's present and future lie in the European Union.

⁵⁰ Neves Fernando (2007). "O Testemunho Português: O Futuro". In: Nicolau Andersen Leitão (ed.). *Vinte Anos de integração Europeia*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 217.

⁵¹ See Ferreira António de Siqueira (1986). "Portugal entre o Mar e Terra – Reflexões sobre a identidade nacional". In: *Estratégia, Revista de Estudos Internacionais*, 2, 20. Lisboa: IEEI.

4. Some concluding remarks

In temporal terms, the textbooks selected for this study cover the period between 1981 and 2019, with the largest number of publications dating from the year 2007. In theoretical and methodological terms, the predominant themes dealt with in these textbooks are History, Law and Political Science.

We found that the Portuguese-language literature on the European construction and Portugal's integration used in for higher education narates this story mainly from the standpoints of federalism; the political, economic and legal analysis of the European Union; and the issues surrounding Portugal's participation in the European project.

As regards this latter aspect, which has been discussed extensively here in view of the attention devoted to it by Portuguese authors, we conclude that Portugal's approach to the European question and to European cooperation and integration movements resulted from the personal commitment of certain intellectuals and diplomats, who not infrequently acted in what they considered to be the country's interest, without explicit government support. After the April 25 Revolution, the democratic regime's most important strategic decision was to apply quickly for membership.

In higher education, remembering this story — which connects the European dimension and the national dimension — and understanding its protagonists' thought and action means promoting this issue in Portuguese society. And it is still a burning issue in the country, as is the future of Europe.

Forty selected works used in the disciplines of European Studies in the three cycles of Portuguese higher education

Amaral Carlos E. Pacheco (ed.) (2015). *Cristianismo e Europa*. Coimbra: Almedina/CEIS20.

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- Leal Ernesto Castro (ed.) (2001). *O Federalismo Europeu. História, Política e Utopia*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri.
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