



Calvet de Magalhães. New Eyes on Portugal and European Integration

This article reviews the activities of the high-ranking diplomat Calvet Magalhães's contribution to Portugal's European integration process. Based in a part of a PhD.- research project about "Portugal and the European integration" and investigates key ideas of Europe in the speeches of Calvet de Magalhães, and translate this into a reinvention of Portugal's position.

By Isabel Maria Freitas Valente

"I've been a firm believer in Europe for a long time." (Calvet de Magalhães, 1981)

This article intends to point out how the activities of the high-ranking diplomat José Thomaz Calvet de Magalhães (1915-2004) took a central part in inspiring the Portuguese debate about the European institutions, at a time when the country was above all marked by nationalist isolationism in the foreign and security policy during the repressive dictatorship that lasted from 1926 to 1974. In 1926, the Portuguese republic was replaced by a military dictatorship that installed order, authority, and discipline. The military regime abolished political parties, took steps against the small but vocal Marxist groups, and did away with republican institutions. In 1928, it invited António de Oliveira Salazar to serve as minister of finance. In 1932 he became prime minister. That year marked the beginning of his regime, called the *Estado Novo* (New State). Using Calvet Magalhães as a prism, it is also possible show that the search for a European path for Portugal, and for a strong relation with the United States, and thus taking Portugal out of the dictatorial isolationism, was in fact an essential part of his diplomatic and intellectual activity. By taking a biographical focus, the article shows that there was more continuity in elite thinking about Europe in Portugal than is conventionally shown.

This article is part of a PhD.- research project about "Portugal and the European integration"¹, and investi-

gates key ideas of Europe in the speeches of Calvet de Magalhães, and how he tried to juggle his belief in Portugal's participation in the European integration process and translate this into a reinvention of Portugal's position. The research is also concerned with how it is possible to document the European thought of Calvet de Magalhães before the Carnation Revolution of 25 April 1974, which was the military bloodless Carnation Revolution that re-established democracy in Portugal and handled to independence the Portuguese African colonies.

The research is interesting because it highlights in a new way the boundaries between diplomacy and international law at a time when Portuguese political history was often seen as insular due to Salazar's *Estado Novo*. Moreover, the research shows that there were continuities of thinking about European Union (EU) also prior to the 1974 Revolution and Portugal's entry to the European Community (EC) in 1986. We believe that these issues lie at a crossroad between several historical problems, and the biographical approach is a good reflection exercise into some of the queries raised by the path of Portugal to European integration.

The research also situates itself in the historical literature on the genesis and evolution of the idea of Europe (Bonafous, 1950; Ahrweiler and Aymard, 2000; Ribeiro, 2003). That literature is in itself broad and shows a complex process, a movement with continuities, ruptures and contradictions that has always created debate and critical dialogue amongst intellectuals, politicians and many others thinkers. The more abstract and intellectual debate of ideas had practical implications upon

¹ The main sources of information on Portugal's relations with the European Community are the Lisbon-based Arquivo Nacional – Torre do Tombo (ANTT). The District Archives contain diversified documentation, namely from the Registry Offices, the Notary Public's Offices, Courts, Local Governments, Financial Departments and Customs, among others; the Arquivo da Presidência do Conselho de Ministros (PCM), the PCM as information concerning previous Governments, namely: government structure, list of the minister's cabinets, Organic Law and Rules and Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático

do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (AHD-MNE), keep the records belonging to the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs, and also private archives. It includes among others documentation from the services of the central administration from 1850 to 1985; of the Portuguese embassies and representations abroad between 1819 and 1985; of the missions and permanent delegations of Portugal vis-à-vis the primary international organisations from 1949 to 1977.



the political development on Europe that was a product of an intense debate among defenders of different kinds of “European” projects beyond the nation-state. In this debate, Portuguese politicians and intellectuals have generally not always shown themselves greatly interested in the European movement, and have not always taken systematic part in the numerous international meetings that took place after World War II such as the Congress of The Hague in 1948.

Between 1945 and 1974, two political factors conditioned the integration of Portugal in the process of unification of Europe. Above all was the dictatorial nature of the regime of Salazar and the fierce resistance against decolonization. Portuguese engagement in the political European integration process until then thus became limited to being a founding member of two intergovernmental organisations that focused on functional economic issues and trade, namely the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Portugal had applied for associate membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) already in 1962, but it was not until 1974-1975 that membership of EC became a strategic objective for the new democratic regime (Cabral, 2000; de Vasconcelos, 2000). Portugal finally joined the EC in 1986.

Biographical literature on Portugal and European integration is also fairly underdeveloped. The published works of the politician José Gonalo Corr a d’Oliveira, the diplomat Jos  Calvet Magalh es, and the economist Jos  da Silva Lopes are useful starting points, but as Calvet de Magalh es himself warned “some important facts which explain [Portugal’s] approach to European institutions are not registered or sufficiently clarified in the works that have dealt with this subject” (Magalh es 1981:35). This calls for more historical research on the developing relationship of Portugal’s path to participating in the European process. In the following, Calvet de Magalh es background will be explored based in his personal file that is held in the Arquivo Hist rico-Diplom tico of the Minist rio dos Neg cios (AHD-MNE)² and also based on his own writings. There, he frequently pointed to a number of factors that influence his professional development and ideas of Europe that highlight that to Calvet de Magalh es, the topics were intertwined.

The background of Calvet de Magalh es

Calvet de Magalh es became one of the most high-ranking diplomats in Portugal. In 1941 he applied for

and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) at the same time as Franco Nogueira. Between 1961 and 1969, Franco Nogueira became Foreign Minister of Portugal and in some aspects enlarged on the doctrines of the philosopher-dictator Salazar, which were embodied in the regime’s constitution, whereby the remnants of the old overseas empire were merely ‘provinces’ of a single country. This context is important to point out these because Calvet de Magalh es would work directly with Nogueira who was determined against political integration with Europe.

In 1941, Calvet de Magalh es made his debut in the directorate-general of economic affairs in the MFA, in an area of diplomacy in which he would become specialized. He was born in Lisbon, on 2nd October, 1915, during the First World War. He did his secondary education in the Passos de Manuel Secondary School. From that period we can highlight the role that two teachers had in his education: Jos  de Barros and Alberto Reis Machado. With them Calvet de Magalh es took a particular interest in classes in history, the Portuguese language as well as Portuguese literature. The interaction between these subjects was of particular interest to him. Already in a history class, in the 6th grade of secondary school, taught by the Professor Alberto Reis Machado, the young Calvet de Magalh es took an interest in European unity in the field of culture when he completed an assignment called “the roots of the cultural Europe.” (Vasconcelos, 2005:22-23) His family also provided an important contribution to his intellectual and political education. He lived and grew in a family that was deeply liberal and that encouraged critical reflection. His two great-grandparents, the Pinto de Magalh es, took part in the liberal revolution in 1820. His father was a well-known political caricaturist, of the Francisco Valena’s school, that signed with the surname of his grandparents, Pinto de Magalh es (Melo, 2005:93-116).

He graduated in Law, in 1940 from the University of Lisbon. His academic background and growing interest in diplomacy led Calvet de Magalh es to apply for a position in public administration. Eventually, he managed to enter the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where the admission contest allowed him to become an attach  in January 1941. In 1945 he left to New York as a deputy consul. In 1946, he held functions as a Consul and he managed temporarily the Portuguese Consulate of Boston, and in the same year he became a consul in Canton. In 1951, Calvet de Magalh es assumed the position as secretary at the Embassy in Paris, holding simultaneously functions as a Portuguese representative in the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) that was created in 1949 for

² AHD-MNE-SE- Proc. No. 20/05/52 a 55, and AHD-MNE-SE-Proc. No. 211,1 (96).



the purpose of preventing Western companies and countries from selling strategic goods and services to the Eastern bloc countries behind the "iron curtain." In 1952, he became part of Portugal's delegation to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Paris. From 1956 onwards, he held the title of plenipotentiary minister what gave him the position of chief of the Technical Commission of External Economic Cooperation in the delegation in Paris and the position of permanent representative to the OEEC. When the OEEC was reorganised to become the Organization for the Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), he headed the Portuguese delegation in these negotiations. In 1959, he directed the Portuguese delegation during the negotiations of the Stockholm Treaty that led to the creation of EFTA. In the year of 1962, Calvet de Magalhães was assigned, with the title of Ambassador, to the European Communities and was thus permanent representative and chief of the Portuguese delegation to EEC and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

His professional activities also went beyond Europe. In 1964, he presided the Portuguese delegation in the negotiations of Ottawa on the new agreements of the fishing limits between Portugal and Canada. In the same year he was given the post as director-general of Economic Affairs in the Portuguese Foreign Ministry and, in the following years he was appointed delegate of the *Government with the Sociedade Anónima Concessionária de Refinação em Portugal* (SACOR). In 1938, the Portuguese government published a decree setting out the conditions for the exploration and sale of hydrocarbons and for the installation of an oil refinery. This resulted among others in the creation of SACOR in that same year.

In the following years, Calvet de Magalhães presided over the Portuguese delegations in the negotiation of trade agreements with Rhodesia (1965), with Japan (1966), with Brazil (1966) and with the People's Republic of Romania (1967). In 1969, he went further to administer, on behalf of the Portuguese state the Company of Diamonds of Angola (DIAMANG). Moreover, in 1969 he also chaired the negotiations of the Agreement with the Republic of South Africa for the construction of the dam of Cabora Bassa. In the following year, he presided at the negotiations for an agreement for economic and trade cooperation with Spain. It was in 1971 that the ambassador Calvet de Magalhães took over the works of the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that he negotiated with the United States an agreement related to the use of the Base of Lages. In 1974, he plays the function of Ambassador next to the Holy Sea, and he chaired the negotiations

for the revision of the *concordat* with the Holy Sea in 1975.³

In 1980, ambassador Calvet de Magalhães ended the external work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although the government occasionally asked for his services, for instance to re-negotiate the contract over the base in Lages with the United States in 1983. He eventually took a job as consultant at the National Institute for Administration. Subsequently, he decided to enter academic life and held positions at both the Autonomous University of Lisbon in 1995, and at the New University of Lisbon in 2000. In 1985, Calvet de Magalhães accepted the presidency of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (1985-2004) where he devoted himself to the research into European integration and transatlantic relations (Vasconcelos, 2003:9-10).

In short, since his secondary school, Calvet de Magalhães had dealt with issues of European institutions and integration in a variety of ways. He considered himself a prehistorical Europeanist, a kind of *avis rara* in Portugal. As he has expressed himself, this happened as a matter of change as well as due to his relations with relatives of diplomats (Vasconcelos, 2003:15-16). Exactly how the interest came about is still unclear, but we know that already in his late teenage years he had access to a highly specialised magazine in Portugal, called *Pan-European Magazine*, that was run by a man of the Central Europe, namely the early European idealist and federalist Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. Coudenhove-Kalergi had founded the Pan-European Movement that would inspire a number of "Europeanists" in the years to come. One was the Finnish politician Hjalmar Procopé, as shown in the article by Richard Brander (this volume). But Coudenhove-Kalergi's ideas also inspired more centrally positioned politicians such the French statesman Aristide Briand who in 1929 presented a plan for European federation in the League of Nations. While the plan never materialised, but rather sunk in the midst of rising nationalist tendencies at the time, it is also clear that Calvet de Magalhães referred to that movement that was mostly one of a small selection of intellectuals and political statesmen.

Throughout his career, the writings of Calvet de Magalhães were penetrated by a Kantian conception of

³ A *concordat* is an agreement between the Holy Sea and the government of a country on religious matters. This often included both recognition and privileges for the Catholic Church in a particular country. Privileges might include exemptions from certain legal matters and processes, and issues such as taxation as well as the right of a state to influence the selection of bishops within its territory.



peace, to be obtained through the instruments of professional diplomacy. He called this “pure diplomacy”, and saw the essential function of the diplomat is one of “peace maker” (Magalhães, 1988; Magalhães, 2005) It simultaneously refers back to “liberal and humanitarian thought” of the school of Andrade Corvo who was Minister Foreign Affairs in Portugal from 1871 to 1879, as well as of the liberal thought of the called generation of the 1870s, of Eça de Queirós and Antero de Quental, to whom he has dedicated two biographies, in parallel with studies about Almeida Garrett, “a fierce fighter of liberalism” (Magalhães, 1996). These thoughts add up to a refusal of nationalism that was, from his point of view, the cause of the European and world terrible tragedy. He held an enormous admiration for all the nations where he lived, whether the United States, France or Italy. His multiple trips and readings contributed to the establishment of his anti-nationalist thinking. In this sense, he was part of a debate between Europeanists and isolationists that took place within the Portuguese diplomatic service right since the end of the Second World War.

The enthusiasm that Calvet de Magalhães showed for the European integration process from a very early stage onwards was shared for instance by his colleague, the Ambassador Ruy Teixeira Guerra. As he himself wrote in 2005, his “ideal of European unity predated the Second World War, the Congress of The Hague and the creation of the European Communities. These emerged to me, as to the Europeanists of my generation, disciples of Coudenhove-Kalergi, as means or processes to reach the longed European political integration” (Magalhães, 2005:7-12). Calvet de Magalhães believed himself that the approximation of Portugal to the international movements “resulted mainly from the joining of several efforts and personal initiatives more than the result of a conscious governmental policy” (Magalhães 1981). This way, the appearance and growing of an internationalist stream pro-European in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during the old regime, is a key aspect of the history of Portuguese diplomacy of that period. As the political scientist Álvaro de Vasconcelos, from the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris, mentions it was “a quiet an adventure, almost always counter current, but successful in what was possible, that is, the participation of Portugal in the European organisations of economic cooperation, what allows to state that the process of European integration of Portugal did not start with the admission to the Community in 1986” (Vasconcelos, 2005:12).

As we have pointed out in this article, Calvet de Magalhães as well as Ambassador Teixeira Guerra were two of the protagonists involved with Portugal’s participation in the process of European integration. They

were, however, to some extent battling windmills inside their native country. This is above all exemplified in 1962 and in 1970, when they tried to negotiate an association agreement with the EEC, with the long-term objective of complete adhesion, but the attempt was soon blocked by doctoral regime of António Oliveira Salazar (Magalhães, 1987 and 1981; Assembleia da República, 2001). Another example was the direct intervention of Calvet de Magalhães in multilateral economic negotiations that began with the attempt of creation of a Free Trade Zone (FTZ), proposed by Great Britain, in 1957. The outcome of these negotiations was more successful, and Portugal became founding member of European Free Trade Association that was established in 1960.

Interestingly, the ideas by Calvet de Magalhães about the European project were not static, but in steady transformation. His continuous interest in the matter was for instance expressed in the article “Portugal in Europe: the right path”, written in defence of the Maastricht Treaty; in 1997 the article became a book published by Bertrand Editors. Here he argued that the ideological nationalism, the Portuguese anti-Europeanism “is a doctrinary attitude that considers the national values as absolute ones, opposing everything that forces it, in the name of superior human values, to recognize the relativity of national values” (Magalhães 1997). On the theme of “the Atlantic versus Europe” two texts stand out. One is the article *O Euro-Atlantismo Revisitado* where he re-emphasises his belief in an Atlantic-leaning internationalism. The other, about Portugal’s Atlantic paradox (Magalhães 1990; Magalhães 1993), where he tries to explain the apparent contradiction between the affirmation of Atlanticism by the Portuguese elites, and the almost complete reduction of those relations with the concession of the base of Lajes in the Azores.

One last reference that is particularly clarifying, amongst the countless ones that can be pointed out, is the thorough analysis of the work written together with the ambassadors Ruy Teixeira Guerra and António Siqueira Freire about the European cooperation and integration in the after-war period and the participation of Portugal in those developments. It was published in 1981 by the National Institute for Public Administration (INA), which is responsible for developing knowledge, innovation and processes of change for the Portuguese public sector through training, consultancy and research activities. That collection of articles constitutes



the first survey of literature in the field only a few years after the country's transition to democracy.⁴

It is thus possible to see that Calvet de Magalhães dreamt about and defended a political project for Europe, with no fears of vulnerabilities for the Portuguese sovereignty. He got excited with every step of the process of European political union, widening and deepening his European reflection, as he mentioned in conversations with José Calvet de Magalhães: Europeanists and Isolationists in Portuguese foreign policy "now in much more propitious conditions to fulfil his intentions of defender of a true federalism" (Vasconcelos, 2005).

Calvet de Magalhães was a leading figure in the history of the participation of Portugal in the European movements, and he exchanged opinions with the authoritarian Portuguese president about this on several occasions when the opportunities of participating more actively in the European integration process presented itself. An example is the letter sent by the President of the Council of Ministers, Salazar in 1953 to the Portuguese ambassadors around the world. In that letter, Salazar restated that the Portuguese aim was not to join European institutions, but to maintain connections with extraterritorial regions.⁵ In this document, Salazar questioned the viability of the European project pointing among others to the fact that it involved countries with different political regimes, some countries having republics and others having monarchies. Moreover, Salazar pointed out that:

"The United States, because of the simplicity and lightness of their opinions, don't see other political solution than the unity through federation; France that appears to us as a country tired of fighting and to which full independence seems to be heavy, adopts the idea as the easiest way to avoid the isolated German rearming and potentially hostile tomorrow; the nations that group themselves around France look like they are convinced, even though because of diverse motives, that is the best way to save Europe and maybe the only way to assure the American support in military power and in dollars".⁶

It thus seems clear that the attitude of the Portuguese government of the time was clearly against joining

European political institutions, even in the economic field which was the area where Portugal began to gradually change opinion already during Salazar's regime. The dispatch also mentioned that Britain would never embrace the idea of a European union, and that Portugal should reinforce its ties with Brazil, and create a vast Ibero-American community with Spain that, such as the British Commonwealth, would out stand from the continental Western European bloc.

Salazar's position in the letter, of course, ignores the success obtained by the Marshall Plan in the economic reconstruction of Europe and of the relatively advanced level of cooperation already initiated between core European countries. It also disregarded the political moves towards more cooperation between the core of European countries initiated by politically active actors from various countries such as Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Paul-Henri Spaak, Konrad Adenauer, and Alcide de Gasperi. As Calvet de Magalhães and Adriano Moreira, and many others, also noted, there was an enormous difference between what was said and what was done by Salazar. As professor Pedro Cantino Pereira writes: "Lisbon rejected any form of supranationalism that might lead to European integration, (thereby threatening the Salazar regime), mistrusted, but at the same time accepted, the importance of the United States, recognised the need to face the Soviet threat and, finally, rejected any external interference in Portuguese internal policy" (Magalhães 2006). Rather, in order to reach goals of internal affairs, historians have shown that the Portuguese trade policy in the after-war was period was in reality an answer to the policies of the OEEC. The European policy of Portugal in the after-war period certainly had similarities to other member countries of the OEEC such as Great-Britain that initially had refuted the political objectives of the EEC, but who would later become members. It was against this background that "an essential part of the diplomatic and intellectual activity of Calvet de Magalhães was the search of a European path for Portugal and also a solid relation with the United states, as a field of application of pure diplomacy" (Vasconcelos, 2005).

Calvet de Magalhães's conception of 'pure diplomacy' stems from his book - *The Pure Concept of Diplomacy* - which in many ways was a pioneering and theoretical study of diplomacy that related to the academic discipline of political science. The work commences with a historical analysis of diplomacy over time and subsequently defines what he means by diplomacy. Different to "normal" diplomatic practices - such as "backchannel diplomacy," "combat diplomacy," and espionage - the concept of "pure diplomacy" focuses on the diplomat

⁴ The contributors as career diplomats played a crucial role in Portugal's relations with Europe from 1948 to 1979. Guerra was ambassador to the OEEC 1948-56, director-general of economic and consular affairs during 1956-64 and head of delegation for both the 1959 EFTA negotiations and the 1972 trade agreement with the EEC.

⁵ *Circular sobre a Integração Europeia, para as Missões Diplomáticas, do Presidente do Conselho de Ministros, de 6 de Março de 1953*, published in *Adesão de Portugal às Comunidades Europeias: História e documentos, op.cit.*, pp.61-65.

⁶ *Ibid.*



as an official who acts solely as the instrument of a given foreign policy. The normativity of the concept may well be a reaction to the restrictions on the freedom to speak about his own ideals that he faced during much of his career as a diplomat, something that later prompted Calvet de Magalhães to move into academia, as president of the Institute of International Strategic Studies (IISS) in Lisbon in 1985 where he began an overflowing activity as an essayist, biographer, columnist and a teacher focusing on the analysis of the international themes and specifically on European matters.

Conclusion

On the basis of the above analysis, we can conclude that Calvet de Magalhães was an internationalist, a diplomat that defends the international cooperation and, subsequently, an anti-isolation inside the authoritarian regime of Salazar. He was a firm believer in European cooperation, and he as pursued this ideal during much of his work life. As a diplomat he worked for many years to integrate Portugal in European's movements of integration. Despite Salazar's strict political regime, Portugal did have a wide set of connections and networks with the countries in Europe largely made possible by someone like Calvet de Magalhães. As late as 2003, he wrote "I continue to think that the Portuguese adhesion to the European Communities, nowadays the EU, stresses the European component of the Portuguese foreign affairs, though not nullifying or weakening the importance of the Atlantic component in the external positioning of our country" (Magalhães 2003). In that sense, Calvet de Magalhães can also be seen as an example of a broader Portuguese tradition among intellectuals to support the European project. As the Portuguese essayist Eduardo Lourenço wrote: "The European utopia in the making is the answer that was imposed on us or was imposed to the pilot nations of that same Europe to tame, and this time by mutual agreement, its intrinsic barbarity, its demonic restlessness that made them (and us) the Faustus of the universal history" (Lourenço, 2001).

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