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# CEPAL

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*The following symbols are used in tables in the Review:*

- |       |   |
|-------|---|
| (...) | Three dots indicate that data are not available or are not separately reported.   |
| (—)   | A dash indicates that the amount is nil or negligible.  |
|       | A blank space in a table means that the item in question is not applicable.   |
| (-)   | A minus sign indicates a deficit or decrease, unless otherwise specified.   |
| (.)   | A point is used to indicate decimals.   |
| (/)   | A slash indicates a crop year or fiscal year, e.g., 1970/1971.  |
| (-)   | Use of a hyphen between years, e.g., 1971-1973, indicates reference to the complete number of calendar years involved, including the beginning and end years. |

References to "tons" mean metric tons, and to "dollars", United States dollars, unless otherwise stated.

Unless otherwise stated, references to annual rates of growth or variation signify compound annual rates.

Individual figures and percentages in tables do not necessarily add up to the corresponding totals, because of rounding.

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## Democracy and development

*Address delivered by H.E. Fernando Henrique Cardoso,  
President of the Federative Republic of Brazil,  
on the occasion of his visit to  
ECLAC Headquarters at Santiago, Chile,  
on 3 March 1995.*

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First of all, I should like to say how grateful I am for the kindness with which I have been received everywhere I have been in Chile. Nevertheless, ECLAC has a very special meaning for me. I am perhaps a little conservative in my habits, although not so much in my way of thinking, as Enzo Faletto seems to think ...

Whenever I can, when I am in France, I go to Chartres and its cathedral. One of the world's great monuments: a page of history in its own right. To see it is a pleasure for one's artistic senses, but it is perhaps even more than that: something in the nature of a pilgrimage ... There is something mystical about it which always remains in my mind, but my visit to it is also a symbolic gesture of embracing the culture it represents. Likewise, every time I come to Chile I visit another cathedral of a slightly different kind. So here I am once again in ECLAC, where so many great minds preached their gospel. Among all those prophets, however, there are two whom I always mention and to whom I should like to refer once again today. The first of them is Raúl Prebisch, who gave his name to this conference room and who has been a source of inspiration for all of us.

I remember so well when I first came to Chile. The ECLAC headquarters were not as grand as they are now. ECLA, as it then was, was still in the old building at the corner of Providencia and J. M. Infante, and as always we were short of space. There was nowhere halfway decent for me to install myself, so I began to occupy the office of Prebisch's secretary. As in those days Prebisch was in the United States most of the time, at the IDB, when he was away I took the liberty not only of occupying his secretary's office but also of using his own office to receive my friends from Brazil. They were tremendously impressed, and wondered how someone like me, who had only a lowly post, could occupy such magnificent

accommodation ... But the truth is that I was also using those offices to draw inspiration, for Prebisch was the mentor of all of us, and still is.

The second person I want to mention is José Medina Echavarría, with whom I worked so closely. He had the enormous patience to read my manuscripts and those of Enzo Faletto for the book on development and dependence in Latin America, or maybe dependence and development: I don't recall the title for sure—there were so many books, and it was so long ago. Anyway, don José read them patiently and corrected the Spanish they were written in, which was pretty awful in my case.

Everything passed through the hands of Weinberg, who was the reviser, but even so don José still read and improved the text. I think he was never very convinced by our arguments, but he respected them. He followed a Weberian train of thought: even more so than I, who had already adopted some of Weber's ideas. He looked at all that like someone who was asking himself: what is going to happen with Latin America? To tell the truth, possibly because of his own personal background, don José was in some ways the inspiration for the analyses we made. Don José was Spanish, but he had lived in Puerto Rico and later in Mexico.

But don José was now in Chile. He knew about everything under the sun. He had written important books, and he continued to do so while we were there, and afterwards too. I think he always looked at the intellectuals and problems he worked with, here in ECLAC, in Latin America, with the feeling that he was dealing with something that was very close and yet at the same time very different. It was nearly Europe, but yet it wasn't. It was nearly Spain, yet it was not Spain. This was more or less the set of ideas we were working on, which grew much later into the Frankenstein of dependence theory.

Basically, what we wanted to bring out was just that: a search for an identity like that which don José had as a European. He looked at us and asked himself if one day we would have our own identity, or if we would always be using an imitation. The answer was not easy to arrive at, and it still isn't. That was our horizon: agonizing, existential, almost Hamletian. It really is striking how some people live in Latin America as though they were foreigners, in terms of their mentality and surroundings. In the past, they looked to Europe; now, their eyes are fixed on the United States, and maybe tomorrow they will be looking to Japan: who knows? There are others who have a more realistic outlook, however. They accept what they are and what they are not. They take a dialectic view, as I do.

No-one has gone into this matter more fully than ECLAC. Never, in our continent, has there been a school of thought which has produced a sounder or

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