

The ECLA-BNDE Economic Development Centre and the training of a generation of development planners in Brazil

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Abstract

This paper aims to reconstruct the history of the partnership between the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and Brazil's National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE). The ECLA/BNDE Economic Development Centre, which operated in Rio de Janeiro between 1960 and 1967, held courses on Problems of Economic Development in several regions of the country, training a generation of development planning specialists who worked to overcome underdevelopment. The Centre also functioned as a gateway to ECLA ideas and writings in Brazil and as a locus of knowledge production in the area of economic development. It thus impacted both the governmental sphere and the academic world, providing an alternative to predominantly neoclassical economics courses. Drawing on a combination of documents, newspaper articles and the testimony of former members of the Centre, this article describes its activities and retraces the events leading to its creation, expansion and closure.

Keywords

Economic development, development planning, development research, technical cooperation, training programmes, ECLAC, development banks, research centres, activities, history, Brazil

JEL classification

O200, B290, A230

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I. Introduction¹

From the 1940s to the 1960s, a significant part of the modern Brazilian economic bureaucracy was built. To the existing Bank of Brazil and Ministry of Finance (founded in 1808), Administrative Department of Public Service (DASP) (1938) and Superintendency of Currency and Credit (SUMOC) (1945) were added the National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE) (1952), the Banco do Nordeste do Brasil (1952), the Superintendency of the Plan for the Economic Development of the Amazon (SPVEA) (1953), the Development Council responsible for the modernizing Plano de Metas (Goals Plan) (1956), the Superintendency for the Development of the North-East (SUDENE) (1960), the Ministry of Planning (1962), the Office of Applied Economic Research (1964) and the Central Bank of Brazil (1964). The rapid proliferation of economic organizations and the creation of State-owned companies such as Petrobras (1953) and Eletrobras (1962), charged with expanding infrastructure, stimulated growth in the number of economics and public administration specialists tasked with analysing socioeconomic scenarios and planning and implementing State-coordinated development policies.

The strong demand for professionals qualified to operate the new State bureaucracies led to a proliferation of schools of economics and public administration, which until the early 1950s had been few, small and concentrated in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte. At the same time, advanced courses were created for graduates, focusing on the theoretical improvement or practical management of the economy, or both. The main advanced courses were based in Rio de Janeiro (the federal capital until 1960) and provided by the National Economic Council (CNE) from 1949 to 1967, by the Getulio Vargas Foundation's Centre for the Advanced Training of Economists (CAE-FGV) from 1960 to 1966 and by BNDE partnership with the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) from 1956 to 1967.²

The CAE-FGV aimed to prepare students of economics to pursue the next steps in their academic training abroad. The course focused on neoclassical economic theory, mathematics and statistics, while also including intensive English lessons (Alberti, Sarmento and Rocha, 2002, pp. 84–85). The CNE training included mathematics and statistics as well as specialized courses in foreign trade and consumption, economic organization, markets, and industrial costs (Ferreira, 1966, pp. 33–37). The ECLA Training Course on Problems of Economic Development (CTPDE), in turn, aspired to disseminate the “structuralist” doctrine developed at Commission headquarters in Santiago, Chile (Love, 2018, p. 156). ECLA distinguished itself from the other institutions by offering courses in numerous regions of Brazil and by prioritizing public servants among its students. Its courses focused on the planning and implementation of government programmes for economic and social development and on strategies for reducing regional disparities.

A history of the ECLA/BNDE Centre, the courses offered by the Commission in Brazil and the outgrowths of the partnership has never been systematically pieced together. A reconstruction of this kind can make an important contribution to the history of economics and economic ideas in Brazil and Latin America, given the influence of ECLA in disseminating a historically and geographically situated economic development project. The influence of developmentalist ideology in the 1950s and early 1960s warrants systematic study of the transmission, assimilation and critical evaluation of ECLA thinking. Its

¹ The authors wish to express their thanks to all those who agreed to be interviewed, for generously sharing their knowledge about the work of the ECLA/BNDE Centre, which was crucial in the writing of this article. Thanks are also owed to Jeremy Adelman for his detailed comments and suggestions, and to Nadya Araujo Guimarães for the invitation to discuss this article at the International Sociological Association congress and for encouraging its publication. Any errors are the sole responsibility of the authors.

² With the inclusion of the Caribbean countries in 1984, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) became the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the name by which it is now known. However, the earlier name was used throughout the period covered by this article and is accordingly preferred here. Similarly, what is now the National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES) was known until 1982 simply as the National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE), the name used here.

impact on the formation of the cadres responsible for the planning of economic development in Brazil and Latin America is investigated here. The history of the ECLA/BNDE Centre is relevant, moreover, to the sociology of intellectuals and the academic field, since its study involves in-depth observation of a privileged instance of the circulation of agents, ideas and practices between peripheral countries.

The movement of people and ideas between Brazil and Chile was two-way. On the one hand, the Centre received ECLA officials from other Latin American countries, and they acquired new perspectives on the continent by deepening their knowledge of Brazil, which helped them review and refine ECLA analyses. On the other hand, ECLA participated in the intellectual and professional training of many Brazilians, both through its operations in Brazil and by welcoming to Santiago many intellectuals exiled from Brazil after the advent of the military dictatorship in 1964. On their return, in the late 1970s, they contributed to the construction of critical traditions that followed ECLA and post-ECLA thinking, which the heterodox world of Brazilian economists is structured around to the present day (Klüger, 2017a and 2017b).

To piece together ECLA cooperation with Brazil in the 1950s and 1960s, we searched the digital database of periodicals in the National Library for information about the ECLA/BNDE Centre, its courses on Problems of Economic Development and its staff. The reports produced by ECLA, BNDE and the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) were then collected and analysed, as were three crucial documents: the *Report on the ECLA/TAA Economic Development Training Programme* (ECLA, 1957), the report *Cinco anos de atividades* (ECLA/BNDE, 1965) and the *Memoria institucional da ECLA/ILPES nos seus 30 anos de contribuição permanente no Brasil* (Costa Santiago, 1990). Lastly, existing testimonies were consulted and new interviews were conducted with former staff of the Centre.

The article is divided into five parts after this introduction. Part II begins with a description of how ECLA engaged with Brazil in the 1950s and ends with the negotiations over the establishment of CTPDE in the country. Part III briefly profiles the participants, discusses the content of the Brazilian version of CTPDE and describes the regional coverage of the courses. In part IV, the history and operations of the ECLA/BNDE Centre are pieced together from the accounts of its former staff, with emphasis on the role played by the office in forming a nucleus of developmentalist intellectuals. Lastly, part V briefly describes the destinies of the Centre's members after its dissolution, mapping the effects of the geographical dispersion that resulted from the persecution perpetrated by the Brazilian dictatorship and discussing the continuing ECLA influence in Brazil. Part VI presents conclusions.

II. The arrival of ECLA in Brazil

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations had already authorized the creation of two regional economic planning commissions, one for Europe and one for Asia and the Far East, when Chile's delegate at the United Nations proposed the establishment of an Economic Commission for Latin America (Santa Cruz, 1966, pp. 12, 19–20 and 27–29; Pollock, 1978). Founded in February 1948, with headquarters in Santiago, the Commission aimed to:

study the measures necessary to facilitate joint action to promote the economic progress of the countries of Latin America, raise the level of economic activity in those countries and maintain and strengthen the economic ties that link them to one another and to the rest of the world, while also participating in the implementation of such measures (Santa Cruz, 1966, p. 14).

The Commission became known and recognized, and indeed controversial, following the 1949 publication of the original Spanish edition of Raul Prebisch's *The economic development of Latin*

America and its principal problems (1950). Prebisch called for a break with economic orthodoxy, arguing that each region had historical specificities requiring an appropriate theoretical approach. This so-called “manifesto for Latin American industrialization” (Garcia, 2005, p. 540) maintained that international trade would not lead to an automatic distribution of technical progress between the centre, specializing in manufactured goods, and the periphery, producing mainly commodities. Consequently, the large differences in living standards between regions would subsist until an active policy, consisting essentially in planned industrialization, was adopted to overcome the economic backwardness of the latter (Prebisch, 2011). From this point on, the actions of ECLA were oriented towards promoting industrialization in Latin America and training professionals to develop and lead planning for economic development. The Commission was also tasked with producing annual reports on the economies of the region and preparing teaching material to disseminate its ideas and planning techniques.

The ideas of ECLA spread with the international movements of its staff. In the case of Brazil, the first and strongest connection with the Commission was forged by Celso Furtado. A lawyer by training with a PhD in Economics from the Sorbonne, Furtado became an employee of the Commission in 1949 (Furtado, 2014). He was responsible for the translation of Prebisch’s manifesto and its publication in *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, which aroused interest in ECLA ideas. In the diplomatic visit to President Getúlio Vargas that this led to in 1951, Prebisch and Furtado met businessmen, industrialists, journalists, academics, economists, students and authorities such as the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply, and directors of the Bank of Brazil (Dosman, 2011, p. 321). Following this visit, Portuguese was made one of the official ECLA languages and it was agreed that Brazil would host the fifth session of the Commission, to be held in 1953.

Official ties were strengthened at this 1953 session, where a cooperation agreement between ECLA and Brazil’s newly created National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE) was signed. This cooperation aimed at extending the production of data on Brazil, contributing to research to support the creation of a general plan for development, and training personnel for its accomplishment (BNDE, 1953, p. 30). The cooperation was led by Celso Furtado, who had been invited by Roberto Campos to become a member of the first BNDE board of directors. Consulted on the matter, Prebisch offered a Solomonic solution: they had only one Brazilian economist, Celso Furtado, and could not do without him at that stage, but ECLA and BNDE could work together because they had the same purpose, which was the development of Brazil and Latin America, so he proposed creating a joint programme (see Pereira de Melo and Moraes da Costa, 2009a, p. 103). Furtado and the Cuban economist Regino Boti were asked to work with BNDE staff to prepare a diagnosis of the economic situation that would support wide-ranging and systematic economic planning. The ECLA/BNDE joint group ran from 1953 to 1955 and published the document *Esboço de um programa de desenvolvimento para a economia brasileira: 1955-62*, which included macroeconomic analyses of development and discussion of the fundamental elements of a development programme (BNDE/ECLA, 1955). The troubled years from President Vargas’s suicide in August 1954 to the beginning of Juscelino Kubitschek’s presidency (1956–1961) were marked by a brief period of orthodox economic policies, which coincided with the end of the joint group’s activities and Furtado’s departure for Mexico. Before leaving Brazil, Furtado created the Economists’ Club to keep ECLA ideas alive and created the journal *Economica Brasileira* to foster their circulation (Furtado, 2014). These changes, however, did not lead to a waning of ECLA collaboration with Brazil. In 1956, BNDE renewed its ties with the Commission by importing the Training Course on Problems of Economic Development, coordinated in Santiago by Jorge Ahumada, a Chilean economist with a master’s degree from Harvard University.

III. Training to solve problems of economic development in Brazil

The obstacle represented by the shortage of local economists trained to formulate and implement economic development programmes for the region was thoroughly debated at the fourth session of ECLA, held in Mexico in 1951, and as a result the Commission, in partnership with the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, crafted its Training Course on Problems of Economic Development (CTPDE), which debuted in 1952 (Melnick, 1958, p. 2). The course was initially held at ECLA headquarters with the aim of training promising young economists from governments throughout the region. Over 10 months, students received basic training in economic analysis, social accounting, sociology, economic development theory and project planning, followed by work in small groups focusing on special topics such as public sector management, budgetary planning and human resource development (Dosman, 2011, p. 320). From 1955 onward, a scaled-down version of the course was offered remotely so that professionals could receive training where they were, with a focus on local problems (ECLA, 1957, p. 75). The first course away from headquarters was held in Bogotá in 1955 and the second in Rio de Janeiro in 1956.

The Brazilian Government attached strategic importance to CTPDE as a tool for training civil servants to design and pilot development programmes. The initiative was so prestigious that President Juscelino Kubitschek personally attended the inaugural session of the course, stating in his opening speech:

The importance of the course that has now begun is that it will tackle what is one of the most serious and underrated problems in Brazil, as in other countries that have not yet reached their full development: the shortage of personnel trained in programming and planning techniques [...]. A government can only effectively promote economic development if it has men at the different levels of the administration who are knowledgeable about the difficulties of development and the methods of solving them, possess enthusiasm, realism and a sense of priorities, and are eager to set about programming, planning and implementing (Kubitschek, 1958, p. 244).

The recently inaugurated Kubitschek government was facing precisely the challenge of implementing a large-scale development plan, the Plano de Metas (Goals Plan), which centred on transforming infrastructure and modernizing Brazilian industry (Lafer, 1975). The ferment generated by the acceleration of industrialization, the popularization of planning techniques and the proliferation of State economic agencies led to a sharp expansion in the demand for experts, revealing the huge shortfall in qualified professionals. Consequently, there was strong pressure for the creation of advanced training programmes, such as the one resulting from the ECLA/BNDE agreement.³

CTPDE was free of charge, and the travel costs of participants from other cities were paid. It relied on funding and support from the State bureaucracies that were sending their staff to be trained, in addition to what was provided by BNDE (*Boletim CAPES*, 1956, p. 9).⁴ Other partnerships were established over time, notably with regional public banks such as the Banco de Crédito da Amazonia, the Banco do Nordeste do Brasil and the Banco de Desenvolvimento de Minas Gerais; with planning

³ The partnership with ECLA was neither the first nor the only effort to solve this problem, although it was the strongest and longest-lasting initiative. One precursor was the Training of Development Specialists programme organized by Rômulo Almeida and involving CAPES and the Banco do Nordeste do Brasil. These training courses were held in 1953 and 1955, the second under the supervision of a United Nations envoy, Stefan Robock, which shows that even before the partnership with ECLA, the United Nations assisted in training the experts in charge of public administration and economic analysis (Almeida, 1985, pp. 73 and 74; Barbosa, 2021, pp. 462 and 463).

⁴ The first edition of the Course was also jointly sponsored by CAPES and the Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies (ISEB), an agency of the Ministry of Education that offered postgraduate courses in political and social studies and played an important role in defining nationalist-developmental ideology (Wanderley, 2015).

and development agencies such as the North-East Development Superintendency and State and municipal planning offices; and with economics faculties all over the country (BNDE, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967). Hereafter, the collaboration with ECLA, originally led by the federal government and BNDE, was enthusiastically embraced by other governmental bodies and academic institutions, influencing the training of a generation of intellectuals and public servants throughout the country.

1. Participants

Regarding those targeted by the programme, the advertisement for the fifth edition of CTPDE explained that the course was designed for civil servants, professionals and teachers whose work is related in some way to the economic development process, and that the course could be attended by economists, civil engineers, agronomists and other professionals who worked in public entities, were registered as candidates by their respective departments or organizations, and passed the selection exam.⁵ It was also possible for well-graded students of advanced economics courses to be accepted (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1960a, pp. 3 and 17).

Among the students on the courses offered between 1956 and 1964, 30% came from governmental and regional development agencies, 20% from public financial institutions (mainly the development banks, the central bank and the Bank of Brazil), 17% from ministries (especially those of Agriculture, Transport, Infrastructure, and War), 23% from other public bodies (including Petrobras and the highways and traffic departments) and 10% from universities (ECLA/BNDE, 1965). These data reveal a strong orientation towards the public sector, in contrast to the students of the other two economic specializations offered by CNE and the Getulio Vargas Foundation.

Regarding academic background, 42.5% of the participants were economists, 16.4% engineers, 14.4% lawyers and 6.7% agronomists, while 20% had a background in the military, sociology, accountancy and other disciplines (ECLA/BNDE, 1965). This distribution mirrors the transition in the administration of the economy from a generation of lawyers and engineers with practical economic knowledge to a younger generation with formal training and degrees in economics (Gomes, Dias and Motta, 1994; Loureiro, 1992). The prominence of economists indicates that the focus on planning for development in the CTPDE differed from what was available from universities at that time. Thus, rather than simply responding to the demand resulting from the shortage of experts, the course diversified the supply of economic ideas and technical knowledge in circulation.

2. Course structure and content

CTPDE started ten years before the first master's degree courses in economics in Brazil and was active for more than a decade. The 300 hours of training were divided between lectures (40 hours), seminars (80 hours) and basic training (180 hours). Students were required to have a minimum 90% attendance rate and eventually pass the exams to acquire the Development Specialist diploma (ECLA, 1957, p. 77). Good performance on these courses was, moreover, an asset when applying to positions in State economic agencies and ECLA itself, as will be discussed later.

The lectures were (i) on topics complementary to the core courses, dealing with concrete experiences or matters of particular importance; (ii) on subjects of general interest not included in the structure of the core courses, but essential to the students' training; and (iii) on issues related to the

⁵ The public notice of 1960 stated that selection would be by interviews in which candidates' qualities and prospects of applying the knowledge to be taught would be assessed. Only candidates from other federal states could be selected on the basis of their curriculum vitae (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1960a).

current situation of the Brazilian economy and its development process (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1963a). They were taught by renowned intellectuals and public servants⁶ who included sympathizers, allies and leading opponents⁷ of ECLA. The lectures revolved around Brazilian economic development and foreign trade and industrial issues, fiscal and monetary arrangements and the balance of payments, transport, energy, metallurgy, natural resources and minerals, geography, agriculture, regional development, statistics and national indicators, demography, human resources training, education, and public health. They could be inspired by regional concerns, especially when courses took place in cities other than the capital, or address pressing themes from the national economic agenda. In 1963, for instance, the lectures on the Brazilian economy consisted mostly of discussions of the Three-Year Plan conceived at the Ministry of Planning under the leadership of Celso Furtado, in whose conception and implementation some of the students were directly involved (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1963a).

The seminars, in turn, consisted of round tables, applied exercises and activities in which students examined “the problems arising from their programme of reading, lectures and practical work” (ECLA, 1957, p. 77; *O Correio da Manhã*, 1963a). Lastly, the core courses presented techniques for the formulation and analysis of economic development programmes and projects and the elements that must be considered in implementing the economic policy that the expansion of production activities required and provided a coordinated picture of Brazil’s economic problems and future prospects (BNDE, 1957, p. 57). The BNDE and CAPES reports have made it possible to piece together the structure of the programme and identify the people responsible for the main courses in several editions of CTPDE, and these are presented in table 1.

The students started with Social Accounting classes, which dealt with the measurement of national income, reading of input-output tables and analysis of the connections between budgeting, spending and investment. Next, they moved on to Development Theory and Programming, which discussed how to identify realistic development goals and select effective means to them. Economic Development Financing and Policy looked at how to stimulate development through capitalization using savings, investment and economic policy instruments, and Investment Project Preparation and Evaluation emphasized the connections between the projects included in development programmes, discussing criteria and priorities. There were also disciplines that focused on theory and method, such as General Introduction to Economics, Principles of Administration, and Mathematics and Statistics, and specialized topics such as Introduction to Public Programming, Brazil’s Economic Development, and Regional Programming (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1964a).

⁶ Among them were Celso Furtado, Roberto Campos, Eugênio Gudin, Rômulo de Almeida, Cleanto de Paiva Leite, Isaac Kerstenetzky, Anibal Villela, Antônio Delfim Netto, Juvenal Osório, José Garrido Torres, Casimiro Ribeiro, Paulo Lyra, João Batista Pinheiro, Gerson Augusto da Silva, Diogo Nunes de Gaspar, Sebastião Advíncula da Cunha, Anísio Teixeira and Hélio Jaguaribe. There were also European experts, such as British financier Thomas Balogh and the chief of the national accounts division of the French planning agency, François Le Guay (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1960c, 1960d and 1962).

⁷ Eugênio Gudin and Antônio Delfim Netto, for instance.

Table 1
Core courses of the Economic Commission for Latin America Training Course on Problems of Economic Development (CTPDE), 1956 to 1965

1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1963 ^a	1964 ^a	1965 ^a
Social Accounting (Manoel Balboa, Argentina)	Social Accounting	Social Accounting (Manoel Balboa, Argentina)	Social Accounting (Manoel Balboa, Argentina)	Social Accounting (Alberto Fracchia, Argentina)	Social Accounting (Alberto Fracchia, Argentina)	Social Accounting (Bruno Linhares)	Social Accounting	Social Accounting (Ferdinando Figueiredo, Brazil)
Economic Development Programming (Jorge Ahumada, Chile)	Economic Development Programming	Economic Development Programming (Regino Botti, Cuba)	Economic Development Theory and Programming (Osvaldo Sunkel, Chile)	Introduction to Economic Theory and Programming (Osvaldo Sunkel, Chile)	Economic Development Theory and Programming (Retórico Fretes, Paraguay)	Development Programming (Jose Tharra)	Economic Development Programming	Economic Programming (Anibal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile, and Maria da Conceição Tavares, Brazil)
Financing of Economic Development (Carlos Oyarzún)	Financing of Economic Development	Financing of Economic Development (Anibal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile)	Financing of Economic Development (Anibal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile)	Financing of Economic Development (Anibal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile)	Planning and Budgeting (Sergio Molina Silva, Chile)	Financing of Economic Development (Jayme Santiago, Brazil)	Financing and Politics of Economic Development	Financing of Economic Development (Anibal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile)
Project Development and Evaluation (Julio Melnick, Argentina)	Project Preparation and Evaluation	Project Preparation and Evaluation (Osvaldo Fernández Balmaceda, Argentina)	Project Preparation, Presentation and Evaluation (Julio Melnick, Argentina)	Economic Project Development and Evaluation (Julio Melnick, Argentina)	Project Development and Evaluation (Carlos Pamplona)	Project Development and Evaluation (Antônio Holanda, Brazil)	Project Development and Evaluation	Project Development and Evaluation
	Administration for Programming	Administration for Programming (Braulio Jatar, Venezuela) ^b	Development Programme Administration (Braulio Jatar, Venezuela) ^b	Principles of Administration (Pedro Muñoz Amato, Puerto Rico)			Introduction to Budgeting and Public Sector Programming	
					Introduction to Economic Analysis (Osvaldo Sunkel, Chile)	General Introduction to Economic Analysis (Antônio Barros de Castro, Brazil)	General Introduction to Economic Analysis	Introduction to Economic Analysis (Antônio Barros de Castro and Carlos Lessa, Brazil)
	Linear Programming	Linear Programming (Thomas Vietorisz, Hungary)				Statistics (David Carneiro, Brazil)	Elements of Mathematics and Statistics	Elements of Mathematics and Statistics (Retórico Fretes, Paraguay)
	Brazil's Economic Development		Programming Brazil's Development (Celso Furtado, Brazil)		Economic Policy (Anibal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile)	Regional Programming (Norberto González, Argentina)	Regional Programming	Aspects of Economic Development (Anibal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile)

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES), *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1955*, Rio de Janeiro, 1956; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1956*, Rio de Janeiro, 1957; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1957*, Rio de Janeiro, 1958; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1958*, Rio de Janeiro, 1959; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1959*, Rio de Janeiro, 1960; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1960*, Rio de Janeiro, 1961; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1961*, Rio de Janeiro, 1962; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1962*, Rio de Janeiro, 1963; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1963*, Rio de Janeiro, 1964; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1964*, Rio de Janeiro, 1965; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1966*, Rio de Janeiro, 1966; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1966*, Rio de Janeiro, 1966; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1966*, Rio de Janeiro, 1967; *Boletim CAPES*, No. 83, Rio de Janeiro, Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), October 1959 [online] <https://memoria.capes.gov.br/index.php/boletim-informativo-n-67>; *Boletim CAPES*, No. 67, Rio de Janeiro, Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), June 1958 [online] <https://memoria.capes.gov.br/index.php/boletim-informativo-n-67>; *Boletim CAPES*, No. 58, Rio de Janeiro, Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), September 1957 [online] <https://memoria.capes.gov.br/index.php/boletim-informativo-n-58>; and *Boletim CAPES*, No. 45, Rio de Janeiro, Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), August 1956 [online] <https://memoria.capes.gov.br/index.php/boletim-informativo-n-45>.

^a It is not known which regional edition the available information refers to.

^b This predates the name change to "Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela".

Comparing CTPDE with the other two advanced economics courses highlights what set it apart. Approximately one third of the CNE course was devoted to mathematics, statistics, econometrics and operational research and half to specialized areas: consumer theory/business, markets and industrial costs (21%), foreign trade (12%), income and employment theory (8%), monetary policy (4%) and fiscal policy (2%). Approximately one fifth of its content overlapped with that of CTPDE, divided into economic programming (8%), economic development (6%) and social accounting (5%) (Ferreira, 1966, pp. 33–37). Although the CNE and ECLA courses had points in common and were both oriented towards practical uses of knowledge, the focus was different, with the CNE course favouring the study of markets and commerce and being oriented mainly towards private management while the ECLA course prioritized public planning for national development. CAE-FGV, in turn, devoted one third of its programme to mathematics, statistics and econometrics and another third to microeconomics, macroeconomics and general economic theory. The teaching of English to prepare students for doctorates abroad was the single discipline that occupied most space in the curriculum. As for the specialized areas, only international trade and economic development were compulsory, and not much time was devoted to them (Simonsen, 1966, p. 28). It is possible to affirm, therefore, that CTPDE had a clear-cut content and focus, bearing in mind its mission of devising theoretical and practical tools to promote national development.

In addition to its focus on the programming of national development, ECLA differentiated itself by producing a significant part of the teaching material used on its courses. The Commission stated that a major problem in designing the courses was the lack of “literature on theoretical and practical problems relating to economic development” (ECLA, 1957, p. 80). Consequently, original manuals were prepared to address the lack of a literature on the subject and to produce teaching material in Spanish. The process of writing this material became an intermediate stage in the chain of content production, revision and testing that would later be consolidated in books published by the Commission’s staff.

Until the mid-1960s, the textbooks of the Brazilian versions of CTPDE were written in Spanish and the classes were taught by foreign teachers, mostly in Spanish. With the creation of the ECLA office in Brazil in 1960, this arrangement was modified by the recruitment of local professionals who produced content and taught in Portuguese. Several lectures given by guest experts were also transformed into teaching material, so that a corpus of knowledge about the specificities of the country’s economy and development was compiled (ECLA/BNDE, 1965). The establishment of the Brazil office also meant that the number of courses offered each year could greatly increase and CTPDE could operate throughout the country. This regional expansion, which contributed to the training of teachers and staff residing outside Rio de Janeiro, was the last and most crucial difference between CTPDE and the other two economics specialization courses.

3. Regional circulation of the courses

The first regional edition of CTPDE took place in Recife in 1959, in partnership with the North-East Development Council (CODENO), which was responsible for Kubitschek’s Operation North-East project until the creation of the Superintendency of North-East Development (SUDENE) in December 1959 (Furtado, 2014, pp. 234–274). The seminars and lectures held in Recife focused on the economic development problems of the North-East region and aimed at strengthening the local bureaucracy and training the staff of burgeoning regional development agencies. At the end of the course, approximately 15 participants were recruited into the Superintendency, so that a strong link with ECLA was established from the outset, reinforced by the transfer of Celso Furtado from BNDE to SUDENE (Sunkel, 2012; *Boletim CAPES*, 1959, p. 16; Wanderley, 2015).

From 1963, rotation of CTPDE between cities became the rule (see table 2). Three training sessions were held every year, each one in a different region of the country. Partnerships with local agencies, such

as development banks and universities, made this circulation viable by providing the physical venues and material support required for the activities. Between 1956 and 1967, 21 editions of the course were offered in 12 cities. Three of them also hosted a specific training course for financial agents. Lastly, advanced training in industrial programming was carried out in Rio de Janeiro, including mathematical programming, industrial statistics, economic and industrial integration, industrial sociology and discussion of cases of planning and industrial policy in Brazil and Latin America (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1967).

Table 2
Courses held by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)
and the National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE)

Year	Activity number	City	Type of activity	Participants
1956	I	Rio de Janeiro	CTPDE	48
1957	II	Rio de Janeiro	CTPDE	61
1958	III	Rio de Janeiro	CTPDE	64
1959	IV	Recife	CTPDE	71
1960	V	Rio de Janeiro	CTPDE	50
1961	VI	Rio de Janeiro	CTPDE	49
1962	VII	Rio de Janeiro	CTPDE	45
1963	VIII	Belém do Pará	CTPDE	46
1963	IX	Curitiba	CTPDE	59
1963	X	Rio de Janeiro	CTPDE	57
1964	XI	Belo Horizonte	CTPDE	34
1964	XII	Porto Alegre	CTPDE	41
1964	XIII	Fortaleza	CTPDE	65
1965	XIV	Belém do Pará	CTPDE	29
1965	XV	Florianópolis	CTPDE	37
1965	XVI	Recife	CTPDE	54
1966	AI	Manaus	Special training for financial agents	33
1966	AII	Fortaleza	Special training for financial agents	29
1966	XVII	São Paulo	CTPDE	40
1966	XVIII	Vitória	CTPDE	40
1966	XIX	Salvador	CTPDE	58
1967	XX	Curitiba	CTPDE	47
1967	XXI	Fortaleza	CTPDE	50
1967	AIII	Aracaju	Special training for financial agents	40
1967	BI	Rio de Janeiro	Advanced training in industrial programming	24
Total				1 171

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES), *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1955*, Rio de Janeiro, 1956; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1956*, Rio de Janeiro, 1957; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1957*, Rio de Janeiro, 1958; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1958*, Rio de Janeiro, 1959; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1959*, Rio de Janeiro, 1960; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1960*, Rio de Janeiro, 1961; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1961*, Rio de Janeiro, 1962; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1962*, Rio de Janeiro, 1963; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1963*, Rio de Janeiro, 1964; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1964*, Rio de Janeiro, 1965; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1966*, Rio de Janeiro, 1966; *Exposição sobre o programa de reaparelhamento econômico, exercício de 1966*, Rio de Janeiro, 1967; Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)/Brazilian National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE), *Cinco anos de atividades*, Rio de Janeiro, 1965.

Table 3 shows the regional distribution of participants from 1956 to 1964. The data reveal the effect the circulation of CTPDE had on the geographical dissemination of knowledge, given the rising number of attendants from outside Rio de Janeiro. In the first courses taught in the capital, only a minority of participants came from more distant regions. After the 1959 edition in Recife, the volume

of participants from the North-East systematically exceeded that from Rio de Janeiro. Their strong presence between 1960 and 1962 can be attributed to the continued need to train staff for the region's economic bureaucracies, in addition to the explicit priority given to the North-East in the selection process because of its crushing economic problems (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1963a). The courses taught in the South, North-East, North and South-East attracted predominantly local students, increasing the spread of ECLA ideas and planning techniques.

Table 3

Participants in courses held by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) and the National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE), by region

Region	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	Total
North			1		1	2	2	45		51
North-East	3	11	17	69	22	20	20	20	65	247
South-East	2	8	9	2	8	6	6	2	30	73
Mid-West							1	5	4	10
South	3	3	7		2	5	3	56	41	120
Federal District	40	39	30		17	16	13	34		189
Total	48	61	64	71	50	49	45	162	140	690

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLA)/Brazilian National Bank for Economic Development (BNDE), *Cinco anos de atividades*, Rio de Janeiro, 1965.

Note: Gray shading indicates that most participants were from the region where the course was held, while yellow shading indicates a larger number of participants from outside the region where the course was held.

In addition to spreading knowledge on a national scale, ECLA stimulated and supported the creation of local technical qualification initiatives. In February 1963, for instance, an Economic Development course was offered in Salvador as part of the intensive programme of SUDENE to raise the technical level of the North-Eastern workforce, inspired by those that ECLA taught in almost all the countries of Latin America (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1963b; BNDE, 1965, p. 21). ECLA supported similar initiatives at the University of Brasilia, the Brazilian Coffee Institute and the National Council of Economics, among other institutions, by providing both teaching staff and teaching material (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1963a). These connections with regional economic bodies and with the universities resulting from the mobility of CTPDE significantly expanded the ECLA sphere of influence in Brazil.

Another effect of this circulation of courses were changes in the worldview of ECLA staff themselves as a result of their travels around the country. The creation of the ECLA/BNDE office was a crucial step in making this mobility viable, since it made it possible to put together a permanent local team with advanced knowledge of Brazil that was fully available to engage with local activities resulting from cooperation. The ECLA/BNDE office thus became a Brazilian hub of intellectuals who were capable of thinking economically but also of looking beyond the economy and keeping social and regional disparities in view with the aim of promoting structural changes that would lead to egalitarian national development.

The three main peculiarities of the ECLA/BNDE course were therefore: (i) the larger place it gave to economic development disciplines such as planning and project evaluation, taking account of local history and social, political and regional aspects; (ii) its development of teaching material, owing to the inadequacy of the existing manuals of economic theory for addressing Latin American specificities; and (iii) its engagement with regional development agendas. These special features meant that the course could be grounded in Brazilian social and economic characteristics and unintendedly led to critical reflection on the limits and potentialities of the general ideas held by ECLA about Latin American development.

CTPDE was distinguished by its politically engaged nature, which was consistent with the argument that structural change would not come about spontaneously, and by an active commitment to tackling underdevelopment. Professor Carlos Lessa sums up this difference by saying that a specialist in development is a specialist in history-making (Lessa, 2011), and this can be understood as the attitude

driving the activities of the ECLA/BNDE Centre. The shortage of technicians was not the only reason, then, for the rapid expansion of the courses. There was also the political intention of instructing and training agents in strategic positions in the State apparatus to fight underdevelopment on its various fronts and, hence, make history.

IV. Building a developmentalist network around the ECLA/BNDE Centre

In 1957, shortly after the first edition of CTPDE, negotiations were carried out to establish a permanent ECLA office in Brazil. The office would have a small number of economists and would coordinate the study groups created under specific agreements between the international entity and Brazilian agencies, steer the Training Course on Problems of Economic Development, provide technical assistance to Brazilian organizations requesting it and prepare the specialized documentation on Brazil that ECLA was lacking in (BNDE, 1957, p. 184).

The creation of the ECLA/BNDE Centre was announced in 1959 and its office at 174 Avenida Graça Aranha in Rio de Janeiro was inaugurated on 3 October 1960 (*O Correio da Manhã*, 1960b). This location was particularly appropriate since it neighboured BNDE, the Ministry of Finance and the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics. The Centre was, therefore, surrounded by the economic bureaucracies that benefited from its courses, lectures and debates and by the most influential economists in the country.

The first Director of the Centre was Osvaldo Sunkel, an economist with a postgraduate degree from the London School of Economics (LSE) who had replaced Jorge Ahumada as head of the ECLA training courses and worked with Furtado on a report on Mexican development issues (Treviño, 1998). His first visit to Brazil was in 1959, just before the ECLA course in Recife, when Furtado commissioned him to tour all the capitals of the region to interview candidates from right across the North-East. Sunkel described this trip as an adventure that allowed him to observe the precariousness of development in the region, which is subject to severe droughts, and explained that it was then that he really discovered poverty, wretched poverty, extreme poverty, poverty manifested in people's physical characteristics (Sunkel, 2012). This narrative exemplifies how teaching away from Santiago also contributed to a change of perspective that worked the other way, enhancing ECLA officials' awareness of the subcontinent about which they were theorizing. It paved the way for alternative points of view and methods of reasoning that were essential in the formulation of accurate recommendations to promote economic and social development. This movement of people was thus essential in integrating different ways of reasoning about Brazil and Spanish-speaking Latin America, which were rarely observed from a common perspective.

Sunkel and the Deputy Director of the Centre, Charles Rollins, a United States economist with a PhD from Stanford, arrived in Brazil with the task of recruiting local economists to join their team. They talked it over with Gerson Augusto da Silva, a foreign trade expert, who recommended three of his best students at the National Faculty of Economic Sciences (FNCE) of the University of Brazil, now the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). Two of them, Carlos Lessa and Antônio Barros de Castro, had been his interns on the Customs Policy Council. The third was Maria da Conceição Tavares, a Portuguese mathematician and BNDE employee. Lessa started working at the Centre immediately, while Tavares joined in 1961, having obtained the best grades on a CTPDE course, and Castro in 1962 after his postgraduate studies at LSE and the Centre d'Études des Programmes Économiques (see Sunkel, 2012; Lessa, 2012; Mantega and Rego, 1999a, p. 159; Petrelli and Simioni, 2011, p. 12).

Castro and Lessa had been friends since high school and joined FNCE in 1956, while Maria da Conceição Tavares entered the Faculty the following year. They describe FNCE as a good school within

the framework of neoclassical economics, but very insulated. As an example, they said ECLA was not even mentioned. The publication of Furtado's *The Economic Growth of Brazil* had no repercussions. They called it an extremely conservative school and more than that, a bubble (Castro, cited in Mantega and Rego, 1999a, p. 157). They also relate that Keynes was never mentioned and that Brazil was never treated as an economy with special characteristics (Lessa, 2012). For them, joining ECLA meant accessing a new economics literature and acquiring a different economic perspective which positioned Latin America as the hub for building critical thinking about the structural conditions of economic and social development.

In addition to providing Brazilian data for the work carried out at ECLA headquarters in Santiago, Centre staff spent their time on research and the production of teaching content for the courses. Their analyses aimed to describe and interpret phenomena such as inflation, industrialization, the evolution of infrastructure, in the light of Brazilian economic development. Part of this work was meant to enable comparisons to be carried out with the data and analysis produced in Santiago, while another part was concerned with the specificities of the Brazilian economy as seen in the light of ECLA historical and critical thinking. The outputs were used in CTPDE and comprised some of the first local writings based on the main ideas of ECLA (ECLA/BNDE, 1965, pp. 2 and 3).

Among the projects carried out at the ECLA/BNDE Centre were a study of inflation in Brazil directed by Charles Rollins (ECLA/BNDE, 1965); a study on import substitution in Brazil initiated by Rollins and undertaken by Tavares, which led to the essay "The growth and decline of import substitution in Brazil" (ECLA, 1964); and an investigation into the phases and instruments of Brazilian economic policy coordinated by Carlos Lessa, which resulted in the article "Fifteen years of economic policy in Brazil" (Lessa, 1964). The work produced at the Centre that reached the largest audience was the textbook *Introdução à economia: uma abordagem estruturalista* by Castro and Lessa (1967). The authors employed the systemic and structural perspective of ECLA to discuss Brazil's economic problems, emphasizing the transformational power of planning and development policies.

These writings were mainly produced during the second directorship of the ECLA/BNDE Centre, lasting from mid-1962 to mid-1966. In 1962, Raúl Prebisch summoned Sunkel back to Santiago to coordinate the newly created Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES)⁸ training programme (Sunkel, 2012). Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, a Chilean lawyer and economist who had studied at postgraduate level at LSE, took over the Brazilian office and became a sort of intellectual mentor to the Centre's young researchers (Castro, 2000, p. 823, and 2014; Lessa, 2012; Tavares, 2010). At the same time, Carlos Lessa replaced Rollins as Deputy Director, and the team expanded rapidly with the addition of younger researchers and interns.

There are no complete records on the Centre's staff, just scattered information in testimonials, administrative reports and news articles. A 1965 report mentions that the Centre had a director, three "senior" economists, five "junior" economists, three trainees and an administrative staff of seven (ECLA/BNDE, 1965). It also mentions that when Lessa left the country, in 1964, Tavares became Deputy Director while Barros de Castro took over the Research Department and Jayme Costa Santiago the Courses Department (ECLA/BNDE, 1965, p. 1). Although the information on the staff is incomplete, some patterns can be detected. Most of the trainees were students of staff members at the University of Brazil. The junior economists were usually new economics graduates, some of them former interns, while others had achieved good grades on CTPDE.

⁸ ILPES was created in Santiago in July 1962 as a result of the Alliance for Progress, promoted by John F. Kennedy, which replicated some of the philosophy of ECLA. "ILPES was responsible for training staff from different countries to prepare diagnoses, projections and sectoral plans and programmes and to perform other tasks that were necessary to obtain resources through the Alliance" (Treviño, 1998, p. 23). ILPES did not cater directly to the requirements of the region's governments, having more autonomy to undertake critical thinking (Furtado, 2014).

The “junior” team comprised Wilson Cano, an economics graduate of the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, and Ferdinando de Oliveira Figueiredo, Luiz Guilherme dos Santos Vassalo and Roberto Manoel Ruiz de Gamboa of FNCE (Figueiredo, 2002; UNICAMP, 2014; Levy, 2008; Ismael, Braga and Freire D’Aguiar, 2013; *O Correio da Manhã*, 1964b). Most interns joined the Centre while studying economics at the University of Brazil, and those who stayed on at the Centre after graduation became junior economists, examples being Francisco de Almeida Biato and Magdalena Cronemberger, who entered in 1964. Sulamis Dain, José Eduardo de Carvalho Pereira and Luiz Cláudio Etchebert Marinho were brought in as trainees from the subsequent FNCE classes. A sociologist, Herbert José de Souza (Betinho), a well-known student leader at the time, was also briefly an intern (Cronemberger, 2019; D’Araujo, Farias and Hippolito, 2005, p. 368; Nakano and Roitman, 2001, pp. 57–61).

The first half of the 1960s was characterized by an expansion of the Centre’s staff and a great increase in its activities. In 1965, for example, it held a major seminar on state-level planning in Petrópolis at which the topic was systematically discussed and experiences shared, since planning was conducted independently by each unit of the federation. Standardization of planning instruments and practices was encouraged to facilitate coordination of the country’s development, which led to the creation of an integrated system of financing agencies at the national, regional and state levels, overseen by BNDE (ECLA/BNDE, 1965, p. 24; BNDE, 1965, pp. 54 and 55).

The second half of the 1960s, on the other hand, was marked by a crisis that led to the dissolution of ECLA cooperation with BNDE. Those involved indicate that this resulted from increasing pressure exerted by the military dictatorship. It started with overt surveillance and funding cuts and culminated in complete suspension of the BNDE side of the agreement. The backdrop to this was the appointment to the highest positions in the administration of economists such as Roberto Campos, Octavio Gouvêa de Bulhões and Antônio Delfim Netto, who publicly attacked the notion of general planning for development⁹ and the call for structural social change with which ECLA was associated (Klüger, 2017a; Cano, cited in Ismael, Braga and Freire D’Aguiar, 2013, p. 294).

In September 1966, Aníbal Pinto left Brazil and Daniel Bitrán, a Chilean economist who had graduated from the University of Chile and studied at George Washington University, and who had worked for ECLA since 1952, became the new director of the Centre. According to Bitrán, he immediately became aware of the challenges he would face in running the office during the military regime. He recalled that the first time he entered the Centre, he found a note typed in red on his desk saying that ECLA was a ‘nest of communists’, and that they would be watched very closely. So closely were they watched that an agent was placed in the office to gauge the ‘left-wing spirit’ permeating the Centre. According to Bitrán (2019), the agent would sit down and read all the Project Evaluation manuals and get angry and furious because he could not find what he was looking for.

The Brazilian military regime attacked ECLA on two fronts. The first was the defunding and 1967 closure of the ECLA/BNDE Centre. The second was an attempt by the Brazilian Government to stop resources reaching ILPES in retaliation for its hosting of exiled Brazilian intellectuals such as Celso Furtado, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Francisco Weffort, who openly criticized the economic model adopted by the new economic administration (Dosman, 2011, pp. 469–471).

Even though the Brazilian dictatorship was hostile to ECLA, the demand for its lectures and courses continued to grow. The government thus failed to undermine the prestige of the United Nations body, built up via its training activities throughout Brazil and by its close collaboration with the agencies charged with planning and financing local development. The main strategy adopted to weaken the ECLA/BNDE office was thus a constant reduction of its resources. Bitrán mentions that when he arrived, in September 1966, the Centre had about 30 employees. Funding cutbacks in the following

⁹ The terms “planning” and “development” were both part of these economists’ conceptual repertoire. The difference lay in the way they were operationalized, which differed greatly in theory and practice from the ECLA conception of them as instruments to promote far-reaching structural social change.

years forced them to shrink the team and move to a smaller office further from the financial heart of Rio de Janeiro (Bitrán, 2019).

These cuts followed a change in the economic perspective prevailing in the government and at BNDE, which became more susceptible to the influence of the United States. In 1965, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Agency for International Development signed agreements committing them to invest in a fund created by BNDE to finance studies, projects and programmes (Monteiro and Modenesi, 2002, pp. 9 and 10). The Ford Foundation awarded BNDE US\$ 336,000 in 1967 and another US\$ 119,000 in 1970 for “management training and research” (Ford Foundation, 1967, p. 119, and 1970, p. 71). The BNDE agreement with ECLA was discontinued at the same time, showing that it was not terminated because the need for training had been superseded but rather because of a political decision to change the source and nationality of imported expertise.

In unilaterally terminating its agreement with ECLA, BNDE announced that the ECLA/BNDE Centre was ending its activities after making an important contribution to critical thought and offering suggestions for the programming of national economic development, as well as vigorously cooperating in the specialized training of technical staff for development agencies (BNDE, 1967, p. 45). It also stated that ECLA would continue its activities in Brazil with the establishment of its own office and BNDE would redirect the resources released from the agreement to a specific programme of training for its technical staff and for analysts and operators at the financial agencies (BNDE, 1967, p. 45).

Maria da Conceição Tavares says that when informed that the ECLA/BNDE Centre was closing she contacted Hélio Beltrão, who was at the Ministry of Planning, and João Paulo dos Reis Velloso, who was the Director of the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA). Tavares states that the pair salvaged the agreement between the Brazilian government and ECLA (see Pereira de Melo and Moraes da Costa, 2009b, p. 179). From 1968 to 1971, the office operated under the name ECLA-ILPES, relying on meagre resources from Santiago. It moved to smaller premises even further from the city centre, and the staff gradually dispersed. Besides the senior economists, Bitrán, Castro, Santiago and Tavares, who stayed a little longer, there were only two junior economists left, José Eduardo Pereira and Magdalena Cronemberger (Carvalho Pereira, cited in Leonor and Paiva, 2002; Cronemberger, 2019).

At its lowest ebb, the office started a collaboration with IPEA which allowed it to share costs and gain the assistance of additional researchers. IPEA staff had affinities with the ECLA planning orientation because some of them had been trained directly by the United Nations body, including some economists who had moved from the Centre to IPEA following the staff cuts. Between June 1969 and the end of 1970, they carried out joint research on the Brazilian industrial system and manufacturing exports, coordinated by Fernando Fajnzylber. Shortly afterwards, ECLA stated that it had no more resources to maintain its own Brazilian headquarters. The office was then fully incorporated into IPEA, operating in Rio de Janeiro from 1971 until June 1978, when it moved to the main IPEA premises in Brasilia (IPEA, 2004, p. 3; D’Araujo, Farias and Hippolito, 2005, p. 27; Santiago, 1990, p. 18; Torres, 2006, pp. 42 and 43; Cronemberger, 2019).

V. The exile and reconstitution of the ECLA Brazilian team

The dismantling of the ECLA/BNDE office and the subsequent reduction of resources resulted in the dispersal of the team. Indeed, some of the Centre’s staff had left before this crisis because of the political repression exercised by the dictatorship, for in addition to the political pressure and vigilance the Centre was subjected to, some researchers were being persecuted personally for their left-oriented intellectual and political positions.

Celso Furtado left for Chile right at the outset. He was among the first Brazilians to lose their political rights following the issue of the first Institutional Act, which suspended direct elections and withdrew the political rights of public opponents of the dictatorship, a few days after the coup (Furtado, 2014). Carlos Lessa was the first of the Centre's staff to leave for exile. In his telling, shortly after the dictatorship came to power, he gave a "protest" course that "came down hard" on the dictatorship. One student came up to him and said that the military were getting annoyed with him and had been making complaints. Then, the United Nations thought it best to remove him from Brazil (Lessa, 2012). Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz arranged for Lessa to be transferred to ECLA headquarters, where he arrived in 1964. Chile was a prime destination for exiled intellectuals because not only did it welcome Brazilians, but there were job opportunities for qualified professionals. A friendly government and a large number of universities, expanding research centres and international organizations were essential factors (Klüger, 2017b).

Expanding repression in Brazil, coupled with the dismemberment of the ECLA/BNDE Centre, propelled more and more departures to Chile. Francisco de Almeida Biato and Sulamis Dain arrived there, respectively, in 1966 and 1969. Biato joined the ILPES specialization course and was incorporated into IPEA on his return. Dain studied economics at the Graduate School of Latin American Economic Studies (ESCOLATINA) of the University of Chile and taught at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), the former University of Brazil, when she returned. Luiz Claudio Marinho went to Chile in 1968 and, after attending ESCOLATINA, worked for ILPES for three decades, later directing the ECLA offices in Buenos Aires and Brasilia (Núñez del Prado, 1998, p. 9). Conceição Tavares arrived in Santiago at the end of 1968. There she taught at ESCOLATINA and worked at ILPES and, from March 1972, Salvador Allende's Ministry of Finance (Tavares, 2010). Antônio Barros de Castro arrived in mid-1969, joining both ILPES and ESCOLATINA (Castro, 2014). Betinho arrived at the end of 1971 and, after working as a research assistant at the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), joined the National Planning Office (ODEPLAN) under Allende (Nakano and Roitman, 2001; Souza, 1976, p. 97). ECLA also helped place other exiled intellectuals who had previously forged ties with the office in Brazil and with Celso Furtado. A paradigmatic case is that of SUDENE staff, who, having been severely threatened after the coup, mostly left the country.

If proximity to ECLA at first encouraged "Latin Americanization" of these Brazilian intellectuals' thinking about development, in a second stage they looked beyond this broad Latin American framework in order to understand the peculiarities of their own country. There were discussions about the social and political arrangements that had led to the military coup in Brazil and about the type of economic growth, with worsening inequality, that was taking place in the country. These debates led to the essay "Beyond stagnation: a discussion on the nature of recent development in Brazil" (Tavares and Serra, 1973) and the book *Dependency and Development in Latin America* by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto (1979). At the same time, the experience of displacement expanded the intellectual horizons of the Brazilians in Santiago and led to changes in ECLA itself, as it incorporated the variations in national development trajectories into its thinking. They thus prompted comparative analysis of social, political and cultural structures aimed at understanding the internal diversity of economic arrangements. These considerations would give rise to post-ECLA currents and dependency theories that brought economic thinking closer to sociological perspectives, mobilizing Marxist and Weberian methods and concepts (Bresser-Pereira, 2005).

Following the issue in Brazil in December 1968 of the fifth Institutional Act, which gave the military extraordinary powers and suspended civil and human rights, a second wave of exiles arrived in Chile, largely formed of students and young teachers who in most cases did not hold positions of power or prestige. The students were welcomed at Chilean universities, especially in the areas of economics and the social sciences, and had considerable contact with core ECLA ideas and revisions thereof. ESCOLATINA, FLACSO and ILPES played a key role in transmitting the viewpoints cultivated at ECLA

to the new generations. The many young Brazilians who attended these institutions took these new theoretical insights back to Brazil, to be further developed once the dictatorship started to lose strength (Klüger, 2017b).

The paradigmatic case of the reestablishment of ECLA thought in Brazil in the 1970s was the creation of the Department of Economics and Economic Planning at the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), chiefly by teaching staff and postgraduates who left Chile after the military coup in 1973. In addition to Carlos Lessa, Maria da Conceição Tavares and Antônio Barros de Castro, veterans of the ECLA/BNDE office, several young economists returning from exile were welcomed at UNICAMP. Most had attended courses at ESCOLATINA, ILPES or both, where they had studied under Osvaldo Sunkel, Aníbal Pinto, Lessa, Tavares and Castro, among many ECLA specialists. They arrived in Brazil with a Latin American perspective on economic issues, having been trained in planning for development and having had the opportunity to closely follow the debates and revisions of ideas taking place around the Commission.

Indeed, the UNICAMP economics department had close ties to ECLA from its inception. These connections preceded the return of the exiles, since three of the faculty's founders, Wilson Cano, Roberto Gamboa and Ferdinando Figueiredo, were economists from the ECLA/BNDE Centre. Cano recalls that when he left the Centre, in 1967, he was going to be transferred to headquarters in Santiago, but the opportunity arose, in the middle of the Brazilian dictatorship, to create a new school of economics with a critical perspective. The Dean of UNICAMP, Zeferino Vaz, appointed Fausto Castilho, who had attended CTPDE in São Paulo in 1966, as coordinator of the new economics programme. Castilho sought help from two CTPDE colleagues, João Manuel Cardoso de Mello and Luiz Gonzaga Belluzzo. Together they decided in 1968 to invite the economists leaving the ECLA office in Rio to join them at UNICAMP. Because Vaz was well respected by the military, he managed to secure his university against external censorship, creating the conditions for the development of a department in which banned ideas could circulate and those returning from exile could be hired and teach. Forbidden Marxist authors reappeared, heterodox perspectives on the economy were welcomed and ECLA influence found a solid anchorage. After a few years, some faculty members moved back to Rio de Janeiro, where they remodelled economics teaching at UFRJ, further spreading ECLA ideas (see Mantega and Rego, 1999b, pp. 194 and 195; Soares, Torino and Seneda, 2013; Gonzaga, 2014; Gomes, 2007, pp. 61, 74 and 93; Cano, cited in Ismael, Braga and Freire D'Aguiar, 2013, p. 294).

Furthermore, the influence of ECLA was not confined to the economic departments of UNICAMP and UFRJ. One example of its reach in other fields is the Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP), a think tank at the centre of the development of the social sciences in Brazil during the 1970s. Created by intellectuals with Marxist backgrounds expelled from the University of São Paulo during the military regime, such as Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Paul Singer, Elza Berquó and Octavio Ianni, it welcomed many researchers returning from exile, including a number from Chile. At CEBRAP, the legacy of ECLA, Marxist influence and research into contemporary Brazil were merged with new sociological perspectives. A prime example is Francisco de Oliveira's "A economia brasileira: crítica à razão dualista" (Oliveira, 1972). Oliveira was first trained at the Banco do Nordeste do Brasil, attended the ECLA/BNDE course in 1957, worked for SUDENE and was then exiled, working at ECLA in Mexico and Central America before joining CEBRAP. His work was supposedly inspired by ECLA, but it offered a Marxist account of the Brazilian capitalist accumulation regime.

VI. Conclusion

Reconstructing the history of the ECLA/BNDE Centre makes it possible to observe in detail how ECLA thought became ingrained in Brazil. CTPDE was among the first postgraduate training courses in economics to be established in Brazil, its special feature being its focus on the planning of structural change-oriented policies to be conducted by the public sector. By providing training in planning to hundreds of specialists from different regions of the country and administrative levels, the Commission disseminated knowledge and contributed to the effective construction of development programmes inspired by its perspectives and methods. The activities of the experts connected to the ECLA/BNDE Centre acquired a clear and explicit transformative orientation, since they saw underdevelopment as a phenomenon that was not confined to the economic dimension but required larger changes to social structures.

Moreover, ECLA participated in the training of well-known intellectuals, helping to reshape academic research and economics teaching and to create spaces for critical thinking centred on Brazilian and Latin American specificities. The research projects conducted at the ECLA/BNDE Centre and the production of Portuguese-language teaching material addressing regional development issues also played a prominent role in spreading the Commission's ideas in Brazil. Along with Celso Furtado's vast and influential output, Lessa, Castro and Tavares's essays and books constitute the first classics in Brazil aligned with ECLA thinking. Lastly, the creation of faculties of economics coordinated by former members of the ECLA/BNDE office paved the way for a new set of theoretical alternatives to the economics mainstream.

Furthermore, sharing ideas with Brazilian intellectuals impacted ECLA thought itself, first through the direct immersion of some Commission staff in the specificities of the regional problems of economic development in Brazil, and later through the transfer of vast numbers of Brazilian intellectuals to Chile between 1964 and 1973. These exiled scholars took to Chile their knowledge of the Brazilian economy and society and new interpretations of the circumstances leading to the military coup in Brazil, which pushed ECLA to think about the political and social conditions underlying economic development and to adopt a comparative focus in its analyses. The immersion of these exiled Brazilians at the centre of critical economic thinking and their participation in the renewal of the perspectives prevailing at the Commission marked a generation who, after going back to Brazil, would shape new academic spaces that welcomed the legacy of ECLA and sought to continue it.

Despite the creation of new faculties embracing ECLA perspectives, they never regained their former influence on a national scale. UNICAMP did offer training courses similar to those of CTPDE for a few years, but critical economic perspectives ended up being more restricted to the university setting, as an alternative to neoclassical-oriented economics. Confined to the academy, this knowledge is less likely to reach its prime target audience, the higher State bureaucracy and those actively engaged in planning for development. Nowadays, those wishing to see planned development in the country and to fight against embedded inequalities face the challenge of winning back both State and society and of restructuring their concepts and tools to deal with dynamic economies and societies in a reshaped global context.

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