

Fall 2010

# Church, State, and Politics in Latin America

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**Seton Hall University**  
**Fall 2010**  
**DIPL 3850 / Core 3850: Church, State, and Politics in Latin America**  
**Mondays and Wednesdays, 4 – 5:15**  
**Room: TBA**

Professor: Benjamin Goldfrank  
Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays, 11:30-1 and by appointment  
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Course Summary:

This course has two central objectives: 1) to provide students with an understanding of the evolving role of religion in Latin American politics, with a primary emphasis on the role of Catholicism and the Catholic Church from the period of the Second Vatican Council until the present; and 2) to provide students an opportunity to reflect on the normative questions of how religious beliefs and religious institutions should affect politics and of how different political systems and state policies should affect the practice of religion. The major themes, to be examined through both Catholic and non-Catholic perspectives, include the institutional relationship between the Catholic Church and the state, the different political expressions of Catholicism (from those inspired by Liberation Theology to supporters of Christian Democratic or Conservative political parties), the persecution of the Church under certain authoritarian regimes and the Catholic response, the rise of religious and political pluralism, and the role of religion in contemporary politics and public policy.

Requirements and Grading:

1. Class Participation (25 percent of course grade): Students are expected to attend all class sessions, to read all of the assigned materials prior to class, and to take part actively in class discussions. The quality of the discussion will largely depend on your preparation.
2. Two essays based on the readings (20 percent each), each 7-8 pages.
3. In-class presentation (15 percent) and essay (20 percent) on a topic of your choice, 7-8 pages, after consultation with the professor.

Evaluation of assignments will be based on the students' ability to convey their understanding and critical analysis of the course material. Late papers will be marked down. Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and will result in a failing grade for the course. If you have any questions about what constitutes plagiarism, please see me.

Required Readings:

All required course readings are on Blackboard except for *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America*, edited by Frances Hagopian (University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), which is available in the University Bookstore.

### **Week 1: Mon 8/30, Wed 9/1 – Introduction**

Frances Hagopian, "Introduction: The New Landscape," in Frances Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009: 1-64).

### **Week 2: Wed 9/8 – Church , State, and Politics until the 1960s**

David Tombs, "Part I: Power and Privilege 1492-1959," *Latin American Liberation Theology* (2002: 3-64).

Robert Holden, "Communism and Catholic Social Doctrine in the Guatemalan Revolution of 1944," *Journal of Church & State* (Summer 2008: 495-517).

Richard Gribble, "Anti-Communism, Patrick Peyton, CSC and the C.I.A.," *Journal of Church & State* (2003: 535-558).

### **Week 3: Mon 9/13, Wed 9/15 – Vatican II, Medellín, and Evolving Catholicism**

David Tombs, "Chapter 4: Reform and Renewal, 1960-1965," *Latin American Liberation Theology* (2002: 67-86).

CELAM (Conference of Latin American Bishops), *The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council: Medellín Conclusions* (1968/1970: 57-68).

Archbishop Marcos McGrath, "Ariel or Caliban?" *Foreign Affairs* (Oct 1973: 75-95).

Jean Daudelin and WE Hewitt, "Churches and politics in Latin America: Catholicism at the crossroads," *Third World Quarterly* (1995: 221-236).

### **Week 4: Mon 9/20, Wed 9/22 – Liberation Theology and its Detractors**

Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," *Theological Studies*, 31:2 (1970: 243-261).

Paulo Freire, "Conscientizing as a Way of Liberating," in Alfred Hennesly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (1970/1990: 5-13).

Mev Puleo, "Frei Betto," *The Struggle is One: Voices and Visions of Liberation* (1994: 87-97).

George Weigel, Selections from *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II* (1999: 281-290; 440-444; 457-459).

Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, "Liberation Theology," in Alfred Hennesly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (1984/1990: 367-374).

Sandro Magister, "The Sentence Against Theologian Jon Sobrino is Aimed at an Entire Continent," *Chiesa* (20 March 2007)  
<<http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/127821?eng=y>>.

### **Week 5: Mon 9/27, Wed 9/29 – Christian Democratic Political Parties**

Paul Sigmund, "The Transformation of Christian Democratic Ideology: Transcending Left and Right, or Whatever Happened to the Third Way," in Mainwaring and Scully, eds., *Christian Democracy in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts* (2003: 64-77).

Andrew J Kirkendall, "Paulo Freire, Eduardo Frei, Literacy Training and the Politics of Consciousness Raising in Chile, 1964 to 1970," *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Nov 2004: 687-717).

Edward Lynch, "Catholic Social Thought in Latin America," *Orbis* (Winter 1998: 105-118).

Scott Mainwaring, "The Transformation and Decline of Christian Democracy in Latin America," in Mainwaring and Scully, eds., *Christian Democracy in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts* (2003: 364-383).

### **Week 6: Mon 10/4, Wed 10/6 – Father Camilo Torres and "Revolutionary Priests"** **\*\*Essay #1 is due\*\***

Gerald Theisen, "The Case of Camilo Torres Restrepo," *Journal of Church & State* 301 (1974: 300-316).

Camilo Torres, "Crossroads of the Church in Latin America," "Platform of the United Front of the Colombian People," "Why I Am Not Participating in Elections," "Message to Christians," "The Platform and the Revolution," "Message to the Students," and "Message to Colombians from the Mountains," and Latin American Priests, "Latin America: Lands of Violence," in *Revolutionary Priest: The Complete Writings and Messages of Camilo Torres* (1971: 327-334, 306-310, 364-369, 400-405, 425-427, 442-446).

Daniel Levine and Alexander Wilde, "The Catholic Church, 'Politics,' and Violence: The Colombian Case," *The Review of Politics* (Apr 1977: 220-249).

Michael Dodson, "The Christian Left in Latin American Politics," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* (Feb 1979: 45-68).

### **Week 7: Wed 10/13 – Dictatorships and Human Rights Abuses**

Edward Cleary, "A New Political Environment: The Church and the Military in Conflict," in Cleary, *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin America Today* (1985: 20 pgs).

Mario Aguilar, "Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, the Catholic Church, and the Pinochet Regime, 1973-1980: Public Responses to a National Security State," *The Catholic Historical Review* (Oct 2003: 712-731).

Anthony Gill, "Rendering Unto Caesar?: Religious Competition and Catholic Political Strategy in Latin America, 1962 – 1979," *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (May 1994: 403-425).

Benjamin Goldfrank and Nicholas Rowell, "Church, State, and Human Rights in Latin America," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2006.

### **Week 8: Mon 10/18, Wed 10/20 – Archbishops Romero and Rivera Damas and Civil War in El Salvador (Movie: "Romero")**

Archbishop Oscar Romero, "The Last Sermon" (1980).

Elizabeth Jean Wood, "The Puzzle of Insurgent Collective Action," *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (2003: 1-30).

Bahman Bakhtiari, "Revolution and the Church in Nicaragua and El Salvador," *Journal of Church & State* (Winter 1986: 15-42).

Edward Brett, "Archbishop Arturo Rivera Damas and the Struggle for Social Justice in El Salvador," *Catholic Historical Review* (Oct 2008: 717-739).

Roberto Lovato, "Mo(u)rning in El Salvador," *The Nation* (April 13, 2009: 4 pgs).

Blake Schmidt, "Salvador president-elect offers a conciliatory tone," National Catholic Reporter On-Line (March 17, 2009: 2 pgs.).

### **Week 9: Mon 10/25, Wed 10/27 – The Rise of Religious Pluralism**

Timothy Steigenga and Edward Cleary, "Understanding Conversion in the Americas," in Steigenga and Cleary, eds., *Conversion of a Continent: Contemporary Religious Change in Latin America* (2008: 3-32).

Rachel Corr, "Conversion to Native Spirituality in the Andes: From Corpus Cristi to Inti Raymi," in Steigenga and Cleary, eds., *Conversion of a Continent: Contemporary Religious Change in Latin America* (2008: 174-198).

Andrew Chesnut, "A Preferential Option for the Spirit: The Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Latin America's New Religious Economy," *Latin American Politics & Society* (April 2003): 55-85.

John Burdick, "Why is the Black Evangelical Movement Growing in Brazil?" *Journal of Latin American Studies* (May 2005: 311-332).

### **Week 10: Mon 11/1, Wed 11/3 – Religion and Political Transitions (1980s/1990s)**

John Anderson, "The Catholic contribution to democratization's 'third wave': altruism, hegemony or self-interest?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* (September 2007: 383-399).

Emelio Betances, "The Catholic Church and Political Mediation in the Dominican Republic: A Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Church and State* (Spring 2004: 341-364).

Roberto Blancarte, "The Changing Face of Religion in the Democratization of Mexico: The Case of Catholicism," in Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009: 225-256).

Newton Gaskill, "Rethinking Protestantism and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America," *Sociology of Religion* (Spring 1997): 69-91.

### **Week 11: Mon 11/8, Wed 11/10 – Religion and Political Participation**

**\*\*Essay #2 is due\*\***

Andrew Chesnut, "The Salvation Army or the Army's Salvation?: Pentecostal Politics in Amazonian Brazil, 1962-1992," *Luso-Brazilian Review* (Winter 1999: 33-49).

Eric Patterson, "Different Religions, Different Politics? Religion and Political Attitudes in Argentina and Chile," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (Sept 2004: 345-362).

David Smilde, "Contradiction Without Paradox: Evangelical Political Culture in the 1998 Venezuelan Elections," *Latin American Politics & Society* (Spring 2004: 74-102).

Roderic Camp, "Exercising Political Influence, Religion, Democracy, and the Mexican 2006 Presidential Race," *Journal of Church & State* (Jan 2008: 49-72).

Timothy Steigenga, "The Politics of Pentecostalized Religion: Conversion as Pentecostalization in Guatemala," in Steigenga and Cleary, eds., *Conversion of a Continent: Contemporary Religious Change in Latin America* (2008: 256-279).

**Week 12: Mon 11/15, Wed 11/17 – Religion and Contemporary Democracy**

Frances Hagopian, "Social Justice, Moral Values, or Institutional Interests? Church Responses to the Democratic Challenge in Latin America," in Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009: 257-331).

Catalina Romero, "Religion and Public Spaces: Catholicism and Civil Society in Peru," in Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism* (2009: 365-401).

**Week 13: Mon 11/22 – Religion and Gender in Contemporary Latin America**

Soledad Loaeza, "Cultural Change in Mexico at the Turn of the Century: The Secularization of Women's Identity and the Erosion of the Authority of the Catholic Church," in Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009: 96-130).

Mala Htun, "Life, Liberty, and Family Values: Church and State in the Struggle over Latin America's Social Agenda," in Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009: 335-364).

John Burdick, "Redefining Mary: Women's Changing Roles at Home and in the Church," and "The Progressive Church, Domestic Violence, and Abortion," in *Legacies of Liberation: The Progressive Catholic Church in Brazil at the Start of a New Millennium* (2004:57-98).

**Week 14: Mon 11/29, Wed 12/1 – Religion and the Contemporary Left (and start student presentations on 12/1)**

Carmen Martínez Novo, "Building an Anti-Neoliberal Nation with the Indigenous Movement: The Salesian Missions of Ecuador," in Hefferin, Adkins, and Ochipinti, eds., *Bridging the Gaps: Faith-Based Organizations, Neoliberalism, and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean* (2009: 213-228).

Patrick Taylor, "Anthropology and Theology in Pursuit of Justice," *Callaloo* (Summer 1992: 811-823).

Alberto Luna, "Paraguay: The Bishop Who Would Be President," *Thinking Faith: The Online Journal of the British Jesuits* (Feb 4 2008: 1-4).

Rafael Luciani, "Politics and Church in Venezuela: Perspectives and Horizons," *Theological Studies* (March 2009: 192-195).

David Smilde, "Public Christianity in the Venezuelan Revolution," *ASA Sociology of Religion Section Newsletter* (Spring 2007: 7-10).

Associated Press / Frank Bajak, "Bolivian Indians Still Struggle for Exodus from Serfdom" (January 3, 2010: 5 pages).

Tim Padgett, "The Other America: The Drama in Honduras Depicts Central America's Enduring Miseries," *America: The National Catholic Weekly* (March 8, 2010); and Paul Jeffrey, "Honduran Bishop: Wealthy Elite Were Behind the Coup," Catholic News Service (August 6, 2009).

Jill Goldenziel, "Sanctioning Faith: Religion, State, and U.S.-Cuban Relations," *Journal of Law and Politics* 25:2 (2009: 3-35).

**Weeks 15 and 16: Mon 12/6, Wed 12/8, Mon 12/13 – Church, State, and Politics in the Future (Student Presentations) \*\*Essay #3 is due 12/13\*\***

Daniel Levine, "Pluralism as Challenge and Opportunity," in Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009: 405-428)

Frances Hagopian, "The Catholic Church in a Plural Latin America: Toward a New Research Agenda," in Hagopian, ed., *Religious Pluralism, Democracy, and the Catholic Church in Latin America* (2009: 429-466).

**\*\*Essay #3 is due 12/16 at 4 p.m.\*\***