

Fall 2012

# Church, State, and Politics in Latin America

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**Seton Hall University: Fall 2012**  
**DIPL 3850 / Core 3850: Church, State, and Politics in Latin America**  
**Mondays and Wednesdays, 10 – 11:15 (AA) and 11:30 – 12:45 (AB)**

Professor: Benjamin Goldfrank

Office Hours: Thursdays, 10-1 (and by appointment) in McQuaid Hall 101D

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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 6-7 pages.
3. In-class presentation (15 percent) and essay (20 percent) on a topic of your choice, 6-7 pages, after consultation with the professor.

Evaluation of assignments will be based on the students' abilities to convey their understanding and critical analysis of the course material and to present their own ideas. Late papers will be marked down. Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies.

**Important Notes:**

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:

<http://www.shu.edu/offices/community-development/community-standards/>

<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.

Use of electronic devices for any purpose other than taking notes is inappropriate during class time. It distracts other students and will result in a lowered grade (in other words, do not use your laptop for email, shopping, Twitter, Facebook, and the like).

Required Readings:

All required course readings are on Blackboard.

Readings marked with \* are recommended (and are also on Blackboard).

**Weeks 1-2: Mon, 8/27, Wed 8/29, Wed 9/5 – Religion and Politics until the 1960s**

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

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

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

**Week 3: Mon 9/10, Wed 9/12 – Vatican II, Medellín, and Evolving Catholicism**

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

Matthew O’Meagher, “Before Liberation Theology: Catholicism, Development, and the Christian Revolution in Latin America, 1959-68,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* (Dec 1997: 55-71).

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).

**Week 4: Mon 9/17, Wed 9/19 – Christian Democratic Political Parties**

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).

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).

Luis Felipe Mantilla, “Scripture, structure and the formation of Catholic parties: The case of Venezuela,” *Party Politics* (Sept 2012: 369-390).

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

**Week 5: Mon 9/24, Wed 9/26 – Liberation Theology and its Detractors**

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

or

Paulo Freire, “Education, Liberation and the Church,” *Religious Education*, 79:4 (1984: 524-545).

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

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 6: Mon 10/1, Wed 10/3 – Father Camilo Torres and “Revolutionary Priests”**  
**\*\*Essay #1 is due on Wednesday for Peer Review\*\***

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 10/10 – Dictatorships and Human Rights Abuses**

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,” *Politics, Religion, and Ideology* (March 2012: 25-51).

\*María Soledad Catoggio, “Religious Beliefs and Actors in the Legitimation of Military Dictatorships in the Southern Cone, 1964–1989,” *Latin American Perspectives* (Nov 2011: 25-37).

**Week 8: Mon 10/15, Wed 10/17 – 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).

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.).

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

**Week 9: Mon 10/22, Wed 10/24 – 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).

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).

\*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).

### **Week 10: Mon 10/29, Wed 10/31 – Religion and Political Transitions (1980s/1990s)**

Daniel Philpott, "The Catholic Wave," *Journal of Democracy* (April 2004: 32-46).

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

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

\*Alfred Stepan, "Religion, Democracy, and the 'Twin Tolerations,'" *Journal of Democracy* (Oct 2000: 37-57).

### **Week 11: Mon 11/5, Wed 11/7 – Catholics, Protestants, and Political Participation**

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 and Coraly Pagan, "Christianity and Politics in Venezuela's Bolivarian Democracy: Catholics, Evangelicals and Political Polarization," in Smilde and Hellinger, eds., *Venezuela's Bolivarian Democracy: Participation, Politics, and Culture under Chávez* (2011: 1-26).

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).

\*Henri Gooren, "Ortega for President: The Religious Rebirth of Sandinismo in Nicaragua," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* (Oct 2010: 47-63).

**Week 12: Mon, 11/ 12, Wed 11/14 – The Catholic Church in Contemporary Politics**

**\*\*Essay #2 is due on Wednesday for Peer Review\*\***

Frances Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism in an Age of Religious and Political Pluralism: A Framework For Analysis,” *Comparative Politics* (Jan 2008: 149-168).

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).

Tim Padget, “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).

**Week 13: Mon 11/19 – Church, State, and New Social Movements**

Omar Encarnación, “Latin America’s Gay Rights Revolution,” *Journal of Democracy* (April 2011: 104-118).

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).

Ana Amuchástegui, Guadalupe Cruz, Evelyn Aldaz, and María Consuelo Mejía, “Politics, Religion and Gender Equality in Contemporary Mexico: women’s sexuality and reproductive rights in a contested secular state,” *Third World Quarterly*, 31:6 (2010: 989–1005).

\*Mary Cuddehe, “Mexico’s Anti-Abortion Backlash,” *The Nation* (Jan 23, 2012: 6 pgs.)

**Weeks 14-16: Mon 11/26, Wed 11/28, Mon 12/3, Wed 12/5, Mon 12/10 – Student Presentations**

**\*\*Essay #3 is due Tuesday, 12/18 at 10 a.m. via email\*\***