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Diplomacy Syllabi

School of Diplomacy and International
Relations

Fall 2024

DIPL 3850 / Core 3850 Church, State, and Politics in Latin America

Benjamin Goldfrank PhD

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Seton Hall University: Fall 2024
DIPL 3850 / Core 3850: Church, State, and Politics in Latin America
Mondays & Wednesdays, 11:00–12:15 (AA), Muscarelle (SH) 205
Mondays & Wednesdays, 2:00–3:15 (AB), Muscarelle (SH) 205

Professor: Benjamin Goldfrank

Student Hours: Mondays, 3:30-6:00, and by appointment

Student Hours Sign-Up: tinyurl.com/GoldfrankStudentHours (if no times work, email me)

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Course Summary:

This course has two central objectives: 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 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. Major themes, 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, 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 the assigned materials prior to class, and to take part actively in class discussions and activities to the best of their ability and current circumstances. The quality of the discussion will largely depend on your preparation. Pop quizzes may be used as well.
2. Two essays based on the readings & lectures (20 percent each), each 4-5 pages.
3. In-class presentation (15 percent) and essay (20 percent) on a topic of your choice, 5-7 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 or Incomplete Assignments

Students who anticipate not being able to complete an assignment on time should inform me as soon as possible. Absent prior communication, failure to complete an assignment on its due date will result in a grade penalty by one-third letter grade per day (i.e., an A assignment turned in one day late is an A-, two days late a B+, etc.) except in cases of medical or family issues.

Required Readings:

All readings are on Canvas. Readings marked with * are recommended.

Week 1: Mon 8/26, Wed 8/28 – Class Intro: Religion and Politics Now & US Role Pre-‘60s

For Monday, choose one or more to read in class:

- *Samantha Schmidt and David Feliba, “Catholic Priests are Warning about Argentina’s Trump. Will it Stop Him?” *Washington Post* (Nov 17, 2023).
- *Barbara Fraser, “Peru’s Bishops Urge Peace amid Violence,” *National Catholic Reporter* (Jan 11, 2023: <https://www.ncronline.org/news/perus-bishops-urge-peace-amid-violence>).
- *Annika Brockschmidt, “Coups of a Feather: The Striking Similarities Between Brazil’s Insurrection and Jan 6 May be due to ‘Authoritarian Learning,’” *Religion Dispatch* (Jan 11, 2023: <https://religiondispatches.org/coups-of-a-feather-the-striking-similarities-between-brazils-insurrection-and-jan-6-may-be-due-to-authoritarian-learning/>).
- *Kevin Clarke, “Jesuits urge Ortega to ‘stop the repression’ on one year anniversary of Nicaragua’s government seizing university,” *America: The Jesuit Review* (Aug 15, 2024). <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2024/08/15/seizure-confiscation-universidad-centroamericana-uca-managua-jesuits>
- *David Agren, “‘We cannot be neutral,’ Venezuelan cardinals say, calling for full release of election results,” *Catholic Review* (Aug 6, 2024). <https://catholicreview.org/we-cannot-be-neutral-venezuelan-cardinals-say-calling-for-full-release-of-election-results/>

For Wednesday, choose one (or more):

- *Richard Gribble, “Anti-Communism, Patrick Peyton, CSC and the C.I.A.,” *Journal of Church & State* (2003: 535-558).
- *Anne Martínez, “Catholic Monroeism: U.S. Support for the Catholic Church During the Mexican Revolution,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* (Winter 2021: 123-143).
- *Christina Davidson, “An Evangelical Occupation: The Racial and Imperial Politics of US Protestant Missions in the Dominican Republic,” in Wenger & Johnson, eds., *Religion and US Empire: Critical New Histories* (2022: 203-225).

Week 2: Wed 9/4 – Religion and Politics until the 1960s

Jeffrey Gorsky, “How Racism Was First Officially Codified in 15th-Century Spain,” *Atlas Obscura* (Dec. 22, 2016)

<https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/how-racism-was-first-officially-codified-in-15thcentury-spain>

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

Week 3: Mon 9/9, Wed 9/11 – 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).

*Mary Roldán, “Acción Cultural Popular, Responsible Procreation, and the Roots of Social Activism in Rural Colombia,” *Latin American Research Review* (2014: 27-44).

Week 4: Mon 9/16, Wed 9/18 – 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).

Week 5: Mon 9/23, Wed 9/25 – Liberation Theology and its Detractors

Paulo Freire, "Conscientisation" *CrossCurrents*, (Spring 1974: 23-31).

Hosffman Ospino and Rafael Luciani, "How Latin America Influenced the Entire Catholic Church," *America Magazine* (September 3, 2018).

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

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 Hennelly, ed., *Liberation Theology: A Documentary History* (1984/1990: 367-374).

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

*Jean-Bertrand Aristide, "The Church in Haiti – Land of Resistance," *Caribbean Quarterly* (March 1991: 108-113).

*Rosario Montoya, "Liberation Theology and the Socialist Utopia of a Nicaraguan Shoemaker," *Social History* (1995: 23-43).

Week 6: Mon 9/30, Wed 10/2 – Father Camilo Torres and "Revolutionary Priests"

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: Mon 10/7, Wed 10/9 – Archbishop Romero & El Salvador’s Civil War (Movie: “Romero”) *Essay #1 due Mon for Peer Review; Final on Wed: Canvas & hard copy*

Óscar Romero, “The Last Sermon” (1980: 4 pgs.).

Eduardo Campos Lima, “Critics ask where Romero’s legacy is amid El Salvador’s ‘state of exception,’” *Crux* (Nov 15, 2023: 4 pgs.).

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

*José Antonio Lucero, “Friction, Conversion, and Contention: Prophetic Politics in the Tohono O’odham Borderlands,” *Latin American Research Review* (2014: 169-184).

Week 8: Wed 10/16 – Dictatorships and Human Rights Abuses

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).

*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).

*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).

*Lauren Frances Turek, “To Support a “Brother in Christ”: Evangelical Groups and U.S.-Guatemalan Relations during the Ríos Montt Regime,” *Diplomatic History* (Sept 2015: 689-719).

Week 9: Mon 10/21, Wed 10/23 – The Rise (or Rebirth) of Religious Pluralism

Cody Weddle, “Latin American Catholics say ‘personal’ experiences boost evangelicals” *America Magazine* (May 2, 2018: 5 pgs.)

R. Andrew Chesnut, “Conservative Christian Competitors: Pentecostals and Charismatic Catholics in Latin America’s New Religious Economy,” *SAIS Review of International Affairs* (Winter-Spring 2010: 91-103).

Pick one (or more!) of the following on Monday to read for Wednesday:

*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).

*Jakob Egeris Thorsen, “Catholicism in the Changing Religious Field of Latin America: A Mapping,” *Religions* 14:4 (April 2023: 1-19).

*Jalane Schmidt, “The Antidote to Wall Street?: Cultural and Economic Mobilizations of Afro-Cuban Religions,” *Latin American Perspectives* (May 2016: 163-185).

*Nestor Da Costa, “Non-Affiliated Believers and Atheists in the Very Secular Uruguay,” *Religions* (January 2020: 1-13).

*James Padilioni Jr., “A Miami *Misterio*: Sighting San Martín de Porres at the Crossroads of Catholicism and Dominican Vodú,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* (Spring 2020: 85-111).

*Robert Brenneman, “Wrestling the Devil: Conversion and Exit from Central American Gangs,” *Latin American Research Review* (2014: 112-128).

- *Kate Kingsbury and Andrew Chesnut, “Not Just a Narcosaint: Santa Muerte as Matron Saint of the Mexican Drug War,” *International Journal of Latin American Religions* (June 2020: 25-47).
- *Raimundo Barreto, “Racism and Religious Intolerance: A Critical Analysis of the Coloniality of Brazilian Christianity,” *Mission Studies* (Nov 2021: 398-423).
- *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).

Week 10: Mon 10/28, Wed 10/30 – Religion and Contemporary Politics #1

- Daniel Philpott, “The Catholic Wave,” *Journal of Democracy* (April 2004: 32-46).
- Emelio Betances, “The Catholic Church and Political Mediation in the Dominican Republic: A Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of Church and State* (Spring 2004: 341-364).
- Virginia Garrard, “Pentecostalism and Power in Guatemala,” *Current History* (Feb 2023: 63-68).
- *Jeff Abbott, “Guatemala is Constructing a Religious Narco-State,” *The Progressive* (June 2022: <https://progressive.org/latest/other-americans-guatemala-religious-narco-state-abbott-091422/>)
- *Alfred Stepan, “Religion, Democracy, and the ‘Twin Tolerations,’” *Journal of Democracy* (Oct 2000: 37-57).

Week 11: Mon 11/4, Wed 11/6 – Religion and Contemporary Politics #2

- Jennifer Scheper Hughes and Maria das Dores Campos Machado, “Spirits, Bodies, and Structures: Religion, Politics, and Social Inequality in Latin America,” *Latin American Perspectives* (May 2016: 4-14).
- Cristián Parker, “Religious Pluralism and New Political Identities in Latin America,” *Latin American Perspectives* (May 2016: 15-30).
- Kirsten Weld, “Holy War: Latin America’s Far Right,” *Dissent* (Spring 2020: 57-65).
- Andre Pagliarini, “Tongues of Fire: Silas Malafaia and the Historical Roots of Neo-Pentecostal Power in Bolsonaro’s Brazil,” *Latin American Perspectives* (2023: 1-18).
- *Taylor Boas, “The Electoral Representation of Evangelicals in Latin America,” *Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin American Politics* (forthcoming; 30 pgs).
- *(<https://americasquarterly.org/article/aq-podcast-how-evangelicals-are-transforming-politics-in-latin-america/>)

Week 12: Mon 11/11, Wed 11/13 – Religion and Contemporary Politics #3

Essay #2 is due on Mon for Peer Review; Final on Wed on Canvas & hard copy

- For Monday, either: Asbel Bohigues and José Manuel Rivas, “Nobody Is a Prophet in their Own Land? Evaluations of Pope Francis in Latin America,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (2021: 133–148) or James Bailey, “Land, Private Property, and the Universal Destination of Goods: A Catholic Perspective on Economic Inequality in Latin America,” *Religion & Development* (2023: 84-102).
- For Wednesday:
- Alejandro Nava, “Barrio Music, Spirituality, and Social Justice in Latino Hip-Hop,” *The Oxford Handbook of Latino Studies* (2020: 236-261).
- Artionka Capiberibe, “Reaching Souls, Liberating Lands: Cross-cultural Evangelical Missions and Bolsonaro’s Government,” *Brazilian Political Science Review* 15:2 (2021: 1-22).

- *Javier Arellano-Yanguas, “Religion and Resistance to Extraction in Rural Peru: Is the Catholic Church Following the People?” *Latin American Research Review* (2014: 61-80).
- *Raimundo Barreto, “Religious Literacy, Racial Literacy, and Latin America’s Overdue Reckoning with Deep Diversity,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Religious Literacy* (2021: 371–384).
- *Frances Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism in an Age of Religious and Political Pluralism: A Framework For Analysis,” *Comparative Politics* (Jan 2008: 149-168).

Week 13: Mon 11/18, Wed 11/20 – Religion and Contemporary Politics #4

- Flávia Biroli and Mariana Caminotti, “The Conservative Backlash Against Gender in Latin America,” *Politics & Gender* (March 2020: 1-6).
- Omar Encarnación, “Latin America’s Abortion Rights Breakthrough,” *Journal of Democracy* (Oct 2022: 89-103).
- Juan Vaggione, “The Conservative Uses of Law: The Catholic Mobilization against Gender Ideology,” *Social Compass* (June 2020: 252-266).
- Javier Corrales, “The Expansion of LGBT Rights in Latin America and the Backlash,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Global LGBT and Sexual Diversity Politics* (2020: 185-199).
- *Gabriela Arguedas-Ramírez, “Gender Ideology,” Refeudalization, and the Reproductive Reconquista: A (G)local Perspective” *LASA Forum* (Fall 2023: 24-33).
- *Omar Encarnación, “The Gay Rights Backlash: Contrasting Views from the United States and Latin America,” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (Nov 2020: 654–665).
- *Gisela Zaremborg, “Feminism and Conservatism in Mexico,” *Politics & Gender* (March 2020: 19-25).
- *Stephanie Rousseau, “Antigender Activism in Peru and Its Impact on State Policy,” *Politics & Gender* (March 2020: 25-32).

Weeks 14-16: Mon 11/25, Mon 12/2, Wed 12/4, Mon 12/9 – Student Presentations

****Essay #3 is due one week after your presentation via Canvas & hard copy!****

Final papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date (highly preferable) or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Canvas page.

Important Notes:

Potentially Useful Websites

Seton Hall Library Resource Guide (excellent): <http://library.shu.edu/latam>

Daily News Round-Up in Latin America: <http://latinamericadailybriefing.blogspot.com/>

Lots of Latin America links: <http://lanic.utexas.edu/>

Economic Data for Latin America: <http://www.eclac.org/default.asp?idioma=IN>

Weekly Caribbean News Round-Up): <https://caribbeannewsupdates.blogspot.com/>

Latin American News (focus on security and migration): <https://adamisacson.com/>

Academic Integrity

● 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 and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:

www.shu.edu/documents/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf

www.shu.edu/diplomacy/academic-conduct.html

- Presenting content from AI tools, such as ChatGPT, as if it were one's own is a new form of academic dishonesty and will be treated as such. Please be aware that AI tools are unreliable and that their use may stifle your own creativity and development of your own cognitive skills.
- Resources for academic integrity are on the course Canvas page.
- Use of electronic devices for non-class purposes is not appropriate during class time. It distracts other students and the professor and will result in a lowered grade.

CAPS

If you find yourself struggling with your physical or mental health this semester, please feel free to approach me. I try to be flexible and accommodating. As part of our commitment to the health and well-being of all students, Seton Hall University's Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers initial assessments, counseling, crisis intervention, consultation, and referral services to the SHU community. The CAPS office is located on the second floor of Mooney Hall, room 27. Appointments can be made in-person or by calling 973-761-9500 during regular business hours, Monday-Friday, 8:45 a.m. - 4:45 p.m. In case of a psychological emergency, call CAPS (973-761-9500) at any time to speak to a crisis counselor. For more information, please visit: <https://www.shu.edu/counseling-psychologicalservices/index.cfm>

Disability Services Statement

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Policy on Incompletes

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request to the professor before the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing coursework within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.