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Diplomacy Syllabi

School of Diplomacy and International
Relations

Spring 2023

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

Benjamin Goldfrank Ph.D.

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Seton Hall University: Spring 2023
DIPL 3850 / Core 3850: Church, State, and Politics in Latin America
Tuesdays & Thursdays, 9:30–10:45 (AA) & 2:00–3:15 (AB), Muscarelle (SH) 208

Professor: Benjamin Goldfrank
Student Hours: Tues, 11-12; Thurs, 3:30-5:30 (in person or Teams), & by appointment
Student Hours Sign-Up: tinyurl.com/GoldfrankStudentHours
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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.
2. Two essays based on the readings (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.

Important Notes:

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. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:

< <https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf> >

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

Resources for academic integrity are on the course Blackboard 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.

Citation Style

Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date (highly preferable) or Notes and Bibliography. See guidelines on Blackboard.

Late 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/family emergency.

CAPS

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.

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

Required Readings:

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

Week 1: Thu 1/19 – Class Introduction: Religion and Politics Today

- *Eduardo Campos Lima, “Black Lives Matter is inspiring demonstrations all over Latin America,” *America Magazine* (June 22, 2020): <https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2020/06/22/black-lives-matter-movement-latin-america-protests>).
- *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/>).
- *Maria Antonia Montes and Savarni Sanka, “In Nicaragua, Crackdown on Religious Actors Further Imperils Return to Democracy,” *United States Institute of Peace Analysis* (Oct 7, 2022: 6 pages).
- *Sharon Kuruvilla, “Catholicism's Civil War Spills into Bolivia,” *Foreign Policy* (Dec. 1, 2019: 4 pgs.).

Week 2: Tue 1/24, Thu 1/26 – 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).
- *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).

Week 3: Tue 1/31, Thu 2/2 – 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: Tue 2/7, Thu 2/9 – 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: Tue 2/14, Thu 2/16 – Liberation Theology and its Detractors

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

Hosffiman 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 Hennessey, 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).

Week 6: Tue 2/21, Thu 2/23 – Father Camilo Torres and "Revolutionary Priests"

****Essay #1 is due on Thursday for Peer Review; Final on Friday****

Gerald Theisen, "The Case of Camilo Torres Restrepo," *Journal of Church & State* 30:1 (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: Tue 2/28 and Thu 3/2 – 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).

*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).

******Spring Break******

Week 8: Tue 3/14, Thu 3/16 – Archbishop Romero & El Salvador's Civil War (Movie: "Romero")

Archbishop Oscar Romero, "The Last Sermon" (1980: 4 pgs.).

Melissa Vida, "One year after his canonization, is St. Óscar Romero still 'the people's saint' in El Salvador?" *America Magazine* (Oct. 14, 2019: 6 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 9: Tue 3/21, Thu 3/23 – 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 Tuesday to read for Thursday:

*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).

*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).
- *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).
- *Raimundo Barreto, “Racism and Religious Intolerance: A Critical Analysis of the Coloniality of Brazilian Christianity,” *Mission Studies* (Nov 2021: 398-423).
- *John Burdick, “Why is the Black Evangelical Movement Growing in Brazil?” *Journal of Latin American Studies* (May 2005: 311-332).

Week 10: Tue 3/28, Thu 3/30 – 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).
- 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).
- *Alfred Stepan, “Religion, Democracy, and the ‘Twin Tolerations,’” *Journal of Democracy* (Oct 2000: 37-57).

Week 11: Tue, 4/4 (no class Thu 4/6) – Religion and Contemporary Politics #2

****Essay #2 is due on Tuesday for Peer Review; Final on Wednesday****

- 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/>)
- *Carlos GSM Smiderle and Wania AB Mesquita, “Political Conflict and Spiritual Battle: Intersections between Religion and Politics among Brazilian Pentecostals,” *Latin American Perspectives* (May 2016: 85-103).
- *Héctor Martínez-Ramírez, “Pentecostal expansion and political activism in Puerto Rico,” *Caribbean Studies* (January-June 2005: 113-147).

Week 12: Tue 4/11, Thu 4/13 – Religion and Contemporary Politics #3

Daniel Levine, “What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America,” CLALS Working Paper N. 11 (March 2016: 2-16).

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, “The COVID-19 Pandemic and the Ongoing Genocide of Black and Indigenous Peoples in Brazil,” *International Journal of Latin American Religions* (Nov 2020: 417-439).

*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: Tue 4/18, Thu 4/20 – Religion and Contemporary Politics #4

Flávia Biroli and Mariana Caminotti, “The Conservative Backlash Against Gender in Latin America,” *Politics & Gender* (March 2020: 1-6).

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).

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).

*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/>)

*Gisela Zaremberg, “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).

*Any of the other articles noted by Biroli and Caminotti on the backlash against gender.

Weeks 14-15: Tue 4/25, Thu 4/27, Tue 5/2, Thu 5/4 – Student Presentations

****Essay #3 is due one week after your presentation via Blackboard Safe Assign & hard copy; earlier is welcome!****

More Important Notes:

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 accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) 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 course work 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.