

## **Religion & Politics: The Forces of Globalization**

### **presented by Fr. Claude Pomerleau, CSC 11/16/16**

Charlie G.: Good evening. I'm Father Charlie Gordon, and that is Dr. Karen Eifler. We are the directors of the Garaventa Center for Catholic Intellectual Life and American Culture here at the University of Portland. This is the coming attractions portion of our program this evening. I think many of you will be aware that there's a fascinating play called, "Mad Forest" by Caryl Churchill. It's a main stage production of the University of Portland happening in the Mago Hunt theater these days.

On Saturday at 6:15 all ticket holders for the play that evening will be most welcome to attend a wine and cheese reception and panel discussion about the play free. That takes place in the Mago Hunt recital hall just across the corridor from the theater itself. We do one of these for every main stage production at the university. It involves wine and cheese, but also a panel of three university of Portland experts who talk about the play from the perspectives of their own disciplines and each of them is given exactly eight minutes. It's great fun. Dr. Eifler is very strict about keeping them to eight minutes which is difficult for some of them who are accustomed to discoursing at greater length. We find that when folks come along for one of these evenings, they see a different play than they would've seen otherwise, so that's coming up this Saturday.

After that, the Garaventa Center kind of changes mood and takes a more contemplative mood as we enter into the great liturgical season of Advent and our keynote event during that period is *Visio Divina* which is a meditative form of prayer based on contemplation of the beautiful artwork imagery from *The Saint John's Bible* of which the University of Portland is very privileged to have a copy. The first calligraphed bible in 500 years. Those special prayer services happen in the Chapel of Christ the Teacher on Wednesdays at 12:45pm starting on November 30th.

If you have friends who would have like to have been here this evening, but were unable to, we are going to have a podcast of Father Claude's talk which will be available in a couple of days and of course, you're also free to listen to it again in case you miss any of the finer points. There is a sheet over on that table over there where if you are a K through 12 teacher, you can sign up for PDU's, Profession Development Units by special arrangement with the University of Portland school of education. If you're a teacher, that's a big deal. You can sign up for those and if you do, they'll be all sent into the mail to you probably tomorrow morning so be aware of that. You can also sign up, if you'd like, for our podcasts and newsletter, things like that.

I have the privilege of introducing our speaker this evening. I first met Father Claude Pomerleau 35 years ago when he was my first spiritual director, when I was a newly minted seminarian. At that time he was already a professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. He is now a political science professor emeritus of the University of Portland. Obviously, with 35 years of friendship, I could say a lot about Father Claude, but this isn't the time or place to talk about him as a faithful priest and religious of the congregation of Holy Cross. Nor really as a teacher, as a renowned mentor of generations of fine students and young academics that have passed through

his care and encouragement or of his musicianship, or his love of the arts, or of his passion for movies. It is a really appropriate time and place to mention that in my experience, I've never met anybody who can match the incandescent intellectual curiosity that has characterized Father Claude over the decades. Also, a passion for politics. Particularly Latin-American politics in which he has been not only a scholar, but also an actor.

One of our favorite quotations at the Garaventa center comes surprisingly enough from the German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche who said that, "Nothing of substance can be achieved without a long discipline in a single direction."

Here this evening we are going to experience a kind of example of such a long passionate discipline. It's my great pleasure to introduce to you and ask you to welcome freshly returned from explaining the American presidential election to the Chileans, Father Claude Pomerleau.

Claude P.: Thank you. It's likely that my presentation is going to say more about me than you could possibly say. It's very self-revelatory. I should start out by saying, "Salam Alaikum".

Thank you, great, and God be with you.

The title has slightly changed. I gave the title, "Religion and Politics: Globalization and Liberation: The French Connection," because that makes it more personal for me and some of my students here will know why that is. Former congressman Tip O'Neill was famously quoted as saying, "All politics is local". After years of contact with Latin-American church personnel and members of religious communities throughout Mexico, Central America, and the Southern Cone countries of Latin America, I would also like to add that all religion is also local with a nod to Cardinal Kasper. In spite of all the claims the universality with Cardinal Ratzinger.

Tonight, I share with you how I was first introduced to a group of motivated idealists. Missionaries who were also religious professionals from France. These French missionaries professionals of the 1960s volunteered to spend you to several decades of their lives living in foreign nations far from their home, land, and culture. Having to learn a new language and adapting to new customs, they went with a vision to change their lives, update their church, maybe even renew the politics of their new home. It is now 50 years since I began my studies of Latin America and entered into the world of a group of notable religious revolutionaries.

I came in contact with these ambitious and idealistic missionaries in the early 1970s as I began my own academic life and they were ending their Latin-American journeys and returning to their more traditional and structured ministries in France. Their unique experience based on their origins and visions on their education and religious and national values, their hopes and frustrations had a big impact on my way of understanding politics and church state relations in Latin America ... As well as my personal vision and my hopes and my formation.

I belong to a group of religious professionals that believe in both the missionary of vocation as a universal call to care for all people in the world in which they live. As well as a specific call to respond to a local need what might be called a hands-on approach to missionary work in a specific locality.

As a reader of Jim Holt, the popular science writer and author of popular perspectives on the universe ... "Why does the world exist?", is his book. He recently reviewed a book that re-images space and time in scientific theories about everything. I discovered that he too is fascinated by time honored notion among many physicists that all action is ultimately local. So-called principle of locality. As he tells it quote, "The world consists of separately existing physical objects. These objects can directly affect one another only when they come into contact," end quote.

However, according to George Musser, author of "Spooky Actions at a Distance," there is an ongoing debate about those that defend locality, and others with an opposite view who believe that the world basically consists of non-local connections. The debate begun by Einstein and Bohr by the way. The defenders of locality looked down on non-locality as voodoo physics, the refuge of the old cult. Einstein called it, "Spooky action at a distance". Since nothing ever seems to be settled in physics, as in religion, and I am obviously not a physicist and not much of a theologian either. I am daring to compare this metaphor of science to the world of the Latin-American missionary experience. I use this reference to physics as perhaps a lighthearted introduction to the topic of missionaries and their influence.

When I was young I was encouraged to pray for the conversion of the Chinese and of the Soviet Union. That's religious action at a distance by the way. Murray Gell-Mann, a famous physicist dismisses such action at a distance as, "a flurry of flat doo-doo". I love these expressions. When I joined Holy Cross, the missionary in our community, all the new recruits were encouraged to consider an additional call to be a missionary. Such a specialized call could mean physically moving to Asia, Africa, or even Chile in Peru, in Latin America. The task of this new physical locality was designed to make new converts or to strengthen the old ones to build new schools, or to teach an existing ones, and to prevent protestant end roads and even oppose communists whenever necessary.

We all agreed that prayer was not enough. Even though we didn't know the hell Gell-Mann was, we might have agreed to action at a distance which was just such a flurry of flat doo-doo. The French missionaries were all familiar with and admired the spiritual writings of Therese of Lisieux, "The Story of a Soul". You may have heard of it. Her autobiography which was instrumental in having her canonized by Pius the Eleventh as well as making her patron of Vatican gardens and flowers, thus she is called, "Little Flower", as well as patron of missionaries. She was also named co-patron of France along with Joan of Arc.

This saint who wished to become a missionary herself, she died of TB at 24, deeply believed in quote, "Action at a distance", end quote. She was a major inspiration to the French missionaries who worked to transform the Latin-American churches. A continent that they considered to be willfully evangelized. I will return to these missionaries in the

context of my own studies. They were shaped in the spirituality of action at a distance, but also came to believe deeply and personally in the mission of locality.

My teaching, research, and publication on the politics of Latin America began with my initial research for my dissertation on the foreign missionary dimension within the Catholic communities of the Latin-American church. Additional research into the domestic sources of Latin-American formed policies brought me back to my original research on church and state relations from Mexico to Chile, Argentina to Brazil. The relationship of religious institutions with the policies in economic and economies of Latin America that I soon discovered, were indeed subtle and complex. If some considered them to be a flurry of flat doo-doo, many lives and institutions were nevertheless deeply influenced and affected.

Before turning to the more salient and evolving religious forces and dynamics affecting policies of selected Latin-American countries, I went to make a small detour with the observations about the renewed academic in policy focused on the role of religion in the world of global politics in general, and for Latin-American politics in particular. I see Renee bobbing his head back there.

I will briefly fast forward to the growing discipline of religion in global politics. As ethnic religious conflicts began transforming our understanding of the politics of Asia in the Middle East, and as religious organizations became more directly involved in the process of conflict resolution and peacemaking the academic world of international relations in foreign policy analysis began to pay attention.

When I studied international relations in the 1970s at the University of Denver, the role of religion in global politics was considered to be nothing more than a source of wars and violent confrontations. From the wars of religion in the 17th century to the Balkans, Middle East and Africa in the 20th century. Scholarship in the past 20 years has reexamined the positive role of religion in peacemaking and conflict resolution. South Africa, Chile, and El Salvador. Human rights in Israel, Rwanda, and Sri Lanka. In [inaudible 00:16:46] the bishops on the Columbia basin, *Laudato Si'* of Pope Francis, et cetera.

Diplomacy, Vatican intervention in the near war between Argentina and Chile, the border conflict. Research groups in diplomacy and international relations as well. One of the academic centers specializing in the role of religion in I.R., is the University of Notre Dame. The Mellon Initiative in religion across the disciplines sponsored an interdisciplinary group of scholars with projects in numerous U.S. and European universities including DePaul and Princeton, and U.C. San Diego and a number of other places. These have all had a big influence in my own understanding of that area.

Two recent books that I consider to be an original source for reinterpreting the extended limits of religion in this case, liturgy, to society and political policy are, "Theopolitical Imagination", and, "Torture and Eucharist" by William T. Cavanaugh. This may be familiar to a few of you. "Torture and Eucharist" has become a religious [inaudible 00:17:58] for those in Latin America and Africa trying to explain the role of religion in

torture, murder, and disappearances of political prisoners and opponents. Cavanaugh colleagues define the false Catholicity of globalization. It tried to identify and critique the religious fault lines below the surface of global politics. Among Cavanaugh's colleagues are numerous Muslim scholars and others who are applying the same analytical tools to explain how globalized capitalism has become a form of neocolonialism. Thoroughly penetrating the Muslim world with the arrival of five star Hilton hotels and top of the line McDonalds.

I now return to the world of Latin-American religious politics of the 1960s and 1970s. Some of you here were not yet alive. You'd have to be in your 50s at that time, or perhaps only recently arrived in that polarized world when human rights were rediscovered. This began under president Jimmy Carter in the 1970s and was immediately followed by president Reagan in the 1980s with that oft quoted slogan of, "Morning in America". That slogan, that period, was unfortunately overlaid with evil empires and those armed terrorists known as Contras.

For my part, under dark shadow of the Cold War in anti-communist crusades of Latin America, I was beginning to study Spanish in Mexico, traveling to Chile, and finishing my dissertation while preparing to travel to Venezuela, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. "Join Holy Cross and see the world," we say.

My motive for discovering Latin America was to study a select group of French missionaries and to evaluate their roles in the cauldron of Latin-American politics in religion. This book, some of you may be familiar, Mark Lilla, "The Stillborn God: Religion, Politics, and the Modern West". A very interesting introduction to that topic.

The next part I call, "Hope in the Time of Global Capitalism," Gabriel Garcia Marquez approaches the challenges of Latin-American society in his novel, "Love in the Time of Cholera" I give the title of "Hope in the Time of Global Capitalism," to the following evaluation of the mission of French missionaries that transformed the Latin-American churches where they chose to serve.

Religion in secular institutions have been adapting to shifting basis of power in Latin America from the colonial era with the domination of the Catholic church followed by the political struggles for independence in the 19th century. Then, came the struggle for separation of church and state well into the 20th century. Now, Latin-American nations face a new phase in which economics pushed by globalization with the shape of the Washington consensus and with its numerous free market trade deals, dominates the ideological landscape. The response to failed attempts at expanding popular participation and democratizing popular institutions has included political populist demagogues like Peron and Chavez, a bureaucratic authoritarianism like the repressive military Fuentos of Brazil, of General Pinochet of Chile, and generals Videla and Galtieri of Argentina.

The military in Brazil staged one of the first violent anticommunist whose opening the floodgates to bureaucratic authoritarianism. In 1964 Argentina had been and may still be alternating between partial democracy to exclude the peronist party or parts of it

and military dictatorship since the overthrow of Juan Peron in 1954. When social unrest and political economic decline became critical, Chile and Uruguay at that time appeared to be islands of tranquility in surrounding sea of military dictatorship. That illusion would soon change.

By the early 1970s social and political turmoil transformed both of these two legendary southern cone democracies and ushered in a period of brutal and repressive dictatorship.

So, that's the contexts. The 40 French Priests that I interviewed were distributed throughout South America from Venezuela to Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile. They were mostly in their late 30s and 40s. They had been ordained during or soon after world war two to work in the post-war chaos of French parishes from [foreign language 00:23:38]. They had all served in the French military in Algeria or in Vietnam, then known as Cochinchina. The French invasion of and conquest of these two areas of Africa and Asia, was considered by French missionaries to be neo-colonial military invasion under the nefarious category of the civilizing and exceptional mission of their country.

The French missionaries were sponsored by a French Diocese in society. The mission of France founded in the early 20th century. It was founded that trained and assigned French missionaries to all corners of the globe. Latin American was a major gem in that missionary crown. They had been shaped by that public self-image of French culture, the civilizing mission, for the U.S. equivalence of that. For the political religious missionary ideology shaping protest and evangelical efforts as well as Catholics, we would probably refer to American exceptionalism. After examining the origins and impact of their own national self identity, most missionaries appeared to have concluded that this civilizing mission was neither civilizing nor exceptional. In fact, it was a similar formula that motivated 300 hundred years of Spanish and Portuguese Colombianism. These French Missionaries searched for new religious formulas that were suitable alternative formulas to those introduced by the previous colonial presence in French privilege.

There's a part here, the French dominated all of the religious formation in Latin America during the first half of the 20th century, the end of the 19th century, just amazing. People don't often recognize that, but schools, education, all were dominated by the French and seminaries as well. These formulas were engineered to be both indigenous and related in some positive way to the local religious cultures as the French missionaries saw it. An important actor in their missionary education was Monsignor Ivan Illich, published scholar linguist, and yes, member of my own dissertations matter of fact. He was equally influential in my own education. Ivan Illich and Ivan Vallier sociologist at U.C. of Santa Cruz, expert on Catholicism in Latin America joined my dissertation director John McEmmet to convince me that carefully analyzing this compact group of missionaries would be a useful introduction to the study of Latin-American politics.

This approach, it was suggested, would be similar to a careful analysis of a drop of water for understanding the larger universe. In this case, the drop of water was the French

missionary and the universe considered the consistent of the changing politics in society in Latin America. This group of missionaries and their strategies would help me to understand and interpret this unique influence on the church state relations of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. This group of French missionaries all passed through the controversial research center language institute of Ivan Illich known as CIDOC in Cuernavaca, Mexico. Here, missionaries from Europe and North America were sent to learn Spanish and Latin-American customs. The controversial part was Illich's policy of radicalizing the participants of that institute.

We disciples of Illich [inaudible 00:27:39] and Lei North Americans and Europeans, believers and doubters, were encouraged to shed the traditional understand of quote, "Saving the Latin-American church," end quote and nod to the agents of the civilizing mission of France. Most French missionaries were ready to opt for a more radical, sacramental approach that was common, if controversial, among French and Latin-American theologians in particular [foreign language 00:28:11] and in Latin America theologians such as [ foreign language 00:28:21].

These ideological ideas in [inaudible 00:28:28] help formed the priest worker movement. It was shared by many European priests and some French Canadians as well in the 30s and 40s. They were the precursors for the radical understanding of the Eucharist as the sacramental presence of Jesus among all suffering peoples of the universe. It's a reference to "Tortured and Eucharist" of Cavanaugh. The French missionaries became a center of significant pastoral intervention in most Latin-American countries where they work. They worked as a force a change. They chose to operate in defined by relatively broad areas of pastoral activity. They directed their religious and social strategies towards areas directly related to workers, especially the younger employed and unemployed. To disenfranchise peasants, they encouraged laypeople associated with their mission to assume responsibility for a wide range of church related social ministries. For this, they organized workshops to prepare laypeople for their new administrative task. These strategies were eventually formalized as basic ecclesial communities in [inaudible 00:29:53] right Renee?

These missionaries hope to eventually establish a network of sensitive lay leaders trained in Catholic Social doctrine and in basic organizational techniques. They processed their pastoral approach through local indigenous traditions, especially in Chile, Peru, and Brazil, but always maintained that these local traditions were inseparable from the universal or global church community.

In order to achieve these pastoral transformations, these missionaries changed their own personal spirituality with the help of the theological sources and experiences similar to those used by the priest worker movement in France and which were vigorously debated in second Vatican council. Even so, they were not united on how to achieve these goals. They clashed with diocese and authorities, often became isolated from national church authorities. In countries like Chile and Brazil however, French missionaries were instrumental in forming national Episcopal conferences, but in Argentina, where a dramatically different church state experience dominated, they were excluded and isolated from decision-making.

Manual labor took on a sacred dimension and became a powerful symbol for these missionaries. However, they attributed this sacred character to the worker and to the working class instead of attributing it to work as such. They placed this emphasis on the sacredness of workers in the context Latin-American society which considered workers to be inferior human beings. Gentleman did not work. It was and still is the case that well-paid manual workers leave their jobs to work with less pay in more respectable clerical tasks with higher status. Manual labor also gave the missionaries independence and self confidence with a clerical culture of dependence and obedience through higher authorities.

Although the French missionaries represented a long and influential missionary tradition, they departed for men in several ways. They took great care to understand the implications and effects of the new pastoral strategies they hope to establish. They worked hard to avoid imposing foreign religious formulas on Latin-American churches. By rethinking the theology and carefully analyzing their pastoral approaches, they responded with various degrees of success to the problems of missionary dependence, religious festivity, lack of local indigenous clergy, and the need for careful evaluation of pastoral strategies.

By the early 1970s, the French missionaries became increasingly marginal to the social and religious developments of Latin-American church communities. Many bishops dismissed French missionaries as harbingers of protestant churches whose leaders gain support among formerly Catholic communities in working class populations in [inaudible 00:33:25]. As the growth of Pentecostal churches from the U.S. increased, many Catholic church authorities, even those who were sympathetic to theology of liberation, considered the strategies of priest workers and Pentecostals to be of the same cloth. Undermining traditional colonial impositions, especially European and North American Catholic traditions.

I conclude, more or less, the French missionaries became a part of the powerful religious and political occurrence transforming Latin America. They say their radical reinterpretation of the religious role of ecclesiastical institutions as a contribution to Democratic trends in Latin America. Many traditional church leaders disagreed with this. Conservative political leaders in the military wanted to stop them and did so, expelled them from their respective territories and countries, those that eventually escaped torture and death.

The impact of tradition religion on society is profound and its influence on institution is more complex than ever. The traditional haul of Catholic bishops on their members has changed the hold of Catholicism on public policy. Pentecostal church groups like the universal of the kingdom of God, a homophobic anti-Catholic and anti-social church in Brazil, founded by the uncle of the new mayor of Rio De Janiero, Marcelo Crivella and the Pentecostal Methodist Church of Chile where general Pinochet traditionally celebrated [foreign language 00:35:17], have changed the religious dynamics throughout Latin America.



The growth of these Pentecostal churches has not followed a defined political path. Some members who were traditional and apolitical have recently and energetically entered the political realm as mayors, governors, senators, and congressional representatives. Others continued to be socially and religiously traditional and ultra conservative.

However, unlike the strategy of priest workers, they have not yet developed collective and coordinated strategies across national borders. The approval of Pope Francis for the strategies of theology of liberation and his reservations about unbridled level capitalism suggests that the priest worker and liberation theology strategies might be entering a new stage of giving glory to God in the evolving role of Latin-American Catholicism.

I hope in this presentation to help establish a link between the French missionaries of the mission of France with Judeo Christian political history. For me, this represents a political history energized by an ongoing tension between prophecy and priesthood. Even today, the dynamics of prophecy renews the system and organize priesthood subdues these prophetic intrusions through institutional continuity. The fulcrum that maintains a creative tension between priesthood and prophecy in western Catholicism is the sacramental system with the Eucharist at its pinnacle. I don't believe that the Vatican has ever played this role. The Pope as bishop of Rome plays an indispensable priestly role by assembling priests and prophets in a counsel but does not as a priestly bureaucrat always play a transforming prophetic role.

The French missionaries represented a focused defragmented group of missionary prophets. They were also self-confident representatives of a prophetic priesthood. They embodied through their lives that tension between the creative and always unnecessary controversial relation with the parishes and territories in which they serve. They mirrored a similar tension which was playing out in violent ways between the new class of bureaucrats, industrialists and landowners and with the growing disenfranchisement of workers and farmers. The dichotomy was accentuated by the coordination of global markets as directed by Washington, also known as the Washington consensus. Transformed today into the latest if somewhat tentative version of the TTP.

This kind of pervasive and unbridled globalization of Latin-American economies improvised impoverished and marginalized those with whom the French missionaries lived and worked. The social explosions resulting from these destructive inequalities resulted in a new version of personalized dictatorships from peronism then to chavismo now and fostered the renewal of colonial exploitation through bureaucratic authoritarianism. Embodied and established through the military coups of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.

The French missionaries were both pawns and [inaudible 00:39:15], revolutionaries and traditionalists, it is still unfolding [inaudible 00:39:22].

Thank you.

Charlie G.: Father Claude, be happy to entertain some questions. All folks are thinking maybe I

could ask one, let's get us started.

What do you regard as the most enduring legacy of those French missionary priests in the Latin-American church?

Claude P.: I know what they expected their legacy to be. They entered into working groups and celebrated the Eucharist. As well as low mimeograph things to organize the workers. For them, that was the connection their legacy and I think I would say that the new pope, who is Latin-American has seen that, that is probably the only way the Latin-American masses will ever be regained into an authentic Christianity. The vast majority go to church but have no concept whatsoever to have their own indigenous spiritualities and they've never been evangelized. Their intention was to re-evangelize. I think they showed a method of doing it and that method is surviving, I think ... Will survive in their new form. I don't what that form [inaudible 00:40:55]

Charlie G.: Who else would like to ask a question?

Yes, Charlie.

Speaker 3: Throughout the history of the church and religious life, especially in our own community Brothers have obviously had a very strong worker role more so even in priest. Did brothers have any kind of role in this movement at all in Latin America? Were religious brothers a significant [crosstalk 00:41:23] ...

Claude P.: Yeah, you've just opened a door. If I had planted you I wouldn't have been able to do it better. The priest who was a head of our elite high school Saint George's where I worked for a while ... But the military intervened. They intervened because Jerry Willan was introducing work to the students of the rich.

In fact, he brought in animals and planted gardens at this rich elite schools, one of the most elite in Latin America. The only college that was intervened by the military was at Holy Cross College Saint George's. It was specifically because of this Jerry Willan study at CIDOC and wasn't into that but he was seen as the worst of the theology of liberation of the priests because he was valuing work for these young rich kids.

I think that's why our school is so outstanding with Chileans. They continue to attract elite who believe that this is something that needs to be brought into their home.

The brothers that do this ... We did have a few brothers but they were [inaudible 00:42:45] Judah brothers, that's a distinction that they weren't in schools.

They did more of that in Peru and in Africa later, subsequently.

Yes?

Speaker 4: I wonder if you'd talk a little about the indigenous movements, the empowerment movements of the indigenous people who were trying to do things like reclaim land and

how maybe the French priests had any kind of connection-

Claude P.: Because the indigenous movement had not yet taken on a consciousness in the 50s and 60s when they were at the height. I was interviewing them, about 40 of them at the time when they were really coming to an end in what they had done.

The indigenous movements have started with a different radicalization in every country but Chile, which I know best of all. What happened is, the Mapuches were given their land by Allende in the 1960s and Allende was overthrown by military coups in '73. He started that in '69, '70, '71, '72 and even Frei before him had done some of that. Giving some of the land back to the Indians, the Mapuche [inaudible 00:44:08] use the word Indians ... The indigenous Mapuches and with the military coup, Pinochet took that land away and arrested the Mapuches and got rid of them and now the governments are trying to give it back to them.

That process of having their land given back to them briefly, taken away, and then now again being given to them has motivated them to organize. So, they've linked in with indigenous movements in Canada, the United States, and other parts of Latin America but in Mexico, the revolution in Mexico is also really energized. Some indigenous movements certainly in [inaudible 00:44:51] in [inaudible 00:44:55]. The [inaudible 00:44:56] is very simple.

The recent development of indigenous groups organizing PSU as a matter of fact, has got some connections with various indigenous groups in Mexico that are very interesting so because I know you [inaudible 00:45:12] ...

It's a very slow and complicated ... the missionaries did not enter into that as a organized ... Because they weren't organized at the time so their contact would've been with the working class because they came from a France that had been de-Christianized, loss of workers and they bring that desire to go back with workers to the rural of who didn't have any land, the landless peasants, many of whom. So it depends where there's Brazil, Argentina is very different, Chile and Peru, Uruguay. I studied mostly Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile. In some of the 70s when I was doing my interviews, I was serving the [inaudible 00:46:14] was forbidding his priests to go into ... Was not defending the priests who were being arrested by the military coup.

He has talked about this very openly and said how wrong he was and how he has learned from this so it's very [inaudible 00:46:33].

Speaker 5: Thank you so much for the presentation. I was going to ask a few quick questions or even just comment. When you talked about that place in institute, in Mexico City. Giving Mexico [inaudible 00:46:50] and all those wonderful guys ... What was the intellectual political theory training, in other words, were those people [inaudible 00:47:00] people like [inaudible 00:47:01] or what his name?

The [inaudible 00:47:06] tradition is pretty heavy in Mexico. So I'm asking you what was the training that you got from the political theorist side, not from the theological side-

Claude P.: Not much at all because we all came with our own political issue. CIDOC was a language school so you learn the language and believe it or not, they were using the manual from the [inaudible 00:47:26] for teaching.

Ivan Illich considered it to be the best manual for learning for three or four people. The idea was, you had to learn the language and all the nuisances, the intricacies of the Spanish language of those that went to Brazil, interestingly enough still study that CIDOC which was the Spanish talking. Ivan and number of the priests who used a combination of French Spanish, and Brazilian, who were working in rural [inaudible 00:48:01] for example which was a very poor rural place of northeast Brazil and were organizing workers, et cetera. The bishops and the hierarchy in Brazil at that time, we're talking 1960s had been very radicalized and they were very much [inaudible 00:48:20] until they were as soon as the subsequent Paul the sixth and John Paul and Benedict, all these bishops were removed or were sidelined by the military in the 60s and the 70s all the way to 1984.

They weren't given any political stuff. They came with their own political theology of liberation which is already shaped by the priest worker [inaudible 00:48:54].

Speaker 5: The second question was in terms of, like mentioned, a renewal potentially the [inaudible 00:48:59] theology movements and all that stuff in Latin America, where do you see it ... Part of the rise of all of that stuff was mentioned like you said, the Washington consensus, the new and improved politics, et cetera.

You've probably heard this joke right? The reason there will never be a coup in the United States is because there's no American Embassy, right?

The point is that lots of times [crosstalk 00:49:25] ... Some of these places and they said, they're dictators because they threw out certain communities and part of the reason they throw those communities out honestly is because they know certain historical realities that we don't. It's sad to say this, but I don't think Latin-Americans can rely on U.S. citizens to stop [inaudible 00:49:44] from doing certain things in Latin American ... Well informed that is the shaping that [inaudible 00:49:51].

What do you see the new movement of rising out of the new places of neo-liberalism that are happening all over the world? What do you see as that?

Claude P.: Well, I don't see much reaction in the church at this point because most of the Bishops who were supportive of this sort of renewal were removed. The people who replaced them and now they're slowly being changed again. This is another issue but it has to do with the important role of the bishop as a pastor with the people.

I just came back from Chile, and Chile is really thrown and they don't realize how damaged the church has been by the pedophile issue. It's much worse in Chile ... It's closer to what happened in Boston perhaps, but really a serious problem.

You have the upper class in Chile that is very much solid with the tradition of Catholicism. You have religious orders like Holy Cross and other orders that have been working in poblaciones. We have a very elite school and we have a [inaudible 00:51:16] school in the poor section.

The problem is you come in you raise the standard in school and the rich immediately come in, they send their kids to the school. We work in poblaciones and we've always done that. The poblaciones went under the military coup, we were targets. In fact, our school was intervened and Pinochet said in the speech, "Holy Cross will never return to Saint George's". The present opening the response is very often through the government of the nation of the particular country to try and figure out how do you balance this in-rush of globalization that is in which materialism and commerce dominates and sort of destroys that values of the rural society.

In Chile, 70% of the clergy are still foreigners. 70% of the clergy are foreign clergy. Spain, United States, and other places. The Latin-American churches are just not producing their leaders and that's why Protestantism is so creative in development because you have a local pastor who is from the people and knows the people and you don't have that in the Catholic church.

I'm hoping that this pope, anything he can do is change the leadership direction in Latin America to become open the way it was in the 1960s when the French [inaudible 00:52:53].

Speaker 6: Father Claude, thank you. You've mentioned a couple of times the Washington consensus which you know better than I, was the child of political scientists grand theorizing, modernization theory. The great rebuttal to modernization theory came from Latin America's dependency theory which was pretty much truncated by the fall of communism right? Dependency theory was associated with communism and I just wonder with all your trips to Latin America, do you have a sense that Latin America will again be a place for intellectually challenging modernization theory and the Washington consensus?

Claude P.: Well, that would be wonderful. You know what's going on now in the democracies like Latin America have an enormous amount of protest taking place. I planned all my trips with an extra hour because I had a meeting with Michelle Bachelet and we were 45 minutes late even though we left a half an hour early from the U.S. Embassy which was right close by because there are protest marches all over. Chile right now is suffering the same thing that most Latin-American countries, the collapse of a lot of the commodities market, so the budget of the government is going to weigh down into the extent that Chile has rather good social services has to cut back on these things. There are protests, enormous protest movement.

Latin-American countries have been dealing with the onrush of globalization. They're not against globalization, but they had to cope with it because, first of all, they didn't initiate so they respond passively to it. Military poses an extreme reaction to the globalization problem. That is fast growth of very rich industrialists and explorers, et

cetera, and marginalization of massive groups of people including indigenous people of the South.

You cope with this as best you can. Democracies have returned to Argentina, to Chile, to Uruguay, to Brazil, everywhere. When the democracy can't handle this and has a hard time because the working class knows they need to organize and make demands of this system when the institutions are not well established so the military steps in and heads roll, and torture, and killings. It's the way they ... In Chile, they're looking at what's happened in the United States and they're saying, "Ah-ha! We thought that this only happened to us because you were pushing the globalization and now it's happening to you and you learned to cope with it because we've been coping with this for 50 years. We didn't even know you had that problem, what a surprise?"

Speaker 5: Can I make a quick point to ... There's two authors that I really strongly recommend. One is a woman named Martha Anniker who is a brilliant political theorist from Latin America. Another is a guy name Istvan Meszaros who wrote a book called, "Beyond Capital". A third, this comes from India but her name is Arundhati Roy. She wrote a book called, "The God of Small Things". She's known as a novelist but she's written a bunch of political theories stuff.

These are two women and a guy that are doing a lot of real [crosstalk 00:56:36] things around how to engage the question of globalization so there really rich theory. We don't often hear of it, but it's there.

Claude P.: There's nothing coordinated. One would've mentioned that eventually maybe some [inaudible 00:56:55] start linking from country to country. We're talking about a space that is much larger than the United States. The United States fits in the Amazon valley. We're talking about huge countries spread out, very underpopulated, very isolated rural areas that has already had an ISIS. Cuba, the reaction, was more violent than ISIS and they did everything ISIS did. Latin America has experienced everything that's happening in the larger world a little sooner.

They are, in a sense, now wondering how they're going to respond to changes in the United States obviously because that's an important thing for them.

Charlie G.: Is there one more question?

Speaker 7: How did the priests who were coming from Germany in the 1960s get along with the priests who were coming from France?

Claude P.: There weren't a lot of ... That's an interesting question. I didn't really cross many German priests at all. There are a few for the German communities in Southern Chile but in 1920, 70% of all Catholic missionaries in the world were French. France has this enormous expansion of missionary activity. Holy Cross is an example of this where young people are 17, 18, 19, 14 years old leave for new France and then go to [inaudible 00:58:38]. In a sense, to represent the great mission of France, the great civilizing mission of France at that time. There was this enormous export because of the church

state conflict in France. If a young, educated, motivated, French youth wanted to serve France, they couldn't do it entering the French government and all work went to the French government.

They became missionaries ... Missionaries saved Valparaiso in 1880 when the Spanish were trying to take that port back because Valparaiso was the port for the entire Pacific [inaudible 00:59:19]. The guy who organizes and saves Valparaiso from the Spanish that want to take back Chile that gained its independence obviously 60 years earlier, was a French missionary.

Charlie G.: I'm sure father Claude would be happy to carry on a conversation with you individually after the talk but for now let's thank our speaker.

Loretta: Let's just spontaneously take a minute. As a political scientist, political science professor, I invite my colleagues in the department of Political science to stand up. Bill and Gary and just acknowledge ... I don't think anyone else is here from our department, but just acknowledge that Claude, you have formed us as the department of political science and I thank political science students, put your hands up, there's got to be a few of you. I think we ought to do this every year because you can't have this be your last lecture. I think you had such a profound influence and you continue to.

I think as a department we just-

Speaker 9: It's not going to be his last day [crosstalk 01:00:28].

Claude P.: You promised me I wouldn't go beyond 2026.

Speaker 9: Well, we're negotiating.

Loretta: If we can just publicly thank you.

Claude P.: Loretta, I love you.