Political scientists have generally associated secularization with the notion of “modernization”, or political development; yet the end of the second millennium has seen the resurgence of the role of religion in politics. From the role of ecclesiastical leadership in ending apartheid in South Africa and promoting the downfall of state communism in Eastern Europe, to the assertion of competing territorial claims and resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East, and judgments in American domestic politics on issues from abortion to the legitimacy of socioeconomic inequality, religio-philosophical perspectives have reasserted their influence on political affairs. Thus, where the theologies of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas were among the most important contributors to Western political theory in the ages past, religious activists and theologians are continuing to make such contributions in response to the challenges associated with modernity.

This course offers a critical examination of one of the most significant and influential currents of such thought today: the theology (or, more accurately, theologies) of liberation. In North America, liberation theology is commonly misapprehended as passé and limited in scope to Latin America. In fact, the roots of liberation theology can be traced back to European philosophers of the crisis of Western modernity at the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, while inspired by the challenges of doing effective ministry in the harsh economic and political realities of Latin America in the 1960s, Latin American liberation theology has both (1) inspired and strengthened numerous variations on its core themes, in the forms of Black theologies, feminist theologies, and, theologies of liberation and change in support of indigenous rights movements, on the one hand; and, on the other, it has (2) come to be drawn into challenging and productive discourse with modernist and postmodernist paradigms of man and the world in the Europe and North America. As we parse the elements that distinguish the political theory of liberation theology from its orthodox predecessors, we will also analyze in non-Christian philosophico-religious settings, such as East Asia, South Africa, and the Middle East, analogues to the Latin American endeavor to marry Marxist-influenced perspectives with philosophico-religious systems of thought that the conventional wisdom has long held to be fundamentally antithetical. We will explore these efforts as they address liberation from oppression along gender, ethnic, and cultural, as well as economic axes.

Our approach will be at once historical and thematic. We will begin by considering how various religious and cultural traditions have conceptualized the relationship between human
life in the material world and the relationship in which men and women live with God or the transcendent. We will analyze how efforts to respond to challenges engendered by socioeconomic change and the challenges of “modernity” gave rise to new bodies of political thought—“theologies of liberation”—beginning with their genesis in the crisis of modernity and the work of the new theologians of 20th century Western Europe through Latin America and their extension to other socio-economic, cultural, and gendered contexts. In each case, we will address and assess the political theory in these perspectives in light of their implications for current debates between modernists and postmodernists, liberals and communitarians, and multiculturalists and their critics.

PREREQUISITES
Students are not required to have any specific familiarity with Latin America, with systematic or liberation theology, or with Marxian or other Western political philosophy, although such knowledge would be helpful.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS
The seminar will meet every Tuesday, from 12:00 noon to 2:50 p.m., and will be held in a combination lecture-discussion format. This requires that all required readings be completed before the dates on which they are to be discussed so that discussions can be wide-ranging and productive. The following items that have been ordered and are available for purchase from the University Bookstore:


Recommended:
Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology: The Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond*, I. B. Tauris (paper)

In case you would like to order the books in advance online, below are links to the texts where

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1 Please note that the Bible that has been ordered are the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) (in English), but students are free to use whatever Bible they might happen have on hand (including Spanish, Korean, or other foreign language versions), provided that they include both the Old and New Testament (and ideally the Apocrypha). I have also posted a link to the NRSV (in English) online on our Groups site.
new or used copies may be ordered online:

Readings that are included in the reader available from University Readers\(^2\) are required and are indicated with an (R); other availabilities are as indicated. All materials will also be available on reserve, including the reader. Electronic materials (internet articles) will be available on the Yahoo Group site for the class (see below). Readings listed as “Recommended” (see below under Grading) will be available through E-reserves only. The Qurān and the Lotus Sutra, the primary text of Mahayana Buddhism (the prevalent form of Buddhism in China and Japan)\(^3\) will also be placed on Reserve at Geisel Library for those who wish to consult them.

Attendance is required at all class meetings,\(^4\) and all students are expected to participate actively. In order to give us more opportunity to discuss the course material, I have created a group for the class on Yahoo Groups at: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/libtheo2018. Please subscribe to the group by sending an email message from your preferred e-mail address (not necessarily your @ucsd.edu email address) to: mailto:libtheo2016-subscribe@yahoogroups.com. If you do not already have a Yahoo ID, you will want to establish one by logging onto our site and registering there. This will get you a free Yahoo e-mail account, which you are not obliged to use at all, but which means that you will have a Yahoo ID (what precedes the @ in the free e-mail address). You can access the group then by going directly to our group site and logging in there with your Yahoo ID and password. Then, you can click on “Edit my Membership” to specify another e-mail address that you consult more frequently, if you like. You are encouraged to begin taking advantage of this wonderful resource immediately, posting messages with questions, answering questions posted by other students, or just engaging in informal discussion of the course material online. As long as appropriate etiquette and standards of civility are observed in all online exchanges, the list will be un-moderated, so that your contributions can be posted immediately.

A short proposal for the final paper (5 pp.) will be due on Monday, April 30, at 5:00 p.m. via email to Dr. Hoston at ghoston@ucsd.edu), and a final paper will be due on Saturday, June 9, at 5:00 p.m. submitted via e-mail to Professor Hoston at ghoston@ucsd.edu. In both instances, the

\(^2\) Readers will be available for purchase at http://www.universityreaders.com/ the first week of class. University Readers can also be reached by telephone at 858.552.1120 and is located close to campus on Sorrento Valley Road.

\(^3\) The Burton Watson translation of the Lotus Sutra is available online at the following URL: http://buddhism.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http://www.sgi%2Dusa.org/buddhism/library/Buddhism/LotusSutra/. This site also has links on basics of Buddhism, etc. The Qurān (English translation by A. Yusuf Ali) is available online at: http://wings.buffalo.edu/sa/muslim/quran/yali/. I have also posted each link to our site, so you can go to the group site and click on it to go to the Sutra or Qurān from there. I have also requested to have placed on reserve at Geisel library both the Soothill translation of the Lotus Sutra (The Lotus of the Wonderful Law), and the English translation of the Qurān by Muhammad Asad, (The Message of the Qurān), which is highly praised for its clarity and poetic style...

\(^4\) The exception to this rule is in case of illness. If you are ill, please do not come to class and expose others to your illness. When you have recovered, simply bring a doctor's note to verify your illness. If you anticipate missing class for some other reason, please notify the instructor in advance.
paper topics will be distributed in class and available online at our class website as well (http://groups.yahoo.com/group/libtheo2016). Both papers will be thought pieces based solely on materials assigned for this course and class lectures. The final paper will give you the opportunity to select two or more of the cases of liberation theology that we have studied. Although all students must complete all the required readings, you should try to incorporate one or more of the recommended readings listed for the cases that you choose to treat in your final.

**SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND LECTURE TOPICS**

**Week 1: (Apr 2) Course Introduction: Political Theory, Theology, and Ideology: An Analytical Framework**

**Required Readings:**

In *The Holy Bible* read and/or review:

- *Genesis*, chaps. 1-17 (18-27 optional), 28, 32-48, 50:15-26 (The Creation narratives, and the Covenant with Abraham that is the shared root of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam)
- The Gospel according to *Mark*
- *Romans* 4-5


**Recommended Readings for Students Desiring More Biblical Background:**

*The Gospel according to *Luke*

*1 Samuel* chaps. (1-15), 16-24, 2 *Samuel* 7: 4-29 (The Covenant with David)

*Isaiah* 9, 11

The Apostle’s and Nicene Creeds (Available in “Files” Section at group site)

The Athanasian Creed (available online at: [http://www.ccel.org/creeds/athanasian.creed.html](http://www.ccel.org/creeds/athanasian.creed.html))

**PART I. THE POLITICAL THEORY OF ORTHODOX JUDAIC AND CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS**

**Week 2: (Apr 9) Paradigms, Paradigmatic Change, and the Development of Roman Catholic Orthodoxy on Church, Society, and Politics**

The Exodus as Model of Liberation and Revolution and The Reformation and the Hegelian Paradigm of History

**Required Readings:**

Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, pp. 10-22 (Reader)
*Marx on the History of His Opinions,” and “The Manifesto of the Communist Party,” in *Robert C. Tucker, Marx-Engels Reader*


*Also Read and/or Review:*
*Exodus* 1-25
*Daniel* chaps. 1-3

*Recommended Readings:*
*Hebrews* 8-11 (on the Old and New Covenants)

PT II. MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY, AND THE EMERGENCE OF THEOLOGIES OF LIBERATION

Week 3:  (Apr 16) The Threefold Challenge of Marxism: The Critique of Religion, Capitalism, and the Capitalist State

*Required Readings:*
Miranda, “Christianity Is Communism,” from José Porfírio Miranda, *Communism in the*

Miranda, Being and the Messiah, chaps. 1-2, 4, 7, 9

Review:


Recommended Readings:


**Week 4: (Apr 23)** The Crisis of 20th-Century Modernity and the Emergence of a New Theological Paradigm

**Required Readings:**


Schillebeeckx, *The Language of Faith*, chaps. 5, 6 (Reader)

Roberto Oliveras, “The History of the Theology of Liberation,” (Chap. 1), and Gustavo Gutierrez, “The Option for the Poor,” (Chap. 12), both in Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino, eds., *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology* (Reader)

**Recommended Readings:**

Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, pp. 45-76
**Berryman, Liberation Theology, chaps. 1-2, 5-6, pp. 185-200**


**Enrique D. Dussel, Méthodo Para Una Filosofía De La Liberación—Superación analéctca de la dialéctica hegeliana* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1974)

**Enrique D. Dussel, The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity* (Continuum Intl Pub Group, 1995)

**Enrique Dussel, "'Sensibility' and 'Otherness' in Emmanuel Lévinas," Philosophy Today, vol. 43.2 (Summer 1999): 126-134**


**Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Interculturalidad y filosofía en América, Aachen, Germany: Wissenschaftsverlag, 2003**

**Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Transformaciones del marxismo : historia del marxismo en América Latina, Mexico, D.V.: Plaza y Valdés Editores, 2001**

**Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, ed., Filosofía, teología, literatura : aportes cubanos en los últimos 50 años, Aachen, Germany: Mainz, 1999**


**Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Hacia una filosofia intercultural latinoamericana, San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Departamento Ecuménico de Investigacions, 1994**

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**Week 5 (Apr 30): An Alternative Ecclesiastical Paradigm in Comunidades de Base**

**Required Readings:**

**Carlos Torres, Charts entitled “Proposed Typology of Internal Tendencies of the Latin American Church” & “Ideological Tendencies in the Latin American Church” (Reader)**

**Marcello de C. Azevedo, “Basic Ecclesiastical Communities,” in Ellacuría and Sobrino, eds., *Mysterium Liberationis* (Reader)**

**Leonardo Boff, Church: Charism and Power, Chaps. 1, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10 (Reader and on**
Recommended Readings:

PART III: CROSSING BORDERS, CONTESTING FRONTIERS: CULTURE, ETHNICITY, GENDER, AND NON-JUDEO-CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIES OF LIBERATION

Week 6: May 7 PAPER PROPOSAL DUE AT BEGINNING OF CLASS
Asian Theologies of Liberation

Required Readings:
Recommended:

Paul Yunsik Chang, “Christianity and the Minjung Imaginary” (Internet document http://www.hcs.harvard.edu/~yisei/issues/12_2.pdf)


Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference in Asia, Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983)


Hyun-Kyung Chung, Struggle to be the Sun Again: Introducing Asian Women’s Theology (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1990)


Fabella, Virginia and Lee Sun Ai Park, eds., We Dare to Dream: Doing Theology as Asian Women (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1990)

Jung Young Lee, An Emerging Theology in World Perspective: Commentary on Korean Minjung Theology (Mystic, CT: Twenty-third Publications, 1988)

Kusuke Koyama, Mount Fuji and Mount Sinai: A Critique of Idols (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1984)


Kazoh Kitamori, Theology of the Pain of God (Richmond: Knox, 1965)


Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King, Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia (Albany: State University of New York, 1996)

**Week 7: (May 14) The America – Africa Nexus: The Problem of Racism and the Twin Legacies of Colonialism and Slavery**

**May 14**

“African Consciousness”, African Theologies of Liberation, and the Black Church in the United States

**Required Readings:**


Frantz Fanon, “On National Culture,” pp. 206-248, in *The Wretched of the Earth* (Reader)


**Recommended Readings:**


Alan Boesak, *Farewell to Innocence: A Socio-Ethical Study on Black Theology and Power* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1977)

Martin Luther King, Jr., James Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (San Francisco: Harper & Row)

James H. Cone, “Black Theology and the Black Church: Where Do We Go From Here?” in Wilmore and Cone, eds., *Black Theology*, pp. 350-376

Marjorie Hope and James Young, *The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1981)


Cornel West, “Black Theology and Marxist Thought,” in Wilmore and Cone, eds., *Black Theology*, pp. 552-567


Week 8: (May 21) Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Islam: *Jihad* and Radical Islamist Theologies

**Required Readings:**

*Islam, Fundamentalism, and Modernism,* pp. 90-94;
“Introduction to Political and Social Thought in Iran,” pp. 463-472;

[http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/03spring/knapp.pdf](http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/03spring/knapp.pdf)


**Recommended Readings:**

*The Qurān*, surats (chaps.) 1, 2: 1-7, 28-39, 47-103, 124-136, 177, 188, 193, 254-257

Rashad Khalifa, trans., *Quran: The Final Testament*, Authorized English Version with Arabic Text, revised edition IV (Capistrano Beach, CA: Submission.org, 2005), Appendices 1-38 on the Quranic code based on the number 19
Hamid Dabashi, *Islamic Liberation Theology: Resisting the Empire* (Routledge, 2008)
Mohammad Yadegari, “Liberation Theology and Islamic Revivalism,” *Journal of Religious Thought* 43.2 (Fall86/Winter87): 38-50
Week 9 (Mar 28)  Memorial Day (No class meeting) Contesting Gendered Orthodoxies: Themes and Issues in Feminist Theology

Required Readings:
Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve and the Serpent*, chaps. 1-3, 5, 6, Epilogue

Recommended Readings:
Marcella Maria Althaus-Reid, “Demythologising Liberation Theology: Reflections on
Week 10 (June 4)  Feminist, Gay, Deaf, and Disabled Theologies in the Gender/Culture Nexus: Assessments and Prospects

Required Readings:
Pauli Murray, “Black Theology and Feminist Theology: A Comparative View,” pp. 398-417; and
Jacquelyn Grant, “Black Theology and the Black Woman,” pp. 418-433; both in Wilmore and Cone, eds., *Black Theology* (R)
Carlos M. Vilas, *After the Revolution: Democratization and Social Change in Central America*, pp. 81-135 (R)

Recommended Readings:
María Pilar Aquino, Daisy L. Machado, and Jeanette Rodriguez, eds., *A Reader in Feminist Theology: Religion and Justice* (University of Texas Press, 2002)
Maryam Rajavi, “The Importance of Women’s Role in Political Leadership,” (e-reserves)
Hannah Lewis, *Deaf Liberation Theology* (Ashgate Publishing Company)
Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society* (1975)