

Dragica Luković Jablanović

POPE FRANCIS AND LATIN AMERICA: *New Dimensions of Socio-Economic and Religious Dialogue*



Institute of International Politics and Economics
Belgrade, 2022

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*This book is dedicated to Professor Vladeta Jerotić,
whose mind rested in his heart*

FOREWORD

The intention of author is to point out the new dimensions of the dialogue between Latin America and the Catholic Church led by Francis I, from the perspective of contemporary Latin American reality and with the help of multidisciplinary integration of its various aspects, especially in relation to the socio-economic consequences of the neoliberal model of development in that region. This monograph at the same time monitors and analyzes on the one hand, the economic, social, and political development of Latin America from colonial to modern times, and on the other, the development of the Catholic Church. This provided a diverse basis for a thorough examination of the neoliberal model of development that led to dramatic changes in society, economy, and politics of the region (the emergence of neo-populist, leftist and revolutionary regimes, the emergence of “new poor”, post-neoliberal regionalism, redefining of the integration goals and others). From the beginning of the pontificate, he insisted not only on justice for marginalized people, but on wider justice towards the entire life on Earth.

The results of the economic neoliberal model of Latin American development applied after the “lost decade” of the 1980s is discussed and evaluated. The main features of the *desarrollismo* model (1950-1970), which combines accelerated industrialization to replace imports and initiate economic integration in the region, is presented previously. The collapse of that model in the early 1980s in the form of a debt crisis and economic stagnation is analyzed along with a decline in production and all other socio-economic indicators, as well as initiation of the neoliberal reform and unilateral introduction of the principles of open market and open regionalism in accordance with the provisions of the Washington Consensus.

Scientific contribution of the monograph consists of deepening the current theoretical knowledge in the field of international relations related to Latin America, especially through the influence of new dimensions of socio-economic and religious dialogue that occurred with the pontificate of Pope Francis. At the same time, the last two developmental stages in the history of Latin America have been observed which had a major impact on

socio-political, economic, and social developments in this region. This is especially true of the neoliberal phase that has led to dramatic changes in the economy and politics, such as the crisis of Western democracy, the emergence of new neo-populist, leftist, and revolutionary regimes, and a new model of economic development and integration based on economic solidarity and social justice. Based on the results of the analysis of the basic hypothesis that defines the new economic, political, social, and cultural realities of this region, a starting point will be provided for the analysis of the political and moral influence of Pope Francis and the Vatican on the overall development of Latin America in the 21st century.

The analyses of Pope Francis' evocative speeches will lead to the conclusion that neoliberalism as a political and economic doctrine, in the case of Latin America, has led to a widening gap between "elites" and "masses" and the growth in poverty. In that way, not only was the crisis of legitimacy intensified in many countries in this region, but also deep socio-economic and political changes were caused. In the further analysis of his comments on the socio-economic reality of this region, it can be seen that they are simultaneously becoming a starting point for adjustment and change. The actuality of the dialogue topics ensures their transformative influence on the further processes of socio-economic, political, and foreign-political emancipation of Latin America, as well as on its identity in general.

Through a multidisciplinary approach, the monograph took into account relevant scientific papers in the field of economic and political sciences, international relations, sociology, history, religion, philosophy, psychology etc. The extended angle of observation and analysis through several different scientific disciplines, enabled the perception and evaluation of numerous aspects of this topic. The content of the research concerning the pontificate of Pope Francis was time-focused on the period 2013-2020 year, but to support the results of the research, sources and examples of more recent date were used. Unlike the part of the monograph that refers to the developmental stages in the economic history of Latin America where there already exist many critical studies and analyzes, in the second part the phenomenon of the relationship between Pope Francis and Latin America is observed in development, i.e., without appropriate historical distance. Regardless of this statement, the analysis of available scientific literature, documents, as well as the content of papal speeches, already indicates the establishment of a new relationship between the Vatican and Latin America. The results of the study and analysis of this relationship are located in the field of socio-economic

emancipation of Latin American countries, permeating at the same time their economic structure, foreign policy, general cultural field, and especially the significance of religion in the 21st century.

In any case, the analytical framework defined in this way represents a scientific contribution to the multi-layered study of the socioeconomic, and social history of Latin America, but also the relationship between Latin America and the Vatican. This monograph draws attention to the importance of Pope Francis' diplomacy and enables its scientifically based understanding.

Especial gratitude the author owes to the following reviewers of the monograph:*

Prof. José Zanardini, Ph.D, is the Salesian priest and anthropology professor on the Catholic University of Nuestra Señora de Asunción in Paraguay, trustee of the Board of the Paraguayan Academy of History, and president of the Centro de Estudios Antropológicos – CEADUC; Prof. Darko Tanasković, Ph.D, is an academic of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts in Salzburg, former Ambassador of the Socialist Republic Yugoslavia to the Holy See and the Republic of Serbia to UNESCO; Prof. Slobodan Pajović, Ph.D, Faculty of Social Sciences in Belgrade, is a Corresponding Member of the Paraguayan Academy of History, Honoris Doctor of the National and Capodistrian University of Athens; Sanja Jelisavac Trošić, Ph.D, is a Senior Research Fellow, Institute of International Politics and Economics in Belgrade. Their individual expertise has contributed to the final form and quality of this monograph.

Author

* The monograph resulted from scientific-research work on the doctoral dissertation by the same name.

I. FROM THE NEW WORLD TO LATIN AMERICA: A BRIEF HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

A Man is an eternal traveller (homo viator). He travelled for eons from an early man (whom we don't know about) to the Man. He (The Man) has been traveling from god to God ever since... A Man is an eternal explorer (homo investigator). He explores (again for eons) his origin by exploring the origins of sponges and algae, plants and animals, the rainbow in the sky, and the rainbow in himself.

A man on the road from gods to a God (Vladeta Jerotić, 2017)

A Man traveller changes himself and the world around himself for centuries through self-questioning, restlessness, fears, craving, searches, faith, and scepticism. Significant change in understanding the world by that time happened in 1492 when the traveller and explorer Christopher Columbus (sp. *Cristóbal Colón*) discovered New World (America) to European civilization. The voyage, which Columbus carried out by the contract with Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon (*Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón*), the united Catholic Kings (*Los Reyes Católicos*), was primarily motivated by the economy. The explanation is in the fact that spices had a high market value at the time, and they were getting imported to Iberian Peninsula through the intermediary agents. Spain has searched and reached the New World to find a new “westward” seaway to the islands of spices and thus secure its own monopolistic trade opportunities.

There are numerous historical facts about Columbus expedition, which left Spanish port Palos in 1492, with only three ships. Columbus sailed with his expedition, firstly to *Witling Island* within the Bahama Archipelago. The island was named San Salvador (Saint Savior), and its native people – *Indians*. The rest of the islands of this Archipelago were discovered successively, along with the Great Antilles, Cuba, Hispaniola (nowadays Haiti¹ and Dominican Republic). It stayed a secret for Columbus that this voyage led

¹ At that time called Española (*Hispaniola*).

to America, the fourth continent, i.e., that his expedition sailed along the way which led to the *New World*. The great sailor remained confident that by “sailing to the West” he found shorter way to India.

It was not until the XVI century, however, that Europe acknowledged the discovery of the New World as the discovery of a new continent. Then, for the first time, was made the distinction between the New World and India: the term of *Western India* (sp. *Indias Occidentales*) was used for the New World, and the term *Eastern India* (sp. *Indias Orientales*) for India. The name *Indian* (*Indio*) for indigenous inhabitants in the New World is the consequence of that initial mistake Colombo made, of his firm belief that he has found the western way to India. The first official contact between Europe and America significantly influenced the further course of the world history. Various names were assigned to this contact (“*the meeting of the two worlds*”, “*the discovery of the two worlds*”, “*the collision of cultures*”, “*the conquering of the New World*”, “*the invasion*”, “*the population*”, “*introduction*”). This wide scope of the existing terms represents an attempt to either justify or condemn the events that happened on the soil of Latin America in 1492. According to these two opposing views, two interpretations of this event exist: one highlighting Eurocentric attitude towards the New World, and the other indigenous.

We should explain in more detail the historical circumstances in Spain and Portugal at the time just before of Colombo’s voyage. Which one of these key events in 1492 contributed the most to set the sails of Santa Maria in motion? It will remain a mystery. First, in 1479, the marriage between sovereigns of Aragon and Castalia brought the political and military union to the most important kingdoms of Iberian Peninsula. The powerful kingdom of Spain was thus created.² This union on Iberian Peninsula then strengthened Spain enough to topple *Moors* (lat. *Maurus*)³ after the struggles during lengthy Spanish Crusade (*Reconquista* 1085-1492). Eight centuries (711-1492.) of subjugation of Iberian Peninsula to Arabians was finally over, and both the Church and Iberian Kingdoms were bound to flourish. The centuries-old domination of the Moors, however, brought to the Iberian Peninsula progress visible in many areas, due to the religious and cultural tolerance of this oriental Arabian culture which enabled cultural synthesis. Traces of that synthesized

² Marriage between Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile, later known as Catholic Monarchs or a Catholic ruling couple. From XIII. century, the kingdom of Aragon included Sicily, Sardinia, and from 1442, Naples; while Castile had previously been strengthened by subjugating the weaker and smaller Iberian kingdoms.

³ Arabs-Moslems on the Iberian Peninsula.

culture have been transferred to the south of the New World. The economy of the XV century Europe favoured the rise of the merchant class. Trade capitalism in Spain was supported by growing trade bourgeoisie in towns, who began to invest in the manufacture production, but much of the economy was still failing to keep the pace with new times. Both countries (Spain and Portugal) were in transitional phase from feudalism to early capitalism toward the end of XV century. Another common characteristic is that they were absolutist monarchies, ruled by kings who relied on Church. In former mentioned feudal conditions, Church had a vast power and influence on the Crown and state policy. That influence was specially demonstrated in a negative way after the establishment of the Inquisition – a new instrument to control heresy within the Catholicism. At the end, in the period which preceded Columbus's voyage, both countries had the best-developed maritime economies in Europe, which, it is interesting to mention, they achieved under the influence of Moorish culture. The Arabian cultural history also left its mark on both colonial powers to be. It can be concluded that Spanish discovery of Americas as well as the course of American colonization were only the logical steps as the historical events unfolded according to the political and economic might of Iberian kingdoms in Europe at that time – Spain has become the great maritime military and trading power in the late XV century.

From the perspective of European Middle Ages, were all relation regulated by the *Roman Law*, to gain the ownership a mere act of discovery and settlement of the new territory was enough. At the same time, the Holy See occupied such an important position in European political relations in XV century, that it had a power to confirm the ownership of conquered countries. The justification that Christian rulers had the right to possession was simple – if a new territory was settled by “pagans” (non-Christian, indigenous people), they do not count and the land was considered “no-man's-land” i.e., “empty”. In that way Catholic Kings became the owners of the vast lands in the New World. An obligation to Christianize indigenous population came to the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors along with this ownership. Since the non-Christian population from “no-mans-land” obtained the status of legal subjects when Christianized, the Spanish Crown could assign them a status of free vassals.

In the period of Colombo's voyage Church “set” boarders by papal bulls.⁴ Pope Alexander VI issued five bullas in 1493 (so-called *Bulas Alejandrinas*) which mainly guaranteed Spanish Crown legal rights in the New World. The

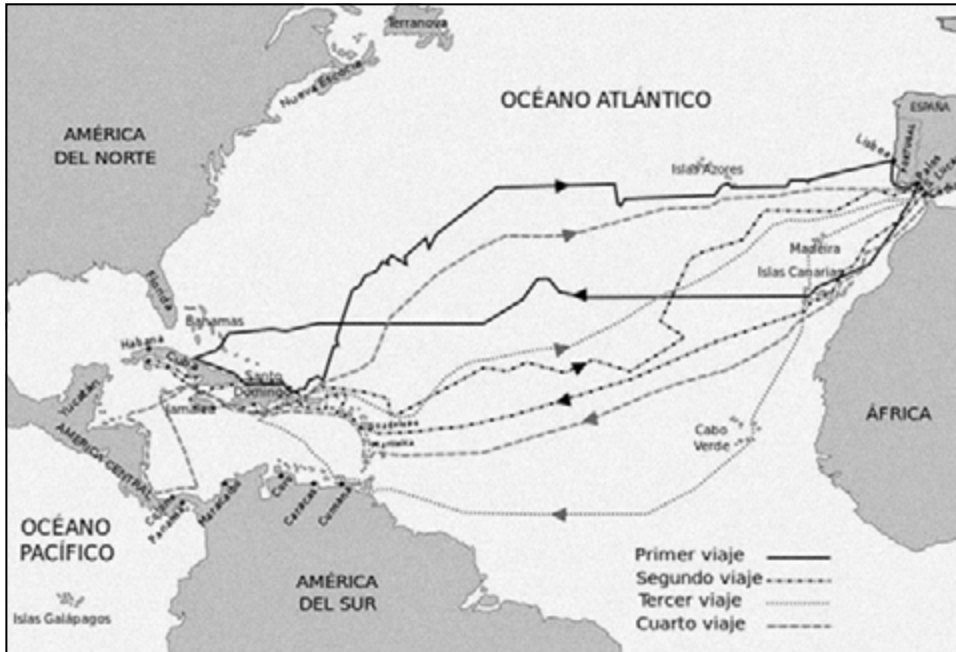
⁴ The papal bull is a type of document or a charter on the exceptionally important topic. It is issued either by the pope or by the Roman Catholic Church.

Inter Caetera bull allotted to Spanish Queen Isabel I Catholic the authority over the New World. At the same time, in order to prevent the conflicts among rulers, Pope Alexander VI divided the newly discovered regions on the map of the world “as an apple” between Spain and Portugal. Pope used imaginary demarcation line to separate the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence: the territory which have been discovered and would be discovered west from the line of demarcation as well as the monopoly of sailing over the Atlantic Ocean was granted to Spanish Kings; Portugal retained the domination over the Ocean towards East, as far as African Cost, except the Canary Islands. Both Portuguese and Spanish Kings were proclaimed for patrons (por. *padroado*, sp. *patronato*) of Church in the regions which were allotted to them. As patrons the kings were to bear expenses of sending missionaries, building churches and their complete operations and maintenance, in return they received a total, autonomous authority over them. This arrangement was formally valid until the XIX century. Important for the future events in the New Worlds was the third bull, *Piis fidelium*, with which Spanish Crown was officially involved in the evangelization or Christianization.

All tensions stemming out of the Portuguese frustration by the initial papal division were solved by *Treaty of Tordesillas* in 1494. The aim of Portuguese diplomacy in Middle Ages was to move Spanish explorations and regions as much as possible to the west to protect its powerful interests in Asia and Africa was satisfied. This treaty also paved the way for the colonization of Brazil.⁵

It can be said that the geography of Latin America was the one of the biggest challenges for Iberian conquistadors. When we say that, we think that this continent possesses a variety of soil, climate, water, flora, and fauna. Some parts of this region and life being still unexplored, are a subject of contradictory interpretations. There are many questions which are waiting for answers. This long ago “conquered” country enters the XXI century along with its mysterious niches. The discovery of America not only initiated further naval explorations, but it influenced the development of cartography, which gave great contribution to the trade routes of the world at the beginning of XVI century. Sailors came back from their expeditions describing newly discovered regions. *Martin Waldseemüller* (1470–1521), German cartographer, was able to make a first map of the world in 1507 (*America* was

⁵ Parts of the text are taken from the scientific work Luković-Jablanović, D., *Jesuits and Christianization in Latin America until 1767*, presented at the International Congress FIEALC, 2017, Belgrade.



Map 1. The routes of all four Colombo's voyages in the period 1492–1504

Source: http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/cristobal_colon/cristobal_colon/
 Accessed 8.4.2016.

included on it as the fourth continent) with the help of *Amerigo Vespucci's* notes. In his *Cosmographiae Introductio* he named the continent “America” out of gratitude to Vespucci, considering him to have discovered it. Although Vespucci was the first to shed light on the fact of the existence of a new continent – the New Land, nevertheless the importance of that discovery Waldze-miller later attributed to Columbus.

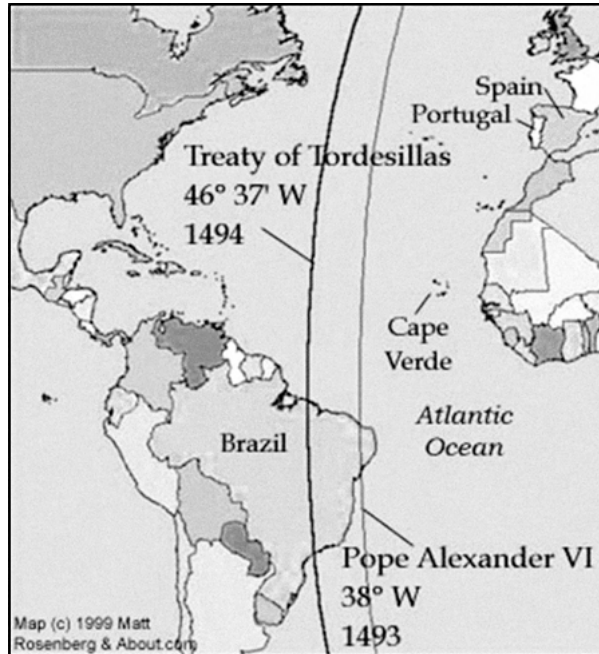
That's why on the map of the world which he made in 1513 the name America changed into *Unknown Country* – “*Terra Incognita*”. The discovery and enslavement of Unknown Country – America, from Colombo's undertaking to further on lasted nearly a whole century. The first sailors and explorers: *Vasco de Gama*, *Ferdinand Magellan (Hernando de Magellanes)*, *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, and *Juan Sebastian Elcano*, established the most important existing ocean routes by undertaking numerous expeditions during the XVI century. In 1514, America is already functionally and commercially speaking an active part of the global seaway network. The end of the XVI century marks the end of an era of great discoveries and the establishes the *Atlantic system of navigation*.

Geographically, Latin America today is most often defined as the area from the Mexican-USA border (*Rio Grande*) in the north, to Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia, the southernmost point of South America (*Cono Sur*). Surrounded by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, Latin America extends over both parts of the American continent, the northern and southern subcontinent, which connected by the land belt formed by Central America and numerous Caribbean islands.⁶ Use of Roman and English languages reflect intercultural reality on these islands. In 2020, Latin America had a little more than 653.9 million inhabitants. North America takes up the space from Arctic Ocean on the north to the Caribbean Sea (southeast) and all the way south to the Isthmus of Panama sitting between two great Oceans. The fact that Isthmus of Panama with Panama Canal separates North from South America, contributes to its geostrategic significance. Although Iberians were the first to colonize northern American territories, English, French, and Dutch took over and expanded those colonies. After the war for independence (1775-83) thirteen original English colonies formed the USA. Today “the oldest democracy” insists on the importance of this geographic division between Americas, i.e., the importance of the geographical affiliation of North America, as part of the American continent, to the so-called Western Hemisphere, is emphasized. The geostrategic connotation of this division implies the ambitions of Washington to dominate entire Latin America. North America, along with Central America and West-Indies islands, takes up 24.25 million km². According to the 2020 data, this region had 368.8 million of inhabitants. South American territory spreads from the Isthmus of Panama to Patagonia on 17.83 million km².⁷ In 2020, its population was estimated to more than 430,7 million. Two countries are still colonies: French Guiana and Malvina Islands. *Middle America* is the term very often used instead of Central America. This region encompasses all Central American countries along with Mexico, and East and West Antilles (Caribbean sub-region).

In addition to the fact that Latin America, due to the diversity of its geography, is a habitat of a huge wealth of flora and fauna, it has also become the site of an unusual process of races mixing mestization (sp. *mestizaje*),

⁶ The geographical definition of Latin America, “includes the entire South American continent, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean islands where some of the Romance languages are spoken.” Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Retrieved 20.02.2017, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Latin-America>

⁷ All data on the population of the continent are taken from: Worldometer <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/latin-america-and-the-caribbean-population/>



Map 2. Treaty of Tordesillas 1494

Source: <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-treaty-of-tordesillas-4090126>. Accessed 7.7. 2016

that occurred with Iberian colonization. Such a process of interracial and intercultural mixing has been disrupted by class and racial discrimination, within which the notion of justice and human rights has remained a centuries-old unfulfilled desire. A hint of new dimensions of dialogue between the Church and Latin America arrived in 2013 with the election of a new pope – Pope Francis.⁸ From the onset of his pontificate, he insisted not only on justice for marginalized people, but also on wider justice, which includes our attitude towards the entire present and future life on this planet. In 2015, in the encyclical *Laudato Si*, Pope Francis called for intergenerational solidarity and responsibility to maintain the ecology of our planet, as it is basically a matter of justice “*because the world we inherited also belongs to those who will come after us*” (*Laudato Si*, §159: 124). It is also a matter of fairness that everyone lives with dignity. If we have this fact in front of us, then it is easier to see how interconnected all the issues that the pontiff has covered during his six visits to Latin America so far are. Among the most obvious

⁸ *Jorge Mario Bergoglio* former Argentine Cardinal and Archbishop of Buenos Aires, was seated on the chair of the St. Peter (Cathedra Petri) as Pope Francis I on the 13th of March, 2013.

injustices of the modern world are poverty, all kinds of discrimination (especially racial and ethnic), migrant crises, and wars. Pope Francis singled out “*the inclusion of the poor in society and the question of peace and social dialogue*” as “*important themes that determine the future of humanity*” (Evangeli Gaudium: §185,147). He clearly expresses the connection between economics, nature, and ethics in the encyclical *Laudato Si*: “*the decay of the environment and the degradation of man and ethics are closely interconnected.*” (*Laudato Si* ‘, §56: 45). Argentine philosopher, historian, and theologian Enrique D. Dussel commented on the same topic stating that the destruction of nature and the culture of the poor go hand in hand.⁹ The vision that inspires Pope Francis has its roots in the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), which recognizes the imperfection of the Church as an organization in an imperfect world, and that it also needs to be constantly improved.¹⁰ Two Latin American episcopal conferences had great historical significance for the Church, but also for Latin America. The first was held in 1968 in Medellín, Colombia, and the second in 1979 in Puebla, Mexico. At that time, the “*liberation theology*” was already gaining momentum in Latin America.¹¹ At both conferences, the bishops of Latin America publicly expressed their spiritual concern and sided with those who are being wronged (economically, socially, and politically), that is, the poor and oppressed. In this way, the Catholic Church became actively involved in the spiritual and material reality of Latin America, touching at the same time the conscience of all mankind. The boundaries of two seemingly different realities are very fluid. Nikolai Berdyaev interprets them in the following way: even material care, if it is care for another, grows into a spiritual sphere. “*Caring for the life of another, neighbour, even material, physical care, is already spiritual care. Bread for me is a material question, bread for another is a spiritual question*” (2006: 86). The previous discourse was often presented by Pope Francis during his travels in Latin America. It is natural for him to easily connect the Gospel spirituality with the difficult living conditions of people living in poverty, which usually has both economic and political roots. Using Gospel allegories, Pope Francis

⁹ Dussel, E. (1988). *Ethics and Community*, New York: Orbis Books, p. 204. <http://biblioteca.clacso.org.ar/clacso/otros/20120216095358/ethics.pdf>

¹⁰ Levine, D. H. (2016). What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, CLALS*, p. 6. <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

¹¹ Liberation theology is the original theological movement(s) that originated in Latin America, which, in the name of faith, deals with the poverty of the people and their oppression.

brings the messages of his speeches, interviews, as well as other forms of communication closer to the everyday life of Latin America in the 21st century. He emphasizes that despite the constant tension between ideas and reality... “*Realities are more important than ideas*” (*Evangelii Gaudium*, 2013: §231, §233; *Laudato Si'*, 2015: §201).

From 1493 to the present day, social, economic, political, religious, and other ideas related to Latin America have changed, but the reality for its people has remained more or less the same. At the end, the voyage of Columbus enabled an everlasting change in how the Europe perceived the world. This change has not just had a historic and economic significance, but also has kindled the development of sciences, especially geography, cartography, biology, and zoology (including the transfer of new animals and plants) – an entire new civilization was born. On the other hand, that “New World” learned about the Western civilization too. In short, this was a “big event” about which we only know for certain its very beginning.

II. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA UNTIL THE SECOND HALF OF 20th CENTURY

Discovery of the New World was an important event which marks the beginning of the colonial period in the development of Latin America, as a historical and cultural entity. The entire economic activity in the New World was organized around the exploitation of precious metal ores and monopolistic trade. There was no free trade between Spain and the New World, almost three centuries after Columbus landed on its shores. Agriculture was completely neglected, except in parts of the empire that was not affected by the “gold rush”. From the socio-economic aspect for the future direction of development of the New World, the institution of *encomienda* was important.¹² This system also enabled the first institutionalized form of imposing religion, “spiritual conquest” based on baptism. The system of *encomienda* created the basis of the colonial economy within which two economic models coexisted, slavery and feudalism. The social structure of the New World was already built in the 17th century through a closed caste system. This structure was based on racial origin, which determined the social position of an ethnic-racial group. The incorporation of *encomienda* into the feudal order created a class of Creole landowners who at the end of the 18th century grew into an oligarchic stratum, increasingly independent of the metropolis. Strong executive power and reliance on the military were the pillars of the oligarchic democracy, one of the two predominant models of political life in Latin America. Dictatorships as another model exist as well.

The political independence of the countries in the 19th century increased the importance of agriculture in relation to the period of colonial rule, and Latin America became involved in the world economy through agriculture.

¹² The *Encomienda* was a document on the allocation of land to deserving military personnel for the colonization of the New World. The document included the local indigenous population as labour force, but also the tax as its obligation to the *encomendero*. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, Real Academia Española, Madrid 1992.

Of the three types of export-oriented, primary product economies, two are related to agricultural products. There are two tendencies in the development of the economy at the beginning of the 20th century: first, the production of raw materials for which international market demand is high; and second, the growth of domestic market demand for industrial products. It is evident that in addition to foreign capital, in all Latin American countries, the landowning oligarchy, the Church, and the army stand out as key actors in social, economic, and political events.

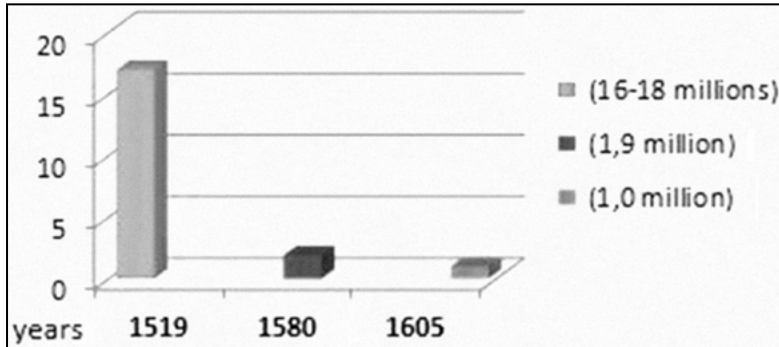
II.1. Economic and social development during the colonial time

There were several clearly defined stages within the colonial period:

- *First stage* started with the *discovery and conquest* of the Latin American territories. It lasted from 1492 until the middle of the 16th century, during which the territorial bases of the colony were established, as well as the domination of the Iberian invaders over the indigenous population;¹³
- *Second stage* encompasses the *colonization*, and it lasts for the next 150 years (from 1550 until the end of 17th century). The Crown established its governing role in colony and the socioeconomic structures similar to those in Spain and Portugal were established during this phase;
- *Third stage* follows further *development of the colonialism* in the New World. It spans over the entire 18th century, just before the formation of Latin American movements for independence. Both economy and colonial government are consolidated and became institutionalized, with an effort on the part of those institutions to organize and establish the control not just over the production but also over the entire life in the colony.

The unlimited power of European colonial metropolises was announced by the arrival of Spain and Portugal in the New World, as the first and dominant colonizers. In the analysis of the scientific works on the early period of the colonial development of Latin America (Južnić, S., 1966: 18; Pajović, S.,

¹³ In the further text, the term *colony* will be used as a combined name for all overseas territories which were politically and economically under the rule of Spain or Portugal in the colonial period (1492 – until the first Latin American movements for independence occurred). Term *conquerors* (sp. *conquistadores*) encompass mainly leaders of Iberian conquerors, who wanted to establish domination over the natural resources and indigenous population of the New World.



Graphics 1. Population drops of indigenous people

Source: Adapted by author from Skidmore, T. E., Smith P. H. & Green J. N. (2014). p.21.

2006: 48-54; Furtado, C., 1976: 14-16) prevalent is the attitude that the systematic and planned colonizing on the part of Iberian powers was absent. For Spain, yearning to improve its economic and political power in Europe was the backdrop to the fast conquering and exploitation of the New World.

Europe of the 15th and 16th century was torn by the economic and political divisions during the time of discoveries and conquering (*descubrimiento y conquista*). Since the clashes between the powerful feudal countries were frequent, many utopian ideas about building an ideal society in the New World have surfaced.¹⁴ Unfortunately, that “ideal” world did not allow immigration of the Jews, Muslims, and others. This dichotomy between the prevailing philosophic ideals of European utopians and the Spanish official state policy toward the New World was obvious and deep. Although the Roman emperor Charles V of Habsburg (King Charles I of Spain) wanted to treat the natives in the same way as other vassals of the Castilian crown, that was not possible since the situation on the ground was very complex.¹⁵ Scientific views on the number of native people at the time of Spanish conquest are conflicting. According to a group of American scientists, in less than a hundred years 1519-1605, their number in Central Mexico dropped by about 95% (Graph 1).

Indigenous population, however, was dying in masses not just while opposing conquistadors, but also while abusing alcohol, and while being exposed to malaria and measles (so called *bacterial shock* provoked by the

¹⁴ That’s how utopians went about the indirect critique of the social inadequacies in their own societies. Thomas More, for example, has criticized his homeland England in *Utopia* (1516).

¹⁵ Kirkpatrick, Frederick Alexandar (1937). *Španski osvajači (The Spanish conquistadores)*, Belgrade: EOS, p. 225.

initial contact between the civilizations). Individual and in some cases collective suicides became common due to the rise of despair and disorientation. Long, forced labor on the plantations and in the mines took its toll as well. In short, the events which took place since 1492 and on led to the tragic decimation of the indigenous population which, by the end of the 16th century reached the level of demographic catastrophe. This negative trend was stopped very late, around 1675. One of the cruellest examples of the exploitation of indigenous people during the colonial period was so called *mita system*, a form of forced labour imposed on the grown indigenous people; they were forced to work in the fields or in the mines without any compensation for 6 days in the week, and a symbolic compensation would be handed out for the 7th day.¹⁶

The old matrix of colonial society underwent a significant change at the onset of 16th century, when the deficit in the indigenous population such that African slaves were imported to work on the plantations and in the mines instead.¹⁷ Thus, the slavery arrived on the soil of Latin America via the retrograde historical process to leave a long-term imprint on entire continent. The most important consequence in the realm of economy was the development of the lucrative black slave trade, while the political consequence of this trade from Africa was a cohabitation of the slavery along with the feudal system. In Brazil, slavery lasted until 1888. On the other hand, through various means, indigenous population was brought into the position of serfs. Papal bulls formally proclaimed that all Indies belong to the Spanish Crown which, in turn, entrusted properties called “*encomiendas*” and “*repartos*” to the conquerors.¹⁸ Since the Christianization of the population (*encomendados*) had to be done, a portion of the proceeds from the forced labour was used to cover those expenses. *Encomendero* had an obligation to serve the

¹⁶ Mita system was applied from 1570 to 1810. Indigenous communities had to provide labour in the contracted areas. As a rule, the mitayos, natives forced to work, moved to very remote and unconditional centers. For example, in the windows of the Huancavélica mercury mine, many mitayos poisoned with mercury died. Furtado, C. (1976). *Economic Development of Latin America: Historical Background and Contemporary Problems*, Cambridge University Press. p. 21.

¹⁷ In 1505, King Ferdinand II approved the black African slaves to be bought for the first time.

¹⁸ *Repartimiento* – distribution of the land as a law of warlike capture to most deserving among conquerors is a form of common law used in the Spanish feudal tradition. In the New World, the Crown would distribute the land and the slaves (indigenous population) to the colonizers.

King and to, with the help of a Spanish priest-missionary called *doctrinero*, Christianize the indigenous population, thus ushering them into the Catholic faith.

From the socio-economic aspect, there are two important conclusions about *encomiendas*: *first* that they, as a system to divide the land and labour, provided the foundation for colonial economy; *second*, *encomiendas* even though an agrarian act, included baptizing and, therefore, provided an institutionalized way to enforce acceptance of the religion via the *doctrinero*. There were some other land ownership categories as the “king’s land” (*las tierras del Rey*) which was composed from the most fertile land and the best mines. “The land of the dead hands” (*la tierra de las manos muertas*) for example was the name given to the land given to the Catholic Church by the Crown and which over time became an important part of the political and economic power of the Latin American church. In assessing the role of the Church in the Iberian conquest of the New World, the question of the moral right to spiritual conquest is important and sensitive. Moral views of *encomenderos* were hijacked by the colonial society since the moral norms were formed according to economic criteria (whatever was the most profitable at the moment). This is nicely expressed in Dussel’s words, ‘*The “Prince of this world” is now the judge of good and evil. Morality itself has been inverted. The “wisdom of the world” has become norm and law*’.¹⁹

Frequent complaints of the missionaries about the exploitation of indigenous people pushed the Royal Court of the Spain in 1512 in the town of Burgos to come up with the *Laws of Indies* (*Les Leyes de Indias*), better known as the *Laws of Burgos*. This was the first legislature to control the colonizing of the New World aimed to protect the indigenous population from exploitation. They were to be implemented through the organs of the *Council for Indies* (*Consejo de Indias*), but they failed in practice mainly because of the corruption and greed of those in charge of its implementation (*summus ius, summa iniuria*²⁰). It can be concluded that the Laws from the beginning of the 16th century didn’t improve the situation for indigenous people, they made it even worse. For that reason, in 1542 the Crown came up with the New Laws of Indies (*Leyes Nuevas de Indias*) in Valladolid, Spain.²¹ *Encomiendas* were outlawed and indigenous population *de jure* became the

¹⁹ Dussel, E. (1988). *Ethics and Community*, Orbis Books, pp. 32-33.

<http://biblioteca.clacso.org.ar/clacso/otros/20120216095358/ethics.pdf>

²⁰ ‘*The bigger right, the larger injustice*’ (Cicero’s clever saying).

²¹ As early as 1545, the New Laws of Indies were abolished.

free vassals of the Castillian Crown. The slavery in Hispano America was officially abolished. However, the daily life of the indigenous population did not improve a lot and their labour was not salaried; therefore, they did not *de facto* become the vassals of the Spanish Crown.

In the first decades of the 16th century, a Spanish settler and Dominican priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, stirred up the colonial metropolis with the so-called “Indian question”. His views stemmed from a humanistic belief that despite the obvious differences between the indigenous population and the Spaniards, they had in common that both belonged to the human race. However, he considered the Crown’s jurisdiction over the natives justified. In 1550-1551. the crown organized a controversial and significant “Debate of Valladolid” (it was at the same time a trial), during which an apologist for the conquest Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Las Casas presented opposing views. The discussion focused on the justification of the Spanish wars of conquest in the colony, the position and manner of evangelization of the indigenous population, and even its “nature”.²² The discussion from Valladolid showed that, despite the Inquisition, critical thought was preserved within the church ranks. Also, this public debate held in Valladolid as well as two Laws of Indies confirmed that Iberian colonialism was still ahead of its time in some respects. An obvious consequence of still raging debate in Valladolid was a temporary stoppage of the conquests in the New World in 1550. Conquests were all together forbidden in 1556 when, following King’s instructions, the previous name “conquest” (*conquista*) was replaced by more neutral word “new discoveries” (*nuevos descubrimientos*). The name “conqueror” (*qonquistador*) was also replaced by the name “settler” (*poblador*).²³ From the large body of legislature determining the position of the indigenous population in the New World the most known is the *Compilation of the Laws of the Kingdoms of the Indies (Recopilación de Leyes de los reinos de Indias)* from 1680.

The social structure of the New World was well established in the 17th century through the closed system of castes. Castes were based on the race, but since interracial categories were not recognized, a *Circulus vitiosus* formed for all whose skin colour or ancestry predetermined their caste

²² Losada, A. (1975). Bartolomé de Las Casas, Champion of Indian rights in 16th-century Spanish America, Courier, The UNESCO, p. 8; Zea, L. (2017). Otkriće i identitet Latinske Amerike, Beograd: Institut za evropske studije i Društvo hispanista, p.19.

²³ Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Short Account about the Destruction of Indies*, Globus, Zagreb, 1982, p.17; p. 177. According to the introduction by Shanjek, F.

(social group or class) i.e., their status. At the top of this social caste system was the white race divided into two subgroups: Iberian (peninsulares) and Creole (*criollos*).²⁴ Racial intermixing of the basic races (white, amerindian, and black) has produced specific multi-ethnic groups among which the most numerous were mestics (*mestizos*), mulato (*mulattos*), and zambos (*zambos*).²⁵ By the end of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century class differences are becoming more obvious. White *nobleman* were the ancestors of conquerors or those sent by the Crown to govern; *plebeians* without aristocratic title belonged to the colonial bourgeoisie; a thin layer of the middle class made up from the military man, small tradesman, and craftsman; toward the bottom were placed newcomers without any property and without profession. At the very bottom of the class order, was the marginalized indigenous population joined by the newly arriving African slaves. Finally, based on the economic and social development, the process of transculturation begins. Transculturation which is at the foundation of the historic process that eventually shaped the Latin American identity. Both economic and social transculturation can be observed through the autochthon ways of collective forms *ayullu* and *capulli* which keep existing in the colonial period and within which a blood-related indigenous groups have harvested a crop identifiable by its production and territorial origin. This form of the land division (as natural economies) existed and were mixed with some feudal forms since, at first, the colonizer was not very interested in the agriculture. The more intensive exploitation of the land was possible when the first haciendas (a typical large Latin-American property or farm) were established by the rich creoles due to the crisis in the mining industry in 17th century. A sure footing for the growth of oligarchy was thus established in the colonies. On the other side of the world, a 17th century brings to Spain a financial crisis, socio-economic decadence, and large social unrests. This situation reflects itself in the colonies influencing all forms of life as well as the governing structures (lack of meritocracy, corruption, etc.). In 1524 from the peninsula, “Royal and Supreme Council of Indies” (*El Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias*), or for short Council of the Indies (*Consejo de Indias*), steers

²⁴ *Peninsulares* were those who were born in Spain and who were entrusted with the most important civil services in both the government and the Church; Creoles (*criollo*) were born in America as purebred descendants of the first wave of Spanish immigrants and conquerors.

²⁵ *Mestizos*, born from the Hispanic males and indigenous females; *mulattos*, or *mestizos* born from the white Portuguese parent and black parent; *zambos* or *mestizos* born from the indigenous parent and the black parent.

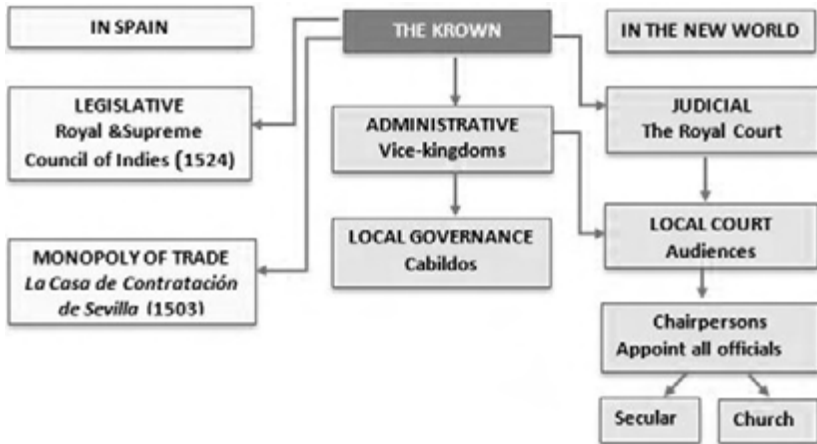
and follows a complete colonial governing in America, including all relationships between the Church and the Holy See, as well as the control over army. Centralized and reliable administration was a main support for the Spanish colonial government.

The work of this administration was controlled by home through the institution of audience (*audiencia*), which had judicial and governing functions. It's important to note that members of audience were charged to protect the indigenous population. Despite the viceroy's (*virreyes*) presiding function of audiencias, if the citizens complain, audiencias could judge any viceroy at the end of his mandate. The Spanish king has the power of *veto* on any decision made by the audiencias. Viceroys were the highest representatives of the Spain in the New World. They governed over viceroyalties (*virreinos*), the largest and most important territorial and administrative areas (map 3). The administrative-geographical areas of the colony changed from time to time. By the middle of the 16th century, Crown has two viceroyalties in her oversea colony, and in the 18th century three more were established.²⁶

Aside from the viceroyalties, smaller units called *Capitanía* and larger *Capitanía general*.²⁷ The highest governing bodies overseeing – councils (*Cabildos*), which were, among other things, the collection of taxes and dues. During the rule of Charles III of Bourbon (1759-1788) ethnic structure within the City Councils has changed – there were more creoles and less Spanish-born administrators. This change in the structure of City Councils has sped up the process leading toward the independence of colonies. One kind of the administrative oversight in the colony was exercised by the Spanish king himself, who used to name an inspector (*visitador*) and send him to inspect all officials of the colonial administration. It can be said that the most important fact for the development of the monopolistic trade in colony, was the establishment of the *Contract House of Seville (La Casa de Contratación)* in Seville (*Sevilla*). It was established based on the permit called the King's List (*La Real Cédula*) of the Queen Isabella I from 1503. In that way the oldest colonial institution of the Crown, better known as the *Office for Indies (Casa India)*, became legitimate. That office organized and controlled the maritime trade and travel via the merchandise or travel lists and

²⁶ The list of viceroyalties as they were established: New Spain (1535), Peru (1542), New Granada (1717), Rio de la Plata (*Virreinato de la Plata*, 1776), and Brazil (1763).

²⁷ There were 4 General Captainships (*Capitanía general*): Guatemala, Cuba, Caracas, and Chile. For example, *Capitanía general de Guatemala* covered the area of today's Central America.



Scheme 1. Structure of the Spanish colonial rule

Source: by author



Map 3. Colonial Latin America (1780)

Source: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. 2009,

<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/506092076851161294/?lp=true> 04/06/2018

observed all laws about the sea travel. In time it became a part of Council for Indies (*Consejo de Indias*). *Office for Indies* existed until 1790.

There is no doubt, that Spanish and Portuguese discoveries at the end of the 15th century significantly influenced the development of transoceanic sailing, mainly through the establishment of new trading routs. That so called “*trading revolution*” was established upon *the Atlantic System of Navigation* monopolized by Spain and Portugal, protected by their mighty fleets, and controlled via, previously mentioned, the *Contract House*. Very important year for establishment of the *Atlantic sailing system* was 1561 since from that point on the trading ships have begun the biyearly practice called *system of annual convoys* (map 4). The first convoy sailed out in January toward the *Tierra Firme* (the coast of modern Venezuela), and the second one toward the port of *Veracruz, New Spain*. Local merchant class in colonies benefited from this kind of trade-organizing. Direct trade with Spain was forbidden until 1721, when the *registered ships* secured a permit for the regular trade.²⁸ The biggest change affecting trade with the New World, however, was the *Decree about Free Trade* signed by Charles III in 1778 which marked the end of colonial economy.²⁹

Since at the time Spain was in the war, English and Anglo-American companies took advantage of this Decree that completely lifted trade limitations between Spain and Latin America. Namely, there was no need any more to secure the license for every single trade transaction. At the same time, creoles were allowed for the first time to sail from the America toward the Spanish ports. In addition, twenty-four ports (Veracruz, Havana, Panama, and others) in Latin America acquired a license not just to trade with the ports in Seville, Cadiz, La Corunna, Malaga, Barcelona, and Cartagena, but also to trade among itself. One of the most important effects of this measure, however, was that the duties from once smuggled merchandise started flowing into the coffers of the Crown. It’s interesting to mention that Charles I as early as 1534 asked for the estimates on building of the canal through Panama to find a more efficient way to transport the treasures of the New World toward Europe.

²⁸ *Register ships were ships which sailed singly, outside the annual convoy system, but which might legally be freighted only by members of the Cadiz Consulado or merchant guild.* Furtado, C. (1976). *Economic Development of Latin America: Historical Background and Contemporary Problems*, Cambridge University Press, p. 25.

²⁹ In Spanish America, the tobacco industry became increasingly important under Bourbon rule and tobacco was the second most important export industry, only behind silver.



Map 4. Atlantic sailing system

Source: <https://www.geografiainfinita.com/2020/05/la-flota-de-indias-la-primera-linea-de-comercio-global/> , accessed at 7.7.2020

In 1500, Brazil, the largest Latin American country today, was discovered by *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, in the name of the Portuguese dynasty *Aviz*. Initially this colony was not attractive for Portugal which had already established very lucrative colonies in India and Africa. However, its King Joao III (*João o Piedoso*) wanted to maintain the new colony and in 1531 introduces the administrative system of “*maritime captainships*” (*Capitanías del Mar*). There were 15 of those, controlled by the appointed captain (*capitão mōr*), who would penalize everyone trading without the proper license. Aside from that, King Joao III stimulated Portuguese immigration to Brazil and transferred Portuguese jobs from Asia to Brazil. Portuguese as well as any other colonizers were welcomed, with the permission of the *Capitanías* and if they belonged to the Catholic Church. When in 1580 when two monarchies formed the Iberian Union³⁰, Spain took over the governing functions and improved until then simple colonial administration of Brazil. Since the captainships proved to be inefficient, Brazil was pronounced a viceroyalty in 1763. and the capital city was transferred from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Unlike Spanish colonies, Brazil succeeded in maintaining its territorial integrity and its relative stability throughout the colonial period except between 1630 and 1654 when Dutch held on to Pernambuco. The Dutch then transferred to the Caribbean islands transforming them with the new technology

³⁰ Spain and Portugal merged into one Kingdom from 1580 to 1640.

in sugar production and establishing the new center of *the Atlantic trading system*. This allowed them to dominate the sugar market sugar markets at the end of 17th and during entire 18th century. Entire economic development came within the agriculture: cattle farms and plantations for the sugar cane, cotton, cacao, tobacco, maize, rice, coffee, and especially export of the lumber “*pau brasil*”³¹. The “gold rush” like one that was shaking Hispanic America didn’t exist in Brazil until the gold ore was discovered in General Mines (Minas Gerais). In the period between 1690 and 1765, there was the highest level of mining which stagnated ever since due to the low levels of technology used in the mines. Diamonds and emeralds were discovered at the onset of 18th century, and the record export of cotton was achieved. At the same time, this import of black slaves sped up colonization and increased the capacity of Brazilian agriculture. Furthermore, social reality of that period in the New World was marked by the series of uprisings which reflected the struggle for the governing, for power, for the land, or for the broader responsibilities. At the end of the 18th century, the Spanish colonial administration faced the first major revolts of a different nature, which destabilized the social order.³² As a response to these uprisings, colonial police, for the first time accessible to Creoles, had been established by the King’s decree. The King intent to prevent social unrests and possible external treats was fulfilled. Later, during the fight for independence, creoles and mestizos within the *new colonial police* were the major force within the patriotic army. One of the consequences of Bourbon Reforms³³ intended to modernize colonies was the infringement on the direct control of the Latin-American Church, which affected Jesuits and its reductions (*reducciones*³⁴) the most. The influence of the Church during the colonial period was certainly extremely important for the overall organization of the life of the colonies.

³¹ The tree which is the source for the purple pigment used in the textile industry. The country of Brazil was named after it.

³² The revolt of Tupac Amaru II (Túpak Amaru) in 1780 in the area of southern Peru and Bolivia, was the largest revolt of the indigenous population in the history of Latin America; the uprising of Túpak Katari in 1781 in Upper Peru; the popular uprising of the comuneros in 1781, in New Granada. Lynch, J. (2012). *New Worlds: a religious history of Latin America*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, p. 106.

³³ New administrative and economic-political measures, so called Bourbon Reforms form the 18th century were geared toward maintaining the Spanish influence in Europe and toward broadening that influence in the New World.

³⁴ lat. *reducere*: to bring, to fetch; Jesuits established reductions (reservations), a specifically organized, permanent dwellings for indigenous population.

The 17th century is considered the most influential historic period for the development of colonies, when the more lasting forms of economic organizations, specific social order, and the overall individuation of its civilization took place. During the 17th century, the social frustration in colonies accumulated as the latent overture to the separatism. By the end of 18th century, the weak economy of the Iberian metropolises was neither able to follow the strong economic development in Latin America, nor to hold back anti-colonialism and secessionism in its colonies.

II.2. Economic and social development in the 19th century

Evolution of the economic and social system within Latin America has intensified in the 19th century, marked by the end of Iberian colonialism in the New World and by the future states gaining their independence. Decolonization proved to be a complex process of dismantling of the Spanish colonial system and their governing ways. One of the direct reasons for the crisis and final failure of the Iberian colonialism in the New World was the clash between the *creoles* and *peninsulares* over the governing power. Incorporation of *encomiendas* into the feudal social system has formed a class of creoles-landowners who, by the end of 18th century, become oligarchs and, as such, more and more independent from the metropole. That transformation significantly weakened colonial power. Indigenous population, as one of the marginalized social groups, to pull itself out of the grave position, organized many rebellions against the hardships in the 18th century. On the other side were *creoles* with their interests and a desire to increase their political influence, and eventually start governing. Although the Creoles were the link through which wealth flowed to the Crown, the colonial government did not allow them to enter the public service. In this way, Creole frustration grew and their loyalty to the crown declined. From that germ, conflicts grew into wars for the independence and political independence of the colonies.

Authors *Vanden* and *Prevost* hold that the bitterness of creoles with the Bourbon reforms stemmed from the fact that those reforms diminished their political power and social status and gave fuel to movements for independence of the colonies at the onset of 19th century.³⁵ Unlike careful creoles, aforementioned early uprisings in Hispano-America were led by unexperienced and politically naïve leaders. Their chance to fulfil those goals

³⁵ Vanden, H. E. & Prevost, G. (2015). *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 43.

presented itself when Napoleon attacked Spain. At that time Creole leaders started spearheading the historical process of gaining independence of Latin America, at first as their ideologists (*Francisco de Miranda, Antonio Nariño, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla*³⁶), and later as its main actors (*Simón Bolívar, Antonio José de Sucre, José Martí, José de San Martín, Manuel Belgrano, José María Morelos*, and others). Movement for the independence of Spain-America underwent various stages which will be addressed later. The general direction of the Movement became clear in the timespan 1810–1814. International situation was favoring the tendency of Iberian colonies for the secession from its metropolises. Those were the times of sweeping historical events like the secession of North American colonies from England (1776) and the successful French Bourgeois Revolution (1789). Revolution and its liberal ideas inspired scarce, but reputable bourgeois intelligentsia in the colonies to become an ideal resonator for those ideas by the very fact of both Iberian metropolises being conquered by France. From that moment on, those ideas spread into the farthest corner of Latin America and continue to steer its social life. The rebellion in Haiti in 1791 led by the freed black slave *Toussaint L'Ouverture* had happened influenced by the same historic conditions. This uprising against the colonial rule was successful although just “colored” population participated.

An additional reassurance to the movement for independence which announced the end of Iberian colonialism was the fall of Lisbon (1807) and Madrid (1808) into Napoleon's hands. Besides, by the end of 18th century was already clear that the colonial authority and its institutions were in deep crisis. In addition, Spanish Armada continued losing its dominance at sea. It is considered that the local initiatives via *open cabildos* and *popular juntas* helped to define the general direction of the Movement for independence in Latin America until 1814. After almost three centuries in existence, The *Royal and Supreme Council of Indies* was for the first time annulled in 1812 by the first liberal constitution (*Constitution of Cadiz*³⁷) instituted for Spain

³⁶ Hidalgo, for example, was a Mexican priest. In a Mexican village, Dolores, he led a popular revolt in 1810 against the Spanish rule, known as the “cry from Dolores” (*grito de Dolores*). He gathered the fighting force of about 50,000 men made from the oppressed mestizos and the indigenous population. They were defeated in the battle of *Guadalajara* in 1811.

³⁷ Constitution of Cadiz came to effect on 03.19.1812. thanks to the influence of liberals. The Spanish Parliament (*Les Cortes de Cádiz*) in its 1810-1813 session did that in the presence of the delegates from its colonies. This was the first Spanish constitution to mention national sovereignty. Spanish Crown, aware of its political

by Napoleon. At that time the New World clearly recognizes the idea of independence, and it firmly walks in that direction. The new Constitution gave authority to the Parliament (*Cortes*), the role of the King was diminished; censorship and Inquisition³⁸ were abolished. That was the end of Inquisition in Latin America, while in Spain it was reinstated by the King Ferdinand VII in 1813 but it didn't last much longer. After the King assumed his throne in 1814, the liberal Constitution from Cadiz was annulled, and the Council of Indies was revitalized in the attempt to preserve Spanish rule in Latin America. At that time, the rebellions against the Spanish colonial rule were momentarily on hold, but they will resume soon. The Council of Indies was dismantled for good in 1834. At that time the Spain hardly has any colony left, and the Portuguese dynasty *Bragança* secures its rule in two kingdoms, one in Portugal, and the other one in Brazil.

Before mentioned Napoleonic campaign on Iberia in 1807 caused the Prince Regent of Brazil and his entire court to flee toward Brazil, followed and protected by the British Royal Navy. Once there, Joao VI (*Dom João V*) via *Royal Decree* opens Brazilian ports to a free trade ending the commercial monopoly held by the Portugal for a long time. English profited from this decision. Bilateral agreement from 1810 guaranteed 15 years of privileged relationship with Brazil (merchandise was imported from England with the lower tariffs than Portuguese). This newly found independence gave a boost to the sciences, education, culture, press, establishment of the bank and Brazilian currency. With the end of Napoleonic war in 1814, the creole elite do not feel the King should remain in Brazil. Liberals in the Portuguese parliament, at the same time, urge the King to return to Lisbon and continue to exploit Brazilian resources. At the end, Brazil became a kingdom with the same status as Portugal. Its economic independence from Portugal, the colony achieves in 1818, and in 1822, Prince Regent Pedro I proclaimed a political independence which was ratified by Lisbon³⁹. Prince had

and economic interests, didn't allow a proportional representation from the colonies versus Spanish delegates. That Parliamentary inequality frustrated and weakened their strong fate in the possible unification of Spain with Hispanic America.

³⁸ The King had a complete control over Inquisition (1480-1820) and he named inquisitors. The role of Inquisition in the New World and in Spain was the same, to keep Christianity pure. The indigenous population was for the most part officially excluded from the courts of Inquisition in the New World, on the account of being Christians for a very short time.

³⁹ Brazil was formally proclaimed independent from Portugal only after the loyalists were defeated from the local fighters for independence in the battle at *Bahia* 1823. At

the economy-driven support from the agricultural elite, which needed more slave labor for the sugar plantations; responding to those needs the monarchy maintained the legality of the slave trade. Constitution from 1824 confirms the legitimacy of the slavery, and the most powerful producers of the coffee and sugar maintain their privileged position. That's how Brazil became one of the largest exporters of coffee in the world. It's important to note that during the reign of Dom Pedro II (crowned in 1841), Brazil had a fully functional parliamentary monarchy; he supported education, culture, sciences, and was a firm opponent of the slavery. Dom Pedro has a respectfully inclined toward Roman Catholicism as the official religion of his Kingdom. On the other hand, the official Church thought his leadership was too liberal, as he looked kindly onto Protestantism and Masonic movement (Free masonry) in Brazil. Brazil had endured minimal sacrifices to gain the independence, at the same time, social disruptions were not as high as in Hispanic America and, all things considered, the conditions for the formation of a strong military caste never existed in Brazil.

The movement for the independence of Hispano American colonies was characterized with big battles and led by the charismatic leaders as Simon Bolivar (*Simón Bolívar*, 1783-1830). He declares the *War for independence* against Spain "until our dying breath" in 1813. In the string of victories, he liberated several cities including Caracas. Arrival of the Spanish troops briefly united political goals of the monarchist and those of republicans who became equally outraged and saw their independence from Spain as the only option. Around that time, in 1815, the leading anti-liberal European monarchies formed *The Holy Alliance* in Paris. England was against the intervention of this alliance in the New World, which prevented Spain to recapture its former colonies after Napoleon's defeat. At that time, Bolivar arrives to Jamaica seeking support for the patriotic forces. In his famous *Letter from Jamaica (Carta de Jamaica)* in 1815, he hid between the lines a message for England. He rationalizes the goals of the wars for independence, the reasons for European support, and his personal expectations for the future republics. Bolivar further went to explain his vision of the regional unity project from which, later, the doctrine of *Bolivarism* developed and evolved all the way to Hispano-Americanism. The main idea he advocated for, got larger over time to encompass unification of the entire Latin America, the idea which grew in strength throughout the 19th century and led to the Latino-Americanism. With the surrender of the fortress

the same time, Brazil is the only monarchy in which the metropole moved into the colony and kept running the empire.

of Callao in 1826, the colonial army finally left Spanish America. That same year, representatives of all countries liberated from the Spanish and Portuguese rule (later called *Panamanian Continental Congress for Unification*) met, where Bolivar presented his idea about the Latino-American confederation. Keeping in mind the motivations interests of European countries (England and Dutch) as well as those of the USA, Bolivar was against their sponsoring of the Congress. Even though the Congress accepted the *General Contract of Unification and Confederation*, many countries didn't ratify it, and the idea about Latino American unity didn't materialize. *The Congress of Panama* sent an important signal to the USA about the lack of unity in Latin America. On the other hand, the last part of the War for Independence was characterized by the fight of creoles for the political power, and by the strong localism which did not favor unity. A relationship between the Latin American countries was marked with large differences and rivalry. The concept of *Pan-Americanism*⁴⁰ found a fertile ground under those conditions.

In 1804, the first independent country in Latin America was Haiti. Chronological list of the countries gaining independence is: in 1811 Venezuela, Paraguay and Ecuador; in 1816 Argentina; in 1818 Chile; in 1819 Colombia; in 1821 Mexico, Peru, Dominican Republic – briefly; in 1821 Central American Federation (in 1839 split into El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua); in 1822 Brazil; in 1825 Bolivia; in 1828 Uruguay; in 1844 Dominican Republic – permanently; in 1898 Cuba; in 1903 Panama (secession from Colombia). Central American countries (Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Costa Rica) in 1822 became a part Royal Mexico under self-proclaimed imperator Augustin I Iturbide (*Augustín de Iturbide*). Just a year after, after his abdication, these countries transitioned into independent *United Provinces of Central America*. Leaders of the republics proclaimed their economic independence, but inexperienced in how the world markets work.

⁴⁰ *Pan-Americanism*, in its initial (Bolivar's) phase advocated the establishment of Hispano-American confederation. Later on, many institutions emerged to form an Interamerican system within the Western hemisphere, that were sitting on the foundations of that same unaccomplished dream. That system, next developed through the international American conferences (the first one was in 1889-1890) with the goal to define regional institutions that were the foundation for the regionalism on that space today.

According to: Levi, R. (1995). Panamerikanizam – od ideje do realizacije (Latinska Amerika i savremeni svet), Beograd: IMPP i Jugoslovensko udruženje latinoamerikanista, pp. 209-225.; Pajović, S. S. (2006), Latinskoamerički regionalizam u XIX i XX veku, Beograd: Megatrend, pp. 96-97.

Public debts became an immediate problem for many new republics in Spanish America. Since the national trunks emptied fast during the war times, those wars were financed by borrowing. The biggest financier was England, and her bankers gave loans to prop various regimes. A part of foreign investment went to the agriculture under the auspices of the *export-import* model of the economic development in Latin America. The debts brought financial burden to Mexico, Argentina, Peru, Chile, and others. English merchants arriving to Latin America are taking over the import of merchandize and services and, later, they take over the transport, insurance, and finances. At the same time, domestic goods become inferior to European, which benefited from the newer technology and the economy of scale. The land remains in the hands of the traditional creole families. It could be concluded that the first period of the political independence in Latin America was dominated by the intensification of *latifundia*. At the down of 19th century, latifundia become a dominant way of land possession which keeps the old model of extreme concentration of the land in the possession of a small amount of people.⁴¹ Industry was overshadowed by the agriculture, and the traditional merchant families also remained at their previous positions. At any rate, the process of gaining independence in Hispanic America was a revolutionary process in which feudalism was defeated along with the remnants of the slaveholding system, a caste-based society was abolished (classical feudal social order); republicanism inspired by the Cadiz Constitution was proclaimed; the marginalization of the inhabitants of numerous independent republics was formally abolished. The recognition of the new republics by the Holy See did not go smoothly and without misunderstanding. On the other hand, agreements between the Vatican and the leaders of the movements for independence enabled Catholicism to become the official state religion.⁴²

⁴¹ Shortly after gaining independence, agriculture of the region had positive results. Still in existence, before-mentioned forms of indigenous cooperatives *ayllu* and *calpulli* were able to produce enough for the markets. But in Bolivia, for example, according to the law from 1866 *ayllu* were outlawed and to the indigenous population working there was promised the ownership of the land. Unfortunately, the speculators soon purchased the land from indigenous people.

For more information about the typical forms of agricultural structures in the Latin America in 19th century see: Furtado, Celso, *Economic Development of Latin America: Historical Background and Contemporary Problems*, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 68-80.

⁴² Vanden, H. E. & Prevost, G. (2015). *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 74.

After the initial crisis which the leading causes was the serious drop in the number of indigenous people working in the mines in Spanish America in the 17th century, mining revitalizes in the 18th century. This recovery was mainly due to the investment the Crown made in the new technologies and in discovering of new mines. Very different situation happened in the 19th century when the only industry with enough workers was mining. By the end of 19th century, Latino-American governments found a universal solution to this problem by issuing numerous concessions for mining industry, at first to European, and by the end of that century to the Anglo-American companies. That's how the new technologies arrived at the neglected mines. They unlabelled Mexico to have the biggest producer of silver and the 2nd producer of copper in the world at the end of 19th century. The other side of the coin was seen in 1884 when the new Law about mines gave the right to the owner of the land to become the owner of the ore found on his land. Until 1910, when the Mexican revolution started.⁴³ Until 1910, when the Revolution started, only one in four mines was Mexican owned.

In summa, the first decades after the independence were achieved, a socioeconomic consequence on the population varied according to which previous caste group they belonged. Creoles-landowners (*hacendados*) were not interested in the politics and turned toward enlarging their possessions until the middle of 19th century. For example, the Argentinian ranches called *estancias* was of the average size of about 30, 000 ha. As the authority of governments grew, they transition into the politics and manipulate the executive branch to protect their interest. That's how the Latin American oligarchy finally galvanized its complete dominance. Mestizos blended into the middle social class through their military careers and thus achieved the *upward social mobility*.⁴⁴ Those military men, who were the most successful, had an opening into the political arena. After the wars for independence, indigenous population regressed both socially and materially. Without the support of the Crown, its rights were not protected, its labor was cheap, and the upcoming capitalism of the 19th century further marginalized its material and social status. By the end of 1850's, the black slaves in Spanish America were freed (except in Cuba and Puerto Rico); Brazil followed in 1888. That entire region didn't find an answer to the social and cultural integration

⁴³ During the reign of general Porfirio Diaz 1876 -1911.

⁴⁴ In 1800, from the total number of soldiers in Hispanic America, 80% was born in America. According to: *Harry E. Vanden & Gary Prevost, Politics of Latin America, the Power Game*, Oxford University Press, 2015, p.43.

at the time. The socioeconomic structure in Latin America during independence consists of the small elite at the top, a bit larger middle class, and 80-90% of the population on the bottom.

By the middle of the 19th century, there were three types of export-oriented economies which developed under the previously discussed conditions 1) *economies of the agricultural products of the mild climate*, in Argentina, Uruguay, and parts of Brazil and Chile. 2) *economies of the tropical or mostly tropical climates* in Brazil, Columbia, Central America, Caribbean, Ecuador, and much of Mexico and Venezuela. Along with the traditional colonial products (sugar, tobacco), by the middle of 19th century a sudden demand for new products (coffee, cocoa) occurs. For example, the region of São Paulo contributed 2/3 of the total world coffee production at the end of 19th century; 3) *economies of ores and minerals* in Mexico, Peru, Chile, and in part in Bolivia. Rich sources of copper, lead, zinc, nitrates, etc. have prompted foreign capital to invest in the technology end rail transport. On the other hand, to protect their investments, foreign capitalists increased, and over time completely took over this sector which thus became an auto-nomic economy within the national economies.⁴⁵

By the end of 70's and at the beginning of 80's in 19th century, the export of raw materials and traditional agricultural products (grain, meet, coffee, wool, etc.) in Europe and the USA caused a spike in the economic development in Latin America. Its countries imported many industrial products from Europe (mechanization, textile, luxury items, etc.). The prices on Latin-American exported goods on the world market were unstable, but the prices on the imported (mainly industrial) goods were relative stable. This asymmetrical model of trade on one hand stimulated instability of the Latino-American economy, and on the other, increased their economic dependence on the industrial countries of that time. In fact, it led to the transition of de-colonialization as a process of general modernization of those countries into neo-colonization under the hegemonistic tendencies of the Great Britain, France, Germany, and a bit latter the USA. At the same time, most of the countries in the region didn't have a clear strategy for the economic development and didn't have a stable political structure.

⁴⁵ Pajović, S. S. (2006). *Latinskoamerički regionalizam u XIX i XX veku*, Beograd: Megatrend Univerzitet, p. 84-88; Furtado, C. (1976). *Economic Development of Latin America: Historical Background and Contemporary Problems*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 47-51.

II.3. Economic and social development in the first half of 20th century

Latin America in the 20th century functions as a politically independent region of the international community. After gaining independence, inspired by the European liberal doctrine, its countries formally became bourgeois republics. The social, economic, and political changes in Latin American societies in the 20th century allowed enough room for the remnants of feudalism to exist in the rural areas and for the rudimentary capitalism to exist in the less developed countries. V. Bulmer-Thomas metaphorically describes this economic development since independence as “*a story of unfulfilled promises*”.⁴⁶

The first phase in the development of independent Latin America was intense and it happened between 1870 and 1914. Liberalism promoted an export-import model as the foundation for economic development in Latino American countries. This model relied on the production of one or few products (mainly raw materials or food products) intended for the international market. It was obvious that the application of this model caused an increase in both trade and transport compared to the other economic sectors. Consequently, mass migrations from the villages into towns were underway, with the consequence of correcting demographic disbalance. Fast development of cities brought the ascent in culture and education. This economic model thus changed the society and modernized the countries in the region. The main exported products in the period between 1878 and 1938 were: Chile – copper and nitrates; Venezuela – crude oil; Mexico – silver, coffee, and crude oil; Brazil – coffee, sugar, natural rubber, and cotton; Columbia, Haiti, and Salvador – coffee; Cuba – sugar and tobacco; Bolivia – tin; Argentina – grains and meat; Uruguay – meat; Peru – sugar, silver, cotton, and crude oil.⁴⁷

There has been a significant process of modernization of traffic infrastructure. On the other hand, the accelerated pace of urban development caused agriculture to find it difficult to adequately meet the demand of the domestic market. The causes lay in the extensive cultivation of the land and the largely

⁴⁶ Bulmer-Thomas, V. (2003). *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence*, Cambridge University Press, pp.392-410.

⁴⁷ According to: Blattman, C., Hwang, J. and Williamson, J.G., *The Terms of Trade and Economic Growth in the Periphery 1870-1938* (Sep. 2003), Appendix 2, retrieved 28.05.2019, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.195.255&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

inefficient industry which was simply overtaken by foreign competition. Raw materials and agricultural products from Latin America were in high demand on the markets of the warring sides during World War I, which sped up the accumulation of capital and increased the buying power on the region. That purchasing power was at odds with the capabilities of most of its suppliers, at the time focused on the needs of the war industry. In that way, the first stimulus to one's own industrialization was created. Due to the extremely marginalized character of the Latin American economy, the strong influence on it was felt during the Great Depression (1929-1933) which, mainly because of the diminished flow of foreign capital, brought about instability of the financial sector in Latin America; simultaneously, the world market doesn't need much of the raw materials that used to be exported from the continent. It can be concluded that the events not connected to the region transformed its export-import developing model into new model (*desarrollismo*) and applied strategy that would substitute import through the hastened industrialization or ISI (*import-substitution industrialization*). This transformation had helped the most economically developed countries at that time (Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico) to develop and broaden the capacities of domestic markets. This model of the development was more broadly applied in Latin America after the Great Depression, or more precisely before, during, and after the World War II. The major long-term goal for its application was to establish an economic independence of the region.

Investments were mostly geared toward the mining industry, agriculture, and transport. The economy does grow, but the external debt also increases during the first two decades of the 20th century. In 1929, Great Depression stops the flow of external capital into Latin America. At that time, for example, less developed countries of the Central America had to guarantee the payment of the interest by temporarily allowing USA to control duties or the railroad transport on its territories. Roughly at the same time the domination of English economic interests ends and is being replaced by the domination of American interests in Latin America. European economy took long to recover from both World War I and from the Great Depression. The USA market readily absorbed vast amounts of raw products which opened the first door for their capital to enter Latin America. Aside from that, a very important fact for the increasing influence of the USA in this region was the opening of inter-oceanic Panama Canal in 1914. Panama Canal became a symbol in equalizing of the importance of two oceans and marked a significant geopolitical change. The onset of World War I is the period which

1934-1938	primary	%	secondary	%	both %
Brazil	Coffee	68%	Cotton	24%	92%
Chile	Copper	62%	Nitrate	38%	100%
Colombia	Coffee	74%	Petroleum	26%	100%
Cuba	Sugar	87%	Tobacco	13%	100%
Mexico	Silver	31%	Petroleum	31%	62%
Peru	Petroleum	40%	Cotton	27%	67%

Table 1. Main raw materials exported before the WW II (% of total export)

Source: adapted per Blattman, C., Hwang, J. and Williamson, J.G. (2003), *The Terms of Trade and Economic Growth in the Periphery 1870-1938*.

started shaping the USA foreign policy of the military, economic, financial, social, and cultural interventionism. Aside from increasing the national safety (defined by the complete elimination of the influence of leading European powers) this foreign policy was also geared toward establishment of the new markets, as well as toward acquiring of the raw materials.

The very same reasons will play a major role in the initiative to form a unified Interamerican system within the Western Hemisphere. The strategic interest sectors for the USA capital in Latin America were mainly mining, processing industry, transport-related infrastructure (railroads) and agriculture. American multinational company *The United Fruit Company* is a good example of how this strategic interest changed the agrarian production structure in the Central America and the Caribbean. (Map 5). On the other hand, mining is a quite specific economic sector since it requires a very high capital inputs – the fact which increased already significant influence that the USA had in Latin America onto the financing sector and banking. The end of the World War I have announced the beginning of the hegemony of the USA-designed “*Western Hemisphere*” security concept (which define the doctrine of the influence and domination), through the various forms of interventional behavior in the Caribbean, Central America, Mexico, among others.

As the economy stumbled in the occupied Europe during the World War II, the dependence of Latin America on the “Northern neighbour’s” market deepened. Especially, because their raw materials were of the strategic importance to Washington, Nevertheless, both World Wars entered the history of economics in the region as the expansionist cycles due to the strategic importance of the Latin American raw materials and due to the direct economy-trade interconnections within the Western Hemisphere. It can be concluded that those wars economically and politically weakened Europe,



Map 5. Monopoly of the “United Fruit Company” in Central America and the Caribbean

Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/575475658611232889> 22/05/2019

which further facilitated the dominant position of the USA in Latin America. Finally, the Bretton Woods Conference⁴⁸ in 1944 announced the end of an era of the British capital dominance in the region and de facto opened the door to American capital and its companies into the Latin America.

The political development of Latin America in the 20th century was very unstable with frequent interchange between the dictatorships and democratic regimes. Post-independence vulnerability of this region as well as instability of the political institutions opened the room for participation of the army in the political arena. It was notable that army had an enormous influence within both existing models of the social organization, oligarchic democracy and dictatorship. This fact is proven by the long-lasting presence of the army in the political history of Latin America. Another role of the army

⁴⁸ On the UN Monetary and Financial Conference in Bretton Woods, 44 participating countries decided to establish International Monetary Fund (IMF) and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) – better known as one of five constituent institutions of The World Bank Group. It’s interesting to mention that *John Maynard Keynes*, the head of British delegation in Bretton Woods, suggested that the seat of IBRD and IMF should not be in Washington. He wanted to partially neutralize the influence of American government on these institutions. See further in: Jovanović-Gavrilović, P. (1988). *Međunarodno poslovnno finansiranje*, Beograd: Savremena administracija, pp. 203-210.

in this region was to be a pioneer in exploration of the remote, impassable regions of this vast continent. Army would first integrate those regions into the national territory and then made it available for exploitation within one of the important sectors of its economy. The army was a force which made numerous maps, but also built the infrastructure, hospitals, and participated in similar projects. Among many other duties, the army was a protector of the Church and Christian values. Particularly interesting view on this phenomenon has Dirk Kruijt, who in his article *The Political Influence of the Latin American Military* since he follows intertwining of the double roles (internal vs. external security) and the double paths (military professionalism vs. political activity) within the Latin American army, calling it “the political army”. This name reflects the fact that Latin America is a continent of *political soldiers* and *military politicians*. Politics was the source of a tangible power for the Latino American Army throughout the last century, with its peaks during the last decades of the 19th century and between 1930’s and 1950’s. Professionalization of the army in those decades has perfected its political activity.⁴⁹ Latino American armies are trained, aside from warding off the external dangers, to perform a variety of secondary missions.⁵⁰ Modern times though bring new challenges for this army where every new crisis becomes quite unique and increasingly carries more and more global risks.⁵¹

The Church of the 20th century is one of the most important entities in the social, cultural, emancipating, economic, and political events in the region. Its separation from the state took place, and time blunted the edge of fanatical anti-clericalism. At the beginning of the 20th century, diplomatic relations were established between the Holy See and all Latin American

⁴⁹ Kruijt, D., *The Political Influence of the Latin American Military*, Working Paper No. 30 | October 2017, Amsterdam, Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericanos (CEDLA)

⁵⁰ Sethi, M., *Changing Role of Military in Latin America: Some Approaches and Interpretations*, p. 6, accessed 18.04. 2019. at: <https://www.idsa-india.org/an-jan-11.html>

⁵¹ On the 1st of May 2019, world media reported that there was a coup attempt in Venezuela. Official president Nicolas Maduro (supported by: Russia, China, India, Iran, Turkey, Mexico, Uruguay, and others), and self-proclaimed president of the opposition Juan Guaido (supported by: USA, Canada, most EU countries, Brazil, Argentina, Columbia, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Costa Rica, Guatemala, and OAE – Organization of American States) both stated that the army is with them. It seems that both leaders knew that during the political crisis the support of the army will be crucial. From: Deutsche Welle, *Chaos in Venezuela: Whose side the army is on?*, retrieved 01.05.2019, from <https://www.dw.com/bs/haos-u-venecueli-na-%C4%8Dijoj-strani-je-vojska/a-48560503>,

states, and during the first half of the same century, a compromise between the Church and distinctly anti-clerical liberals emerged.

The first three decades of the 20th century have passed in the outward appearance of economic and political stability for the young Latin American countries. Only Mexico did not fall into this general category – between 1910 and 1917, Mexico underwent the first social revolution of the 20th century. Mexican Revolution was a complex and broad social movement geared toward toppling of the dictator Porfirio Díaz,⁵² as well as the ruling landowning and banking elite whose interest he protected. That kind of politics caused a broad resentment in the population and calls for the change in the archaic social structure particularly in villages. In 1900, the discovery of crude oil in Mexico changed not just its future political and economic relationships with the USA, but also altered the course of Mexican Revolution. John Skirius in his article *Railroad, Oil and Other Foreign Interests in the Mexican Revolution* presents many facts which support the assertion that, at that time, there was a concealed war happening between the interest of the European and American large capital (mostly between the companies in oil industry and those attempting to control the railroad system in Mexico).⁵³ That polarization of interests additionally destabilized Mexican governments. Despite such economic and political circumstances, the Mexican Constitution of 1917 was the first constitution in the world to legalize social rights. Aside from that, this constitution depoliticized the army giving it a new task – to help the population in its social activities. Some examples of the social activities of the army participated in are: fight against drug producers and traffickers, educating illiterate indigenous population, vaccinations, building of schools and roads in rural areas, forestry and others. On the other hand, according to the provision of the 27th Constitution, the Church was forbidden to inherit, own or manage land or other real estate, and everything it owned until then (including hospitals, educational institutions, shelters for the poor) was nationalized.⁵⁴

⁵² *Porfirio Díaz* belonged to the indigenous Mexican tribe called Zapotec. His reign so-called *Porfiriato* (1876-1880; 1884-1911) protected the foreign capital and the privileged in Mexican society. *Díaz* was supported by landowning oligarchy, the army, clergy, and especially by foreign investors who would be awarded concession and public works. The existing regime was protected with the money from those concessions.

⁵³ Skirius, John. (2003). *Railroad, Oil and Other Foreign Interests in the Mexican Revolution, 1911–1914*. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 35(1), pp. 37-41.

⁵⁴ Buchenau, J. *The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1946*, Online Publication Date: Sep 2015 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.21, p. 7.; Vukušić B. (1995). *Samobitnost političkog sistema Meksika*, Zbornik Latinska Amerika i savremeni svet, Beograd:

Historical events like the Mexican Revolution (along with the simultaneous civil war 1914-1916), left deep scars on the entire nation. Collective remembrance of those tragic times during which about one million people perished, contributed to the fact that long time after the Revolution, Mexico had the most stable political system in entire Latin America. Additionally, that stability was a concrete result of the suppression of the traditions of caciquismo and caudillismo, which contributed to the article in the Constitution which doesn't allow for re-election of the President of the Republic. Finally, Mexican Revolution influenced greatly the political future of the entire region: oligarchic regimes failed; new autochthonous political doctrines formed; universities underwent reforms; societies eventually emancipated, and so on. This Revolution has become a paradigm for all Latin American social revolutions. Former General of the Mexican Revolution, President Lazar Cárdenas (1934-1940), as a part of sweeping agrarian reform, redistributed 17.7 million of hectares of land to landless people – more than all his predecessors combined. In 1938, President Cárdenas nationalized the industry, including the expropriation of oil fields from the *Royal Dutch Shell* and *Standard Oil Co.* He used the protest of the workers regarding the new collective contract as a pretext for this move.

Since the two-party political system, in the first half of the 20th century, did not allow enough room for solving of the social and economic problems, and problems of the marginalized population in Latin America, new autochthonous political doctrines like APRA-ism and populism emerged at that time, with the goal of dismantling of the oligarchic state.⁵⁵ Peronism in Argentina (1945-1955) was one of the most important populist movements in the region. It was based on the specific political doctrine – *Justicialismo*,⁵⁶

IMPP i Jugoslovensko udruženje latinoamerikanista, pp. 260-261.; Skidmore, T. E., Smith P. H. & Green J. N. (2014). *Modern Latin America*, Oxford University Press, p. 59.

⁵⁵ Autochthonous political movement APRA preceded populism and appeared in Peru for the first time by the mid-30's in the 20th century. Its founder, and main ideologist was Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. APRA focused its activity on the social segments suffering under the imperialism: impoverished middle class, farmers, and workers. Its main doctrinal characteristics or the APRA movement are: unity of Indoamerica, internationalization of the sovereignty over the Panama Canal zone, strengthening of the antiimperialist state, establishing of the strong economy, and centralization of the state power. Pajović, S. S. (2006). *Latinskoamerički regionalizam u XIX i XX veku*, Beograd: Megatrend Univerzitet, pp. 152-154.

⁵⁶ *Doctrina justicialista* (Perón's doctrine of social justice) advocates a third developmental path sitting between the communism and capitalism. According to Peron, justicialismo is a folk philosophy, simple, humanistic, and deeply Christian.

whose inventor was *Juan Domingo Perón* (president of Argentina in 1946–52, 1952–55, 1973–74). This doctrine was successful, in part, due to the political and humanitarian work of *Perón's* influential wife, *Eva Maria Duarte de Perón*. She endeared the political goals of the Peronism to the marginalized classes in Argentina and advanced emancipation of its female citizens.

Finally, unilateral relationships of the young republics established with the mightiest capitalist countries further advance the process of fragmentation of Latin America. Throughout history, the interests of the great powers have separated the countries of Latin America, creating artificial barriers between them, which later led to numerous internal frictions and even armed conflicts. *Divide et impera!* It is a fact that not a single country in the region had a status of the developed country in XX century, despite being in the possession of many natural resources including fertile soil and the proportional amount of qualified workforce.

III. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF LATIN AMERICA IN THE SECOND HALF OF 20TH AND AT THE BEGINNING OF 21ST CENTURY

Latin America went through several phases of its economic and social development during the second half of the XX and the beginning of the XXI century, confirming that every development model under certain historical circumstances becomes porous. In addition to the traditional movement between democratic and dictatorial regimes, history records two revolutionary models of socio-economic development (Cuban and Nicaraguan), which changed the previous structure of society and the economy of the region. Many authors also, have paid great attention to studying the ideological conditionality of economic and social development of Latin America in this period, given the fact that the “*desarrollismo*”⁵⁷ model from an ideological point of view was based on strengthening the state, its instruments and competencies in social and economic development. This process implied the building of a welfare state. Following the CEPAL recommendations, Latin American governments have gradually entered several integration schemes designed as a logical extension of the ISI strategy since the early 1960s. This was a period when countries focused on economic growth, industrialization, and economic integration as the most important topics for their development processes.

After the crisis of the ISI model devised by CEPAL and after the “lost decade” of the 1980s, a completely new development model was adopted – neoliberal. Within it, *open regionalism*, the second phase of Latin American regionalism begins. It lasted until the 1990s. At the beginning of the 21st century, so-called post-neoliberal regionalism shifts its focus from economic to political goals and the role of social policy in development.

⁵⁷ The term “*el desarrollismo*” derives from the Spanish word *el desarrollo* (development). The term was used by avant-garde CEPAL economists to devise a model that included accelerated industrialization for import substitution (ISI), as well as a process of regional economic integration.

Current events from the first two decades of the 21st century on the Latin American scene have confirmed the complexity of internal and external influences on this space of Marquez's "magical realism". Within this space economic, political, and social factors largely continue to shape historical heritage and asymmetric, center-periphery relations in the world. Therefore, the reality is turbulent and conflicting, and poverty is a shadow of the life for most of its population, despite the rich cultural heritage and abundance of natural resources. The importance of a holistic approach to economic and social development is pointed out by Pope Francis, "*The dignity of each human person and the pursuit of the common good are concerns which ought to shape all economic policies. At times, however, they seem to be a mere addendum imported from without in order to fill out a political discourse lacking in perspectives or plans for true and integral development*" (EG, § 203:160).

III.1. *Desarrollismo* model of economic development

Two World Wars and the World Economic Crisis 1929-1933. practically severed the entire system of connections that this region had with the world market and strong economic centers due to the peripheral character of the Latin American economy and its export orientation. Since then, Latin America has begun to follow the logic of independent economic development. The new development matrix within the *desarrollismo* model was characterized by the orientation towards industrialization, a significantly greater role of the state and orientation to the domestic market. Contrary to the IMF's recommendations in favour of "outward-looking" economic policies, CEPAL recommended "inward-looking" policies. For countries with a solid industrial base (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Uruguay), the internal model of development (*hacia adentro*) was more acceptable, because it offered greater resistance to external shocks. In addition, this model has already demonstrated the ability to accelerate the rapid growth of production and employment in the industrial sector.

The leading postulate of the theory of structural economic dependence (*teoría de la dependencia*) of the Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch is explained by the legacy of the colonial past of Latin America. According to this postulate, the world economy is seen as the interaction of the center (industrialized state) with the periphery (underdeveloped state).⁵⁸ In the

⁵⁸ Atkins, G. Pope. (1999). *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Boulder: Westview Press, p. 67.

late 1940s, Prebisch formed an expert team of *structuralists* under the auspices of CEPAL. The team has prepared numerous studies in which the topics of deteriorating exchange conditions have dominated, as well as the need to apply import-substituted industrialization. From the economic school of “Latin American structuralism” (*structuralismo latinoamericano*), the basic principles of the theory of dependence emerged, in the focus of which was a new term – development (*desarrollo*). The main reasons for CEPAL’s design of the “desarrollismo” model of the Latin American economy in the 1950s and 1970s are: first, to be a defense strategy, as it relies on the formation of an expanded Latin American market that will function through sub-regional and regional forms of integration; second, to accelerate import substitution industrialization (ISI), and to make the process of economic integration an additional tool that will provide a market for these new products.

III.1.1. *Import substitution industrialization (ISI) strategy*

A *primary* goal in introducing of the ISI development strategy was the economic independence of Latin America, that is, the protection of national industries. It was to be achieved through a whole range of import restrictive measures in relation to European and American industrial products. The *second* goal of ISI was to provide jobs through the development of industrial plants in large cities, which had the problem of a huge influx of labor.⁵⁹ Regarding the structure of Latin American exports in the ISI period, statistics from 1960 show that only 9 products (oil, coffee, cotton, copper, meat, sugar, wool, iron ore, and bananas) accounted for 71.4% of the total value in regional exports. Oil had the largest share in total exports (28.4%), and its largest exporter was Venezuela. Coffee became the second largest product (16.7%) in the region’s total exports due to its largest exporters: Brazil, Colombia, and Costa Rica.⁶⁰ At the same time, the sensitivity of Latin American exports to external stimuli has remained high.

According to Skidmore et al., two sources of ideological and theoretical support of the ISI stand out in importance. The first one is Latin American

⁵⁹ Bulmer-Thomas, V. (2003). *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence*, Cambridge University Press, pp.241-242); Hofman, A. A. (2000). *The Economic Development of Latin America in the Twentieth Century*, Edward Elgar Cheltenham, UK / USA, pp. 33-38, https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/1650/1/S33098H713E_en.pdf

⁶⁰ Južnić, S. (1966). *Latinska Amerika: nastanak i razvoj društveno-ekonomskih struktura*, Beograd: IMPP, p. 86.

nationalism, that is, a long-standing desire for autonomy and independence. It was clear that political sovereignty could not be achieved without economic independence, which only industrialization could provide.⁶¹ Another important source of support for the introduction of ISI was CEPAL. This Commission was established under the auspices of the UN in 1948, with its headquarters in Santiago de Chile. It systematically analyzed the economic problems of the region, its growing socio-economic dependence, and development. In connection with this issue, Prebisch elaborated his views in 1949, in the essay “Economic Development of Latin America and Its Main Problems”.⁶² The essay served as the basis for the creation of the so-called “CEPAL doctrine” of Latin American economic development in the 1950s. This doctrine arose based on a thorough observation of the aforementioned asymmetric relationship between the center and the periphery within the international economy. Although CEPAL experts looked for the causes of underdevelopment in factors over which Latin America had no control, they felt that its control could be established if stronger measures of state intervention were applied. For the problem of unfavorable long-term trade parameters, CEPAL experts offered three solutions: first, reaching international commodity agreements; second, undertaking industrialization (for larger Latin American countries); third, the creation of economic integrations between Latin American countries, which would affect the expansion of consumer markets.⁶³ Despite all initial shortcomings of the “desarrollismo” model, Latin America reached the highest degree of industrialization compared to all other regions in the world. It should be emphasized that this was a model of economic development for all countries in the region, except for Cuba and Nicaragua as two historical exceptions.

The Cuban Revolution (1953-1959) led by Fidel Castro was, in addition to political transformation modeled on the former USSR and the Eastern Bloc countries, enabled the new governments in Cuba to introduce a centralized, five-year planned economy. The socialist character of the Cuban Revolution was officially proclaimed in April 1961. Cuba was the only Latin American country to integrate into an international economic group – the Council for

⁶¹ Skidmore, T. E., Smith P. H. & Green J. N. (2014). *Modern Latin America*, Oxford University Press, pp. 350-354.

⁶² UN published the essay in 1950, when Prebisch became CEPAL's executive secretary. Raúl Prebisch, *The Economic Development of Latin America and its principal problems*, ECLA, 1950, UN.

⁶³ Skidmore, T. E., Smith P. H. & Green J. N. (2014). *Ibid.*, pp. 350-354.

Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).⁶⁴ As for the economic aspect of the Cuban revolution, agrarian reform is attracting attention. In the new organizational system of agrarian reform, the production of sugar, rice, corn, and beans has doubled on average. Sugar production in 1961 was the second largest in the country's history, but it never happened again, which thwarted the Cuban plan to use the money from sugar to free funds for the import and development of industry. Just like agriculture, the entire industrial sector was nationalized, but most experts emigrated.⁶⁵ Cuba remained dependent on aid from the Soviet Union. Since the Cuban Revolution the United States has changed its attitude towards economic integration in Latin America, believing that through them it can expand its control in that area, especially to prevent the influence of non-regional rivals (primarily Russia).

The 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution was led by the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (*Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* – FSLN). Unlike in Cuba, other bourgeois sectors of society also participated, and the Nicaraguan revolution was not transformed into a communist model of development, but into the process of overthrowing the dictatorial regime of the Somoza family.⁶⁶ What supports the claim that this Revolution was not ideologically conditioned is the fact that significant parts of the bourgeoisie, but also the Church, found themselves in the opposition coalition. Despite Cuban and Soviet interference, the Nicaraguan revolution survived as a national revolution, even provoking a regional crisis in Central American. At the end of the period of bipolarity Latin American countries organized the *Grupo de Contadora* (Panama City, 1983), and the *Grupo de apoyo a Contadora* (Lima, 1985), to soften the militaristic outlook of the U.S. and to prevent internationalization of this revolution. Together, these two institutions, the so-called “*Group of Eight*”⁶⁷ successfully placed the causes of the Central American crisis and the Nicaraguan revolution in the socio-economic sphere. In 1979, when the revolution began in Nicaragua, a civil war had already erupted in El Salvador. This thirteen-year long civil war represented a crisis of the concept of an oligarchic

⁶⁴ CMEA or Совет Экономической Взаимопомощи (СЭВ), was founded in 1949 and existed under the leadership of the former Soviet Union until 1991. Its members were socialist countries.

⁶⁵ Celso Furtado, *Economic Development of Latin America: Historical Background and Contemporary Problems*, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 278-295.

⁶⁶ The Somoza family owned 40% of Nicaragua's total national wealth. In addition, it controlled about 50% of fertile soil, industry, finance, and trade.

⁶⁷ The Group of Eight includes: Mexico, Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay.

state and a two-party system that only functioned formally. In the late 1970s, the Church in El Salvador had a big influence on social processes through Archbishop Romero. He made people to aware of their social position and of the hope that they could control their lives while shaping the future of their country. He advocated peaceful protests to fight humiliation and injustice.⁶⁸

In the second half of the 20th century, due to the growing social tension in the countryside, the importance of agrarian issues, especially land reform, increased sharply in Latin America. Tulio Halperin Donghi, one of the most influential Latin American historians, finds that the proponents of industrialization shifted the blame for the stagnation of national economies to the technological and social backwardness of agriculture.⁶⁹ Even though industries had shortcomings per se, in this case the attention was nevertheless shifted to the low productivity of agriculture and the low standard of living for much of the rural population. Problems in agriculture were presented as the main reasons for insufficient market capacity for manufactured industrial goods and low dynamic of industrialization. The agrarian reform of the 1950s was an important part of the revolutionary programs of Guatemala and Bolivia, only to become indispensable in reform proposals throughout the hemisphere at the end of that decade. As for the reform in Guatemala in the early 1950s, it is advisable to mention here the observation of Noam Chomsky, which refers to the artificial stopping of the successful development of certain Latin American countries. Namely, he believes that the case of Guatemala has much in common with the case of Nicaragua in terms of consequences in the socio-economic sphere. In terms of social organization, the then Guatemala was a slightly reformist capitalist democracy, not unlike Roosevelt's New Deal. The difference between them was that the small Central American state directed its resources exclusively to the domestic population. It started agrarian reform and successful development, while social policy was focused on its own population. In short, it ceased to be a fertile ground for plunder through the domestic elite and foreign capital. It was also well on its way to become the state of all Guatemalans. Despite its ideological compatibility, it was doomed because it ceased to be profitable for the powerful. Like Nicaragua, it has become a "danger of a good example" – Chomsky concludes.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ 760 Homilies, 15th January 1978, vol. III, 152; 761 Homilies, 5th February 1978, vol. III, 190

⁶⁹ Halperin Donghi, T. (2007). *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, Duke University Press, pp. 250-255.

⁷⁰ Chomsky, N. (1999). *Latin America From Colonization to Globalization* (in conversation with Heinz Dieterich), Melbourne, New York: Ocean Press, pp. 56-57.

The ISI economic strategy (1930-1970) is mostly recognized by its contribution to the protection and strengthening of national industries. Data on the average annual regional growth rate show that it increased from 5.1% in the 1950s, to over 5.4% in the 1960s, to 5.8% in the 1970s. Such good results were achieved mostly due to the remarkable growth in the industrial sector of Mexico during the 1950s and 1960s, as well as of Brazil in the 1970s. From the perspective of these two “economic miracles” countries, the ISI strategy fared much better than in the small countries, which did not have large reserves of minerals and other natural resources. ISI strategy was not as important in the Central American and Caribbean countries, which still relied on the monoculture agriculture. Considering these smaller countries, the ISI strategy has failed.

III.1.2. *Initiation of economic integrations: characteristics, content, and forms*

The ideas of Latin American mutual rapprochement first appeared as ideas of political unity and cooperation in the form of Bolivarianism – a visionary idea of regional unity, which has already been discussed. It is believed that the discourse on unification within Europe after the end of the Second World War motivated similar thoughts in Latin America. Finally, numerous CEPAL studies have shown the justification for moving towards economic integration and have practically offered solutions for the first phase of Latin American integration. The predecessor of those integrations was the joint decision of the governments of five Central American countries to establish the Organization of Central American States (*Organización de Estados Centroamericanos* – ODECA). The decision was made at the CEPAL meeting in Mexico in 1951. The goal of the organization was to advance and promote political and economic cooperation, as well as the chronically unstable political relations of the Central American states.

Economic integration sc. regionalism, began to spread in the early sixties of the last century through a whole range of forms, and among the first was the Latin American Free Trade Association (sp. *La Asociación Latinoamericana de Libre Comercio* – ALALC; en. LAFTA).⁷¹ The goal of the Association was to gradually create a Latin American common market, which would enable the competitiveness of industries at the regional level. The agreement

⁷¹ The original signatories from Uruguay (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay) were later joined by Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador.

did not enable the complete freedom in trading. In 1980, ALALC was transformed into the Latin American Association for Integration (*La Asociación Latinoamericana de Integración* – ALADI; en. LAIA). The association retains only the function of a technical body that coordinates, and controls all attempts at integration between Latin American countries. This association did not lead to the creation of a free trade zone either, and its importance declined over time. In the group of large projects from the first phase of Latin American integration in the period 1950-1980, a specific trade agreement stands out – the Andean Pact (*Pacto Andino*), which was signed in Ecuador in 1969 by six ALALC member countries. Regarding the results of the Andean Pact, they are considered to have been better in the political field (due to the establishment of supranational organizations) than in the economy, where it failed to eliminate customs barriers and stimulate trade between members. In 1976, Chile left the group, initiating a strong internal crisis.

In December 1960, representatives of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua signed the General Agreement on Economic Integration (*Tratado de Managua*) in Managua. It enabled the creation of the Central American Common Market (*Mercado Común Centroamericano* – MCCA; en. CACM), thus officially separating the political from economic cooperation within the subregion. The good performance of their mutual trade has positively affected the course of the industrialization process, technical and technological readiness, and created a favorable climate for FDI in small industrial plants. The economic problems that arose from this integration process were suppressed by political and military conflicts in the 1970s and 1980s.⁷² These conflicts weakened the power of the MCCA until its gradual dissolution in the early 1990s, when it transformed into the System of Central American Integration (*Sistema de Integración Centroamericano* – SICA). Although this Central American unification experiment was useful for industrialization, it was “irresistible to US domination” – claimed Argentine and Mexican academic Enrique Dassel, almost a decade before MCCA disintegrated.⁷³

The Agreement on Cooperation in the La Plata River Basin (*Tratado de la Cuenca del Rio de la Plata*) from 1969, which refers to the development of joint projects of the countries belonging to this river basin, is also important

⁷² Among those examples is the “Football War” from 1969 between El Salvador and Honduras. In 1979, the civil war in El Salvador and a little later the new Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua.

⁷³ Dussel, E., *A history of the church in Latin America: colonialism to liberation (1492-1979)*, 1981 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, p 134.

for the process of Latin American integration. This organization managed to get the support of a consortium of international financial institutions for their projects of integration of physical infrastructure resources. Furthermore, twelve Caribbean countries established the “Caribbean Community and Common Market” in 1973 to promote economic integration. Since 2002, the organization has been called “Caribbean Community” – CARICOM. As an enlarged group, it currently advances issues on economic integration, foreign policy coordination, human and social development, and security.⁷⁴ In 1978, eight countries of the Amazon Basin signed the “Agreement on Amazon Cooperation” (*Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica*) in Brazil, also known as the “Amazon Pact”. The long-term goal of this regional cooperation was to enable each signatory state the sustainable use of the Amazon’s natural resources. The fact that Brazil owns more than two thirds of the Amazon should be considered.

The process of modern Latin American economic integration was launched with the emergence of ODECA, ALALC, MCCA, CARICOM, the Andean Pact, the La Plata Cooperation Group, the Amazon Pact and several specialized associations, organizations, and agencies within which different models of regional and subregional features developed. In April 1979, a CEPAL meeting was held in La Paz, Bolivia. The biggest challenges and demands facing Latin America on the threshold of the new decade in terms of economic growth have been identified: diffusion of the influence of the social dimension of growth, accelerating the growth rate, and strengthening the autonomy of growth. Both CEPAL’s Executive Secretary and Enrique Dussel morally condemned the unfair distribution of the economic growth benefits since both believed that the economic growth is a necessary but insufficient precondition for ensuring comprehensive social and human development. Dussel concludes that the unilateral domination of capital is sin over sins. Within the theology of morality, such dominance points to the structural international sin due to which poor nations lose their lives.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ The Caribbean Community (CARICOM). <https://caricom.org/our-community/who-we-are/>

⁷⁵ Report of the Executive Secretary to the Eighteenth Session of the Commission (La Paz, Bolivia, 18-26 April 1979), p. 77, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/38674181.pdf>; Enrique Dussel, *Ethics and community*, 1988, New York, Orbis Books, pp. 139-140.

III.2. Contemporary tendencies in the economic development of Latin America

The “lost decade” (*la década perdida*) of the 1980s significantly slowed down the dynamics of Latin American development. That decade was assessed in terms of indicators of economic growth, social product, and overall progress. Most experts in the study of regional cooperation in Latin America believe that it has been necessary to respect the postulates of “the theory of complex interdependence” and “open regionalism” in research since the 1990s. The preconditions for the theory of complex interdependence for strengthening political consensus and initiating new forms of integration included: a) multiple interactions (including political) between the countries of the region; b) the progressive distancing of existing international organizations in the region from their immediate bases (e.g., the Malvinas crisis shook all institutions of the inter-American system, as well as the crisis of the traditional Latin American model of economic integration, which initiated the process of redefining economic development models and regional economic integration goals); c) the positive impact of the development of international relations, which are becoming to some extent more transparent and flexible. Virtually all Latin American countries, except for Cuba, were part of one regional bloc or another in the last decade of the twentieth century.

III.2.1. *Neoliberalism as an economic and political doctrine*

Between the two world wars, neoliberalism was defined within the German Freiburg School as a new, more moderate form of original liberalism.⁷⁶ In the 1960s, the Freiburg School of Economics became a model for Latin American economists. In practice, the rise of neoliberalism, since the 1980s, is most often associated with market reforms carried out by Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain and Ronald Reagan in the United States. Their economic policy was based on the ideas of Mont Pèlerin Society.⁷⁷ Since its

⁷⁶ The Freiburg School (Freiburger Schule) advocated Ordoliberalism (lat. Ordo: order) as a combination of liberalism and order, that is, an orderly market with the help of a strong state. After the Second World War, German detention was renewed precisely on the ideas of ordoliberalism.

⁷⁷ The Mont Pelerin International Society is named after the Swiss place where it was founded by an influential group of intellectuals in 1947. The group advocated the restoration of liberal ideology, that is, the free market and the suppression of state intervention. Among the founders were Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman.

inception, neoliberalism has not been understood uniformly. One of its comprehensive definitions relies on three basic elements: (i) ideology; (ii) a model of governance and (iii) a set of socio-economic reforms.⁷⁸ In the sphere of economics, neoliberalism puts the idea of the free market in the foreground. Nevertheless, it allows for a wider range of state intervention in the economy, which is attributed to some phenomena that were less present (monopolies) or unknown (negative externalities) during liberalism. Within this framework, Milton Friedman mentioned numerous areas in which state intervention is necessary, one of them being helping the poor.

A somewhat more complex definition of neoliberalism is that it is a developmental model. In that case, far from being just a set of economic reforms, it also includes various social changes. Since the overthrow of Salvador Allende in 1973, i.e., since the beginning of the military junta's rule in Chile, the neoliberal paradigm has changed. Since then, he has been linked to the radical market reforms that representatives of the Chicago School, Hayek, and Friedman, carried out in Chile under General Pinochet. The brutal character of his military junta greatly contributed to the neoliberalism taking on a negative connotation, which extended to the attitude towards the implementation of market reforms in that country. On the other hand, the success of economic reforms in Chile was expected to create a climate of ideological eradication of socialist ideas in the region.

The IMF, the World Bank, and the US Treasury Department – all Washington-based institutions – have played a key role in formulating the requirements for economic restructuring in Latin America. These organizations sent three sets of economic policy recommendations to Latin American governments in 1989, collectively known as the “Washington Consensus”.⁷⁹ Skidmore et al. state that in several ways the Washington Consensus called for a return to liberal export-import policies (very similar to those of the 1880s and 1920s), and that it was probably equated with “neoliberalism” in this way. Despite the differences between the new and the old ideology, both emanate from Adam Smith's “invisible hand of the market.” However, the same group of American scientists' states as a great paradox of this neoliberal vision, that the central part of the entire neoliberal program is the reduction of the role

⁷⁸ Vujačić, I. & Petrović Vujačić, J. (2014). Neoliberalizam – Pojam izgubljen u prevodu, Anti(liberalizam) i ekonomija, Beograd: IDN, pp. 214-221.

⁷⁹ John Williamson published ten basic economic principles on which state policy should be based in 1990, in a document entitled “What Washington Means by Policy Reform.”

of the state. The implementation of these policies, however, is impossible without the help of a strong state.⁸⁰ Finally, neoliberalism can be defined as a set of economic reforms, which are implemented through neoliberal policy measures, such as privatization of state-owned enterprises, trade liberalization, abolition of state subsidies, reduction of price control, and others. In short, neoliberalism was based on the concept of a minimalist state, which included the process of moving away from the welfare state.

III.2.2. *Neoliberal reform*

In line with the guidelines of the Washington Consensus, from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s, the region underwent a process of structural economic reform that included these key areas: trade liberalization, financial market reform, privatization, tax reform, and labor law reform. At the same time, these reforms were unevenly distributed over the countries in the region. Several countries completely avoided the implementation of neoliberal policies (for example, Venezuela), while some were more moderate in their adoption (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Costa Rica, and Jamaica), and the group of “aggressive” reformers included Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru.⁸¹ During the 1990s, the already accepted package of neoliberal reform of the Washington Consensus was extended to social policy, which practically became an integral part of the reform process. Increased social spending was thought to have a positive impact on productivity, sustainable economic growth, in reducing inequality, and increasing social mobility. However, practice has denied this. In many countries, social allocations have been reduced or stagnated because governments did not have enough revenue to service their debts. The general assessment of neoliberal reforms is hampered by their diversity and intertwining with economic crises. Even in such circumstances, some countries have managed to use them more successfully than others. In the first place, it was Chile, which from the eighties of the XX century began to open to other countries and economic groups. The country’s democratic changes in 1990 further support this trend, which has led to notable developments in many areas. Unlike Chile, all other countries

⁸⁰ Skidmore, T. E., Smith P. H. & Green J. N. (2014). *Modern Latin America*, Oxford University Press, pp. 358-367.

⁸¹ Gwynne R. N. (2004). Structural reform in South America and Mexico: economic and regional perspectives, in *Latin America Transformed*, London: Edward Arnold, pp. 39-65.

Country	Average annual export growth rate (%), 1980-89	Average annual export growth rate (%), 1990-99
Argentina	3.8	8.7
Bolivia	1.0	4.9
Chile	6.9	9.7
Mexico	7.0	14.3
Peru	-1.6	9.0
Uruguay	4.3	7.0
Venezuela	2.8	5.6
Brazil	7.5	4.9
Colombia	7.5	5.2
Ecuador	5.4	4.4
Paraguay	12.2	5.1

Table 2. Latin-American export growth during the 1980s and 1990s

Source: Robert N. Gwynne, Structural reform in South America and Mexico: economic and regional perspectives, in *Latin America Transformed*, 2004, p. 52. (World Bank, 2000)

were still in transition in the first decade of the 21st century. If we compare the GDP growth rates from the period of state-led industrialization 1950-1980, with the levels from the period of market reform 1990-2015, we can see that in the recent period the level of growth has generally slowed down. This trend is even more pronounced if Brazil and Mexico, as the two largest economies, are included in the analysis. Comparing the decades of the 1980s and 1990s in Chile and Mexico as the most successful countries at the time (Table 2), we see that trade reforms lead to the following results: increasing export rates and diversifying the range, making exports less vulnerable, then growth and diversification of imports focused on capital goods that should attract investment, as well as trade with a wider range of countries.⁸²

There are also indications that neoliberalism has influenced the decline of corruption, controlling inflation and cheaper imports, price competitiveness and easier access to new technologies. On the other hand, many negative consequences have manifested themselves, such as the creation of structural dependence on the international financial market with increasing problems of poverty and marginalization. With neoliberalism, unemployment and severe restrictions or even abolition of social benefits arrived at

⁸² Ocampo, J. A. «Commodity-Led Development in Latin America », *International Development Policy | Revue internationale de politique de développement*, 9 | 2017, p. 51-76; Gwynne R. N. (2004). Structural reform in South America and Mexico: economic and regional perspectives, in *Latin America Transformed*, London: Edward Arnold, pp. 39-65.

Latin America. Public health has been affected by decentralization and privatization. In summary, the results were worse everywhere than before the reforms, the quality of services was lower, and the costs were higher. From all the above, it can be concluded that Latin American countries have shown a lag in development since the 1990s, not only in relation to the industrial world, but also to each other. Finally, we will refer to the words of the open opponent of neoliberalism, Noam Chomsky: “*In the new era, a lot is being experimented with economic development, with regular phenomena that are difficult to ignore. One of them is that experimenters usually do very well, and experimental objects often get damaged.*”⁸³

III.2.3. *The theory of open regionalism*

After the end of the Cold War, the number of regional trade agreements in the world, which were mostly based on the theory of open regionalism (*teoría de regionalismo abierto*), increased sharply. This theory implied economic integration open to both extra-regional and intra-regional countries. The concept of open regionalism arises from the need to apply a new development model for Latin American countries, as the ISI development strategy has exhausted its potential. In the period 1990-1994, CEPAL published three documents, two of which emphasized the social component of development. In the genesis of open regionalism, two subperiods were differentiated. The first one was developed during the 1980s and under the pressure of the debt crisis was weaker in structure, but more flexible and based on bilateral and sub-regional agreements.⁸⁴ The second subperiod of the 1990s was closely linked to neoliberal reform and through the process of regional integration (with an emphasis on the relationship between the two Americas) promoted the competitiveness of Latin American countries in the international market. Finally, the concept of open regionalism combines the increasingly pronounced interdependence of Latin American countries and integration initiatives from the 1990s, as well as all the experiences of individual countries in applying the neoliberal policy of trade liberalization and market opening. Typical examples

⁸³ Čomski, N. (1999). *Profit iznad ljudi – neoliberalizam i globalni poredak*, Novi Sad: Svetovi, p. 28

⁸⁴ Gardini, G. L., Ayuso A. (2015). EU-Latin America and Caribbean Inter-regional relations, Atlantic Future working paper 24, <https://eulacfoundation.org/en/content/eu-latin-america-and-caribbean-inter-regional-relations-complexity-and-change>; Bohigues, A. & Manuel Rivas, J. (2019). Free trade agreements and regional alliances, *Rev. bras. polít. int.* vol.62 no.1 Brasília, <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329201900101>

of the application of this concept in practice are NAFTA, MERCOSUR, and CAN. Although the literature often talks about MERCOSUR's model of open regionalism, there are authors who primarily saw in it motives for protecting Brazilian and Argentine industry from global competition, while the opening of MERCOSUR to other countries was secondary.⁸⁵ Despite the fact that CEPAL's concept of open regionalism was not accepted in Latin America without a dose of skepticism and differences of opinion, the assessment that it is a good theoretical framework for the practical application of neoliberal reforms prevailed. Developments in the region since 1990 have confirmed this. A new phase in the development of the process of Latin American integration based on the theory of open regionalism has enabled the countries of the region to engage more quickly in global economic flows. However, the financial dependence and vulnerability of the region did not disappear, while the share of primary products in the structure of exports continued to grow. It is known that a major blow for Latin American exporters of primary products was the collapse of the International Coffee Agreement in 1989. Process of open regionalism was encouraged through both external factors and through agreements between Latin American governments which enabled the formation of customs unions and/or free trade zones in the region. The importance of geographical proximity and cultural unity has increased during the initial integration stages. Unlike the classical concept of open regionalism which primarily implied liberalization and facilitation of the trade as well as the economic and technical cooperation, the modern version of open regionalism shows its more pronounced flexibility. The example of the *Pacific Alliance*⁸⁶ emphasizes the need to build regional capacities that will meet not only the usual goals of open regionalism, but also anticipate future trade and investment problems, provide adequate infrastructure and social inclusion.⁸⁷ Analysis of the results

⁸⁵ For example, Oliver Stuenkel, a professor at the Brazilian Getulio Vargas Foundation in Sao Paulo. Mercosur: South America's Fractious Trade Bloc, Foreign Affairs, 2019, accessed on 21.02.2021: <https://www.cfr.org/background/mercosur-south-americas-fractious-trade-bloc>

⁸⁶ The presidents of Mexico, Chile, Colombia and Peru signed the Lima Declaration in 2011. In doing so, the four countries formed the Pacific Alliance. It was officially launched as an economic bloc, with the aim of influencing the growth of competitiveness through economic integration and free flow of capital, goods, people and services between its members, but also with the ambition of Latin America's wider entry into Asian markets.

⁸⁷ Kuwayama, M., Pacific Alliance: A Latin American Version of "Open Regionalism" in Practice, March 2, 2019, RIEB, Kobe University, Japan, <https://www.rieb.kobe-u.ac.jp/academic/ra/dp/English/DP2019-02.pdf>

of Latin American open regionalism during the 1990s shows that they were good. However, the concept did not solve the social problems, which had consequences on the political stability of several very important countries for the region – Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Nicaragua. The political crises in them negatively affected not only the neoliberal model of development, but also caused a change in the essential determinants of the previous integration process.

III.2.4. *The process of redefining economic integration in Latin America*

Numerous initiatives from the first half of the 1990s marked a turning point in the process of economic integration itself. The readiness of Argentina and Brazil to cooperate and overcome historical rivalry has opened the door to strong regional and subregional cooperation and integration. This has begun with the establishment of MERCOSUR, and the security community in the Southern Cone (Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay). Then, the integration process within the Andean region was redefined. Progressive ideas and new, higher forms of integration have emerged at the level of Central American countries through the aforementioned SICA, as well as in the Caribbean through the Association of Caribbean States (*Asociación de Estados del Caribe* – AEC). The intensification of the process of Latin American integration since 1990 has been influenced by numerous regional free trade agreements (Table 3), and some already existing ones have been reactivated. In the early 1990s, within the strategy of open regionalism, a trend towards a new wave of regional integration was noticeable. Part of that trend and undoubtedly the most important block in the regional connection of Latin America is the Common Market of the South (*Mercado Común del Sur* – MERCOSUR). It was established in 1991 by the Treaty of Asunción (*Tratado de Asunción*), which was ratified by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The bloc has emerged in entirely new political circumstances, given that all member states have previously made the transition to democracy and a more open market economy. Accordingly, this regional integration arrangement had a strategic outward orientation, with the aim of fostering economic growth and integration into global economic flows. It should be emphasized that MERCOSUR has achieved outstanding results in the liberalization and rapid growth of intra-regional trade, primarily due to the removal of trade barriers. In short, the goal of the Bloc was to create a single

Agreement	Year
Andean Pact (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru & Venezuela)	1990*
CACM (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras & Nicaragua)	1991*
G-3 (Colombia, Mexico & Venezuela)	1994
MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay & Uruguay)	1991
Chile – Mexico	1991
Chile – Colombia	1993
Chile – Venezuela	1993
Chile – Ecuador	1994
Chile – MERCOSUR	1996
Chile – Canada	1997
Mexico – Bolivia	1994
Mexico – Costa Rica	1994
Mexico – Nicaragua	1998
NAFTA (Mexico, Canada & U.S.A.)	1993
Bolivia – MERCOSUR	1997

* Date of reactivation of the free trade zone.

Table 3. Regional trade agreements in Latin America in the 1990s

Source: Robert Devlin, Ricardo French-Davis, *Towards an Evaluation of Regional Integration in Latin America in the 1990s*, INTAL – ITD, 1998.

market of the Southern Cone, and in the political domain to strengthen peace and democracy.

Bolivia has been in the process of joining MERCOSUR since 2012. The politically motivated suspension of Paraguay from 2012 was lifted the following year. Venezuela was suspended in 2016 until further notice. It is obvious that the mentioned suspensions have weakened the homogeneity of the group. On the other hand, they confirmed the growing strength of political factors in the so-called “third wave” of Latin American regionalism. Experts generally agree that the mutual relations between Argentina and Brazil as the two most important trading partners within MERCOSUR are crucial for its future, especially if it is known that these two countries account for about 95% of GDP and almost the same percentage of its total population. Today, MERCOSUR is one of the world’s largest economic blocs and the world’s fifth largest economy powered by 295 million people. Total exports in 2019 amounted to US \$ 272.6 billion, and total imports to US \$ 205.9 billion.⁸⁸

In March 1996, a summit of the Andean Pact member states was held in Trujillo, Peru, which was then transformed into the “Andean Community of Nations” (*Comunidad Andina de Naciones – CAN*). In short, the goal

⁸⁸ MERCOSUR, accessed on 14.3.2020. <https://www.mercosur.int/en/>

of the member states was to create a free trade zone in the Andean region. In 2018, the 5 most important trading partners of the Andean Community accounted for 67.4% of trade (exports and imports), and 32.6% for the rest of the world. The structure of trading partners was as follows: 23.5% – USA; 19.7% – China; 14.6% – European Union; 5.7% – Brazil and 3.9% – Mexico.⁸⁹

In 1990, a meeting of Central American presidents was held in Antigua, Guatemala, as part of the Contador Group's *Esquipulas* peace process. A consensus was then reached on restructuring the subregional integration process, which should have strengthened and redefined its institutional framework. It was the first in a series of steps that led to the signing of the Protocol of Tegucigalpa (*Protocolo de Tegucigalpa*) which officially established the System of Central American Integration – SICA. In addition, the Central American member states signed the Free Trade Agreement, which contributed to their admission into the WTO in 1995. During the period of intensive regional integration in the 1990s many initiatives took place like: the formation of the North American Free Trade Zone (NAFTA, 1993) and the Free Trade Zone of the two Americas (*Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas* – ALCA, 1994) through which the US administration wanted to implement a strategy of trade unification of the Western Hemisphere. In general, this period encouraged Latin American regionalism, especially through the stimulation of free trade and other neoliberal principles.

III.3. New forms of Latin American integration

Modern subregional, regional, and interregional integrations from the first two decades of the 21st century took place after the pioneering initiatives from the 1950s, through various degrees of integrative phases during the ISI development strategy, and then through the open regionalism in 1980s-1990s. When in 2001 the leaders of the CAN member states adopted the “*Declaration of Democracy, the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Fight against Poverty*” (Machu Picchu), the fact that economic integration are often a good framework for positive social change was proven.⁹⁰ In general, Latin

⁸⁹ EU trade with Latin America and the Caribbean, ERPS, author: Gisela Grieger, 2019, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/644219/EPRS_IDA\(2019\)644219_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/644219/EPRS_IDA(2019)644219_EN.pdf)

⁹⁰ Declaración de Machu Picchu sobre la Democracia, los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas y la Lucha contra la Pobreza, Lima-Machu Picchu, July 28-29, 2001 http://www.sice.oas.org/Trade/Junac/MachuPicchu_s.asp

American regional integration can be traced through three main forms: 1) economic and trade integration at different levels: from preferential trade agreements, through free trade zones, customs unions, common markets, all the way to economic and monetary unions; 2) political integration (more intensive cooperation at the level of governments and member institutions); 3) physical, i.e. geographical integration (refers mainly to infrastructure and infrastructure services).⁹¹ When economic and political integration fail, physical integration usually takes its course.

A hint of a turning point in Latin American regionalism was the Summit of Western Hemisphere Leaders, held in 2005 in Mar del Plata, Argentina. The US administration's plan was to create a Free Trade Zone of the Americas (Àrea de Libre Comercio de las Américas – ALCA; en. – FTAA) in the area from 'Alaska to Tierra del Fuego'. The rejection of the American concept of ALCA triggers two notable trends within the new, so-called "third wave" of regionalism: first, the formation of the South American geo-economic space with the strengthening of its own autonomy in relation to the strongest centers of power in the world; and second, improving cooperation in the Central American and Caribbean zone based on the principles of free trade and the Washington Consensus (adapted to American interests in that part of Latin America, especially given the aforementioned failure of the Free Trade Zone initiative).⁹² The new Latin American regionalism is found in the professional literature under various terms such as post-neoliberal, post-hegemon, strategic, heterodox and the like.

In 2004, Venezuela and Cuba signed a bilateral agreement – the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (*Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América* – ALBA), which eliminates barriers to trade, provides incentives for investment, and improves relations in banking and trade. Venezuela has promised funding for Cuban industrial and infrastructure projects, and privileged price on Venezuelan oil. The agreement has been extended over time to some of the countries from the subregions of South America, Central America, and the Caribbean. This was the first Latin American integration model based on the principles of solidarity and complementarity. It was based on a generally changed concept of integration, which included the promotion of the fight against poverty, preserving

⁹¹ Infrastructure for regional integration, UNASUR, UN 2012, Santiago, Chile https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/3120/1/S2012342_en.pdf

⁹² Pajović, S.S. & Ivanović, I. (2011). Nova latinskoamerička ekonomija i njeni prioriteti, Beograd: Megatrend revija, Vol. 8 (2) pp. 1-30.

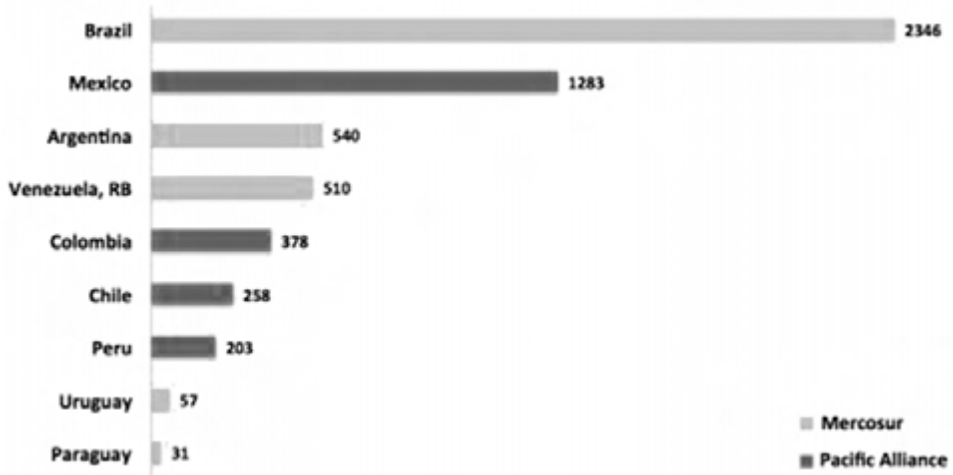
the autonomy and identity of Latin America, technology transfer, technical support to underdeveloped member states and more. Among the most important regional projects of the 21st century is the Pacific Alliance (PA). Since 2011, this trade bloc consisted of Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico, which together represent the eighth largest economy in the world.

The next significant grouping of the “third wave” of Latin American regionalism was the Union of South American Nations (Unión de Naciones Suramericanas – UNASUR).⁹³ According to the 2008 Constitutional Treaty, the most important goals of the Union were the formation of a single South American market, a common defense policy, the smooth flow of people and capital, and the overall development and cooperation of member states. UNASUR is important in geo-economic and geopolitical terms as an instrument of integration of physical and energy resources in the South American space. On the other hand, the Union, led by Brazil as a regional power, has strengthened South American autonomy in relation to the United States.

The Initiative for the Modernization and Development of South American Regional Infrastructure (*Initiative for the Modernization and Desarrollo de la Infraestructura Regional Sudamericana* – IIRSA) has been drafted as a concrete product of the South American Presidential Summit in 2000. In 2001, this Brazilian initiative was officially supported by 11 other South American countries. The goal of IIRSA was to harmonize their development policies through the formation of a comprehensive network for the integration of transport, energy, and communication infrastructure. The golden age of IIRSA project development was between 2005 (335 projects) and 2015 (562 projects). Of course, such large and numerous projects are always accompanied by the inevitable issues of negative externalities. After two decades of its existence, a group of Latin American scientists admits that some important national projects from the IIRSA portfolio have been developed or are still in the process of being developed. They however ask the question, “Whose interests do these mega-projects suit and what exactly does the ‘progress’ they claim mean?”⁹⁴ In an attempt to answer this sensitive question, they note that the IIRSA integration project has failed to build

⁹³ Former leftist leaders from the Latin American period of the “pink tide” are most responsible for the founding of UNASUR. The member countries of the Union were: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Colombia, Uruguay, Peru, Guyana, Venezuela and Suriname. Mexico and Panama had an observer status.

⁹⁴ Peregalli, A., Panez, A. & Aguiar, D. (2020). 20 years of IIRSA in South America: who celebrates now? <https://lamericalatina.net/2020/08/31/20-anos-de-iirsa-en-america-del-sur-quien-celebra-ahora/>



Graph 2. Size of Mercosur and Pacific Alliance members GDP (2014 US \$) / billions

Source: World Bank blogs, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/what-are-trade-blocs-and-how-do-two-latin-america-s-largest-compare> 21.8.2018

basic services from the public sphere; also, the development of the region's production complementarity has been neglected, and dependence on merchandise exports remains high; finally, too much public money has been spent on connecting enclaves, ports, free zones and creating infrastructure that facilitates the border expansion of mining and agro-industrial complexes, thus accelerating the process of environmental devastation and raising it to unsustainable levels. In 2009, IIRSA was included in the structure of UNASUR, but it fell into crisis in 2018. In April 2019, the leaders of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, and Peru signed the "Santiago Declaration" and thus these countries joined the Forum for South American Progress (*Foro para el Progreso de América del Sur* – PROSUR). Within PROSUR, the priority areas of regional integration are infrastructure, energy, defense, health, the fight against crime, as well as a new area – prevention and management of natural disasters.

Three different periods of Latin American regionalism have been observed so far. Their differentiation was performed in relation to the dominant models of development. The first period (1950-1970) encloses the developmental or "closed" regionalism which was defensive to non-regional industrialized markets through the creation of a larger Latin American market. The second period refers to new initiatives that have adopted open regionalism. The third period, through numerous initiatives, reaffirms the role of

the state. Namely, the integration processes of the so-called “third wave” of Latin American regionalism are shifting their focus from free trade and foreign investment to political and social goals. Although the “third wave” of Latin American regionalism is an ongoing process, it allows for more heterogeneous forms of integration compared to the previous two periods. At the same time, the ‘new regionalism’ projects use a political approach more than an economic one and have more autonomy in relation to the countries outside the region. In conclusion, the first two decades of the 21st century bring important strategic and ideological changes within the framework of Latin American regionalism that directly affect the further course of the region’s geo-economic and geopolitical development. It remains unknown to what extent the leaders of Latin American countries will further evaluate and implement joint decisions in the further process of regionalization, regionalization which would be good enough for all countries and, at the same time, protect the economy and wider interests of the entire region.

IV. THE CRISES OF DEVELOPPING MODELS WITHIN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE REGION: 1950–2010

It is a perpetual challenge for the Latin American governments to diminish the international influence on its economy even when explicitly focused on the “*inward*” economic development. At the end of the seventh decade of the XX century, Latin America has faced the devastating fact that a significant portion of its population did not feel the benefits of dynamic economic growth in the post-war period at all. It was clear that *desarrollismo*, the model by which Latin America developed its economy in the 1950s – 1970s, plunged into crisis. In the search for its cause, we singled out opinion of Gustavo Gutierrez in his *Teología de la Liberación*, who believes that this model did not sufficiently respected political factors. Also, he reproaches the model with “blurred reality” because the economically underdeveloped traditional societies, were statically placed next to the modern, developed ones. The reality is that both the developed and underdeveloped go side by side every step of the way towards a new society. Finally, the poverty of undeveloped nations is a historical by-product of the very process used by the other countries to develop. The fact that there is no big change without great trouble, was confirmed by the debt crisis in 1980s. There is no doubt that in many Latin American countries this crisis encouraged the change of *desarrollismo* development model. Since the debt crisis stunned economic growth it opened the door for the concept of “open regionalism” within neoliberal development model. In addition, it became obvious that the foreign financing became a new form of Latin America’s economic dependence on the most developed countries. At the same time, the debt crisis has shown to what extent the already built base of the region’s economic well-being is becoming porous. Despite a slight change in per capita income at the end of the decade compared to its beginning, the number of poor people doubled, which justifies its name – “the lost decade”.

On the other hand, the neoliberal model, through open regionalism, has been efficient in incorporating the Latin American economy into the modern

currents of the world economy and trade. However, neglecting of the social issues becomes the most prominent weakness of this model, which led to the crisis of the 1990s. Long-term neglect of the social issues is one of the biggest weaknesses of this model. There was a growing need to redefine the model as some of the region's key countries fell into serious economic and political crises in the late 1990s. At any rate, the last decade of the 20th century was marked by neoliberalism, and it caused enormous changes in the economic, social, cultural, and political spheres. Identifying and analyzing the most important of these changes is the goal of this chapter. Also, a review will be given of the entry into post-neoliberalism, which through the whole spectrum of different economic policies succeeds in restoring the authority of the state, and it responds to the social needs of Latin American society. Poverty degrades and demoralizes people, especially when it is persistently passed from generation to generation. The importance of this issue is pointed out by Pope Francis in his third encyclical "*Fratelli tutti*" (We are all brothers), "Not only is man not omnipotent, but we are all in the same ship at the same time. We are all co-responsible in building a society that knows how to include, integrate, and raise the one who suffers." [FT, § 28; 89]

IV.1. Causes of economic crises in Latin America in the XX and XXI centuries

One of the most pronounced economic problems that accompanied modern Latin American development was inflation. Inflationary price spikes have led to numerous economic and political crises in the region. Since their more detailed description goes beyond the scope of this topic, we will look only at the causes of the crises that de facto left the most socio-economic consequences for the region: The Great Depression of 1929-33; the debt crises of the 1980s; and the 2007 global financial crisis. Chilean scientist Andre Hoffman distinguishes between external and internal causes of Latin American economic instability. As the most common *external* causes, he singles out: the sudden decline of capital and trade flows caused by external factors over which Latin America had no control (as in the crises of the 1930s and 1980s); extreme dependence on one or a small number of primary commodities, with generated instability caused by oscillations in its supply or demand; wars or extreme political unrest, which most often cause a drop in exports and a general deterioration in trade conditions. While among the *internal* causes of instability are: climate variations (particularly sensitive

countries are producers of primary agricultural products); political processes, because in most cases the election results affect the economy; military interventions (e.g. Chile, Argentina); finally, some crises are caused by the mistakes of domestic economic policy (examples of populism and neo-conservative experiments in Argentina and Chile in the 1970s, as well as the Mexican crisis of the 1990s).⁹⁵ The peripheral position of the Latin American economy in the world, which has already been discussed, is the key reason for the negative impact of any external crisis on its development.

Standing out as a main cause of the severe consequences of the Great Depression of 1929-1933. on Latin America is a complete disruption of the economic networks which connected its “outwards” oriented economies with the world market. This disturbance has led to a reduction in hard currency earnings and the flight of foreign capital outside the region, which has led to economic stagnation in the countries with high foreign investment rates. Unemployment has risen by about 50% since pre-crisis levels, while most countries in the region had to declare the non-convertibility of domestic currencies. As the state budget was mostly filled with customs revenues, and the volume of foreign trade was drastically reduced, the functioning of the government within key countries (Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Colombia) became uncertain, which led to frequent violent changes of government. Some countries went through extremely difficult time.

The consequences of the World Crisis have had different effects on individual countries. For example, Brazil lost about 64% of its foreign exchange earnings due to falling demand for coffee and its low price on the world market. A similar phenomenon is registered in Chile, whose economic system was based on the export of copper and nitrates. Their exports fell by 89% in 1932, compared to the 1929 level. On the other hand, in the period after the Great Depression, Venezuela reoriented itself from agriculture and the predominant export of coffee and cocoa to the exploitation and refining of oil. In 1940, coffee and cocoa accounted for only 2% of Venezuela’s total exports, while by 1920 they accounted for about 60%. However, the share of oil in the total value of Venezuelan exports in 1940 was 95%.⁹⁶ There is no doubt that the fall in the prices of primary products during the Great

⁹⁵ Hofman, A. A. (2000). pp. 33-38. Retrieved 23.05.2019, from

https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/1650/1/S33098H713E_en.pdf

⁹⁶ Pajović S., S. (2006). *Latinskoamerički regionalizam u XIX i XX veku*, Megatrend Univerzitet, Beograd, pp. 118-126; Južnić, S. (1966). *Latinska Amerika: nastanak i razvoj društveno-ekonomskih struktura*, Beograd: IMPP, pp. 89-106.

Depression exceeded the scope of the economic crisis and caused a political and social crisis in many Latin American countries. Moreover, the crisis has deepened the differences between Latin American countries. It can be concluded that the Great Depression was a turning point in the restructuring and economic development of the region. As its key countries turned to their internal needs, the crisis created a chance for the independent development of Latin America.

The *debt crisis* phenomenon appeared in the early 1980s in some of the developing countries, primarily in Latin America.⁹⁷ It was caused by the sharp rise in interest rates on the world market after the oil crises, when foreign debts accumulated rapidly, and the export of primary products was no longer enough to provide reserves for servicing foreign debts.⁹⁸ As Latin American growth was accompanied by high borrowing and inflation, Mexico and Brazil declared a moratorium on debt repayment in 1982 and automatically plunged the region into a debt crisis. Compared to the Great Depression, the global recession of the 1980s was like a tectonic disturbance for the region. It influenced the depreciation of currencies in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico in 1982. The stock prices also fell in these three countries, and most banks never recovered from the huge losses on loans. The external indebtedness of all three countries grew, reaching enormous sums in the early 1980s. International banks from Europe, Japan and the United States have been increasing their loans to governments and state-owned enterprises in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico for ten years. At that time, interest on loans to creditors was paid properly, but out of the money from new loans that are earmarked in winter just to pay interest.

Mexico can be used as an example to explain the mechanism by which the debt crisis generally affected Latin American countries. It is known that since the end of the Great Depression, Mexico has had a stable growth for decades, which was interrupted by the debt crisis. Mexico's debt problems were largely in the context of the IMF's neoliberal package. The government

⁹⁷ The debt crisis refers to a situation when the state, due to the lack of foreign exchange reserves, is no longer able to pay its obligations to an external creditor, regardless of whether it is a term or the amount of loan repayment. It is essentially a bad policy of the Central Bank that remains without foreign exchange reserves.

⁹⁸ The first oil crisis from 1973-1974, and others from 1979 to 1980, had a direct negative impact on Latin American economies, which were mostly oil importers, except for Venezuela, Mexico, Ecuador, and Peru. However, in the situation of oil shocks, especially the second one, all countries were rapidly borrowing, mainly from private foreign banks.

of Miguel de la Madrid (1982-88) found itself indebted and without a possibility of repaying debts due to the fall in oil prices. In August 1982, Mexico declared a moratorium on the repayment of its debt, and thus a strong economic crisis de facto began in the entire region. The debt situation escalated during the government of Carlos Salinas (1988-94) when, despite previous repayments, a debt of over US \$ 120 billion was still being repaid. In 1994, the value of annual oil exports was one half of the repayment quota value.⁹⁹ The Mexican crisis of 1994 was followed by the Brazilian crisis of 1999 and the great crisis of Argentina in 1998-2002 years.

When identifying the causes of economic crises, the case of Argentina, which was one of the richest countries in the world at the beginning of the 20th century, deserves special attention. However, both internal and external causes led to the collapse of the Argentine economy and the culmination of the crisis in December 2001, when the IMF suspended loans to Argentina for violating the zero-deficit rule. In that way, the country remains completely without foreign financing, and citizens were frozen their savings deposits in banks. In 2001, when representatives of the Peronist Party took power from President Fernando De la Rúa and declared a suspension of foreign loans, the country owed US \$ 132 billion to the IMF. Argentina faced the worst economic depression in history, with 22.5% of the population unemployed and 57.5% poor within that general hopelessness. About 9 million people lived on less than \$ 1 a day.¹⁰⁰ It was not until the second half of 2002 that the situation improved, partly due to the strong depreciation of the domestic currency.

From the eighth decade of the 20th century, Latin America faced a distinctly crisis period (1980-89), and then a period with the first signs of recovery (1989-94). Some countries even recorded a two-year or three-year recession in the early 1980s. In the crisis period, a very low average annual GDP growth rate of 1.48% was recorded, while labor productivity fell by an average of 0.6% per year. Based on the analysis of several economic indicators: total GDP, GDP *per capita*, and labor productivity, it can be concluded that the crisis of the 1980s surpassed the Great Depression of the 1930s in its

⁹⁹ Charles P. Kindleberger, Robert Aliber, Najveće svjetske finansijske krize – manije, panike i slomovi, Poslovni dnevnik, Masmedija, Zagreb, 2009 pp.12-14.

¹⁰⁰ Kos-Stanišić, L. (2014). Populizam u Argentini – sedam desetljeća peronizma, Političke perspektive, Zagreb; Gustafson, C. A. The Pope and Latin America: Mission from the Periphery, The Author(s) 2018, A. J. Lyon et al. (eds.), *Pope Francis as a Global Actor*, Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71377-9_10

depth. On average, GDP per capita fell by 665 international dollars during the crisis compared to 1980.¹⁰¹ The debt crisis has caused a decline in economic growth in the region, and inflation has reached incredible levels. Only two South American countries, Paraguay, and Colombia, did not experience hyperinflation during this period. Bolivia (1985) and Peru (1990) had the highest average annual inflation rates of around 8,000%; Argentina (1989) about 5,000%; Brazil (1993) 2500%.¹⁰² One of the most important consequences of the debt crisis was the severe stress on regional integration processes. On the other hand, the crisis has affected the change of attitude regarding the overall economic development strategy of the debtor countries. Based on the Latin American debt crisis, the so-called Baker plan¹⁰³ was promoted in 1985. The plan was a framework for bilateral negotiations between debtor countries and international financial organizations. Under the motto “sound economic policies”, this plan insisted on reducing the role of the state in the economy and greater openness to the demands of the international economy. State reforms included the privatization of public enterprises, cuts in social spending, and the abolition of subsidies; then, a more flexible labor market, competitiveness, and the like, which was supposed to ensure a return to the world economy. According to some experts, such reforms marked the defeat of the development model and its policies that had been applied for decades.¹⁰⁴

The facts listed above confirm that the economic growth of the 1980s was endangered due to the dependence of the countries of the region on external financing. Consequently, the period 1980-1989 represented the deepest and longest economic crisis that Latin America experienced after the Great Depression. The situation during the debt crisis was tragic, and poverty and hunger threatened everyone. The burden of foreign debt, which has become increasingly difficult over time, is evidenced by the following data: in 1980, the total Latin American debt amounted to \$ 242 billion, then in

¹⁰¹ Hofman, A. A. (2000). pp. 114-137, Retrieved 11.05.2019. from https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/1650/1/S33098H713E_en.pdf

¹⁰² Gwynne R. N. (2004). Structural reform in South America and Mexico: economic and regional perspectives, in *Latin America Transformed*, London: Edward Arnold, p. 44.

¹⁰³ James Baker was Secretary of State for the U.S. Treasury Department. The plan was, in a broader sense, an expression of the American approach to the problem of international debts.

¹⁰⁴ Ramiro Pizarro, *Comparative Analysis of regionalism in Latin America and Asia-Pacific*, CEPAL – SERIE Comercio internacional N° 6, Santiago, 1999, p.32.

1990 it grew to \$ 480 billion, while in 2000 it reached \$ 780 billion, or about 50% of GDP.¹⁰⁵

Finally, the global financial crisis, triggered by the US subprime crisis (mortgage loans) in late 2007, shifted very fast from the financial sector to all others and through several transmission mechanisms affected almost the entire world, including Latin America¹⁰⁶ It was the so-called Second Great Fall, because the macro-economic consequence of that financial crisis was the biggest world recession since World War II. The largest markets for Latin American products – Europe and the United States, entered a recession in 2008, which led to a drop in demand as well as foreign investment in the region. The collapse of financial markets in the world hit this region, which started to recover slowly in 2010. Although there has been an initial sharp decline in GDP, Latin America has successfully faced the latest global crisis in many respects. For example, it kept inflation under control, and its countries avoided an internal financial crisis. In addition, the pre-crisis period of Latin American economic progress has hinted to countries in the region that the path to local prevention of the global crisis is through keeping public and private consumption under control in times of prosperity and, more importantly, limiting rapid credit expansion.¹⁰⁷ Above all, it was obvious that the recent global crisis, due to the uncertainty of foreign markets, has intensified the impulses for intra-regional integration in Latin America.

The question inevitably arises, who were the biggest Latin American losers during the 2007 crisis? The example of Brazil, as the largest country in the region, provides enough arguments to draw a general conclusion. The World Bank's 2018 report on inequality covered two successive time periods in Brazil: the first, before the onset of the global financial crisis in 2007; and the other, covering the period during and after the crisis (2007-2015). The survey results show that before 2007, despite a marked increase in income

¹⁰⁵ Gwynne R. N. (2004). Structural reform in South America and Mexico: economic and regional perspectives, in *Latin America Transformed*, London: Edward Arnold, p. 46.; Skidmore, T. E., Smith P. H. & Green J. N. (2014). *Modern Latin America*, Oxford University Press, p. 359.

¹⁰⁶ The global crisis is most often characterized by general consequences: first, it is transferred from the financial to the economy, where world production, foreign direct investment, and international trade are all declining, and there is a drastic drop in employment.

¹⁰⁷ Ocampo, J.O., *The history and challenges of Latin American development*, ECLAC, Chile, Aug. 2013, p.27; Skidmore, T. E., Smith P. H. & Green J. N. (2014). *Modern Latin America*, Oxford University Press, pp. 364-365.

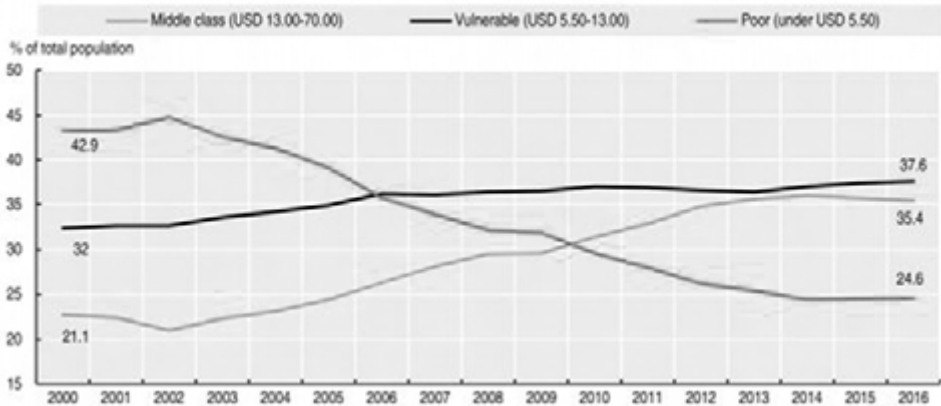
of all groups due to a solid economy, the middle-income group (40% of the population) had slower income growth than the average national growth. On the other hand, over half of the total revenue growth accounted for the top 10% group. An interesting conclusion is reached by the second observation period 2007-2015, which had slightly weaker revenue growth and about 4% lower revenues compared to the first observation period. However, this did not prevent the upper income group, to which only 10% of the population belongs, from appropriating 58.2% of total income growth, which is even slightly higher than in the pre-crisis period. The share of the upper income layer in the entire period 2001-2015. accounted for 57.8% of Brazil's total revenue growth.¹⁰⁸

This example confirms that Latin American society was no exception to the rule, that during the last global crisis, the hypocritical dialogue between politics and economics intensified the state of spiritual and moral dehumanization of society. Pope Francis expressed his reaction to this obvious phenomenon in the encyclical *Laudato Si*. Resolution of the global financial crisis of 2007/2008. he sees as an unethical and life-threatening subordination of the economy and politics to the omnipotent financial system. Disappointed with the outcome, the pontiff concludes that this ideal opportunity to replace the outdated criteria that rule the world with something more humane was missed. [LS, §189]

IV.2. The phenomenon of “new poor”

After the end of the debt crisis, all socio-economic indicators across the region were poor. Income inequality grew both during the “lost decade” of the 1980s and during the neoliberal structural reforms of the 1990s. Both periods created “new poor” (*nuevos pobres*), which are the most tragic consequence of neoliberal reforms. As it's well known, within the neoliberal model of development, the area of social policy has been thoroughly reformed. Social programs administered by the state have been drastically reduced and were picked up by the local structures or by the market leading to little or no access to social services for much of the population. It soon became quite clear that this path of change, in terms of working and living conditions, required certain “sacrifices”.

¹⁰⁸ *World inequality report 2018*: Lucas Chancel at all. pp. 138-144, <https://en.unesco.org/inclusivepolicylab/sites/default/files/publication/document/2018/7/wir2018-full-report-english.pdf>



Graph 3. Latin American population by socioeconomic groups

Source: OECD et al. (2019), *Latin American Economic Outlook 2019: Development in Transition*, <https://doi.org/10.1787/g2g9ff18-en>

The awareness that development cannot be accelerated only by large investments in physical capital and infrastructure, but that investments in health and education are necessary, has matured gradually since the second half of the 20th century. A deeper understanding of the complexities of development led to the consideration of poverty reduction issues in the 1980s and were highlighted for the first time in the official *World Development Report 1980*. In this report, improvements in health and education are linked to improved income growth of the poor.¹⁰⁹ In the 1990s, there were 48.3% of poor Latin Americans, and they were joined by another 20% who were the direct cost of neoliberal reforms. After the reforms, the phenomenon of the new poor was the reason for the fall of some regimes (Venezuela, Brazil, and Bolivia). According to 1997 data, 80% of the *new poor* (about 65 million people) lived in urban areas.¹¹⁰

The question arises, what changes have taken place in terms of socio-economic groups in the 21st century? The so-called “vulnerable” class (people living on USD 5.50–13.00 per day) is becoming the largest socio-economic group in the region, increasing from 32.0% to 37.6% between 2000–2016 years (Chart 3). Poverty fell from 42.9% to 24.6% of the population during this period. Part of that percentage has melted into a vulnerable class, which has

¹⁰⁹ World Bank. 2001. *World Development Report 2000/2001: Attacking Poverty*. *World Development Report*. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/11856>

¹¹⁰ Pajović S., S. (2006). *Latinskoamerički regionalizam u XIX i XX veku*, Megatrend Univerzitet, Beograd, p. 293.

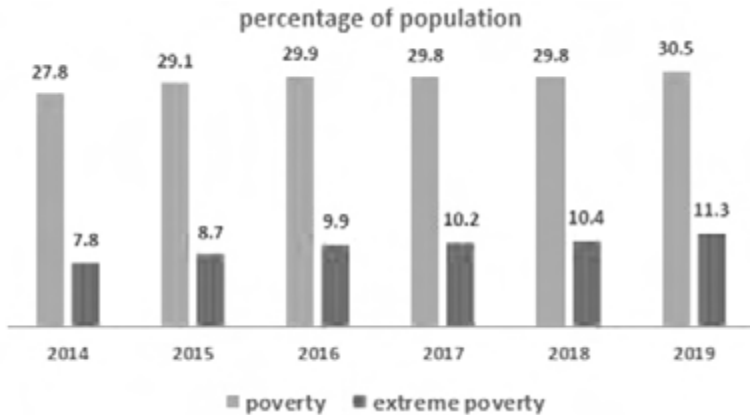
almost no guarantee that some new situation (unemployment, illness, old age, etc.) will not drag them back into poverty.¹¹¹ In Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, there were less than 10% of the poor; at the other end of the spectrum were Guatemala with 50% poor, Nicaragua 37% and Honduras with about 40%. In Brazil, despite the stable distribution of income during the period 2001-2015, inequality remains among the largest in the world. It mainly stems from the extreme redistribution of the national income in the hands of “elite”. In 2018, despite progress, 29.8% of Latinos continued to live in poverty and 10.4% in extreme poverty (Figure 4). In 2019, the number of poor people in the region will increase to 191 million (30.5%), of which 72 million (11.3%) are extremely poor.¹¹² On the other hand, macroeconomic performance is improving, but rather modestly. For example, the GDP growth rate in 2017 was 1.3%, which indicates a certain recovery after five years of economic slowdown and recession in 2015-2016. years.

Also, in 2019, about 76% of Latin Americans are collectively those living in poverty and those with the lowest middle income (vulnerable group). Here is how the recent poverty in the region evolved. There is an increase in the regional average poverty of 2.0% between 2014 and 2018, mainly due to the increase in poverty in Brazil and Venezuela. In other countries in the region, it even decreased in the same period, mainly due to households receiving income from several sources, including remittances and other transfers.

Experts of the Washington Center for Global Development in the publication “*Fighters for Survival: New Poor People in Latin America?*” identify a large social group of *strugglers*. This new social class contributes to the fact that more and more people in Latin America are under chronic existential stress. The *strugglers*, as vulnerable class, are frantically trying to avoid poverty or, at best, to reach the security of the middle class. In most Latin American countries, 35-40% of the population belongs to this group, and most of them are presently in Central America and Mexico. According to the projection for 2040, the *strugglers* will account for about 30% of the population. Experts also warn of the growing risk of increasing social stratification between the middle class and the *strugglers*. There is no doubt that

¹¹¹ OECD et al. (2019), *Latin American Economic Outlook 2019: Development in Transition*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/g2g9ff18-en>; ECLAC, *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2019* (LC/PUB.2019/22-P/Rev.1), Santiago, 2019.

¹¹² ECLAC, *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2019* (LC/PUB.2019/22-P/Rev.1), Santiago, 2019. <https://www.cepal.org/en/pressreleases/eclac-region-has-underestimated-inequality>; *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2020*, ECLAC



* Note: The average is calculated for a sample of 18 countries: Argentina (urban), Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

Graph 4. Poverty and extreme poverty growth in Latin America between 2014-2019.

Source: author according to *Social Panorama of Latin America*, 2020, ECLAC*

more attention should be paid to their needs and interests in the creation and implementation of social and economic policies because they are potentially “new poor”, even under the assumption of long-term continuous economic growth. We should be reminded once again that it is not enough for the chronically poor to get out of poverty. In this context, the role of education is especially emphasized, because those from the struggler group without the opportunity to finish primary school can easily slip into the group of the poor, while without high school they cannot enter the middle class.¹¹³

It is advisable to list here the observations of Edelberto Torres Rivas, which, although related to the Central American political and social milieu during the last two decades of the 20th century, is recognized throughout Latin America today. In short, he warns of the consequences of the disproportion of economic growth and social change, i.e., an ever-widening gap in income distribution and the catastrophic impoverishment of the majority of the population in the subregion, leading to social crises and fratricidal wars.¹¹⁴ We will supplement his claim with a presentation of numerous social

¹¹³ Birdsall, N., Lustig, N., & Meyer, C. J., *The Strugglers: The New Poor in Latin America?* World Development, Vol. 60, 2014, pp. 132-146, ISSN 0305-750X, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.03.019>.

¹¹⁴ Torres Rivas, E. (1993). *History and Society in Central America*, University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 120-131.

conflicts from the respective UN Report, which was made in Bolivia in 2013 and included as many as 16 Latin American countries (graph 5).

Latin Americans have always been very sensitive to injustice and deeply aware of their reality. Therefore, in the 21st century, they also participate in numerous social conflicts that erupt throughout the region and break through various social spheres that are connected by practical demands for improving the quality of life. Since 2019, the disproportion between the economic growth and social changes has caused a series of mass anti-government protests throughout Latin America, directed primarily against the economic and political reforms of the new leaders. They affected Nicaragua, Haiti, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, and Venezuela.

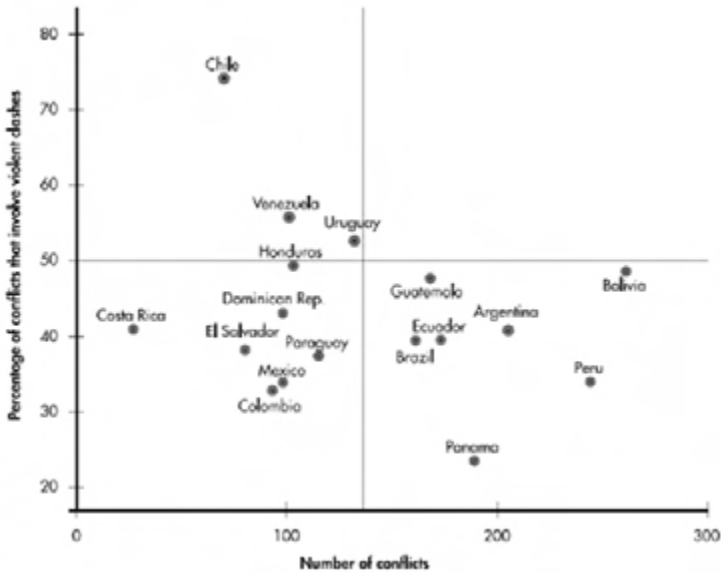
Finally, poverty is not only a lack of material goods, but also refers to political impotence and intellectual abandonment, which arises from the inability to access education as well as other intellectual activities.¹¹⁵ This largely explains how it is possible that a minority in Central America (about 20% of the total population) had almost complete control over economic, political, and cultural affairs in the region.

IV.3. The crisis of neoliberalism in Latin America

The last decade of the XX and the first decade of the XXI century were diametrically opposed to neoliberalism. The inability of the neoliberal development model to respond to the needs of the social sphere has created numerous problems within the region, and some of the existing ones have even intensified. The first cracks of the neoliberal model appeared with the crisis in Mexico in 1994, which escalated into a full-blown recession. The crisis was initiated, first, by the reform of the Constitution, through which uncontrolled privatization and opening of the state to foreign capital was enabled, along with the growth of external indebtedness. Then, there is the geopolitically very controversial entry of Mexico into NAFTA. Finally, the anti-neoliberal revolt of the indigenous population in the state of Chiapas, led against the federal government by the neo-Zapatista army. The uprising was part of the general dissatisfaction with the situation in Mexico, indicative of the depth of destabilization in this country.

The situation was no better in Bolivia at the beginning of the 21st century. The predominantly indigenous population of the Bolivian region of Cochabamba has entered a struggle to preserve their access to water, which

¹¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 120-131.



Graph 5. Number of social conflicts per country and their percentage of which involving violent clashes

Source: *Understanding Social Conflict in Latin America* – UNDP, UNIR Bolivia 2013

the regime of the mining magnate, Sánchez de Lozada, tried to cede to a foreign company through privatization. The so-called “Water War” of 2000 is a significant historical step forward for popular movements in Bolivia and the sovereign control over its natural resources. There were also the ‘gas wars’ (initiated by the privatization of the country and gas reserves) in the Chaparé region, as well as the fight against the American policy of coca eradication.¹¹⁶ Over time, these local struggles fit into the broader framework of the struggle against the imposition of neoliberal policies and their consequences. For example, the loss of jobs in agriculture and the processing industry for the local population, which culminated in 2003 with movements against the ALCA, the IMF and American imperialism.¹¹⁷ Also, a wide wave of protests at that time was triggered by the general dissatisfaction of the Bolivian people with the neoliberal economic model, which excluded a significant part of the population from political life, emphasizing poverty,

¹¹⁶ Aymara victims (60 dead, hundreds wounded) of so-called “gas wars” have protests against the Bolivian government’s plan to export natural gas to the United States and Mexico, through Chile.

¹¹⁷ Petras, J., Veltmeyer, H., Neoliberalism and imperialism in Latin America: Dynamics and Responses, *International Review of Modern Sociology*, Vol. 33, 2007.

and lack of justice. On the other hand, the protests helped leftist leader Evo Morales Ayma come to power in 2005. Upon taking office, he nationalized the gas industry, as protesters demanded.

What is happening in Brazil has always been followed with increased attention, since it is the largest and most populous Latin American country. The 1995 election victory of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a member of the center-left political party, was seen as a sign of an impending neoliberal crisis in the region.¹¹⁸ Brazilian sociologist and political scientist Emir Sader analyzes the factors that transformed Latin America into the weakest link in the neoliberal chain. The mechanism of accepting and rejecting this model in Latin America is paradoxical, where it was first applied in Chile and Bolivia, so that the region would soon take the lead in resisting and creating alternatives to neoliberalism. In the 1990s, the model prevailed in almost all countries in the region, except Cuba. Three, at the time, most enlightened countries in the region (Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina) with very advanced social protection and public service delivery systems, were completely dismantled by neoliberal policies that privatized many state functions. Preceding implementation of this model, all three countries experienced the most brutal repression, aided by military dictatorships, which stifled people's ability to defend their interests.¹¹⁹ Of course, introduction of the neoliberalism led to the wholesale of national industrial resources and the abolition of many social services.

Over time, the consistent implementation of neoliberal structural reforms has reduced the ability of Latin American governments to implement some of the measures of state intervention which could affect their own economy and guarantee an effective social policy. However, the crisis of neoliberalism in Latin America was not only caused by the poor results of social policy, but above all by the fact that since the reforms in the mid-1990s, the economies of the region's countries have not been growing. An obvious example is again Mexico, where overall productivity has stagnated since the beginning of the reforms, and the economy has lagged. Interestingly, many analysts interpreted the anti-government, social protests "Estallido Social" held

¹¹⁸ The Social Democratic Party – Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB) has placed emphasis on land reform, environmental protection, social justice and a parliamentary presidential system of government.

¹¹⁹ Emir Sader, *The Weakest Link? Neoliberalism in Latin America*, *New Left Review* 52 July/ Aug 2008. <https://newleftreview.org/issues/I152/articles/emir-sader-the-weakest-link-neoliberalism-in-latin-america.pdf>

throughout Chile 2019/2020, as a reflection of disagreement with the economic, political, and social inequality created in Chile with the neoliberal model implemented by the Pinochet regime.¹²⁰ The precursor for protests was an increase in the price of public transport, but they were essentially against social inequality and elitism. The protests forced the president, Sebastián Piñera, to call a referendum in which Chileans voted a year later to change the 1980 neoliberal constitution, which was linked to the brutal military rule of the far right and General Pinochet (Augusto Pinochet, 1973-1989). Practically, for the period when wealth poured into the pockets of today's ruling elite, and the social system was privatized. In any case, the general assessment is that neoliberalism in Latin America did not achieve the expected results, which influenced the fall of the regimes that advocated it.

IV.4. Emergence of new political regimes as a consequence of the application of neoliberal policy in the region

The strengthening of right-wing political regimes in the region, which supported neoliberalism and contributed to its consolidation in the 1990s, was helped by the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas and the 'special period' in Cuba. General Pinochet's promotional acceptance of neoliberalism in Chile continued under a coalition of Socialists and Christian Democrats. Furthermore, with the fall of military regimes in several South American states, neoliberal neo-populists and its right-wing leaders have come to power and drastically cut social benefits while implementing neoliberal economic reforms. Among them, the most famous were Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000) in Peru, Fernando Collor de Mello (1990-92) in Brazil, Abdalá Bucaram (1996-97) in Ecuador, and Carlos Menem (1989-99) in Argentina. We will discuss more Menem, a typical neoliberal leader who comes to power in the year of the highest inflation in the country. His political path started on the left and ended on the right. He introduced a radical economic liberalization, justified as the necessary response to hyperinflation. One part of the proceeds from the wholesale of state-owned enterprises went to his supporters and the other to servicing Argentine debts. Menem, a former Peronist, followed a policy quite contrary to traditional Peronist policy.¹²¹

¹²⁰ The Guardian, Retrieved 30.10.2019, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/oct/30/pinochet-economic-model-current-crisis-chile>

¹²¹ Kos-Stanišić, L. (2014). *Populizam u Argentini – sedam desetljeća peronizma*, Zagreb: Političke perspektive.

In countries where neoliberal policies are not accepted, social issues and income distribution are valorized differently. For example, in Venezuela the administration of Carlos Andrés Pérez (1974-79; 1989-93) nationalized the oil industry, and the oil production was slowed to conserve resources. The income from it was directed to hydroelectric power plants, steel mills, but also – education. He emphasized Venezuela’s autonomy from the United States with two major diplomatic moves. First, he sided with Panama in terms of its control over the Panama Canal, and second, he renewed diplomatic relations with Cuba. Generally, in the period 1997-2003 all indications were that the Washington Consensus had exhausted its possibilities. These diplomatic moves redefined the neoliberal model of development and influenced further development of democracy in the region, as well as political and integration processes. In particular, the complexity of the process of creating the South American geo-economics concept enabled the coexistence of seemingly very different political and ideological regimes. There has been neo-populism in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay; Chavism in Venezuela; indigenism in Bolivia; neo-Sandinism in Nicaragua and others. It was obvious that the region was gripped by a wave of growing disagreement with neoliberalism and the search for alternative policies. From that discontinuity at the beginning of the 21st century, a significant political, economic, and social change came, which for many analysts was a sure sign of the revival of the leftist movements in this area. In the first place, post-neoliberalism implies changes that have included the rejection of the inviolability of the free market, while in most countries there has been a re-nationalization of the energy sector. The changes started in Venezuela in 1998, with the election of Hugo Chavez. Since then and until 2011, only two great Latin American countries, Colombia, and Mexico, did not have governments belonging to the informal regional political movement of socialists and new leftists, the so-called “pink tide” (sp. *Marea rosa*).¹²² It included state leaders: Brazil – Luiz Inacio ‘Lula’ da Silva and Dilma Rousseff; Chile – Ricardo Lagos; Uruguay – Tabare Vazquez, and Jose ‘Pepe’ Mujica; Argentina – Kirchner couple, Nestor Kirchner and Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner; Chile – Verónica Michelle Bachelet and Honduras Manuel Zelaya. All of them were opponents of neoliberalism and were ambitious in initiating social reforms, which in some cases even meant the nationalization of key companies or the entire extractive industry. Also, it is very important that

¹²² The name “pink tide” comes from the softer shift of these governments to the left compared to Marxism, represented by the red color.

within the “pink tide” for the first time the representatives of indigenous peoples were elected presidents in their countries: first in Bolivia Evo Morales, in Ecuador Rafael Correa, and in Peru Ollanta Humala.

IV.5. New economic and social policies based on the principles of solidarity economy

The crisis of the Washington Consensus has enabled changes in the political and democratic development of the region, especially of South America. These changes significantly influenced the solution of the accumulated socio-economic problems since the strict application of the neoliberal model. At the same time many enthusiastic reformist leaders emerged, there were many years of economic prosperity in the region, as well as an extremely favorable global contexts for rising prices of natural resources. In the period 2000-2014 the number of poor Latinos has dropped by 20%, and about ten million each year in 2002-2012 entered the middle class. It is indicative that in 2011, for the first time in history, more people in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay were classified in the middle class than in the group of the poor.¹²³

The “pink tide” governments have been socially efficient, unemployment has fallen, and both trade with the world and economic growth rates increased. Finally, Latin America’s international position has been strengthened. In 2006, inflation was below 3% in many countries in the region.¹²⁴ The significant reduction in poverty at the beginning of the new century was influenced by the sharp rise in Chinese demand for Latin American raw materials and social programs of “*conditional cash transfer*” (CCT).¹²⁵ The occasional shortcomings of the CCT program are offset by the generally good implementation results, and it can be said that this strategy for combating

¹²³ The Economist, *The “yes, but” syndrome*, Jan 2nd 2014, <https://www.economist.com/americas-view/2014/01/02/the-yes-but-syndrome>

¹²⁴ By comparison, inflation in Argentina was 52.9% in 2019, in Haiti 20.8%. In Venezuela, the inflation rate fell from an enormous 130,060% in 2018, to 9,585% in 2019, with a trend of further slowdown. The main common determinant of inflation in these three countries was the widespread use of monetary financing for fiscal deficits. ECLAC, *Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean*, 2020 (LC/PUB.2020/12-P), Santiago, 2020.

¹²⁵ Conditional cash transfer means a financial assistance from the state to the poor if they fulfil certain conditions: if they send their children to school, visit a doctor regularly, vaccinate their children, and the like.

poverty and promoting economic stability has been very successful. CCT programs have affected not only the growth of household income (especially in rural areas where as much as 1/3 of poverty reduction is attributed to this program), but also the increase in the number of children attending school, but also the breaking of the chain of intergenerational poverty.

Mexico was the first to implement a social program of conditional cash transfer called *Oportunidades*, later known as *Prospera*. In four years (1997-2001), the program expanded to 5.8 million of Mexico's poorest families, or 25 million people, covering about 20 percent of their costs. The goal of the program was mainly aimed at reducing family poverty and encouraging future economic growth in Mexico. Due to the effectiveness of the Mexican *Oportunidades* program, its variants have appeared in Nicaragua, Honduras, Jamaica, and Chile, but also outside Latin America in some African countries, and even in the United States (the city of New York). Finally, to date, the Mexican conditional cash transfer program has been copied in over 50 countries around the world. A similar program was launched in Brazil during the administration of President Cardoso, and it expanded during the time of President Lula. That state social program of subsidies to families, better known as the *Bolsa Família*, covered 12 million families. At the same time, it was the largest CCT program in the world.¹²⁶ Back in 2001, Lula, a member of the Labor Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores), submitted the Fome Zero project for public discussion and said that Brazilian agriculture has the potential to feed its population, but that the poverty of workers, i.e., those who need to buy food, is the biggest cause of famine in Brazil. Sometime later, in January 2003, in his inaugural speech, President Lula stressed that one of the priorities of his government's policy would be to create such conditions in the country that all people living in it have three decent meals every day, without expecting donations from anyone. In the same year, the government's "Hunger-Free Project" was launched – the Food Safety Policy Proposal for Brazil (*Projeto Fome Zero – Uma Proposta de Política de Segurança Alimentar para o Brasil*). The program became the main government strategy that united the economic and social policy of the country.¹²⁷ During the eight-year realization of Fome

¹²⁶ Skidmore, T. E., at all (2014). p. 365-369.; Julian S. Yates, Karen Bakker, *Debating the 'post-neoliberal turn' in Latin America*, Progress in Human Geography 2014, Vol. 38(1) 62–90, Downloaded from phg.sagepub.com at Loyola University Chicago on June 10, 2016

¹²⁷ More about program "Zero Hunger" in FAO study: The Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) Program: The Brazilian experience, Brasília, 2010: MDA, 2010. <http://www.fao.org/3/i3023e/i3023e.pdf>

Zero, he mobilized various segments of society, and among his many initiatives we will mention two: the first gave a significant role to family agriculture, whose products were placed through the Food Procurement Program and its public food procurement mechanism; the second is that families bought food through the mechanism of the Food Ticket Program. In any case, between 2003 and 2009, about 20 million people were lifted out of poverty, of which 5 million were from rural areas. Despite the good results of the Zero Hunger program, at the end of the second decade of the 21st century, about 30 million Brazilians still belong to the category of the poor.

Also, many successful social protection programs have been implemented by Argentina, Uruguay and Venezuela. In 2003, when the Fome Zero program was launched in Brazil, in Venezuela, the Chavez government launched the “Millions for the People” initiative in major cities, improving not just health (*Misión Barrio Adentro*) and education (*Misión Robinson*), but also the job creation (*Misión Vuelvan Caras*) and food subsidies (*Misión Mercal*). All programs are funded by part of the oil revenues, which went into a special presidential fund. In this way, the fund financed social programs worth about 2.5% of GDP. Despite some objections to Chavez that social mission programs were part of his neo-populist machinery, there is no doubt that they pulled millions of the poor out of misery – poverty was reduced by almost 1/3. In short, the programs gave hope to the people of Venezuela and brighter future to their children. Skidmore et al. cites official statistics according to which the national poverty rate of Venezuela in the period 1998-2009, fell from 49% to 26%, and unemployment from 15% to 7%.¹²⁸ From 1998 to 2007, the health care coverage increased six folds, i.e., it covered more than 20 million people.¹²⁹ In Uruguay, the CCT (as part of the Plan de Equidad implemented since 2008) was aimed at children and adolescents from socio-economically disadvantaged households. Two Uruguayan presidents, Jose Mujica – ‘El Pepe’ (2010-15)¹³⁰ and Tabare Vasquez (2005-10; 2015-20), also contributed to the reduction of poverty and the development of democracy. In Bolivia meanwhile, the government’s aid program during Morales’ mandate covered about 50% of the population, which dropped the country’s poverty and extreme poverty rates by half.

¹²⁸ Skidmore, T. E., et al (2014). pp. 365-369.

¹²⁹ Economic & Political Weekly, India, <https://www.epw.in/about-epw-engage>

¹³⁰ Uruguay’s left-wing president and former guerrilla-tupamaros, “El Pepe”, was called “the poorest president in the world” due to his modest lifestyle. He distributed most of his salary to the poor.

Since 2011 there has been a decline in commodity prices on the world market. Latin America was particularly hard hit by the fall in oil prices, which peaked in 2016. This called into question the sustainability of the success of the “great decade” of the 2000s. Progressive leftist regimes have failed to create a strong enough social base to keep them in power. The governments of the Pink Tide period were socially responsible, with a common goal to reduce the degree of inequality and thus mitigate the dehumanization of the poor. It can be said that the programs were extremely efficient, which is confirmed by the previously presented economic indicators. In addition, they have had a decisive influence on the decomposition of the social order (for example, Venezuela and Brazil) and that is where their greatest value lies. We would end our discussion of Latin American new economic and social policies based on the economy of solidarity with the sentence of the Brazilian doctor and diplomat, José de Castro, “*Hunger and war do not respect any natural law, because they are purely human creations.*”¹³¹

¹³¹ Josué de Castro in his two books “Geography of Hunger” (Geografia da fome, 1948) and “Geopolitics of Famine” (Geopolítica da fome, 1951) pointed out the social origin of hunger and that it is therefore possible that it be under human control.

V. INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF LATIN AMERICA AT THE END OF 20TH AND AT THE BEGINNING OF 21ST CENTURY

There is a great variety of internal and external factors (economic, political, geographical, historical, military, cultural-religious, geopolitical and others) whose dynamic interaction determines the present international position of Latin America. The geographical factor is still primary, with its many categories: natural resources, geographical location, demography, size of region, climate, and other. The abundance of natural resources of the region encouraged its development and was a perpetual reason for attracting foreign capital. Since Latin America possesses significant global reserves of diverse natural resources, they are once again at the center of its geopolitical positioning. Biodiversity of the region is breath-taking. In today's ecological reality, the importance of Latin American freshwater reserves is growing. Significance of its strategic potential is manifested not just through the Panama Canal built long time ago, but also through the hints that the Nicaraguan Canal could be built to provide an additional connection between Atlantic and Pacific. Meanwhile, the Latin American region passes between Scylla and Charybdis in XX and XXI centuries, relying on its oil and ore reserves, huge reserves of clean water, unpolluted environment, all the while increasingly aware of its identity.

Frequent and intense external changes (economic, political, and social), to which Latin Americans have been exposed throughout history, have certainly consolidated their sense of both national and individual identity. Pope Francis in his encyclical *Fratelli tutti* holds that "For the deeper, stronger and richer our own identity is, the more we will be capable of enriching others with own proper contribution." [FT § 282]¹³²

¹³² Encyclical Letter *Fratelli tutti* of the Holy Father Francis on Fraternity and Social Friendship, October 2020, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20201003_enciclica-fratelli-tutti.html

Collapse of the strategy of open regionalism at the beginning of the 21st century, together with the arrival to power of various left-wing governments, led to the development of different integration models which, were in the function of better positioning Latin American countries within the world market and strengthening its international position.

V.1. The main partners of Latin America in the era of globalization

Despite the different theoretical-methodological approaches, it can still be stated that the position of Latin America in the era of globalization has significantly strengthened. Three Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico) are members of the G-20 and are directly involved in finding solutions to the problems of the 21st century. For the first time in the history of international relations, one Latin American country is in the status of an emerging power – Brazil. It has become the ninth economy in the world and is a member of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa). In support of the statement on the strengthening of the position of Latin America in the era of globalization, we list the following facts: three Latin American member states are APEC members; Mexico and Chile have signed a free trade agreement with the EU; and there are Latin American cooperation agreements with ASEAN, China, Russia, India and Turkey.¹³³ On the other hand, the penetration of “soft power” (among other things through culture) which is applied in political and economic relations with Latin America by China, the USA, Turkey, Europe, Russia and others is apparent. The role of Latin America in global economy is growing, especially of its most developed countries, despite the frequent lack of coordination between countries within the region.

V.1.1. USA and Latin America

Early indications that Latin America is becoming very important for the US economy date back to 1781, when Congress sent its first special agent to Havana. His role was to meet the demands of Congress, to advise American traders on business in Latin America, and at the same time to represent their interests before the Spanish government. In a word, his job was very similar to today’s economic diplomat. Somewhat later, in 1810, Congress

¹³³ For example, Mercosur and India signed a Free Trade Agreement on January 25, 2004, and Brazil and China on June 22, 2012.

adopted the *No-Transfer Resolution* to warn of a possible transfer of colonial power from Spain to its new ally, England.¹³⁴ This resolution has since become a guiding idea with a lasting impact on the relationship between the two American subcontinents. It was not until the end of the 19th century that the United States shaped its foreign policy based on the principles contained in the Monroe Doctrine.¹³⁵ It was Monroe's doctrine that enabled the United States to inherit its European colonial role in Latin America, that is, the transfer of power against which they advocated through the aforementioned Non-Transfer Resolution.

As a specific segment of the political and economic relations between the USA and Latin America, it is necessary to mention their military cooperation. Until the Second World War, European influence on the professionalization of the Latin American army prevailed, and since then, the most influence was exercised by the USA. Since 1946, elite training of the Latin American army has taken place in Fort Gulick, the *School of the Americas* (SOA), in the zone of the Panama Canal controlled by the USA. Although the School was established to maintain stability in the region, it soon became known as the "school of coups". In accordance with the terms of the 1977 Panama Canal Agreement, the Fort Gallic School was closed in 1984 and relocated to the Fort Benning Military Base in Georgia, becoming a part of the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command. In 2001, the school changed its name to the *Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation* (WHINSEC). Since its founding, until the beginning of the 21st century, it has provided training for tens of thousands of Latin American cadets. The emphasis in training in the 1980s was on guerrilla fighting tactics.¹³⁶ There are opinions that the current significance of this school for American politics is above

¹³⁴ Schoultz, L. (1998). *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy toward Latin America*, Harvard University Press, pp. 3-4.

¹³⁵ The doctrine of President James Monroe from 1823, proclaimed the goal of national security and ensured the primacy of US interests in the region. The controversial stance in the "America to Americans" doctrine has been the subject of controversy to this day as to whether it really only defended American territorial interests, or justified its imperialist pretensions to Latin America, starting in the Caribbean.

¹³⁶ Richard Halloran, *U.S. Military School to Quit Panama*, New York Times, Aug. 18, 1984, retrieved 23.05.2019 from <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/08/18/world/us-military-school-to-quit-panama.html> ; Richard F. Grimmett, Mark P. Sullivan, *United States Army School of the Americas: Background and Congressional Concerns*, 1994, <https://fas.org/irp/crs/soa.htm> ; Al Jazeera, *The School of the Americas: Class over?*, 20 Sep 2012, Retrieved 22.05.2019 from <https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestoryamericas/2012/09/201292081054585410.html>

all in the relations it nurtures, that is, in the creation of a network of Latin American military officials under the supervision of the U.S.¹³⁷

Until the end of the Cold War, in the late 1980s, U.S. policy toward Latin America had on its agenda the prevention, elimination, or minimization of all foreign influences outside the Western Hemisphere. In the post-Cold War period, this “heavyweight” in the world economic and political boxing ring – needed a new strategic paradigm of policy towards Latin America. Thus, U.S. found it in democracy, respect for human rights, and economic prosperity. With this new strategic paradigm, the United States justified its interventions in Panama in 1989 and Haiti in 1994. The transition from this policy, which was public and obvious, to a policy that was hidden, took place in connection with the drug trade in Central America. Pope Atkins believes that this trade has escaped control to such an extent that it has compromised multilateralism and provided justification for the whole spectrum of hidden interventions within this policy.¹³⁸ There are indications that Latin American economic development, especially within the framework of neoliberal policy, should have been “complementary” and not “competitive” in relation to the United States. This is exactly what was the goal of the Marshall Plan, which was related to the purchase of agricultural products from the United States. There was a high increase in U.S. share of world grain trade from less than 10% before the war, to more than 50% by 1950, and exports from Argentina fell by about 65%. At the same time, in Colombia, grain production was practically destroyed by these measures.¹³⁹ It should come as no surprise that over time, almost the entire Andean region has switched to production for the drug industry. Strategically, the US policy towards Latin American agriculture has not changed to this day. An illustration of this fact is the constant pressure on Colombia to reduce the area under coca – which is the only source of income for many of its farmers.¹⁴⁰ In Colombia, the value of illegal drug exports accounts for about 25% of total exports, as

¹³⁷ Jake Hess, *Infamous US military school still draws fire*, Al Jazeera, 9 Dec 2014.

Retrieved 23.05.2019. from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/12/infamous-us-military-school-still-draws-fire-201412521041105726.html>

¹³⁸ Atkins G. Pope (1999). *Latin America in the International Political System*, Westview Press, pp. 139-167.

¹³⁹ Chomsky, N. (1999). *Profit Above People – Neoliberalism and the Global Order*, Worlds, Novi Sad, p. 42.

¹⁴⁰ In order to jointly fight against the illegal production and trade in psychoactive substances, the Andean Pact countries signed the Rodrigo Lara Bonilla Agreement in Lima in 1986. The agreement was named after Lara Bonilla, the Colombian justice

well as 3% of the country's GDP.¹⁴¹ As it's well known, Latin America is the main supplier of narcotics to the U.S. market.

The eighth decade of the last century was marked by the policy of the Ronald Reagan administration characterized by opposition to communist expansionism. Also, Central America became the center stage of the "Reagan Doctrine" during the global Cold War. Towards the end of his second term, President Reagan labeled drug trafficking dangerous to U.S. national security. Geo-economics gained priority in relations with Latin America during the President Bush Sr. (George H. W. Bush) term in the Oval Office. Toward the end of the Cold War, President Bush has publicly announced plans for NAFTA for the first time. Given that Clinton's policy also had a strong focus on the economy, Latin America was not its main priority. However, Clinton had to pay special attention to the region in 1991, when democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a young Catholic priest and advocate of liberation theology, was inaugurated in Haiti. All the turbulent political developments in the coming months in Haiti (including the exile of the president) were dictated by the United States and the military junta led by General Cédras. It should be emphasized that the Caribbean Basin has traditionally been at the center of U.S. security interests. Mexico soon became the focus of Clinton's economic interest in Latin America, which was confirmed by NAFTA in 1994. It is believed that the direct consequence of the Agreement on Mexico was its increased dependence on the United States, as well as its distancing from the rest of the region.¹⁴²

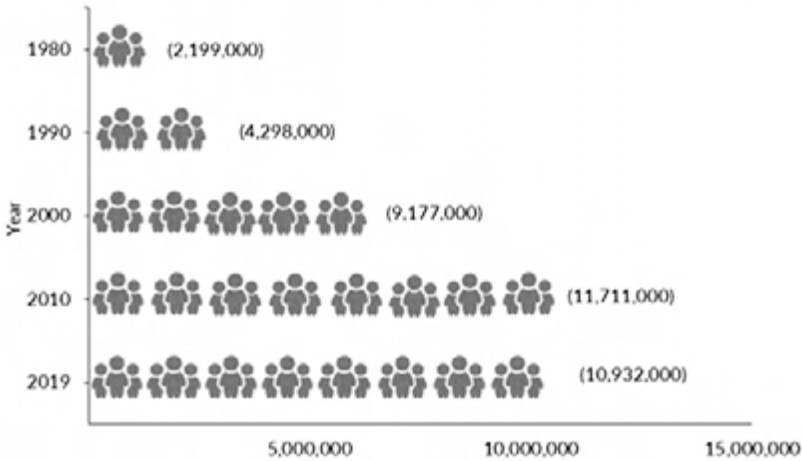
The turning point in the relations between the two Americas was the Summit of the Leaders of the Western Hemisphere, which was held in 2005 in Mar del Plata, Argentina. The U.S. administration's plan was to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA, Spanish ALCA) in the area from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. However, both the concept itself and the presence of President Bush Jr. in Mar del Plata provoked mass street protests.¹⁴³ President Bush

minister who led the fight against drug crime. He was assassinated as a presidential candidate in 1984.

¹⁴¹ Bulmer-Thomas, V. (2003). *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 8-9.

¹⁴² Detlef Nolte, Leslie E. Wehner. 21 Jul 2015, *Geopolitics in Latin America*, Old and New from: Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security Routledge. pp. 36-40. Retrieved 09 Aug 2017 from: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315867908.ch2>

¹⁴³ Speeches during the protests in Mar del Plata were directed against the war in Iraq and the introduction of ALCA. President Chavez's speech pointed out that neoliber-



Graph 6. Mexican immigrant population in the United States, 1980-2019

Source: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states-2019>

has offered Latin America ALCA as a way out of poverty. The real motive was the continuation of protectionism in favor of American farmers, to the detriment of the largest Latin American agricultural producers, Argentina and Brazil. Negotiations failed, and President Chavez announced that ALCA had been “buried.” The rejection of ALCA represented a crossroad in inter-American relations. For the first time in history, the coalition of the most important Latin American countries convincingly and publicly defeated a political initiative of the Northern Neighbour. On the other hand, the defeat of the concept of trade unification of the Western Hemisphere in Mar del Plata in 2005 led to the replacement of the American multilateral strategy in relation to Latin America, with a new strategy of establishing bilateral free trade agreements. They were mainly focused on the countries of Central America and the Caribbean, although they were also signed with several South American countries, including Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Of course, these bilateral agreements, despite their flexibility, still followed American priorities. Some of them, for example, obliged the transition of Latin American countries to the private health care.¹⁴⁴ Only urgent political situations during the time of

alism reduced public spending, especially in health and education, under the pretext of achieving fiscal balance, while the United States then had the largest fiscal deficit in the world; *Chavez: Bush beats dead horse with FTAA*, retrieved 28.08.2017. from <https://www.bilaterals.org/?chavez-bush-beats-dead-horse-with>

¹⁴⁴ Bárbara C. Neves, Karen Honório, Latin American Regionalism Under the New Right, <https://www.e-ir.info/2019/09/27/latin-american-regionalism-under-the-new-right/>

President Barack Obama drew attention to Latin America. The general U.S. discrepancies in political stance towards the region is illustrated by this example: what applies to policy towards Cuba, where the US insists on democracy, does not apply to policy towards Honduras, where a military junta and undemocratically elected government are supported.¹⁴⁵ Towards the end of Obama's term, relations between Cuba and the United States warmed up. In 2008, researchers from the American Council on Foreign Relations concluded in their report that Latin America became more important than before since it found itself among the fastest growing trading partners of the USA. This region had become: the largest foreign supplier of oil in the U.S.; partner in the development of alternative fuels; the largest source of labor/immigrants; but also, the largest supplier in the illegal drug market. These facts confirm the importance of strategic, economic, and cultural ties with this region, but they also raise concerns. The report has an explicit conclusion – the United States no longer has a dominant influence in Latin America.¹⁴⁶

Since 2016, the U.S. has been led by a Republican, Donald Trump. This populist president often justified his political decisions for the same reason: “Every decision about trade, taxes, immigration, foreign affairs, will be made in favor of American workers and American families.”¹⁴⁷ This justified most of his protectionist economic measures and politically unpredictable decisions. One of his first presidential moves was the exit of the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). In line with his “America first!” Policy, Trump was opposed to free trade, and he considered the NAFTA agreement unfavorable for the United States. His foreign policy of a firm hand (which is why he respected autocratic leaders regardless of ideology), also meant closing the American borders to migrants. For example, in Mexico in 2016 there were less than 9,000 asylum applications, and in 2019 their number exceeded 70,000.¹⁴⁸ In the last decade, the number of Mexican immigrants has decreased, in 2019 there were still about 10.9 million, which

¹⁴⁵ Skidmore, T. E., at all (2014). p. 469.

¹⁴⁶ Barshefsky, C., Hill, J. T., O'Neil, S. K., & Council on Foreign Relations. (2008). *U.S.-Latin America Relations: A New Direction for a New Reality: Report of an Independent Task Force*.

¹⁴⁷ Antonio Hsiang, Trump Makes China Great in Latin America, 2017, accessed on 21.02.2018.

<https://thediplomat.com/2017/04/trump-makes-china-great-in-latin-america/>

¹⁴⁸ This happened because President Trump passed a regulation that it is not possible to apply for the American asylum directly to the American government or embassy, but first in the border country, that is, Mexico. Source: Migration Policy Institute,

is about ¼ the total number of 45 million US immigrants. On average, Mexicans have the lowest incomes compared to other foreigners in the United States, as well as the domestic population. In 2019, about 17% of Mexican immigrants in the United States lived in poverty (Graph 6).¹⁴⁹

The policy of the Trump administration towards Mexican migrants, especially the announcement of the construction of a wall on the border, did not leave Pope Francis indifferent either. He said during a visit to Mexico in 2016, “A person who thinks only of how to build walls, wherever they are, and does not build bridges, is not a Christian.”¹⁵⁰ This American policy, without any doubt, leaves China with more opportunities to expand its influence in the region. Recognizing that fact, as part of its 2017 *National Security Strategy*, the U.S. claimed that China and Russia plan to expand their influence in Latin America through state-led investments and loans, military alliances, and arms sales.¹⁵¹

V.1.2. *China and Latin America*

Since the creation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, its relations with Latin America have mirrored its relations with the United States. After the Cultural Revolution, which ended in 1969, the Chinese leadership abandoned the revolutionary ideology, which created the preconditions for better relations with the United States, resulting in China’s admission to the U.N. in 1971. Most Latin American countries supported this decision. In the same year, Sino-Latin American diplomatic relations are being established, with progression in the next two decades, accompanied by their cooperation in the fields of economy, science, and promotion and protection of investments. During that

Retrieved 08.03.2020, from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states-2019>

¹⁴⁹ Emma Israel, Jeanne Batalova, Mexican Immigrants in the United States, 2020.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states-2019>

¹⁵⁰ Levine, D. H. (2016). What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, CLALS*, <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>; Yardley, Jim. 2016. “Pope Francis Suggests Donald Trump is ‘Not Christian.’” *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/19/world/americas/pope-francis-donald-trump-christian.html>

¹⁵¹ Nolte, D., China Is Challenging but (Still) Not Displacing Europe in Latin America, *GIGA Focus | Latin America | Number 1 | February 2018 | Hamburg, Germany, ISSN 1862-3573* https://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/gf_lateinamerika_1801_en_0.pdf 21-12-2018

period, China established 200 companies in Latin America, investing 700 million US dollars.¹⁵² In 1997, the Chinese Oil Corporation won a tender in Venezuela and thus secured a joint venture with Venezuelan firms. At the end of that year, Chinese President Jiang Zemin visited Cuba. In the same decade, bilateral relations developed with the most important economies of the region (Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile), which the Chinese president also visited. Since 1997, China has had regular consultations at the level of foreign ministers with MERCOSUR members. Since 2017, China has replaced the E.U. as a first-ranked trading partner of this group.

There is no doubt that the cooperation initiatives between China and Latin America in the first two decades of the 21st century have had a negative impact on the U.S. trade interests, as the first and on the E.U., as the second largest trading partner in this region.¹⁵³ Among the mentioned initiatives is the invitation sent to the Latin American governments to join the global Chinese project “*One Belt, One Road*”. In 2013, President Xi Jinping launched an initiative to create a new traffic, development and trade route modeled on the former “Silk Road”. China sees South America as a natural extension of its southern sea Silk Road route, ipso facto, it is shifting its geopolitical focus from Asia and Africa to this region. For some countries, China has become the most important trading partner (Brazil, Argentina, Chile), but Latin America is still not topping the list of Chinese priorities. This Far East nation has included Ecuador and Chile in the already existing (since 2013) joint strategic partnership with Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, and Peru. China’s demand for natural resources (copper, iron ore, oil, soybeans) caused a commodity boom in Latin America in 2004-2013. China is also becoming an important creditor for development projects. Chinese banks in the 2005-2016 timespan, lent over 140 billion U.S. dollars to Latin American governments mainly for investments in infrastructure (52%) and energy (31%). Most of the money went to Venezuela and Brazil. Chinese loans are given to countries that do not have access to other loans, and what is especially important, those loans are not burdened with political conditions.

- China is expanding and diversifying FDI in the region, endangering the leading role of Europe;

¹⁵² Pajović S., S. (2006). *Latin American regionalism in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Megatrend University, Belgrade, pp. 286-287.

¹⁵³ The initiative for cooperation within the second forum China – CELAC, was held in 2018 in Santiago de Chile.

- Relations between China and Latin America are characterized by political and economic pragmatism, as well as China's "soft power" of cultural and diplomatic cooperation.
- China is entering a vacuum created, on the one hand, by the neglect of Latin America's economic potential by the U.S. and, on the other, by Europe's slowness in concluding a free trade agreement with MERCOSUR.¹⁵⁴

Detlef Nolte notes that Chinese President Xi Jinping made good use of the opportunity at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Lima in 2016 to impose himself as a defender of free trade. In the period 2001-2016, China and Latin America have increased their mutual trade 16 times. However, one of the most important joint strategic projects of China and Latin America, the construction of the Nicaraguan canal¹⁵⁵, which would connect the Atlantic and Pacific basins, has not yet come to life. In the second decade of the 21st century, China mainly sells to Latin America: electronics, textiles, and chemical products, while it buys: soybeans, crude oil, and ores.

V.1.3. *Europe and Latin America*

Traditional historical and civilizational ties connect Europe and Latin America as economic and political partners. Although neither side has too many expectations today, they are important to each other. The European Community was the region's second largest partner in the 1990s. Large European banking systems used to finance more than 1/3 of its debts. It is important to note that since the 1970s, Latin Americans have reoriented themselves from the United States to Europe as their largest arms supplier.¹⁵⁶ The Caribbean and the Atlantic belt along South America are part of the strategic sea

¹⁵⁴ Detlef Nolte, *China Is Challenging but (Still) Not Displacing Europe in Latin America*, GIGA Focus | Latin America | Number 1 | February 2018 | Hamburg, Germany, ISSN 1862-3573 https://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/gf_lateinamerika_1801_en_0.pdf 21-12-2018

¹⁵⁵ The idea of building the Nicaraguan Canal originated in Central America in 1826, when funds were sought from the United States to finance it. However, in 1903, the United States decided to build the Panama Canal. Financing the construction of the Nicaraguan canal has remained interesting, both for Russia and China, but so far none of them has realized that.

¹⁵⁶ Alberto van Klaveren, *United States and Latin America in the 1990s*, eds. Hartlyn J., Schultz L. & Varas A., 1992, The University of North Carolina Press, p. 34.

routes to Europe, and in the case of France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, there are also extraterritorial possessions as a part of the colonial inheritance.

The economic importance of the E.U. in Latin America is growing from north to south. It is known that Mexico and the Central American countries have traditionally been closely connected with the U.S., while the countries of South America have traditionally been more oriented towards relations with Europe. At the turn of the newest century, the historic Summit of 48 EU and Latin American leaders was held in Rio de Janeiro. The Joint Declaration emphasized the strategic partnership between the two sides. Political cooperation, trade and economic cooperation, and financing of selected programs are listed as the main directions of cooperation. Included in the sphere of common interests were the fight against poverty and social inequalities, ecology, education, the fight against crime, drug trafficking and terrorism.

Preliminary negotiations between Europe and MERCOSUR on the signing of the Association Agreement have lasted for about two decades. Only in 2019, a “Principle Agreement” on mutual trade was reached. It represented a big step forward for European geopolitical and geoeconomics interests in the region. However, the full agreement still lacks certain terms of association that have been discussed in previous years and which, although currently unresolved, are an indispensable part of complete economic agreements. The agreement is still not addressing the sustainable development, the rights of indigenous peoples, the transparency and regulation of cooperation, and the climate change. On the one hand, the accelerated acceptance of such an incomplete agreement happened due to the unpredictable, protectionist policy of President Trump’s administration, and on the other, due to the movement towards multilateralism and free trade between Argentina and Brazil, as the main partners in negotiations with the EU. If the EU – MERCOSUR Association Agreement is successfully ratified, it has the potential to remove over € 4 trillion in import duties on European products.¹⁵⁷

For the relations between the two regions, it is important to mention the Rome Declaration from 1996, which was the basis for the institutionalization of the political dialogue at the summit between the E.U. and Latin America with the Caribbean. Since 2013, meetings of the leaders of the E.U. and Latin American countries have been held regularly in an interval of two years. At one of these meetings, in 2004 in Mexico, the importance of a strategic inter-regional partnership between the E.U. and the Andean

¹⁵⁷ *EU trade with Latin America and the Caribbean*, ERPS, 2019, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/644219/EPRS_IDA\(2019\)644219_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/644219/EPRS_IDA(2019)644219_EN.pdf)

LAC countries/sub regional groupings	EU total trade (exp. and imp.) in goods, value in billion €	Ranking of LAC's trading partners		
		US	China	EU
CAN	28.0	1	2	3
Central America	12.1	1	3	2
Cariforum	9.1	1	3	2
Cuba	2.4	(lower ranking)	2	1
Mercosur	86.4	3	1	2
Mexico	64.9	1	2	3
Chile	18.0	2	1	3

Table 4. EU trade with LAC groups/countries and ranking of LAC trading partners in 2018

Source: EU trade with Latin America and the Caribbean, ERPS, 2019.
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/644219/EPRS_IDA\(2019\)644219_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2019/644219/EPRS_IDA(2019)644219_EN.pdf)

Community was underlined. At that time, more than 1/5 of Latin American exports went to the E.U., which was the second most important investor in the region and the largest aid provider. According to the publication of the Research Service of the European Parliament from 2019, the E.U. is among the three highest ranked trade partners in the region.

It is evident that the change of the aforementioned U.S. trade policy has opened the door of Latin America for its other most important partners, among which is the E.U. Of particular importance for this trade is the relationship with MERCOSUR, as well as with a number of subregional integration groups (CAN, Cariforum, Central American group) and individual countries (Mexico and Chile). During 2018-2019, within the “Trade for All” E.U. trade strategy from 2015, three important goals aimed at Latin America were achieved: 1) entering the process of modernization of the existing bilateral agreement with Mexico; 2) entering the process of modernization of the existing bilateral agreement with Chile; 3) “agreement in principle” with the four founders of MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay) on the trade basis of the wider E.U. – MERCOSUR Association Agreement.¹⁵⁸

V.1.4. *Russia and Latin America*

In the 1960s, more intensive economic cooperation between the former Soviet Union and Latin America was initially of an ideological nature. It started with the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, which surprised

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

the Soviets themselves, but after a year they decided to invest in the Cuban regime. Investments were growing, to grow to about \$ 1 trillion in the 1980s, which was twice as much as in the 1970s. Along with this support, the Soviet Union engaged in conventional trade and diplomatic relations, especially with the strongest countries in the region: Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil. The economic part of cooperation with them was pragmatic on the one hand (creation of trade ties, arms procurement, economic cooperation and common positions on certain foreign policy issues), and on the other hand it followed Soviet national interests by encouraging these countries for more external autonomy. In a word, that meant their greater autonomy in relation to the United States. Cuba was not the only country to receive economic and military support from the USSR during the 1960s and 1980s. The Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the government of El Salvador also received it, but it was disproportionately smaller in relation to aid to Cuba. The Soviet Union at that time was not financially able to withstand support for all these regimes. At the height of the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution, the Soviet Union faced a plethora of political challenges outside of Latin America: Afghanistan, China, Poland, the Middle East, internal economic problems, coupled with the statecraft problems.¹⁵⁹

Relations between Russia and Latin America have been experiencing a sharp decline since 1989, more precisely in the period of the collapse of the USSR and the fall of communism in the world. Among other things, the Soviets immediately stopped delivering heavy weapons to Cuba and Nicaragua, and later to El Salvador. At the same time, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, signed a U.N. resolution for the arrival of peacekeeping forces in Central America. The following year, at the urging of Soviets, Nicaragua organized free elections in which the Sandinistas lost power. This has particularly jeopardized Cuba's position in the region losing its privileged status in trade with the USSR – all trade was now conducted at the market values. Since the 1990s, Cuba has been facing a deep economic crisis along with the tightening of the U.S. economic embargo. On the other hand, two years after the collapse of the USSR, in 1993, the last active Soviet military unit left Cuba. In addition to the inherited Soviet political and social problems, Russia experienced some new economic drawbacks, due to which

¹⁵⁹ Atkins G. Pope, (1999). *Latin America in the International Political System*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, p. 126.; Alberto van Klaveren, *United States and Latin America in the 1990s*, eds. Hartlyn J., Schoultz L. & Varas A., 1992, The University of North Carolina Press, pp. 38-39.

Cuba and the rest of Latin America temporarily lost their priority. Russia's return to Latin America has been happening since the 2000s. However, no longer as a force from the position of the extreme left, but of the center-left, with a completely renewed policy towards Cuba and the entire package of military-technical cooperation with Venezuela. It should be emphasized that the economies in both regions were already open.

Global political and economic processes from the first two decades of the 21st century were reflected through new forms of cooperation and interaction between Russia and Latin America. At the same time, the prevailing opinion is that the new bipolar structure (China vs. USA) shapes all types of relations in Latin America, including those between Russia and Latin America. Russia's foreign policy towards Latin American countries is balanced with the fact that it interferes as little as possible with the interests of China and the United States, while still pursuing its important economic and geopolitical goals. Although Russian anti-Americanism is no longer as vocal as in Soviet times, it nonetheless directs its economic and political choices within Latin America. The former foreign policy choice expanded from about twenty countries with which they had diplomatic relations, to two more – Panama and Guatemala. Practically, Russia's foreign policy strategy shows both the restraint and the continuity of Soviet policy. Significant for the political relations of the two regions is the membership in the BRICS (along with Brazil), as well as in the G-20 (along with Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico). Given that these are basically political organizations, Russia does not have a good platform for stronger economic cooperation. For now, it participates only in less influential regional organizations (LAILA, ACS, SICA). Russia invests in the Latin American energy sector, telecommunications, transportation and food exports. The complementarity of the economies of the two regions is one of the key principles on which they base their economic cooperation. In the last decade, the value of trade increased from \$ 5.8 trillion in 2011 to \$ 15.9 trillion by 2018-2019. At best, Russia's economic ties with the region are assessed as marginal compared to other world powers. It participates with only 0.7% in Latin American foreign trade, while the share of the USA is 37.2%, China 15.2% and the EU 12%.¹⁶⁰ The main areas of trade cooperation are: energy, technological innovations, infrastructure projects and military-technical cooperation. Nevertheless, military-technical cooperation is the key to geopolitical cooperation between Latin America and

¹⁶⁰ Pyatakov, A., *Russia and Latin America in 21st Century: A Difficult Rapprochement*, *Russie.Nei.Visions*, No.119, Ifri, July 2020

Russia. Agreements on military cooperation have been signed with Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Peru, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, Ecuador, but also with Argentina and Brazil. Economic and political motives are present in this cooperation – the establishment of Russia’s defense line outside its territory and in response to NATO activities near its own borders. The cooling of the relations with Cuba, which coincided with the warming of American-Cuban relations, imposed on Russia the need to find a new support on the soil of Latin America. Venezuela has become that new support, not only through the ideological connection of the two presidents, Chavez and Putin, but also through similar thinking, because their background is within the security services of their respective countries. The opinion of the scientist of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Pyatakov is that both connection to Russia and the deep transformation of the army during the Chavez’s mandate, contributed the most to preserving the political stability of Venezuela in the politically and economically difficult 2019.¹⁶¹ It can be concluded that Russia’s cooperation with Latin American countries undoubtedly has economic significance, but it is smaller in relation to geostrategic significance in counterbalancing American domination around the world.

V.1.5. Asia-Pacific region and Latin America

With the establishment of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) in 1990, three Latin American countries, Mexico, Chile and Peru, became full members. It was the beginning of the intensification of trans-regional cooperation between the countries of Latin America and the countries of the Pacific Basin. There are opinions that APEC, with the participation of the three mentioned Latin American countries, contributed to the historical turn in terms of economic and political relations between the two regions. As part of the reforms carried out in the 1990s, the principles of the theory of open regionalism were applied, which enabled the relationship between the two regions to be transformed in a strategic sense at the beginning of the 21st century. Chile and Mexico as members of APEC have concluded a large number of free trade agreements (FTAs) with Asian countries, so these two countries are considered the pioneers of trade with this part of the world.

In order to improve communication and political dialogue as a basis for successful economic cooperation, the Forum for Cooperation between Latin America and East Asia (FOCALAE; FEALAC) was established in 1998.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

Within the Forum, meetings are held at various levels, the most important of which are the meetings of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the member states twice a year, and the meetings at the level of the Ministers of Economy. It is important to mention that among the main bodies of the Forum, there are also Working Groups for: socio-political cooperation, sustainable development, climate change, trade, investment, culture, sports, science, technology, innovation, and education. Today the Forum has 36 members from both regions.

The obvious confirmation that the economic strength of the Pacific region is growing came in the form of two initiatives, the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Pacific Alliance. They differ in their geographical and strategic roles, but both contribute to the redesign of the regional integration process along the Pacific Basin. On the other hand, the call for wider integration (initiated by Brazil through the IIRSA), confirmed not only that Brazil senses the growing importance of the Pacific Basin and its development, but also that it may want to strengthen its own position in the continental center by connecting two oceans through a common corridor. This was the reason why Nolte and Venus concluded that there was a lack of critical geopolitical analysis in Latin America, which manifested itself through a one-sided way of thinking burdened by the past, which was most often militaristic.¹⁶² The Trans-Pacific Partnership – TPP, was a comprehensive trade agreement from 2005 between Chile, New Zealand, Singapore and Brunei.¹⁶³ We will remind that after the decision of President Trump, the United States withdrew from the TPP in 2017. It soon became apparent that China, using the leadership vacuum within the organization, was drawing more and more Latin American countries into its sphere of influence. Also, Chinese President Xi Jinping has repeatedly expressed China's ambitions to join the TPP, which of course depends on fulfilling the conditions for membership. On the other hand, the United States has a procedural opportunity to return to TPP membership. The full and progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP-11) from March 2018 announced three new members: Chile, Mexico and Peru, but still without China and the US.

¹⁶² Detlef Nolte, Leslie E. Wehner. 21 Jul 2015, *Geopolitics in Latin America, Old and New from*: Routledge Handbook of Latin American Security Routledge. Accessed on: 09 Aug 2017

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315867908.ch2>

¹⁶³ The Trans-Pacific Partnership was later joined by the United States, Australia, Vietnam, Peru, Canada, Japan, Malaysia and Mexico.

V.2. Identity as a factor in strengthening the international position Latin American countries

The Italian-Argentine sociologist Gino Germani points out that the turning point of the 1930s, related to structural changes in the Latin American economy that was *outward to inward*, meant much more than just an economic change. It was only the beginning of a series of other changes in social, political, ideological, but also changes in the way of expressing national identity.¹⁶⁴ Independence has become a factor in strengthening the international position of the region. Although Latin American nationalism grew with the strengthening of national identity, but instead of being aggressive, it nurtured elements of reaffirmation and emancipation as, for example, Peronism did in Argentina.

Here we return to Dussel, who cites examples of the multiple cultural similarities between Latin American countries, especially at the regional level.¹⁶⁵ We find that those similarities also reflect on the quality of their economic and political integration into regional integrations, through which they certainly strengthen their international position. Here are some examples of the similarity of cultures in Latin America within: the Caribbean countries that have economically integrated into the Caribbean Community – CARICOM; the Andean countries economically and politically integrated into the Andean Community of Nations (CAN); the countries of the Amazon Basin, which have signed the Agreement on Cooperation and Coordinated Development of the Communication and Transport System – the Amazon Pact; the countries belonging to the La Plata River Basin, whose Cooperation Agreement applies to joint projects. Confirmation of the importance of a positive connection between culture, economy, and politics came to full expression in 2001 with the adoption of Machu Picchu's Declaration on Democracy, the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the Fight against Poverty by the presidents of the Andean Community member states. The goal of the Declaration was to include indigenous peoples in their home countries, without endangering their identity during that process. It was a very progressive step towards strengthening the sense of self-awareness and unity of the natives. This step that would probably not have been taken without the support of the Andean community.

¹⁶⁴ Germani, G., *Stages of Modernization in Latin America*, Studies in Comparative International Development 5, 1969-1970, no. 8: p.161

¹⁶⁵ Dussel, E. D. (1981). *A history of the Church in Latin America: colonialism to liberation (1492-1992)*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, pp. 27-29.

V.2.1. A brief historical introduction to the process of a Latin American identity formation

Latin America was seen by its discoverers, conquerors and later colonizers as a “clean slate”. However, at the time of the conquest, it already had its own, rich civilizational and cultural history. The most common opinion among scientists is that the natives of Latin America came from the area of Southeast Asia, and reached America using the frozen bridge over the Bering Sea and the Pacific Ocean during the latest ice age. From these indigenous communities of varying degrees of socio-economic development, polytheistic civilizations emerged before the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors. The most developed ancient civilizations were: *Maya* who inhabited the Yucatan Peninsula, where Mexico, Honduras and Guatemala are today; *Aztecs*, who lived in the northern mountainous parts of Mexico; and the *Incas* in present-day Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. They were preceded by some of the great pre-Columbian cultures, among others: *Olemc*, *Zapotec*, *Naua*, *Paracas*.

There is a whole terminology related to the New World, which has been used in history from 1492 until today. Behind each of these terms, there was a certain geopolitical and civilizational attitude, that is, a view of the New World from different centers of power. For example, the term “Hispanic America” (*América Hispana*) encompassed an area conquered and colonized by the Spaniards. However, after gaining independence, the term referred to the area of a group of Spanish-speaking countries and under its former colonial administration, i.e., to the countries after decolonization. Until 1750, this area was administratively managed as “Indian kingdoms”, and then it was replaced by the term “Overseas Provinces” (*Provincias Ultramarinas*), which was used until the independence of the countries from this territory. All these names essentially refer to the same thing – to the area of Spanish conquest, colonization and use of the Spanish language, culture, and Catholicism. In short, the term Hispanic America emphasizes the historical significance of Spain, its civilization and its role in the process of forming Hispanic American identity in the area of today’s Latin America. Of the many historically colored terms (Indo-America, Ibero-America, Latin America and the Caribbean) and attempts to answer the question “what is in the name”, linguistic coverage, the use of Latin derivatives, through the name “Latin” is considered the most neutral solution offered. Although it originated from the French view of Latin America, which includes some islands where “patois”, or

Creole French is spoken. Ideological and political influences on the choice of terms certainly exist, but in the multitude of other names offered, the name Latin America (*Latinoamérica*) offers the most acceptable explanation that certainly contains the necessary level of compromise.

In the area of Mexico, Central America, and the Andean plateau, very developed cultures thrived. The list of what the West has found within ancient Latin American cultures and civilizations is long: ceramics, sculpture, architecture (especially pyramids), wall painting, metalworking, fabric making, 365-day solar calendar, hydraulic irrigation systems, astronomy, mathematics, construction of cities, roads and more. The Paracas coastal culture (developed from 700 BC – to 200 AD) provides the first surgeons in ancient Peru. They were skilled in opening the skull, healing wounds and using herbal extracts as anesthetics.¹⁶⁶ Colonial society imprinted caste features on these cultures and completely marginalized them. The new Latin American or Indo-Iberian culture, emerged as a mixture of two cultures: indigenous, which evolved through mestization¹⁶⁷, and European, imposed through conquest, colonization, and Christianization. The assimilation of one culture into another or transculturation as a biological-cultural mixing of the diverse races, along with all values that resulted from this mixing, became one of the most significant consequences of the conquest and a new cultural identity its crown achievement. On the other hand, the dramatic change of the environment in which the indigenous peoples lived and the imposition of a new culture and religion have shaken the pillars of their cultural heritage. Their grandiose shrines were either destroyed or abandoned.

Although imperial Spain wanted to unite Christian with native culture, unable to understand it, it declared it demonic. Despite that, beliefs through tradition, myth, and symbol survived from the polytheistic religion. Through syncretism they are transferred to various kinds of art and embedded in Christian processions.¹⁶⁸ One of the examples of syncretism that has been

¹⁶⁶ Izquierdo-Todorović, Silvia, *Latinska Amerika i savremeni svet*, Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu i Jugoslovensko udruženje latinoamerikanista, Beograd, 1995., pp. 111-118.

¹⁶⁷ Of the basic races: whites (*peninsulares*) and whites born in America (*criollos*); *indios* and *negros*, numerous ethnic-racial groups were created whose social position arose precisely from racial origin. The most famous were: *mestizos*: a mixture of Spaniards and Indians; *memeluco*: a racial mixture of an Indian and a Portuguese conqueror; *mulato*: a mixture of Spanish and African and at least a dozen other combinations.

¹⁶⁸ Parts taken from the work of Luković-Jablanović, D., *The Jesuits and Christianization in Latin America until 1767, América Latina y el mundodel siglo XXI: percep-*



Picture 1. Tlaloc – Aztec Rain God (left) vs Roman sculptures (right)

Source: <https://www.slideshare.net/danielasgrtz/colonial-art-art-216>

preserved to this day are the Christian processions for the Day of the Dead in Mexico (Día de Muertos). Tlaloc's painting (Picture 1.) is an example of syncretism, that is, an Indo-Christian style of art called "tequitqui."

The general contribution of the first Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit missionaries to Hispanic-American culture is indisputable. The legacy they left behind is huge. They paved the way for the development of ethnology and archaeology based on the interpretation of the culture and language of the natives; they contributed to geography, biology, meteorology, and other sciences; they collected cultural treasures and developed arts and crafts; they preserved the Guarani language; they provided the first written testimonies about the indigenous culture, and customs, and much more. One of the brightest examples of best missionary practice took place in Mexico, where the first missionaries eventually learned the indigenous languages of Nahuatl, Tarasca, and others, so well that they could use them in sermons, create dictionaries, grammars, catechisms, and the like.¹⁶⁹ Also, the first Jesuit missionaries practiced religious rites with the use of indigenous languages and

ciones, interpretaciones e interacciones, *Tomo II*, Universidad Megatrend y FIEALC, Belgrado, 2018, pp. 27-42.

¹⁶⁹ Dussel, E. D., *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to liberation (1492-1992)*, 1981 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, p. 49.

elements of indigenous customs (*costumbrismo*). In that way, the process of Christianization was accelerated, but also the introduction of elements of syncretism into ceremonies was made possible. On the other hand, this atypical nature of acculturation contributed to the preservation of the autochthonous identity while at the same time increased the authority of the Church.

Art as a part of culture is one of the ways of expressing and preserving the identity of the people. For example, in the case of Mexico, the importance that the Revolution had for the release of strong artistic energy (literary, musical, painting) in the field of popular culture is significant. Special mention should be made of the post-revolutionary Mexican mural painters, the most famous of whom were Diego Rivera, Pascual Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros. Their murals, mostly made with fresco technique, were much more for Mexicans than paintings and historical depictions. Since there were many Mexicans at the time who did not know how to read and write, murals were for most of them a form of specific social communication and education. Even at times of the turmoil during the revolutionary period, authentic artistic expressions arose, among which one of the most representative is the work of the painter Frida Kahlo.¹⁷⁰ In general, the goal of all artistic expressions was to redefine Mexican national identity and to give meaning to the plight of ordinary people. It is well known that nationalism formed the cultural essence of the Mexican Revolution.¹⁷¹

From the perspective of the formation of the Latin American identity, there is a polarization of two attitudes towards opening of the New World to the rest of the mankind in 1492. One is *indigenous*, and the other is emphatically *Eurocentric*. This has led to a situation where the identity of Latin America is being sought on a scale between the Eurocentric and the Indigenous. The strongly indigenous attitude, emulated by the term Indoamerica, emphasizes the dominance of the autochthonous component in the process of identity formation. On the other hand, the Eurocentric attitude, emulated by the term Ibero-America, includes the reaffirmation of the meaning of Ibero-American civilization i.e., peoples and states that emerged from Iberian colonization. The term was enriched in the 1980s to include both Spain and Portugal. In this way, through the emphasis on the Ibero component in the process of forming the Latin American identity, Europe and the New World have practically merged. It should be mentioned that Latin

¹⁷⁰ Buchenau, J., *The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1946*, p. 12., Online Publication Date: Sep 2015. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.21

¹⁷¹ Skidmore, T. E., at all (2014). pp. 59-60.

America was economically affected by the crisis in that period (lost decade). We believe that this economic crisis has also caused an identity crisis in the need of support from the former colonial metropolises.

The Iberian conquest of America in 1492 left not only a generational memory, but also a collective emotional charge caused by the need for self-discovery, that is, the search for a unique experience of one's own identity. Revealing identity has never been just a Latin American problem, "but a man's concern expressed many times and in different circumstances (...) among people who are now seeking recognition of their own humanity, and thus their unique identity as a concrete human expression." Yearning of all colonizers and conquerors is to, "create expressions of sublime human nature from themselves and their culture" faces up with a long search for identity of natives, of crossbreeds, and of Creoles, provoking debates about the degree of humanity within the nations of the new continent.¹⁷² Today's debates are very similar to those between Sepulveda and Las Casas. When will this debate end? The Mexican philosopher, Leopoldo Sea, lets us know that a person's identity is not determined by national affiliation, culture, face, or social situations, they only shape that person. Bolivar spoke in 1819 before the congress in Angostura about the strangeness and complexity of the Latin American identity, divided between the identity of a father from one continent and a mother from another: "*We are not Europeans, we are not Indians, we are an interracial born of natives and Spaniards.*"¹⁷³ It is precisely this interracial mixing (sp. *mestizaje*, en. *miscegenation*) along with multiculturalism, that breathed life into the process of awareness of Indo-African-Ibero-American identity as the foundation of the search for true identity of Latin Americans.

V.2.2. The relationship between the national and religious identity in Latin America

With the advent of capitalism, the cultural and political frameworks of nationality were created, as the process of national integration differed greatly from country to country in its dynamics and intensity. A long time passed until the state identity in Latin America began to mean national

¹⁷² Sea, L. (2017). *Discovery and Identity of Latin America*, Institute for European Studies: Hispanic Society, Belgrade, pp. 9-11.

¹⁷³ Simon Bolivar, *Speech before the Congress in Angostura*, Belgrade, 2016, Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in RS, p.23.

identity as well. It happened that external pressures, including US direct interventions, accelerated the growth of national feeling in some Latin American countries (Mexico and Cuba) and led to a faster convergence of national and state identity. Several key features of the national identity are the unity of culture, language, nation-state, and a common thread of tradition and historical memory. In the 1970s, Dussel allegorically compared each of the national cultures of Latin America “with a fruit without a tree”, and that Latin America has yet to find its place in the history of world culture.¹⁷⁴

Mexican professor Ignacio Medina Núñez points out to light Latin American culture and national identity, as key factors in the development and integration of the region in the 21st century. He bases the formation of a common South American national identity mainly on: a common colonial history (including the imposition of language and the Catholic religion as a factor in exposing one culture to another); the religious culture; a sharp differences observed in the twentieth century in the level of education between the elite and the people; and on a significant role of the state and politics in shaping Latin American society. Some opposing forces that slow down the process of forming cultural unity are: a part of globalization that violates the originality of individual cultures; mass unemployment and poverty that reduce social cohesion and often lead to migrations; the lack of political will for unification, except through steps in the right direction led by the aforementioned CEPAL and later with the establishment of subregional and regional integrations.¹⁷⁵

In the 19th century, an attempt was made to define Latin American identity by seeking distance from both Europe and North America. At the same time, the interests of the bourgeoisie were embodied in its liberal intelligentsia, whose distinctly nationalist feelings arose under the influence of prominent European and Latin American intellectuals. In addition to the already mentioned Bolivar and Jose Marti, there is a score of exceptional intellectuals endowed with high national feelings: the Peruvian writer José Carlos Mariátegui; the Peruvian philosopher and politician Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre; Argentine writer Manuel Baldomero Ugarte; the Venezuelan-Chilean humanist, lawyer, writer and philosopher Andrés Bello y López, and

¹⁷⁴ Dussel, E., *A history of the church in Latin America*, 1981 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, p.28.

¹⁷⁵ Medina Núñez, I., *Cultura e identidad para la integración latinoamericana*, *Controversias y Concurrencias Latinoamericanas*, vol. 11, núm. 19, 2019 <https://uy.vlex.com/vid/culture-and-identity-for-837122261>

in particular, the Uruguayan philosopher and writer José Enrique Rodó.¹⁷⁶ It can be said that the nationalism came only as a political reflection of their national views. In general, the bourgeois intelligentsia had particularly strong nationalist attitudes towards the clearly expressed goals of the northern neighbour to dominate Latin America. That's how one of the basic determinants of Latin American nationalism became anti-Americanism (anti-imperialism). It will be shown later that it was precisely this passionate nationalism of the bourgeois intelligentsia that carried explosive power during the social and political transformation of Latin America. When it comes to Latin American nationalism, it is necessary to point out the long historical process in which it is formed through the interaction of Latin American countries with each other, as well as interactions with the United States, Europe, and the rest of the world.

In the 1970s, Dassel noted that Latin American culture sits between those nations that possess linguistic, religious, and ethnic cultural unity (such as Russia) and those that are not unique in each of these criteria (South Africa is an example). Since most Latin American nation-states have close to two hundred years of independence, specific modalities of the similar way of life and common culture have developed. However, within this community, there are differences between the countries of the region that allow us to identify individual cultures (multiculturalism). In addition, there are large differences between the cultures of the urban population in any of the countries in the region, compared to the cultures of its rural population. Regional cultures initially manifested secondary and marginal features of European culture, but during the next four centuries they became more and more autonomous and more and more aware of their uniqueness in relation to Europe.

Venezuelan Bolivar and Argentine Domingo Faustino Sarmiento were fighters against Iberian colonialism and at the same time raised the question of their own affiliation. Bolivar attributes the root of the identity problem of the Mestics to their difficult position between rivalry with the natives for the right to possess, and the rivalry with Spaniards for independence while supporting the country in which they were born. Somewhat later, Sarmiento

¹⁷⁶ José Enrique Rodó (1872-1918) is committed to preserving the values of his own cultural and civilizational tradition. It points to the necessity of their preservation and defense of the spiritual basis of Latin American society, whose roots are autochthonous and further developed through the process of transculture. Halperin, Tulio Donghy, *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, Duke University Press, 1993 p. 166.

puts forward the interpretation that there is a conflict of dual identity in the relationship between civilization and barbarism. The line of thought continued with the Uruguayan Rhodes who warned about the danger of losing parts of Latin American identity to the idealistic vision toward people from the United States (*nordomanía*). Cuban José Martí who fought against the old colonialism warned about the dangers of the new colonialism from the North. All these and similar views on the issue of Latin American identity dominated until 1898, when there was a war between the old Iberian Empire and its rival from the North. At the end of the 19th century, the problem of the identity of this region was strongly reformulated, because it was threatened by the new colonialism. The United States began to enter the “power vacuum” left behind by the old European empires. Unlike the Iberian colonial powers, which were not disturbed by interracial and intercultural interference, the same could not be said of the later creators of empires in America, Asia and Africa. The question of Being, and the concrete existence in time and space of the people of this region, became more and more dramatic: “*Who am I? What is my identity?*”¹⁷⁷

In the twentieth century, the intelligentsia of the region, including the Mexican Jose Vasconcelos, adopted the adjective “Latin” in their reflections on identity.¹⁷⁸ They witnessed the creation of a specific culture, especially in literature, so they placed the “Latin” identity within the framework of a “horizontal” relationship, that is, they gave it an equal status to the Iberian. Unlike Latin America’s economic and political dependence, its culture and identity did not accept a “vertical” relationship of dependence.

The newly formed Latin American republics continued to build their national and cultural identities during the 19th century with different dynamics and in different ways. Of course, it was not an isolated process, but a process very susceptible to the influences of those programs through which the political identity of communities in young states was sought. We refer to three predominant models of political identity of these communities:

¹⁷⁷ Zea, Leopoldo, *Identity: A Latin American Philosophical Problem*, pp. 369-380. In *Latin American Philosophy: for the 21st Century*, 2004., NY, Prometheus Books, pp. 374-377.

¹⁷⁸ The Mexican writer, philosopher, and politician José Vasconcelos (1882-1959), in his controversial essay *La raza cósmica*, 1925, cites mestizos as the basis of the future universal community of all people of the “cosmic race”. It is only the first degree of the racial formula, the so-called *fifth race*, in which the best of each race will survive. The beginning of that process is the crossing of Spanish and Indian genes. Vasconcelos sees Latin America as the cradle of a new civilization era free of racism.

conservative (dominant among the Creole elite) and two liberal identities (one white, Creole and the other Mestizo). Bolivar, as a representative of the liberal Creole political identity, used every opportunity through open letters, or in other public ways, to propagate his ideas about a united Hispanic America (*América Meridional*).¹⁷⁹ Bolivar cries out for unity as the only defense of Latin America from its new rulers.

Beginning of the 20th century is marked by the multi-layered modernization of Latin America. This was a period of progressive move towards strengthening awareness of the values of one's own space. This liberated thought led to the emancipation and definition of Latin American identity, based on a very rich and diverse heritage and interactions. The formation of the Latin American identity went through several developmental stages, during which numerous ideas influenced the process. First, the positivists (who stimulate the process), then the skeptics, all the way to those who represented his negation. For example, in the preface to the *History of Latin American Thought* by Carlos Navarro and Brigitte Gernstegberg, it says that the bases of identity are the mythical notions of the native world, then colony, then independence, and after that the conflict of idealism and positivism, until the end of the 19th century.¹⁸⁰ Finally, the emergence of nationalist thought in the twentieth century includes theology and philosophy of liberation. Based on this development, we can conclude that the Latin American identity is very rich in its expressiveness and characteristics, which has caused a broad theoretical framework of its interpretation. The Latin American national ethnic typology given by the Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro through these three categories of peoples deserves attention: a) "witness peoples" are modern representatives of ancient original civilizations that were conquered through European expansion; b) "new peoples" have been formed in recent centuries as a by-product of European expansion through the merging and acculturation of indigenous, black and European populations; c) "transplanted peoples" originated from those Europeans who have preserved their ethnic profile, language and culture until modern times.¹⁸¹ For the Church's attitude towards Latin American culture and identity in

¹⁷⁹ Polić-Bobić, M. (2007). *The Birth of the Hispanic World*, Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak d.o.o., pp. 277-291.

¹⁸⁰ Navarro, K, & Gemstemberg, B. (2002). *Introduccion a la Historia del Pensamiento Latinoamericano*, Prologo, Alvaro Urtecho, Managua, Nicaragua.

¹⁸¹ Darcy, R. (1972). *The Americas and Civilization*, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., p.79.

the second half of the 20th century, the arrival of Pope Wojtyła at the opening of the III CELAM Conference in Puebla in 1979 was significant. A message was sent to the world that Latin America cannot and should not be pulled out of its context, nor its own culture, in order to assimilate into the so-called Western culture.¹⁸² There was no longer any doubt that these people were becoming deeply aware of their identity and that they were becoming more and more entrenched in it.

Within the Latin American national identity, which is a mixed and diverse cultural creation, religion is certainly one of its most important determinants. The strongest sources of religious influence are found in the Catholic Christian, indigenous, and African religions. In colonial times, Catholic religious identity was authoritarian and intolerant. Despite that, this identity was dominant in Latin America until the end of the 20th century, when its strength weakened. This was influenced by: on the one hand, the processes of secularization; globalization with shaken foundations of traditional values; impoverishment of broad strata of society, among other things. In contrast, as the new religious identities emerge the new questions arise. One of them is, why did the Pentecostal Church attract the poor segments of the society? According to some estimates, this Church allows believers to re-create a kind of traditional society within the congregation, in which they feel strong enough and safe to endure discrimination of the modern society. There has been an increase in the number of Protestants, atheists, and agnostics at the expense of Catholics.¹⁸³ A survey conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2014 confirms this change. One of the key data from the research is the reduction of the number of Catholics in the total population of the region in the period 1970-2014 from 90% to 69%. Then, most active Catholics in the region consider the arrival of Pope Francis at the head of the Church a great positive change, while former Catholics downplay the importance of his arrival or have no formed opinion about it.¹⁸⁴ In a word, the religious identity of Latin America is changing.

¹⁸² Sobrino, J. The Lesson of Puebla, 1980, in the Latin American periodical *Christus*, pp. 184-197,

Retrieved 19.08.2018 from <https://www.theway.org.uk/back/20Sobrino.pdf>

¹⁸³ Larraín, J. (2004). *Modernity and Identity: cultural Change in Latin America*, in *Latin America Transformed*, London: Edward Arnold, p. 37.

¹⁸⁴ Michael Lipka, 7 key takeaways about religion in Latin America, *Pew Research Center*, 2014, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/11/13/7-key-takeaways-about-religion-in-latin-america/>

VI. HISTORICAL GENESIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VATICAN AND LATINOAMERICAN CHURCH BEFORE POPE FRANCIS

Formation of the original Latino American church structures was arduous and long. It has *de facto* begun at the very moment when the indigenous religion and Christianity met. Very important chapters in the history of Catholic Church have been written about its role in the Iberian conquest of the New World. At the onset subordinate to the Crown, the Church have progressively expanded its influence on all socio-economic realms within the colonies. It's important to note that its growing social role was used by the Crown to exercise a complete control over the colonies.

A peaceful coexistence of various religions on the Iberian Peninsula, where until 1492 the Muslim Moorish rulers lived next to Jews and Christians, has obviously come to an end. The turning point was *Reconquista*¹⁸⁵. After the Reconquista the ruling Catholic couple ordered Christianization of all Spaniards, which brings about a rootless punishments and expatriation of Sephardic Jews and Muslims. Apostle Paul reminds us that sometimes the boundaries between the individual and collective sin are blurry, *“For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I keep on doing. Now if I do what I do not want, it is no longer I who do it, but sin that dwells within me”* (Romans 7:19-20). According to Berdyaev, these words reveal the depth of the human heart, and each “Christianity failure” is a failure of a man, not a failure of God.¹⁸⁶ The failure of a men belongs to the historical Christianity against which stands the idealistic Christianity expressed so beautifully through the words of Jesus: *‘Be therefore as perfect as your heavenly Father is.’* (Gospel of St. Matthew II, 2.5, Love your enemies, 43-48).

¹⁸⁵ A movement to reclaim Spanish soil from the Arabic dominance also known as a Spanish Crusade – (*Reconquista* 1085-1492).

¹⁸⁶ Nikolai Berdyaev, *About Christian Values and Unworthiness of Christians*, Niksic, 2014, p. 34.

The mighty greed stood in the way of establishing justice-for-all social order in the New World. To better understand the ensuing events, we need to account for the significant influence the Catholic kings had on the Church. *Granada had been the ultimate goal of the Spanish “crusade,” but it signaled in reality the beginning of Spanish expansion.*¹⁸⁷ Taking over Granada from Moorish rulers in 1492 increased the significance of Patronage through which the king controlled the Church. Regarding the New World, the Patronage was yet to take place. In 1970’s Ivan Vallier observed an immense influence of the secular realm that was first legislated through the 1485-1510 negotiations between the Popes and Spanish Catholic kings. A complete state control spread via the capillary network along major areas of Church activity: missionary work, nomination and privileges of clergy, finances, educational policies, internal communication, and more. *Catholicism developed as a “kept Church,” thus initiating patterns of ecclesiastical dependency and political involvement.*¹⁸⁸ In 2013, Foreign Affairs reports that the Vatican officials worry not just about the loss of devout Latin Americans within the first decade of the 21st century, but also about the diminishing influence of the Catholic Church on the social policy in Latin America.¹⁸⁹

VI.1. The Catholic Church during the Colonial Period and Establishment of the First Missions in the New World

During the colonial period, Church had a multitude of problems often endangering its core mission. On the other hand, the progress which was born out of this struggle was recorded by the E. Dussel. He recognizes 5 successive phases in the history of the Church during the colonial period: *first phase*, military conquest with the arrival of first missionaries and encomenderos 1492–1519; *second*, Christian Missions in New Spain and Peru 1519–1551; *third*, The Strengthening and the Organization of the Church 1551–1620; *fourth*, Conflict Between the Missionary Church and the Hispanic

¹⁸⁷ Dussel, E. D. (1981). *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to liberation (1492-1992)*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, pp. 38-39.

¹⁸⁸ Vallier, Ivan, *Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America*, 1970, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., pp. 45-46.

¹⁸⁹ Omar Encarnación, *The Catholic Crisis in Latin America*, Foreign Affairs, March 2013, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/south-america/2013-03-19/catholic-crisis-latin-america>

Civilization 1620–1700; *fifth*, weakening of the Church power during the Bourbon decadence 1700–1808.¹⁹⁰

Even before Europeans discovered America, the Holy See issued bullas to Spain (at that time only Castilla) and Portugal to allow them to explore the overseas territories and spread Christianity. Christianization as an explicit goal for the conquered land appears for the first time in 1455, in the Pope Nicholas V bulla *Romanus Pontifex*, then again in 1456 in the Pope Calixto III bulla *Cum Dudum Affigebant*. These bullas landed legitimacy to the future conquests. The relationship between the Roman Church and Spanish American Church during the colonial period cannot be discussed separately from the relationship between the Roman Church and the Crown, since it was *de facto*, and *de jure* defined as the patronage of Indies by the Crown (*Real patronato de Indias*)¹⁹¹. Catholic kings had a permit, or a permanent privilege issued by the Church to govern over the churches of Granada, Canary Islands, and of the New World. The foundation of this permit was bulla *Universalis Ecclesiae Regimen*, issued by Pope Julius II issued in 1508. Portugal Crown used the *padroado* system in Brasil, which was very similar to the Spanish *patronato* system.¹⁹² Thus, a formal and close relationship of the Church with both Iberian monarchies was established. On the other hands, as the consequence of the patronato system the direct contact between the Latin American Church and the Holy See was destroyed. During that time, the Church had to deal with several major issues like: Islamization of the Europe, growing of Protestantism, and a lack of finances for the Cristianization of the New World.

On the other hand, the position of the Church gradually becomes stronger when the missionaries start arriving. According to many historical sources, the first Christians-missionaries in the New World were Franciscans. They belonged to the second Columbus expedition (1493-1496), whose leader was monk Bernard Boyl. According to some sources Boyl

¹⁹⁰ Dussel, Enrique D., *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to liberation (1492-1992)*, 1981 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, pp. 47–61.

¹⁹¹ *Real patronato* represented a closed juridical-religious system used by Kings of Spain as the mean to broaden their influence on the account of the Church; starting from the election of bishops all the way to the collection of taxes. Anthony Gill, (1998:20).

¹⁹² Luiz Alberto Gómez de Souza, *Latin America and Catholic Church: Points of Convergence and Divergence (encontros e desencontros) 1960–2005*, Working Paper #334 – February 2007, p. 4, retrieved 05.07.2019, from https://kellogg.nd.edu/sites/default/files/old_files/documents/334_0.pdf

was Franciscan and according to the others Benedictine.¹⁹³ We should keep in mind that the realities of various monastic orders to influence the leadership of the Church have already started in the 13th century and only increased by the 15th century. In time, the governing strength in the New World becomes more and more obvious. It was expected that the Christianization on that soil becomes synchronized as the first Church personnel arrives. That expectation did not come to fruition mainly because of the under-the-surface conflicts between the representatives of the Crown and those who represented the Church, as the direct consequence of the *Patronato* system. When the Pope Julian II in 1504 established 3 dioceses in the New World without consulting the Spanish King, that was interpreted as a conscious contradiction to the rules of *Real Patronato*.¹⁹⁴ King Ferdinand presumably feared the loss of control over the Church in the colony and prevented the formation of these dioceses.

Extreme diversity of the nature and geography within the Latin American continent put a significant strain on missionaries. The biggest temptation, nevertheless, was the evangelization, or the people who were about to be hugged into Christianity. They had various religions, spoke different languages, and belonged to different races. *A missionary zeal infiltrated the entire spectrum of colonizing ventures during the sixteenth century.*¹⁹⁵ Missionaries like Las Casas, or Nicaraguan bishop *Valdivieso*, or Mexican bishop *Zumárraga*, and many other were aware that accepting Christianity (or any other religion for that matter) cannot be accomplished through the fear since 'The man is submissive out of fear and obedient out of love'.¹⁹⁶ It is interesting to note that they presented themselves to the indigenous people unarmed and barefoot to make a distinction from the conquerors. Franciscans were, for example, called *motilinía* (those who have nothing). Franciscan order

¹⁹³ Benedictine order was established in 529 by the St. Benedict of Nursia. The most important Benedictine rule is *Ora et labora* (Pray and work), guiding its monks toward the spiritual balance. Pope Gregory I, has lived for a while adhering to Benedictine rules and it's considered as a co-founder of the order. http://www.redovnistvo.hr/redovi-i-druzbe/instituti/benediktinci_osb; accessed at 04.11.2019.

¹⁹⁴ Julius II (1503-1513) was known as a stern, but also artistically inclined pope who was spending excessively on art. Selling of the *indulgences*, which was organized to fill the treasury up, was what angered Martin Luther more than anything.

¹⁹⁵ Vallier, I. (1970). *Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. p. 47.

¹⁹⁶ V. Jerotic, a note from the lecture within the *Summer Spiritual School*, August 1999 Studenica, Serbia.

was one of the “paupers”¹⁹⁷ orders, geared toward the return to the original Christianity. In the first decades of the 16th century, they were so efficient in Christianization that their work was considered a spiritual conquering of America (*Conquista espiritual de America*).¹⁹⁸ Franciscan, *Luis de Bolaños* (1539-1629) helped during the formation of first reductions in Paraguay and on the North-East part of Argentina. He was the first to point out the importance of indigenous language in the process of Christianization and acculturation, as the strongest link among missionaries and the indigenous people. He stayed among *Guarani* tribe for 50 years, learned their language, put their first dictionary and grammar together, and translated significant part of *catechism*.¹⁹⁹ He had made it a lot easier for Jesuits who came after him as missionaries to that area.

Spanish Kings appreciated the tireless work of Franciscans on Christianization but wanted them to do more on Hispanization in the New World. It could be said that in the beginning Christianity did not penetrate fast. Christianization on the island of Santo Domingo, for example, started in 1500 when the first Franciscan missionaries arrived. Additional 17 Franciscans arrived with the first Governor of Hispaniola in 1502. The church of *San Francisco*²⁰⁰ was built within the walls of Santo Domingo fortress. Franciscans formed its first province in the new World in 1505 in Hispaniola. In the same year, the first Mission of West Indies was opened by this Order. Then, *Dominicans*²⁰¹ arrived: 18 in 1509; 12 in 1526; in 1532, the Dominican Province was formed.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ As a response to the mass appearance of heretical movements, Pope Innocent III has approved establishing of the Franciscan and Dominican orders. “At first, they were pauper orders (ordines mendicants), devoted to the life of praying, living in deserts from what the people would give.” Vladan Stankovic, Catholic Society, Neopres, Belgrade, 2017, p. 136.

¹⁹⁸ Polić-Bobić, Mirjana, *The Birth of Catholic Society*, Ljevak Press d.o.o., Zagreb, 2007, pp. 100-102.

¹⁹⁹ Catechism (Gr. *katechismos*) is a manual about the basic pillars of the Christianity often written in the form of questions and answers.

²⁰⁰ *Franciscans in the Americas*, retrieved 18.07.2019, from <https://www.epicworldhistory.blogspot.com/2012/franciscans-in-americas.html>

²⁰¹ *Order of Preachers*, was established by Domingo de Guzmán Garcés, 1216., based on the decision of Honorius III. This order was the first to focus on the intellectual work. Thomas Aquinas belonged to this order. According to: Vladan Stankovic, Catholic Society, Neopres, Belgrade, 2017, pp. 128-133; Rupert Matthews, *The Popes, Every Question Answered*, 2014, Moseley Road Inc., p. 171.

²⁰² Polić-Bobić, Mirjana, *The Birth of Hispano American World*, Ljevak Press d.o.o., Zagreb, 2007, p. 98.

The next year, Augustinians²⁰³ arrived. Martin Luther belonged to this order. He advocated the change in Church from within. Professor V. Jerotic has a picturesque description of indulgencies²⁰⁴. *Luther was a choleric, he saw the worst parts in the Catholic Church at the beginning of the 16th century, when indulgencies were sold. A drum travelled through the Catholic Europe to announce: if you sinned a little, then little money would do, if you sinned a lot, then a lot of money is needed. The treasury had to be refilled. Martin Luther was a very religious and therefore had to react. ... It's beneficial to have 'a thorn in the flesh'*.²⁰⁵

It was evident that the Catholic Church increased its presence in Latin America after 1533 when every year more and more missionaries started arriving in the viceroys of New Spain and Peru. On the other hand, all secular colonizers felt a need to protect the interests of the Crown and Patronato – whose radius of control of the Church matters got ever wider to the point that not a single papal document could reach Spanish America without an approval by the King. At the same time, Patronato allowed the pauper orders to control vast patches of the fertile land. Responsibility of the Church in this space was in the realms of Christianization and acculturation of the indigenous people. Despite *legislatio* of the Spanish Crown's and the Council's insistence on Christianization as the major reason for the conquest of the American continent, the reality was negating it. Executive power of the Patronato was conveyed through the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies (*El Real y Supremo Consejo de Indias*). The Council also had a King's approval to send missionaries into the Hispano American colonies without any consultation with their *superiors*, to nominate all bishops, and to organize and grant dioceses.²⁰⁶

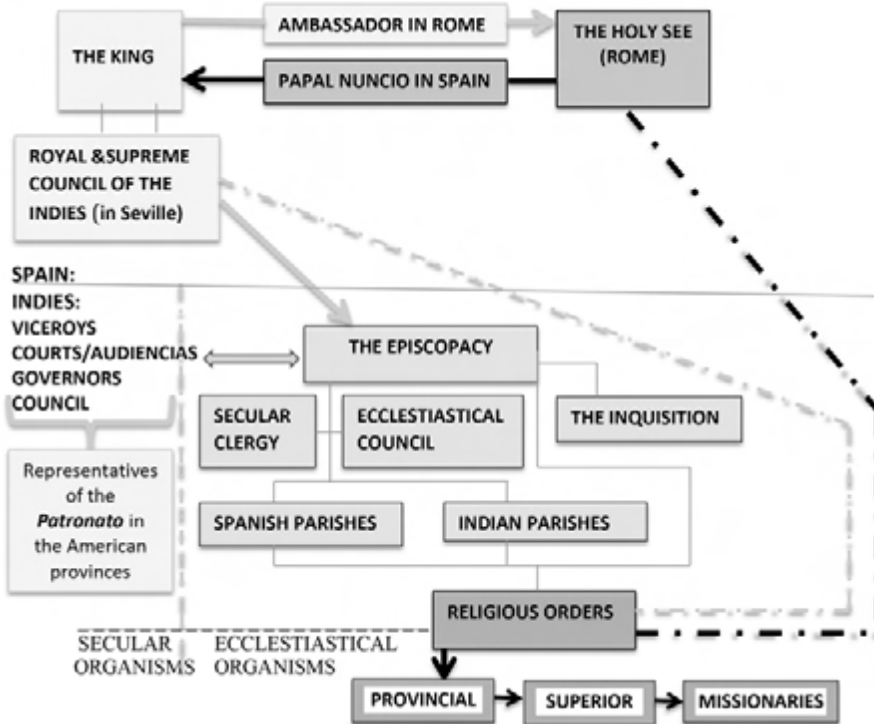
²⁰³ The Order of St. Augustine was founded by the Pope Innocent IV. One of the basic missions is to express the love toward one's neighbour in the practical way. Stanković V. (2017). *Katoličko društvo*, Beograd: Neopres, pp. 133-135.

²⁰⁴ *Indulgence* (cath. eccl.) or a pardon for the sin.

²⁰⁵ Vladeta Jerotić (1924-2018), psychiatrist and Professor of the Pastoral Psychology on the Theological Seminary in Belgrade. A note from his talks conducted in the monastery Lepavina, Croatia, 2005.

* „*A thorn in the flesh*” (St. Paul 2 Corinthians 12:7).

²⁰⁶ That situation prompted archbishop *Toribio de Mogrovejo* to comment that “*elected*” bishops were sent to America, not “*consecrated*”. *Philip II* warned the archbishop that the next comment of the similar nature will not be tolerated. Dussel, Enrique D., *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to liberation (1492-1992)*, 1981 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, pp. 57-59.



Scheme 2. The state-church system of government in colonial Hispano America

Source: adapted by the author on the basis Dussel, E. (1981). *A history of the church in Latin America: colonialism to liberation (1492-1979)* p. 349.

From all aforementioned it can be seen that the church in Spanish America became an institution which protected the feudal system and the system of social castes. The church also had no means of direct communication with the Holy See. Within the maze of patronage, some complaints of the clergy still found their secretive way to Rome and back. Representatives of Patronato in the Hispanic American provinces were viceroys (*virreyes*), governors (*gobernador*), and local courts (*audiencias*). All religious orders were reporting to the civilian ruling body. Royal Supreme Council was consolidated into an absolute decision-maker on all matters considering the New World: politics, economy, administration, army, and religion.

The Pope however could not conduct liberalizations of the Church within this realm. It was a fact that all priests and monks were of the white race. On the other hand, to make Christianization more efficient, in 1576, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585.) allowed mestizos to enter the priesthood. Also, due to the tacit discrimination, there were no indigenous people within the clergy

until the end of 18th century. It's interesting to mention that the female orders did participate neither in Christianization, nor in the missionary activity, but provides a *caritas* activity. Almost all nuns were creole – no native women were initiated. Still, they were present in the monasteries either to provide a physical work, or as the lower-ranked nun called '*beatas*' who participated closely in acculturation²⁰⁷, and earned a sustenance sorely absent outside of the monastic walls. This is an example of the continuous socio-economic and social roles Church played in Latin America.

Monasteries of the pauper orders were financed through the voluntary contributions of devout. On the other hand, the Crown sometimes used a part of the New World taxes, so called tenths (*diezmo*) to help sustain the Church and its agencies, its bishops, lower priests, and others. *Encomiendas* and the plots called "the soil of death arms" (*la tierra de las manos muertas*) awarded to the New-World Church by the Royal mercy, became the source of its increased economic and political power. Latino American Church has begun forming at the beginning of the 16th century with the establishment of *bishoprics* (*dioceses*) like those in Spain.²⁰⁸ By the end of the colonial era, there was a total of 45 of those, built as a rule in the larger economic or demographic centers. Aside from the dioceses, the local parishes were established, and its priests were charged to maintain the spiritual life of white colonizers. The monks – missionaries were responsible for the Christianization of native people in the villages. These missionaries were active within the third segment of the Latin American Church located in the monasteries. Over time, the modest missions grew into the doctrines (*doctrina*), a version of indigenous parish. In those doctrines, sent by the Catholic ruling pair, and under the oath of poverty, members of the chosen Catholic orders operated.

Franciscans²⁰⁹, Dominicans, Benedictines, and Augustinians were the orders initially chosen by the Crown to be to missionaries and to begin Christianization of the indigenous people in New World. History of the Christian missions is *de facto* an onset of the entire history of Latin American Church. In the earliest phase evangelization of the native people on this continent was done using arms on several Caribbean islands, as well as in Mexico and in the

²⁰⁷ Polić-Bobić, Mirjana, *The Birth of Hispano American World*, Ljevak Press d.o.o., Zagreb, 2007, p. 99.

²⁰⁸ In 1504, the first bishopric, called *Santo Domingo* Island was founded, on *Isla Española* of Antilles, today the territories of the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico.

²⁰⁹ The founder of the Franciscan Order of the Little Brothers (*Ordo fratrum minorum*, 1209), was Francis of Assisi. (Giovanni Francesco Bernardone, 1181-1226, Asizi). See more in: Vladan Stankovic, Catholic Society, Neopres, Belgrade, 2017, pp. 136-143.

parts of Brazil.²¹⁰ Las Casas and its Dominican mission nestled in the mountains of Guatemala²¹¹ is often used as an example of the successful Christianization of natives. In this social experiment encomiendas were substituted by the reductions (*reducción*) also known as a kind of autochthonous commune (*congregación*), in which the native population was conditioned to the European economic and religious model. Also, the permit to establish those communes issued by the Crown included a five-year moratorium before the Spaniards could enter those communes. The major benefit of this delay was to enable Las Casas to convert natives into Christianity without force, using the power of evangelism.²¹² Although his commune existed for the short time (1537-1550), it left a strong footprint among the missionaries of the viceroyalty New Spain, perhaps the most among the Jesuits.

VI.1.2. *Reduction as a model of Christianization of the New World (case study)*²¹³

Society of Jesus, Roman-Catholic monk order established by the Spanish Ignatius de Loyola in 1534. Considering that this order was created to fight the Protestantism reformation and as such it was a support to Catholic reaction in Europe. Jesuit's doctrine of the full obedience to the pope, as well as the fact they were highly educated and with the contemplative spirit, coincided with the *Paul III* plan to renew the Church in the sense of spirituality and education.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ One of the first "legal" ways of Christianization was the *requerimiento* from 1514: Before entering a native village, Spaniards would signal to the natives that they want to talk. Then, they would offer a written request (*requerimiento*) to peacefully accept the Christianity and the rule of the Spanish King, or to face the war. If refused, they would attack.

²¹¹ Lynch, J. (2012). *New Worlds: a religious history of Latin America*, Yale University Press, p. 35-37.; Paligorić, Lj. (2003). *Istorija Latinske Amerike*, Beograd: Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, p. 82; Dussel, E. (1981). *A history of the church in Latin America: colonialism to liberation (1492-1979)*, MI: Grand Rapids, B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, p. 51.

²¹² Dussel, E. (1981). p. 51; Blume, A. (2007) p. 25-46., retrieved 16-11-2018, from https://www.fitnyc.edu/files/pdfs/HA_Blume_2007_LasCasas.pdf; Losada, A., *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, Champion of Indian rights in 16th-century Spanish America, Courier June 1975, The UNESCO, pp. 9-10.

²¹³ Parts of the text are taken from the scientific work Luković-Jablanović, D., *Jesuits and Christianization in Latin America until 1767*, presented at the International Congress FIEALC, 2017, Belgrade.

²¹⁴ Loyola, along with the other 6 students of theology on the University in Paris, has founded The Society of Jesus based on the *Spiritual Exercises* written by himself. The Society

Chosen *missionaries* would always go together, within large expedition. The procurators (*procurador*) of the missions from Europe were in charge for leadership and the entire organization of the journey. Upon arrival to New World, missionaries were welcomed by *superior* of the province, who was in charge for the assessment of who will be appointed to which duty: teaching and educating in *collegium* (missionary houses) or shepherd's duty among the native population. *Province* was the general unit of the mission. The *superior* was responsible to provincial for all missions. Once a year missionary would send their reports (*cartas anuas*) to their *provincial*, who would then refine the reports and send them to Rome, to the *General* of the Order. Based on that, the provinces would later receive instruction for further work.²¹⁵

In XVI and XVII century Jesuits volunteered to work in the missions in New World, led by *apostolic motives of Christianization and adventure challenge*. Religion was the “secret spice” of politics in colonial time as well. *Cushner* suggests that the documents, i.e. letters did not explain the policy of sending the missionaries to America by their superiors. The criteria of provincials are somewhat better known due to their secret reports on candidates sent to Rome as *Informaciones*. For example, provincial Pedro de Villar 1597. sent his report on Rafael Ferrer, the candidate to be sent to Peru: “Not talented to reign” (*para regir no descubre talento*).²¹⁶ According to provincial overseers' assessment, candidates with extraordinary talents as well as exquisite oratorical capabilities were not desirable to be sent to American missions. For that reason, they did it unwillingly, but later on it would appear that there was either a lot of wrong assessments from provincials or the candidates were pretending to be unskilled.

The first Jesuits led by Father *Manuel de Nóbrega* encountered the New World in 1549 in Bahía, Brazil, where the expedition landed. During their 2 years long stay they succeeded in opening a school for the kids of Portuguese and native people and then move South. By the mid-16th century, this

of Jesus has, since 1540 when Pope Paul III issued the bull *Rigimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, become an official Church order. David Gibson, *To understand Pope Francis, look to the Jesuits*, National Catholic Reporter, Mar. 12, 2014, <https://www.ncronline.org>; Rupert Matthews, *The Popes, Every Question Answered*, 2014, Moseley Road Inc., pp. 234-235.

²¹⁵ Polić-Bobić, M & Korade, M. (2015): *Paraguayan letters*, Ivan Marchesetti and Nikola Plantić: *Jesuits in Paraguayan province of Company of Jesus*, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, pp. 61-79.

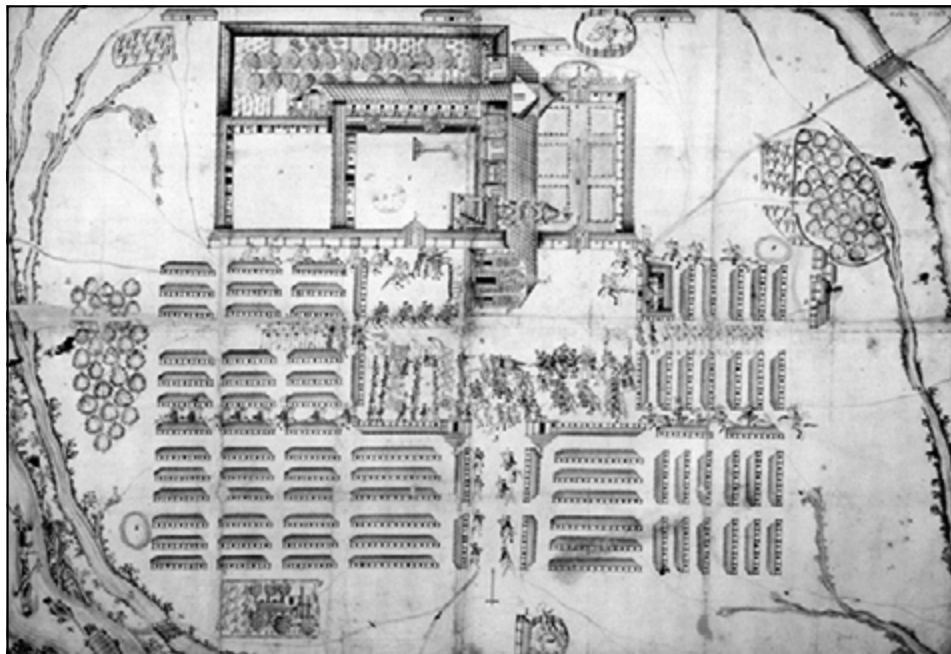
²¹⁶ Cushner, N. P., *The Jesuits in Colonial America: 1565-1767*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006. pp. 22; 74-85., 14.2.2017. http://www.larramendi.es/i18n/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=1000216

group of Jesuits participates in establishing the city of São Paulo, and, a little bit later, the city of Río de Janeiro. Jesuits-missionaries arrive to Mexico and Peru in 1608. Their previous experience included formation of missions in Asian countries, China and India, then in Africa, as well as in Florida. Paraguay has welcomed the first Jesuits, traveling missionaries, in 1587, but their work becomes more successful from 1607, the year they founded first reductions (*reducciones*).²¹⁷ Those specifically organized and led settlements had a primary goal to Christianize the indigenous people and to bring them closer to the standards of Iberian civilization. Reductions should not be connected just to their most successful locations in Paraguay and Uruguay, since they also existed in Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia.²¹⁸ Within the missions in Paraguay, indigenous people were protected: from the exploitation by *encomenderos*; from the social divisions into casts which dominated the “outside world”; from the attacks of wild native tribes; from the local colonial government; from epidemic diseases; as well as from the Brazilian slave hunters (*bandeirantes paulistas*).²¹⁹ The important fact was that within the reductions indigenous people were under direct protection of the Crown. The reductions were operated according to missionary rule book from 1637, but always in the line with Spanish laws and administration. With time, strong and centralized economic-political, administrative, and military structures were established within the reductions. Powerful strongholds of the other activities of Jesuit order were also established, such as building the educational, religious and health institutions, organized agriculture, crafts, transition from nomadic way of life to permanent residence and others. Several groups of reduction cities were raised in South America. Within the same time span in the 17th century notable Franciscan *reducciones* existed in Mexico.

²¹⁷ *Caudio Acquaviva*, the general of Jesuit order, was the key figure in establishing the reductions. As per idea and order of *Acquaviva*, in 1605 newly appointed provincial Diego de Torres travelled to Asunción together with 45 missionaries. Four years later, six of them were disposed in three different directions, where the Indian tribes had lived, with intention to establish the *reducciones*.

²¹⁸ That was a space along the Paraguay and Paraná Upper rivers and Uruguay. Jesuits built a paternalistic control over the *Guaraní* tribe. About 120.000 natives from this tribe were moved into the reductions, while Jesuits worked on their security and education, while learning their language at the same time.

²¹⁹ *Bandeirantes paulistas* – inhabited *Sao Paulo* region and were recruited among mamelukes as the members of mounted expeditions organized to hunt indigenous people for the work in plantations and in mines. The “State Paraguay – Guarani” has been established mainly to defend its population from them.



Map 4. Plan of the Reduction of San Juan Bautista, cca 1756

Source: A.C.Hosne, *Jesuit Reflections on their Overseas Missions From China to Paraguay*, retrieved 14.04.2017. from: <https://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/book/jesuit-reflections-their-overseas-missions>

In 1707, covering the space of modern Argentina, Paraguay, and Southern Brazil, the Jesuit State of *Paraguay – Guaraní* was formed. This was a closed group of 30 reductions inhabited by *Guaraní* native tribe. It's noted in the literature that *in 1732 it had population of 144 252 people, and before the Jesuits were expelled in 1767 it had around 100 000 citizens.*²²⁰ The economy within the Paraguay missions was operated without the currency and the trading was centralized. A collective land (*tupambae*), also known as the God's property, was cultivated by all members of the reduction.²²¹ John Lynch helps us clarify the nature of *Guaraní* reductions, without the usual ideological prejudice about them being communist.²²²

²²⁰ Polić-Bobić, Mirjana, & Korade, Mijo, *Paraguayan letters*, Ivan Marchessetti and Nikola Plantić: *Jesuits in Paraguayan province of Company of Jesus*, 2015, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, p. 63.

²²¹ Alongside there was a kind of private, family-owned land (*abambae*).

²²² Lynch, J. (2012). *New Worlds: a religious history of Latin America*, Yale University Press, p. 50.

Economy of the *Guarani state* („*mate state*“) particularly relied on the export of special Paraguayan tea – *yerba mate* which in time became the most profitable product. Reductions were built following the city planning matrix, which is visible on example of *San Juan Bautista* reduction.²²³ They were built close to rivers, had two to seven thousand inhabitants, with two or three active missionaries among them. Those towns even had the houses for widows and orphans, a hospital built on the outskirts, and other. There was a water supply and the rudimentary irrigation. *The fathers gradually imposed, and then sternly enforced, a strictly monogamous family life.*²²⁴ In the process of Christianization, the Jesuits used, as their most efficient tool, the printed collection of Roman-Catholic system of belief – *Doctrina Christiana*.

The conditions which were developed within the reductions facilitated peaceful encountering of two different worlds, two different cultures. Jesuits were the first to recognize that, guided by their principle *Find God in all things*. At some point in time the influence of Jesuits in the political economy and culture grew enough to disturb the interests of colonial landowners' oligarchy, the Crown, even their mother – the Catholic church.²²⁵ During the reign of Charles III of Bourbon, Jesuits were accused of forming “a state within a state”, their work was outlawed by the decree before being expelled from the Spanish America in 1767.²²⁶ Over 2.100 Jesuits were expelled, their best properties in colonial America were sold, and that income went to the Crown.²²⁷

²²³ For more detailed description of reductions see: Polić-Bobić, M. & Korade, M. (2015): *Paragvajaska pisma, I. Marchesseti i N. Plantić: Isusovci u Paragvajskoj provinciji Družbe Isusove*, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, pp.64-65.

²²⁴ Livi-Bacci, M. & J. Maeder, E.J. (2004): “The Missions of Paraguay: The Demography of an Experiment”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xxxv: 2, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, pp. 193-194, accessed 17.03.2017at <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/paraguay/paraguay-missions.pdf>

²²⁵ *Madrid tractate* from 1750 (*Tratado de limites*) on the border line between two Iberian metropolises caused *the war for reductions*. In so-called *Guerra guaranitica* 1752-1756, the joined army of both colonial powers destroyed the disobedient reductions and Jesuits were held responsible for the indigenous rebellion.

²²⁶ Under the pressure from European monarchs, *Pope Clement XIV* in 1773 abolished the order. In 1814 *Pope Pius VII* has allowed the Jesuits to re-establish. As of 1836, they came back to Latin America. The exception was Mexico, where a few of them have stayed despite the ban, and they restored the Mexican province in 1816.

²²⁷ For more information on the consequences on the Jesuit expulsion see: Merino, O. and Newson A. L., “*Jesuit Missions in Spanish America: The Aftermath of the Expulsion*”, *Yearbook* Vol. 21 (1995), pp. 133-148, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25765818> accessed 07/02/2017

There is no consensus on the historical role of Jesuits during the long period of their activities in Latin America. There were some objections²²⁸, but in general the atypical nature of acculturation was significant for preservation the native identity. Nevertheless, the legacy left by Jesuit's humanism at the time of colonial Latin America is huge. First, they did a lot in the field of education. They paved the way to develop archeology and ethnology based on interpreting the culture and the language of the natives; they introduced new plants and livestock; they gave contribution to many sciences; they left a long-lasting legacy on the Indigenous-Hispanic culture and the preservation of Guarani language. *Jesuits had positive impact on the Guaraní demography.*²²⁹ They advanced quality of life and were responsive to the social needs of the natives. In the summary, Jesuits did the most they could for indigenous people under the given historical circumstances. One may conclude that Jesuits, as well as the members of all other orders, have manifested human weaknesses, but the Christianity in Latin America was brought to life. That way their mission was fully accomplished. The Gospel according to St. Mathew says: “*By their fruit you will recognize them*” (St. Mathew 7:20).

Finally, it's important to point out that the most missionaries arriving at the New World had an apostolic hope to establish a perfect Christian community on that soil. Jon Sobrino identifies that apostolic hope as an utopian idea of a man “in the new sky and a new lend”²³⁰, the idea which Las Casas, a Dominican priest and former *encomendero*, could not imagine without the freedom. Las Casas proved in practice that the only proper way to Christianization of the natives is through their own will. A little bit later, in completely

²²⁸ There were complaints that in colonial Peru, for example, they implemented a policy of the racial segregation, and refused to accept mestizos in their order. Hyland, S. (2011): *The Americas*, Volume 68, No 1, 2011 pp. 150-151 at <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/americas/article/jesuits-in-latin-america-15492000-450-tears-of-inculturation-defense-of-They-have-systematically-avoided-to-teach-the-Indians-Spanish-language>. Bonnycastle, R. H. (1818): *Spanish America; The negative role of Jesuits as counselors in idolatry eradication and the exercise of a cultural abuse of the native population has also been mentioned.*

²²⁹ Livi-Bacci, M. & J. Maeder, E.J. (2004): “The Missions of Paraguay: The Demography of an Experiment”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xxxv: 2, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 222. at <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/paraguay/paraguay-missions.pdf> accessed 17/03/2017; Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *The Jesuits in Latin America: Legacy and Current Emphases*, 2004, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 63-66.

²³⁰ Jon Sobrino, *there is no salvation without poverty, small utopian prophetic essays*, Ex Libris Rijeka, 2011, p. 51; orig. *Fuera de los pobres no hay salvación*, Trotta, Madrid, 2007.

different part of the world, Berdyaev raises the same idea on the philosophical plain: “*The idea of the freedom comes for me before the idea of the perfection, because the perfection cannot be accepted through the force.*”²³¹

By the mid-19th century, Latin American missions were destined to enter its renaissance. In 1848, 20 Capuchins begin Christianization of the indigenous population in Chile.²³² In 1855, 24 Franciscans do the same in Argentina, and within a year 14 additional Franciscans joined. From 1860, joined Franciscans and Capuchins visit Amazonia in Brazil, and get joined first by Dominicans (1880), and then by Salesians²³³ (1895). In the same year, Pope Leo XIII stimulates the Eparchy of Peru to increase its missionary work among natives, who account for 57% of inhabitants. In 1900, a first group of Augustinians arrives in Peru, who also arrived in Colombia 10 years earlier. From 1879, Salesians had begun a successful Christianization in Argentina. In the second decade of the 20th century, Carmelites and Jesuits arrive. More important missions form in Colombia, Paraguay, and especially in Peru and Bolivia in the 20th century.

The efforts of missionaries were not in vain; in 2014, Latin America had more than 425 million of Roman Catholics or around 60% of its total regional population; at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century about 40% of the total Roman Catholics population in the world live in Latin America.²³⁴

VI.2. Position of the Catholic Church after independence of Latin-American countries

In the 19th century with the independence of Latin America, important changes, encompassing its Church, happened. Firstly, the arrival of capitalism was a big social, economic, and political change. Next, even though colonial

²³¹ Nikolaj Berdyaev, *Self-discovery*, Belgrade 1998, p. 48.

²³² *Capuchins* are the reformed, stricter branch of Franciscans.

²³³ Inspired by teachings of St. Francis de Sales, an Italian priest, Don Bosco in 1859 organizes the Salesian order. He developed so called Salesian Preventive Educational System for the youth (especially less privileged) based on the prevention instead on punishment and with the faith in the center of the cultural pedagogy. Pope Pius IX activates in 1869. From 1872, its members work successfully in the missions mostly located in Latin America, but also all over the world, www.salesians.org; www.britannica.com; 17/03/2019

²³⁴ Pew Research Center, Nov. 13, 2014, “*Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region*”, p.4. <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/>; Carlos Malamud, *The political expansion of evangelical churches in Latin America* ARI 131/2018, p.7.

social structure and many privileges of its ruling class have ended, the society remained stratified, and the marginalization was still evident. Ideologically, the separation between the Church and state is conceived due to the advancing liberalism and the formation of new constitutions like the one from Cádiz. Finally, the struggle between the liberals and conservatives was a mark of the complex society, its political, social and economic situation. Within this context, a primarily Spanish-oriented Church was bound to find its new place. It could be concluded that the rest of the 19th century was for the Church a period of adjustments to the new economic, social, political, and ideological conditions under the influence of which Latin America kept developing after gaining its independence.

Being subjugated to the institutions of Spanish Crown, Church could not officially support the wars for independence, which, later, diminished her position. At the beginning, Holy See supported the Crown as well, but in time it becomes more and more neutral. Pope Pius VII was against the liberalism and the revolution considered the worst enemy of Church. There are opinions which explain the Pope's stance with the relationship Napoleon had with the papacy.²³⁵ On the other hand, the refusal of the Holy See to recognize the governments in young states, automatically distance it from the Latin American Church. The crucial moment for Latino American Church happened in 1820, when the revolution in Spain forces the King to accept the first liberal constitution from 1812. On that occasion, Spanish liberals were openly hostile toward the Spanish American clergy, its properties, its privileges, and toward the Church in general. *Finally, they forced the Crown to ask the Pope not to recognize any Spanish American country and to name only those bishops who were loyal to Madrid.*²³⁶ Also, there was a tragic divisiveness within the hierarchy of the Spanish American Church. The lower the clergy, the shorter it took to recognize the independence of the young republics. Under these circumstances, there was a need for order in the religious life of this region. Pope Leo XII decided to send a mission to Rio de la Plata and Chile to check on the facts. This, so called Muzzi's mission (1824-1825) was received well, and it collected useful information.²³⁷ The conclusion was, since in most cases the facts

²³⁵ Napoleon was crowned by the Pope Pius VII in 1804. After Napoleon occupied Papal States, he was excommunicated by the same pope.

²³⁶ Lynch, J. (2012). *New Worlds: a religious history of Latin America*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press., p. 119.

²³⁷ The mission was led by the vicar (*vicario apostólico*) Gian Muzzi. An interesting detail connected to this mission was the presence of a young canon *Gian Maria Mastai*

were feigned, that a direct communication with the Latin Americans should be established. Rome responded the same year issuing the Pope Leo XII encyclical *Etsi iam diu*, which allegedly protected the religion and the legitimate power. That way the Pope stood against the independence and alongside Ferdinand VII, convinced that he was helping the Church in Latin America.²³⁸ Local bishops were disappointed with this encyclical concluding that the Pope should stay away from the secular governing. At the same time, the governments of Latin America took a firm position that neither the defending of the religion depends on their loyalty to Spain, nor that Papa has any influence over the temporary administration.

At the end, it turned out the official papal policy considering Hispano American independence was myopic and with serious repercussions. Delay of the Holy See in the recognition of independent republics moved people away from the Catholic Church, and from expressing the truth, and toward the agnosticism or secularism. The big clash of the Papacy and the Latin American leaders started subsiding when Pope Gregory XVI sent his encyclical *Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum* in 1831, which served as the starting point for the formal recognition of the independence of the young states. New Granada (Colombia today) was recognized in 1835, Mexico in 1836, and all other republics successively. It was obvious that Latin American leaders sought a direct contact with the Pope as a symbol of the Christian authority. According to Dussel, that clearly shows that in Latin America, "... *Catholicism in the oldest Spanish colonies was far from superficial. In reality, it was an essential element of the collective consciousness. That this was true speaks of the positive and profound character of Spanish evangelization.*"²³⁹

It should be mentioned that the independence in the 19th century did not bring a significant change for the Latin American Church, vis-à-vis which most young republics took a progressive stance. In that way, a certain kind of sublimation happened from the *patronato real* into the *patronato republicano* (*patronato national*). Gradually, secular states realized how outdated the institution of *patronato* is and separated the Church from the state. An important change was that the Constitution of the new states proclaimed

Farretti, future Pope Pius IX, (1846-1878), whose pontificate lasted 32 years – the longest in the history of the papacy.

²³⁸ On the 30th of September 1823 (two days later), helped by the Pope Leo XII, Ferdinand VII regained an absolute power in Spain. That episode awakened futile dreams about re-conquering of America.

²³⁹ Dussel, Enrique D., *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to liberation (1492-1992)*, 1981 by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, MI, p. 97.

Catholic religion an exclusive state religion. This officially changed the position of the Church in Hispanic America and made the direct contact with the Holy See possible. After two centuries, Patronato system ceased to exist in Latin America.²⁴⁰ These changes flowed smoothly since the Spanish Church became a subordinate to Vatican after the loss of New World.

There is no doubt that the end of 18th and the beginning of the 19th century was a period of big socio-political and social changes in Latin America. Oligarchic state couldn't respond neither to the modern challenges, nor to the intensified economic development of the region, nor to the intensified social discrepancies within its states. Clashes between the Church and state, between the religion and secularism, between the conservatism and liberalism, became sharper and more obvious. *Mexican revolution* was born within that kind of historical context. It generated the relationship between the state and Church primarily in Mexico, but also in the broader region. It's important to note that this relationship was largely determined through the Mexican Constitution from 1917, one of the de facto consequences of the revolution. For example, according to the article 27 of the Constitution, Church was prevented from inheriting, from owning or managing the land and the other real estate, and all current possessions were nationalized.²⁴¹ Mexican Constitution provoked sharp reactions within and even away from the South American continent. The French delegation on the Peace Conference in Paris, for example, demanded from Mexico to cancel those articles which pertain to Church, as a condition to be accepted into the League of Nations. By 1919, increased international pressure brought about cancelling of those articles, which, in turn, allowed re-establishment of the Mexican church. Nevertheless, it took the Constitutional Reform in 1992 to alleviate the long-standing and sharp Constitutional division between Church and state. Finally, the Church could own property, its priests could vote, but were still not allowed to meddle into the politics.

Relationship between the state and Church on the national level in Mexico was never worst then during the administration of the extreme anticleric

²⁴⁰ Vicente Prieto, *Law and Religion in Colombia: Legal Recognition of religious Entities*, 2011 BYU L. Rev. 691 (2011). pp.691-692. Available at: <https://digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/lawreview/vol2011/iss3/6>

²⁴¹ Jürgen Buchenau, *The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1946*, Online Publication Date: Sep 2015, p. 7.; Branko Vukusic, *Uniqueness of the Political System in Mexico*, *Latin America and Modern World*, Belgrade, 1995, pp. 260-261.; Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green, *Modern Latin America*, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 2014., p. 59.

Plutarco Elias Calles (1924-1928), when the liberal state has intensified the decades old animosities with Church into a very bloody persecution of Catholics. On the other hand, the devout and even the Mexican bishops responded with protests which grew into the war – *Guerra de los cristeros (Cristiada, 1926-1929)*.²⁴² Governmental forces and supporters of the Constitution articles²⁴³ found themselves opposite to the risen Catholics (mainly peasant guerrilla). This uprising took place during the pontificate of Pius XI, who by the end of 1926 publishes the encyclical *Iniquis afflictisque* sent to the Church of Mexico as a response to the tragic condition of the Catholicism hit so hard by the constitutional articles. In addition, the letter celebrated the importance of Church for the history of Mexico as well as an understanding for the local devout people ‘*in the fight for the freedom of their own religion*’.²⁴⁴

Within the context of the failing Church-state relationship, it should be mentioned that certain societies were established at that time in Mexico to join forces with the devout to resist the anti-Catholic measures of the state. For example, in 1924, the National League for the Defense of Religious Freedoms (*Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa – LNDLR*) was founded and over time it became the most influential organization of the Mexican Catholics, especially just before the uprising of Cristeros. In short, the Church harmed by the restrictive Constitutional articles, intends to regain its former positions as well as to keep its religious freedom through the rebellion of Cristeros. Three years of the war took about 30 000 lives on the side of Cristeros²⁴⁵ and almost twice as much federal soldiers died. It’s important to note that the bloody war ended only after the peace talks between Calles and Vatican.²⁴⁶

²⁴² Bernardo Bergöend, a Belgian Jesuit who went to Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century, founded the organization Catholic Action for Mexican Youth in 1913. Many of the leaders of that movement became the leaders of the Cristero (from their cry ¡Viva Cristo Rey! “Long live Christ the King!”). Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *The Jesuits in Latin America: Legacy and Current Emphases*, 2004, International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 64.

²⁴³ Stephen J. C. Andes, *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, p. 1, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40; Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *The Jesuits in Latin America: Legacy and Current Emphases*, 2004, International Bulletin of Missionary Research, Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 64.

²⁴⁴ D. Patafta, Croatian Catholic Print about Persecutions of the Church in Mexico (1926. – 1929.) *Zagreb, CCP 73 (2014.)*, pp. 156-157; original: »Encyclical of the Holy Father Pope«, u: *Catholic paer*, 9. XII. 1926., p. 666.

²⁴⁵ At the end of the 20th century, Pope John Paul II sanctified several Mexican Cristeros.

²⁴⁶ Tulio Halperín-Donghi, *The Contemporary History of Latin America*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1993, p. 186.

The sad epilogue of *Guerra de los cristeros* is that the sacrifices on both sides were in vain since the constitutional articles in question remained the same – *Status quo ante bellum*.

On the other hand, during the administration of Alvaro Obregon (1920–1924), some anti-Church articles of the original Mexican constitution from 1917 were reactivated. When Emillio Portes Gil came to power (1928–1930), the first hints of the long-lasting truce between the state and Church were felt. In 1929, the state had to correct anti-Catholic laws. Churches opened for the devout, and private Catholic schools opened by the end of the next year. There are authors who think that constitutional restrictions pertaining to Church were a partial ‘punishment for the sins from the past’. The “sin” of the Spanish colonial governing was the abuse of the Christianization and Catholic religion to advance their own agendas. The challenges of the endless road during the spiritual advancement of a men sound more familiar through these words, “The history of Christianity was not just about the discovery of God, it was also about the making of the men. That making was good, but it was bad too (...) Man-like, overly men-like was shown as God-like.”²⁴⁷

With the arrival of independence in Latin America, there was less and less chances to apply either religious or cultural monopoly of the Catholic church. The challenges to Catholicism were constant: anticlericalism, secularism, liberalism, and the penetration of concurrent religions into this region. This sub-continent becomes inhabited not just by non-Catholic Christians, but also by the other religions and congregations. Those newcomers neither accept the oversight of the Roman Catholic Church, nor the primacy of the Pope²⁴⁸. On the wave of the British policy of neocolonialism, the spirit of Protestantism permeates Latin America. Catholics became acutely aware of the dangers of religious tolerance brought forth upon the encounter with the Protestantism, which they considered to be the same as secularism. Regardless of this fact, the biggest intellectual challenge for this church did not come from the Protestantism and its denominations²⁴⁹, but from the positivism. The Latin American elite of the last decade of the 19th century was especially indoctrinated by it, as the secular alternative to the religion. Positivism permeated Brazil, Argentina,

²⁴⁷ Berdyaev, N. (2006). *Destiny of men in the Modern World*, Belgrade: Logos, p. 83.

²⁴⁸ John Lynch, *New Worlds – A Religious History of Latin America*, Yale University Press, 2012, New Haven & London, p. 186.; Anthony Gill, *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp.71-78.

²⁴⁹ Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Presbyterian churches.

Chile, and Mexico. The next ideological challenge for the Church emerged in the form of Pentecostal Protestant Church in the early 20th century. At first growing modestly and using the existing niches, this church in the early 21st century aggressively recruits its membership from the Roman Catholic ranks. *The Church lost millions of nominal adherents to Pentecostal competitors who supplied a religious product better suited to consumer demand.*²⁵⁰

Statistics provided by the Pew Research Center in 2014, shows the tendency of dropping of the number of Catholics across all countries listed within the 1970-2014-time frame, from for example -5% in Paraguay to - 47% in Honduras. In the largest portion of the 20th century at least 90% of the Latin American population was Catholic.²⁵¹ During the 21st century, that number dropped to 69%. Increase in the number of Evangelistic churches in these regions can be largely explained by the Catholicism “backing off” and by the successful Evangelistic preachers promoting the concept of *prosperity theology*²⁵² to its flocks; preaching the concept focused on the material riches at the individual level in the way that allows an easy transition of the social inequalities onto de facto an individual problem. It could be said that the theology of prosperity in this way comes dangerously close to the social Darwinism, which explains the marginalization of one social class by the natural superiority of the other. This particular theology has found a fertile soil to develop in Latin America where the common reality includes poverty and socio-economic inequality.

VI.3. The Church and Socio-economic Inequality

Looking through the lens of history, the socioeconomic inequalities in Latin America have their roots in the very beginning of the conquest and colonization, via feudal criteria used to divide the land in colonies (encomiendas, repartimientos) and the forced labor (mita system). To those two direct

²⁵⁰ Frances Hagopian, *Latin American Catholicism in age of religious and political pluralism: A framework for analysis*, Working Paper #332 – December 2006, pp.7-8.

²⁵¹ Pew Research Center, Nov. 13, 2014, “*Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region*”, pp.26-27, <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/> Accessed on: 11.07.2016.

²⁵² For the broader explanation of the genesis of Protestantism in Latin America see: Carlos Malamud, *The political expansion of evangelical churches in Latin America* ARI 131/2018; Orig. version in Spanish: *La expansión política de las iglesias evangélicas en América Latina*. <http://muse.jhu.edu> 12/12/2018; Frances Hagopian, *Latin American Catholicism in age of religious and political pluralism: A framework for analysis*, Working Paper #332 – December 2006, pp. 7-8.

ways of economic exploitation in the agriculture and mining, the trade monopoly was joined as the third leakage channel to further stimulate socio-economic inequalities. That high level was permanently maintained, it followed the process of decolonization, and then remained an unsolved problem to date.

The doctrinal position of the Church on socioeconomic discrepancies can be observed clearly by the end of the 19th century. It was then that the Church publicly acknowledged that the socioeconomic inequalities, as a part of the secular reality, are inseparable from the spiritual reality. For that reason, Pope Paul VI, at the onset of his encyclical *Populorum Progresio* from 1967, gives a credit to his predecessors in *their effort to shed the light of Gospel on the contemporary social questions*.²⁵³ The first encyclical with the socioeconomic content was *Rerum novarum* (Of the New Things), by Pope Leo XIII from 1891. In general, this encyclical advocated for the social justice for the large number of impoverished workers. Leo XIII further thinks that the state should not just protect its citizens and their private property, but also protect their dignity. In this encyclical, the understanding is formed that the poor must mainly depend on the assistance of the state, and the rich, who do possess plenty of resources to protect themselves... *it is for this reason that wageearners, since they mostly belong in the mass of the needy, should be specially cared for and protected by the government.* (*Rerum novarum*, §37).

When in 1931 Pope Pius XI published his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*²⁵⁴, the world was in the middle of the Great Depression. According to the encyclical, uncontrolled market economy was the main culprit. The very name of the encyclical (*Forty Years After*) hints that the same social teaching themes were presented 40 years earlier in the encyclical *Rerum novarum* by Pope Leo XIII. *Quadragesimo anno* is focused on the social justice, and on the inviolability of private property (*Quadragesimo Anno*, §58). As far as the private property is concerned, it is not to be interfered with by the state, as it's the case in the directed economies of the communist countries (*Quadragesimo Anno*, §49). At the same time, the wealth distribution must ensure the common good and prevent the extreme disparity in wealth, so typical for the

²⁵³ Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, (1) Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, (2) Pius XII's radio message to the world, (3) and John XXIII's two encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra* (4) and *Pacem in Terris*. (5) A Problem for All Men. (*Populorum Progresio*, 1967, *The Church's Concern* §2).

²⁵⁴ http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19310515_quadragesimo-anno.html

liberal capitalism and uncontrolled market economy. In the late October in 1946, from his palace *Castel Gandolfo*, Pope Pius XII addressed the members of the National Catechetical Congress in Boston, USA over the radio, ‘*Perhaps the greatest sin in the world today is that men have begun to lose the sense of sin.*’²⁵⁵ It should not be forgotten that the Pope’s address came after the end of the Second World War, which not just destroyed the economies of the participating countries, but also dragged the humanity into the deep moral crisis.

Encyclical *Mater et magistra* (Mother and Teacher) in 1961 by Pope John XXIII is providing a general guidance *on the social and economic improvement of the Catholic countries.*²⁵⁶ In short, the Pope advocates for the economy which will encourage the private initiative without endangering the basic rights of any man. “*Economic progress must be accompanied by a corresponding social progress (...) The utmost vigilance and effort is needed to ensure that social inequalities, so far from increasing, are reduced to a minimum (Mater et magistra, §73).*” Pope John XXIII also counts on the wealthy individuals and wealthy nations to keep the balance between the stimulation of the work and entrepreneurship with the acts of mercy. The similar idea exists in the epistle of the St. Apostle Paul, “*Have the rich of this world lose their pride, and let them lose the fight in their uncertain wealth (...) have them do good deeds, and let them be giving and social ... (The First Epistle of the St. Apostle Paul to Timothy 6.17 6.18).*” Since the world becomes more and more interconnected, Pope John XXIII concludes that, “... *it will not be possible to preserve a lasting peace so long as glaring economic and social imbalances persist (Mater et magistra, §157).*”

An additional socially charged encyclical was *Pacem in Terris* by Pope John XXIII. Since its publishing in 1963, the Church more often addresses problems of democracy, religious freedom, and human rights. It’s important to note that at the time, a global fight for the prevailing social system was raging and that the world was getting economically, politically, and ideologically more polarized. Pope John XXIII understands that in any humanly

²⁵⁵ Radio message of his Holiness Pius XII to participants on the National Catechetical Congress of the US in Boston,
http://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/speeches/1946/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19461026_congresso-catechistico-naz.pdf

²⁵⁶ For more information about the socioeconomic teaching of the Catholic Church see: Vladan Stankovic, *Catholic Society*, Neopres, Belgrade, 2017, pp. 241-270; *Basic Social Teaching of the Catholic Church 2006*, foundation of Conrad Adenauer and Archbishop of Belgrade, Belgrade, 2006.

run society not just the basic biological needs (food, clothing, shelter ...) of human beings must be met, but that the basic social services in the case of illness, old age, unemployment and so on, also need to be in place (*Pacem in Terris*, 1963, *Rights* §11).

In the context of the Church siding with the poor, it's important to mention two additional documents. First, *Gaudium et spes* (Joy and Hope), a Pastoral Constitution published in 1965, during the Vatican II council. The constitution of Pope Paul VI insists on the responsibilities of Church through her *presence* and *action* in the modern world. Its special responsibility is regarding the poverty. This Constitution reminds us that, "*Economic development must remain under man's determination and must not be left to the judgment of a few men or groups possessing too much economic power or of the political community alone or of certain more powerful nations.*" It's observed that the large economic inequalities exist based on the individual and social discrimination. Furthermore, considering the economic immigrants, *all discrimination in regards of wages and working conditions must be carefully avoided.* (*Gaudium et spes*, §65, §66). Council further notes that there are many hungry people in the world and that the time has come to honor the fathers saying, "Feed the man dying of hunger because if you have not fed him, you have killed him." (*Gaudium et spes*, §69).

The second document is a social encyclical *Populorum Progressio*, from 1967, which speaks to the gap between the wealthy and poor countries, "about the injustice crying to the heavens" (*Populorum Progressio, Reform, Not Revolution* § 30). This flagrant injustice has mostly manifested itself via the use of power by the privileged few. This power prevents the unprivileged majority to express its innate creativity and employ its responsibility, as a result of which, this majority *often operates in the inhumane living and working conditions* (*Populorum Progressio, Signs of Social Unrest* §9.9).

As opposed to John XXIII and Paul VI, the pontificate of Pope John Paul II supports the traditional, more conservative part of the Latin American Church. *He has affirmed the Church's support for social justice, human rights, and democracy, but asserts that the primary focus of priests, nuns, and lay leaders must be on the celebration of the sacraments and on the spiritual formation on the laity.*²⁵⁷ For the time being, the Church withdrew from the social and

²⁵⁷ For example, in Brazil, one of the most progressive Catholic Churches, John Paul II nominated 128 (out of 274) new bishops in 1978-1990. It was known, for at least 97 of them, to be theologically conservative. Brian H. Smith, *Religious Politics in Latin America, Pentecostal vs. Catholic*, 1998, University of Notre Dame, IN, p. 11-12.

political life on the subcontinent. One of the intents was to slow down the advances the Pentecostal Church had in the region. In 1987, in his encyclical *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (*On Social Concerns*), Pope Wojtyła establishes not just the existence, but also a broadening of the gap between the developed North and poor South (a geopolitical realm most of the world population lives in).²⁵⁸ On the other hand, both social inequality and misery do exist in the developed countries too, with various consequences (unequal access to opportunities, denial or limiting of the human rights, and others). The social questions of underprivileged are more complex than merely economic parameters, because they show wide fluctuations within the various cultural levels and various value systems of this incoherent group. In a word, deep divisions running through the modern society are not just economic in origin, but also cultural, political, or to simplify just human, as the encyclical *Populorum Progressio* analyzed. Pope Wojtyła also comes to the same conclusion, that is, the greatest source of discrimination does not come from the economy, but it stems from the social sphere. (*Sollicitudo rei socialis* §14, §15).

Much of the research in socioeconomic inequalities has in retrospect confirmed the visionary views contained in the papal encyclicals. The research project *Understanding Social Conflict in Latin America*²⁵⁹ from 2013, for example, divides social conflicts in Latin America along the same lines as Pope Wojtyła did a quarter of the century before. More precisely, that broad division groups the Latin American societies according to these criteria: first, the social reproduction (along with the demands connected to the labor and the compensation for the labor); next, the institutional conflicts (inefficiency and weak institutional norms); and at the end, the cultural conflicts (consider the quality of life, identity, and cultural belonging).

World financial crisis from the first decade of the XXI century has confirmed that the economic crisis usually goes along with the spiritual and moral crisis. Countries hit by the crisis become a fertile soil for the growth of not just economic, but also religious nationalism. In these historic circumstances, Pope Benedict XVI publishes his third encyclical *Caritas in veritate* (*Love in the Truth*) in 2009, in which he champions the fight against the hunger in the world on one side, and on the other the necessity for the integral

²⁵⁸ In two additional encyclicals by Pope John Paul II, the questions of economy and social justice were discussed. Those were: *Laborem exercens* in 1981 and *Centesimus annus* in 1991.

²⁵⁹ Joined research project by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Latin American Conflict Analysis Unit of Fundación UNIR Bolivia, pp.51-52.

development of a men. (*Caritas in veritate*, §27).²⁶⁰ Similarly, to John XXIII in *Mater et magistra*, §157, Benedict XVI considers the fight against the hunger necessary for the long-term stability and maintenance of the peace on the planet. Pope Benedict XVI have observed the devastation that both religious fundamentalism (extreme faith) and secularism (rationalism without faith) can do to individuals and in the social settings. He believes that the lack of social contacts and of cooperation prevents the harmonious development of the humanity (*Caritas in veritate*, ch. V, *The cooperation of the human family*). In the same encyclical, Pope considers both moving of the capital into the countries which have an inexpensive labor and a perpetual scramble for the higher profit a “sin”. He keeps reiterating that, “*Man is the source, the focus and the aim of all economic and social life*” [§25. 61]. The same encyclical, the justice and common good are listed as two pillars for the development of the increasingly globalized society (*Caritas in veritate*, §6). In addition, according to Pope Benedict, every economic decision has a moral consequence (*Caritas in veritate* §37).

Just like many previous pontiffs, Pope Francis gives his full attention to the poverty and the care for the poor – first within the encyclical *Evangelii Gaudium* from 2013²⁶¹. One more encyclical *Laudato Si*, published in 2015 indirectly unfolds the socio-economic doctrine of the Church. Both encyclicals will be a subject of greater analysis in the chapter VIII. In short, according to Pope Francis, *Inequality is the root of social ills* (*Evangelii Gaudium*, 2013: §202).

It could be said the Roman Catholic Church has a continuity, most often via the Papal encyclicals, of offering thoughtful analysis and possible solutions to the socioeconomic inequalities that negatively impact human health, education, and many other existential needs. Finally – those inequities are endangering the very essence of human dignity. Today the Catholic Church uses its international social agencies to continually collect the funds from Catholics all over the world. Some of those funds find their way to parishes and local Catholic groups to pay for the projects in Latin America, one of the regions with the highest levels of inequality in the world.

²⁶⁰ *Caritas in veritate* was published during the preparations for the Group 8 summit, held in Lakvila, Italy. Within G8 group (the most developed nations in the world at the time), the most important global economic and political problems were solved. Group G8 grew into the G20 in which Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina participate.

²⁶¹ Chapter four (Social Dimension of Poverty) in particular discusses this topic. *Evangelii Gaudium* pp.178-258.

VI.4. Liberation Theology (*Teología de la Liberación*)

In the seventies of the 20th century, even though present within the Latin American region during the social upheavals, the traditional Catholic theology did not proactively respond to the complex social requirements of the hour. But, the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) produced the favorable climate for the emergence of so called *pastoral or alternative Catholic theologies*, one of which spread the most all-over Latin America – the *Theology of Liberation*.²⁶² It was focused on the harsh socioeconomic reality, and it advocated overcoming it through the social liberation, that is, by returning the dignity to the men in the existing socio-political order. *History is teaching us that the best possibilities to elevate a men spring from the network of social connections, the same network in which it's possible to hide the worst examples of the abuse of human dignity.*²⁶³

Pope John XXIII, enabled the emergence of the *Theology of Liberation* through the Second Vatican Council's (*Concilium*) informal Working group, so called "Church of the poor", within the larger theme of making the Church contemporary (*aggiornamento*)²⁶⁴. The idea about the *Church of the poor* was the most directly expressed in the pontifex's speech at the opening of the Council. The reforms his predecessor started, including the Church of poor, further unfold under the Pope Paul VI. The *Second Vatican Council* has at any rate, broadened the realm of the theology to establish an open dialog between the Church and the world. In addition, that was the first chance for the Latin American bishops to meet and work with their third world counterparts – which tells us how overlooked the issue of poverty was up to then. Culmination of this work was the common document called the

²⁶² *Alternative theologies use the theology to explain and solve social problems and represent unofficial, alternative sociopolitical doctrine within Christianity. Ivica Mastruko, foreword for Church, Charisma, and Governance, Leonardo Boffo, Stvarnost, Zagreb, 1987, p. 7.*

²⁶³ Papal Council for The Justice and Peace, Basic Social Teachings of the Catholic Church, Foundation Conrad Adenauer and Archbishop of Belgrade, Belgrade 2006, 107; p. 58.

²⁶⁴ Pope John XXIII stressed the pastoral nature of this Council; then, he pointed toward the need to "read the signs of the time". That's how he promoted the theology of *aggiornamento* (up-to-date theology). He also stressed the ecumenical nature of the Council. It's interesting to note the comment had G. Gutierrez, "... that the expression the signs of the times still does not have a clear enough content to be defined." Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation*, Catholic Presence, Zagreb, 1989 (orig. 1971.), p. 13.

Message of the Third World Bishops, which in many ways directed the flow of the *Second Conference of Bishops* in Medellin, Colombia in 1968, to further sharpen the focus of the Latin American Church on the issue of poverty.²⁶⁵

The Medellin's conference followed the Vatican Council's premise to identify the poverty as the key problem of the continent. The fact that "*the poor people always remain poor, and the rich gradually richer*" the Pope Paul VI previously mentioned in his encyclical (*Populorum Progressio*, §59), has been recognized as the leading problem in the entire Third World including Latin America. Its repressive reality, the leftover of colonial times, required significant structural changes. On the other hand, its firm stands asking for social justice, more freedom, for the protection of poor, and for the radical transformation of the socioeconomic structures, precipitated clashes of the Latino American Church with the governing structures. Totalitarian regimes reacted in various ways. Some scholars, e.g., *E. Vesely*, hold that the conference in Medellin started the crisis between the Church and governments in Latin America.²⁶⁶ After this conference, the Church was often in the position to call its stance purely theological as opposed to one aimed to change the class order. The Christian concept of peace is defined by these three factors: "*Peace is, above all, a work of justice; Secondly, peace is a permanent task; Finally, peace is the fruit of love ... Love it is the soul of justice. The Christian who works for social justice should always cultivate peace and love in his heart*" (*Medellin Document on Peace*, 14 a, b, c). At the end of this Conference, the parts of the final Documents had the best reception in public were those which referred to the poverty, justice, and peace. Economic, social, and political problems were also analyzed during the Conference, and then, upon being placed in the Evangelical context, transformed into the theological questions. Thus, in the name of the faith (Christianity) the theology has openly faced with the injustice under which the most Latin American inhabitants live, choosing the liberation from it as its goal. The legacy of Medellin is first, it gave the general guidelines for the future Church activities in Latin America; second, it was a symbol of the historic reconciliation between the Church and the people of the region; and third, it marked a qualitative shift in the relationship between Vatican and the Latin American Church. One of the signs of the increasing interest Rome took for the events in Latin America was the arrival of

²⁶⁵ One signatory of the *Message of the Third World Bishops* was a Brazilian Bishop Recife, *Helder Camara*.

²⁶⁶ Vesely, E., *The Church in Latin America*, 1979, p. 423.

Pope Paul VI in Columbia during the Conference of Bishops – that was the first papal visit to the subcontinent.

There is no doubt that the most influential body in the structure of the Latin American Church is the Conference of Bishops, with its general assemblies that take place roughly every ten years²⁶⁷. On its first general assembly in Rio de Janeiro in 1955, the coordinating body called the *Counsel of the Bishops of Latin America (Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano – CELAM)*²⁶⁸ was formed. An important part of the relationship with Vatican are the visits called ‘on the apostolic thresholds’ (*ad limina apostolorum*).²⁶⁹ Usually every five years, on the rotating schedule, a small group (out of 5 300 Catholic bishops in the world) of Latin American and other Bishops visits Vatican. Before they meet with the Pope, bishops visit the Vatican dicasteries and have an opportunity to discuss important questions with its officials.²⁷⁰

Gustavo Gutiérrez is a Dominican priest who first mentioned the Theology of Liberation (*Teología de la Liberación*) in June 1968 in the Peruvian town *Chimbote*.²⁷¹ He introduces this theology of salvation as a response of the modern history burdened by the cruel development of the rich countries. He asserts that the very dynamics of the capitalistic economic development enables those countries to assume a central position, while the poor countries are destined to remain on the periphery.²⁷² *Theology of Liberation* represented

²⁶⁷ So far, the Conferences of Bishops took place in 1955. – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; 1968 – Medellín, Columbia; 1979 – Puebla, Mexico; 1992 – Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic; and 2007 – Aparecida, Brazil.

²⁶⁸ CELAM: Pope Pio XII je chose Colombia to be a headquarter of the Council.

²⁶⁹ *Ad limina visits* are obligatory meetings of the world’s bishops with the Pope and other high clergy in Vatican. They have an audience with the pope in the church of St. Peter and Paul (apostolic thresholds), where they meet the pope and give a report on the situation in their own dioceses; Fanning, W. (1912). *Visit ad Limina*. In the Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved December 5, 2019 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15478a.htm>

²⁷⁰ Courtney Mares, US bishops arrive in Rome for ad limina visit with Pope Francis, Catholic News Agency, Vatican City, Nov 5, 2019

<https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/us-bishops-arrive-in-rome-for-ad-limina-visit-with-pope-francis-34452>

²⁷¹ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Theology of Liberation*, Christian Present, Zagreb, 1989 (orig. 1971.), pp. 89-94; A.Salazar Bondy, *La cultura de dominación*, Perú Problema, Lima 1968, p. 75.

²⁷² This assertion coincided with the defined causes of the underdevelopment in Latin America which the young economists of CEPAL established based on the theory of dependence two decades earlier.

the efforts of the Church to change not just its religious practices, but also the socio-political structures which contributed to the growth of the unbearable injustice in Latin America. Of course, there are opposite views about the *Theology of Liberation*, even among the theologians. One of the negative views, for example, was held by the doctrinal counsel of the Pope John Paul II, German Cardinal Ratzinger. Later on, when he became Pope Benedict XVI he saw in this theory as dangerous and responded by appointing the conservative bishops to Latin America.²⁷³ Furthermore, the fact that the Church for the most part supported the poor led to the labelling of many Latin American priests as Marxists, to the persecution of priests, their torture, and even killing. Aside from Gutierrez, the most important supporters of the Theology of Liberation were: *Jon Sobrino, Dussel, Hugo Assman*, brothers *Clodovis and Leonardo Boff*,²⁷⁴ *Juan Luis Segundo, de Oliveira, Richard* and others. It could be concluded that this theology, enabed by the Second Vatican Council, was an attempt to establish the holistic freedom for people from the oppressive economic, political, religious, and social conditions in Latin America. Theology of Liberation could be seen as a part of the awakened consciousness of the local history and identity. It gave a theoretical foundation to these three phenomena: *the religiousness of the people, the basic communes, and it helped in the process of facing the poverty directly.*²⁷⁵

²⁷³ In 1984, Italian press printed a private memorandum of the Cardinal Ratzinger, in which he sees the Theology of Liberation as a “fundamental danger for the faith”. Paul E. Sigmund, *Liberation Theology: An Historical Evaluation*, Number 176, Working Papers, Wilson Center in 1985-86., p. 1.

In addition, in the exploratory document *Liberation Theory: Religion, Reform, and Revolution* of the American Central Information Agency (CIA) comments on Ratzinger’s memorandum, “Vatican’s document criticizes: the efforts of the Liberation Theology to replace the formal Church with people’s Church. A Research Paper, CIA, April 1986, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP97R00694R000600050001-9.pdf> accessed 07.07.2019.

²⁷⁴ Brazilian priest L. Boff clashes with Vatican because of his liberal views and the critique of the traditions which prevent development. In 80’s of the 20th century, he speaks of the necessity of radical changes in the Church. In 1984, Boff, through the intervantion of Cardinal Ratzinger, was sentenced by the Congregation for Doctrine on a year of “silence in repent”. A. Prange / T. Lohinski, *Leonardo Boff: “This Pope will Change the Church”*, 2013, <http://www.dw.com/hr/leonardo-boff-ovaj-%C4%87e-papa-promijeniti-crkvu/a-16977114>

²⁷⁵ Ema Vesely, 1986. *Teologija oslobođenja* (postanak, razvoj, dvojbe), u: *Obnovljeni život*, 41, pp.19-20, Retrieved 21.12.2016, from <https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/82203>

In 1979, the Third Conference of Bishops (*III Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano*) was held in the Mexican town of Puebla. John Paul II had a talk about the crisis of the confidence toward the institutional Church which brings forth the alternatives in the form of people's Churches, burdened by various ideologies.²⁷⁶ One of those people's Churches were the *basic communities* (*Comunidades Eclesiales de Base – CEBs*), which are very specific to the Latin American Church.²⁷⁷ The Conference in Puebla supported the *CEBs* as *the hope of the Church* and planned on its expansion. Despite of having a somewhat different mission, both movements were to be the centres for evangelization as well as the leaders of the social liberation and development (*Puebla Document*, 56). In the period between the Medellin and Puebla, the most autochthonous and, at the same time, the most dominant movements in the Latin American church were *the ecclesial base communities* and the *theology of liberation*.²⁷⁸ Before the conference in Puebla started, bishops have compiled a Working Document in which the situation in Latin America before the conference was described. The vast amounts of the natural resources and its brutal exploitation by the foreign companies was pointed out, high inflation rate, the deepening of the gap between the rich and poor (most of which are natives or Afro-Americans). “*Most people can't fulfill their basic needs for the food, shelter, health, education, and can't plan their future*” (Working Document no. 85).²⁷⁹ Both woman and workers find themselves in the unenviable position since, despite the low wages, are still afraid of losing their job. Bishops collected their observations in the *Final Document of Puebla* (*Documento de Puebla*) signed by John Paul II at the end of the Conference. Finally, a special bishop commission crafted the *Message to the People of Latin America*. It should be said that the Latin American Churches approached the definition of the “authentic life by the Gospel” in the consort with its own realities.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 40.

²⁷⁷ According to the CIA report from 1986, “Base communities are potential direct threat to the regime either through the promotion of the arm resistance, or by producing the revolutionary leaders. In the same report it's said that the Russians use the paper *Latin America* (*Латинская Америка*) issued by its Academy of Sciences to regularly report on the development of the Theology of Liberation. *Liberation Theology: Religion, Reform and Revolution*, A Research Paper, CIA, April 1986, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP97R00694R000600050001-9.pdf>

²⁷⁸ “Typically, base communities contain anywhere from fifteen to thirty people who share some common interest (e.g., they live on the same block, work at the same factory, enjoy weaving etc”), Gill, A., 1998:37.

²⁷⁹ *Emilia Vesely, Church in Latin America*, p. 425.

Obviously, there were many political pressures on the bishops during the Conference, which slowed down the rate by which the Theology of Liberation would naturally develop.

Jon Sobrino separates three main goals Pope John Paul II²⁸⁰ layed out before the bishops in Puebla: *defining a clear doctrinal standard, assessing the problems raised between the last two Conferences, indisputable defense of the dignity of men in Latin America.*²⁸¹ John Paul did not favor the Theology of Liberation, which he defended by the general stance that the priests should be as far as possible from the politics, and as close as possible to the pastoral questions. He also thought that the Church should be on the side of the poor, working toward their liberation in the sense of Christianity. There was a criticism that the Pope in Puebla was silent about the atrocities of the various dictatorships in Latin America. His low key approach was interpreted by some as a way to transfer all responsibility onto the bishops; yet others saw that the Latin American episcopate gained a respect of Rome. It seems reasonable to assume that Puebla rendered the Latin American Church almost too independent for Vatican's taste. To soften this trend, the Holy See delegates conduction of all pertaining mutual business to the *Pontifical Commission for Latin America*. At any rate, Rome came to full realization about the importance of the Latin American Church for the future of Christianity. Although held during different social and historic periods, both of the above-mentioned conferences addressed very similar themes. Puebla had focused on evangelization through which the broader, underlying questions were raised and further discussed in Medellin – the socioeconomic and political questions weighing heavy upon the Latin America.

The *Fourth Conference of Bishops* in Sant Domingo in 1992 broadens the *preferential option for the poor* on the men, his history, and his culture. The need was also felt to transform the Church into more purposefull missionary commune. The *Fifth Conference of Bishops* in 2007 in Aparecida, Brazil was opened by the Pope Benedict XVI. Among the active participants was the future Pope Francis, then the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Bergoglio. As a chief editor of the *Final Document*, he contributed the most to its content,

²⁸⁰ Pope John Paul II (*Karol Wojtyla*, 1978-2005.) through the social document *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987), traces his vision of the development; then, he introduces “the preferential option for the poor” into the social teaching of the Church, connected with both happenings in Latin American Church, and with the idea of the Second Vatican Council about the “Church of the Poor”.

²⁸¹ Sobrino, J., *The Lesson of Puebla*, 1980, retrieved 19.08.2018, from <https://www.theway.org.uk/back/20Sobrino.pdf> in the Latin American periodical *Christus*, p. 188.

based on the social doctrine of the Church. This *Document* was verified by the official Church in Rome and signed by the Pope Benedict XVI. Reflecting on this *Conference*, Cardinal Bergoglio gave a full credit for the free-spirited dialogs and for the formation of the *Final Document of Aparecida* to Benedict XVI, who since the 80's pushed for the solution of the *Theology of Liberation* and the *Church of the Poor*²⁸² problems while he was a prefect in the Congregation for the doctrinal faith.

Leonardo Boff deduces the message of Bishops in Puebla, "For us today, the love toward God should primarily transfer into the acts of justice for the oppressed, into the effort to liberate those who need that liberation the most" (no. 327).²⁸³ There is no doubt that the theologians in Latin America advocated an integral approach to the resolution of both individual and social sin. They have found the roots to the social sin in the social relationships and in the social structures (including the Church itself) which are giving birth to the misery, injustice, and marginalization. Without an effort to find the cause, any kind of the engagement would stay on the level of charity. Helder Camara illustrates the difference between the *caritas* and the structural approach to the faith like this, "When I give the bread to a poor man, they call me a saint. But, when I ask why the poor people do not have enough to eat, they put me down calling me a communist".²⁸⁴ Poverty is just one of the historical versions of the 'crucified people' as *Ignacio Ellacuría*²⁸⁵ would say. He recognizes the perpetual presence of those crucified people noting that, "... *the historic way of its crucifixion is always different*".²⁸⁶ In 2005, according to the report of the World Bank *The Urban Poor in Latin America*, 175 million of people, or 36% of the regional population, lived in poverty. *Gustavo Gutiérrez* notes in the *Theology of Liberation* that the full comprehension

²⁸² His firm stance about the events in Latino American Church illustrate the fact that, despite some controversy, in 2012, he placed the German Archbishop Müller as a head of the Congregation for the doctrinal faith. It was well known that the new prefect was a friend of *Gustavo Gutiérrez*; Stjepan Baloban, "Church of the Poor" from the Pope Ivan XXIII to Pope Francis, *Bogoslovska smotra*, 84 (2014.) 3, pp. 495-499.

²⁸³ Bof L. (1987). *Crkva, karizma i vlast*, Zagreb: Stvarnost, p.54.

²⁸⁴ Maier M. (2005). *Oscar Romero: učitelj duhovnosti*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, p. 37.

²⁸⁵ *Ignacio Ellacuría* was a Spanish and Salvadoran theologian, a Jesuit. He dealt with the "reality of the Third World", which he saw as the reality of the so-called "crucified nations", which, in addition to the reality of the civilization of poverty, constitutes its second constitutive element.

²⁸⁶ Sobrino, Jon. (2011). *Izvan sirotinje nema spasenja, mali utopijsko proročki ogledi*, Rijeka: Ex Libris, pp. 21-22; orig. *Fuera de los pobres no hay salvación*, Trotta, Madrid, 2007.

of the real dimensions of poverty has taken roots only recently, "... *Christian communities also better recognize their own responsibilities in those situations, as well as the obstacles they can represent in an effort of people to realize themselves as people, whether they are oppressed or the oppressors.*"²⁸⁷

The Christian sensibility of *Gutiérrez* tells us that the oppressors too are void of the chance to become fulfilled as people. We should not forget the words Christ uttered on the Calvary, "Forgive them Father, for they don't know what they are doing!" (St. Lucas 23,34)

It could be concluded that Medellín and Puebla represented a framework to formally accept one of the theological doctrines born in Latin America. Unfortunately, this doctrine didn't succeed in lowering the threshold of the existing tensions. On the other hand, it enabled the formation of atypical political and economic structures at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century as, for example, is the Chavez-ism in Venezuela or the regime of Evo Morales in Bolivia. At the end, it could be said that the *Theology of Liberation* sprung from the century old, symbiotic relationship between the Latin American people and its Church.

VI.5. Theology of Revolution and Liberation

Many authors suggest that it's appropriate, when discussing various aspects of the Theology of Liberation, to refer to it in plural – "Theologies of Liberation". There are opposing views of this theology due to varied fractions (for example H. Assman vs. G. Gutierrez), and their definition of the term "liberation", and the methods of its implementation. For example, according to one opinion, the stages of this achievement should be aligned in this order: *first the liberation from the sins, then from the social ills, and then from the economic exploitation*; according to the other opinion, it's necessary first and foremost *to achieve the social and political liberation using any means available, including the revolution.*²⁸⁸ Revolution, as a drastic overturn in the individual and social positions, can be seen as the mean to achieve both individual and social freedom.

Strong antirevolutionary stance was stemming from the Pope Leo XII and his encyclical *Rerum novarum*, which was, de facto, against any social

²⁸⁷ Gutiérrez, G. (1989). *Teologija oslobođenja* (orig. *Teología de la Liberación*, 1971, Lima, Peru), Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, p. 68.

²⁸⁸ Vesely, E. (1979). Crkva u Latinskoj Americi. *Obnovljeni Život*, 34. (5.), 404-443. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/55243>.

conflict, fitting snugly into the Catholic teaching of the organic interconnection between the social classes. *But there are not a few who are imbued with evil principles and eager for revolutionary change, whose main purpose is to stir up disorder and incite their fellows to acts of violence. The authority of the law should intervene to put restraint upon such firebrands, to save the working classes from being led astray by their maneuvers, and to protect lawful owners from spoliation* (Rerum Novarum).²⁸⁹ Even the progressive Pope Paul VI, in his speech in Bogota in 1968, labels the violence and revolution as opposite to the spirit of Christianity. The year before, in the encyclical *Populorum progressio*, he states that ... *revolutionary uprisings are propagating new injustices (...) establishing new inequalities, and fetching new catastrophes* (*Populorum Progressio* Reform, Not Revolution § 30.31). The situation Latin American Church found itself in after Medellin prompted Pope Paul VI to release an important document – *Evangelii nuntiandi*, about the discord between the violence and Gospel, as well as about the evangelistic liberation.

Archbishop *Helder Câmara*, was one of the Latin American clerics who advocated for the peaceful social revolution.²⁹⁰ He does believe that the structural changes are needed in Latin America, but that they can be achieved without the coup's d'état, wars and similar. He holds that *there is no deep, radical transformation of the world, of the countries and of the people without God*. Jon Sobrino uses two examples of the formation of 'new society': one in Salvador built on the opposition to all established sources of the power, including Church, and the other in Nicaragua where the revolution succeeded and where the new government embraced the Church.²⁹¹ Before the revolution in 1959, Cuban Church was a weak institution whose clergy was coherent (approximately 75% of Catholic priests and male religious were Spaniards).²⁹² During the revolution, thanks to its traditional moral authority in Cuban society, the clergy was able to mobilize the counter-revolutionary

²⁸⁹ Rerum Novarum, http://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum.html

²⁹⁰ *Helder Câmara* was the first secretary in CELAM, until 1963. In *Rio de Janeiro* he took on the social and economic problems through the organization Catholic Action, Mlivončić, I. (1988). *Crkva u Latinskoj Americi, Školske novine*, pp. 138-142.

²⁹¹ Sobrino, J. (2011). *Izvan sirotinje nema spasenja, mali utopijsko proročki ogledi*, Rijeka: Ex Libris, p. 53.orig. *Fuera de los pobres no hay salvación*, Trotta, Madrid, 2007.

²⁹² Margaret Crahan, Henry R. Luce, *Religion and Revolution: Cuba and Nicaragua*, Latin American Program, Wilson Center, Working papers, no. 174, 1987. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/wp174_religion_and_revolution._cuba_and_nicaragua.pdf

energy. However, the unity of the Cuban Church did not grow into a long-term threat to the revolutionary government, due to the fact that over half the priests, religious, and lay leaders left the country by 1965. At the beginning of the Cuban revolution, Pope John XXIII advised the Cuban episcopate not to create tensions with the government, and in 1961 he appointed to Cuba an Italian diplomat, Monsignor Cesare Zacchi, whose task was to improve the relationship between the Church and state.

The Nicaraguan Church, on the other hand, was more people-oriented and less elitist.²⁹³ In 1979, it had many devout members, but it was both theologically and politically split to such an extent that one part of the clergy participated in the Sandinista government, and the other, more conservative part served as an institutional base for counter-revolution. In a word, the Nicaraguan Church has failed to mobilize believers more massively neither for, nor against the Nicaraguan revolution. Unlike in Cuba, the Nicaraguan clergy and devout did not emigrate in large numbers, regardless of their political choices. As for the attitude of Vatican towards the Sandinista revolution, since 1980, Pope John Paul II has generally supported the critics of Sandinistas, especially Cardinal Obando y Bravo. The Pope's visit to Nicaragua in March of 1983 was seen, as an encouragement to the Cardinal and to the Sandinista opposition.

The priests whose names are connected with the support to the Sandinista revolution are: *Miguel D'Escoto*, *Edgard Parrales*, brothers *Ernesto* and *Fernando Cardenal*²⁹⁴ all of which served in the government of Daniel

²⁹³ As opposed Cuba where the Catholic Church mainly served the elite in the urban areas, in Nicaragua it penetrated the rural parts. That was accomplished with the help of lay preachers called the Delegates of the word and the Christian Basic Units (CEBs). Ibid.

²⁹⁴ *Miguel d'Escoto*, priest and diplomat. He was a President of the General Assembly of UN and the minister for the foreign affairs on Nicaragua. He opposed: American militarism, destruction of the environment by the capitalists, proliferation of nuclear weapons and other. <https://www.theguardian.com/profile/miguel-d-escoto-brockmann>; <https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/fr-miguel-descoto-put-his-priestly-life-service-poor>; *Edgard Parrales*, priest, lawyer, and ambassador for Sandinistas in the Organization of American States – OAS. <https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/fr-miguel-descoto-put-his-priestly-life-service-poor>; *Ernesto Cardenal*, priest, poet, minister for the cultural affairs for Sandinistas, spokesman for the Sandinista struggle against the Somoza family, and one of the ideological and political leaders of the *Theology of Liberation*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/n79058833/ernesto-cardenal-nicaragua-1925/>; *Fernando Cardenal*, Jesuit priest. In 1972, he founded the Revolutionary Christian Movement to propagate, recruit, and to change the image

Ortega Saavedro. After many unsuccessful attempts of the orders they belong to and of Vatican to convince them to resign their governmental positions, they were suspended by Rome in 1985.²⁹⁵

Some authors speculate that the arrival of the Pope John Paul II in Latin America to attend the Conference in Puebla was an attempt to enhance the unity within this Church (especially toward the revolution) and avoid potential disintegration. Hence, in his speech he reaffirmed that the Latin American Church belongs to the 'general Church' of Rome. It's important to note that the bishops in Puebla condemned the guerrilla, every kind of violence, and that they disapproved of both liberal capitalism and Marxism.²⁹⁶ At the opening of the Conference in Puebla, Pope encourages the Latin American Church to be independent from any political system and to remain committed to the sole cause – to its people. The 'liberation' therefore, can't be reduced to a single dimension (economic, political, social, or cultural), but it has to be integrated. In Puebla, Pope assigned the political activity to the lay people and separated it from the real liberation that should be preached via three truths: through Christ, through the Church, and through the men. In 1982, Pontif through Congregation for Clergy forbid the priests from undertaking political activities. He also declares a change in administration of the Jesuit Society. He was motivated by theirs political engagements within the Catholic movements in Latin America.²⁹⁷ Regardless of this, as the CIA reports, *radical Mexican bishops supported the violence of the revolutionary leftist in the neighbouring countries, despite the fact that the official political statements of the Mexican clergy were not allowed.*²⁹⁸ In 1984, during the same pontificate Holy See issues its formal reaction on the *Theology of*

of Sandinistas from the Marxistic-revolutionary to the Christian-revolutionary movement. *Liberation Theology: Religion, Reform and Revolution*, A Research Paper, CIA, April 1986, p.11. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP97R00694R000600050001-.pdf>

²⁹⁵ Patricia Lefevre, *Fr. Miguel D'Escoto put his priestly life at the service of the poor*, Jun 13, 2017, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/people/fr-miguel-descoto-put-his-priestly-life-service-poor>

²⁹⁶ Fidel Castro in 23 hours of interviews with a Brazilian liberation theologian, Frei Betto, published as *Fidel and Religion*, expressed his enthusiasm for the movement and called for a "strategic and lasting alliance" between Marxists and Christians "to transform the world." Paul E. Sigmund, *Liberation Theology: An historical evaluation*, Number 176, Working Papers, Wilson Center in 1985-86.

²⁹⁷ Mlivončić, Ivica, *Church in Latin America*, School Paper, Zagreb, 1988, p. 76.

²⁹⁸ *Liberation Theology: Religion, Reform and Revolution*, A Research Paper, CIA, April 1986, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP97R00694R000600050001-9.pdf>

Liberation. In the document of the Congregation for the Faith Doctrine called *Instruction on some Aspects of the Theology of Liberation*, the Christendom was warned about the danger coming from the doctrinal problems – mainly from the use of Marxism when analyzing the social reality.²⁹⁹ As a follow up, Holy See forbids its clerics to participate in the Sandinista revolution. That was also the year of Boff's 'repentant silence'. On the other hand, there were many examples of priests' participation in the revolution, in the guerrilla fights, and many other manifestations of the political activity. *Camilo Torres Restrepo*, for example, hung the robe and joined the Columbian guerrilla movement, which he thought has a Christian character. Even while a revolutionary, he was guided by the Christian law, *love your neighbour as you love yourself* (Mk 12,30 and 31).

Finally, by the end of 90's, the Theology of Liberation was partially accepted by the official Church structures in Rome – its implications were reduced to the spiritual and individual sin. Not taking into the consideration the social and political dimension could mean that the intent was to weaken the original force of the Latin American theological thought. Pope Atkins uses the Thomas Sanders idea about the decision-making process within the Church which sees a gap between the ideal model and the end-product – the formalized Church policy. Atkins concludes that, *the formal Church teaching tends to track behind the social change*.³⁰⁰ It's important to note the broad hypothesis Ivan Vallier has developed to show the importance of the interdependence between the religion, then the moral integration of the society, and the political action. He thinks that the Latin American political instability could be at least partially solved in the presence of the strong religious-moral foundation around which the political processes could be stabilized.³⁰¹ After all, moral without religion exists, but there is no religion without moral.

²⁹⁹ Ivica Mastruko, introduction to: Leonardo Boff. (1987). *Crkva, karizma i vlast* (*Church, Carisma and Government*), Zagreb: Stvarnost, pp. 18-19.

³⁰⁰ Atkins, G. Pope. (1999). *Latin America and the Caribbean in the International System*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 135-143.

³⁰¹ Vallier, I. (1970). *Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., p. 45.

VII. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND VATICAN

When it comes to relations between the Vatican and Latin American countries, they have always been very complex, as they are based on both conventional bilateral diplomatic relations and the spiritual leadership of the One should be mindful, however, that the former complete integration of the Church into the functioning of the Iberian system of colonialism in the New World resulted in the region forming a generally negative attitude within newly formed states toward the role of the Church during colonial period. In short, relations between the Vatican and Latin America have long been burdened by the past. On the other hand, the established links between the traditional Roman Catholic religion and Latin American non-religious spheres specifically influenced church-civil relations in the Latin American continent. *“Since nonreligious elites tended to control and take responsibility for the Church, the clergy looked to them instead of being oriented to the international hierarchy or to other sectors of the priesthood.”*³⁰² Such a constellation allowed the control of church officials by the Latin American non-religious elite. That control persisted for several centuries and largely determined the direction of Latin American history. Furthermore, it is important to point out that ecclesiastical independence in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies was long “shackled” by two concordats, first signed by the Holy See with Spain in 1753 and then with Portugal in 1857. These two concordats transferred ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Pope to monarchs.

The period of gaining independence of the Latin American republics followed, breaking up with the Spanish royal patronage, but not with the legacy of royalism and the Vatican policy of “ultramontane”, which implied the pope’s supreme authority on matters of religion and church discipline.³⁰³ It should be emphasized that the Church-State relationship has had many

³⁰² Vallier, I. (1970). *Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., pp. 24-25

³⁰³ Ultramontane (Latin *ultramontane*) means unconditionally loyal, in this case the pope.

variations, depending on which Latin American country it is. The Holy See has established bilateral diplomatic relations with a number of Latin American countries. There have been cases where the relations have been discontinued and re-established as with Colombia, with which diplomacy have had numerous upheavals.³⁰⁴ In the circumstances of the liberalism of the newly emerging states, in the second half of the 19th century the Church began to reconcile with the fact of the loss of world power and privileges, that is, the triumph of the secular state. The secular state, on the other hand, wanted control over the appointment of bishops, the seizure of resources belonging to the Spanish Crown, exclusive authority over national politics, and above all the marginalization of Rome.³⁰⁵ *Between 1850 and 1960, the doctrine of the two perfect societies became official in concordatarian negotiations with most so-called Catholic states.*³⁰⁶ It was this abrupt post-independence separation of the Church from the state in the region, that became a new challenge in relations between the Holy See and Latin American states. In general, the idea of separating Church and State was considered contrary to tradition, even hostile to the Church. Yet it came to life, first in Mexico in 1873, and then in 1887 in Colombia, and 1890 in Brazil. Later, in the twentieth century, separation took place in Cuba in 1902, followed by Panama in 1904, Uruguay in 1909, Chile in 1925 and finally, Bolivia in 1962. Likewise, there were many ambivalent attitudes toward the Church, which slowed down the stabilization of relations between the Vatican and Latin American countries. For example, the changing Mexican society and the political elites did not have a uniform stance on the 1917 Constitutional Decisions on the position of the Church and its social role, neither liberals nor conservatives. Mexican President Plutarco Elias Calles, for example, expelled over one hundred foreign priests, along with Caruana, a nuncio to the Holy See. In addition, Mexico opened the door to the persecution of the Catholic Church when, in 1926, Calles, with the

³⁰⁴ In Colombia they were first established in 1835, then discontinued in 1853, and in 1881 they were restored. Diplomatic relations were also discontinued and restored with the following countries: Argentina 1884 (restored 1900), Chile 1882 (rebuilt 1902), Paraguay 1884 (rebuilt 1919), Ecuador 1901 (restored 1939), Uruguay 1884 (restored 1939). Mexico officially restored diplomatic relations with the Vatican as late as 1992.

³⁰⁵ Lynch, J. (2012). *New Worlds: a religious history of Latin America*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, pp. 191-192.

³⁰⁶ Minnerath, R. (1998). The Position of the Catholic Church Regarding Concordats from a Doctrinal and Pragmatic Perspective, 47 *Cath. U. L. Rev.* 468, Available at: <http://scholarship.law.edu/lawreview/vol47/iss2/9>

help of Congress and new laws, introduced penalties for “religious crimes”.³⁰⁷ There is no doubt that Calles entered into direct conflict with the Vatican in this way. A similar case happened in Argentina at the time of Peron. His supporters demonstrated against the Church, the Ministry of Education became in charge of church schools, divorces were legalized, and more. The Vatican excommunicated Peron and members of his government.³⁰⁸

In Latin America, both Romanization of the Latin American Church and the liberalization of young states happened simultaneously. In the 1970s, the reaction to liberalism, in terms of negative consequences for the Latin American Church, went in two directions: 1) the creation of militant governments that carried out state terror (Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay) which affected the priests too, and 2) conservatism within the church hierarchy grew stronger. During this period, the Holy See in Latin America endorsed conservative movements and even nominated conservative nuncios ‘*whose job it was to maintain cordial relations with military juntas and not condemn their abuses*’.³⁰⁹ Against this backdrop of this kind of Holy See politics stood the fear of communism. However, the pontificate of John XXIII brought *Ostpolitik* as the new policy of the Holy See, which advocated negotiations with everyone regardless of ideological differences and openness (*apertura*). This policy made it possible to establish diplomatic relations between the Holy See and all Latin American countries in the early twentieth century. The church has thus gained a better position in the region where the largest number of Catholics in the world live. On the other hand, in terms of how conflicts are resolved in Latin American countries, there has been a noticeable evolution from formerly unilateral actions in conflict resolution, to resolving them through arbitration by official international institutions (for example the International Court of Justice) or, increasingly, by papal mediation diplomacy.

³⁰⁷ Calles has secularized education (Article 3 of the Constitution); worship was allowed exclusively in the church while the building itself was no longer the property of the church; the state had the right to give existing and future church temples, through concessions, to religious communities, but only for the purpose of worship supervised by the state government; the clergy were no longer entitled to express their views on government and politics; According to Article 130 of the Constitution, only priests born in Mexico were allowed to worship; priests were forbidden to appear in public places in priestly vestments.

³⁰⁸ Kos-Stanišić, L. (2014). Populizam u Argentini, *Političke perspektive*, 4(1), pp. 31-55.

³⁰⁹ Stephen J. C. Andes, *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, p. 18, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40

VII.1. Historical Genesis of Papal Diplomacy

At the beginning of the second half of the eighth century, a powerful state emerged, encompassing entire central Italy. It was the Papal States (lat. *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*), led by the pope as its spiritual and world leader.³¹⁰ Pontifical diplomacy was developing within this state, *de facto* dating to the time of the pontificate of Pope Nicholas I (St. Nicholas 858-867). Due to combination of historical circumstances, the pope requires his representatives at the court of Frank to deal with political affairs in addition to church matters.³¹¹ It can be said that modern papal diplomacy was founded in the XIII and XIV centuries, with the emergence of a new category of papal representatives, named apostolic nuncios (*nuntii apostolici*).³¹² These “apostolic messengers” were originally tax collectors, sent from Rome to requisition funds for the papal court. Eventually, they were given ecclesiastical tasks and became more fixed in nature, taking on a pronounced diplomatic role.³¹³ Papal diplomacy, on the other hand, has been strengthened by concordats since the twelfth century. The institution of the concordat was reached through the search for a satisfactory legal form that would overcome the Church-state conflicts. The first was the *Concordat of Worms* (Germany, in 1122), which dealt with the *Invesiture Controversy*.³¹⁴

During the XVIII century, twelve Vatican concordats were signed. Then, in the XIX century, there were numerous concordats with European countries as well as Latin American ones. The explanation is that by accepting

³¹⁰ In 754 the Donation of Pepin founded the Papal State, making the Bishop of Rome – now known as the pope – the ruler of the independent state. Boris Vukicevic, Pope Francis and the challenges of inter-civilization diplomacy, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 58 (2): 65-79 [2015] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329201500204>,

³¹¹ Arch. Antonini, O. (2015). *Diplomatske aktivnosti Svete Stolice*, *Ciljevi papske diplomatije*, Beograd: *Megatrend Revija*, Vol. 12, No 2, p.7.

³¹² *Nuncio* (1) In Europe in the middle ages, a messenger or ‘living letter’. (2) Since the sixteenth century, a resident representative of the Holy See with the same rank as an ambassador. ... At the Congress of Vienna in 1815 it was agreed that the papal nuncio would always be the dean of the diplomatic corps (and there is an echo of this in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations).

³¹³ Stephen J. C. Andes, *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40

³¹⁴ *The right to investiture* meant the exercise of the right of free appointment of bishops. The concordat of Worm, also known as *Pactum Calixtinum*, was signed by Pope Callistus II and Henry V. It ended the long controversy over investiture, initiated as early as Pope Gregory VII and his efforts to reform the Church (the Gregorian Reform). The First Lateran Council endorsed the Worm Concordat.

the *Patronato Republicano*, as reflection of European liberalism, the young republics exercised influence and control over the Church in Latin America, which the Holy See sought to mitigate by signing *concordats* with them.³¹⁵ *The history of concordats is parallel to the history of the reappropriation of the sovereignty of the Church in its internal affairs.(...) Only where two subjects of equal legal capacity decide to settle their common interests is a concordat possible.*³¹⁶ After the Napoleonic wars, Pope Pius VII (1800-1823) established a diplomatic branch of the Secretariat of State, called The *Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs* (Lat. *Sacra Congregatio pro Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordinariis*), which in 1968 changed its name to the *Council on Public Affairs of the Church*. It's called today the *Second Department of the Secretariat of State*, to which the right to direct foreign affairs of the Holy See has been delegated since the early 19th century. *'The Papacy's foreign policy has been debated, refined, and implemented by this Vatican department, including relations with Latin America.'*³¹⁷

Papal diplomacy officially survived until the dissolution of the *Papal States*, which took place after Napoleon's downfall. In 1870, Italy declared Rome its capital, and the Papal States became part of a united Italy. Since then, for six decades (1870-1929) during which resolving of so-called *Roman Question* was postponed, Vatican has not recognized Italy as a state. After 1870, the political power of the Holy See declined dramatically. Diplomatic relations were maintained with fifteen countries in the world, eight of which were from Latin America.³¹⁸ In such unusual circumstances, where the Holy See (lat. *Sancta Sedes*)³¹⁹ as the governing body of the Catholic Church

³¹⁵ *Concordat* (cath. ecl.) – an agreement, a kind of legal settlement between the Holy See and the authorities of a certain state, on an issue that concerns both parties.

³¹⁶ Minnerath, R. (1998). The Position of the Catholic Church Regarding Concordats from a Doctrinal and Pragmatic Perspective, *47 Cath. U. L. Rev.* 468.

Available at: <http://scholarship.law.edu/lawreview/vol47/iss2/9>

³¹⁷ Stephen J. C. Andes, *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, 2016, p.6; <http://latinamericanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-40> accessed 04.10.2016

³¹⁸ Stephen J. C. Andes, *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40 Printed from the Oxford Research Encyclopedia, Latin American History, date: 04 October 2016

³¹⁹ According to the Bible, St. Peter was authorized by Jesus to lead the Church. *"And I say to you that you are Peter (stone), and on this stone I will build my Church, and the gates of hell will not overcome it."* (Matthew 16:18) The term Holy See, therefore, signifies that each pope rules from the throne of St. Petra. It is also a metaphor for

functions without its own territory, the popes called themselves “prisoners of the Vatican” – Pope Pius IX, declared himself a “prisoner” in the Vatican’s Apostolic Palace, de facto a ruler without a state. Within Italy, the time of the Roman Question remained open during five pontificates before the compromise was resolved in 1929. This was also the period of the Church’s reform, which followed a parallel historical process of gaining Latin American independence. “The professionalization of the Vatican diplomatic corps (1889–1914) conformed papal diplomacy to the norms of the international state system, incrementally increasing the political and spiritual legitimacy of the Holy See after its loss of temporal power to the Italian state, sparking the so-called “Roman Question” (1870–1929).”³²⁰ Liberal Italy had deprived the popes of so much world power that they were forced to maximize what they had left. Hence the spiritual control over believers around the world grew stronger. The shift in relations between the Italian state and the Catholic Church occurred in 1929, with the signing of the Lateran Treaties (*Lateran Accords*³²¹), which legally shaped the relationship between the two entities. With this agreement, the Holy See recognized the legitimacy of the Kingdom of Italy, that is, Pope Pius XI officially renounced the Papal States.³²²

The Vatican, on the other hand, becomes a territorially independent state-city (*Stato della Città del Vaticano*), the State of the Vatican City with boundaries within the 44-hectare walled territory. Within this space, the Holy See gains sovereignty in the conduct of Church affairs. At the same time, the Vatican received financial compensation for the previously seized territory. The *Roman question* was thus resolved. At the end of the XIX and at the beginning of the XX century, at the time of the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878-1903), Vatican diplomacy gradually began to regain its reputation,

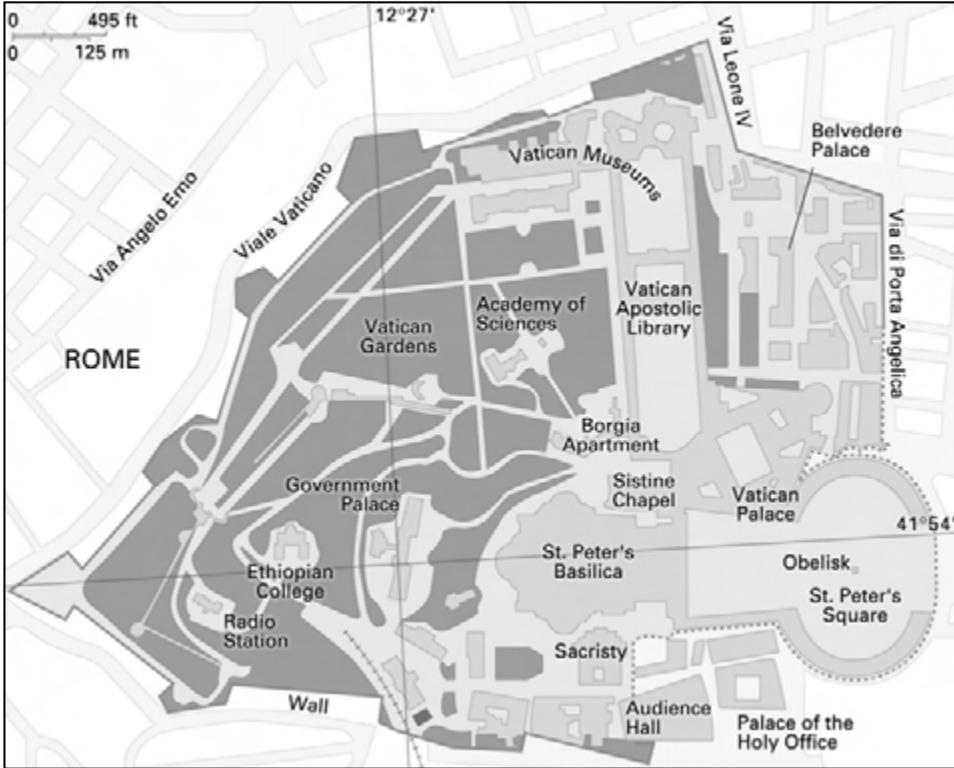
the primacy of Rome as the seat of the pope and his supreme authority in the Roman Catholic Church.

³²⁰ Stephen J. C. Andes, *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40

³²¹ The Lateran Treaty between the Holy See and Italy became part of the Italian Constitution in 1945. An integral part of this treaty – the *Treaty of Conciliation* – guaranteed the independence of the Vatican State and the sovereignty of the Pope’s rule as a monarch in its territory, while the Pope in turn recognized the Italian state and Rome as its capital. The Lateran Treaty was revised in 1984.

³²² Murphy, F. X. (1974). Vatican Politics: Structure and Function, *World Politics*, 26, pp. 542-559 doi: 10.2307/2010100; André Géraud, The Lateran Treaties: a Step in Vatican Policy, *Foreign Affairs*, July 1929

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1929-07-01/lateran-treaties-step-vatican-policy>



Map 5. Vatican (Stato della Città del Vaticano)

Source: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Vatican-City>

shaken by the Roman Question. It was reformed and professionalized. In a word, it was raised to a higher level and consequently included in world diplomacy. In this way, the political and spiritual legitimacy of Vatican diplomacy was strengthened.

It is important to point out the difference between the Holy See and the city-state of the Vatican. *The Holy See* institutionally represents the Government of the Catholic Church, including its diplomacy – *The Pontifical Diplomacy*. It is the responsibility of the Holy See to sign international treaties, and then exchange diplomatic agents and various other diplomatic activities. Its diplomacy is most used by the colloquial name *Vatican diplomacy*, but the Holy See cannot be equated with the city-state of the Vatican as the proprietary geographical area of the Roman Catholic Church that secures the pope's sovereignty. The Holy See as the subject of international relations is represented by the *Pope* as the supreme leader of the Church, the *cardinals*, and the administrative body of the Roman Catholic Church – *Roman*

Curia (Lat. *Curia Romana*) which represents the papal or church government.³²³ Two groups of priests can be observed within the Curia: one consisting of long-term career diplomats; and another, in which those who remain for five or ten years are in the Curia. Of course, the *Diocesan priests*, who were trained for diplomatic service through the Pontifical Church Academy or *Pontificia Accademia Ecclesiastica*, represent the very elite of the Vatican civil service.³²⁴

The Vatican has the Secretariat of State (*La Segreteria di Stato*) in charge of the Holy See's external relations, with its two sections: 1) General Affairs Section (*Sezione degli Affari Generali*) and 2) Sections for relations with the states of the (*Sezione dei Rapporti con gli Stati*).³²⁵ Papal diplomacy is considered to be the most important office of the State Relations Section, which includes the *Council for the Public Affairs of the Church*. The State Secretariat is chaired by the Cardinal Secretary of State³²⁶ who is, as the pope's closest associate in the running of the universal Church, responsible for the diplomatic and political activities of the Holy See; while in some circumstances he even represents the Holy Father personally.³²⁷ *Pontifical councils* are *dicasteries* (organizational units) of the Holy See, in charge of diplomacy and foreign affairs. The Pope is most important in the Holy See's diplomatic pyramid, because he is the one who makes the final decision on everything. The Holy See's diplomacy is organizationally based on a wide network of ambassadors – the *Apostolic Nuncios*. Ever since the early 19th century, the nuncio as Pontifical Representatives of the Pontiff influenced the strengthening and effectiveness of the connection between local churches and the Holy See. They perform their most important function through the official

³²³ In the new book of Roman Catholic canon law – *Codex Iuris Canonici (1983): In this Code the term "Apostolic See" or "Holy See" applies not only to the Roman Pontiff but also to the Secretariat of State, the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church and other institutions of the Roman Curia, unless the nature of the matter or the context of the words makes the contrary evident.* Robert J. Araujo, *The International Personality and Sovereignty of the Holy See*, 50 *Cath. U. L. Rev.* 291, p. 293. Available at: <http://scholarship.law.edu/lawreview/vol50/iss2/3>

³²⁴ Reese, T. J. (1998). *Inside the Vatican: The Politics and Organization of the Catholic Church*, Harvard University Press, p. 149.

³²⁵ In 1988, Pope John Paul II reformed the Roman Curia by the Apostolic Constitution *Pastor Bonus*, dividing the State Secretariat into two sections.

³²⁶ This fits the role of Foreign Minister in the governments of other states.

³²⁷ http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/secretariat_state/documents/rc_seg-st_12101998_profile_en.html

Accessed 28.06.2019

section of the Roman Curia relating to foreign affairs – *the Papal Secretariat of State. Nunciatures* of the Holy See combine ecclesial and civic affairs, bearing spiritual and political legitimacy.³²⁸ It is this dual nature that makes them different from other embassies.

The *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations* of 1961 defined a hierarchy of diplomatic ranks. According to Article 15: *ambassadors, nuncios, and heads of mission of equivalent rank are in the first; envoys, ministers, and internuncios in the second; and chargés d'affaires in the third class. The Convention points out that the distinction only matters as to precedence and etiquette* (Article 14). *Precedence within the classes is determined by the date and time the heads of mission took up their function except for the possibility of giving automatic preference, as is done in several States, to the representative of the Holy See* (Article 16).³²⁹ At the United Nations Conference on Consular Relations, held in Vienna in 1963, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli signed the convention on behalf of the Holy See. The Holy See's diplomatic staff is, by its quality, a high-ranking cadre in world diplomacy. His training is the responsibility of the Roman *Church Diplomatic Academy* (lat. Pontificia Ecclesiastica Academia).³³⁰ Potential candidates for the 'first' and 'second' class of apostolic nuncios (*apostolic nuncios*) are trained in this most elite educational institution in Vatican diplomacy. In training future needs, the emphasis is on their extensive intellectual and spiritual education. However,

³²⁸ Nuncio is Pope's diplomatic representative in a foreign country; Nuncio hands the letter of credence to the Head of State, which puts him in the equal position of ambassador. The first papal nuncio was named in Venice in 1500. The Nunciature is the seat of the Vatican Diplomatic Representative abroad, it is ranked as an Embassy.

³²⁹ Hestermeyer, H. P. (2012). *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations* (1961). In R. Wolfrum (Ed.), *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law: Volume X* (pp. 697-709). Oxford University Press.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/41935549_Vienna_Convention_on_Diplomatic_Relations_1961/link/57bbebeb08ae8a9fc4c285fe/download

³³⁰ Its full name is the Roman Church Diplomatic Academy of Nobles (*Ecclesiastical Diplomatic Academy of Nobles*). The first Academy was founded back in 1701, at the time of the pontificate of Clement XI. He founded the monk Pietro Garagni. Since October 2019, Pope Francis has appointed Archbishop Joseph S. Marina to run this elite establishment. Marino had diplomatic experience as a nun in the US. Then, he was part of a Vatican peacekeeping delegation that arrived in Belgrade in 1999 on the Kosovo issue. Also, a member of the Pope's delegation who, in 2003, before the outbreak of the Iraq war, was sent to convey to the US President George W. Bush the Pope's plea for peace. <https://www.ncronline.org/news/quick-reads/pope-names-us-archbishop-head-vatican-academy-diplomats>

personal integrity centered in Christ is even more valuable than education, ...'but overall, they insist that the priestly character of their diplomatic mission be deepened and lived.³³¹

The interwar period, 1919-1938, two types of papal politics were dominant: 1) the concordats between states and 2) Catholic activism, implemented through: a) pragmatic diplomacy and b) lay activism (a non-partisan political model of civic activism). Through the policies of the Concordat and the Catholic Action (Acción Católica), which the Vatican relied heavily on between the two world wars, a practical approach to diplomacy was manifested, as well as a highly regulated, non-party political model of laic activism. Unlike in Europe, concordat politics in the period between the two world wars had no significant success in Latin America.³³² Although negotiations (Vatican-Chile 1925-1928) and the establishment of formal relations (Panama, Cuba, Guatemala, El Salvador) between the Church and Latin American countries were in this period. Through its activity, especially among the indigenous, rural population, the church was improving its position.

The time of the pontificate of Pius XII (1939-1958), was the period of the unprecedented policy of anti-communism of the Holy See, which was accused of creating often criticized alliance of the Catholic Church with conservative governments and authoritarian-dictatorial regimes in Latin America. This criticism was based on perception that the Catholic Church was silent in the face of the crimes and did not publicly stand by the victims.³³³ In short, caring for people should be a priority over outdated doctrinal concerns.

³³¹ Arch. Antonini, O. (2015). *Diplomatske aktivnosti Svete Stolice, Ciljevi papske diplomatije*, Beograd: *Megatrend Revija*, Vol. 12, No 2, pp. 5-16.

³³² 'The concordat provided a legal avenue, recognized by international law, for the protection of Church rights and the preservation of Church control of education, church property, and the appointment of bishops.' Andes, S. J. C. *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40

³³³ Stephen J. C. Andes, *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40; Vukičević, Boris, 2008, *The Holy See and Principles of its International Relations Activities*, Sociološka luča II/1, Podgorica, 2008, p. 46.

VII.2. Main features of the diplomatic activity of the Holy See

Italy's territorial expansion, to the detriment of the Papal States, did not diminish the power and influence of Papal diplomacy, which was later reaffirmed many times in the modern international political system. The Vatican was not a member of the League of Nations, but Pope Benedict (Benedict XV, 1914-1922) supported the creation of this organization in 1919. He then emphasized that "*the principles of world justice, peace and Christian love are common to the Holy See and President Woodrow Wilson.*"³³⁴ The creation of another significant organization was supported by the Vatican. It was the creation of the United Nations in 1944, in which the Vatican State has had permanent observer status since 1964 and is the only religious entity among the 193 member states. The Holy See has repeatedly sent significant messages through the UN. For example, when resolution 2178 was adopted in 2014, condemning Islamic violent extremism and terrorism, Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Pietro Parolin, said at the UN Security Council: "*In order to counter terrorism, people and countries must achieve social justice for all and mutual cultural understanding.*"³³⁵ In 2015, in a speech at the UN General Assembly, Pope Francis advocated nuclear disarmament and the solution of interstate problems through diplomacy.³³⁶ It should be emphasized that the Holy See signed and ratified in UN the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 2017. The Holy See, as a sovereign international entity, has been a permanent observer in the World Trade Organization (WTO) since 1997. The fact that there was no obligation to start membership negotiations beforehand was an exception to the practice of this international organization. Vatican has been a full member of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (KEBS) since 1973. She has become a member of several world organizations, as well as a permanent observer status in the Council of Europe. In the context of relations with Latin America, it is significant that the Holy See has the status of a permanent observer in the Organization of American States (OAS).

³³⁴ Vukićević, Boris, 2008, *The Holy See and Principles of its International Relations Activities*, Sociološka luča II/1, Podgorica, 2008, p. 44.

³³⁵ Retrieved 24.02.2017, from <https://worldinterfaithharmonyweek.com/diplomacy-of-the-conscience-the-holy-see-at-the-united-nations/>

³³⁶ Rieck, C. E. & Niebuhr, D. *Microstate and Superpower the Vatican in International Politics*, 10|2015, Berlin KAS *International Reports*, https://www.academia.edu/29094466/Microstate_and_Superpower_-_The_Vatican_in_International_Politics?auto=download

It can be concluded that the Vatican has honed its diplomacy for centuries, almost to perfection. Francis Rooney, former US ambassador to the Vatican, describes it as a top-down hierarchy based on firmly grounded sources from which different views of events around the world can be drawn. *Its extensive and reliable network of clergy and parishes, of nuns and leaders of Catholic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) give it a clear understanding and granular feel for world events, sometimes to the surprise of our own State Department or CIA.*³³⁷ Also, similar qualities of Vatican diplomacy, for which it is ranked high in the world, states Archbishop Monsignor Antonini, a former nuncio in the Republic of Serbia, *'The diplomacy of the Holy See is highly esteemed in the world for the texture of its networks, the secrecy and the quality of its information due to its own agents (nuncios, apostolic delegates and the official charge d'affairs) and its unofficial intermediaries.'*³³⁸

When talking about a stable network of papal diplomacy, in today's sense of accredited diplomacy, it first developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe. It was not until the twentieth century that diplomatic expansion was introduced to papal diplomacy, which was gaining global proportions at the beginning of the twenty-first century. So, for example, at the beginning of 2019, the Holy See has full diplomatic relations with 183 countries (with nunciatures in them).³³⁹ Among them are the diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the United States, established as early as 1797, during the Papal States. These relations were terminated by Congressional resolution in 1870, due to events related to the unification of Italy. Full diplomatic relations were re-established in 1984. In the meantime, they were held 'behind the scenes' and through unofficial visits by the personal envoys of some of the US presidents to the Vatican. On the other hand, Pope Paul VI in 1965 visited the United States and later 19 other countries during his pontificate. It is also worth recalling the historic, first papal visit to Latin America, in 1968, when some Popes visited Colombia. This was certainly a major change in the diplomacy of the Holy See, namely its opening up to international relations, given the fact that popes had not left Italy since 1809.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Rooney, F. (2013). *The Global Vatican: An Inside Look at the Catholic Church*, Lanham: Rowman&Littlefield, p. xvii

³³⁸ Arch. Antonini, O. (2015). *Diplomatske aktivnosti Svete Stolice, Ciljevi papske diplomatije*, Beograd: *Megatrend Revija*, Vol. 12, No 2, p. 9.

³³⁹ *Informative Note on the Diplomatic Relations of the Holy See*, retrieved 08.07.2019.

<https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2019/01/07/190107a.html>

³⁴⁰ Luxmoore, J., Pope Francis stands on world stage set by John Paul II, *National Catholic Reporter* Mar 12, 2018, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/vatican/pope-francis>

It could be concluded that the Pope's visit to Colombia influenced him, to announce in 1969 the establishment of a *Populorum Progressio Fund*, to assist poor farmers to secure loans and technical support for economic and social reform in Latin American countries. The founding of the Fund (within the papal commission *Justitia et pax*) was specifically supported by the Vatican with US \$ 1 million raised from the sale of real estate in Paris. According to the pope's idea, the Fund would be further replenished with money intended for weapons from various countries, and its administration was entrusted to the Inter-American Development Bank. Colombian peasants, the "*campesinos*", received the first aid from this fund to achieve the goals of agrarian reform. The reactions to the founding of this Fund varied, from approval to challenge. Most of the criticism was directed toward the Inter-American Development Bank, which was heavily influenced by the US, and was thought to create space for political influence on Latin American development.³⁴¹ A part of that policy advocating negotiations with all states was the *Ostpolitik*, i.e., the *Eastern policy* of the Holy See. Although officially established during the pontificate of Pope John XXIII (1958-1963), it has been shaped and developed during two more pontificates: Paul VI (1963-1978); and John Paul II (1978-2005).³⁴² *Ostpolitik* was a pragmatic policy of Vatican diplomacy, which gradually made it possible to negotiate with almost all states (except "ideologically atheistic"), initially with those from the East, and later with the Latin American countries.³⁴³ A good example of the implementation of this policy is the success of diplomat Agostino Casaroli in opening a dialogue with the atheistic regimes of Eastern Europe. This success contributed to his elevation to the rank of Cardinal and to being appointed a Secretary of State in 1979 by John Paul II.³⁴⁴

stands-world-stage-set-john-paul-ii

³⁴¹ Weil, T. E. and co-authors, *Area Handbook for Colombia*, 1970, WA D.C., p. 477; Mlivončić, I. (1988). *Crkva u Latinskoj Americi*, Zagreb: Školske novine, p. 25.

³⁴² The creator of *Ostpolitik* is considered Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, but it is significant that Pope John XXIII allowed him to apply it. He is also of the opinion that Pope John XXIII created *Ostpolitik*, and that he chose the very skilled diplomat Casaroli as his emissary to implement this policy. Andes, S. J. C. *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*. Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40

³⁴³ Informal contacts with communist governments involved the political release of priests, political prisoners.

³⁴⁴ Caprio, S., *The old and new Ostpolitik of the Holy See (I)*, 19.02.2018. <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Chinese-priest-talks-about-the-enflamed-climate-surrounding-China-Vatican-talks-43177.html>

Ostpolitik was a logical consequence of Pope John XXIII's policies (including policy of *aggiornamento* i.e., updating), with noticeable changes in the sphere of relations with the modern world, negotiating with everyone regardless of ideological differences, and embracing openness (*aperturismo*). At the same time, it marked the abandonment of the *ultramontane* politics of the 19th century. It is an indisputable fact that Pope John XXIII modernized the Church, which was especially evident during the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).³⁴⁵ After the Council, which was also attended by Eastern Orthodox Bishops, the Vatican's foreign policy of detente emerged between Western Europe and the former Communist bloc. Also, progressive Chilean and Brazilian bishops, who participated in the Council, shifted its focus to the problems of poverty and social development in Latin America. In the late 60s and early 70s of the 20th century, priests even formed several leftist groups in Latin America, on some of which they had a decisive influence.³⁴⁶ It is no coincidence that the Vatican has set up conservative nuncios in Brazil since 1964, Chile since 1977 and Argentina since 1974, whose job was to maintain cordial relations with the military juntas and not to decry its abuses.

When it comes to modern times, the Catholic Church, in its diplomatic activities, relies on several basic principles, such as: neutrality, peace, justice; then the respect for the Christian values and dignity of men, as well as defending the human rights, family, and life in general.

VII.2.1. *Diplomatic activities of Holy See in Latin America*

Latin America was, almost as a rule, the place where some of the later top Vatican foreign policy makers gained their previous political experiences.³⁴⁷

This can be explained by the presence of the Vatican in Latin America over

³⁴⁵ Angelo Guiseppe Roncalli (Pope John XXIII) worked in a military hospital during the First World War. Later he was a member of diplomatic missions in Turkey, Greece, and Bulgaria. During World War II he rescued Jews from war-torn areas. He was a Passover nuncio in 1944 in France, then as a Vatican observer since 1952 at UNESCO. True to his ecumenical spirit, he invited members of other Christian denominations to the Second Vatican Council. Matthews, R. (2014). *The Popes, Every Question Answered*, Moseley Road Inc., p.171; 292-293.

³⁴⁶ Peru: ONIS; Argentina: the Priests of the Third World; Chile: Christians for Socialism; Colombia: Golconda. Andes, S. J. C. *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*. Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40

³⁴⁷ It is interesting to recall that Pope Pius IX as a young canon was a member of the famous Muzzi's mission sent to Spanish America in 1824.

several centuries, that is, the historical, cultural and religious ties that have been created over that long period. In addition, it should not be forgotten that this American subcontinent is the largest bastion of Catholicism in the world.

Vatican diplomacy, through its patient and skilful action, has played a key role in the fight to protect the rights of the Catholic Church in Latin America. It meant regaining some of her lost privileges and positions, as well as gaining of the new ones. Particularly important in this context is the importance of concordats, which over time have become a very effective way of solving many interstate political-economic problems and have contributed to building the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in the region. Concordats were a practical way of strengthening the authority of the church, which was built on several components, including tradition, morality, political neutrality, and others.

Modern times have nevertheless required increasingly precise legal instruments, such as: conventions, agreements, *modus vivendi*, and protocols, for many specific issues among states. To avoid confusion, Monsignor Roland Minnerath defines the concordats as follows, '*they are treaties between two subjects of international law, each one sovereign in its own sphere: spiritual and political. They are negotiated, signed, and ratified according to current international practice. Under the regime of the League of Nations, some concordats were even registered in the Record Book of International Treaties in Geneva.*'³⁴⁸ The correlation between the change in Church policy made up since the Second Vatican Council and the number of interstate agreements concluded with the Holy See is shown in the table 5.

Part of the complexity of the relationship between the Vatican and the newly emerging Latin American states, was the process of their recognition by the papacy. Recognition was extremely important to the republics, as they considered the Holy See to be the most important European spiritual power. The initial step was made during the time of Pope Gregory XVI (1831-1846), when the Holy See began to recognize the young Latin American republics.³⁴⁹ During the nineteenth century, the following countries signed concordats

³⁴⁸ Minnerath, R. (1998). *The Position of the Catholic Church Regarding Concordats from a Doctrinal and Pragmatic Perspective*, 47 *Cath. U. L. Rev.* 467-468, <http://scholarship.law.edu/lawreview/vol47/iss2/9>; Kelly, L., & Ojetti, B. (1908). Concordat. In the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved January 16, 2020 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04196a.htm>

³⁴⁹ Significant progress in the relations of the Vatican and Latin American countries was recorded during the pontificate of Pius IX, who founded the *Colegio Pio Latino Americano* in Rome in 1858.

Continent	Treaties stipulated before the end of Vatican II	Treaties stipulated after the end of Vatican II	Sum
Africa	1	19	20
America	11	17	28
Asia	2	12	14
Europe	57	142	199
Sum	71	190	261

Table 5. The amount of treaties with the Holy See

Source: Pontificia Università Gregoriana Facoltà di Diritto Canonico, 06.30. 2022
https://www.iuscangreg.it/accordi_numeri.php

with the Vatican: Bolivia (1851), Costa Rica (1852), Guatemala (1852, 1884), Haiti (1860), Honduras (1861), Nicaragua (1861), San Salvador (1862), Ecuador (1862, 1882), Venezuela (1862), and Colombia (1887, 1892).³⁵⁰ Regardless of the existence of many concordats, the Church didn't succeed *in obtaining any financial support from the Latin American governments for the main mission of Congregation Propaganda Fide*³⁵¹ – for the Evangelization of people.³⁵² What the Church did manage to achieve through concordats was that Roman Catholicism asserted itself as the official state religion, and Catholic education was allowed to enter public schools.

In the twentieth century, the Holy See signed a number of bilateral treaties with Latin American countries including several at the beginning of the twenty-first century: Argentina 1957; 1966; 1992 (Change of the treaty of 1957) – Bolivia 1957; 1958; 1986; 1993, – Brazil 1989; 2008; – Colombia 1973; 1985; – Dominican Republic 1954; 1958; 1990; – Ecuador 1937; 1978; – El Salvador 1968; – Haiti 1860; 1861; 1862; 1940; 1966; 1984 (Change of the treaty of

³⁵⁰ Dussel, E. D. (1981). *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to liberation (1492-1992)*, Grand Rapids, MI, pp. 94-105.; Andes, S. J. C. *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*, Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40; Prieto, V. (2011). *Law and Religion in Colombia: Legal Recognition of religious Entities*, *BYU L. Rev.* 691 pp. 691-693, Available at: <https://digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/lawreview/vol2011/iss3/6> 14/07/2019; Mlivončić, I. (1988). *Crkva u Latinskoj Americi*, Zagreb: Školske novine, p. 100.; Kelly, L, & Ojetti, B, (1908). *Concordat*, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved January 16, 2020 from New Advent

³⁵¹ *Congregations* are administrative divisions of the Roman Curia. In particular, the *Congregation Propaganda Fide*, which was created in 1622, worked to limit the power of the Spanish and Portuguese *Patronatos*.

³⁵² Dussel, E. (1981). *A history of the church in Latin America: colonialism to liberation (1492-1979)*, MI: Grand Rapids, B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, p. 105.

1860) – Paraguay – 2002; Peru – 1980; Venezuela 1964; 1994³⁵³. According to the data for the beginning of 2017, the Vatican had at least one concordat with more than 50 countries, and with some countries even more.³⁵⁴ It is interesting to mention the Colombian Concordat of 1973, because it had broader state control over church affairs (for example, the appointment of a bishop) and therefore did not fit into the general evolution of state-church relations in the region. Some articles of the concordat were declared unconstitutional by the state's Constitutional Court, and in 1992 its revised version was offered, which gave greater autonomy to the state and the church in their respective domains.³⁵⁵ Monsignor Minnerath underlines the contemporary importance of the autonomy of the spheres in which the Church and the state should operate, through the biblical motif, that is, through Jesus' words about the emperor's coin³⁵⁶, "*Render therefore unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's*" (Mt 22, 15-22).³⁵⁷

In any case, the policy of the Holy See, as the seat of a strong international religious organization, had a great influence on Latin America. It is necessary to emphasize, that the Vatican's ecclesiastical policy adapts to the Latin American (and other) nationalism, which shows that historically the Church has not been an active driver of social change, but has been adapting to them.³⁵⁸ This is supported with the partial acceptance of liberation theology by the Vatican at the end of the 20th century, i.e., the acceptance of individual and spiritual sin, while the social and political dimensions of this theology have not been officially recognized. *It is often said that the Holy See employs "soft power" diplomacy, that is, diplomacy that depends not on military, political or economic power, but on persuasion skills.*³⁵⁹ There are indeed numerous examples where

³⁵³ Pontificia Università Gregoriana Facoltà di Diritto Canonico, https://www.iuscan-greg.it/accordi_santa_sede.php?lang=EN&order=fk_staat#maintable

³⁵⁴ Ibid. http://www.concordatwatch.eu/showsite.php?org_id=871

³⁵⁵ Minnerath, R. (1998). *The Position of the Catholic Church Regarding Concordats from a Doctrinal and Pragmatic Perspective*, 47 Cath. U. L. Rev. p. 473, <http://scholarship.law.edu/lawreview/vol47/iss2/9>; Retrieved: <http://scholarship.law.edu/lawreview/vol47/iss2/9>

³⁵⁶ It relates to the question of whether a tax should be given to the Emperor.

³⁵⁷ Archbishop Roland Minnerath, *Caesar's Coin: How Should Church and State Interact?* Lecture in Melbourne, Retrieved: https://staff.acu.edu.au/data/assets/pdf_file/0008/92528/Caesars_Coin.pdf

³⁵⁸ Atkins, G. P. (1989). *Latin America in the International Political system*, Boulder, Colorado: Westviw Press, pp. 135-143.

³⁵⁹ Arch. Antonini, O. (2015)., *Diplomatic activities of the Holy See, Objectives of papal diplomacy*, Megatrend Revija, Vol. 12, No 2, Beograd, 2015. p.9.

the Holy See's diplomacy, through mediation or arbitration, has contributed to the peaceful resolution of world conflicts, especially where conventional negotiation methods have failed. The following text will list only some of the Latin American inter-state conflicts of the 20th century, where papal mediations, arbitrations, peace negotiations, or other diplomatic efforts by the Holy See have contributed significantly either to the temporary secession of hostilities, or to the complete resolution.

Diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Latin American countries have been established in the 19th century, practically since their independence. Since then, these relations have gone through three successive stages: 1) a transitional period during the nineteenth century from conflict to diplomacy; 2) the emergence of the mediating role of the papacy in the 20th century; 3) the introduction of a series of papal visits to the region, starting in 1969.³⁶⁰ In the *first* phase, only in Brazil, where the handover was smooth, did the Vatican maintain a mildly friendly relationship with the newly created state from the beginning. Therefore, first, in 1829, bilateral diplomatic relations with Brazil were established, which have since continued. Unlike Brazil, diplomatic relations with some countries have undergone a lot of fluctuations. That is especially true in Mexico and Colombia, where the Church has had a reputation as an impediment to social change, contributing directly to the multiplication of social injustices. The cause of this bad reputation was in the response of the church's hierarchy to liberalism. Not only did it enter alliances with the Conservative forces, but it did so with the most radical elements of society (for example, the *Christeros*). The historical backdrop of the second phase of relations was the loss of the Papal States in Italy at the end of the 19th century, which forced the Holy See to expand diplomatic relations and establish it with all Latin American countries by the early twentieth century. The success of that phase of diplomatic relations is illustrated by the examples of Holy See mediation. The *third phase* of the relationship began with Pope Paul VI arriving in Colombia in 1968. The occasion for this visit was the Second Episcopal Conference in Medellin. While Pope Wojtyla, from 1979 to 2002, made 18 apostolic visits to Latin America. This concern of popes for Latin America stems mainly from the fact that most of the world's Roman Catholics lived there. Moreover, they understood the seriousness of the demands of believers from the region for social change, which caused the emergence of new and, to the traditional Church, opposing movements, which were discussed in the previous chapter.

³⁶⁰ Atkins, G.P. (1989). *Latin America in the International Political system*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 139-141.

Particularly important is the second phase of diplomatic relations, regarding the Vatican's role as a mediator in the frequent and very serious Latin American border conflicts of the 20th century that erupted in different parts of the region. Due to the fact that territorial claims which have often occurred in the region since the acquisition of Latin American independence were caused by the inaccuracy of the boundaries of certain administrative units from the time of the Spanish colonial administration, there have been numerous interstate conflicts.³⁶¹ Among them are, for example: two *Cisplatine Wars* (1825-1828; 1839-1852), the ultimate outcome of which was the establishment of the Republic of Uruguay as a compromise solution to prevent permanent territorial friction between Brazil and Argentina; The *First Pacific War* (1839-1841), in which Chile succeeded in blocking the political union of Bolivia and Peru; The War of the Triple Alliance (*Guerra de la Triple Alianza* 1864-1870) follows, in which Paraguay loses much of its territory for the benefit of Argentina and Brazil; finally, the Second War of the Pacific (*Guerra del Pacífico* 1879-1883), during which Chile seized from Peru two southern regions and, by annexation of part of its territory, prevented Bolivia to have a sovereign access to the sea.³⁶² Latin American borders, inherited from colonial times, were a rather fluid category. Given that it is a region with very rich natural resources, it is not surprising that territorial claims most often had a strategic and / or economically motivated background. It is precisely in such a constellation that the conflicts are set out below. One of the first border wars of the 20th century happened on the border of Brazil, Colombia, and Peru (*Tres Fronteras region*). It began as a border incident, in which Peruvian military forces crossed the territory of Colombia, claiming Leticia, an area around the port city of the same name in the Amazon region.

The incident grew into a real war (1932-1933) between Colombia and Peru, the end of which required the help of a *third party*. In this case Washington brokered the signing of the Rio de Janeiro agreement in 1934, under which Leticia was returned to Colombia.

³⁶¹ Particularly, parts of borders between ex- viceroyalties of the New Granada and the viceroyalty of Peru.

³⁶² Bolivia lost 400 km of coastline in favor of Chile during the Pacific War. It is interesting to note that the territory that Bolivia lost then was one of the largest copper deposits in the world. *Bolivia sea dispute: UN rules in Chile's favour*, 01 Oct. 2018, BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-45708671>; Pat Patterson, Rory Flynn, *Border Disputes in Latin America*, Regional Insights, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, 2013, No. 2 (Sep.) p.5.



Map 6. Territorial conflict between Colombia and Peru – Leticia incident

Source: International Relations in the Amazon: Borders and Regionalism, <https://cambridgecompassmagazine.wordpress.com/2018/01/12/international-relations-in-the-amazon-borders-and-regionalism/>

Vatican diplomacy began to build on its reputation as a successful mediator as early as the first half of the 20th century, while resolving several intense Latin American border conflicts, like one between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Their conflict began in 1937, when Dominican military forces following the orders of President Trujillo, brutally killed many Haitian peasants near the common border. The contribution of the papal nuncio *Maurilio Silvani*, who was at the time accredited in both countries, was instrumental in resolving the border dispute that threatened to escalate. As no one trusted anyone, the papal nuncio first secured a place where the untrustworthy parties to the conflict would meet, and then drafted a Protocol signed by both parties without any objection. It was this draft that became the basis for the signing of the final peace agreements between the two countries, under the auspices of the Inter-American System.

At the height of World War II, in 1942, at the behest of Pope Pius XII, Nuncio Silvani begged General Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic, to issue visas to 400 Jewish refugees who were refused admission by the United States. The dictator agreed, provided they were deployed along the



Map 7. Haiti and Dominican Republic, Columbian Hispaniola (La Isla Espanola)

Source: Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Hispaniola>

border with Haiti.³⁶³ It could be concluded that, because of his skill in resolving the conflict between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, nuncio Silvani was later directly involved in the rescue of Jews.

The territorial demarcation between Ecuador and Peru, in the Amazon region, has been unresolved for more than half a century. The border conflicts between the two states escalated on three occasions: first in 1941, then in 1981 and last in 1991. The first war, from 1941, which began with the Peruvian invasion of the disputed territory in the Oriente area, ended with the ‘*Protocol of peace, friendship, and boundaries*’ – better known as the *Rio Protocol* (1942), by which 200,000 square miles of disputed Ecuadorian territory were annexed to Peru.³⁶⁴ The implementation of the terms of the Agreement was monitored by *Guarantors* (USA, Argentina, Brazil and Chile). *‘the Rio Protocol exemplifies not only the variety of international dispute-settlement mechanisms, but the power of international law through the observance of*

³⁶³ Marchione, M. (2002). *Shepherd of Souls: A Pictorial Life of Pope Pius XII*, Paulist Press, pp. 119-120.

³⁶⁴ For Ecuador, the navigation conditions of the Amazon and its northern tributaries were defined in Article VI of the *Rio Protocol* (Article VI), <https://peacemaker.un.org/ecuadorperu-rioprotocol42>

treaty obligations.³⁶⁵ By the end of 1946, despite the high expectations from the Rio Protocol, Ecuador began to challenge it based on newly arrived geographical information about a part of the Cordillera del Cónдор area that it did not have at the time. Since then, the Ecuadorian government has maintained its claims that the Rio Protocol is invalid and sought its review to secure the sovereign rights of Ecuador in the Amazon Basin. The fact is that the 78 km border zone in the Cordillera del Cónдор zone was not covered by the 1942 Rio Protocol. The state of smouldering incidents lasted until January 28, 1981, when, after the Ecuadorian invasion of Peruvian territory, the military conflict between two countries started.

The conflict ended on February 2, 1981, with the signing of a cease-fire in Brasilia. The *Organization of American States* did not agree to participate in the peace talks, on the grounds that under the Rio Protocol it was the task of four states – its guarantors. On the other hand, ‘*the guarantors assisted in arranging a cease-fire and restoring the peace, but they refused to do more until Ecuador recognised the Rio Protocol*’.³⁶⁶ In August 1991, a new border conflict broke out between Ecuador and Peru. It soon ends with the so-called ‘*gentleman’s agreement*’ between the two countries, which adopted the establishment of a common security zone in the area of conflict. That same year, Ecuadorian President Cevallos makes an arbitration proposal to the United Nations seeking the help of Pope John Paul II to end a decades-long territorial dispute between Ecuador and Peru. The Peruvian government felt that there was no need for papal arbitration in a case that, according to them, had long been resolved through the Rio Protocol. Then the Ecuadorian government requested the mediation of the dispute from Chile and then from Brazil, which was unsuccessful. Therefore, Ecuador again sought papal mediation “*arguing that it was time to find a peaceful solution, based on international law, to this perpetual disagreement*”.³⁶⁷

In November 1991 the *Treaty for commerce and free navigation in the Amazon Basin* was initiated by Peru in order to strengthen the regional cooperation and common interests of Ecuador and Peru. That initiative evolved

³⁶⁵ Simmons, B. A. *Territorial Disputes and Their Resolution The Case of Ecuador and Peru*, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC, Peaceworks No. 27. April 1999, p. 10-19, <https://scholar.harvard.edu/bsimmons/files/EcuadorPeru.pdf>

³⁶⁶ Bruce St John, R., *The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Dispute: The Road to Settlement*, IBRU Boundary and Territory Briefing, Volume 3 Number 1, 1999, p. 30-33, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/ibru/publications/view/?id=216>

³⁶⁷ Ibid.



Map 8. Ecuadoran-Peruvian Border (Cordillera del Condor)

Source: The Economist,

<https://www.economist.com/the-americas/1998/10/29/peace-in-the-andes>

into a draft agreement, which was introduced in 1992 during a visit by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori to Ecuador.³⁶⁸ During this visit, President Fujimori expressed his willingness to submit unresolved dispute points or “matters pending” to the technical expert designated by Vatican. Although this proposal offered less than Ecuadorian – to entrust the whole territorial issue to papal arbitration, it was nevertheless a shift towards compromise.³⁶⁹ However, a new war- *The Cenepa War* broke out between them in January 1995, in the Cordillera del Cóndor area near the *Cenepa River*, a 78-kilometer strip of territory claimed by both countries. Previously, there were several attempts by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori and Ecuadorian Sixto Durán to conclude a ceasefire, but to no avail. In late February 1995, ‘Pope John Paul II sent envoy Cardinal Carlo Furno to persuade leaders to respect the cease-fire peace agreement’.³⁷⁰ In this case, when only Ecuador has formally

³⁶⁸ This was a first official visit of a Peruvian president to neighbouring Ecuador.

³⁶⁹ Bruce St John, R. (1999). *The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Dispute: The Road to Settlement*, IBRU Boundary and Territory Briefing, Volume 3 Number 1, p.23, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/ibru/publications/view/?id=216>

³⁷⁰ Simmons, B. A., *Territorial Disputes and Their Resolution The Case of Ecuador and Peru*, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington DC, Peaceworks No. 27. April 1999, p. 31

requested Vatican mediation, it is important to point out the difference, that the arrival of the Pope's envoy did not mean much in the absence of *conditio sine qua non* – mutual agreement to undergo mediation. It should be noted that in this case the papal policy was such as to support the work of the Guarantor countries of the Rio Protocols, although the Vatican had sent its envoy to the Ecuadorian-Peruvian terrain. The *Global and Definitive Peace Agreement* to the Ecuador-Peru dispute concluded in Brasilia on 26 October 1998. In the pact, Peru granted Ecuador free, continuous, and perpetual access to the Amazon (Articles 1 and 2).³⁷¹

It is also noteworthy that the Ecuador-Peru peace agreement signed in Brasilia, in addition to identifying the most effective bilateral cooperation mechanisms established *economic and social development and strengthen the cultural identity of native populations, as well as aid the conservation of biological biodiversity and the sustainable use of the ecosystems of the common border*.³⁷² The Peace Agreement officially established two Ecological protected zones “*Peace Parks*” in the Cordillera del Cóndor area on either side of the Peruvian-Ecuadorian border, and with shared economic and other benefits. In May 1999, two Presidents, Fujimori and Mahuad *commemorated the emplacement of the final boundary marker demarcating the Ecuador-Peru border, transfer to Ecuador one square kilometre of Peruvian territory in the Tiwinza zone and enter into full force the bilateral agreements concluded in Brasilia on October 26, 1998*.³⁷³ Finally, another of the Latin American border conflicts has been resolved through external mediation. Although there was no direct mediation of the Vatican in this case, it nevertheless participated in the peace process between Ecuador and Peru, two neighbours that had been in dispute for more than half a century.

An example of successful papal mediation is the longstanding border dispute between Argentina and Chile over the sovereignty of three strategic

<https://scholar.harvard.edu/bsimmons/files/EcuadorPeru.pdf>

³⁷¹ Bruce St John, R. (1999). *The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Dispute: The Road to Settlement*, IBRU Boundary and Territory Briefing, Volume 3 Number 1, p.23, <https://www.dur.ac.uk/ibru/publications/view?id=216>, *The Economist*, 29/10/1998 <https://www.economist.com/the-americas/1998/10/29/peace-in-the-andes>

³⁷² Alcalde, M., Ponce, C. F. & Curonisy, Y. (2005). *Peace Parks in the Cordillera del Cóndor Mountain Range and Biodiversity Conservation Corridor*, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ponce.pdf>

Bruce St John, R. (1999). *The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Dispute: The Road to Settlement*, IBRU Boundary and Territory Briefing, Volume 3 Number 1, p. 43.

³⁷³ *Ibid.* pp. 54-55.

islands in the Beagle Channel. It should be noted that at that time extremely conservative military regimes were in place in both countries. The British Crown has been trying to resolve the dispute for seven years. In late 1978, when the two states were already on the brink of war, the Holy See observer at the Organization of American States (OAS) offered urgent papal mediation. On January 8, 1979, both countries signed a joint document, the *Montevideo Act*, formally requesting the Holy See's mediation regarding the border in the south of the region. Cardinal Samore conditioned acceptance of the Montevideo Act with request, "*the two States will not resort to the use of force in their mutual relations.*" In December 1980, the Pope made his proposal for peace. There was a temporary interruption of mediation, due to the Falkland War between Britain and Argentina, in 1982. Nevertheless, the Holy See is again involved as a mediator in the settlement of the dispute, which was successfully concluded by the Treaty of Peace and Friendship (*Traité de paix et d'amitié entre la république du Chili et la république Argentine*) between Argentina and Chile. It was signed in the Vatican on November 29, 1984, during the pontificate of John Paul II.

The agreement entered into force on 2 May 1985. Both countries considered the contribution of the papal envoy, Antonio Cardinal Samoré, as crucial to achieving peace.³⁷⁴ It can be concluded that in the two-state solution, the Vatican was guided by a compromise, that is, by considering the following components: first, historical documents, that is, the Boundary Treaty of 1881; then border line through the Beagle Channel in accordance with the failed 1977 British arbitration; as well as the current needs of both countries including one common and two separate economic zones for each country.³⁷⁵

Once again, the inaccuracy of the boundaries of individual administrative units from the time of the Spanish colonial administration caused war.

³⁷⁴ Atkins, G.P. (1989). *Latin America in the International Political system*, Boulder: Westview Press, p. 140.; UN Reports of International Arbitral Awards, *Dispute between Argentina and Chile concerning the Beagle Channel*, 18 February 1977 volume XXI p.55 http://legal.un.org/riaa/cases/vol_XXI/53-264.pdf 12/07/2019 *Act of Montevideo, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1088, p. 135.*; Solanet M. , '40 years after the Beagle conflict', *Libertad y Progreso*, January 15, 2018, <http://en.libertadyprogresonline.org/2018/01/15/40-years-after-the-beagle-conflict/> ; M C. Mirow, *International Law and Religion in Latin America: The Beagle Channel Dispute* , 28 Suffolk Transnat'l L. Rev. 29 (2004) p. 11. http://ecollections.law.fiu.edu/faculty_publications/117

³⁷⁵ Memorandum for National Security Council, CIA, *Argentina-Chile: Beagle Channel Dispute and the Potential for Conflict*, 8 Dec. 1979, https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0005617746.pdf, retrieved 12.07.2019

The War on Chaco (*Guerra del Chaco*, 1932-1935 for the great rainforest of Gran Chaco, was one of the most tragic Latin American conflicts.

It was waged between a climatically more fit and thus biologically stronger Paraguay and a militarily stronger Bolivia (mostly trained by German military experts). Two parties were pushed into the war responding to interests of foreign capital³⁷⁶ The investment value of Gran Chaco has grown because of the hope it has abundant oil reserves. Even after numerous peace attempts, the League of Nations³⁷⁷ failed to stop the War on Chaco. First, it must be said that the collective loss in the war was more than 100,000 lives. In 1938, a peace treaty was signed in Buenos Aires. Not only did Bolivia lose a good chunk of its territory, but it was also almost destroyed both militarily and materially.³⁷⁸ Bolivians had to settle for the narrow belt they received along the upper course of the Paraguay River. The International Mediation Committee was composed of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, and the United States.

Previously, in the War of the Triple Alliance³⁷⁹ (1865-1870), Paraguay had already lost almost half of its territory and a huge population (figures

³⁷⁶ Bolivia's unyielding attitude is said to have been strengthened by foreign oil companies (primarily Standard Oil, which received significant concessions from the Bolivian state; while Shell had similar concessions from Paraguay). Južnić, S. (1963). *Bolivija*, Belgrade: IMPP, pp.38-39.

In April 2009, the Presidents of Bolivia and Paraguay, Evo Morales and Fernando Lugo, signed an agreement that finally resolved a decades-long border dispute in the Chaco area. <https://www.britannica.com>; Pat Paterson and Rory Flynn, *Border Disputes in Latin America*, Regional Insights, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, 2013 Edition, No. 2 (Sep.) p.2.

The *leaders agreed that the war been brought on by foreign interest*. <https://www.britannica.com>; Paterson P. and Flynn, R. *Border Disputes in Latin America*, Regional Insights, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, 2013 Edition, No. 2 (Sep.) p.2.

³⁷⁷ League of Nations. Provided for by the peace treaty of 1919 – the Treaty of Versailles – which brought the Great War to an end, the League of Nations was the first general international organization to be charged with the maintenance of peace. Berridge G. R. & James, A. (2003). *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, UK: Palgrave Macmillan

³⁷⁸ „The indigenous Bolivian soldiers did not want to fight for their white commanders, and could not understand Paraguayan radio signals in the Guaraní language. Their wool uniforms left them dehydrated in the arid Chaco “. The Economist, *The never-ending war*, Dec 22nd 2012, <https://www.economist.com/news/christmas/21568594-how-terrible-little-known-conflict-continues-shape-and-blight-nation>

³⁷⁹ The agreement was signed by the governments of the Triple Alliance: Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay.



Map 9. The Beagle Channel

Source : <http://en.libertadyprogresonline.org/files/2018/01/40-a%C3%B1os-Beagle-15-1-e1516034036387-768x472.png>



Map 10. Disputed Chaco region

Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/539306124105354042/>



Map 11. War of the Triple Alliance “War of ‘70”

Source: The Economist, The never-ending war, Dec 22nd 2012, <https://www.economist.com/news/christmas/21568594-how-terrible-little-known-conflict-continues-shape-and-bligh-nation>



Map 12. Bolivia territory

Source: <https://www.globalresearch.ca/heres-why-the-us-wants-to-break-bolivia-to-bits-with-hybrid-war/5542595>

of some researchers go up to 60% of the total population including 90% of men killed in fighting or from disease and hunger (map 11).

After the *War of the Pacific* (1879–1883), also known as *Guerra del Salitre*, Bolivia had to undergo a major change in territorial boundaries, which also meant the loss of resources such as copper and saltpetre. It was left without a part of the territory, without access to the ocean, without the significant port city of Antofagasta. Chaco had strategic significance for her, among other things, for enabling an access to the Atlantic Ocean over the Paraguay River. At any rate, two poor and historically deprived countries have started a new war. Likewise, the borders between Bolivia and Chile were not precise. Current borders were established in 1904, when the two countries signed the *Peace and Friendship Treaty*. Despite that treaty, borders continued to be a source of disagreement and tension between the two countries, which had severed full diplomatic relations since 1978. Tensions were intensified in the second decade of the 21st century, with several reckless statements and moves by politicians from both countries. On the other hand, the inability to reach the Pacific constantly pressured Bolivia. It should be noted that part of the 1904 Treaty was Chile's consent to allow Bolivia *unrestricted transportation of its commercial goods to the sea via road and rail*,³⁸⁰ this consent is still valid. In April 2013, President Evo Morales asked the International Court of Justice to legally force Chile to negotiate with Bolivia on its sovereign access to the Pacific. In April 2013, President Morales (Evo Morales) asked the International Court of Justice to legally force Chile to negotiate with Bolivia on its sovereign access to the Pacific, claiming that its poverty was partly due to the lack of access to the sea.³⁸¹

The Vatican's stance on Bolivia's aspiration to regain sovereign seas was cautious. Pope Francis' interview given to reporters on the plane on his return to Paraguay on July 13, 2015, confirmed the delicacy of the Bolivian sovereign sea issue, as well as the importance of addressing this issue through dialogue with Chile, *I remember the context perfectly – brothers have to dialogue, the Latin American peoples to have dialogue...It's in an*

³⁸⁰ Paterson, P. & Flynn, R., *Border Disputes in Latin America*, Regional Insights, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defence Studies, 2013, No. 2 (Sep.) p.5

³⁸¹ Winfield, N. & Valdez, C., *Associated Press*, Pope Francis insists on church's influence in Bolivia amid government efforts to rebuff, July 8, 2015, *The Christian Science Monitor*, <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/2015/0708/Pope-Francis-insists-on-church-s-influence-in-Bolivia-amid-government-efforts-to-rebuff>

*international tribunal, one can't speak of mediation or facilitation. We have to wait for that.*³⁸² As for the decision of the International Court of Justice in 2018, it was based on the fact that there is no previous agreement that obliges the two countries to negotiate, and that Chile has no obligation to negotiate with Bolivia.³⁸³

An old territorial dispute over the Falkland Islands (*Islas Malvinas*) between Argentina and the United Kingdom has been brought before the ICJ three times.³⁸⁴ Argentina has lost all three disputes. The roots of the conflict date back to 1800, when the British gained control of this archipelago of the South Atlantic Ocean. Argentina has always considered Malvinas an occupied part of its territory, though it only gained temporary sovereignty over the period 1820-1833. Then, from 1833, they were recaptured by Britain, for whom this archipelago had exceptional strategic importance as a naval base.

The international community tried to help calm the tensions between the two sides, especially with the UN Resolution of 1964, which called on the two countries to find a peaceful solution to the problem. From each of the negotiations that have since been conducted, Argentina emerged dissatisfied. The accumulated discontent grew into the 1982 invasion of the islands by the Argentine military junta. After 74 days of the war, which killed about 1,100 people, nothing else has changed. The British remained at the Falkland Islands. Argentina continued to claim that the Malvinas Islands was an occupied part of Argentina's national territory and that all subsequent Argentine claims before international institutions were based on the same argument. In 1998 Carlos Menem, while maintaining Argentina's claim to them, reaffirmed its renunciation of force to that end.³⁸⁵

When the British embarked on oil exploration around the Falklands in 2010, the sparks went up again. In the Argentine protest to the United Nations, there was an accusation that the British were "militarizing the South Atlantic". Unlike the earlier conflicts between Britain and Argentina, in 2012, the MERCOSUR countries (Brazil, Uruguay, and Chile) openly stood

³⁸² Full text of Pope Francis' in-flight interview from Paraguay to Rome, Aboard the papal plane, Jul 13, 2015, Catholic News Agency, <https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/full-text-of-pope-francis-in-flight-interview-from-paraguay-to-rome-38213>

³⁸³ *The ruling, which comes after five years of deliberations, is final and binding.* Bolivia sea dispute: UN rules in Chile's favour, 01 Oct. 2018, BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-45708671>

³⁸⁴ Argentina had sovereignty over the islands only for a brief period from 1820 to 1830.

³⁸⁵ The Economist, 29.10.1998 <https://www.economist.com/the-americas/1998/10/29/peace-in-the-andes>



Map 12. Falkland Islands (*Islas Malvinas*) – the conflict between the UK and Argentina. Zones of Maritime Jurisdiction around the Falkland Islands, highlighting area disputed between the UK and Argentina.

Source: Paterson, P. & Flynn, R. (2013). *Border Disputes in Latin America*, No. 2, p.4

behind Argentina and even decided not to allow British ships to enter their ports. Members of the ALBA have the same attitude as most other Latin American countries. This greatly strengthened Argentina's position compared to the previous period.³⁸⁶ "If it happens to the British Empire to attack Argentina, Argentina will be alone this time." – said Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. In March 2013, Reuters uploaded a statement by Argentine Cardinal Jorge Bergoglio that the territory of the Malvinas is "usurped" and that it belongs to Argentine.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁶ *Falkland Islands: How strong is Argentina's position?* BBC News, 2 April 2012
<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-17576856>

³⁸⁷ *Britain's Cameron Says Pope Is Wrong on the Falklands*, Reuters, March 15, 2013,
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pope-britain-falklands/britains-cameron-says-pope-is-wrong-on-the-falklands-idUSBRE92E0MS20130315>

^{Pat} Paterson, Rory Flynn, *Border Disputes in Latin America*, Regional Insights, William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, 2013, No. 2, p. 4.

Gradually, as a separate period of Vatican diplomacy in relation to Latin America, the politics of the end of the *Cold War* 1978-2005 stood out. An integral part of that policy was the papal policy toward liberation theology discussed in the previous chapter. America, on the other hand, was also disturbed by liberation theology. Reagan administration used the expanding influence of liberation theology in Central American church as an excuse for labelling their neighbours as radicals.³⁸⁸

In the Central American context, the Vatican's relationship with San Salvador was particularly delicate. It is necessary to emphasize that the Church in El Salvador was one of the most advanced as far as liberation theology is concerned. In 1977, her significant representative, Oscar Arnulfo Romero, was the consensus candidate for both the military junta and leftist opposition for the Archbishop of San Salvador. However, two years later, the military junta kills his close friend, Jesuit Rutilio Grande, which causes a profound change in Romero, and he publicly opposes the military junta and the cruel methods of torturing and killing people.³⁸⁹ He also condemns US foreign policy in Latin America, especially the sending of weapons to San Salvador. The Salvadoran army is known to have been trained and supplied by the US.³⁹⁰ Assistance was received continuously from three US presidents, throughout the Civil War (1980-1991) which killed about 75,000 people. On the other hand, in March 1977, Monsignor Romero was invited by Pope Paul VI to come to the Vatican and present the situation in El Salvador, as well as his Church. The Pope expressed his understanding for Romero, despite complaints he received from other Salvadoran bishops against him over liberation theology. In February 1979, at the time of Pope Wojtyła's pontificate, Romero was advised to establish a "fruitful dialogue", that is, to build better relations with the government of El Salvador.³⁹¹ In a word, the Vatican did not want to risk its relations with El Salvador because of Romero. Despite a later change in Pope's attitude,

³⁸⁸ Sigmund, P. E. *Liberation Theology: An Historical Evaluation*, Wilson Center, 1985, Number 176

³⁸⁹ Behind these kinds of actions stood the extremely conservative oligarchic circles who defended their interests, justifying them by fighting communism. One can find in the literature that for the murder of Rutilio Grande, the commissioners were the landlords. Martin Maier, *Oscar Romero: The Spirituality Teacher*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2005, p. 29.

³⁹⁰ Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, retrieved 12.12.2018, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Farabundo-Marti-National-Liberation-Front>

³⁹¹ Marcouiller, S.J. D., *Archbishop with an attitude Oscar Romero's Sentir con la Iglesia*, *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, Volume 35/3, May 2003, p. 41

Romero gradually became painfully aware of how far “*the Vatican is far from El Salvador, not only geographically but also in sensibility.*”³⁹² However, Romero’s engagement in the plight of El Salvador echoed throughout the world. In particular, he was nominated by the three British parliamentarians for the 1979 Nobel Peace Prize. Romero was killed in the hospital chapel in the middle of Mass on March 24, 1980 by members of the right-wing party.³⁹³

New Archbishop, Arturo Rivera y Damas, has continued the fight against military violence and leftist terror in El Salvador. In March 1983, during his visit to El Salvador, Pope Wojtyła spoke about the necessity of dialogue between the warring parties and on that occasion proposed Archbishop Rivera Damas as a possible mediator. Both sides in the civil war, the government forces of President Jose Napoleon Duarte and the left-wing insurgent forces – FMLN, implemented the proposal the following year, when the archbishops formally asked to help them find peace. It was through the then peace intervention of Rivera Damas that the Salvadoran people learned that they could trust him. Officially, the United Nations-led peace process is in close cooperation with Spain, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela. The Peace Agreement was signed in January 1992 in Chapultepec, Mexico.³⁹⁴

The diplomatic activities of the Holy See in Latin America in the last two decades of the twentieth century also included efforts to return Latin American Catholics to the ‘mother church’. It has already been mentioned that the Roman Catholic Church is intensively seeking ways to respond to the challenge of Protestant numerical growth in Latin America.³⁹⁵ So the frequent visits of John Paul II to John Paul II are largely attributed to this need. The Pope has visited Latin America 18 times since his first visit in 1979 (Mexico and Dominican Republic) to 2002. This information is in support of the

³⁹² Archbishop with an attitude Oscar Romero’s *Sentir con la Iglesia*, Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits, Volume 35/3, May 2003, words of Richard A. Blake, S.J. editor

³⁹³ School of the Americas’ graduates was involved in the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero. Jake Hess, *Infamous US military school still draws fire*, Al Jazeera, 9 Dec 2014, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/12/infamous-us-military-school-still-draws-fire-201412521041105726.html> retrieved 25/05/2019; Maier M. (2005). *Oscar Romero: učitelj duhovnosti*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, p. 50; Sigmund, P. E. (1990). *Liberation Theology at the crossroads: democracy or revolution?* Oxford University Press, p. 115

³⁹⁴ Report of the UN Truth Commission on El Salvador, 1 April 1993, <http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/salvador/informes/truth.html> retrieved 18/07/2017

³⁹⁵ A particularly sensitive issue over the last few decades has been the decline in the number of Latin American Catholics in favor of Protestant evangelical sects.

claim that Vatican diplomatic activities during this period began to rely on papal visits to Latin America, which underpinned Latin American Catholics' orientation towards the new Evangelization.

In 1983, John Paul II visited Guatemala, which influenced the revival of the Catholic Church there. In the same year, the Pope also visited Nicaragua. On this occasion he supported Cardinal Obando y Bravo³⁹⁶ as well as the Sandinista opposition.³⁹⁷ It was at a time when the four Catholic priests already mentioned were ministers in the left-wing Sandinista government.³⁹⁸ This rather embarrassing situation for the Holy See caused even a public reaction from the Pope: "*Determine your relationship with the Church*", "advised" the Pope, shaking his finger reprovingly at Ernesto Cardenal, as he knelt to receive the Pope's blessing.³⁹⁹

The fact that priests participated in the Nicaraguan Revolution (1981–1990) proves that this was not a communist, but rather anti-American revolution. *Noam Chomsky* explains why America is important to some small countries, such as Nicaragua, and that the following has always been well understood in American foreign policy – *that these countries may show some concern for the welfare of their own populations. And if that turns out to be in any sense successful, if there is successful economic and social development, it may form a model for other places.*⁴⁰⁰ In any case, one of the key figures for

³⁹⁶ Miguel Obando y Bravo in 1985 became the first mestizo Cardinal in Central America.

³⁹⁷ Crahan, M. & Luce, H. R. (1987). *Religion and Revolution: Cuba and Nicaragua*, Latin American Program, Wilson Center, Working papers, no. 174, Washington D.C. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/wp174_religion_and_revolution_cuba_and_nicaragua.pdf

³⁹⁸ In January 2019, Edgard Parrales, one of four Nicaraguan priests suspended for supporting the Sandinista revolution, was interviewed by the Havan Times. He recalls that the Church, as an institution, has in the past been subject to government manipulation and that this danger is always lurking. Many times, the Church has consented to this small game, not surviving. "*On the contrary, the church we have right now is playing from a truly church position*". Eduardo Cruz, *Edgard Parrales: Ortega Clings to Power by Force*, January 9, 2019

<https://havanatimes.org/interviews/edgard-parrales-ortega-clings-to-power-by-force/>

³⁹⁹ Rooney, Francis, *The Global Vatican: An Inside Look at the Catholic Church, World Politics, and the Extraordinary Relationship between the United States and the Holy See*, Rowman&Littlefield, 2013, p. 144;

Paul E. Sigmund, *Liberation Theology: An Historical Evaluation*, Wilson Center, 1985, Number 176, p. 12

⁴⁰⁰ Chomsky N. (1999). *Latin America From Colonization to Globalization* (in conversation with Heinz Dieterich), Melbourne, New York: Ocean Press, p. 35.

ending the civil war in Nicaragua was the Archbishop of Managua, Salesian *Miguel Obando y Bravo*. He first supported the Sandinistas in their struggle to overthrow the dictator Somoza, and later assisted mediation in the armistice between Ortega's Sandinista government and the illegal armed groups (*la guerra de los contra*) the Contras. As chairman of the National Reconciliation Commission, he contributed to the end of the civil war in which Nicaragua lost over 30,000 lives. In Nicaragua, Obando is considered a national hero, and in 2016, the Nicaraguan Parliament awarded him the honorary title of "creator of peace and reconciliation".⁴⁰¹

There are several conclusions we can draw by analyzing the examples of Vatican mediation: *first*, that Latin American border conflicts were most often associated with the battle for resources, as was the case with the Bolivian Pacific coast; *second*, that the Vatican's mediation has been very successful in a number of Latin American conflicts, especially where conventional peacekeeping options have been exhausted (for example, in defrosting Cuban-American relations); *third*, Vatican diplomacy was present "behind the scene" in resolving some of the conflicts (the case of Ecuador and Peru). D. Levin points out that '*the Church has played a key role as an 'honest broker' on a range of issues.*' Such as: border disputes (the Beagle Channel); political transitions and truth commissions (Chile, Peru, Guatemala, and El Salvador); and peace talks negotiation of truces (in civil wars or between gangs in El Salvador or Honduras).⁴⁰²

Based on five operational criteria and a selective sample of 20 interstate conflicts that occurred between 1948-1981 in the Latin American region, W. Grabendorff made their typology.⁴⁰³ This typology can certainly serve

⁴⁰¹ О соболезнованиях в связи с кончиной почетного архиепископа Манагуа кардинала М.Обандо-и-Браво, Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации, 6 июня 2018, <https://www.mid.ru/ru/home>

Obituary: Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, the first native-born cardinal from Central America, Jun 23rd 2018, <https://www.economist.com/obituary/2018/06/23/obituary-cardinal-miguel-obando-y-bravo-the-first-native-born-cardinal-from-central-america>

⁴⁰² Daniel H. Levine, *What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America*, CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, March 2016, p.7. <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁴⁰³ Wolf Grabendorff, *Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America*, Number 116, 1982, Woodrow Wilson Int. Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, WA, D.C. p. 10-11, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/wp116_interstate_conflict_behavior_and_regional_potential_for_conflict_in_latam.pdf



Scheme 3: Typology of interstate conflicts in Latin America

Source: Adapted by author, Wolf Grabendorff (1982). *Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America*, p. 10-11.

as a good basis both for analyzing the former and for assessing the danger of potential conflict in the region. In doing so, it should be taken in consideration that the range of possible conflict situations is much broader than stated (Scheme 3). According to W. Grabendorff, the rationale for this typology of conflict is as follows, 1) *ideological differences which lead to system conflicts*; 2) *great-power claims to supremacy, leading to hegemonic conflicts*; 3) *border controversies which lead to territorial conflicts*; 4) *securing of raw materials, leading to resource conflicts*; 5) *differences of economic development which lead to migration conflicts*.⁴⁰⁴

In conclusion, the author of the analysis summarizes two important facts. *First*, the fact that since the post-World War II period, the structural base for most conflicts has changed little. Moreover, from the point of view of population growth, then the gap in the distribution of income between the population, and the different levels of development of Latin American countries, the structural basis for conflict has become increasingly sharp. *Second*, the conditions under which conflicts take place have changed. *'The growing tendency of Latin America to step out of the United States 'security shadow' has ice directly to increase in the potential for conflict*.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ Wolf Grabendorff, *Interstate Conflict Behavior and Regional Potential for Conflict in Latin America*, Number 116, 1982, Woodrow Wilson Int. Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, WA, D.C. p. 10-11, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/wp116_interstate_conflict_behavior_and_regional_potential_for_conflict_in_latin_america.pdf

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

In short, in the first two decades of the 21st century, the region continues to be on the brink of conflict. The role of Vatican diplomacy in this context remains significant. The recent Papal mediation calls have led to the conclusion that the region is again socially, economically and politically hot.⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, the Holy See is headed by Pope Francis, an actor of international politics who is trusted in Latin America.

VII.3. Diplomatic activities of Holy See in Latin America during the papacy of Pope Francis with possible consequences on international relationships

Upon the arrival of Pope Francis on the throne of St. Peter in 2013, Francis Rooney, former US ambassador to the Vatican, commented: ‘*As an Argentine of Italian descent, Francis is the perfect bridge from Rome to Latin America. For now, the future status of the Church in the region remains an open question*’.⁴⁰⁷ Pope Francis is considered to be moderately liberal. Since the beginning of his pontificate, he has put “Third World” issues at the center of Vatican politics, but they are nevertheless contextualized by the global situation of the world in the 21st century. The main directions of his diplomacy are clearly distinguished, namely: 1) socio-economic (with a focus on world poverty, economic inequality and justice, relation to migrants and migration in the world, role of family, preservation of environment); and 2) the spiritual aspect. Shortly after arriving at the head of the Catholic Church, the Pope tried to further strengthen the professionalism of the Vatican’s diplomatic corps. Major personnel changes were first made possible by the appointment of Secretary of State Cardinal Pietro Parolin. He is a Vatican diplomat with previous long experience as Undersecretary of State for Relations with States. He also gained diplomatic experience in Nigeria, Mexico, and most recently as a nuncio in Venezuela.⁴⁰⁸

Pope Francis’ diplomacy is called the diplomacy of *piccolo passi* (*small steps*).⁴⁰⁹ Pope Francis’ original contribution to Latin America stemmed from

⁴⁰⁶ Venezuela, Cuba, Colombia, Nicaragua, Bolivia.

⁴⁰⁷ Rooney, F. (2013). *The Global Vatican*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, p. 232.

⁴⁰⁸ Levine, D. H., *What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America*, CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, March 2016, <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>; Ивановский, З. В., Папа Франциск и вызовы Римско-католической церкви в современном мире, *The Scientist*, Мир и политика, Ноябрь 2013. № 11 (84)

⁴⁰⁹ Andes, S. J. C. (2016). *Vatican Foreign Relations with Latin America since Independence*. Online Publication Date: Jul 2016 DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.40

his analytical spirit and insight into the history of the Vatican-Latin American relationship, which allowed him to clearly see the reasons behind some of Vatican diplomacy's former failures. Often, Vatican diplomacy was too ambitious, triggering adverse reactions from Latin American regimes. In short, the Holy Father felt strategic deficit within the Church diplomacy through the centuries. The quiet voice is the most powerful, or as the Latin proverb states *Gutta cavat lapidem* (*The drop hollows out the stone by frequent falling, not by force*). That type of diplomacy has proven very effective in several particularly delicate diplomatic engagements of Vatican in Latin America. First and foremost, in defrosting US-Cuban relations. Certainly, the contribution of Pope John XXIII during the Cuban *Missile Crisis* of 1962 between Russia and the United States must not be forgotten. He first tried to influence, through unconventional channels Nikita Khrushchev and John Kennedy, leaders of the two countries that had been a step up since the war.⁴¹⁰ In such a situation, on October 25, 1962, the pope spoke via Vatican radio, fervently appealing for peace: “We beg all governments to remain deaf to this cry of humanity,” he said. “That they do to all that is in their power to save peace. They will thus spare the world from the horrors of war, whose terrifying consequences no one can predict.” The text of the speech then appeared in all the world’s leading newspapers, including Moscow Justice. Khrushchev’s reaction was prompt – he ordered the return of warships heading for Cuba. The crisis was thus eliminated. On the other hand, “Khrushchev publicly acknowledged his gratitude and debt to John XXIII for, as it were, letting him off the hook, giving him a reason for withdrawing”.⁴¹¹ The dilemma remained, did Pope John then save the world from nuclear war? What is certain is that the Cuban Missile Crisis has prompted the publication of the *Pacem in Terris* encyclical, which emphasizes the importance of peace and mutual trust in the world: “Everyone must sincerely cooperate in the effort to banish fear and the anxious expectation of war from men’s minds...the realization that true and lasting peace among nations cannot consist in the possession of an equal supply of armaments but only in mutual trust. (John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, 59; 113) It is well known that this encyclical was also a turning point in the social teaching of the Church.

⁴¹⁰ John Kennedy was the first American Catholic president.

⁴¹¹ Allen J. L. Jr., Amid nuclear fears, remember a pope once helped avert Armageddon, Aug 13, 2017, <https://cruxnow.com/analysis/2017/08/amid-nuclear-fears-remember-pope-helped-avert-armageddon/>

According to Jesuit Father Norman Tanner, a Church historian, in a 2012 interview with Vatican Radio.

A noticeable change in the relations of the Cuban state, namely the revolutionary government and the Vatican, occurred in the 1960s. It gradually led to John Paul II 21-25. In January 1998, he made an official pastoral visit to Cuba, which was also the first papal visit in the entire history of the Cuban church. Then, Pope Benedict XVI visited Cuba in 2012. He is known to have often relied on the Argentine Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio in some important and delicate matters.⁴¹² When Cardinal Bergoglio succeeded him on the throne of Saint Peter in 2013, it was only natural that the Vatican's involvement in defrosting Cuban-American relations keeps going in the same direction. At first, Pope Francis first used informal channels, through personal correspondence with the presidents of both states, Raúl Castro and Barack Obama, to address humanitarian concerns affecting both countries. With this parallel diplomacy, the Vatican has opened the door to diplomatic representatives of both countries for talks. The very next year, President Obama was in the Vatican. Finally, in 2015, in the year marking 80 years of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the Vatican, Pope Francis visited Cuba. He made the next major diplomatic move, traveling to Mexico in 2016, when he took a break to meet with the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Kirill at the Cuban airport. It was the first, historic meeting of the two Christian Churches.⁴¹³

The thawing of the US-Cuba relationship in 2017 represented an unprecedented success in Vatican mediation. These were two countries whose relationship had hitherto been in a sort of political hibernation, since they had not had direct political and economic relations for more than five decades. President Obama accepted the Holy See's mediation, implying Pope Francis's personal intervention (first in launching secret negotiations between the US and Cuba), a discreet meeting in Rome, and due to the delicacy of the situation, a courier service involving the prelates of both countries was required. In short, such papal diplomacy was conducted "behind the scenes."⁴¹⁴ It

⁴¹² Interestingly, in the papal conclave of 2005 Bergoglio was his main rival for the papal position.

⁴¹³ The separation of the Eastern Orthodox Church from Rome occurred during the Great Schism of 1054.

⁴¹⁴ Boorstein, M. 2014. "Pope Francis Takes a Public Role in U.S.-Cuba Relations." *Washington Post*, December 17, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/pope-francis-takes-a-public-role-in-us-cuba-relatio>;

Pope Francis visits Colombia as peace deal continues to polarize, Sep. 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/pope-francis-visits-colombia-as-peace-deal-continues-to-polarise-1.3212822> retrieved 08/09/2017

should be borne in mind that ‘The Vatican has a long-standing interest in Cuba and in the opening of Cuba-U.S. relations.’⁴¹⁵ The Vatican’s interest lay in improving the status of the Church in Cuba, as a communist country under the strong influence of the Catholic Church, as well as improving Cuba’s overall position on a global scale. The US, on the other hand, also has a large Catholic population. There is no doubt that the moral authority and credibility of Pope Francis contributed to the success of mediation during 2013 and 2014. Of course, the Cubans were even more pleased by the fact that the Pope is Latin American. The consequences of the thawing of US-Cuba relations were immediately apparent: there was an exchange in the release of political prisoners on both sides and the opening of paths to re-establishing diplomatic relations.⁴¹⁶ Furthermore, the resumption of relations between the Vatican and Cuba resulted in the opening of a US diplomatic office in Havana, which later grew into an embassy. It is important to emphasize that Pope Francis, *de facto*, was the first pope to normalize and legitimize relations with a communist regime in Latin America. By the end of 2014, it was obvious that mediation had succeeded. The Washington Post quoted from Austen Ivereigh, author of Pope Francis’ biography “*The Great Reformer*”, Francis is a “*master builder of bridges*” and that U.S.-Cuba talks could be a model. “*I think Francis sees himself as trying to create space for peace and agreement where at the moment there isn’t. He sees this as fundamental to his papacy.*”⁴¹⁷ The great success of Pope Francis’ diplomacy *piccolo passi* created the preconditions for resetting US-Cuba relations in the future.

The second major success of Vatican diplomacy during the pontificate of Pope Francis is related to the end of the civil war in Colombia. Crucial to the ceasefire was the pontiff’s mediation in peace talks between the Colombian government, led by President Juan Manuel Santos, and Colombia’s most powerful guerrilla movement, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – FARC (*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*). The fact that the negotiations began in 2012 in the Vatican, that is, before Pope Francis’

⁴¹⁵ Boorstein, M. 2014. *Ibid.*; Levine, D. H., *What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America*, CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, March 2016, p.8 <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁴¹⁶ Timothy A. Byrnes (2017) *Sovereignty, Supranationalism, and Soft Power: The Holy See in International Relations*, *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 15:4, pp. 18-19 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2017.1392140>

⁴¹⁷ Boorstein, M. (2014). “Pope Francis Takes a Public Role in U.S.-Cuba Relations.” *Washington Post*, December 17, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/pope-francis-takes-a-public-role-in-us-cuba-relatio>

pontificate, does not detract from all that he later did to make the peace talks a success. There are opinions that the Cuba-US negotiations and the Colombian negotiations have been encouraging for one another. The fact is that in 2015, during his visit to Cuba, the Pope met with FARC leaders.

It was not easy to reach an armistice in Colombia, a country which reality had been a civil war for 52 years. In addition, half of its residents resisted the peace process. The arrival of Pope Francis in Colombia in September 2017, three decades since the Pope's last visit to this country, has already in itself been a support for efforts to achieve peace. It was a "first step". The Pope addressed a video message to Colombians saying, "*Peace is what Colombia is seeking for a long time, and it is working to achieve it.*"⁴¹⁸ Pontiff supported the negotiations, received President Santos in Rome, had contacts with FARC leaders, in a word, contributed significantly to the final signing of the 2017 armistice agreement. In addition to these two key parties, the reconciliation process included Sant'Egidio, the transnational Catholic peace group and, of course, the Vatican.

Pope Francis was clearly aware of the importance of precedent in diplomacy when he "told papal diplomats to take risks" (Andes, 2016, p. 21) in negotiations with Cuba. Perhaps the precedent is needed to solve chronic political problems? Have we witnessed a subtle diplomatic intuition or the power of spirituality? Is this worldly wisdom or enlightenment?

VII.4. Relationship between Vatican and Latin America from the perspective of Pope Francis: Possible reactions and consequences in the socio-economic sphere

Viewed from the perspective of Pope Francis, a certain turn has been made in the attitude of the Vatican towards Latin America compared to the pontificates of its predecessors. First of all, the attitude towards representatives of liberation theology has changed. Namely, the decades-long controversy provoked by liberation theology, the consequence of which was cultural wars within the Catholic Church, is appeased by the pontiff's non-judgmental attitude.⁴¹⁹ To be sure, Pope Francis does not justify sin but does not

⁴¹⁸ Pope Francis visits Colombia as peace deal continues to polarise, Sep. 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/pope-francis-visits-colombia-as-peace-deal-continues-to-polarise-1.3212822> retrieved 08.09.2017.

⁴¹⁹ Part of that policy was the pontiff's October 2019 decision to canonize Romero and Pope Paul VI. It is interesting to recall that Romero, in his July 1978 homily, de-

judge the sinner, he instead “extinguishes the fire” with the biblical question ‘Who am I to judge?’ His sophisticated approach to heated topics resonates strongly in Latin America. Inequality, violence, migration, and the fate of migrants, environmental degradation (especially the protection of the Amazon and indigenous people who live there) – Pope Francis marked as the most important that urgently needs attention.

The essence of Pope Francis’ program is the ideal of the poor church as a function of poor believers. In line with this, it was his decision from the beginning of the pontificate not to move to the Papal House and to wear an iron cross instead of gold. However, *“this is not a public “performance”, as differently motivated sceptics hastened to evaluate it, but rather a deeply thoughtful and comprehensive program for the spiritual healing of Christianity and the structural transformation of the Church.”*⁴²⁰ In 2015, during his visit to Bolivia, the old remarks were revived that Pope Francis preached socialism by caring for the poor. He replied that this concern was coming *“from the heart of Christianity”*. It could be said that Pope Francis lives by the words of Maurice Maeterlinck: *“There are thousands of channels through which the beauty of our soul can reach our minds. Above all, there is an amazing and central channel of love.”*⁴²¹ Some of the challenges to Christianity in the 21st century came from the Church itself, such as scandals related to the detection of a priest’s pedophilia, or money laundering at the Vatican Bank.⁴²² Some of the problems came from the social sphere, which over time became the mainstay of the Holy See in various Latin American countries, such as contraception and abortion, legalization of same-sex marriage, euthanasia and marijuana, celibacy of priests and others. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, the challenge to the Holy See again became the very relationship with the Latin American Church, which took a firm stance on several burning political topics; defending of the democracy and social justice;

scribed Pope Paul VI as follows: *“...Above all he is a volcano of love for humanity! He is a saint! He is a true disciple of Christ!”* Homilies, 2nd July 1978, vol. V, 43, according to: Father Thomas Greenan, 2018, Archbishop Romero’s Homilies: Theological and Pastoral Analysis, www.romerotrusted.org.uk.

⁴²⁰ Tanasković D. (2014). Vraća li se Rimokatolička crkva Hristu? Godinu dana pontifikata pape Franje, Zbornik “Hrišćanstvo u XXI. veku”, Novi Sad: Prometej, p. 227.

⁴²¹ Maeterlinck, M. (2007). *Awakening of the Soul*, Konras Belgrade, 2007, p.53.

⁴²² Chile and Peru January 2018 – In January 2018, just before the Pope’s trip to Chile and Peru, *The Economist* indicated: *“This will be a hard road for a pontiff with a deep calling to reach out to the powerless who heads an institution with a terrible record of abusing power”*.

defending of indigenous rights and culture; repairing the position of Mexican migrants in the US. Finally, the challenge of a diplomatic nature, that is, the formation of its international policy after the end of the Cold War, appeared before the Holy See.⁴²³ Since the Vatican has been present in Latin America for several centuries, solid historical, cultural and religious ties have been created over that long period. In addition, the 425 million Catholics in the region are reason enough for both sides to have a good relationship with each other.

⁴²³ Hagopian, F., *Latin American Catholicism in age of religious and political pluralism: A framework for analysis*, Working Paper #332 – December 2006, p.6; Vukicevic, B., Pope Francis and the challenges of inter-civilization diplomacy, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 58 (2): 66 [2015] <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329201500204>

VIII. POPE FRANCIS vs. NEOLIBERALISM AND NEOCONSERVATISM IN LATIN AMERIKA

A few months after Bergoglio took office as Bishop of Rome, controversial opinions arose both within the Church itself and in world politics, whether he was conservative or liberal. Is he the reformist of the Church or a revolutionary? Some even hold that his attitude towards the poor is a very good populist show.⁴²⁴ There is no doubt that Pope Francis, despite differently motivated assessments of the program of his pontificate, first sent tremors through the Roman Curia with the structural reorganization of the Church, and then shook public opinion in his public appearances. Finally, he made a turn in the politics of the Holy See on the international scene, especially in relation to Latin America. This region, compared to the other parts of the world, has some space-specific and historically sensitive issues. During his travels to the region, the Pope singled out the following issues: poverty; peacekeeping; environmental degradation; violence; migration; sexual abuse; inequalities in society; as well as sexual orientation and gender identity issues.

In the following text, two important documents are singled out and analyzed, as well as Pope Francis' public addresses during his visits to the region so far, on the topics of socio-economic, cultural and political emancipation of Latin America and on the importance of religion in the 21st century. There is no doubt that his speeches help explain how the political and economic doctrine of neoliberalism as applied in Latin America has influenced the deepening of the gap between "elites" and "masses", widening the distance between the center and the periphery, and increasing poverty. The consequences of this doctrine will contribute not only to the intensification of crises of legitimacy in many countries of this region, but also to profound socio-economic and political changes.

⁴²⁴ For example, Croatian theologian Ivica Šola, HRT: Always Against (December 11, 2015) – Pope Francis, retrieved 14.12.2015. from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-cyq-aUJeDBo>

VIII.1. First Latin-American Pope and the Symbolism of His Name

White smoke from the chimneys of the Sistine Chapel and the sound of bells from St. Peter's Basilica, announced on March 13, 2013, that 1.3 billion of world Catholics have received a new pope. The conclave⁴²⁵ elected the former Argentinian cardinal, Jorge Mario Bergoglio, for the 266th prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, who enters the Cathedra of Saint Peter (Cathedra Petri) as Pope Francis I (*Franciscus I*).⁴²⁶ He is the first Latin American pope, "pope from the end of the world".⁴²⁷

The inauguration of the new Supreme Pontiff (*Pontifex Maximus*) of the Roman Catholic Church in the Vatican was attended by Heads of other religious communities and some 200 state representatives from around the world. Benedict XVI, the previous Pope, withdrawn voluntarily from his post. Certainly, this act was in accordance with canon law, but still not recorded in the history of the Catholic Church.⁴²⁸ Undoubtedly, the new pope showed respect for his predecessor by saying, "*Pope Benedict has done an act of holiness, grandeur and humility. He is a man of God.*"⁴²⁹ At that moment, however, a much more important question was «Who is Bergoglio?» At the end of September 2013, the Pope replied: Yes, maybe I can say that I am a

⁴²⁵ *Conclave* —the chamber in which the pope is elected; a set of cardinals participating in the Pope's election.

⁴²⁶ With him, after nearly twelve centuries, Rome had the Pope of the non-European origin (the last non-European Pope was Syrian, Gregory III, elected in 731.) After 182 years of waiting, he was the first pope member of the monastic community (after the Camaldolese Gregory XVI, 1831), and also the first pope who belonged to the Jesuit order.

⁴²⁷ During the 2005 conclave, it was known that the choice for the Pope elect was between two equally worthy candidates: Cardinal Ratzinger and Cardinal Bergoglio, the latter of whom withdrew in the final round of voting and gave his support to Ratzinger. There is an opinion in the literature that Bergoglio was misrepresented in the negative campaign of his opponents in Argentina during the election year. They reproached him for keeping aside during a time of military dictatorship, 1976-1983. when he was Jesuit's Provincial-Superior. The "Dirty War" saw 150 priests and hundreds of nuns and lay catechists killed. Scheper-Hughes N. & Scheper Hughes, J. (2015), *The Final Conversion of Pope Francis*, Berkeley Review of Latin American Studies, pp.13-17; 58-67; Duncan, B., Pope Francis's Call for Social Justice in the Global Economy, 2014; Young, J. G., Can Francis Meet the Challenge? March 21, 2013, retrieved from: <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/church-latin-america>

⁴²⁸ Gaeta, S. (2013). (*La vita e le Sfide*), Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, p. 7.

⁴²⁹ Antonio Spadaro, Interview with Pope Francis, *Renewal. life*, 2013, 68, 4, p. 446. Pope Francis interview for La Civiltà Cattolica.

bit slick, I've seen a thing or two, but the truth is that I am a bit naive too".⁴³⁰ His motto is *Miserando atque eligendo* (by God's merciful choice).

The Pope used to visit the Roman church of San Luigi dei Francesi frequently, observing Caravaggio's picture of the call to St. Matthew. "That finger of Jesus ... according to Matthew. That's how I am. That's how I feel. Like Matthew." The Pope accepted the papal duty, saying: 'I am a great sinner, trusting in the mercy and patience of God in suffering, I accept'. He explained these words by the feeling of guilt about his earlier life mistakes, which he considers to be his sins. It is now more obvious why Pope Francis transferred his episcopal motto to his papal Coat of Arms. This Latin quote is taken from Homilies⁴³¹ of an English priest, Holy St Bede (Beda Venerabilis, 672-73), who through the commentary of the Gospel scene "invite of St. Matthew" (Matt 9: 9-13), honors the mercy of God. This mercy and infinite understanding of the God for the man who 'falls' has paved the way from a sinner to apostle, for St. Matthew.



Picture 2. The Coat of Arms of Pope Francis⁴³²

⁴³⁰ Spadaro, A., DI. Intervju pape Franje za La Civiltà Cattolica, 26.09.2013, retrieved 28.08.2015, from: <http://www.zadarskanadbiskupija.hr/?p=10952>

⁴³¹ Homily is a speech after reading of the Gospel.

⁴³² The coat of arms is dominated by the sun with rays, as a symbol of the Jesuit Order. Three letters of HIS (Jesus Hominum Salvator) are inscribed in the sun, the cross passes through the middle letter, and below are three nails – a symbol of the Passion of the Lord. The two keys on the coat of arms symbolize the authority Jesus gave to St. Peter. The star in the lower part of the coat of arms is associated with the Virgin Mary and the *nard* (flower) on the right is Joseph. Archdiocese of Zagreb, <http://www.zg-nadbiskupija.hr/dokumenti/aktualnosti/grb-i-geslo-pape-franje> ; Radio Vatikan/vatican.va



Picture 3. The Martyrdom of St Matthew
by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio. (1599-1600)

Source: <https://www.caravaggio.org/martyrdom-of-saint-matthew.jsp>

It could be said that through the metaphor of the “lowly, but chosen” the pontiff linked the text of the Gospel, then the powerful scene from Caravaggio’s canvas, and finally his own life (especially the moment of election to the Pope), i.e., the life of every man – a sinful man, who falls and gets up. In the patience to persevere, ‘to go forward, day by day’, the Pope recognizes the holiness of the *Warring Church* in the words of St. Ignatius, but also the sanctity of his family.⁴³³ As an additional reason for choosing the name of the saint of Assisi, the Argentine Cardinal Bergoglio cited the need to strengthen his spiritual connection with Italy, where his family is from. Undoubtedly, this act sent a universal message – how important it is not to lose one’s roots.

⁴³³ Antonio Spadaro, Interview with Pope Francis, *Renewed life*, 2013, 68, 4, p. 445. Pope Francis interview for *La Civiltà Cattolica*

Jorge Mario Bergoglio was born on December 17, 1936, in Buenos Aires. His life path is unusual: he works as a bouncer in a nightclub, plays sports, loves dancing, and is trained as a chemical technician. He studies humanities in Chile, and then earns a degree in philosophy and theology in Buenos Aires. He teaches for several years. There are many ways in which people can come to know God; Bergoglio, for example, has been so fascinated by a strong religious perception from an early age that he joins the Jesuit order in 1958 and becomes an ordained Jesuit priest a year later.⁴³⁴ It should be noted that the young Bergoglio, was a Jesuit Provincial in Argentina during 1973-1979. From the perspective of today's experience, he is very critical of his then-way of managing about two hundred Jesuit brothers and of decisions that were as he himself said, 'hasty, made in a rude and personalistic way'. This has caused many problems, down to accusations that he is an ultraconservative. *He was a strict disciplinarian and opposed many of the changes following the Second Vatican Council.*⁴³⁵ The mistakes, which the Pope mentions, were largely related to this period of his life. He was appointed Auxiliary Archbishop Buenos Aires in 1992, and has been an Archbishop since 1998. He was appointed Cardinal in 2001. Since 2013, he has become the head of the Roman Catholic Church. It's hard to deny that Pope Francis' pontificate began with a certain deviation from established customs: for example, he did not put on a ceremonial red cloak (*mozzetta*), did not want to replace his bishop's iron cross with gold, and he received the traditional honor shown by his brothers standing.⁴³⁶ He refused to live in the Apostolic Palace.⁴³⁷ Pope Francis was successful in avoiding many privileges his predecessors enjoyed. In short, the world got a Pope of

⁴³⁴ It was a homily about the mercy of God read in a small church during the liturgy on the Feast of St. Matthew; Vatican Radio <http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/elezione/stemma-papa-francesco.html>

⁴³⁵ Duncan, B. Pope Francis's call for social justice in the global economy [online]. Australasian Catholic Record, The, Vol. 91, No. 2, Apr 2014: 178-193. <https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=404755218276486;res=IELN-ZC>

⁴³⁶ Gaeta, S. (2013). Papa Franjo: Život i izazovi (*La vita e le Sfide*), Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, pp. 45-54.

⁴³⁷ Sometimes the description of the Pope's modesty goes into the smallest detail, such as that he brought with him well-worn black shoes from Buenos Aires. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Jennifer Scheper Hughes, *The Final Conversion of Pope Francis*, Berkeley Review of Latin American Studies, Spring 2015, p. 58; Duncan, Bruce. Pope Francis's call for social justice in the global economy [online]. The Australasian Catholic Record, Vol. 91, No. 2, Apr 2014: 178-193. Availability: <https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=404755218276486;res=IELN-ZC>

informal manners. On the other hand, the message of those first Pope's moves was obvious – he valued meaning over the form.

The name of St Francis of Assisi, chosen by the new head of the Roman Catholic Church as his patron saint, bore a multilayered symbolism. Among other things, it did not hide the hint of the direction of the new pontificate. Explaining the choice of his papal name, the pontiff states the qualities possessed by Francis of Assisi and why was he inspired by him.⁴³⁸ “He shows us just how inseparable the bond is between concern for nature, justice for the poor, commitment to society, and interior peace” – claims the Pope in encyclic *Laudato Si*. [LS, §10] It's a common knowledge that Francis of Assisi was an extraordinary ascetic, breaking prejudices and taboos.⁴³⁹ Last but not least, the symbolism of the name of St. Francis of Assisi derives from his role as the spiritual rebuildder of the Church. Sheila Curran, an Irish Sister of Mercy, asserts with certainty that the Pope was not just looking up to St. Francis because of his asceticism, but, also, because of his overall reformativ influence on the Church which was crumbling down.⁴⁴⁰

Graph 7 shows an estimate from 1910 when there were about 94% Catholics and about 1% Protestants in Latin America. In 2014, only 69% of Latin Americans identify as Catholic. It can be concluded that, some mild historical events can trigger an avalanche of reactions and indicate long-lasting changes. This is exactly what happened with the arrival of Pope Francis at the head of the Roman Catholic Church. *Darko Tanaskovic*, professor and diplomat, believes that the Pope intended to regain the appeal of the Church as an institution specially in the Western world where a stifled, dogmatic Church has not kept up with myriad of fast changes which (post)modern time brought along.⁴⁴¹ On

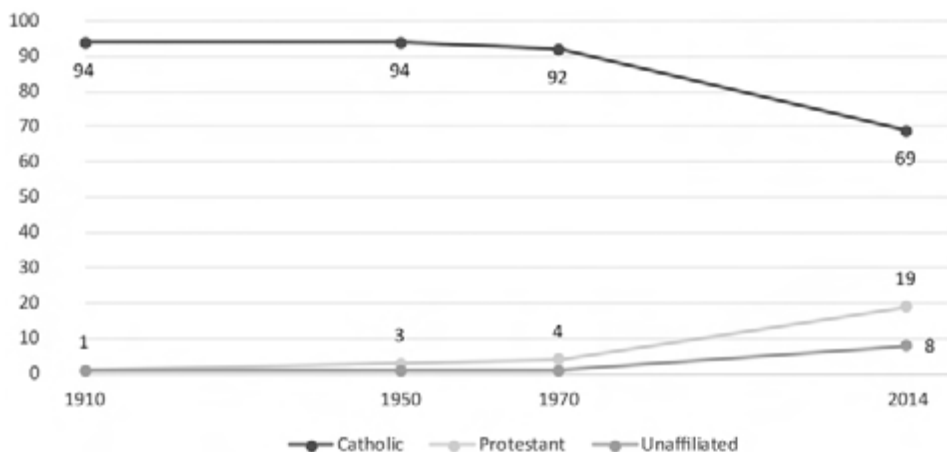
ISSN: 0727-3215. [cited 04 Apr 20]; Catherine Marciano, <http://www.romanobserver.com/pope-francis-winds-change-latin-america/>

⁴³⁸ Gaeta, S. (2013). *Papa Franjo: Život i izazovi (La vita e le Sfide)*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, pp. 49-50.

⁴³⁹ St Francis of Assisi grew up in a wealthy family, but underwent a transformation and embraced poverty from within. Not only was he the founder of the Franciscan Order (which later evolved into several different groups), but he was considered one of the great spiritual restorers of the Church; It is interesting to note that in 1502, 17 Franciscans, in Santo Domingo, began to build the first church in the New World, named after St. Franciscan Assisi – San Francisco.

⁴⁴⁰ Curran, S. Pope Francis Puts Latin America on the Ecclesial Map, NTR, volume 26 number 1, September 2013.

⁴⁴¹ Tanasković D. (2014). Is the Roman Catholic Church Returning to Christ? Year of Pope Francis' Pontificate, Prometheus Novi Sad, Proceedings “Christianity in the XXI. century” p. 226.



Graph 7. Share of Catholics Decreasing in Latin America
(% of total population belonging to each religious group)

Source: Pew Research Center (2014). *Religion in Latin America*, p.26

the other hand, professor Z.V. Ivanovsky, from Moscow's Lomonosov University, explains the choosing of Latin American Pope in the context of global demographic processes, one consequence of which is the changed geography of Catholicism. This opinion is supported by the data that in the beginning of the 20th century, 65% of the world's Catholics lived in Europe and only 25% in Latin America, while today in the Old World their number has dropped to 25% and in Latin America the number has reached 40% of the world's Catholics. Of course, it should be mentioned that Brazil is still the country with the highest number of Catholics in the world.⁴⁴² In any case, the election of Pope Latin American gave a significant impetus to the confidence of the region's population in the Catholic Church.

In 2013, when referring to the need for Church reform, the Pope emphasized that organizational and structural reforms only came after the "attitude reform". In this sense, Church officials should be merciful and able to "warm the hearts of people, walk with them, descend into human darkness without losing themselves (...) And I want the Church to be real, not formal".⁴⁴³ It is obvious by now that Pope's reformist effort represents not just

⁴⁴² Ивановский, З. В., *Папа Франциск и вызовы Римско-католической церкви в современном мире*, *The Scientist, Мир и политика*, Ноябрь 2013. № 11 (84) стр. 4-17. <http://mir-politika.ru/> Accessed on 04.03.2016.

⁴⁴³ A. Spadaro, *Razgovor s papom Franjom*, intervju za *La Civiltà Cattolica*, *Obnov. život*, 2013, 68, 4, 437-456.

a carefully analyzed program for the spiritual rehabilitation of Christianity, but also include the structural changes of the Church as an institution.

The Pope's commitment to the poor has expanded from a gospel theme to a living reality, gaining a special significance in Latin America, where injustice, inequality, institutionalized violence, environmental pollution, and of course, poverty, have been present for centuries. Such a papal skill in conceptualizing the Gospel gives hope to Latin American believers that their reality can be better. A confirmation of the Pope's commitment can be found in the following words: "*Belief in God, without knowledge of human misery leads to pride, and belief in one's misery, without belief in God, leads to despair*".⁴⁴⁴

VIII.2. Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium* (case study)

In November 2013, the Holy See published the first apostolic document of the new Pope, the exorcism "*Evangelii Gaudium*" (*The Joy of the Gospel*).⁴⁴⁵ Circumstances at that time were not at all favorable for the Roman Curia and the Roman Catholic Church, which was already greatly shaken by the great crisis. Namely, corruption, sexual and financial scandals have damaged her reputation in the world public. "*Her prophetic power seemed to be extinguished, and her missionary zeal stunted*".⁴⁴⁶ It is considered that this document presents the program of the new pontificate. In addition, the new evangelization has received the necessary guidelines, and the Church an incentive to act in the timely manner.⁴⁴⁷ The base of the new evangelization program is the "poor church for poor believers." There is no doubt that Pope Francis' personal example of the ascetic life of the ideal of the poor church for poor believers, contributed to his mission being accepted as completely different, even revolutionary "*in relation to the previous understanding and service of the supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church*".⁴⁴⁸ It is precisely the essential renewal of the Church that the Pope wants to

⁴⁴⁴ Blaise Pascal, quoted by prof. Vladeta Jerotic January 16, 2018, National Library of Serbia, Belgrade

⁴⁴⁵ *Esortazione Apostolica*, Apostolic exhortation (urging, encouragement, admonition).

⁴⁴⁶ Kasper, W. (2015). *Pope Francis Revolution of Tenderness and Love*, 2015, Christian Present, Zagreb, p. 6-7.

⁴⁴⁷ *Evangelii gaudium*, 2013, Vatican Press. www.vatican.va/evangelii-gaudium/en/ accessed on 15/06/2015

⁴⁴⁸ Tanasković D. (2014). *Is the Roman Catholic Church Returning to Christ? One year of the pontificate of Pope Francis*, Prometheus Novi Sad, 2014, Collection "Christianity in the XXI century", p. 226.

encourage, especially from the perspective of the social dimension of evangelization, that represents the updating (*aggiornamento*) of the Church, as promoted by the Second Vatican Council. At any rate, Bergoglio gradually abandoned his previous conservative views on the role of the Church in society and became more radical. Bergoglio's readiness to change enabled Pope Francis to begin a thorough renewal of the Church in 2013, encouraging her to fight without hesitation for the poor, weak and oppressed, as well as for all those who are in any way pushed to the margins of society. Bruce Duncan, an Australian Redemptorist priest, believes that this commitment was decisively influenced by two deeply lived personal experiences. One experience was gained by 'father Jorge' in Buenos Aires, where he had numerous, daily contacts with marginalized people, trapped in severe poverty. He tried never to leave them without a personal, pastoral response to their problems.⁴⁴⁹ Then, his other powerful experience was the terrible suffering of Latin Americans caused by frequent and protracted economic crises, which shook the entire region, and especially his homeland, Argentina. In recent decades, economic crises have been closely linked to globalization, as the 2007 financial crisis has been.⁴⁵⁰ The Pope reminds 'that it originated in a profound human crisis: the denial of the primacy of the human person! We have created new idols. [EG, §55] In the same tone, from the perspective of evangelization and its social dimension, the Holy Father warns of the daily struggle of most people in the world for bare survival: 'It is a struggle to live and, often, to live with precious little dignity.' [EG, §52] This world is, on the one hand, marked by great advances in numerous fields of science and technology, which have contributed to human well-being, but on the other, 'We are in an age of knowledge and information, which has led to new and often anonymous kinds of power.' [EG, §52] Then, remaining within the framework of the analysis of the challenges of today's world, pontiff singles

⁴⁴⁹ It is important to point out that Bergoglio Bergoglio, through the diocesan Caritas, has been establishing soup kitchens and shelters for the homeless in Buenos Aires in Buenos Aires since 2001. He also saw the problem of education as an urgent problem, very pronounced in that city. Therefore, he founded the diocesan vicariate for upbringing and education. Saverio Gaeta, *Pope Francis: Life and Challenges* (Papa Francesco. *La vita e le sfide*), Christian Present, Zagreb, 2013, p. 37

⁴⁵⁰ Duncan, B., *Pope Francis's call for social justice in the global economy* [online]. *The Australasian Catholic Record*, Vol. 91, No. 2, Apr 2014: 178-193.

Availability: [https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;](https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=404755218276486;res=IELNZC)

dn=404755218276486;res=IELNZC

ISSN: 0727-3215. [cited 04 Apr 20]

out four of them, in relation to which modern society should set boundaries. The following temptations of modern man should be said “no”: first, to an economy of exclusion and inequality. ‘Such an economy kills’⁴⁵¹; second, to the new idolatry of money created by the dictatorship of the impersonal economy; third, to a financial system which rules rather than serves; fourth, to the inequality which spawns’ violence. [EG, §53-60]

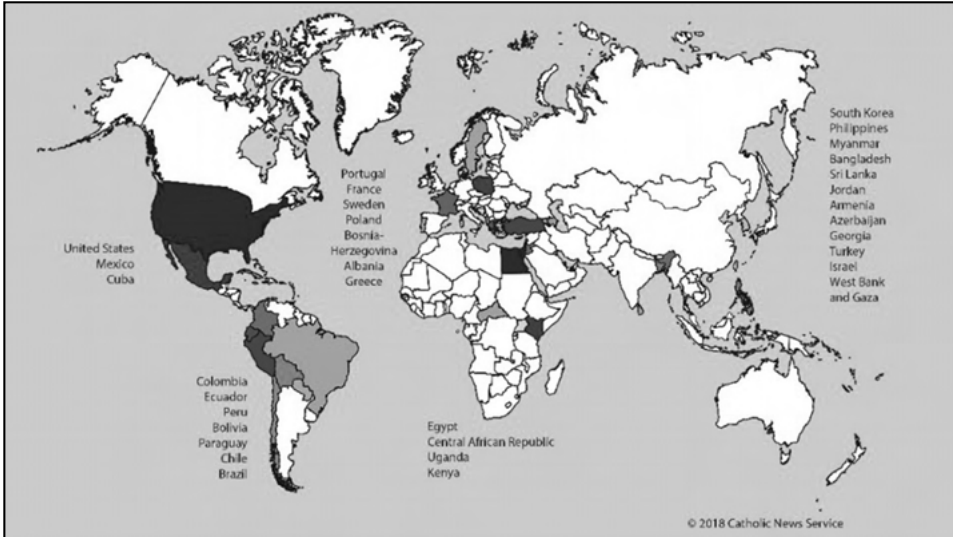
Joy of the Gospel contains a wide range of guidelines for the “new evangelization”, that is, missionary action aware of the context of contemporary reality, already placed in the focus of the church’s mission in the Aparecida Document.⁴⁵² In this context, quoting Pope Paul VI, who speaks of the ever-vigilant ability to study the “signs of the times”,⁴⁵³ Pope Francis warns of some aspects of reality that pose a threat to human life and dignity. There is no doubt that the mission of the Church in today’s world is very complex. In the first place, it refers to her commitment to the poor, exposed to injustices and violence, marginalized, de facto “invisible” people around the world. That commitment means defending their human rights and dignity. At one time, Pope John XXIII advocated for such a Church.

The head of the Roman Catholic Church gives a sharp cross-section of today’s world marked by social inequality and violence, which arose from the “economy of exclusion”. In the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, two issues were singled out as essential in this historical moment: 1) the inclusion of the poor in society, and, 2) peace and social dialogue. Moreover, the Pope believes that the answers to these two questions will shape the future of humanity [EG, §185] Pope Francis quotes the words of his predecessor, that to be a Christian is “an encounter with an event, with a Person who gives life a new perspective and final direction”, and that these are practically words “that introduce us to the very core of the Gospel”. [EG, § 7] A path of dialogue is necessary for a new evangelization and the Pope points to its different potentials. In that sense, three areas of dialogue were pointed out, in which it is necessary for the Church to be present, they could promote the overall development of man and strive for the common good. [EG, § 238] First, it is a dialogue with states.

⁴⁵¹ We also refer to the book: Tornielli, A., Galeazzi, G. (2015). *Papa Franjo – Ova ekonomija ubija* (Papa Francesco – Questa economia uccide), Zagreb: Verbum.

⁴⁵² As a reminder, Archbishop Bergoglio Bergoglio was the chairman of the commission in charge of preparing the Final Document. Fifth General Conference of the Latin American and Caribbean bishops, Aparecida Document, 29 June 2007.

⁴⁵³ Pope Paul VI, 1964, in the encyclical *Ecclesiam suam*.



Map 14. The travels outside Italy: March 2013 – March 2018

Source: National Catholic Reporter Mar 12, 2018, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/vatican/pope-francis-stands-world-stage-set-john-paul-ii>

Then, the dialogue with society including dialogue with cultures and the sciences. Finally, the dialogue with other believers who are not part of the Catholic Church. [EG, § 250-254] The Pope emphasizes the need for dialogue with other religions. The Pope is very tolerant in relations with other monotheistic religions. When it comes to the peaceful coexistence of people, the apostolic document found its place in the delicate topics of ecumenical and interreligious dialogue, as well as the dialogue of believers with those atheists who “sincerely seek truth, goodness and beauty.” In short, the Pope emphasizes that no stakeholder should be excluded from the dialogue, since dialogue can become ‘a path to peace in our troubled world’. [EG, § 257] The importance of dialogue with states for this pontificate, is shown by the fact that in the period March 2013 – March 2018, Pope Francis visited 33 foreign states. Of these, 9 were Latin American.

As D. Levin notes: “Francis is also the son of immigrants, and comes from a country, a church, and a region that have experienced horrific violence and deep inequalities”.⁴⁵⁴ Pope Francis calls on all countries to generous openness, which will lead them to new forms of cultural synthesis, as

⁴⁵⁴ Levine, D. H. (2016). *What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America, CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, CLALS*, <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

well as coexistence free from the fear of losing local identity [EG, §210] This attitude, given that it comes from the Latin American Pope, is a particularly significant support for the 37 million Latin American migrants worldwide estimated to have been in 2017. Some went to the United States and Europe, while others found refuge in neighbouring countries in the region, especially during the 2015-2018 timespan. In the last few years, most of the population was mainly departing Venezuela.⁴⁵⁵ Regarding the reception of migrants within the Latin American region, the situation changed rapidly at the beginning of 2020 due to the coronavirus. Countries that have so far very generously opened their borders to migrants (Colombia, Peru, and Brazil) are showing increasing xenophobia, since their economies are slowing down.⁴⁵⁶

Precisely from the source of the most important postulates of the Church's social doctrine, the Pope distils four principles, the application of which carries the key potential for a true path to peace in every nation and in the whole world. [EG, §221] These four principles are: 1) time is greater than space [EG, §222-225]; 2) unity prevails over conflict [EG, §226-230]; 3) realities are more important than ideas [EG, §231-233]; 4) the whole is greater than the part [EG, §234-237]. Given that at the very center of the Gospel are man's relationship to the other and selfless giving to the other, the Holy Father through the *Evangelii Gaudium* suggests the development of such relationships among people: 'Goodness always tends to spread (...) any person who has experienced a profound liberation becomes more sensitive to the needs of others.' [EG, §9] Contrary to his general beliefs, Pope Francis has doubts in the goodness of those who hold economic power in their hands, nor in the mechanisms of the free market that developed the 'globalization of indifference'. [EG, §54] 'It is vital that government leaders and financial leaders take heed and broaden their horizons, working to ensure that all citizens have dignified work, education and healthcare.' [EG, §205] The Pope Jesuit is especially aware of the importance of education for the state of society.

⁴⁵⁵ Americas Quarterly, *The Migration Issue*, Volume 14 | Issue 2 | 2020, retrieved 12.05.2020, from: <https://www.americasquarterly.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/TheMigrationIssue.pdf>

⁴⁵⁶ Some politicians are already using this situation to demand the abolition of visas and programs for migrants. It is precisely such policies that make migrants "shadow people" who do not live completely, as is the case in the United States. "Americas Quarterly, *The Migration Issue*, Volume 14 | Issue 2 | 2020, retrieved 12.05.2020 from <https://www.americasquarterly.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/TheMigrationIssue.pdf>

Today, it is an obvious fact that the biggest property gap was created between the educated and the uneducated. So that some economists, such as Branko Milanović, see the key to solving poverty in more intensive investment of the state in education, so that it would cease to be a privilege of the richer strata of the population. Even in some of the world's most powerful countries, such as the United States, education is a neglected area, as Nobel laureate Paul Krugman pointed out as part of the 2008 financial crisis. Statistics show that in the world's poorest countries, only about 69% of people aged 15 and over can read and write a simple sentence. Such a level of illiteracy in these countries reflects on their poverty and contributes to it – those who cannot read and write are disadvantaged on the labor market.⁴⁵⁷ The Holy Father in the *Evangelii Gaudium* calls everyone to participate in helping the poor. *No one must say that they cannot be close to the poor because their own lifestyle demands more attention to other areas. This is an excuse commonly heard in academic, business or professional, and even ecclesial circles* [EG, §201] In 2015, the results of a study conducted for the World Bank were published. They were devastating in a sample of more than 130 million people, one in five Latinos was in the period 2004-2012. lived in chronic poverty.⁴⁵⁸ When it comes to poverty in Latin America, it is important to say that in that region (as well as around the world) the indigenous population compared to the non-indigenous is almost always with: a lower standard of living; higher infection rate with a shorter life expectancy; limited chances to be educated; and their political participation and voice are also limited.⁴⁵⁹ In the exhortation, the Pope quotes the words of the Brazilian bishops from their conference in 2002 which, even almost two decades later, in Latin America have not lost anything of their relevance. Even though there is enough food for everyone, many are hungry. There are still many Brazilian people who are “landless, homeless, lacking food and health care – to the detriment of their rights. (...) that hunger is the result of a poor distribution of goods and income. The problem is made worse by the generalized

⁴⁵⁷ Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina (2016) – “Literacy”. *Published online at OurWorldInData.org*. Retrieved from: ‘<https://ourworldindata.org/literacy>’ [Online Resource]

⁴⁵⁸ Vakis, Renos, Rigolini, Jamele and Leonardo Lucchetti. 2015. *Overview: Left Behind: Chronic Poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, DC: World Bank. License: Creative Commons Attribution CC BY 3.0. https://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/LAC/chronic_poverty_overview.pdf

⁴⁵⁹ For more information see: *Indigenous Peoples and Poverty: An International Perspective*, Robyn Eversole, John-Andrew McNeish and Alberto D. Cimadamore (eds), 2005, CROP International Studies in Poverty Research, Zed Books Ltd, London, New York

practice of wastefulness.”⁴⁶⁰ [EG, §191] The Pope’s unequivocal views on the global socio-economic system, ‘*which is unjust at its root*’ [EG, §59] and that, ‘*Inequality is the root of social ills*. [EG, §202]

It was inevitable that the Pope’s analysis of today’s economic order, social justice and inequality in society, would raise some provocative questions and criticism of the Pope. Is Pope Francis an extreme or a Marxist? Then, did he, by caring for the poor as the primary task of the Church, approach the theology of liberation?⁴⁶¹ Fr. Bruce Duncan denies that the Pope is an extreme or Marxist, arguing for the apparent continuity of views between Pope Francis and his predecessors (which he even often quotes in his exhortation). Namely, he repeats a similar kind of concern for social justice, only in circumstances of modern times.⁴⁶² Similar view has Russian political scientist, Zbigniew. B. Ivanovsky.⁴⁶³

As for the “theologians of liberation”, although most of them are optimistic about Pope Francis, they are not united in their assessment of the new pontiff. It is interesting to mention the opinion of Leonard Boff, who believes that the new Pope should not be expected to make major changes in church doctrine, but that the practical life of the church has already begun to change. For example, in terms of making important decisions, the Pope already in mid-April 2013 set a new collegial style of Church governance, embodied in the Council of Cardinal Advisors (*Vaticano Consiglio di Cardinali*). The Pope entrusted the coordination of the Council to the Salesian Maradiaga (Óscar Andrés Rodríguez Maradiaga), Cardinal of the Catholic Church of Honduras. In short, the Pope then asked the Council of Cardinals for help in reforming

⁴⁶⁰ Conferência Nacional Dos Bispos do Brasil, *Exigências evangélicas e éticas de superação da miséria e da fome*” (April 2002), Introduction, 2.

⁴⁶¹ Татьяна Борисовна Коваль, *Новый Свет Папы Франциска*, 2013, Религия и общество

⁴⁶² Duncan, B., *Pope Francis’s Call for Social Justice in the Global Economy*, Australasian Catholic Record, The, Vol. 91, No. 2, Apr 2014: 178-193. Availability: <https://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=404755218276486;res=IELNZC>

ISSN: 0727-3215. [cited 04 Apr 20]

⁴⁶³ He also notes the continuity between the Pope and his predecessors: “The Pope supports conclusions of the Second Vatican Council “which opposed the return of neo-scholastic Catholic conservatism and Protestant secular liberalism, and advocated for the joining of the religion with philosophy.” Збигнев. В. Ивановский, *Папа Франциск и вызовы Римско-католической церкви в современном мире*, *The Scientist, Мир и политика*, Ноябрь 2013. № 11(84), стр. 4-17. <http://mir-politika.ru/>, retrieved 04.03.2016, from https://istina.msu.ru/media/publications/articles/bf8/cd9/4976558/11_2013_.pdf

the Roman Curia and leading the Catholic Church.⁴⁶⁴ In addition, he states in the document as a necessity the transition to healthy ‘decentralization’, which practically means giving more autonomy to local bishops in recognizing certain problems in their territories. [EG, §16] Having all the above in mind, the exhortation is a natural continuation of the pontiff’s intentions to openly face the negative phenomena of modern Christian life in the context of the new evangelization, as well as to begin the reform of the Catholic Church at all its levels. Cardinal Walter Kasper notes that the Pope “does not fit into either the traditionalist or the progressive scheme.” Raising the bridge towards the starting point, he is the builder of the bridge towards the future.⁴⁶⁵ When it comes to the inclusion of the poor and marginalized in society, humanity should begin to think in a completely different way, to build a ‘new mentality’ of solidarity with them, which should become ‘more than a few sporadic acts of generosity. [EG, §188] Thus the Pope presents his vision of a more merciful and less hierarchical Church. There is no doubt that Pope Francis, with this document, gave a fresh and different approach to evangelization in relation to his predecessors, and that he remained faithful to the source – the Gospel and its messages. This is his ‘weapon’ with which he stands in defense of the poor and marginalized in the 21st century. “*And he that hath the riches of this world, and seeth his brother in need, and shutteth his heart from him, how then shall the love of God abide in him?*” (Apostle John 3:17)

VIII.3. Encyclical *Laudato Si* (case study)

In June 2015, the Encyclical Letter (*Lettera enciclica*) of Pope Francis – *Laudato Si*⁴⁶⁶ was published in the Vatican. With this Encyclical ‘*About caring for our shared home*’, the Environment, the Holy Father makes a universal and urgent appeal ‘*for a new dialogue about how we are shaping the future of our planet. ‘We need a conversation which includes everyone...’* [LS, §14]. In

⁴⁶⁴ Коваль, Т. Б., *Новый Свет Папы Франциска*, 2013, Религия и общество, р. 14; Збигнев. В. Ивановский, *Папа Франциск и вызовы Римско-католической церкви в современном мире*, The Scientist, Мир и политика, Ноябрь 2013. № 11(84), стр. 4-17. <http://mir-politika.ru/>, retrieved 04.03.2016, from https://istina.msu.ru/media/publications/articles/bf8/cd9/4976558/11_2013_.pdf

⁴⁶⁵ Kasper, W. (2015)., *Pope Francis Revolution of Tenderness and Love*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, p. 45.

⁴⁶⁶ *The encyclical was named after the initial words Laudato si’ mi Signore (Praise be, my Lord), from the Song (canticle) of the Sun Brother by St. Francis of Assisi, through which he reminds us of the common home – Mother Earth.*

short, in the first chapter, the Pope gives an account of today's ecological crisis in several respects, as well as an analysis of the present situation of the human race, with concern for "what is happening to our planet" (LS, §18,§19). The Pope is aware that there will be those who will resent the encyclical *Laudato si'* 'out of the Church's purview, and explains, *'the Church does not presume to settle scientific questions or to replace politics. But I am concerned to encourage an honest and open debate so that particular interests or ideologies will not prejudice the common good.'*⁴⁶⁷ [LS §188] Because of the different approaches to understanding reality, the dialogue between science and religion is exceptionally important. [LS §62]

The second chapter of the encyclical is called *The Gospel of Creation*. Why did the chapter on religious beliefs find its place in the document addressed to all people of good will? The Pope says that religions have a wealth that they can give to the integral ecology and full development of humanity. *'If we are truly concerned to develop an ecology capable of remedying the damage we have done, no branch of the sciences and no form of wisdom can be left out, and that includes religion and the language particular to it.'* [LS §63] In the continuation of the same chapter, through the Bible's account of two brothers Cain and Abel, the emphasis is placed on values these relationships bring forth, ... *relationship with my own self, with others, with God and with the earth (...)* *When all these relationships are neglected, when justice no longer dwells in the land, the Bible tells us that life itself is endangered.*" (Gen 6:13). [LS §70] In any case, *'Laudato si'* has a much greater reach and significance, than one that would be related only to the social teaching of the Church. Undoubtedly, there were already messages and works in the Catholic tradition on the subject of man's relationship with nature.⁴⁶⁸ Pope Francis frequently quotes his predecessors, Benedict XVI and John Paul II, in the encyclical. However, Pope Francis is the only one who has put environmental issues at the center of his public agenda. He, also *'tied ecological questions more closely to social, economic and political issues'* than his precedents.⁴⁶⁹ It should be pointed out that reoccurring themes

⁴⁶⁷ This is indeed true since the leading economists of today, including Joseph Stiglitz and Jeffrey Sachs, were consulted during the preparation of this encyclical and strongly supported it afterward. Bruce Duncan, Pope Francis & the bushfires, 6 February 2020, Social Policy Connections Australia <https://www.socialpolicyconnections.com.au/?p=16238>

⁴⁶⁸ About the genesis of relation theology – ecology see more in: Simone Morandini, *Teologia ed ecologia*, Editrice Morcelliana, Brescia 2005

⁴⁶⁹ Daniel H. Levine, What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11*, March 2016, CLALS, p. 9-10. <http://www.american.edu/clals/>

in *Laudato Si'* are the environment and the poor (inequalities between people), which the Pope himself says are among the most complex problems of today's world. These problems cannot be approached from a singular point of view or from a singular interest. That is why technology and its profit-driven satellite economy, should provide unifying, humane solutions to these problems. [LS, §110] 'Technique separate from ethics will hardly be able to set limits to its own power' [LS §136] – concludes Pope in Chapter Three of the Encyclical, *Human Roots of the Ecological Crisis*. From the Latin American perspective, particular attention has been drawn to the Pope's connection with the problems of ecology and the problem of poverty, which he encompasses in the encyclical with the common term 'integral ecology'.⁴⁷⁰ While *Enrique Dussel* lucidly notes that "*The destruction of nature and the annihilation of the culture of the poor go hand in hand.*" (*Dussel, Enrique, 1988:204*)

Furthermore, when analyzing the very structure of the encyclical, it is observed that through its six chapters, Pope Francis returns to the most important topics over and over again. He looks at them from different, new perspectives and enriches them. In the very first chapter (What is happening to our Common Home) important topics have been introduced, such as: '*the belief that everything in the world is deeply connected, the intimate relationship between the poor and the fragility of the planet, the critique of new paradigms and forms of power derived from technology, the call to seek other ways of understanding the economy and progress, the value proper to each creature, the human meaning of ecology, the need for forthright and honest debate, the serious responsibility of international and local policy, the throwaway culture and the proposal of a new lifestyle.*' [LS, §16]. Numerous scientific data on the composition of the human body are evidence of the substantial connection between man and nature. At least three quarters of our body is made up of water and minerals.⁴⁷¹ Rivers and lakes live in us, and mountains lend us part of our bodies. There is a striking similarity between the chemical composition of the Earth and of the man. Can we truly honor ourselves if we do

Religion-and-Democracy.cfm

⁴⁷⁰ More on Integral Ecology: Alexandre A. Martins, *Laudato Si' : An Integral Ecology and Preferential Option for the Poor*, *Journal of Religious Ethics*, Volume 46, Issue 3, September 2018, p. 410-424 <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/jore.12224> accessed 12/12/2018

⁴⁷¹ Size, B., *First Person: Minerals are links between Earth and human health*, Emory Report, September 21, 1998, Volume 51, No. 5, http://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/erarchive/1998/September/erseptember.21/9_21_98Size.html

not honor Earth? Pope reminds of the fact that many countries have either inadequate legislature or its enforcement to prevent agrarian, mining, and industrial pollution of underground water sources. [LS §29]

It is necessary to emphasize that throughout the encyclical, Pope Francis points out, in various ways, the essential causes of the degradation of the natural environment. On the other hand, the Holy Father in chapter V. of this encyclical provides guidelines that can be acted upon to prevent the catastrophe of mankind. In the same chapter, the pontiff appeals first to political and business decision makers, so that their individual interests or ideologies do not obscure the image of the common good. [LS §183-188] That is why all decision-making processes should be honest, transparent and the fruit of dialogue. Such processes are the *conditio sine qua non* for the complete development and preservation of our planet Earth. From the economic point of view, the importance of transparency is also emphasized by the Nobel laureate, Joseph Stiglitz, who noted that there is an “information asymmetry” between the data held by companies and the data held by consumers. He sees this information gap as the biggest flaw in the market. Stiglitz points to the value of transparency as a way of ethical behaviour for the company, which, when applied to the environment, means that by informing its consumer about the way it conserves the environment, the company achieves market advantage.⁴⁷² Unfortunately, the actual environmental impact is often obscured through the various forms of corruption. *These assessments usually produce specious agreements which fail to inform adequately and to allow for full debate.* ‘ [LS, §182, §206]

It should be mentioned that in Latin America, the population exposed to industrial and mining pollution often sought help from their local church. It was a well-known case of Brazilian fishermen from 1968, when the wastewater from a factory near Racife poisoned coastal waters and killed many fish. Local fishermen are asking Dom Helder Camara to help them because they have not dared to contact the plant management themselves. Since all this was happening during the military dictatorship, permission from the authorities was necessary for Camara to go to the factory with the fishermen. The general, whom he approached for permission, refused him. Kamara then organizes a procession (which did not require the permission of the authorities) and with the cross in his hands, at the head of the fishermen and their families, he reaches the factory, where he gave a speech. Afterwards, the plant management called the fishermen for a deal and promised

⁴⁷² Goleman, D. (2009). *Ecological Intelligence*, New York: Broadway Books, pp. 73-74.

to stop water pollution.⁴⁷³ Holy Father believes the world must realize that ‘a true environmental approach is always a social approach: it must integrate the question of justice in debates on the environment, so as to hear both the cry of the earth and the cry of the poor.’ [LS,§49]

Almost as a rule, the development of the mining industry in the Andes region went hand in hand with environmental degradation (primarily water and air). It has led to sharp, often tragic conflicts between indigenous communities and the interests of the mining industry. An example of Peru at the beginning of the 21st century shows how clergy got involved in defending the interests of the indigenous population. Bishop of Huankayo, Pedro Barreto, used the help of the radio network – Radio Marañon in the region of Jaén, to advocate for his believers. Soon Bishop Barreto and Marañon Radio became targets of sharp criticism from the government and the mining industry.⁴⁷⁴ According to some opinions, bishop’s involvement helped channel conflict through official institutions and minimized the likelihood of violence, despite the anger of powerful corporations.⁴⁷⁵ In June 2018, Pope Francis appointed the Peruvian Archbishop Barreto a Cardinal.

In 2009, the bishops of the Argentine region of Patagonia-Comahue noted the frequent practice of multinational companies to cause environmental pollution in less developed countries by activities that they should never engage in in their home countries. The practice of exporting solid wastes and toxic liquids to developing countries is particularly dangerous. [LS §51] In this regard, it should be emphasized that in cases of legal disputes of large multinational companies and indigenous communities, these communities are even more vulnerable, given the widespread corruption throughout the region. Archbishop Oscar Romero was still referring to the corruption that prevailed in the judiciary, conveying the words a campesinos: “*The law is like a snake. It bites only those who do not have shoes.*”⁴⁷⁶ How widespread the corruption is today can be illustrated by the fact that some Latin American as well as some governments all over the world have been deposed for

⁴⁷³ Mlivončić, I., *Church in Latin America* Zagreb: Školske novine, 1988, p. 144.

⁴⁷⁴ Levine, D. H. (2016). *What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America*, CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, CLALS, p. 9-10. <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁴⁷⁵ Javier Arellano-Yanguas, Religion and Resistance to Extraction in Rural Peru: Is the Catholic Church Following the People?, *Latin American Research Review*, Vol.49, 2014, www.cpalsocial.org/documentos/182.pdf

⁴⁷⁶ Maier M. (2005). *Oscar Romero: Spirituality Teacher*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, p. 63

that reason. Hence the claim that corruption is a source of geopolitical risks, although this fact has long been ignored.⁴⁷⁷ Corruption fuels injustice. And individual injustice spreads fast all the way to international relations. Pope Francis warns of this progression: '*Inequity affects not only individuals but entire countries; it compels us to consider the ethics of international relations.*' 'The ecological debt, particularly of the global north, is a consequence of the disproportionate use of natural resources of the global south. [LS §51]

Additionally, Pope Francis examines the tragic possibility of the disappearance of a culture, as part of the dangers posed by the various forms of intensive exploitation and destruction of the environment that led to the depletion of the livelihoods of local communities. Moreover, they undermine the social structures '*that have shaped cultural identity and their sense of the meaning of life and community.*' *The disappearance of a culture can be just as serious, or even more serious, than the disappearance of a species of plant or animal.*' (LS, §145) Indigenous communities and their cultural traditions require attention, especially when it comes to negotiating large projects, that affect the space in which they live – it is therefore essential that they are the main negotiators. They have a special relationship towards the country, which they view not only as an economic good, but as *a gift from God and from their ancestors (...)* *When indigenous communities remain on their land, they themselves care for it best.* It is no secret that Indigenous people are often pressured to leave their home country, virtually 'squeezed out' by agriculture or mining projects, which do not take into account *the degradation of nature and culture.* (LS, §146) In doing so, the global North often refuses to hear the message of the ecological disasters of the global South: to stop the displacement of indigenous populations for intense and short-term profits. Most Indigenous cultures have respectful relationship toward the nature which sustains the life. The primordial instinct to understand how different segments of nature function as a whole is a talent that every indigenous culture necessarily possesses as it adapts to its specific environment. In 2009, Daniel Goleman complements the existing theory of the seven types of human intelligence⁴⁷⁸ with *environmental intelligence*. It is important to

⁴⁷⁷ Moran, M., The Geopolitics of Corruption, *Foreign Affairs*, April 14, 2016
Retrieved 19.06.2016 from: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2016-04-14/geopolitics-corruption>

⁴⁷⁸ Harvard psychologist Howard Gardner defines human intelligence as the sum of seven different abilities, special talents aimed at overcoming obstacles both at the individual and human levels.

understanding how things and nature interact, including how artificially created systems intersect and complement each other with natural systems. ‘Ecological intelligence combines these intellectual capacities with empathy for all life ‘(...) Such an understanding requires a ‘vast storehouse of knowledge’, which no one individually possesses. Therefore, ‘each of us should help the other cope with the complexities of environmental intelligence. We have to cooperate.’⁴⁷⁹

In support of this view, it is worth mentioning the ecological cooperation between Peru and Ecuador, which has ‘breathed life’ into the long-term peace between the two countries, which had been in conflict for five decades by then. This reinforced cooperation was based on the 1998 Peace Agreement (as discussed in Chapter VII). Then, in the Cordillera del Cóndor area, known for its exceptional biodiversity, two Ecological Protected Zones or “Peace Parks” were created. Creating these ecologically protected areas on both sides of the Peruvian-Ecuadorian border, in addition to the undoubted economic and other benefits that both countries will continue to have in the future, helps to preserve their common ecosystems.⁴⁸⁰

If we follow the rise and fall of one imperial power after another throughout the history on this geographic space, it becomes apparent that all of them tend to take from its nature more than the sustainable share. Pope Francis calls for the intergenerational solidarity and responsibility to maintain the ecology of our planet in his encyclical, “*the world we have received also belongs to those who will follow us*” (*Laudato Si*, §159). There are many examples of environmental imperialism (understood as the unequal relationship between the needs of an empire and the natural environment that it draws from for those needs) in Latin America. One of those examples is from the nineteenth century when guano and nitrates from Peru and Chile began to be mass-exported to the United Kingdom and some other imperial powers of that time did not enrich their land. The consequences were numerous, and the most obvious was that the uncontrolled export of natural fertilizer produced degradation of habitats in Peru and Chile. The authors of *Clark & Foster* conclude that ‘Ecological imperialism creates asymmetries in the exploitation of the environment, unequal exchange, and a global metabolic

⁴⁷⁹ Goleman, D. (2009). *Ecological Intelligence*, New York: Broadway Books, pp. 43-44; 48.

⁴⁸⁰ Bruce St John, R., *The Ecuador-Peru Boundary Dispute: The Road to Settlement*, IBRU Boundary and Territory Briefing, Volume 3 Number 1, 1999, p. 43-49; Peace Parks in the Cordillera del Cóndor Mountain Range and Biodiversity Conservation Corridor, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ponce.pdf>

rift.⁴⁸¹ It can be concluded that Pope Francis' integral ecology opposes ecological imperialism. In the encyclical, the Holy Father Pope is particularly committed to the essential de-discrimination of humanity, which starts with the minimum equality of all humans on the planet. This includes, first of all, access to drinking water, as a basic and universal human right, which ensures survival.⁴⁸² Furthermore, Pope Francis points to studies that warn that the world could very quickly (even in the coming decades) face an acute shortage of water if something is not done urgently. On the other hand, the Pope does not rule out the possibility that the control of water by large multinational businesses may become a major source of conflict in this century' [LS §31]. In addition, he speaks of the responsibility of politicians to be able to foresee the potential sources of new conflicts, that is, to work to remedy the causes that may cause wars ('under the guise of noble aspirations'). Among other things, the exhaustion of natural resources has the potential to become one of these causes. [LS §57] Also, the Holy Father emphasizes the importance of raising awareness that we are all one human family. '*There are no frontiers or barriers, political or social, behind which we can hide, yet less is there room for the globalization of indifference.*' [LS §52] In considering the human roots of the environmental crisis (Chapter III of the encyclical), the pontiff calls for a "cleaner" and more responsible world, '*There can be no renewal of our relationship with nature without a renewal of humanity itself. There can be no ecology without an adequate anthropology.*' [LS, §118]

Pope Francis' persistent commitment to the environment is consistent with the concrete steps taken by members of the Global Investors Group. Specifically, Climate Action 100+ in 2017 brought together 320 investors with a total equity value of over \$ 33 trillion, with the aim of reducing gas emissions of corporations, the world's largest air pollutants, to the levels set by the Paris Agreement.⁴⁸³ Climate Action 100+ invests into the largest pollutants in global

⁴⁸¹ Brett Clark & John Bellamy Foster, *Ecological Imperialism and the Global Metabolic Rift, Unequal Exchange and the Guano/Nitrates Trade*, 2009, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol 50(3–4): 311–334, (p.317)

⁴⁸² Daniel H. Levine, *What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America*, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11*, March 2016, *CLALS*, p. 9. <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁴⁸³ *The Paris Climate Agreement*, signed at the end of 2015, addresses the reduction of harmful emissions of gases causing climate change. It is based on a voluntary basis and has been signed by almost 200 countries of the world. In November 2019, the United States, one of the largest greenhouse gas emitters in the world, initiated a

companies, only on condition that they have concrete and feasible pollution reduction plans.⁴⁸⁴ Among the dozens of religious organizations that are members of Group 100+ are Catholic investors, such as Christian Brothers Investment Services and Mercy Investment Services.⁴⁸⁵ The Dutch Shell management announced in December 2018 that short-term and long-term plans for reducing the Net Carbon Footprint of its energy products had been drawn up, but only after pressure from the Pensions Board Church of England.⁴⁸⁶ Would the demands of global investors be so loud and mature so quickly without the existence of the *Laudato Si* encyclical? Many important ideas for the benefit of mankind are inaudible and go unnoticed, so it is very important in whose hands the “loudspeaker” is. In dealing with environmental issues, the pontiff remains consistent with his view from *Evangelii Gaudium*: *‘The gravity of the ecological crisis demands that we all look to the common good, embarking on a path of dialogue which requires patience, self-discipline and generosity, always keeping in mind that “realities are greater than ideas”.*(LS, §201, EG §231)

In the final, sixth chapter of the encyclical, Ecological Education and Spirituality, the Holy Father speaks of the great cultural, spiritual and educational challenge facing humanity, which requires a long journey of renewal. [LS §202] Paying attention to and love for beauty is a way to dismiss utilitarian pragmatism more quickly. [LS §202] The aim of the various educational fields (school, family, social media, religious teaching, the Church, politics and others) is to raise people’s awareness, to learn to stop and admire something beautiful. [LS §213, 214, 215] It can be concluded that the value of Pope Francis Encyclical *Laudato Si*’ is not only in trying to bring environmental problems as close as possible to socio-economic and political problems, but also in the alarming warning that it is our connection with nature (which should entail solidarity among people), rests on the shaky foundations.

withdrawal from the agreement with the United Nations (which lasts one year), explaining that it is damaging the US economy. <https://www.rts.rs/page/magazine/sr/story/2953/priroda/3726606/amerikanci-napustaju-pariski-sporazum-o-klimi.html>

⁴⁸⁴ The list of the world’s 100 largest air pollutants, which account for 2/3 of the total pollution, includes: A.P. Moller – Maersk, Airbus Group, American Electric Power Company, Inc., Anglo American, Anhui Conch Cement, ArcelorMittal, BASF SE, Bayer AG <https://climateaction100.wordpress.com/about-us/> accessed 15/06/2019

⁴⁸⁵ <https://climateaction100.wordpress.com/investors/> accessed 15/06/2019

⁴⁸⁶ *Church of England investors hold oil companies to account on climate change*, Posted on: May 24, 2019, <https://www.anglicannews.org/news/2019/05/church-of-england-investors-hold-oil-companies-to-account-on-climate-change.aspx> accessed 15/06/2019

VIII.4. Pope Francis' Speeches in Latin America

Only a few months after the enthronement, the new Supreme Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church travels to Latin America. He is welcomed by Brazil, on the World Youth Day festival in Rio de Janeiro. In the period from the 22nd to the 28th of July 2013, Pope Francis gave twelve prepared speeches in Brazil, one homily at the closing Mass and had three spontaneous addresses. One of his speeches was held in the hospital of St. Francis of Assisi Hospital, where he opened a department for the treatment of addicts of psychoactive substances.⁴⁸⁷ On that occasion, the Pope spoke about the necessity for the whole society to have the courage to oppose the drug trade. Liberalization in terms of its procurement, the Pope believes, will not solve the problem. The primary question is not the issue of drug supply liberalization, but the reasons behind many young people in the world being pushed into despair. In short, he suggests that the ills of society as the root causes of addiction need to be addressed.⁴⁸⁸

Considering the Pope's previous Argentine experience of frequent contacts with the poor communities of the Buenos Aires slums (*villas*) it was quite expected for the "pope of the villas" to visit favela Varginha in Rio. There he based his speech on three topics: 1) solidarity among people and social justice; 2) human dignity; 3) potential of young people and the common good. When it comes to the path to a better and more just world, it is certainly not in the culture of egoism, but in the culture of solidarity. In accordance with his position, in favela Varginha Francisco I appeals, "*to those in possession of greater resources, to public authorities and to all people of good will who are working for social justice: never tire of working for a more just world, marked by greater solidarity!*"⁴⁸⁹ He then quotes parts of the Aparecida Document on unbearable social and economic inequalities, which put the Church in a position to "represent justice and defend the poor." Certainly,

⁴⁸⁷ This department was built with donations from the Vatican.

⁴⁸⁸ Visit to St. Francis of Assisi of the Providence of God Hospital – V.O.T. Address of Pope Francis,

https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130724_gmg-ospedale-rio.html; Srijemska biskupija, retrieved 07.05.2020, from <http://www.srijembiskupija.rs/hr/naglasci-iz-papinih-govora-u-brazilu>

⁴⁸⁹ Visit to the community of Varginha (Manguinhos),

http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130725_gmg-comunita-varginha.pdf; *RioOnWatch*, <https://www.rioonwatch.org/?p=10675>

it is a binding position for the Church, to satisfy another type of hunger in people: hunger for dignity and happiness often even deeper than the hunger for bread. In short, it can be stated that the Holy Father, in his speech in Varginha, once again defended two important pillars of the Church's social teaching, namely life and the family.⁴⁹⁰ *'Life, which is a gift of God, a value always to be protected and promoted; the family, the foundation of coexistence and a remedy against social fragmentation.'*⁴⁹¹ At the same time, in his speech in Virginia, he supported the efforts made by the Brazilian government at the time to integrate its entire population into society. On the other hand, in reality, Brazilian governments have failed to find a lasting solution to their favelas, despite having one of the strongest economies in the world for years. According to the Government statistics, almost 11 million Brazilians (6% of the population) live in favelas, as the poorest part of society. In Brazil, one could even hear resigned criticism that the Catholic Church, in tandem with the government and other social institutions, had left the favelas. Therefore, in that neglected niche of society, others saw an opportunity for themselves and used it (gangs and Pentecostals).⁴⁹²

In order to make a more comprehensive analysis of Pope Francis' visit to Brazil, it is necessary to state the circumstances in this country immediately before his arrival. Millions of Brazilians took to the streets in June to protest the huge public spending earmarked for the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics. On the other hand, expenditures for the fight against poverty, for health, education, public transport, were drastically reduced. They felt that this was leading to the decline of these basic public services. So, Brazilian soil at the time of the Pope's arrival was still shaking from mass anti-government demonstrations from the previous month, which were replaced in July by opposition protests against the government of President Dilma Rousseff and "endemic corruption" that swept the country. The protests even at

⁴⁹⁰ In 2016, the Vatican published the apostolic exhortation of Pope Francis, *The Joy of Love (Amoris Laetitia)*, which is entirely dedicated to love and family. Pope Francesco, *Amoris Laetitia*

https://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20160319_amorislaetitia_en.pdf

⁴⁹¹ Visit to the community of Varginha (Manguinhos),

http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130725_gmg-comunita-varginha.pdf

⁴⁹² John L. Allen, *In Brazilian Favela, Pope Francis Becomes Apostle of the Slums*, National Catholic Reporter, July 25, 2013, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/global/brazilian-favela-pope-francis-becomes-apostle-slums>.

one point included the high cost of the Pope's visit.⁴⁹³ In that context, some wanted the Pope's speech in the Varginha favela addressed to the youth of Brazil to be interpreted as an indirect blessing of the June protests, which were initiated by the young people. Some others saw the irony in the fact that the Pope gave a speech in the favela shortly after visiting Rio's city palace, where he blessed the Olympic flags.⁴⁹⁴ In any case, this visit was conducted under the ominous shadow of the newest political events in Brazil, which required from Pope Francis additional tact in addressing the people. For example, at the end of his speech in Varginha, the Pope emphasizes that young people are especially sensitive to injustice and often disappointed with facts that speak of corruption, as well as people who suppress the interests of the common good due to their personal interests. At the same time, he encourages young people from the favela, but also everyone else, to believe that situations and people can change.⁴⁹⁵

The next day, the pontiff tells the participants in a *Way of the Cross* procession at Copacabana, about the connection that the cross creates between man and God. On the Cross, Jesus is united with: the silence of victims of violence, families whose children are victims of drugs, with the hungry in the world (the same world that throws tons of food every day), with those persecuted for their faith, ideas or skin color. On the cross, Jesus unites with a multitude of young people who have lost faith in political institutions steeped in corruption and greed, in the Church, and even in God because of the weakness of Christians and gospel ministers. Through the parable of Jesus, who supports the cross of man with his shoulders, Pope Francis tells the young participants in the procession in Rio de Janeiro: "Have courage! You do not carry your cross alone!" Man is saved with the help of another, through communion with another (God and / or man). "Do you want to help me carry the Cross?" Is Jesus' question. It inspires the Pope's next question: "Brothers and sisters, with all the strength of your youth, how will you respond to

⁴⁹³ BBC News, Brazil crowds greet Pope Francis in Rio de Janeiro, 23 July 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-23413443>

⁴⁹⁴ John L. Allen, *In Brazilian Favela, Pope Francis Becomes Apostle of the Slums*, National Catholic Reporter, 25 July, 2013, <https://www.ncronline.org/news/global/brazilian-favela-pope-francis-becomes-apostle-slums>.

⁴⁹⁵ Visit to the Community of Varginha (Manguinhos) Address of Pope Francis, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130725_gmg-comunita-varginha.pdf; Papa Franjo, *Crkva milosrda*, 2014, *Kršćanska sadašnjost*, Zagreb, pp. 144-145. Orig. Papa Francesco, *La chiesa della misericordia*, 2014, San Paolo/Vaticano

him?”⁴⁹⁶ In this way, Pope Francis lucidly encourages young participants in the liturgy to be actively involved in the faith, as well as not to neglect the spiritual dimension of their life path.

Another important topic, long suppressed by most Brazilian politicians, stood out on the Pope’s first trip to Latin America. Namely, the Pope unequivocally defended the environment of the Amazon and the indigenous population that lives in that area. He spoke with indigenous leaders from the Amazon, listening to their long-standing problems with ranchers and farmers claiming their land in the northeast.⁴⁹⁷ It’s also important to realize that 68% of the Amazon belongs to Brazil.

On the last day of his stay in the former Land of the Holy Cross, the Pope spoke to the bishops about the “pastoral turn” and mercy in this day and age.⁴⁹⁸ It is through charity, not through condemnation the Pope Francis opens the doors of the Church to all. There is no condemnation in Pope Francis’ answer to a journalist’s question during the flight to Rome, about the Church’s attitude towards the status of gay priests. He explains that if they seek God and remain celibate: “Who am I to judge?” This answer may not have satisfied the traditionalists, but it is in line with his appeals for a more inclusive and compassionate Church, which never marginalizes. On the other hand, it is important to make a difference, so that Pope Francis does not justify sin with mercy towards the sinner, which is in accordance with the basic Church principles. The Pope does not deviate from them in this case either, nor from his firm position that “*a little mercy can change the world.*”⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ Way of the Cross with the young people, Waterfront of Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro Friday, 26 July 2013

http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130726_gmg-via-crucis-rio.pdf

⁴⁹⁷ Levine, D. H. (2016). What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, CLALS*, p. 9-10. <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁴⁹⁸ WYD, Meeting with the bishops of Brazil, Archbishop’s House, Rio de Janeiro, Saturday, 28 July 2013, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130727_gmg-episcopato-brasile.pdf

⁴⁹⁹ Tracy Wilkinson, Pope Francis’ accepting comments on gays mark change in tone, Los Angeles Times, <http://articles.latimes.com/2013/jul/29/world/la-fg-pope-gays-20130730>

Accessed on 17/03/2017; John L. Allen, Jr., “Pope on Homosexuals: ‘Who Am I to Judge?’” National Catholic Reporter, July 29, 2013, <http://ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/pope-homosexuals>

Two years later, in July 2015, the Pope visited three poor Latin American countries: Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay. The results of a survey conducted by the American Pew Research Center show that these countries are at the very top in terms of the number of inhabitants who profess the Catholic faith. Especially Paraguay, with 89% of the population.⁵⁰⁰ In 18th century Paraguay, as previously noted, the missionary work within the reductions was flourishing. During his visit to Asunción, the Pope ranked them among the most successful historical examples evangelization and social organization. *“There the Gospel was the soul and the life of communities which did not know hunger, unemployment, illiteracy or oppression.”* Additionally, the example of reductions shows that a more humane society is possible, today as well. *Where there is love of people and a willingness to serve them, it is possible to create the conditions necessary for everyone to have access to basic goods, so that no one goes without.*⁵⁰¹ Erich Fromm, a social psychologist, and psychoanalyst had a similar faith in the stimulating power of religion, that is, the power of love on the path to the realization of a humane society. *“If religious teachings contribute to the growth, strength, freedom and happiness of their believers, we see the fruits of love. If they contribute to the narrowing of human possibilities, dissatisfaction, and lack of productivity, they cannot be the fruits of love, no matter what the dogma intends to convey to them.*⁵⁰²

In Paraguay, Pope Francis talks about the challenge facing businesspeople, politicians, economists, and everyone who can provide a chance for many people for a job, and through that job, hope for their families. Human dignity will arise wherever these preconditions exist: food, housing, adequate health care, and education. Therefore, according to the Pope, *Economic development must have a human face. We say no to an economy without such a face!*⁵⁰³ In short, the Pope advocates for a healthier, more humane society, the

⁵⁰⁰ Pew Research Center, Nov. 13, 2014, “Religion in Latin America: Widespread Change in a Historically Catholic Region”, p.14.

⁵⁰¹ Meeting with representatives of civil society address of the Holy Father, León Condou Stadium, Colegio San José Asunción (Paraguay) Saturday, 11 July 2015, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/pa-pa-francesco_20150711_paraguay-societa-civile.pdf

⁵⁰² From, E. (2015): Psihoanaliza i religija, Beograd – Podgorica, Nova knjiga. (orig. Erick, From, Psychoanalysis and Religion, 1950), p.58.

⁵⁰³ Meeting with representatives of civil society address of the Holy Father, León Condou Stadium, Colegio San José Asunción (Paraguay) Saturday, 11 July 2015, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/pa-pa-francesco_20150711_paraguay-societa-civile.pdf

realization of which ethics, religion, and economics should help together. For someone to have an equally good response to material poverty as to material wealth, that person must have rich spiritual reserves. In this sense, the role of religion is pedagogical and can help the economy.

When it comes to the Pope's trips to Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay, Venezuelan theologians, professors *Luciani* and *Palazzi*, deemed them significant since important changes were introduced in the pastoral Church activity i.e., pastoral turn. There Francis outlined his program for rescuing humankind from its present distress: a) *avoiding "abstract spiritualism"*—that is, thinking that we can have faith apart from our social context; b) *rejecting "methodical functionalism"*—that is, justifying the use of any means to attain a determined end, like remaining in power; c) *applying a critical hermeneutic to the "abstract ideologies" that reduce the Gospel and Christian praxis to empty principles*; and d) *dismantling "ecclesial clericalism and careerism,"* which are signs of an immature faith when compared to the Gospel.⁵⁰⁴ Solidarity with the poor and marginalized, as a theme placed in the focus of the new pontificate, was promoted through most of the Pope's Latin American speeches, in which abstract spiritualism was de facto avoided. Being plain-spoken, they easily found their way to the heart of the common man and were well received throughout the region. For example, during his visit to Ecuador, the pontiff, having in mind the abundance of his natural resources, stated that they are intended for everyone, that there is a social mortgage over them and that they must not be in the function of anyone's short-term interests. In addition, the Pope in Ecuador, fueled by intense disputes over oil well concessions on indigenous land, "called for the protection of the Amazon and the natives who live there."⁵⁰⁵ By doing so he demonstrated how to apply new pastoral principles. Similarly, during his visit to Bolivia, Pope Francis apologized to Bolivian indigenous people for suffering during Spanish colonization, "I say this to you with regret: Many grave sins were committed against the South American Natives in the name of God."⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁴ Luciani, R. & Palazzi, F., *Pope Francis connects the pastoral and theological in a 'new way of being church.'* November 16, 2015, <https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/rooted-vision>

⁵⁰⁵ Levine, D. H. (2016). What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, CLALS*, p. 9-10. <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁵⁰⁶ San Martín, I., *Pope Francis apologizes for exploitation of native peoples, calls for economic justice*, Jul 9, 2015, Crux, <https://cruxnow.com/church/2015/07/pope-francis-apologizes-for-exploitation-of-native-peoples-calls-for-economic-justice/>



Picture 4. Pope Francis I

Source: <https://cruxnow.com/church/2015/07/09/pope-francis-apologizes-for-exploitation-of-native-peoples-calls-for-economic-justice/>

Because of the rise of religious nationalizism in the XXI century, the Pontiff's words about sins committed in the name of God can be applied to almost every state.

Only three months after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States, Pope Francis arrives on a very delicate visit to the American continent. His arrival in Cuba and the United States, in the period of the September 19-27 in 2015, was interpreted as a contribution to further warming of relations between these two countries. The fact that at the time of the Pope's visit to Cuba, the decision of the American Congress on the embargo on that country was still in force, indicated that there was still a lot of unfinished business for his diplomacy of the small steps (*piccoli passi*). In any case, the Pope spoke in Cuba with then-current President Raul Castro, as well as his brother Fidel Castro; he met with Cuban families, with believers, with young people, visited three Cuban cities where he spoke about reconciliation, held masses and evening services. There are many reasons, apart from the calendar coincidence, for the Pope's visits to Cuba and the United States to be viewed in parallel. Namely, everything the Pope said on one side of the American continent was closely monitored and analyzed on its other side. Mostly due to recent changes in Cuban-US relations. When it comes to the visit to the United States, it was marked by two previously

carefully prepared papal speeches. He first addressed the US Congress. It is interesting to note that Pope Francis was the first Supreme Pontiff in the history of the Roman Catholic Church to do so. The second address was to the members of the General Assembly of the United Nations.⁵⁰⁷ His address to Congress covered many issues: world peace (for which he considers the great powers most responsible); the dominance of finance and technology; climate change and more.⁵⁰⁸ The Holy Father Pope, the son of immigrants, spoke in Washington about migration and the attitude towards refugees. He reminded the US Congress of the fact that millions of people came to that continent with a dream of a future in freedom, and that people in America are not fearful of foreigners “because most of us were once foreigners.”⁵⁰⁹ The Pope emphasized that the world is facing the biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War. However, each of the offered solutions to the refugee crisis must be humane. “*Francis has consistently advanced a call for welcome, compassion, and care for refugees and migrants*”⁵¹⁰ – notes Levine. On the other hand, this crisis puts the world in the temptation to reject everything that seems problematic, and such an approach must be avoided. In the same context, the Pope in Washington recalls the Golden Rule of the Gospel: “*Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.*”⁵¹¹ (Mt 7:12) Pope Francis reminded the US Congress of numerous armed conflicts around the world, innocent victims and shameless human corruption with money coming from the arms trade, which must be stopped.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁷ Meeting with the members of the general Assembly of the United Nations Organization, UN Headquarters, New York, 25 Sep 2015, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150925_onu-visita.html

⁵⁰⁸ <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/papa-franjo-sa-kube-putuje-u-sad>

⁵⁰⁹ Pope Francis’s speech to Congress (Transcript), The Washington Post, Sep. 24, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/transcript-pope-franciss-speech-to-congress/2015/09/24/6d7d7ac8-62bf-11e5-8e9e-dce8a2a2a679_story.html. accessed June 7, 2018.

⁵¹⁰ Levine, D. H. (2016). What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11, CLALS*, p. 11, <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁵¹¹ Pope Francis’s speech to Congress (Transcript), The Washington Post, Sep. 24, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/transcript-pope-franciss-speech-to-congress/2015/09/24/6d7d7ac8-62bf-11e5-8e9e-dce8a2a2a679_story.html. accessed June 18, 2017.

⁵¹² At the end of May 2020, Pope Francis from the Vatican appeals to world political leaders to direct huge amounts of money intended for weapons to research, in order to

The next day, the pontiff spoke in front of at least 150 world leaders, members of the UN General Assembly, in New York City about the numerous plagues of the modern world. These include the phenomenon of social and economic exclusion. Among the most severe consequences of this phenomenon are: human trafficking, the marketing of human organs and tissues, the sexual exploitation of children, slave labor, including prostitution, the drug and weapons trade, terrorism and international organized crime. The institutions in charge of combating all these evils must certainly be more efficient, and all government leaders determined to put an end to all of the above as soon as possible.⁵¹³ In the same speech, the Pope again appealed to the international community to use its legal mechanisms “*to stop and prevent further systematic violence against ethnic and religious minorities and to protect innocent peoples.*”⁵¹⁴ There is no doubt that the Pope’s speeches to the U.S. Congress and to the General Assembly of the United Nations were direct, bold and layered. They were assessed as extremely strong, with great political echo in the world.

It became more and more obvious that during his visits to Latin America, Pope Francis encouraged various processes, which usually exceed the borders of this region. For example, one such process is Christian unity, which the Pope places in the general context of serving the unity and peace of humanity.⁵¹⁵ Specifically, on his way to Mexico, on February 12, 2016, Pope Francis took a break at the Cuban airport José Martí, to meet with Russian Orthodox Patriarch Kirill.⁵¹⁶ On that occasion, the two of them signed a Joint Declaration prepared in advance, a Joint Declaration that did not deal with

prevent a new pandemic, such as the current one – the corona virus. Pope urges leaders to give money for research, not for weapons, 30/05/2020, <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/455165/Papa-pozvao-lidere-da-novac-daju-za-istravanja-a-ne-za-oruzje>

⁵¹³ Meeting with members of the General Assembly of the UN Organization, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 25 Sep 2015, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150925_onu-visita.html

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Kard. Walter Kasper (2015) *Papa Franjo revolucija nježnosti i ljubavi*, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Zagreb, p. 86.

⁵¹⁶ *Началась встреча Святейшего Патриарха Кирилла с Папой Римским Франциском*, Пресс-служба Патриарха Московского и всея Руси, 12 февраля 2016, <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/4372033.html>; *В Кремле назвали встречу Кирилла и Франциска обоюдным шагом навстречу России и Западу*, Интерфакс, 8 февраля 2016, <https://www.interfax.ru/russia/493735>; Vegard Bye, Armando Chaguaceda and Borghild Tønnessen-Krokan, *Which Way Cuba? Political transfor-*



Map 15. Chiapas

Source: BBC News, *Mexico indigenous people: Pope Francis asks for forgiveness*, 16 Feb. 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-35584031>

theological differences, but included the possibilities of a joint response of Christians to certain current global threats. In addition, both Church leaders expressed hope for the renewal of the unity of the two Christian denominations. After this, after many “historic meeting” of the Orthodox patriarch and the Catholic pope, the Pope continued his journey to the United Mexican States.

The Holy Father visited some of the poorest and most violent parts of the country (the states of Chiapas and Michoacán, the city of Ciudad Juárez on the US border), where in his speeches he adapted his main pastoral theme to the difficult economic, social and political reality of Mexico.⁵¹⁷

In this way, he showed in practice what ‘A church which goes forth’ means, a church which goes to the peripheries, not only geographically but also to the peripheries of human existence, about which he previously wrote in the apostolic exorcism *Evangelii Gaudium* [EG, § 20]. For example, he visited the poorest Mexican state – Chiapas, inhabited mainly by indigenous people. It should be noted that the poverty rate of the population of Chiapas,

mations, social deterioration and attempted dialogue, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, [Report no. 3, 2014]

⁵¹⁷ About 46 percent of Mexicans live in poverty, 10 percent of which in extreme poverty. Pope Francis gives tough love to Mexico’s political, church elite, February 13, 2016, CBS News, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/pope-francis-gives-tough-love-to-mexico-political-church-elite/>

in 2014 reached 76.2%.⁵¹⁸ It was from the natives of the southernmost Mexican state that Pope Francis asked for forgiveness, because of the way in which they were excluded from society. “*Some have considered your values, culture and traditions to be inferior. Others, intoxicated by power, money and market trends, have stolen your lands or contaminated them. How sad this is*”⁵¹⁹ the Pope said during a ceremony in the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas, cultural and political center of the indigenous peoples of the region.

It is obvious that throughout Latin America, the differences in poverty rates between indigenous and non-indigenous populations are enormous. According to data published by the UN in 2009, the rate was higher among the indigenous population than in the rest of the population: 7.9 times in Paraguay; 5.9 times in Panama; 3.3 times in Mexico; and 2.8 times in Guatemala.⁵²⁰ It’s also important to mention that the pontiff in Chiapas held Mass, which, thanks to a new Vatican decree, was served in the three main native languages of the region and with the use of some elements of the native language culture. Cardinal Cláudio Hummes reminds that the Pope told his bishops earlier that “*the church in the Amazon should have an Amazonian face, that is, the local clergy.*”⁵²¹ With this gesture Pope Francis showed a respect for natives and the respect is what they rarely received throughout the colonial and modern history of this region. The essence of the decision to use their tongues at Mass is that the spiritual dimension unites people, and it is built only by love: “*If I speak in the tongues of men and of angels, but have not charity, I am as a ringing bell, and a banner sounding.*” (Apostol Paul, 1 Corinthians 13). How else can the prayers of those who are excluded, those who suffer, the poor and exploited over the centuries be heard and understood?

Of course, the Holy Father spoke in Mexico about drugs, corruption, as well as the suffering of those who are forced to emigrate. He prayed for migrants, held a cross-border mass in front of about 200,000 people and

⁵¹⁸ Reuters, Mexican government says poverty rate rose to 46.2 percent in 2014, July 23, 2015. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mexico-poverty-idUSKCN0PX2B320150723>

⁵¹⁹ BBC News, Mexico indigenous people: Pope Francis asks for forgiveness, 16 February 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-35584031>

⁵²⁰ *State of the World’s Indigenous Peoples*, United Nations, NY 2009, pp. 27-29 https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP/en/SOWIP_web.pdf

⁵²¹ Cardinal Cláudio Hummes, O.F.M., *Prefect emeritus of the Congregation for the Clergy*, in March, 2018, Francis appointed him Member of the pre-Sinodal Council of the Special Assembly of the Synod of Bishops for the Pan-Amazon Region; http://www.archivioradiovaticana.va/storico/2016/02/20/obnovljena_pozornost_prema_domorodcima_dar_je_papina_putovanja_u/hr-1210171

expressed solidarity with the victims of violence. The fact that over 100,000 people were killed in the clashes of drug gangs in that country during the last decade speaks volumes about the weight of Mexican everyday life. Pope Francis called on the political and church elites to bravely confront drug-related violence and corruption, to provide security, justice and protect their people from hopelessness.⁵²² Also, in Mexico City, the Holy Father called on the bishops “not to hide behind their own privileges and careers”, but to have the courage to condemn the drug trade transparently and unitedly. He addressed President Enrique Peña Nieto and the Mexican political elite in a similar tone. How deep corruption has penetrated into all pores of Mexican society is shown by the fact that often the same people are on the payrolls of the state and drug cartels. Despite such circumstances, again with the help of the Gospel, Pope Francis encourages young Mexico not to allow themselves to be excluded, “*Do not allow yourselves to be devalued, do not let them treat you like a commodity. Jesus advised the following: be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves. Shrewd and good, sensitive*”.⁵²³ (Matthew, 10:16).

The next Latin American country that Pope Francis visits was Colombia, where he arrives on September 6, 2017, at a time of still-present political divisions over a new peace agreement between the government and the FARC guerrilla movement. Just a few days earlier, Colombians had voted on its signing. Despite the fact that the Pope was not a direct participant in the negotiations, he made a great contribution to their success (which was discussed in more detail in Chapter VII.3). Greg Burke, Director of the Holy See Press Office, emphasizes before the Pope’s arrival that the visit has mainly a pastoral character.⁵²⁴ The plan of the pontiff’s trip included, among

⁵²² BBC News, Mexico indigenous people: Pope Francis asks for forgiveness, 16 February 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-35584031>; Philip Pullella, Christine Murray, Jesus does not want you to be hit men, pope tells Mexican youth, February 16, 2016 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pope-mexico-idUSKCN0VP1TJ>; *Pope Francis gives tough love to Mexico’s political, church elite*, Chicago Tribune, February 13, 2016 <https://www.chicagotribune.com/nation-world/ct-pope-francis-mexico-20160213-story.html>

⁵²³ Andrea Torielli, Pope to young people: “Don’t put your life in the hands of the drug trade”, La Stampa, 17 February 2016, <https://www.lastampa.it/vatican-insider/en/2016/02/17/news/pope-to-young-people-don-t-put-your-life-in-the-hands-of-the-drug-trade-1.36565555>; Philip Pullella, Christine Murray, Jesus does not want you to be hit men, pope tells Mexican youth, Feb. 16, 2016 <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pope-mexico-idUSKCN0VP1TJ>;

⁵²⁴ Nicolas Senèze, *Pope Francis in South America: Not just a political trip*, La Croix, September 6, 2017

others, meetings in Bogotá with President Santos⁵²⁵ and local leaders, then members of the executive committee of CELAM, as well as with the Colombian bishops. It certainly included the main celebration – National Reconciliation Encounter at Villavicencio’s “Las Malocas Park”.⁵²⁶ The homily he preached on that occasion was dedicated to national reconciliation. In Colombia the Pope held several Masses, visited a sanctuary (St Peter Claver), then an orphanage, the air base where he welcomed war invalids, and as always – slum (San Francisco, Cartagena). The official poverty rate for Colombia in 2018 is 27 percent and 7.2 percent of the country’s population lives in extreme poverty.⁵²⁷ Despite this statistic, the Pope’s visit and attitude towards the migrant issue have influenced the Colombian president to promise him at the final meeting that Colombia will not close its borders to refugees from Venezuela.

It would be wrong to assess that every arrival of the charismatic Pope Francis in his home region was welcomed by everyone, including the faithful.

There is no doubt that in January 2018, during his visit to Chile and Peru, he had before him a very difficult task of defending the credibility of the Roman Catholic Church, which has been seriously shaken by accusations against priests for sexually abusing children. For the first time, his apostolic journey to Latin America provoked so much divided feelings and sceptical criticism. While some were genuinely delighted to see him, others looked bitterly at him and at the institution he represented objecting over his slow response to the problem. In any case, by arriving in Chile, Pope Francis took the risk of facing the huge problem in which the Church found itself. He addressed the following words to Chilean president Michelle Bachelet Jeria, “*Here I feel bound to express my pain and shame, shame at the irreparable damage caused to children by some ministers of the Church. I am one*

<https://international.la-croix.com/news/pope-francis-in-south-america-not-just-a-political-trip/5838>

⁵²⁵ The authorities of Colombia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) signed a peace agreement on August 25, 2016, after four years of negotiations. President Juan Manuel Santos was awarded the Nobel Prize in 2016 for his contribution to peace in Colombia.

⁵²⁶ Apostolic Journey of his Holiness Pope Francis to Colombia, 6-11 September 2017, Bulletin of the Holy See Press Office, 23 June 2017

⁵²⁷ World Bank and the socio economic database for Latin America and the Caribbean (SEDLAC) from the National University of La Plata (Argentina), 2018,

https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/poverty/33EF03BB-9722-4AE2-ABC7-AA2972D68AFE/Global_POVEQ_LAC.pdf

with my brothers bishops, for it is right to ask for forgiveness and make every effort to support the victims, even as we commit ourselves to ensuring that such things do not happen again”.⁵²⁸ Later, in the apostolic nunciature of Santiago, the Pope met with some of the victims of sexual abuse by priests.⁵²⁹ Then, in a conversation with Chilean priests, the Pope stated that, when it comes to such shameful cases of abuses, he continues with *the zero-tolerance started by Benedict XVI*.⁵³⁰ It should be said that both popes, despite their differences, show the same desire to find a way to revitalize world Catholicism. By all accounts, that path inevitably leads through Latin America.

For Francis I, the defense of the natives of the Amazon and the defense of their vulnerable environment are inseparable topics. It is interesting to mention that before his arrival, for almost three decades, there was no papal visit to the Amazon and the indigenous communities that live under its auspices.⁵³¹ This fact is just one in a series of confirmations of the new dimension of socio-economic and religious dialogue in the relations between the Holy See and Latin America, initiated during his pontificate. In Chile and Peru, the pontiff also addressed the state leaders, bishops, priests, believers, as well as young people; he pointed out the marginalized, practically invisible “members of society” and the need for their inclusion in the community.⁵³² At a Mass in the city of Trujillo, he called on Peruvian society to stop

⁵²⁸ Meeting with the Authorities, Civil Society and the Diplomatic Corps in Chile in the Palacio de La Moneda in Santiago and Courtesy Visit to the President of the Republic of Chile, 16.01.2018, <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2018/01/16/180116d.html>

⁵²⁹ In the private setting the Pope and the victims were able to listened to each other, to pray and weep together. Declaration of the Director of the Holy See Press Office, Greg Burke, 16.01.2018 <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2018/01/16/180116c.html>

⁵³⁰ The fact is that the Pope did not sign a single request for pardon of requests for grace of 25, as many as he received in five years. Andrea Tornielli, “This is why I celebrated that marriage aboard the flight”, La Stampa, 22 Gennaio 2018, <https://www.lastampa.it/vatican-insider/en/2018/01/22/news/this-is-why-i-celebrated-that-marriage-aboard-the-flight-1.33970572>

⁵³¹ In July 2020, a hospital in the Brazilian city of Marabá received one of four respirators donated by Pope Francis, with the special purpose of helping indigenous peoples fight the coronavirus. Belgrade Archdiocese, <http://kc.org.rs/u-pomoc-domorodackom-stanovnistvu-u-brazilu-stigao-jedan-od-respiratora-koje-je-darovao-papa/>

⁵³² Papal trip to Chile, Peru may help restore trust in church <https://www.lastampa.it/vatican-insider/en/2018/01/08/news/pope-francis-trip-to-chile-peru-may-help-restore-trust-in-church-1.33964723>

the centuries-old practice of degradation and suffering of women (from beatings to rape to murder), which is happening throughout Latin America. Devastating is the data presented by the UN Women agency that half of the 25 countries with the largest number of murders of women are in Latin America.⁵³³ Through the content of the Mass held in Parque O'Higgins, the Pope reaffirmed that he never neglects the idea of peace building, "Blessed are those who work so that others can be happy. Do you want peace? Then work for peace".⁵³⁴

Peru is a country that has had an extremely pronounced problem of corruption scandals on the highest governmental level for a long time. This led the Pope to ask in Lima, at a meeting with the bishops: "What happens in Peru when a president ends his term, is he sent to jail?"⁵³⁵ He also condemned corruption during a meeting with Peruvian President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski. Most certainly, Pope Francis believes that all sections of society, including the Church, are called to work to eradicate corruption. The Episcopal Conference responded to the Pope's initiative the following year with the declaration which suggests that a systematic corruption took the ethics out of politics. Peruvian political establishment needs to initiate the ethical and moral recovery of the country, especially for its young and poor citizens.⁵³⁶ On his return to Rome, in a plane interview, the Pope states that corruption frightens him because he destroys the human person completely, corrupting his soul and body. "The corrupt is so self-confident that they cannot go back (...). Politicians have a lot of power, but the entrepreneur who pays half of what he owes his workers is also a corrupt."⁵³⁷

⁵³³ Pope Francis targets corruption in politics ahead of final Peru mass <https://www.financialexpress.com/world-news/pope-francis-targets-corruption-in-politics-ahead-of-final-peru-mass/1024599/>

⁵³⁴ Holy Mass in Parque O'Higgins, Santiago, 16.01.2018, <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2018/01/16/180116e.pdf>

⁵³⁵ Andrea Tornielli, "This is why I celebrated that marriage aboard the flight", *La Stampa*, 22 Gennaio 2018
<https://www.lastampa.it/vatican-insider/en/2018/01/22/news/this-is-why-i-celebrated-that-marriage-aboard-the-flight-1.33970572>; Agenzia Fides – Vaticano, http://www.fides.org/en/news/65416-AMERICA_PERU_A_year_after_Pope_Francis_visit_corruption_continues_to_be_the_most_serious_problem

⁵³⁶ Agenzia Fides – Vaticano retrieved: 21/01/2019, from: http://www.fides.org/en/news/65416- A_year_after_Pope_Francis_visit_corruption_continues_to_be_the_most_serious_problem

⁵³⁷ Andrea Tornielli, "This is why I celebrated that marriage aboard the flight", *La Stampa*, 22 Gennaio 2018

At the end of January 2019, on the occasion of the celebration of World Youth Day celebrations in Panama, the Holy Father returns to his native Latin America. Tens of thousands of young people, gathered in the park in Panama City, had the opportunity to hear the Pope's inspired speech about two types of people: While some are bridge builders, others are wall builders. In Panama, that natural "bridge between the oceans", the Pope advises young people to be builders of bridges, that is, meetings and dialogue between people, and not "builders of walls, who sow fear and look to divide people".⁵³⁸ Many saw in this speech a clear allusion to the intention of U.S. President Donald Trump to build a wall on the US-Mexican border with the financial support of Congress.

As Cardinal Casper observes, Pope Francis does not want to revolutionize faith and morality, but to interpret them with the help of the Gospel. In doing so, he uses simple language, which is 'communicative and dialogical, which addresses and conquers people'.⁵³⁹ What distinguishes these speeches from calculated populism is the charisma that does not usurp, but calms, which does not destroy, but brings hope, peace, and joy to its listeners.⁵⁴⁰ It is obvious that Pope Francis, with the help of simple rhetoric, manages to convey strong, deep messages of support and hope to the Latin American people. Then, to practically show that the socioeconomic reality of those people is more important to him than the ideology [EG, §231]. For example, when he speaks in poor favelas, to the indigenous communities of the Amazon, on

<https://www.lastampa.it/vatican-insider/en/2018/01/22/news/this-is-why-i-celebrated-that-marriage-aboard-the-flight-1.33970572>

⁵³⁸ Flores, R., In apparent shot at Trump, Pope says 'builders of walls' sow fear and divide, CNN, January 26, 2019, <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/01/25/americas/pope-walls-panama/index.html>;

Pope in Panama blasts corruption, walls, prays for Venezuela, by Nicole Winfield, Juan Zamorano, Associated Press, Jan 24, 2019

<https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/venezuela-crisis-looms-popes-central-america-visit-60587176> accessed 30/01/2019; Highlights of Pope's last day in Panama, <https://www.vaticannews.va/en/pope/news/2019-01/pope-francis-panama-wyd-20192.html> 30/01/2019

Inés San Martín, History's first Latin American pope once again hails the 'Great Fatherland', Jan 24, 2019, <https://cruxnow.com/world-youth-day-panama/2019/01/24/historys-first-latin-american-pope-once-again-hails-the-great-fatherland/> accessed 16/03/2019

⁵³⁹ Kasper, W. (2015). *Papa Franjo revolucija nježnosti i ljubavi*, Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, pp. 48-60.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 135.

the Mexican-American border, or to young people in Panama, he puts the Latin American reality in the foreground. Moreover, he knows this reality well, because he “walked in Latin American shoes”.

In Latin America, state and church leaders have betrayed their people many times throughout history. Hence the words of Evo Morales, the first indigenous Bolivian president: “For the first time, I feel like I have a pope” confirm the great influence of Pope Francis on a fairer and more comprehensive view of the socio-economic and political problems of indigenous communities. It should be added that the then president of the secular state of Bolivia, Morales, was a sharp critic of the Roman Catholic Church and its historical role in this region.⁵⁴¹ However, even as such, he recognized the unique approach of Pope Francis and the positive influence he has on Latin America, and made an effort to nurture a relationship with him. In any case, the Pope’s speeches were received by a huge number of Latin Americans with enthusiasm and hope.⁵⁴²

According to a 2014 Pew Research Center survey, in 14 Latin American countries out of all pooled (19), 50% or more Catholics have a very favorable opinion of the new Pope. While to him the former Catholics are quite ambivalent. The research also addressed the question of whether and to what extent the election of Pope Francis is a signal of change for the Catholic Church. In 16 out of pooled countries (19), 50% or more Catholics view that the election of Bergoglio represented a major change.⁵⁴³ Undoubtedly, over time, his popularity grew. Christine A. Gustafson cites a link between the Pope’s popularity and his possible influence on regional politics and religious demographics.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴¹ Morales came to power in 2006. The Bible and the cross were soon removed from the presidential palace. The 2009 constitution declared Bolivia (a country with about 80% Catholics) a secular state. Since then, Andean religious rituals have been used in state ceremonies instead of Catholic rites.

⁵⁴² A few months before the “Rousseff’s impeachment” process was launched, for the removal from power of Brazilian President, Dilma Rousseff, she ordered a secret poll to assess her political position. She was surprised by the result of the poll: the most popular person in Brazil was – Pope Francis. The Foreign Affairs journalist interprets the result as the Pope’s exemplary asceticism and personal integrity, which is highly valued at a time of very pronounced moral crisis. In support of that is the Pope’s appeal to the Vatican from 2015, to act with complete transparency. Brian Winter, Foreign Affairs: Brazil’s Never-Ending Corruption Crisis, April 13, 2017

⁵⁴³ Pew Research Center, Religion in Latin America, <http://www.pewforum.org/2014/11/13/religion-in-latin-america/> accessed 11/07/2016

⁵⁴⁴ Gustafson, C. A., *The Pope and Latin America: Mission from the Periphery* (in Pope Francis as a Global Actor, Ed. Alynna J. Lyon and other), 2018, Palgrave Macmillan,

It can be concluded that all the Pope's addresses in Latin America had the common characteristic of merging the messages of the Gospel with the reality of the countries in which he resided.⁵⁴⁵ After the first papal speeches in Latin America (Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay), it became clear that with the pontificate of Pope Francis, the world got a chance to get out of the deep crisis of morality and spirituality that affected all institutions, including the Church. Latin America seems to have recognized this trend very early. From the point of view of the Pope's speeches, his travels to Latin America went beyond a strictly religious framework. The result of his diplomatic efforts on easing the tensions in the relations between Cuba and the United States Pope Francis has established his status as a global politician as well as a universal pastor.⁵⁴⁶ Furthermore, in a series of his speeches, masses, homilies, meetings, as well as spontaneous addresses, he covered many socio-economic and religious issues that plagued the world at the beginning of the third millennium. Most of the already mentioned key themes of the pontificate of Pope Francis could be recognized in the mentioned speeches, which were related to the socio-economic, cultural and political emancipation of Latin America. Finally, his words in presidential palaces, Brazilian favelas, the indigenous communities of the Amazon, Mexican drug violence zones, and other places covered by visits to Latin America, speak to the breadth of Pope Francis' influence in the region. To the region to which and from which the Pope says: *everybody needs everybody*. Many controversial socio-economic, political and religious issues in the world could be resolved more easily if we start from this fact. Also, many of the problems of Latin America that the Pope spoke about during his visits to the region cannot be solved by an ideological approach that is ultimately useless, because it ends in political

UK, p. 189-214; BBC News, *Brazil crowds greet Pope Francis in Rio de Janeiro*, 23 July 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-23413443>;

Daniel H. Levine, *What Pope Francis Brings to Latin America*, *CLALS Working Paper Series | No. 11*, March 2016, *CLALS*, p. 9-10. <http://www.american.edu/clals/Religion-and-Democracy.cfm>

⁵⁴⁵ By the end of January 2019, Pope Francis had visited Latin America seven times: Brazil (July 22-28, 2013); Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay (5-12 July 2015); Cuba and the United States (September 19-27, 2015); Cuba and Mexico (February 12-18, 2016); Colombia (September 6-11, 2016); Chile and Peru (January 15-21, 2018); and Panama (January 22-27, 2019).

⁵⁴⁶ Baisotti, Pablo. 'The Fall of the Second Wall': The Normalization of Relations between Cuba and US and the role of Pope Francis, *Politics and Religion*, No 2/2017 Vol. XI (pp 191-215)

or personal abuses. The most obvious example is the problem of poverty in Latin America. “A *fundamental part of helping the poor involves the way we see them (...) we must not use the poor person merely as an instrument to placate my guilt*”.⁵⁴⁷ The Pope guides towards the way of helping the poor similar to the allegory in the Gospel according to Matthew “*your left hand may not know what your right hand is doing.*” (Matthew 6: 3)

⁵⁴⁷ Meeting with representatives of civil society address of the Holy Father, León Condou Stadium, Colegio San José Asunción (Paraguay) Saturday, 11 July 2015, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/pa-pa-francesco_20150711_paraguay-societa-civile.pdf

CONCLUSION

The neoliberal model of development, especially in its socio-economic consequences in Latin America, has caused significant differences in the attitudes and practices of the historically present pattern of dialogue between Latin America and the Catholic Church. This dialogue took on new dimensions with the pontificate of Pope Francis. Questions of how to reconcile the economic growth and social justice have been raised to a much greater extent than before along with the adoption of the neoliberal model of development in Latin America. On the other hand, for the Latin American society, which is largely historically defined by the Catholic tradition, and which includes the social component of Christianity, it is very important what message comes from the Vatican in terms of social inequalities and social justice.

A dialogue between the Catholic Church and Latin America has gained new dimensions with the arrival of Pope Francis I. The thematic expansion of new dimensions includes dialogues: on inclusion of the poor in society, on peace and social dialogue, on the rights of indigenous peoples, on migrants, on the role of women in society, on the environment (especially on the preservation of the Amazon), and others. Every one of these topics of dialogue not just modernizes the Catholic Church led by the new pontifex, but they truly go back to the original values of Christianity – by large a religion of the vulnerable and poor.

The neoliberalism has caused a catastrophic impoverishment within most of the Latin American populations. In the period of neoliberal reforms, there was a creation of structural dependence on the international financial market, growing problems of poverty and marginalization, unemployment, drastic cuts in social benefits and more. In order to prove these statements, the focus is on the so-called “strugglers”, who can be socially placed between the poor and the middle class. Potentially, they represent the new poor and are the most tragic consequence of neoliberal reforms. Their vulnerability increases with each new situation (unemployment, illness, old age, etc.) that can drag them back into poverty. In the second decade of the 21st

century, about 40% of the Latin American population belongs to this group. This high percentage shows that the neoliberal development model on Latin America failed not just in the social dimension of development, but also in the economic, political and cultural spheres.

The research confirms that every address Pope Francis uttered in Latin America connects the messages of the Gospel with the reality of countries he visited (Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, Cuba and Mexico, Colombia, Chile, and Peru and Panama). In 2015 in Paraguay, the Pope said that “*economic development must have a human face. We say no to an economy that does not have exactly such a character!*”⁵⁴⁸ Back in 2013, in the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, in the chapter that refers to the social dimension of faith, he emphasizes not just the importance of including the poor in society but also solving the root cause of poverty – inequality [EG, § 202].

At a mass in Peru, the pontifex called for an end to the centuries-old practice of degradation and suffering of women throughout Latin America. Out of 25 countries with the highest number of murders of women, one half are in Latin America. In February 2021, Pope Francis appointed a woman as Undersecretary of the Synod of Bishops, with the *ex officio* right to vote – Sister Nathalie Becquart. This appointment in the Vatican can be generally understood as aligning of the Catholic Church with requirements of the modern age, but it is also an encouraging message to Latin America whose women are still in subordinate position. Latin American society has barriers to the entry of women into the labor market, as they are one of the most vulnerable groups in Latin America. In *Evangelii Gaudium*, Pope says that the Church recognizes the indisputable contribution of women to society through their intuition, sensitivity, and attention to others – all qualities in which women are superior to men [EG §103]. Aforementioned nomination of woman as Undersecretary of the Synod of Bishops caused conservative church circles made an objection to Pope that he was changing the tradition and practice of the Church. Going back to the roots of Christianity, Holy Apostle Paul in his epistle to the Romans (16: 1) mentioned the presence of a woman in the service of the Church (deaconess). This means that Pope Francis is not changing the core of traditional Church – he is harmonizing it with the new era.

⁵⁴⁸ Meeting with representatives of civil society address of the Holy Father, León Condou Stadium, Colegio San José Asunción (Paraguay) Saturday, 11 July 2015, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/pa-pa-francesco_20150711_paraguay-societa-civile.pdf

We used the pontiff's contribution to the normalization of Cuba-US relations as well as his mediation in achieving peace in the Colombian civil war to confirm that the world with the current pontificate got a chance to get out of the deep crisis of morality and spirituality which was very quickly recognized by Latin America. Papal visit to Colombia occurred after a thirty-year hiatus. His mediation is considered to have been crucial in the 2017 peace talks between the Colombian government and Colombia's strongest guerrilla movement – the FARC. During negotiations with Cuba, Pope was obviously aware of this diplomatic precedent, as he encouraged papal diplomats to take risks (Andes, 2016: 21).

Additionally, while talking about the financial crisis of 2007 which has been closely linked to the processes of globalization, the Pope states that, *'behind it lies a deep human crisis: non-recognition of the primacy of the human being! We have created new idols.* [EG, §55] Furthermore, in January 2018, Francis I approved the publication of the document "Economic and Financial Issues" (*Oeconomicae et pecuniariae quaestiones*), which was adopted at the regular session of the newly formed Dicastery for the Promotion of Integral Human Development. The document appeals to both, the wisdom of the world to understand man comprehensively, and to the economy to be an expression of the search for the common good which is conveyed in the humane manner. In other words, the economy must be ethically grounded for the benefit of humanity.

Pope Francis, as the first Latin American at the head of the Vatican, is competent in all socio-economic, political, and cultural realities of Latin America. This leads to a gradual increase in the Vatican's influence on the new perception of these social realities. As a reflection of the Pope's knowledge of Latin American reality, part of which is the attitude towards liberation theology, the following successive changes took place: The Pope officially received the founder of liberation theology, Gustavo Gutierrez, in Vatican; then in 2014 he removed the decades-long Vatican suspension of the former priest D'Escoto, also a representative of liberation theology; In 2019, he canonized Pope Paul VI, who led the Church during the Second Vatican Council, which promoted the aggiornamento of the Church, which is the direction of today's essential renewal of the Church, which the Pope wants to encourage, especially from the perspective of the social dimension of evangelization. In the end, he also canonized Oscar Romero. In that way, Pope Francis "liberated" the theology of liberation from condemnation and marginalization and exposed it to the world.

The pontifex's visit to the Andean region opened the door for dialogue to include a more diverse and numerous believers, which still encourages socio-economic changes in these countries and the emancipation of believers. For example, during a visit to Bolivia in 2015, the Pope apologized to the Bolivian indigenous people for the suffering they experienced during Spanish colonization. Of the special significance are the messages of Pope Francis to the young, as a repository of Christianity in Latin America. In addition to the religious message, these messages also have a social-emancipatory character.

The contribution of papal speeches and other means of public address to the establishment of dialogue between different social and ethnic communities with the religions in Latin America is obvious. Through his *Evangeli Gaudium* the Pope says that dialogue should not exclude any interested party, because every dialogue can become a "path of peace for our wounded world." [EG, § 257] He also emphasizes the need for dialogue with other religions. Of course, we considered the numerous and diverse specifics related to the formation of the Latin American population through the process of transculturation from 1492 to modern times. Latin American believers belonging to a variety of social, religious, and ethnic groups are all part of a new dialogue with the pontifex. His view of ethnic inequality was clearly expressed during his visit to the Andean countries when Pope prayed at the tomb of Bishop Samuel Ruiz, a defender of indigenous communities, who was marginalized by the previous two pontiffs as too radical.⁵⁴⁹

The first Pope from the global South, in the encyclical *Laudato Si*, points to the destructive effects of globalization, which homogenizes culture and weakens the richness of cultural diversity. He emphasizes that the development of a society should respect the rights of local communities to retain their own symbols, customs, and other parts of their cultures, and that the pattern of quality of life should not be imposed from the outside. [*Laudato Si*, 144: 113,114] In a word, in the context of globalization, the Pope advocates that each nation preserve its culture, religion, language and identity. In Paraguay, he says, "*You love your country, your fellow citizens, and above all you love the poor. In this way, you will testify to the world that another model of development is possible. I am convinced, by the virtue of your own history, that you possess the greatest strength of all: your humanity, your faith, your love. Being part of the Paraguayan people is what sets you apart from*

⁵⁴⁹ https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/40710/1/S1600945_en.pdf

the nations of the world.”⁵⁵⁰ That there is no discrepancy between the Pope’s words and deeds, was concretely expressed in 2016, during the visit to the Mexican southern state of Chiapas. There, local churches mix elements of Catholicism with elements of Mayan spirituality during Mass. Such a practice has long been viewed unfavorably by the Catholic Church. The change comes with Pope Francis, who during a visit to one of these churches presented a decree allowing the use of indigenous languages during Mass as part of accepting the particularities of indigenous culture.

In addition to the encyclical *Laudato Si*, ecology was one of the four dimensions that the pontifex underlined in his concluding address to the Synod in October 2019. Issue of the Amazon as one of the hottest topics for the future of this Planet illustrates the complexity of Pope Francis’s tenure. Just before the start of the three-week Amazon Synod (Synod Amazonico, October 6–27, 2019), ideological differences within the Catholic Church intensified. Namely, the storm was caused by the Pontiff’s cautious suggestion through *instrumentum laboris*⁵⁵¹ that married older men from the Amazon region, *who have gained respect and acceptance in the community, who are preferably indigenous, could, even if they have established and stable family life, be ordained as priests to ensure the availability of the sacraments.*⁵⁵² Although the idea is exclusively related to Amazon for now, it caused a storm of indignation among conservatives, who saw it as a dangerous precedent. A precedent, which would end the millennial tradition of the Church, that its priests should be celibate. It is an extremely important fact that, *the pontiff himself saw the forthcoming Synod of Bishops for Pan-Amazon as a logical outcome of his passionate belief in giving a central place to people and places that*

⁵⁵⁰ Meeting with representatives of civil society address of the Holy Father, León Condou Stadium, Colegio San José Asunción (Paraguay) Saturday, 11 July 2015. http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150711_paraguay-societa-civile.pdf

⁵⁵¹ *Instrumentum laboris* published on June 17, 2019, served as the basis of the text for discussion during the Synod. From the Holy See Press Office, Press Conference to present Pope Francis’ post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation “Querida Amazonia”. <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2020/02/12/200212d.html>

⁵⁵² A high-noon moment for Pope Francis over the Amazon, Ideological rifts widen as Catholic bishops ponder endangered forests and married priests, <https://www.economist.com/erasmus/2019/10/04/a-high-noon-moment-for-pope-francis-over-the-amazon?cid1=cust/dailypicks1/n/bl/n/2019104n/owned/n/n/dailypicks1/n/n/NA/319750/n, 08/10/2019>

*have hitherto been considered marginal (...), that caring for the environment inseparable from the fight against global inequality and that there can be no true environmental approach, without achieving social justice ... not only for current generations, but also for those yet to come. The fascinating intention of Pope Francis was to unite all available forces of bishops, men and women from religious orders, natives and secular experts during the Synod, and to boldly consider a remote but environmentally sensitive corner of the Earth – endangered rainforests covering part of Brazil and eight other countries.*⁵⁵³

This intentionally and carefully built alliance was able to withstand the challenges of conservative North American Catholic forces. Although the Synod focused its work on the Amazon region (The Amazon: New Paths for the Church and for an Integral Ecology), it can be said that its Final Document, as well as its complementary post-Synodal exhortation “Querida Amazonia” did not leave indifferent neither the whole Church, nor the entire world, though not equally.⁵⁵⁴ In his concluding address to the Synod, Pope Francis underlined the four dimensions that emerged in the Assembly: cultural, social, pastoral, and environmental. *Ecology is in line with an integral perspective that exposes the destruction of creation, of which the Amazon is one of the most important topics.*⁵⁵⁵ The multidimensional goals of the Amazon Synod were to expand access to the sacraments in one part and to preserve the Amazon ecosystem on the other. Those goals pointed to the significant involvement of Pope Francis in the field of ecology at the global level.

In summary, the results of the research support the actuality topic of the monograph, and will contribute to the fulfilment of an important space in scientific literature. These results concern not only one segment of the foreign policy and religious activity of the Vatican, but also the improvement of the international position of Latin America in the first decade of the 21st century, to which the progressive and responsible social policies of its leftist governments have significantly contributed. Confirmation of the strengthening of the international position of the region are: Brazil as a growing regional power with global ambitions, which is also a member of the BRICS; it is a member of the G-20, as are Argentina and Mexico from the region;

⁵⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁵⁴ Press Conference for the Presentation of the Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation “Querida Amazonia” of the Holy Father Francis, <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2020/02/12/200212d.html>

⁵⁵⁵ From the Holy See Press Office, Press Conference to present Pope Francis’ Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation “Querida Amazonia” , <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2020/02/12/200212d.html>

China's growing strategic presence in Latin America; geostrategic cooperation with Russia; trans-regional cooperation between Latin American and Pacific countries (Trans-Pacific Partnership and Pacific Alliance); the EU, which is among the region's three highest-ranking trading partners; and the United States as a traditional but also geographically closest partner and others. However, the second decade of the 21st century brings a drop in commodity prices on the world market, which affects Latin America and stops progressive reforms, as well as its accelerated socioeconomic and political emancipation from the first decade. With the rise of the right-wing to power, neoliberal policies have become relevant again and widespread.

In the 21st century, Latin America still finds itself between political, economic, social, religious, and environmental extremes that obscure the outlines of its peaceful future. What is left for a man, an eternal traveler, as a beacon to her? The only question that remains is: "For what does it profit a man to gain the whole world, yet forfeit his soul?" (Mark 8:36)

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"This book analyzes and discusses the Vatican's relations with Latin American countries in different historical circumstances, mostly depending on the political and economic context. These relations lead to surprise, since after five centuries of European popes, the first Latin American pope appears who produces significant changes among both, the leadership of the Catholic Church and the Latin American population. The author succeeded in describing in detail the depth of this change; which has a special significance considering that she is from Serbia, very far from Latin America. With her perseverance, dedication and patience, she managed to capture many aspects of the influence of Pope Francis on this subcontinent, which no one, not even here in our universities, has managed to explore and evaluate in such a full breadth.

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