

# THE VENTURE OF CRIA

VOLUME 12, NO. 9 SEPTEMBER 1969

WORLDVIEW is published monthly (except for a combined July-August issue) by the Council on Religion and International Affairs. Subscription \$4.00 for one year; \$7.00 for two years; \$9.00 for three years.

Address: 170 East 64th Street, New York, New York 10021. TE 8-4120

## EDITORIAL BOARD

James Finn, Editor

John R. Innes

A. William Loos

Editorial Assistant, Susan Woolfson

## CONTENTS

In the Magazines	2
The Venture of CRIA Editorial	3
The Restless American and a New Foreign Policy Robert C. Good	5
The Present Tragedy of America Hans Morosini	14
Religious Experience and a New Foreign Policy Daniel C. Maguire	26

Readers are notified that *Worldview* maintains a nonsectarian and nonpartisan position. Comments on articles or other forms of general discussion and reports are requested at least three weeks before publication.

Copyright © 1969 by the Council on Religion and International Affairs, Copyright © 1969 Council on Religion and International Affairs.

This special issue of *worldview* affords an opportunity to respond in print to the growing number of readers who inquire about the journal and the organization that sponsors it. For *worldview* is only one of the publications of the Council on Religion and International Affairs (CRIA) and the publications are only a part of CRIA's entire program. The articles that make up this issue are derived from other parts of a program, an effort, that seems every year more difficult and more necessary.

The Council on Religion and International Affairs was founded in relatively pacific times with the support of Andrew Carnegie. He brought together in 1914 a group of distinguished religious leaders — Catholic, Protestant and Jewish — in the belief that the traditions they represented could make a more positive contribution to world affairs. Few then foresaw the outbreak of World War I and the shattering of a world order that seemed so solid. CRIA was almost immediately forced to modify not its long-range goals but the program it had designed to achieve those goals. And CRIA has done that a number of times since 1914 as the trustees and staff have jointly worked to devise a program that is faithful to the origins of CRIA and relevant to contemporary world affairs.

The principal parts of CRIA's present program were initiated over a dozen years ago, although modifications and additions have given increasing weight to the publications. An important, if not the most important aspect of CRIA's activities remains, however, those small meetings of informed people where there is fostered an intense exchange of political opinion within an ethical framework.

In the seminars, for example, which CRIA holds in various parts of the country, thirty to thirty-five people of different vocations, religious convictions and political allegiances are brought together for several days to discuss some significant aspect of international affairs. Each session is usually opened by a speaker whose comments become the focus, and sometimes the target, of the other participants as the conversation is opened to the group. Although there have been striking instances in which some participants were converted to views markedly different from those they brought with them, such conversion is not the purpose of the seminar. Its intention is to allow a candid exchange of information and opinion so that each person will be forced to think more clearly about those positions he supports or favors. The enterprise, in short, is intellectual not evangelical.

The topics of the seminar range from Vietnam, questions of abundance and scarcity, and problems of trade and development to the morality of modern wars (including nuclear war and revolution) and U.S.-Sino relations. Because a September

September 1969 3

seminar in Estes Park, Colorado had a topic relevant to this issue of *worldview*, it may serve as a good example. At the first session of the seminar Richard John Neuhaus, pastor of St. John the Evangelist Lutheran Church in Brooklyn and editor of *Una Sancta*, addressed himself to the topic of the entire seminar: "The American Ethos and a New Foreign Policy." At the conclusion of his talk, and for the rest of the afternoon, the discussion was thrown open to all the participants, guided only by the gently restraining hand of a moderator whose main task is to see that everyone has an opportunity to speak. The same procedure was followed at the evening session when Charles West, professor of Christian ethics at Princeton, spoke on "Status Quo and/or Revolution." The speakers on the following days were William V. O'Brien, director of the Institute of World Polity at Georgetown University, "Internationalism and Limited War"; Donald F. McHenry, Assistant to the Counselor, Department of State, "Abundance and Scarcity: Rich Nations and Poor"; Victor C. Ferkiss, professor of government at Georgetown, "Domestic and Foreign Imperatives"; John Paton Davies, Jr., an Asian specialist and former Foreign Service officer, "No More Vietnams: the End of Intervention?"; and Roger Shinn, dean of Union Theological Seminary, "The Restless American and a New U.S. Foreign Policy: A Religious Critique." There was sufficient time at the seminar so that those who wished could continue a free and candid discussion in smaller groups. And, if past experience is a guide in these matters, many of the participants are continuing by phone and mail conversations initiated at that seminar.

The other conferences sponsored by CRIA have the same overall intention but are modified by additional restrictions in time or participants. The Washington *consultations*, for example, engage approximately twenty to twenty-five people in a session that lasts from late afternoon to late evening, interrupted only by dinner, and since it is in Washington the percentage of participants from government is significantly higher. The *conversations* held in Merrill House, CRIA's headquarters in New York, restrict the speaker to twenty minutes and the informal discussion to approximately an hour and a half. And if one believes that little can be said in such a short presentation, the article by Hans Morgenthau which is in this issue should disprove that contention, for it is a close transcription of Dr. Morgenthau's comments at a

recent session. The *colloquia for clergy*, which, as the name implies, is for clergy is limited to afternoon sessions.

In addition to these conferences CRIA sponsors special events, such as public sessions of the annual meeting of the CRIA Board of Trustees. Two of the speakers at the last meeting of the Board were Robert C. Good, writer, lecturer and former Ambassador to Zambia, and Daniel C. Maguire, an ordained priest and professor of moral theology at Catholic University. The addresses they delivered at the CRIA meeting are produced without substantial change in the following pages.

What these conferences attempt through personal confrontation and communication, the publications program of CRIA attempts to develop in print. In addition to *worldview*, CRIA publishes a variety of inexpensive pamphlets devoted to issues of ethics and foreign policy, special studies that are somewhat longer and more expensive, a series of CRIA Briefs that inform CRIA's national constituency about its ongoing activities, and occasional papers. The publications program attempts to draw upon the same kind of contributors as does the program of conferences, to tackle the same kind of issues, and, with some modification, to reach the same kind of audience. Some modification, because it is easier and cheaper for people to get a pamphlet or small book than to attend a conference, particularly one at some distance. The publications are, increasingly, reaching the audience for which they were intended and are being widely used in university, college and seminary classes.

This, in brief, is the program of CRIA. We invite all who wish more information about any aspect of our program to write to us. And we invite the interest and support of all those who think the venture of CRIA is valuable.

That venture may be summed up in some recent phrases of Dr. A. William Loos, President of CRIA, "We must have wisdom about the whole of life. We must have some vision about what man ought to be and what life can be. Only then can people relate to each other with enough trust to create a social order, a community, a society. This is the moral and religious dimension. This is the accent America needs. Here in essence should be CRIA's focus: to develop wisdom about the whole of life, of which international politics is increasingly a larger part."

J.F.