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OUTLINE NOTES FOR SPEAKERS
explaining Christian Left position to Auxiliary Groups

(The translation of this material into words of not more than two syllables and its illustration from the sayings of Jesus and actual present-day facts will much enlarge it. Long abstract words are here used to save time and space.)

Introduction The decisions at Cambridge and their significance.

I. The Christian Left in the Auxiliary . Two aspects of its immediate task.

(a) Relation to other groups there. Its own concern for the meaning and relevance of Christianity, which is first and foremost a religious responsibility. Hence our desire to put our view before them and to discuss it in candid fellowship. To us it is urgent and compelling, a light from the gospel in the present situation. We also desire to work with other groups, such as the Church of the Future, upon any practical tasks to which we are led by our convictions and they by theirs, believing that ~~they~~ we follow converging paths to the same goal.

(b) Relation to groups outside, who find themselves compelled to the same practical action, but unaware of its basis in the teaching of Jesus, hostile to the existing Church, partly because of its failures and partly because of their own one-sided idea of religion as merely other worldly.

II. The meaning of Christianity The message of Jesus is for the whole of life, here and now, shows it to be essentially personal and spiritual - hence the common division between sacred and secular is really blasphemous. (A young and modern audience, used to thinking in philosophic and scientific terms would here respond to the analysis in the third section of the "Structure of Religious Experience" An older audience familiar with

theological ideas and terms would probably respond better to the point that dualism is an ancient heresy, implying that God is in only partial control of the Universe) Note the irony of "Render unto Caesar etc." If we rendered to God all that is His, Caesar would soon be put into his right place. This stress upon the personal comes out in all Jesus' sayings or doings, in his dealings with individuals, their needs and duties, in his insistence that the primary religious obligations upon us all is that of Love; hence His two great commandments which put personal relations with God and Man in the central place. Note the universalising of our obligations in the parable that follows, in response to the lawyers attempt to "justify" himself; every word of this parable is worth detailed comment in this connection.

The liberalising effect of this doctrine is clearly seen throughout the Christian period of history, in spite of the imperfect understanding and timid hesitation on the part of most of his followers - the leaven which is leavening the lump. We are still seeing the Breakdown one by one of the great divisions in the human race which Paul enumerated, between slave and free, between Jew and Gentile (and other similar racial discriminations) between male and female, as contrary to the spirit of Christ. Such social and political advance in this direction that we have so far seen is the working out of this conception of human nature and only in a completely democratic society can a true Christian Church come into existence.

III. The present crisis - Upon us the end of an age is come; Christians must go forward to the next step or be faithless to their Master. In any case the transformation of society will take place, the creative will of God will carry out His purpose. That Christianity is really their enemy is clearly seen by the anti Christian forces of our day who persecute the most alive and active of the Christian bodies opposed to them and leave alone those who, faithless to the truth, compromise with racialism and imperialism (Contrast here, or most likely in answer to questions, the Communist attack on dead churches.)

While the imperfections of such democracy as we have is the nominal point of attack, the real stimulus to it is the danger (to them) that it may further develop in the direction of Liberty, Justice and Fraternity, as the growth of working class organisation and education indicates. That is the real issue in the world at large most vividly seen by us close at home in Europe at this moment. The democratic organisation of society has reached a point where it can no longer work effectively without a reconstruction in commerce and industry in a socialist direction; moreover the use of the resources of the world for the needs of all its people can only be wisely planned on international lines. Unless we proceed with this development, catastrophe is bound to come and time is getting short. Men of goodwill in all parties farseeing industrialists and civil servants are all aware ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ that this is the next stage; working class organisations are pledged to work for it. But it means a readiness to share, to adjust, to give up privilege and unfair security, to seek no more for one than for all; hence the vested interests, which would lose so much powers over our lives, appeal to ignorance and fear, to inertia and lack of imagination and love of inequality that is so deep in the English temper. By such means Fascism in all its forms comes into being, vainly trying to stem the tide and to check the natural development of community. We need not look abroad for our examples; our vigilance is needed close at home and in the empire. Study for example the changes in the recruitment of police from 1919 onwards, the Trade Disputes Act of 1927, British Foreign Policy from 1931, the Incitement to Disaffection Act, especially in its first unamended form, the subsidising of Industry (of the practice of the Weimar Republic) the mass trials in South Wales, the books that may not be sent to India.

IV. The call to Christians A crisis is an opportunity; the labour movement in England in all its forms and organisations has never been anti-religious nor anti-Christian

Christian principles and truths find an instant response in a working class audience, especially when their sincerity is verified by action. Members of the Auxiliary have a special task of interpretation. What then must we do?

a) Go back with these problems in mind to the synoptic Gospels, especially to the most difficult and puzzling of the sayings of Jesus. Seek his mind upon all our problems; temper our spirits to the courage and patience necessary, because the job is not going to be easy. We shall be between two fires, attacked by those who do not want to be realists in their religion and by those who want to keep out its influence from their politics. (See Macmurray in the 7th. News Sheet)

b) See the present issue clearly and do not evade it; our franchise and freedom involve us all in responsibility. The main point is simple: Christian Democracy v. anti Christian Fascism. Ignorance of technicalities cannot excuse us from decision; in such a crisis, when we have votes and mean to use them, "Ignorance is not innocence but sin". We ought as Christians to know the facts of our neighbours' lives and of the political and industrial organisation which envelopes them all. We need only begin from our own doorstep to find out the truth. (Here a speaker should be primed with some local and relevant facts and problems.)

c) Make a deliberate use of our imagination in comparing the circumstances with those of the unemployed, our education with that of the masses; in questioning the privileges that we take for granted, the division between classes that we accept; in penetrating the underlying reasons for these differences and for any instinctive resistance or reluctance that we feel to this whole process.

d) Take a stand of some kind, make the next difficult choice, undertake some definite action as led. Get into touch with some society working at a practical problem, a mixed party one to begin with, e.g. a local housing survey in connection with the Act of 1935, a care committee, a League of Nations Union Branch. Anyone debarred from active work locally might usefully get in touch as an Associate with the Civil Liberties Council. Get clear about the party issue and line up; do not wait till an election. Take part in protests which keep governments alive to public opinion.

The Christian Left has arisen out of the recognition of the religious nature of the present critical stage in the transformation of society.

Religion, we believe, is our attitude to reality as a whole, and to nothing less than the whole; our attitude to this reality is, in general terms, our relation to God, and in particular terms, our relation to all persons without exception. We believe that the basic truth about human life, discovered by Jesus, is that man only finds his true nature in communion with his fellow men, that this communion is affirmed or denied by the manner in which the means to the full development of every person are produced and made available to all. We believe that the true nature of man is now asserting itself in the desire for an organization of society which will guarantee to all men everywhere the possibility of the realization of true human community. We believe that the next step in the transformation of society will be the formation of a socialist society, and we therefore regard ourselves as the religious allies of political Socialism.

Condition of membership to include general acceptance of above position - commitment to active cooperation with political working class movements or to subscribe 1% of income - to work for the spreading of the above position.

This is a brief statement only - a compilation of our several important documents to be available as an expansion of the

K. J. manifesto

Memorandum No 1.

A CHRISTIAN LEFT.

The urgency of the situation.

It is unnecessary to emphasize the critical nature of the period of history in which we have entered. The threat of war, the rise of Fascism, the general sense of insecurity are symptoms not merely of unsettlement but of the release of forces which are likely to change the face of the world.

This memorandum represents a belief that in the crisis towards which we are moving no alternatives other than Socialism or Fascism lie before us; that the demands of the working classes for a decent standard of living, demands which have partially been met in the past by political democracy in the policy of social services -- as against the undemocratic control of the economic machine by private interests-- have now reached a crucial stage; and that either the undemocratic economic control will capture the political machine, as in Fascism, or the community must control the economic machine, as in Socialism.

The group from whom this memorandum has emanated further believes that peace can only be secured by economic cooperation between democratic countries, and that no class society could bear the strain of the economic dislocation which this adjustment would involve: for an intolerable burden would be thrown on the producing classes, although they possess no responsibility under the present system. The continuance of the present order, even on a liberalized basis, is not therefore a third possibility. We are approaching a stage when a full democratic control of industry and a classless society must be created.

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The next step towards the realization of universal community, and the removal of the war threat, lies accordingly in the economic field. But the main instrument of this transformation of economic life must be at present political. Although this memorandum is written from the Christian standpoint -- by those, indeed, who are convinced that Christian principles have a vital part to play in the reconstruction of society-- it does not suggest that any Christian group should seek to attain political power. The creation of a non-competitive, community-controlled economy and the building up of a classless society is political work, and political work must be done through the political medium.

The responsibility of Christians.

The need for Socialism is urgent. Events are moving rapidly, and unless the consciousness of men and women is awakened we may be swept into the chaos of war. It is here that those Christians who already realize that a classless society is the only foundation of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth have a responsibility which must not be avoided. Working through the political machine they can appeal to a constituency wider than any which a political party

will normally reach.

But there is a further responsibility resting upon Christians. These changes will take place in the economic field, but the Christian believes that the economic relationship between men is neither the sole nor the fundamental basis of society. There is the love relationship, and the relationship of the individual to the whole (to God). The Christian is able to cooperate with those in the Socialist Movement who do not accept the Christian claim no less fully because he sees in the coming of Socialism a significance which the secularist cannot admit.

A new movement.

Nothing is more needed at this moment than a modern equivalent to the medieval mission of the friars, a call to the conscience of the nation, a call to the consciousness of the working classes, a crusade which will stir men and women out of their lethargy, which will give a purpose to those whose minds are at present in confusion, and which will teach them to realize that the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven belongs not to the remote future but to our own times.

In such a work ecclesiastical differences among Christians must not be allowed to stand in the way. Men and women are needed to speak at street-corners and on village greens, in halls and in pulpits. Both clergy and laity have work to do, by written and oral propaganda. A new method, a new vision, are essential at this moment, if the message is to be preached which to some will be a stumbling-block and to some foolishness.

The authors of this memorandum are in touch with several groups and individuals already engaged in work of this nature: there are also certain Christian Socialist societies with an honoured record. What is so impressive a feature of these groups is that although they have come into existence separately and are working independently, they have worked out the same conclusions, they are filled with the same sense of the need for action: they have formed indeed a common mind.

This shows that all these groups are in reality part of a larger and a new movement. What is being contemplated is not a new organization, but the provision of a centre in London where help can be given to all the activities which make up this movement. At such a centre the problems confronting the movement can be surveyed as a whole.

If you are in general sympathy with the aims which are here outlined, you are asked to write at once, giving your name and address to

THE SECRETARY, C.L.

38 ONSLOW GARDENS, London S W 7.

It is expected that the replies will be too numerous to acknowledge individually. But a second memorandum will be sent to you in due course, explaining more fully what steps it is intended to take. Existing organizations which are prepared to consider associating themselves with this scheme, should also write to the above address, giving particulars as to their constitution &c.

The Xt Left is a movement which should be allowed to evolve as freely as possible. It should not therefore be organized from a centre, for if this is done, other groups will arise which, though working for the same objective, cannot subscribe to every detail of the membership qualification which the centre has defined. Disunity will thus be created in what is actually one movement.

Our immediate need is to provide a Council which shall act as a Central Mind to the Movement and shall be representative of all the activities in the Movement. The Council would exist to advise as to, or direct, the policy of the groups engaged in such activities, to issue or give an imprimatur to all literature produced as Xt Left propaganda, and to deal with issues which concern the Movement as a whole. But it should not decide what basis of membership or what methods of activity the active groups are to adopt. The process, on the contrary, would be that each group in applying for affiliation would state the nature of its activities and membership qualification, and the Council would decide whether these were in accord with or contrary to Xt Left principles and would grant or refuse affiliation accordingly. A given number of seats on the Council would be given to each affiliated group.

This method would admittedly involve a definition of Xt Left principles, as the standard on which the decisions of the Council would be made. But it should be a definition as wide as possible, so as to include not one but varied types of groups. On the one hand it must exclude both the non-Christian humanitarian and the reformist Xtian; on the other hand it must embrace Xtians who belong to no Xtian organization. Nor must the definition be so framed as to confine the Xt Left to the political programme of any one political party.

Father Iredell's draft seems to me to supply a possible basis for one of the Xt Left active groups. But the Council, which ought first to be formed, should not be a unit designed to take part in any such activities. It should direct, but not itself engage in an active campaign.

If the principle of this Council is accepted its constitution should be drafted on this basis.

1. The purpose of the Xt Left Council should be defined as that of uniting those Christians who believe that the Will of God is revealing itself in the world-crisis as the creation of a communist civilization mainly through the medium of the working-class movement.
2. The Council to consist of (six) Nominated Members and (two) Representative Members from each, and elected by each, of the affiliated groups. The total number of the Council not to exceed (15).
3. All members of the Council to retire at the annual meeting to be held in (June). The Nominated Members to be elected by the retiring Council.
4. The Council must be given full power to grant or refuse application for affiliation, and to cancel existing affiliations.
5. Literature to be issued as Xt Left propaganda must be submitted to each member of the Council and approved by (2/3) of the members.
6. The Council must be given full power to decide all questions which it considers affect the Movement as a whole: but it should be stated that it has no power to interfere with the autonomy of the affiliated groups.
7. Provision must be made for alterations of rules, and this, with all questions of policy to be decided should appear on an agenda to be circulated among all members of the Council not less than a week before the meeting.
8. The Council should be given power to appoint its own chairman and secretary &c.

The questions of finance, and therefore of any subscription from affiliated units, may have to be considered. Also, it may be necessary to provide for isolated individuals who wish to be linked to the Movement.

The Xtian Left takes its start from the religious situation of man. The relevance of Marxian sociology is that it helps to elucidate that situation. This has nothing in common with dialectical materialism which is regarded by many to-day (though not by ourselves) as the cornerstone of Marxian philosophy. ~~the~~ ^{Indeed, the} description of the Christian Left ~~as primarily Marxist~~ as primarily Marxist makes it almost impossible to understand its message.

This explains why the Christian Left does not try to formulate its position either in traditionally Christian or in traditionally Marxian terms. It does not intend to appeal either to the authority of the Christian nor of the Marxian dogma. It is an attempt to state the religious situation of man irrespective of whether such a description would be ~~determined~~ ^{termed} Christian or Marxian.

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Notes on a talk with Dr. Tawney
February 12th, 1936.
"Authorised version".

Dr. Tawney thought that K.P. and J.M. were essentially right when they spoke of "crisis" and "choice", and when they said that the choice was about spiritual issues. He pointed out that Fascism, at any rate in its German manifestations, was already discovering that it was inconsistent with Christianity in any form, and was going back two thousand years for its religion. He thought the crimes of National Socialism arose from its essential nature, whereas the crimes of Communism as seen in Russia were crimes of emergency. On the other hand, he was strongly of the opinion that what was required was that Socialists, specially the younger people now coming into the Socialist movement, should take their Socialism seriously, and that mere verbal "left-wingism", when unaccompanied by solid work, was sometimes demoralising to the individuals concerned, and not much help to the Socialist Movement. "Work at your Socialism" might be our message or slogan.

On the question of the need for a Socialist Christian group, he thought it would be very useful. Its existence need not at all preclude the formation of a Christian political group to bring together such persons of all parties as are prepared to think out the spiritual issues behind the political and economic questions of the time and come to their decisions.

He thought that, in any case, the formation of Socialist and other Christian groups was almost inevitable, as and when people form strong convictions they naturally want also to meet with people who had made the same decisions, to work further on their faith.

He did not think the Auxiliary should itself become the Socialist Christian Group. He did not believe in mass conversion or "baptism by the hose" but that a convinced group should draw people in as individuals. He was inclined to think that it might be wiser in the long run to start a new group for a new generation and in an atmosphere which is very greatly changed rather than to amalgamate with existing groups. He agreed that people were vague as to the nature of Socialism, but thought efforts such as Q Camp were important because they showed that people were enlarging their conceptions of Socialism and working out new qualities of life.

He was a little pessimistic about the strength of public opinion as a positive force. He thought it had developed a most important power of veto, but doubted its power to effect constructive changes, e.g. the nationalisation of the mines or the bringing into being of the right kind of Education Bill, but added "Clearly in this country we should work democracy for all it is worth". He was very insistent that the present tension between political democracy and autocratic capitalism was bound to break, and that this in some measure constitutes the crisis, i.e. it may lead to a political crisis of considerable magnitude. Socialists of all people should avoid violence, if only because, as far as can now be foreseen they are bound to be beaten. But of course, an upheaval, such as would be produced by, e.g. defeat in war, might produce a different situation.

To summarise:

He agreed with the convictions of our "left wing" as expressed by such leaders as J.M. and K.P. He was quite clear that it was not wise to try to turn the Auxiliary into something which it was not, but urgent that we should do what we could to foster and provide positive help in the formation of the Socialist Christian Group such as was desired. The important thing is: i) not to risk "rebuking the spirit". The ideas of the "left-wing" Christians may be the version of the truth most needed by our generation. ii) to try and establish a high standard of seriousness. "Left-wingers" should be made to understand that enthusiastic talk is not enough, and that they are entitled to indulge in it only in so far as they will really work hard in thinking out the principles, and applications, of their creed.

I have been asked to summarize the essential core of the Christian Left message.

The success of the Christian Left message cannot be measured by its power to change the course of events, because its very existence depends on its recognition of the crisis which the world has already entered, its acceptance of the extreme probability that universal socialism can be achieved in the world only after a period of disaster for the forces which are working for that end, and its faith that that end will ultimately (if not in our own time) be achieved. Our success cannot therefore be measured by worldly standards. It depends on two things alone, complete clarity, and complete commitment.

I will speak first about the clarity which we must have, the clarity which we must achieve, or else fail in the task which has been given us. This clarity is not primarily an intellectual one, though it must include intellectual clarity: We must know precisely where we stand; we must know precisely where we differ, on intellectual grounds among others, from a number of other groups with whom we have a general sympathy, and who may feel themselves that there is no real difference between their position and ours. However exactly we state our position, we must expect it to be confused not only by the outside world but by those who are sympathetic to it with their own. We must know, not vaguely but with complete clarity, what our criticism of the orthodox Marxist position is; we must know, and be able to express, our criticism of the working class movement in England, not only for its failure to understand its religious task, but in its current policy and action - and in doing that we must avoid giving the impression that we are contracting out of our responsibilities, that we regard ourselves as critics rather than participants in the struggle, that we ourselves, as a committed part of the working class movement are trying to exonerate ourselves for its failures. It is, I think, equally important that we should know precisely where we stand with regard to Christianity in the churches. It is not enough to have a general knowledge that the message of Jesus has suffered distortion by the early disciples, by Paul, by the Church, and by each succeeding age, by whose economic and intellectual prejudices it has been continuously warped and corrupted. We must know what parts of the gospels are reliable from the point of view of the best textual criticism, or we shall find ourselves relying on utterances that Jesus never made and our critics will have an easy task to show that our houses are built upon the sand. We must be armed with enough knowledge to be able to criticise the fashionable theologies of our time, not because they are important in themselves, but because we need to attack the heresies of to-day if we are to be effective in propagating what we believe. We must not only insist that argument about the message of Jesus shall not be sidetracked by reference to St. Paul - we must also be able to show (what many clergymen are unwilling to admit) that although the epistles were written first, they contain less of the truth of Christianity than the Gospels. These are some of the points about which we must be intellectually clear. I have noticed (in myself and others) a tendency to avoid clear statements with regard to dogmas of the Churches, perhaps in order to avoid hurting other people's susceptibilities. We must state plainly and emphatically that we think that the various characteristics of pseudo-Christianity are not merely false, but they are a blank denial of true Christianity. And that even where some of the dogmas are true, they are so emphasised as to be false in effect. We must assert plainly that we do not believe in the Virgin Birth, in the bodily resurrection, in the supernatural generally, in vicarious atonement, etc. Sometimes the effectiveness of our message will depend on our ability to say exactly in what sense we believe in Original Sin. We must be intellectually clear, therefore, but this is not enough. We must be clear in our feeling, in our faith, - we must be religiously clear. I do not find this very easy to explain. Let me put it this way. We shall be useless if we take up our position on purely intellectual grounds - if we decide that we cannot be pacifists for such and such a reason, that we cannot entirely accept the Marxist position for such and such reasons, that we differ from the ordinary Christian on certain grounds. We must be able to define our position in this way, but if this were all, we should be like a log floating in the sea, moved this way and that by a number of different currents, its movement passive and negative. We ought to be like a swimmer, affected by the currents, certainly, but with a dynamic of his own. Our position is religious.

not merely reasoned, but a position arrived at by integration, a perfect unity of reason and emotion. The nature of our belief must be personal and passionate. Personal in two senses; personal, in that we must hold it each one for himself, with an immediate and not a borrowed awareness of its truth; and personal, too, in that it springs ultimately from our conviction that reality is personal, that the Christian Left exists because of that belief, and therefore the nature of our own personal relationships with others as well as within the group is of great importance. Important because we can only live for the liberation of human personality, if we ourselves live by it.

It is above all necessary at the present time that we of the Christian Left should be clear where we differ among ourselves. Many members of the larger group would be able to subscribe to the statement submitted by five of us on November 20th.

"The Christian Left was born out of the inner necessity of recognising a religious experience. The content of this experience is in the conviction that socialism in our epoch is the expression of the Christian forces at work in the world. It is the establishment of a socialist society that will release essential personal living. Such life is possible to-day only by directly relating our lives to the bringing in of socialism. Thus we find ourselves sure of Christianity and not anxious for its future. Our sole concern is with the birth and future of the working class movement, the chief instrument of the transformation.

Our existence is rooted in the certainty of the significance of life committed to socialism. The Christian Left is the vehicle of this message. Through it we commit our time, means, energy, beyond the necessities of life, to the fulfilment of this message."

Many members of the wider Christian Left could assent to all this statement. Where then do we disagree? They would say that although they themselves would agree with the statement, the final clause relating to commitment is as yet unacceptable to some and we should not frighten prospective members away by requiring such complete commitment.

The wider Christian Left is also somewhat divided on its attitude to the churches. Many wish the policy of the Christian Left to be decided on democratic lines, that is by vote. There are several reasons why this interpretation of democracy is unsound, and why this method is quite unsuitable. 1) When you have a movement containing members who have varying degrees of clarity, and varying degrees of commitment, those with most clarity are normally those who are most deeply committed, and they will (in case of disagreement) be outvoted by those least committed. The movement therefore tends to become vague, and the hands of the deeply committed become tied. 2) You cannot apply political methods in a religious organisation. You cannot work out a religious plan of campaign and still less religious beliefs by voting on them. Those who think and feel and believe as we do will join us. But we cannot alter our beliefs if a thousand members of the main body decide that they believe something different.

I began by saying that we required Clarity and Commitment. As I see it, the main body do not lay stress enough on these two things. They want a broad Christian-Socialist movement, which allied with and a part of the socialist movement will stem the tide of Fascism in this country, and so in the world. The time is short, probably too short; for the struggle is already taking place overtly in Spain and China; and if there is a world war, we would, simply because we were one of the belligerent countries, be compelled to submit to a form of Fascism in order to conquer Fascism. Only a movement which is perfectly clear, perfectly united, and perfectly committed has any chance of winning through in the ever-deepening crisis which we have already entered.

What is the nature of our commitment? Briefly, it is to give up our lives to the cause of socialism. We must do this with full recognition of the dark night of despair and failure through which the cause which we serve is to pass. As far as it is possible for us to read the signs of the times - and there may be factors of which we know nothing - we must be prepared for disaster. God will not intervene and establish the universal community by a miracle. God's

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the human spirit is itself revolting against such a denial of itself. This is not only the era of socialism (socialism exists in the USSR) it is also the era of Fascism.

It is not pessimism to recognise that the working-class movement may fail in this country; it is failing now. It is not easy to see failure imminent, and yet to adhere completely to the movement which is failing to accept our own responsibility, our own guilt. It is harder to accept a task, as we must do, which has no immediate chance of success - whose success we can scarcely hope to see.

Hardest of all, we are committed to a task which makes us liable to a kind of inverted romanticism:- to regard ourselves as a saving remnant, called upon to bear the banners of Jesus and Marx, in the time of the breaking of nations. We cannot know now what our task will be; we can only be fairly certain that we shall all be dead before it is accomplished. We may be called upon, as Lenin said, "to hunger, work illegally, and be anonymous"; we may have to do some humble, necessary but apparently insignificant task; there may be others more adequate than ourselves to do what we see as our task; or it may be that we, inadequate as we are, with our insecure faith, our cloudy religious insight, our insufficient courage, may find ourselves alone, may find that no one of all those better qualified for the task, realises what the significance of Christianity is at the present time. But there may be several hundred who understand, perhaps more; and if there are, it is our obvious task to get in touch with them, with anyone who will commit themselves fully to what we believe.

The more convinced we are in the truth of what we believe, the more shattering is our responsibility.

The only means by which we can hope to avoid an ignominious futility is by a single-minded commitment to the cause for which the Christian Left stands, and a mutual commitment here in the Group.