

Answers to a Questionnaire on the War

George Orwell

1941

1. Is the present Anglo-German conflict fundamentally an imperialist war? **No.**
2. Whether imperialist or not, is it unimportant to British workers whether Britain or Germany triumphs? **No.**
3. Is there any important difference, from the worker's standpoint, between British Imperialism and German Nazism? **Yes.**
4. Is the struggle of China, Norway or Greece imperialistic? **No.**
5. Does it become so because assisted by Great Britain? **No.**
6. Should Socialists support the British war effort? **Yes.**
7. Should Socialists support the present British Government? **Not unreservedly.**
8. Should Socialists support strikes which have a legitimate industrial objective, even if they retard the war effort? **Yes.**
9. Is a Peace by Negotiation desirable, at any price? **No.**
10. Is a Peace by Negotiation possible at present, on terms which would not leave Hitler master of continental Europe and with a free hand to continue the war on one front against the U.S.S.R.? **No.**
11. Has the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. affected the issue of a negotiated peace now? **No.**
12. Is the prospect of a negotiated peace likely to stimulate or retard revolutionary opposition to Nazism in the occupied countries? **Retard.**
13. If the U.S.S.R. is defeated, is the Anglo-American combination likely to achieve victory? **Yes.**
14. Would victory then be possible by mainly military means? **No.**
15. If so, is the present British leadership adopting and developing those means with sufficient speed? **No.**
16. Is the alternative of a psychological offensive a practical one? ?
17. Is it an alternative or a supplementary method? I.e. Would revolt be possible throughout the Continent without the continuation of the armed struggle? **No.**
18. Is the present Government adopting and developing this method adequately? **No.**
19. If not, is the Government basically incapable of using this method? **Yes.**

20. Is the present Government, if victorious, likely to establish a durable peace? **Probably.**
21. Is the U.S.S.R., if its resistance is maintained, likely to dominate the situation at the end of the war and ensure the establishment of Soviet Communism over large areas of Europe? **No.**
22. Will it be possible to avoid the dominance of either Imperialism or Stalinism at the end of the war? **Yes.**
23. Is the British Labour Movement the main bulwark against such a situation? **Important, but not the main one.**
24. Can the British Labour Movement exercise a decisive influence on the course of the war while in a minority position in Parliament? **Yes.**
25. Is a Socialist, or a predominantly Socialist, Government possible of achievement during the course of war? **Yes.**
26. Would it necessarily strengthen or weaken the war effort? **Strengthen.**
27. Could such a Government be obtained by constitutional means – i.e. by a General Election? **Yes.**
28. If so, could mass pressure force the present Government to face a General Election? **Yes.**
29. If not, should the formation of such a Government by revolutionary means be attempted if suitable conditions arose? **Yes.**
30. Are such conditions likely to arise? **No.**
31. Would such an attempt fatally weaken the war effort and enable Hitler to strike a decisive blow? Not if the suitable conditions existed.
32. Would it be possible that by that stage Hitler's own internal position would also be extremely insecure? **No.**
33. Should all Socialists who believe the present Government incapable of defeating Nazism, or who believe that Socialist methods would shorten the war and win the peace, unite in a common front for an intense propaganda drive? **Yes.**
34. Should this drive be linked with support for "Win the War by Socialism" candidates at present by-elections? **Yes.**
35. Could such a drive exert a decisive influence on the course of the war? **Probably.**

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