

Report of Nation-wide Survey

MADE BY THE

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

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NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

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Purposes

- I. To sound out public opinion on certain post-war problems, and on the part that the United States might take in the world if the United Nations win the war.
- II. To determine the present attitude of the American people towards the allies and towards the enemies of the United States.
- III. To ascertain attitudes towards certain civilian contributions to the war effort.

With democracy becoming more articulate and determined, this survey is primarily undertaken in the belief that the part the United States takes in the peace will be largely influenced by the voice of American citizens.

The Center, therefore, plans to make regular periodic surveys, of which this is the first, to follow the trend of public opinion on questions of post-war significance.

Method

A carefully selected nation-wide cross-section of the entire population over 21 years of age was questioned by the Center's national staff of personally trained interviewers.

In making this study, the Center has approached the same basic ideas from several angles by means of related questions.

The Cross-Section or "Who was interviewed"

The cross-section selected is sociologically characteristic of the adult population of the entire country. For Geographic Distribution, size of Cross-Section, and other technical information see page 30.

Time of Survey

The interviews on which this survey is based were made between February 9th and 16th, 1942.

Summary

AMERICANS want to cooperate with other nations after the war is over to establish world peace. Four out of five people in this national cross-section think that if the Axis is defeated, the United States should try to form some kind of a union to help keep peace and order in the world. A large majority agree that all the allies, including Russia, and the Central and South American countries should be included in such a union. A slight majority are of the opinion that Germany, Italy and Japan should also be included.

Furthermore, at this time, a majority of Americans are neither revengeful against the people living in the Axis countries nor do they favor a United States policy of aggrandizement. Most people are satisfied with the possessions the United States has now or only favor the United States seeking new military bases for the protection of continental America.

Four out of five persons think that if, after the war, the people in some foreign countries are starving, the United States should help to feed them. Almost a majority, however, are of the opinion that these food contributions should be made in the form of loans to the countries in need; few being in favor of this food being paid for out of American taxes.

A strikingly larger proportion of Americans are more inclined to be favorably disposed towards the Germans as a *people* than they are towards the Japanese as a *people*.

Today a large majority of Americans are of the opinion that Germany, Italy and Japan should be made to give up all the land and property they have taken during the war. However, close to a majority hold the opinion that the Axis countries should be made to pay only as much as they can afford towards the cost of the war within a definite time limit set by the Allies; whereas only one-third believe that the Axis powers should be made to pay *all* the cost of the war. Remembering the old controversy over war debts, most people think that Russia, Britain and China should pay for the Lease-Lend materials sent to them by the United States.

Also included in this report are such current war questions as: rationing, compulsory savings and how long will the war last.

The U. S. and a World Union After the War

It is illuminating at this time to discover the extent to which the American people are willing to cooperate with other nations in establishing world peace and order.

The series of questions on this subject began with the following:

"If Germany, Italy, and Japan are defeated, do you think the United States should try to form some kind of a union of the Allied Countries to help keep peace and order in the world?"*

YES	85%
NO	9
Depends	2
No opinion.....	3
Don't understand question.....	1
	<hr/>
	100%

Significant. Thus it is established that at this time fewer than one out of ten people indicate that they want the United States to follow an isolationist policy after the war.

It is interesting to find that no significant differences in opinion are registered between the sexes, or among the various economic or age groups. (For detailed breakdowns see page 16.)

What about All the Allied Countries?

The 85% who said "Yes," and the 2% "Depends" were then asked the next three questions:

"Do you think all the countries on the Allied side should be in this union, or just some of them?"

ALL	88%
SOME	6
Depends	1
No opinion.....	5
	<hr/>
	100%

(For detailed breakdowns see page 16.)

*Such terms as "Union Now," "League of Nations," and "International Police Force" were ignored to avoid possible emotional or political prejudices.

The 6% answering "Some" and the 1% answering "Depends"* were then asked:

"Which (Allied) countries do you think should NOT be in the union?"

Significant. Of this 7% (6% of the entire cross-section), about one-third mentioned Russia, approximately another third were unable to name any country specifically, and the remaining third gave such answers as China, the smaller countries, and France.

The third question in this series deals with our neighbors to the south:

"Do you think all, some or none of the countries in Central America and South America should be in the union?"

ALL	80%
SOME	6
Depends	3
None	2
No opinion	9
	<hr/>
	100%

Comment. It will be noted that 9% were without an opinion on this question, which is 5% greater than the "No Opinion" on the first question in this series. When those who did not express an opinion are excluded from both questions, it is found that 89% favor the United States trying to form some kind of union to help keep peace and order in the world when the war is over, and almost 9 out of 10 people in this group want to see all Central and South American countries included in the union. Slightly more than half of these people favor the Axis powers being members of the union. (For breakdowns see page 17.)

What about the Axis Countries?

Each respondent who favored the U. S. forming some kind of union was then asked:

"Do you think Germany, Italy, and Japan should be in this union?"

	Germany	Italy	Japan
YES	51%	51%	50%
NO	34	33	34
Depends	7	7	8
No opinion.....	8	9	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%

*On this and several other questions throughout the report a "Depends" group appears. This group consists of those respondents who qualified their replies so that their answers could not be classified in a specific category.

Comment. On this question people group the Axis powers together, making little or no differentiation between them. Further breakdowns show that the younger people, the higher economic group and those with more education are more in favor of having the Axis powers in the proposed union than are older people, the lower economic group and those with less education. (For breakdowns see page 17.)

New Lands and Oversea Possessions

What are the people thinking today about the U. S. possessions overseas? How will the war affect their attitudes towards new possessions and military bases?

With a view to following the trend of American opinion on these subjects, the following question was presented to this miniature population of the United States. Each respondent was handed a card with four possible attitudes and was asked:

“Which of these four statements comes closest to what you think the United States should do about new land and possessions in the world?”

- | | |
|--|-------|
| (a) The United States should give up all the land outside of the U. S. that is difficult to defend | 9% |
| (b) The United States should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she has now | 38 |
| (c) The United States should try to get military bases only | 32 |
| (d) The United States should try to get as much new land in the world as she can | 13 |
| No Opinion | 8 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 100% |

Significant. At the present time, only 13% of the people favor an imperialistic policy for the United States. A majority of 70% are satisfied with the amount of land the United States has now or only desire new possessions in the form of military bases.

Further breakdowns show that whereas only 8% of the upper income group think we should get as much new land as possible, this attitude is

favored by 21% of the lower income group. Only half as many of the lower income group believe the U. S. should try to get military bases only, as do the upper income group. (Additional breakdowns on page 18.)

Feeding Starving Peoples After the War

In an attempt to ascertain how the American people feel today regarding feeding starving foreigners after the war is over, the following question was presented:

“If, after the war, people in some of the countries in the world are starving, do you think the United States should help to feed the people in these countries?”

- | | |
|------------------|-------|
| YES | 80% |
| NO | 7 |
| Depends | 11 |
| No Opinion | 2 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 100% |

Comment. It is interesting to find that the more highly educated and financially secure groups are more in favor of feeding the starving post-war countries than are the less privileged. However, three out of four in all classes vote affirmatively on this basically humanitarian question.

The “Depends” group, 11%, qualified their answers with such comments as, “Our feeding the starving people overseas should depend upon the amount of food surpluses in this country,” and “Not until we have taken care of our own.” (See page 19 for breakdowns on this and next question.)

The 80% who answered “YES” the starving should be fed, and the 11% answering “Depends” were presented with this additional question:

“How do you think this food should be paid for?”

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1. By the people of the United States through taxes | 6% |
| 2. By loans to the countries getting the food ... | 45 |
| 3. By the people of the United States giving money—like through the Red Cross | 34 |
| or | |
| 4. Some other way | 8 |
| No Opinion | 7 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 100% |

Feeling Towards the German and Japanese Peoples

This series of questions was asked with a view to ascertaining the public's present attitude towards the *people* who live in Germany and Japan. The first two questions, presenting three possible attitudes, were printed on cards which were handed to each respondent. One card for Germany and one for Japan:

"Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you feel, on the whole, about the people who live in Germany (Japan)?"

	Results	
	German	Japanese
a. The German (Japanese) people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible.	21%	41%
b. The German (Japanese) people may not like war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders.	30	27
c. The German (Japanese) people are like any other people. If they could really choose the leaders they want, they would become good citizens of the world.	42	18
No Opinion	7	14
	100%	100%

Significant. Note that practically twice as many persons feel that the Japanese *people* are incorrigibly belligerent as think the German *people* will always want to go to war. Over twice as many feel that the Germans would become good citizens of the world if allowed to choose their leaders as think the Japanese are capable of becoming good world citizens. The fact that 14% felt unable to select any one of the three attitudes as applied to the Japanese *people*, whereas only 7% were unable to do so for the German *people*, would seem to show a feeling of less familiarity with the Mikado's subjects. (A more complete analysis of this question appears on page 20.)

Based upon the assumption that the United Nations will win the war, two further questions confirm the American people's greater tolerance for the Germans than for the Japanese. For comparative purposes the Italians and French *people* were included in the following question which read:

"Do you think the people in Germany should be given a chance to vote, in a fair election, to choose what kind of a government they should have after the war?"

"How about the Italian *people*? The Japanese *people*? The French *people*?"

	French People	Italian People	German People	Japanese People
YES	78	64	62	50
NO	10	24	28	36
Depends	2	2	3	3
No Opinion	10	10	7	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%

(For cross-tabulations on the German and Japanese parts of this question turn to page 22.)

The third question of this series follows:

"In your opinion, after the war will the German *people* want the kind of government they have now, or some other kind?"

The same question was asked concerning the Italian and Japanese *people*.

	German People	Italian People	Japanese People
PRESENT Kind	19%	20%	41%
Some OTHER Kind	66	58	32
Depends	2	1	1
No Opinion	13	21	26
	100%	100%	100%

*This survey is not concerned with the practicability of the operations suggested by the questions. The idea of voting in a fair election was used as a vehicle to measure the feeling towards the *people* in the above countries, since a fair election is something that the great majority of Americans understand.

Those who answered "Some other kind" or "Depends" were requested to name the type of government they thought the people would want. The results:

% Answering:	Of those answering "Some other kind" or "Depends"			Of Total Cross-Section		
	Germany	Italy	Japan	Germany	Italy	Japan
Democratic	61%	58%	52%	41%	34%	18%
Other than Democratic ..	11	16	10	8	10	3
Don't Know.....	28	26	38	19	15	12
	100%	100%	100%	68%*	59%*	33%*

(For breakdowns see page 24.)

The Conquered Countries After the War

To secure additional opinions towards the Axis powers, three further questions were presented regarding post-war problems. The first concerns the countries that the Axis has conquered and plundered:

"Do you think that after the war, Germany should be made to give up all, some, or none of the land and things she has taken since 1930?"

Identical questions were also asked concerning Italy and Japan.

Should be made to give up:

	Germany	Italy	Japan
ALL land and things.....	77%	81%	83%
SOME	15	8	8
NONE	1	.2	1
Depends	2	1	1
No Opinion	5	8	7
	100%	100%	100%

One-quarter of the people who had attended college approve of Germany's being allowed to keep "Some" of her gains, whereas only 10% of the less educated express such leniency toward Germany. (For breakdowns see page 25.)

*Does not add to 100% because total cross-section was not asked this question.

The 17% who answered "Some" or "Depends" for Germany were asked:

"What Should the Germans Not Have to Give Up?"

Nearly a third of these people (or about 5% of the total cross-section) said that Germany should not have to give up any lands that were hers before the First World War. A quarter gave such answers as "Territories that are basically German," a few made miscellaneous answers and nearly a third were unable to give specific answers.

When the 9% who answered "Some" or "Depends" in the case of Italy were asked:

"What Should Italy Not Have to Give Up?"

Nearly half made an answer at all. The other half mentioned such things as, "Lands they need to live on," or "African Possessions" or "Territories basically Italian."

"What Should Japan NOT Have to Give Up?"

Of the 9% who answered "Some" or "Depends" for Japan, over a third were unable to name anything she should not give up. One in five mentioned Manchuria or China and the remainder gave such miscellaneous answers as "Lands they need for their own people," and "Lands where the people choose to belong to Japan."

How Much Should the Allies Try to Make Germany, Italy, Japan Pay?

This question is also based upon the supposition that the Allies win the war:

"Do you think the Allies should try to make Germany, Italy, and Japan pay—

	Germany	Italy	Japan
All the cost of the war.....	35%	34%	35%
As much as they can afford with- in a time limit set by the Allies	49	50	49
or			
None of the cost of the war...	7	7	7
Other	4	3	3
No Opinion	5	6	6
	100%	100%	100%

So far as war reparations are concerned, respondents group the Axis powers together. Further breakdowns show that the younger people, the higher economic groups and those with more educational advantages, are more in favor of financial leniency toward the Axis countries than their counterparts. (For detailed breakdowns, see page 26.)

Payment for Lease-Lend Materials

Allied War Debts will obviously be one important problem in the post-war adjustment period. The Center plans to ask the following question periodically, as the trend of public opinion on this score will become of increasing importance:*

“Do you think that Great Britain should or should not pay us for the war materials we have sent them under the lease-lend bill? How about China? Russia?”

	Russia	Britain	China
Should	76%	75%	63%
Should, but won't be able.....	7	9	14
Should not	9	9	15
Other	2	2	2
Don't know	6	5	6
	100%	100%	100%

Over twice as many in the upper income group and those with some college education think the Allies should *not* pay us as do those people in the lower income group and with less education. More of the older people, over 40, than those under 40 believe that we should not be paid. (For detailed breakdowns, see page 27.)

*Regarding this question: It should be noted that the ways and means of collecting payment on lend-lease materials is a matter for the experts. In fact, the White House has already announced that the terms finally agreed upon "shall be such as not to burden commerce . . ."

Current War-Time Problems

Inflation:

The spectre of inflation is a problem uppermost in the minds of many Americans today. The following question was asked in order to determine the extent to which people regard the possibility of rising prices as a danger.

“Do you think that rising prices are a good thing or a bad thing for the United States at this time?”

Although six out of ten people think that rising prices would be harmful, almost one-fifth believe they would be a good thing. The results:

GOOD Thing	18%
BAD Thing	58
Depends	16
No Opinion	8
	100%

Comment. Those who favor increased prices give such reasons as, “People will have more money to pay for the cost of the war,” “People will buy more Defense Bonds,” and “Prices must rise along with the wages.” Many of those against rising prices dread possible inflation, and believe that rising prices work a hardship on the average family. Some think that rising prices will damage public morale.

Farmers as a group are less opposed to rising prices than the rest of the population. People living in large cities are more opposed than any other group. Those answering “Depends” (19% among farmers) are largely of the opinion that rising prices for some products would be all right, but not for all commodities. (See page 28 for breakdowns.)

Rationing:

Today few, if any, Americans possess ration cards, although automobile tires have been rationed for several weeks and sugar bowls have already disappeared from some public tables. Therefore the following question was asked:

“Do you think that the government should or should not ration products at this time in which it thinks there may be a shortage?”

A large majority, over eight out of ten people, believes that the government should ration those products in which there may be a shortage. Less than one person out of each ten is against such rationing, and only one out of ten qualified their answers or had no opinion. The nationwide results were:

SHOULD Ration	82%
Should NOT Ration.....	8
Depends	5
No Opinion	5
	<hr/>
	100%

Comment. Analysis reveals that the more education people have the more they favor rationing. Further breakdowns show no difference in attitude between the sexes—but greater disapproval of the idea of rationing is shown among older people.

Typical of the comments accompanying the “Depends” on this question are: “It depends on what they intend to ration,” or “If the shortage is real.” (See page 28 for breakdowns.)

Compulsory Savings

At the time this survey was made, two views regarding enforced saving were under discussion. Some people believe that such a move is unnecessary and undemocratic, others advocate enforced saving as a means to help control prices and prevent shortages of consumer goods.

In an attempt to ascertain which of these two conflicting views most closely reflects the opinion of the American people, the following question was asked of all respondents except those who said that “Rising prices are a GOOD thing” and also that the government “Should NOT ration products at this time.”

“Some people think one way to stop raising prices or to stop shortages is for the government to take a certain amount of each person’s wages or salary for Defense Bonds. These Defense Bonds could not be cashed until the war is over. Would you be in favor of such a plan, or against it?”

In FAVOR	34%
AGAINST	45
Depends	12
Don't Know	9
	<hr/>
	100%

Comment. Considering the question specifies that the bonds could not be cashed until after the war, 34% in favor of enforced savings may be significant. A careful breakdown of the findings shows the following interesting facts: Men (by a margin of 9%) are more in favor of government imposed savings than women. The less educated and lower income groups are more willing to submit to saving regulation than the more privileged group.

Of the 12% who qualified their answers, eight out of ten stated that it depends on how much a person earns. (See page 29 for breakdowns.)

How Long will The War Last?

On January 21, 1942, Gallup reported only 22% of the people believing that the war would last more than three years, compared with the 34% shown in this survey which was completed four weeks later.

In the interval between the two surveys, the United Nations received continual bad news. The Japanese advances in the western Pacific for example, or the sinking of Allied merchant ships off our Atlantic coast. It is not surprising, therefore, that the comparison shows a considerable trend in public opinion towards the possibility of a longer war.

The findings of this survey follow:

“How much longer do you think the war will last?”

8%	think the war will last LESS than one year
24	think the war will last one to two years
16	think the war will last two to three years
34	think the war will last MORE than three years
18	declined to guess

100%

Men, younger people, and those with more education or more money tend to look for a longer war than women, older people, and those with less education or less money. (See page 29 for breakdowns.)

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

If Germany, Italy and Japan are defeated, do you think the United States should try to form some kind of a union of the Allied countries to help keep peace and order in the world?

	Yes	No	Depends	Don't Know
TOTAL	85%	9%	2%	4%
By Sex				
Men	87	9	2	2
Women	84	8	2	6
By Age				
Under 40.....	85	9	2	4
Over 40.....	85	8	2	5
By Economic Level				
Upper	87	9	3	1
Middle	86	9	2	3
Lower	83	7	1	9
By Education				
Some, or Completed College.....	83	13	3	1
Some, or Completed High School.....	88	8	2	2
Grammar School Graduate or Less..	84	6	1	9

Question:

(If answer was "Yes" or "Depends" to preceding question)

Do you think all the countries on the Allied side should be in this union, or just some of them?

	All	Some	Depends	Don't Know
TOTAL	88%	6%	1%	5%
By Sex				
Men	88	7	2	3
Women	87	4	1	8
By Age				
Under 40.....	89	6	1	4
Over 40.....	86	5	2	7
By Economic Level				
Upper	89	6	2	3
Middle	87	6	2	5
Lower	87	5	1	7
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	91	5	2	2
Some or Completed High School.....	89	5	2	4
Grammar School Graduate or Less..	84	6	1	9

BREAKDOWNS

(If answer was "Yes" or "Depends" to "Do you think the United States should try to form some kind of a union . . .")

Question:

Do you think all, some or none of the countries in Central America and South America should be in this union?

	All	Some	None	Depends	Don't Know
TOTAL	80%	6%	2%	3%	9%
By Sex					
Men	81	7	3	3	6
Women	77	5	2	3	13
By Age					
Under 40.....	80	7	2	3	8
Over 40.....	79	5	2	3	11
By Economic Level					
Upper	82	7	2	4	5
Middle	81	7	2	3	7
Lower	73	6	3	1	17
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	85	6	2	4	3
Some or Completed High School.....	81	8	2	3	6
Grammar School Graduate or Less....	75	4	2	2	17

Question:

Do you think Germany, Italy and Japan should be in this union?

	Germany				Italy				Japan			
	Yes	No	De- pends	D. K.	Yes	No	De- pends	D. K.	Yes	No	De- pends	D. K.
TOTAL	51%	34%	7%	8%	51%	33%	7%	9%	50%	34%	8%	8%
By Sex												
Men	51	36	7	6	52	35	7	6	51	36	7	6
Women	50	32	8	10	50	31	8	11	50	32	8	10
By Age												
Under 40.....	55	30	8	7	55	29	8	8	55	30	8	7
Over 40.....	47	37	7	9	47	37	7	9	46	38	7	9
By Economic Level												
Upper	54	33	9	4	55	32	9	4	53	34	9	4
Middle	53	34	8	5	53	34	7	6	53	34	8	5
Lower	45	33	6	16	44	33	6	17	43	34	6	17
By Education												
Some, or Com- pleted College	62	27	8	3	62	26	8	4	61	27	9	3
Some, or Com- pleted High School	50	35	9	6	51	34	9	6	50	35	9	6
Grammar Sch'l Graduate or Less	44	38	5	13	45	37	5	13	44	38	5	13

(If answer was "Yes" or "Depends" to "Do you think the United States should try to form some kind of a union . . .")

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Which of these four statements comes closest to what you think the United States should do about new land and possessions in the world?

- The United States should give up all the land outside of the U. S. that is difficult to defend.
- The United States should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she has now.
- The United States should try to get military bases only.
- The United States should try to get as much new land in the world as she can.

	Give up Land	Be Satisfied with Present Land	Get Military Bases Only	Get as Much Land as Possible	D. K.
TOTAL	9%	38%	32%	13%	8%
By Sex					
Men	9	36	35	14	6
Women	9	41	28	12	10
By Age					
Under 40.....	8	39	35	12	6
Over 40.....	10	38	29	14	9
By Economic Level					
Upper	9	37	42	8	4
Middle	10	41	33	10	6
Lower	9	36	19	21	15
By Education					
Some or Completed College	9	37	42	7	5
Some or Completed High School.....	9	39	36	10	6
Grammar School Graduate or Less.....	9	40	17	20	14

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

If, after the war, people in some of the countries in the world are starving, do you think the United States should help to feed the people in these countries?

	Yes	No	Depends	Don't Know
TOTAL	80%	7%	11%	2%
By Sex				
Men	83	5	11	1
Women	77	8	12	3
By Age				
Under 40.....	79	8	11	2
Over 40.....	81	6	11	2
By Economic Level				
Upper	85	4	10	1
Middle	79	8	12	1
Lower	75	10	11	4
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	86	4	9	1
Some or Completed High School.....	79	7	13	1
Grammar School Graduate or Less.....	76	9	11	4

(If "Yes" or "Depends" to preceding question)

Question:

How do you think this food should be paid for?

- By the people of the United States through taxes.
- By loans to the countries getting the food.
- By the people of the United States giving money—like through the Red Cross, or
- Some other way.....

	By Taxes	By Loans	Voluntary Contributions	Other	Don't Know
TOTAL	6%	43%	34%	8%	7%
By Sex					
Men	7	47	31	9	6
Women	5	43	37	7	8
By Age					
Under 40.....	6	48	34	7	5
Over 40.....	6	43	34	8	9
By Economic Level					
Upper	4	49	33	10	4
Middle	6	47	32	8	7
Lower	7	38	38	6	11
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	6	49	32	10	3
Some or Completed High School.....	6	50	31	7	6
Grammar Sch'l Graduate or Less.....	6	36	40	6	12

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Which of the following statements comes closest to describing how you feel, on the whole, about the people who live in Germany (Japan)?

- The German (Japanese) people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible.
- The German (Japanese) people may not like war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders.
- The German (Japanese) people are like any other people; if they could really choose the leaders they want, they would become good citizens of the world.

	German People				Japanese People			
	Will Always Want War	Too Easily Led	Could Be Good Citizens	Don't Know	Will Always Want War	Too Easily Led	Could Be Good Citizens	Don't Know
TOTAL	21%	30%	42%	7%	41%	27%	18%	14%
By Sex								
Men	23	29	42	6	41	28	20	11
Women	20	31	41	8	41	25	17	17
By Age								
Under 40	20	33	41	6	40	31	19	10
Over 40	22	27	42	9	41	23	18	18
By Economic Level								
Upper	21	36	39	4	42	30	19	9
Middle	20	32	44	4	41	29	19	11
Lower	24	21	41	14	39	20	19	22
By Education								
Some or Completed College	21	40	37	2	37	34	21	8
Some or Completed High School	21	32	43	4	42	30	18	10
Grammar School Graduate or Less	21	19	44	16	42	17	17	24

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Do you think the people in Germany should be given a chance to vote, in a fair election, to choose what kind of a government they should have after the war? How about the Italian people? The Japanese people? The French people?

	German People				Italian People			
	Yes	No	De-pends	D. K.	Yes	No	De-pends	D. K.
TOTAL	62%	28%	3%	7%	64%	24%	2%	10%
By Sex								
Men	62	30	3	5	64	27	3	6
Women	61	26	3	10	63	22	2	13
By Age								
Under 40	63	28	3	6	66	24	2	8
Over 40	60	28	3	9	61	24	3	12
By Economic Level								
Upper	63	29	4	4	68	23	4	5
Middle	66	27	2	5	68	23	1	8
Lower	53	30	3	14	52	28	2	18
By Education								
Some or Completed College	65	27	4	4	71	22	3	4
Some or Completed High School	65	28	3	4	67	25	2	6
Grammar School Graduate or Less	54	29	3	14	53	26	2	19
	Japanese People				French People			
	Yes	No	De-pends	D. K.	Yes	No	De-pends	D. K.
TOTAL	50%	36%	3%	11%	78%	10%	2%	10%
By Sex								
Men	49	39	4	8	79	11	3	7
Women	50	33	3	14	77	9	1	13
By Age								
Under 40	52	36	3	9	81	10	1	8
Over 40	47	36	3	14	74	11	3	12
By Economic Level								
Upper	52	36	4	8	83	10	3	4
Middle	53	36	2	9	82	9	2	7
Lower	41	38	3	18	66	13	2	19
By Education								
Some or Completed College	56	34	4	6	86	9	2	3
Some or Completed High School	50	38	4	8	83	9	2	6
Grammar School Graduate or Less	44	35	2	19	65	13	2	20

CROSS-TABULATION

Those who think that the German people:

	Will always want to go to war	Are too easily led to war by leaders	Could become good citizens of the world	Total Cross-section
Should vote to choose own government	43%	62%	74%	62%
Should not vote to choose own government	47	30	18	28
Depends	2	4	4	3
Don't Know.....	8	4	4	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Those who think that the Japanese people:

	Will always want to go to war	Are too easily led to war by leaders	Could become good citizens of the world	Total Cross-section
Should vote to choose own government	38%	55%	73%	50%
Should not vote to choose own government	50	34	19	36
Depends	3	4	3	3
Don't Know.....	9	7	5	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

In your opinion, after the war will the German people want the kind of government they have now, or some other kind? How about the Italian people? The Japanese people?

	German People			Italian People			Japanese People			
	Present Kind	Other Kind	D. K.	Present Kind	Other Kind	D. K.	Present Kind	Other Kind	D. K.	
TOTAL	19%	66%	13%	20%	58%	21%	41%	32%	1%	26%
By Sex										
Men	19	68	11	20	63	16	43	34	1	22
Women	19	62	16	20	53	25	39	31	1	29
By Age										
Under 40.....	18	69	11	22	60	17	43	34	1	22
Over 40.....	19	62	16	18	56	24	39	31	1	29
By Economic Level										
Upper	17	69	11	19	64	16	47	32	2	21
Middle	17	70	11	20	61	18	41	34	1	24
Lower	22	56	19	21	47	30	37	30	1	32
By Education										
Some or Completed College	19	68	10	21	65	13	48	31	1	20
Some or Completed High School.....	16	73	9	19	63	16	42	34	2	22
Grammar School Graduate or Less	22	54	22	20	47	1	34	31	1	34

BREAKDOWNS

(If answer was "Some Other Kind" or "Depends" to preceding question)

Question:

What kind?

	German People			Italian People			Japanese People		
	Democ- racy	Other	D. K.	Democ- racy	Other	D. K.	Democ- racy	Other	D. K.
TOTAL	61%	11%	28%	58%	16%	26%	52%	10%	38%
By Sex									
Men	61	15	24	58	20	22	51	13	36
Women	62	7	31	59	12	29	54	6	40
By Age									
Under 40.....	64	10	26	61	16	23	55	9	36
Over 40.....	59	12	29	55	16	29	50	10	40
By Economic Level									
Upper	54	17	29	52	22	26	44	16	40
Middle	68	8	24	63	14	23	60	8	32
Lower	57	10	33	55	14	31	48	8	44
By Education									
Some or Completed College.....	56	19	25	50	27	23	47	19	34
Some or Completed High School.....	64	9	27	62	14	24	56	8	36
Grammar School Graduate or Less.....	61	7	32	59	9	32	52	5	43

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Do you think that, after the war, Germany should be made to give up all, some, or none of the land and things she has taken since 1930? How about Italy? How about Japan?

	Germany			Italy			Japan		
	All	Some	None	All	Some	None	All	Some	None
TOTAL	77%	15%	1%	81%	8%	2%	83%	8%	1%
By Sex									
Men	79	16	1	86	7	2	87	8	1
Women	75	14	2	77	8	2	79	8	2
By Age									
Under 40.....	75	19	1	80	9	3	82	10	2
Over 40.....	79	12	1	82	6	2	83	7	1
By Economic Level									
Upper	74	20	1	81	10	3	82	11	1
Middle	78	16	1	83	7	2	85	8	1
Lower	78	11	1	77	6	1	81	5	1
By Education									
Some or Completed College.....	70	25	1	80	12	3	80	14	1
Some or Completed High School.....	80	14	1	84	7	2	85	7	2
Grammar School Graduate or Less.....	79	10	1	79	5	2	83	4	1

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Do you think that the Allies should try to make Germany, Italy and Japan pay

- All the cost of the war
- As much as they can afford, within a time limit set by the Allies, or
- None of the cost of the war.

	Germany			Italy			Japan										
	All Afford	None	Other D.K.	All Afford	None	Other D.K.	All Afford	None	Other D.K.								
TOTAL	35%	49%	7%	4%	3%	5%	34%	50%	7%	3%	6%	35%	49%	7%	3%	6%	
By Sex																	
Men	35	49	9	4	3	7	34	50	9	4	3	8	34	50	8	4	4
Women	35	50	5	3	7		34	50	5	3	8		36	49	5	3	7
By Age																	
Under 40.....	31	54	8	3	4	4	31	54	8	3	4	4	31	53	8	3	5
Over 40.....	38	45	6	4	7		37	46	6	4	7		38	45	6	4	7
By Economic Level																	
Upper	29	52	11	5	3	3	28	53	11	5	3	3	28	53	11	5	3
Middle	31	54	7	4	4	4	31	54	7	4	4	4	31	54	7	4	4
Lower	44	41	3	2	10		44	41	3	2	10		44	41	3	2	10
By Education																	
Some or Completed																	
College	23	56	14	4	3		22	57	14	4	3		23	56	14	4	3
Some or Completed																	
High School.....	34	54	5	4	3		34	54	5	4	3		35	53	5	4	3
Grammar School Grad.																	
uate or Less.....	45	39	3	3	10		44	39	3	3	11		45	39	3	3	10

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Do you think that Great Britain should or should not pay us for the war materials we have sent them under the Lease-Lend Bill? How about China? Russia?

	Great Britain			China			Russia										
	Should, but Won't Be Able	Should Not	Don't Know	Should, but Won't Be Able	Should Not	Don't Know	Should, but Won't Be Able	Should Not	Don't Know								
TOTAL	75%	9%	2%	5%	63%	14%	15%	2%	6%	76%	7%	9%	2%	6%			
By Sex																	
Men	76	9	9	2	4		62	14	18	2	4		77	6	11	2	4
Women	74	9	8	2	7		63	15	12	2	8		75	7	8	2	8
By Age																	
Under 40.....	78	7	8	2	5		66	13	14	2	5		79	6	8	2	5
Over 40.....	72	10	10	2	6		59	15	17	2	7		73	7	11	2	7
By Economic Level																	
Upper	70	12	13	2	3		57	17	21	2	3		72	9	13	2	4
Middle	79	7	8	2	4		64	13	16	3	4		79	5	9	2	5
Lower	74	7	6	2	11		67	11	8	2	12		77	5	6	1	11
By Education																	
Some or Completed																	
College	68	12	14	3	3		71	10	14	2	3		83	13	3	1
Some or Completed																	
High School.....	81	8	7	2	2		81	6	8	2	3		88	8	2	2
Grammar School Grad.																	
uate or Less.....	74	6	7	2	11		76	4	6	2	12		84	6	1	6	3

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Do you think that rising prices are a good thing or a bad thing for the United States at this time?

	Good	Bad	Depends	Don't Know
TOTAL	18%	58%	16%	8%
By Sex				
Men	19	58	17	6
Women	18	57	16	9
By Age				
Under 40.....	21	55	17	7
Over 40.....	16	60	16	8
By Economic Level				
Upper	16	62	17	5
Middle	18	58	18	6
Lower	22	53	14	11
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	19	60	16	5
Some or Completed High School	17	60	17	6
Grammar School Graduate or Less	19	54	15	12
By Residence				
Cities over 100,000.....	15	64	14	7
Places under 100,000.....	18	59	16	6
Farmers	23	46	19	12

Question:

Do you think that the government should or should not ration products at this time in which it thinks there may be a shortage?

	Should	Should Not	Depends	Don't Know
TOTAL	82%	8%	5%	5%
By Sex				
Men	83	8	5	4
Women	82	8	4	6
By Age				
Under 40.....	88	5	4	3
Over 40.....	76	11	6	7
By Economic Level				
Upper	86	8	5	1
Middle	86	7	5	2
Lower	73	11	4	12
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	89	6	4	1
Some or Completed High School	86	7	5	2
Grammar School Graduate or Less	71	12	5	12

BREAKDOWNS

(The following question was asked of all respondents except those who said that "Rising prices are a GOOD thing" and also that the government "Should NOT ration products at this time.")

Question:

Some people think a way to stop rising prices or to stop shortages is for the government to take a certain amount of each person's wages or salary for Defense Bonds. These Defense Bonds could not be cashed until the war is over. Would you be in favor of such a plan or against it?

	In Favor	Against	Depends	Don't Know
TOTAL	34%	45%	12%	9%
By Sex				
Men	39	42	12	7
Women	30	48	11	11
By Age				
Under 40.....	35	45	13	7
Over 40.....	34	45	10	11
By Economic Level				
Upper	32	54	9	5
Middle	35	44	13	8
Lower	35	38	12	15
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	31	54	11	4
Some or Completed High School	34	47	13	6
Grammar School Graduate or Less	37	35	11	17

Question:

How much longer do you think the war will last from now?

	Less Than 1	1 to 2	Years 2 to 3	Over 3	D. K.
TOTAL	8%	24%	16%	34%	18%
By Sex					
Men	8	26	18	35	13
Women	8	22	14	33	23
By Age					
Under 40.....	8	24	18	36	14
Over 40.....	8	24	15	31	22
By Economic Level					
Upper	6	23	17	41	13
Middle	8	26	18	33	15
Lower	12	21	14	27	26
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	5	22	20	44	9
Some or Completed High School..	8	27	18	33	14
Grammar School Graduate or Less	11	21	13	25	30

Factual Information

The Cross-Section—The sample population upon which this study was made is representative, within a small degree of error, of the national population over 21 years of age. That is, the sample used is based upon certain sociological characteristics of the adult population of the United States.

Geographical Distribution—Within each of the nine Census Divisions of the country interviews were properly apportioned among the adult population in the urban and rural areas of that Division. For the urban population the interviews were apportioned to cities and towns in the correct size groups; while in the rural areas the interviews were properly apportioned among farmers and non-farmers. The interviews obtained in each Census Division follows:

Census Division	% of Cross Section
New England.....	6.8%
Middle Atlantic.....	21.5
East North Central.....	20.4
West North Central.....	10.2
South Atlantic.....	12.2
East South Central.....	7.5
West South Central.....	9.7
Mountain.....	3.0
Pacific States.....	8.7
	100.0%

Size of Cross-Section—As a result of statistical research, it is now known that a poll will not be accurate, no matter how large a sample is taken (short of a total census of the entire population), if the cross-section is not an accurate miniature of the whole population.

According to a statistical table copyrighted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, the number of interviews necessary to be within 3% correct on questions that divide evenly in a national survey is 2,500. This number is sufficient 997 times in 1,000. This same table adds that HALF this sample, or 1,250 interviews, would be within 3%, 962 times in 1,000. Actually, this survey is based on 2,600 interviews.

Sex—The sample included an equal number of men and women.

Age—Within each sex group half the interviews were obtained from persons between 21 and 40 years of age and half from persons over 40 years. The 1940 Census shows 48% between 21 and 40, and 52% over 40 years of age.

Color—Within each Census Division were obtained the number of colored respondents proportional to the colored population in that area. These interviews were properly apportioned among Urban, Rural-non-farm, and Farm residents.

Economic Status—Within each sex group the interviews among the white population were assigned on the basis of four standard-of-living categories. The colored people were not assigned on the basis of economic level since such a large proportion of them fall into the lowest income group. For purposes of tabulation the two upper groups are combined in this report and the colored are all included in the lowest economic group. Persons on relief are also included within this third group. The economic characteristics of persons in each one of these three groups can be defined roughly as follows:

Upper (29% of sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and most or some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Seven per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining 22% is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully between them.

Middle (42% of the sample)—This group is called the great middle class in America. They have large enough incomes to maintain an adequate standard of living but can seldom afford luxuries.

Lower (29% of the sample)—This group includes both colored and white people from families on relief and also the lowest income non-relief families. These people have difficulty maintaining an adequate standard of living.

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3. . . to analyze and review the results of surveys made by other polling organizations.
4. . . to create at the University of Denver a research Center to discover, test and perfect new methods, techniques and devices for ascertaining the status of public opinion.
5. . . to provide at the University of Denver a graduate department devoted to the study of the new science of public opinion measurement.

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