

**A NATION-WIDE SURVEY
OF POST-WAR AND
CURRENT PROBLEMS**

**Report No. 5
NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Denver**

Report Number 5

A Nation-Wide Public Opinion Survey

on

**POST-WAR AND
CURRENT PROBLEMS**

Made by the

**NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Denver**

PURPOSES

Because of the influence American public opinion is likely to have on post-war affairs, the Center planned some months ago to make regular periodic surveys to sound out such opinion. This report covers our second nation-wide study aimed to determine the present American attitude towards our Allies, towards the enemies of the United States, and towards the part this country might play in the world if the United Nations win the war.

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.

The distorted map on page 2 graphically shows the relative weight of each state in the cross-section. Each state is shown as it would appear if its area were proportional to its population of adults 21 years and over. This map also divides the country into four geographical sections.

For the size of cross-section, the geographical distribution of interviews, and the division of economic levels, etc., see Factual Information on pages 27 and 28.

TIME OF SURVEY

The interviews on which this survey is based were made between July 13th and 18th, 1942.

SUMMARY

Americans as a people appear to be increasingly aware of the importance of post-war problems that they should be prepared to face. Intelligent planning and discussion **now** may lay the foundations for a reconstruction period that will avoid many of the mistakes made after the last war.

Today a clear majority of the people favor, not an immediate peace after the cessation of hostilities, but a cooling-off period. While there is a wide divergence of opinion regarding the most desirable length of such a period, three out of four suggest waiting one year or more.

An increasing number of Americans—32% in March, 41% in August—favor the control of essential military bases overseas. This seems to indicate a growing regard for national security rather than a trend towards imperialism, since no significant change is found among those who believe we should acquire all the new land obtainable.

A large majority approve the active participation of the United States in a World Union of Nations, should one be organized after the war. Clear majorities also look forward to the participation in such a union of China, Great Britain, Russia, the Latin American countries, and France—in declining order of popularity. But only a minority favor the participation of the Axis Nations in a post-war union.

Nine out of every ten Americans think the U. S. should help feed foreign peoples following the war, should they be starving. There is a general consensus of opinion that this food should be paid for through loans, contributions, and barter or lease-lend agreements. Some people, however, feel that perhaps the Axis Nations should not be included in such a food relief program.

Eighty-two percent of Americans think that Great Britain should pay for all or part of the lease-lend materials, with 79% in favor of payments from Russia, and 64% advocating payments from China. It is significant that twenty-four out of each hundred people feel that China should **not** pay for the war materials furnished her under the Lease-Lend agreement.

Almost half of the people believe that the Axis Nations should be made to pay for the war, **even if it breaks them**. Less drastic reparations are advocated by about four out of every ten persons.

The **New York Herald Tribune** in an editorial reviewing the Center's March report, which substantially paralleled this one as to opinion trends on post-war financial settlements, makes this comment:

"The tragic lessons of the first world war debt and reparations problems seem not to have been learned as well as many had hoped. And the recent Anglo-American agreement on lease-lend payments, in which the return of money values was explicitly subordinated to the promotion of trade, apparently did not make the impression it might have done."²

Approximately half of the cross-section think that after the war the German and Italian peoples will want a different type of government, probably a more democratic one, but about the same proportion believe that the Japanese will wish to retain their present form of government.

As indicated in the March report, feeling toward the Japanese as a people is distinctly more hostile than that toward the Germans.

Military reverses in the news may be considered responsible for a turn in opinion toward the expectation of a longer war than was generally anticipated several months ago.

²New York Herald Tribune, March 30, 1942.

PART I

Attitudes Toward Vital Post-War Problems

Though deeply preoccupied with the immediate problems of war preparation and strategy, Americans nevertheless evidence definite and articulate interest in many vital post-war problems. This is the second survey devoted largely to public opinion on these problems—with results even more interesting than those obtained in March.

A COOLING-OFF PERIOD AFTER THE WAR

The idea of waiting a number of years after hostilities cease before writing the peace treaties is being discussed in responsible quarters. If this issue becomes increasingly important, a trend of American opinion taken at periodic intervals should prove valuable. The question was preceded by the statement: "Supposing the Allies win the war . . ."

"Some people say it will be a better peace if the Allies make the peace terms with Germany, Italy, and Japan as soon as possible after the fighting is over. Others say it will be a better peace if the Allies stay in Germany, Italy, and Japan for a few years, and then make the peace terms. Which side do you agree with?"

Peace right away.....	32%
Wait a few years	54
Qualified answer.....	1*
No Opinion.....	13

The 54% who favor waiting were asked:

100%

"About how many years do you believe the Allies should stay in these countries before making the peace terms?"

Less than 1 year	2%
One to two years.....	18
Two to four years.....	9
Four to six years.....	8
Over six years.....	4
Indefinitely	5
Depends	2
No Opinion.....	6

54%

*Nearly all of these are against making any peace. Many of them want to eliminate the Axis countries.

SIGNIFICANT. Today a clear majority of the people approve a cooling-off period, but relatively few people are agreed on how long this period should be. Of those expressing an opinion, three out of five suggest waiting one year or more. The percentage of those who favor waiting amounts to 66% among people with some college education, and falls to 47% among those who are grammar school graduates or less. About six out of ten men prefer waiting a few years, compared with five out of ten women. (See page 19 for significant breakdowns.)

NEW LAND AND OVERSEAS POSSESSIONS

This question, which reveals that an increasing number of Americans think the United States should get more military bases overseas, was presented to two comparable cross-sections five months apart. For all practical purposes the wording of the question was identical in both studies:

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

	March Report	This Report
(a) The United States should give up all the land outside of the U. S. that is difficult to defend.....	9%	7%
(b) The United States should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she had before she entered the war*.....	38	33
(c) The United States should try to get new military bases, but nothing else.....	32	41
(d) The United States should try to get as much new land in the world as she can.....	13	11
No Opinion.....	8	8
	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT. The increase from 32% to 41% in favor of the United States getting additional military bases would appear to show a growing interest in our national security, rather than a trend towards imperialism. This increase, it will be noted, is accompanied by no

*As the interviews for the March report were made before the fall of the Philippines, the (b) part of this question read: "The U. S. should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she has now."

significant change in the percentage of those who think that the U. S. should try to get as much new land in the world as she can.

The breakdowns reveal that increased interest in the acquisition of more military bases is not limited to any particular groups in the population of the United States. The gains are greatest among those who were least in favor of new bases in the previous (March) survey. For example, grammar school graduates or less jump from 17% to 33%, and the lower economic group from 19% to 31%; while the upper economic group rises from 42% to 48%, and those who have attended college from 42% to 49%. (See page 20 for significant breakdowns.)

THE U. S. AND A WORLD UNION AFTER THE WAR

In an attempt to ascertain whether Americans favor joining a union of nations, this question was presented:

"After the war, if a union of nations that would try to solve world problems were formed, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it?"

Good Idea.....	72%
Qualified Answer.....	2
Bad Idea.....	15
No Opinion.....	11
	100%

SIGNIFICANT. Only 15% of the people out of every hundred are against the United States joining a union of nations at this time.

The two out of every hundred who qualified their answers, said that it should depend upon such things as the leadership of such a union, on which nations are members, and upon the "workability" of the union.

People under 40 years old and those on the higher economic and educational levels, are more in favor of this idea than are older people and those with less money and fewer educational advantages. (See page 21 for significant breakdowns.)

COMPARISON. Five months ago the Center asked: "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?" At that time 85% answered "Yes" and 9% "No."

The different wording of the two questions may easily account for the differences in the findings. The earlier question asked if the U. S. "should try to form some kind of a union" compared with "if a

union . . . were formed." The March question suggested our leading, not merely joining such a union. Finally, "to help keep peace and order in the world" is capable of stimulating more thoughtful speculation than the wording of the question in this later survey.

WHAT COUNTRIES, BESIDES THE U. S., SHOULD BE IN THIS UNION?

The 72% answering "Good Idea," and the 2% who qualified their answers, were then asked:

"Do you think Great Britain should be in the union?"

When this question had been answered, it was repeated for China; Russia; the Central and South American countries; France; Germany, Italy, and Japan.* For convenient presentation the percentage for each country reads across the page.

	Yes	No	Qual. Ans.	No Opinion	Total of [†] cross-section answering
Great Britain.....	71%	1%	2%	1%	= 74%
China	72	1	1	2	= 74
Russia	68	2	2	2	= 74
The Central and South American Countries	67	1	3	3	= 74
France	59	6	5	4	= 74
*Germany, Italy, and Japan	40	21	9	4	= 74

COMMENT. It is interesting to find that no significant differences exist between any of the major breakdowns so far as Britain and China are concerned.

A difference in the educational groups appears in the Central and South American breakdowns—65% of those who are grammar school graduates or less answering "yes" compared with 70% of those who have attended college.

More members of the higher economic and educational groups think that Russia should be in the union than do members of the lower

*The three Axis powers were grouped as one in this survey. When asked separately on a similar question in an earlier survey, the difference was less than 1%. (See March Report p. 5.)

economic and educational groups. For example, only 65% of the less educated chose the affirmative compared with 71% of college people.

The breakdowns on France show the same trend. Again, the most extreme differences of opinion are between the educational levels—53% of the less educated voting "yes," compared with 66% of college people.

But the greatest differences concern the Axis nations. Only 33% of the lower economic group favor their joining such a union, compared with 45% of those with money; and 30% of the grammar school graduates or less, compared with 52% of the college people. This difference of opinion extends to the age levels—38% of those over 40 years of age answering in the affirmative, compared with 42% of the people under 40.

In the earlier survey (March) those people who thought that the United States should try to form some kind of a union to keep peace and order in the world, were asked which countries should be included. The differences between the findings of the two surveys are negligible, in spite of the variation in the wordings of the question.

In March, 68% thought that all the countries in Central and South America should be in the union, compared with 67% on this survey. The vote to include Germany and Italy in the earlier survey was 43%, compared with 40% in this survey. (For interesting breakdowns on this question, see page 21.)

FEEDING STARVING PEOPLES AFTER THE WAR

An identical question was used both in this survey, and in the one on which the March Report was based. This question reads:

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

	March Report	This Report
Yes	80%	74%
Qualified Answer	11	19
No	7	5
No Opinion.....	2	2
	91%	93%
	100%	100%

COMPARISON. The main difference is in the qualified answers. A majority of those who modified their opinions in both surveys said in effect, "Yes, if we feed our own first." (March 11%; August 12%.) However, a new category becomes significant in the later survey—5% saying: "But don't feed the people who are responsible for the war—the Axis countries."

This second question was asked of those who answered "Yes" or who qualified their answers:

"How do you think this food should be paid for?"

	March Report	This Report
1. By loans to the countries getting the food?	41%	32%
2. By the people of the U. S. through taxes?	5	6
3. By the people of the U. S. giving money — like through the Red Cross, or	31	34
4. Some other way?	8	14
No Opinion	6	7
Of total cross-section	91%	93%

COMPARISON. The most significant difference is the shift in opinion from "Loans to the countries getting the food," to "Some other way." In both surveys a majority of those who made some suggestion of their own offered a combination of "Loans and Charity," "Taxes and Charity," or "Loans and Taxes." Four out of every hundred in this more recent survey, however, mentioned trade agreements, the barter system, or according to the provisions of the Lease-Lend Bill. (For breakdowns by Economic and Educational backgrounds, see page 22.)

*In the order of presentation in the March Report "taxes" preceded "loans."

**PAYMENT FOR
LEASE-LEND MATERIALS**

Continuing the study of opinion on Allied War Debts, this question was presented, upon the supposition that the United Nations win the conflict:

"Do you think that Great Britain should pay for all, or part, or none of the war materials we have sent them under the Lease-Lend Bill? How about China? Russia?"

	Britain	Russia	China
ALL	39%	32%	20%
Part	43	47	44
Qualified Answer	5	4	6
None	8	11	24
No Opinion	5	6	6
	100%	100%	100%

COMPARISON. Five months ago the Center asked a similar question: "Do you think that Great Britain should or should not pay us for war materials we have sent them under the Lease-Lend Bill? How about China? Russia? The answers to this question were divided into five categories—"Should;" "Should, but won't be able to;" "Should not;" "Other;" and "No Opinion."

In spite of the differences in wording, which eliminate any direct parallel, an interesting comparison can be made by combining the first two categories of both questions:

	Britain		Russia		China	
	March Report	This Report	March Report	This Report	March Report	This Report
"Should" and "Should, but won't be able to," compared with "All" and "Part"	84%	82%	83%	79%	77%	64%
"Other" compared with "Qualified Answers"	2	5	2	4	2	6
"Should not" compared with "None"	9	8	9	11	15	24
No Opinion	5	5	6	6	6	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT. The indication that opinion towards Russia and China has "softened," would seem to be a natural result of the war news from those two countries during the past five months—news that in the case of Russia presumably has aroused admiration, and in the case of China a deep sympathy.

More than half of those people who qualified their answers said that "they should pay as much as they are able to pay."

In the August survey the opinion that Britain and China should not pay us is favored almost **twice as much** by people in the upper income group and those with some college education, as compared with people in the lower income group, and with little education.

In these classifications the differences in opinion in regard to Russia are not so significant. (For breakdowns, see page 23.)

POST-WAR PAYMENTS BY THE AXIS NATIONS

Another question based on the supposition that the United Nations win the war was presented with three possible answers, all of which were read by our interviewers to each respondent:

"How much do you think the Allies should TRY to make Germany, Italy, and Japan pay towards what the war has cost the Allies?"

	Germany	Italy	Japan
(1) As much as it is possible to get out of the Axis countries, even if it breaks them	43%	41%	45%
(2) None of the cost of the war	9	9	8
(3) Something in between these two.....	38	40	37
Don't Know	10	10	10
	100%	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT. The feeling that the Axis powers should be made to pay as much as possible has increased considerably during the past five months. The March Report showed that only 35% of the public thought that the Allies should try to make Germany pay all the cost of the war. Today 43% think the Allies should try to make Germany pay as much as possible, **even if it breaks her**. In the case of Italy the increase is from 34% to 41%, and the increase for Japan is ten percentage points—from 35% to 45%.*

The feeling that the Axis Nations should be made to pay for the war, no matter what the cost, is strongest among the lower economic and educational groups. In these groups nearly twice as many respondents chose number (1) as did those at the higher economic levels, and people with some college education.

"Something in Between." When those people who chose "Something in between" were asked to amplify their answers, almost half said, in effect: "Make them pay as much as possible without breaking them." About a third had no suggestion to make and the rest offered such miscellaneous ideas as "make them pay half the cost of the war, or more," or "make them pay for the damage they have done."

(For further analysis of Economic and Educational levels, see page 24.)

*The March survey included this question:

"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 within a time limit set by the Allies.....	49	50	49
None of the cost of the war.....	7	7	7
Other	4	3	3
No Opinion	5	6	6
	100%	100%	100%

COMMENT. The difference in the wording of the two sets of questions may be the weightiest factor in the results. It must be borne in mind, however, that the trend of world happenings between March and August may have been somewhat responsible for a swing of opinion even more sharply in favor of heavy Axis reparation payments.

PART II

Attitudes Toward Important Current Problems

FEELING TOWARD THE GERMAN AND JAPANESE PEOPLES

Two questions, also asked five months ago in an attempt to measure the American public's attitude towards the German and Japanese people, were repeated in this study.

The first presented three possible attitudes towards the people in Germany and Japan, reading:

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

	German People		Japanese People	
	March Report	This Report	March Report	This Report
(a) The German (Japanese) people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible	21%	23%	41%	46%
(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	41	27	28
(c) The German (Japanese) people do not like war. If they could have the same chance as people in other countries, they would become good citizens of the world?	42	29	18	11
No Opinion	7	7	14	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT. In spite of the difference in the wording of (c),* which makes comparisons between the two surveys imperfect, fewer than three out of ten Americans think the German people are capable of becoming good citizens of the world today.

Twice as many people think the Japanese **people** incorrigibly beligerent, as think the German **people** will always want to go to war. And over twice as many think the German people do **not** like war, as hold that opinion about the Japanese. The consistency of the "No Opinion" is noteworthy. (For significant breakdowns, see page 25.)

KIND OF GOVERNMENT AXIS COUNTRIES MAY WANT

Another question concerning the people in the Axis countries which was asked five months ago reads:

"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	
	March Report	This Report	March Report	This Report	March Report	This Report
Present Kind.....	19%	19%	20%	18%	41%	46%
Some Other Kind—						
Democratic	41	45	34	38	18	15
Other than Democratic....	8	9	10	12	3	5
No Opinion.....	32	27	36	32	38	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

COMMENT. Although the "No Opinion" vote on this question still amounts to almost a third of the entire cross-section, a significantly larger percentage expressed opinions in this survey than did in the previous one. The pattern, however, remains the same. Considerably more persons have views regarding the German people than have views concerning the Japanese people.

The trend of opinion indicates that an increasing number of Americans think that the German and Italian people will want a democratic

*The wording of this attitude is printed as it appears on the questionnaire on which this study is based. On the previous questionnaire it read: "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."

form of government after the war. There is a growing feeling, however, that after the war the Japanese will wish to retain their present form of government.

No breakdown is shown on this question.

HOW MUCH LONGER WILL THE WAR LAST?

This question has been presented twice before to a similar nationwide cross-section of adults over 21 years of age—see the N.O.R.C. Reports for March and June, 1942. After the fall of Manila, and other Far Eastern reverses last February, 34 people out of each hundred anticipated a war of more than three years' duration. After the President's April 28th speech, the Coral Sea Battle, and other encouraging developments, only 10 people out of each hundred expected a war longer than three years. But more recently, since the news of Russian retreats and the North African reverses, the percentage rose to 20 people out of each hundred looking forward to at least three years more of fighting.

The question on which all three surveys are based reads:

"How much longer do you think the war will last?"

	March Report	June Report	This Report
Less than one year..	8%	26%	18%
One to two years.....	24	29	29
Two to three years..	16	11	17
More than three years 34	50%	21%	20
Declined to guess....	18	24	16
	100%	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT: Public optimism as to the probable length of the war—at a low ebb in the March Report—rose in June, and declines again in this report, though not approaching the low point reported in March. This survey shows that exactly twice as many people as in June expected a war of more than three years. This anticipation of a long war is especially evident among persons of the higher economic and educational levels. For example, in the current survey 27% of those with some college education anticipate a war of more than three years, in contrast with only 17% of those with a grammar school background.

Five months ago only eight people out of each hundred anticipated a war of less than one year, in June this figure rose to 26 out of each hundred, while in this report the number drops to just 18 people out of each hundred. (For a more detailed breakdown of this question, consult page 26.)

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Some people say it will be a better peace if the Allies make the peace terms with Germany, Italy, and Japan as soon as possible after the fighting is over. Others say it will be a better peace if the Allies stay in Germany, Italy, and Japan for a few years, and then make the peace terms. Which side do you agree with?

	Peace Right Away	Wait a Few Years	Qualified Answer	No Opinion
TOTAL	32%	54%	1%	13%
By Sex				
Men	29	59	2	10
Women	34	49	1	16
By Economic Level				
Upper	30	61	1	8
Middle	30	57	2	11
Lower	34	44	1	21
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	28	66	1	5
Some or Completed High School....	32	56	2	10
Grammar School Graduate or Less	32	47	1	20

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 after the war?

- (a) **The United States should give up all the land outside of the U. S. that is difficult to defend.**
- (b) **The United States should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she had before she entered the war.**
- (c) **The United States should try to get new military bases, but nothing else.**
- (d) **The United States should try to get as much new land in the world as she can.**

	(a) Give up Land	(b) Be Satisfied with Pre-War Land	(c) Get Military Bases Only	(d) Get as Much Land as Possible	No Opinion
TOTAL	7%	33%	41%	11%	8%
By Sex					
Men	7	30	45	11	7
Women	8	36	36	10	10
By Economic Level					
Upper	9	32	48	6	5
Middle	7	34	43	9	7
Lower	7	32	31	17	13
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	9	35	49	4	3
Some or Completed High School..	8	32	46	9	5
Grammar School Graduate or Less	6	33	33	16	12

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

After the war, if a union of nations that would try to solve world problems were formed, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it?

	Good Idea	Qualified Answer	Bad Idea	No Opinion
TOTAL	72%	2%	15%	11%
By Age				
Under 40.....	75	1	15	9
Over 40.....	68	3	16	13
By Economic Level				
Upper	79	3	12	6
Middle	72	2	17	9
Lower	63	2	17	18
By Education				
Some or Completed College	86	2	9	3
Some or Completed High School....	75	2	15	8
Grammar School Graduate or Less	60	3	20	17

Question: (Asked of the 72% answering "Good Idea" and the 2% who qualified their answers.)

Do you think Germany, Italy, and Japan should be in the Union?

Breakdowns regarding Great Britain, China, Russia, and the Latin American countries are not included. The unanimity of opinion in favor of their membership is so large that the differences between categories are not significant.

	Yes	No	Qualified Answer	No Opinion	Total of Cross-Section
TOTAL	40%	21%	9%	4%	74%
By Age					
Under 40.....	43	21	8	4	76
Over 40.....	36	21	10	4	71
By Economic Level					
Upper	50	18	11	3	82
Middle	41	21	9	3	74
Lower	29	24	6	6	65
By Education					
Some or Completed College	62	12	12	2	88
Some or Completed High School	42	22	9	4	77
Grammar School Grad. or Less	26	25	7	5	63

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	Qualified Answer	No	No Opinion
TOTAL	74 %	5 %	19 %	2 %
By Economic Level				
Upper	81	3	16	*
Middle	75	5	19	1
Lower	66	8	22	4
By Education				
Some or Completed College	86	3	11	*
Some or Completed High School.....	73	6	20	1
Grammar School Graduate or Less....	69	7	21	3

*Less than 1%.

[22]

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

Do you think that Great Britain should pay for all, or part, or none of the war materials we have sent them under the Lease-Lend Bill? How about China? Russia?

	All	Part	None	Qualified Answer	No Opinion
TOTAL	39 %	43 %	8 %	5 %	5 %
Britain	32	47	11	4	6
Russia	20	44	24	6	6
China					

BY ECONOMIC LEVEL

	All	Part	None	Qualified Answer	No Opinion
Upper	34 %	44 %	10 %	9 %	3 %
Middle	41	46	6	4	3
Lower	42	39	6	3	10

Russia

Upper	30	47	14	5	4
Middle	33	49	10	4	4
Lower	33	41	9	4	13

China

Upper	15	41	33	7	4
Middle	20	46	23	7	4
Lower	23	44	16	5	12

BY EDUCATION

	All	Part	None	Qualified Answer	No Opinion
Some or Completed College	33 %	45 %	7 %	13 %	2 %
Some or Completed High School.....	43	43	5	6	3
Grammar School Grad. or Less.....	39	42	5	6	8

Russia

Some or Completed College	29	49	15	5	2
Some or Completed High School.....	33	48	10	5	4
Grammar School Grad. or Less.....	34	44	9	3	10

China

Some or Completed College	13	44	35	6	2
Some or Completed High School.....	19	47	24	6	4
Grammar School Grad. or Less.....	23	43	18	6	10

[23]

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

How much do you think the Allies should TRY to make Germany, Italy, and Japan pay towards what the war has cost the Allies?

- (1) As much as it is possible to get out of the Axis countries, even if it breaks them.
- (2) None of the cost of the war.
- (3) Something in between these two.

TOTAL

	As much as Possible even if it breaks them	None	Something in Between	Don't Know
Germany	43%	9%	38%	10%
Italy	41	9	40	10
Japan	45	8	37	10

BY ECONOMIC LEVEL

	As much as Possible even if it Breaks them	None	Something in Between	Don't Know
Germany				
Upper	34%	13%	46%	7%
Middle	42	9	41	8
Lower	51	5	28	16
Italy				
Upper	33	13	47	7
Middle	40	10	42	8
Lower	49	5	30	16
Japan				
Upper	36	12	45	7
Middle	44	9	39	8
Lower	52	5	28	15

BY EDUCATION

	As much as Possible even if it Breaks them	None	Something in Between	Don't Know
Germany				
Some or Completed College	28%	16%	50%	6%
Some or Completed High School	42	9	41	8
Grammar School Graduate or Less	52	5	30	13
Italy				
Some or Completed College	27	17	50	6
Some or Completed High School	40	9	43	8
Grammar School Graduate or Less	50	5	31	14
Japan				
Some or Completed College	31	16	47	6
Some or Completed High School	45	8	39	8
Grammar School Graduate or Less	53	5	29	13

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)?

- (a) The German (Japanese) people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible.
- (b) The German (Japanese) people may not like the war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders.
- (c) The German (Japanese) people do not like war. If they could have the same chance as people in other countries, they would become good citizens of the world.

	GERMANY				JAPAN			
	(a) Always Want War	(b) Too Easily Led	(c) Make Good Citizens	No Opinion	(a) Always Want War	(b) Too Easily Led	(c) Make Good Citizens	No Opinion
TOTAL	23%	41%	29%	7%	46%	28%	11%	15%
By Age								
Under 40	19	46	29	6	47	29	12	12
Over 40	27	36	29	8	45	28	10	17
By Economic Level								
Upper	25	48	24	3	46	33	11	10
Middle	22	42	31	5	48	28	11	13
Lower	24	32	31	13	43	24	12	21
By Education								
Some or Completed College	23	50	24	3	43	36	13	8
Some or Completed High School	19	46	31	4	50	28	11	11
Grammar School Grad. or Less	26	31	32	11	44	25	11	20

BREAKDOWNS

Question:

How much longer do you think the war will last?

	Respondents with Opinions = 100%						No Opinion % All Respondents
	CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES*						
	Over 5 Years	Over 4 Years	Over 3 Years	Over 2 Years	Over 1 Year	Less than 1 Year	
TOTAL	5%	16%	24%	46%	78%	22%	16%
	100%						
By Age							
Under 40.....	5	15	25	47	81	19	13
Over 40.....	5	16	23	42	76	24	19
By Sex							
Men	6	16	23	45	80	20	12
Women	4	15	25	44	77	23	20
By Economic Level							
Upper	5	18	29	53	84	16	12
Middle	5	14	21	41	78	22	15
Lower	6	15	23	42	74	26	22
By Education							
Some or Com- pleted College..	7	19	31	56	87	13	9
Some or Com- pleted H. S.	4	14	23	45	79	21	13
Grammar School Grad. or Less..	6	15	21	38	72	28	22

*Notice that the above percentages are presented cumulatively. For example, the percentage "Over 4 Years" includes the percentage "Over 5 Years." Likewise the percentage "Over 3 Years" includes both the percentage "Over 4 Years" and the percentage "Over 5 Years."

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:

Cross Section	% of Census Division
New England.....	7.0%
Middle Atlantic.....	21.1
East North Central.....	21.5
West North Central.....	10.7
South Atlantic.....	12.8
East South Central.....	7.6
West South Central.....	9.5
Mountain	3.0
Pacific States.....	6.8
	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, the survey reported in these pages is based on 2,582 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 the third group. The economic characteristics of persons in each one of these three groups can be defined roughly as follows:

UPPER (28% of sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Six 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 which ones to buy.

MIDDLE (43% 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.

PURPOSES OF THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

1. . . . to establish the first non-profit, non-commercial organization to measure public opinion in the United States. Through a national staff of trained investigators, representative cross-sections or samples of the entire population will be personally interviewed on questions of current importance.
2. . . . to make available to legislators, government departments, academicians, and non-profit organizations a staff of experts in the science of public opinion measurement, and a highly trained nation-wide corps of interviewers.
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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The National Opinion Research Center has been established by a grant from the (Marshall) Field Foundation, Inc. of New York City, in association with the University of Denver.

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1. **Announcement of Purposes.** Brochure outlining the why and wherefore of the Center, including distorted map (8x10½) showing the 48 states as they would appear if their area were proportional to their population over 21 years of age.
2. **National Survey, Report No. 1.** Opinions and attitudes of the American people towards the war in Europe—completed one week before Pearl Harbor. (24 pages.)
3. **National Survey, Report No. 2.** Opinions and attitudes of the American people towards important Post-War Problems. (32 pages.)
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9. **Distorted Maps.** (Size 8½ by 11 inches.)
 - A. Outline map of U. S. showing states as they would appear if area were proportional to number of persons 21 years of age and over.
 - B. Same as above based on total U. S. population, 1940 Census.
 - C. Same as above based on Popular Vote for President, 1940.

The large number of requests for these publications makes it necessary for the Center to cover part of the printing costs and postage by charging 10 cents for the Reports; 5 cents each for the Supplements and Distorted Maps. Address: National Opinion Research Center, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

