

War and Peace

1943 Edition

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
University of Denver

Report No. 8

March 1943

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A Nation-Wide Public Opinion Survey

Napoleon's meteoric rise set the stage for Tolstoy's classic, WAR AND PEACE. Hitler has reset that stage. Some people say our lives today are far different from what they would have been had Hitler remained only Schichelgruber, the paperhanger. Hitler's name does not appear elsewhere in this report. But the subject matter of every question is set in a world which Hitler tried to make, and which the United Nations must eventually remake!

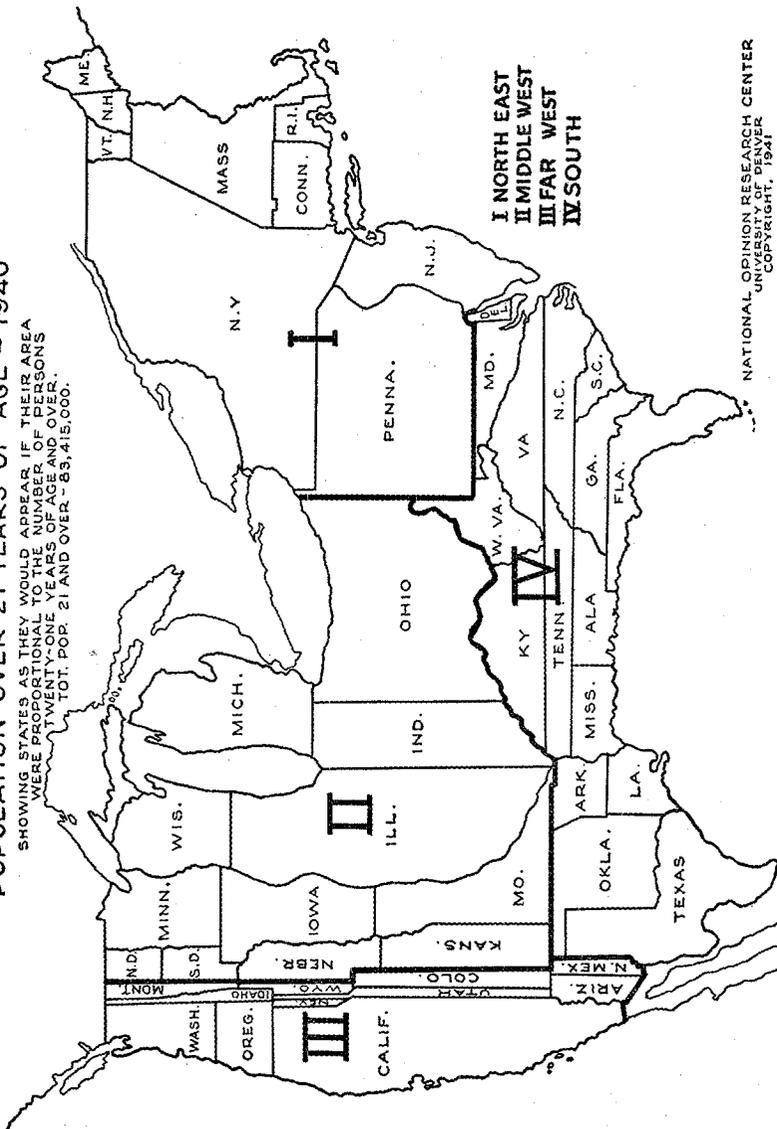
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POPULATION OVER 21 YEARS OF AGE - 1940

SHOWING STATES AS THEY WOULD APPEAR IF THEIR AREA WERE PROPORTIONAL TO THE NUMBER OF PERSONS TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.
TOT. POP. 21 AND OVER - 89,415,000.



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PURPOSES

Because of the influence American public opinion is likely to have on post-war affairs, the Center is conducting a series of surveys to sound out such opinion. This report covers the third such nationwide study. It is largely focused upon determining what sacrifices, if any, the American people are willing to make to help establish a world union after the war. Opinions are also included on the United States post-war industrial and tariff policy, the acquisition of new possessions, the inevitability of wars, and other vital questions.

METHOD

A carefully selected nation-wide cross-section, a typical miniature of the entire civilian 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, the division of economic level, and other data, see Factual Information on pages 36 and 37.

TIME OF SURVEY

The interviews on which this survey is based were made between December 31, 1942, and January 16, 1943.

SPONSORS

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.

SUMMARY

Most Americans express willingness to make the sacrifices necessary to win the war. What sacrifices are they prepared to make to win the peace?

Because of the widespread interest in many phases of post-war adjustment, and because of the importance of public opinion on these issues, the National Opinion Research Center has devoted an increasing number of survey questions to post-war problems. The chief emphasis in this report is on exploring the degree to which the American people are willing to make those economic and even political "sacrifices" which some experts consider fundamental to the attainment of permanent peace.

On almost every question two distinct points of view can be observed. These may be called, for want of better terms, "internationalist" and "non-internationalist." "Internationalists" are mainly those people who see the promise of lasting peace in a world union and are willing to have the United States assume a role of leadership and responsibility, but not of domination, in such a union. To them international cooperation should be the keynote of the United States' contribution to the post-war world, and they are willing to make both economic and political sacrifices to see a world union developed into a functioning organization. "Internationalists" are also willing that the Axis nations be permitted gradually to resume their places in the family of nations.

The term "non-internationalist" is descriptive of an attitude of "cautious and limited cooperation" held by many Americans. The "non-internationalists" feel that if a world union should be tried at all, the United States should hold a dominating position in it. They expect to be repaid for lend-lease materials, to receive reparations from the defeated Axis, and to protect themselves from future exigencies by making our nation as economically self-sufficient as possible.

Today seven out of every ten Americans think the United States should join a union of nations if one is formed after the war. Since last July (1942) opinion on this question has failed to shift significantly. Clear majorities also look forward to the participation in such a union of Great Britain, Russia, the Latin American countries, France, Sweden, and Spain, in a declining order of popularity.* A bare majority would also favor Italy's joining a world union, but only a minority would support membership for Germany or Japan.

A strong minority seems to feel that the United States must assume a position of powerful leadership in any union of nations. Of the

*For China, see page 8.

entire cross-section 62 per cent favor joining a union on an equal footing with Great Britain; 55 per cent on an equal footing with Russia, and only 28 per cent with Germany.

A unique phase of this survey is the question series presented to determine what "sacrifices," if any, the American people feel they are willing to make in order to give a union of nations the chance to establish and maintain peace. Of every hundred persons interviewed 82 say they are willing to stay on a rationing system for as long as 5 years after the war to help feed starving people in other countries. Seventy-five would be willing to have part of the American army remain overseas for several years after the war to help establish order. Sixty-four say they would agree to pay more taxes for a few years while the new union was being organized, even if people in other countries couldn't afford to pay as much. In other words, clear majorities of the American people consider these "sacrifices" worthwhile. However, only 41 persons out of every hundred say they are willing to forego lend-lease repayment or to cooperate in an international disarmament program. And only 28 seem willing to lower American tariff barriers or to forego reparations payments from the Axis nations. Only minorities feel that these last four suggested "sacrifices" are worthwhile.

About half of the American people believe that after the war the United States should attempt to become self-sufficient by developing its own industries, while about half believe we should keep on buying from other countries.

On the question of what policy the United States should adopt after the war in regard to acquiring new land and possessions, a plurality of 41 per cent support the Atlantic Charter in saying that the United States should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she had before she entered the war. Only 10 per cent vote for getting as much new territory as possible.

A majority of the American public approves either giving or selling food to the Axis countries after the war, though there is more willingness to help Germany than to help Japan.

Almost six out of ten persons believe that there will always be large-scale wars. An equal proportion, however, think that the Allies should start talking and preparing NOW for the kind of peace we want after the war.

With a perhaps unjustified degree of optimism, 85 out of every hundred persons interviewed believe Italy will be out of the war by the end of 1943. Sixty-seven think Germany will be defeated by that time, but only 30 can say as much for Japan. A year ago three persons out of every ten thought the war would last until 1946 or longer; now only one person out of ten holds that view.

PART I

The Price of Peace

THE UNITED STATES AND A WORLD UNION

With the nation's leaders emphasizing the all-important need for winning the peace as well as the war, the desirability of establishing some sort of world union of nations has been one of the most widely discussed aspects of post-war planning. A definite majority of Americans appear to favor the general idea of a union of nations and approve the participation of the United States in such an organization. The National Opinion Research Center has presented this question three times in the past eight months without finding significant shifts of opinion.*

"If a union of nations is formed after the war, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it?"

	Today	September, 1942	July, 1942
Good Idea.....	69%	68%	72%
Qualified Answer	5	3	2
Bad Idea	16	15	15
No Opinion.....	10	14	11
	100%	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT. Of every six Americans, only one is opposed to the United States' joining a post-war world union, four consider such a move a good idea, and the remaining one either qualifies his approval or fails to express any definite opinion.

Comments made by various respondents often refer to the old League of Nations experiment. Some want the new organization to retain the good points of the League but to be more powerful and effective. The wife of a college professor in Pennsylvania says, "We should [join it] if it is really a League of Nations, . . . but not on a strictly nationalistic basis." Others condemn the idea because of their disillusionment with the old League.

Greatest approval is found among those groups which have higher than average incomes and more than average education. Occupationally, persons in these groups are found mainly in white collar jobs, and include professional people and those in supervisory positions. Resi-

*For comparison with a similar question asked in February, 1942, see Report No. 2, pages 4-5, March, 1942.

dents of the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states indicate slightly more approval than people in the rest of the country. (See page 28 for further analysis of this question.)

MEMBERSHIP IN A UNION

The 69 per cent answering "Good Idea" and the 5 per cent who qualified their answers were then asked: **"Do you think Sweden should be in the union?"** This query was repeated for several Allied and Axis powers as well as neutral countries. For the sake of comparison, the per cent answering "Yes" to an identical question asked last August is shown in the first column.

	July, 1942 (Aug. Report)	TODAY				Total Approving Union
		Yes	Qualified Answer	No	No Opinion	
China ²	72%					
Great Britain.....	71	72%	0.5%	0.5%	1%	74%
Russia.....	68	70	1	1	2	74
The Central and South American Countries.....	67	69	3 ³	1	1	74
France	59	68	2	2	2	74
Sweden ²	—	65	1	2	6	74
Spain ²	—	63	1	4	6	74
Italy	40 ⁴	52	4	15	3	74
Germany	40	44	7	21	2	74
Japan	40	39	5	28	2	74

SIGNIFICANT. The most striking difference in opinion between August '42 and February '43 is in the case of France. The per cent favoring that country's inclusion in a post-war union increased by 9 per cent. This shift of opinion may probably be attributed to the much-publicized French cooperation in North Africa and the growth of a somewhat closer **entente** among the non-Vichy groups and the United States. This increase is relatively consistent among all population groups.

Differences among the various population groups, which constitute the total sample, are most noticeable in the instances of Germany and Japan. (See analysis, page 29.) Those most in favor of both German and Japanese membership are the upper economic and educational groups, composed mainly of professional and white collar workers. In the case of both countries, more than **twice** as many persons with college background as with only grade school education approve Axis

¹In July there were 72% "Yes" responses and 2% qualified answers, a total of 74%, so that these figures are entirely comparable with those of the present survey.

²The present survey did not include China. The July one did not include Sweden or Spain.

³Included in this figure are those (about 2%) who favor membership for some, but not all, of the Latin American countries.

⁴The three Axis powers were grouped as one on the July survey.

membership, and those in the 21-40 age group are somewhat more in favor of membership than are people over 40.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN A UNION

The 69 per cent who favor the United States' joining a world union, the 5 per cent who reply, "Yes, if . . .," and the 10 per cent who express no opinion—a total of 84 per cent of the sample—were also asked:

"If the United States has only the same amount of power in the Union as Great Britain (Russia) (Germany), would you be in favor of our joining it, or against our joining it?"

	PER CENT OF TOTAL CROSS-SECTION			PER CENT OF THOSE ANSWERING THE QUESTION		
	Great Britain	Russia	Germany	Great Britain	Russia	Germany
Favor	62%	55%	28%	74%	66%	34%
Against	13	18	46	16	21	54
No Opinion.....	9	11	10	10	13	12
	84%	84%	84%	100%	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT. Of every hundred persons answering this question, 74 would favor American cooperation on an equal basis with Great Britain; 66 on an equal basis with Russia; and only 34 on an equal basis with Germany.

Thus it is immediately apparent that, so far as distribution of power in a post-war union is concerned, the people of the United States trust Britain somewhat more than Russia, and Russia far more than Germany, but a minority distrusts Great Britain.

It is probable that these figures are more representative of American sentiment toward the people of Britain, Russia, and Germany than of any very intelligent understanding of the details of international organization. Also it is a matter for speculation just how respondents interpreted "Great Britain." Some confusion may exist in the American mind concerning the accurate distinctions among the terms: "England," "United Kingdom," "Great Britain," "British Isles," "British Commonwealth of Nations," and "British Empire."

An examination of some of the breakdowns on this question indicates that not only are persons with a college background and residents of the western part of the United States most in favor of United States membership in a post-war world union, but they are also most in favor of an even distribution of power in such a union, as opposed to United States domination.

Education makes a difference, especially in the case of Germany, where 42 per cent of persons with a college background, as compared

with 20 per cent of those with no more than a grade school education, favor a policy of equal power in a post-war union of nations. Out of each hundred residents of the Pacific and Mountain states, 37—as contrasted with only 24 out of each hundred in the South—would favor the United States' joining a union on an equal basis with Germany.

In the case of Britain and Russia the differentiation is not quite so sharp, but it very definitely exists. (No breakdowns are shown for this question.)

THE PRICE OF PEACE

Proceeding upon the thesis that approval of a post-war world union would be of no value unless there were behind it a genuine will to make such a union function, the Center asked a series of questions to determine just what sacrifices, if any, the American people are willing to make for the sake of a world union. The seven "sacrifices" finally selected for this question series were chosen after a careful study of the various publications of individuals and organizations devoted to post-war planning. Before asking the questions, interviewers read the following two short paragraphs to each respondent in order to present a common frame of reference for the questions themselves.

"People who think they've found out why the League of Nations failed are now preparing for a new union of nations, if we win the war. Nobody can say for sure whether a new union would end all wars or only lead to worse ones.

"In order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars, would you yourself be willing or not willing . . .

	Willing	Not Willing	No Opinion	
(a) . . . to stay on a rationing system in this country for about 5 years to help feed the starving people in other countries?..	82%	14%	4%	= 100%
(b) . . . for part of the American army to remain overseas for several years after the war to help establish order?.....	75	19	6	
(c) . . . to pay more taxes for a few years while the new union was being organized, even if people in other countries couldn't afford to pay as much?.....	64	28	8	
(d) . . . to consider most of the lend-lease materials as aid to the Allies and not expect any payment for them?.....	41	49	10	
(e) . . . to give up our army, navy, and air force, if all other nations would do the same?..	41	55	4	

(f) . . . to allow foreign goods to come into this country and compete with the things we grow or make here—even if the prices were lower?.....	Willing	Not Willing	No Opinion	
	28%	62%	10%	= 100%
(g) . . . to forget reparations—that is, not try to collect any money from Germany or Japan to pay for what the war has cost us and our Allies?.....	28	64	8	

SIGNIFICANT. The first three proposals—continued rationing, an army of occupation, and continued taxes—receive majority support. The lend-lease question receives a plurality on the negative vote, and the other three propositions—disarmament, change in tariff policy, and no reparations—are disapproved by a majority vote. The lend-lease and tariff questions elicit a somewhat larger "No Opinion" vote than do any of the others.

For purposes of comparison a table has been compiled (see page 30) showing the per cent from each category in the cross-section voting "Willing" on each one of the question series. The "No Opinion" tallies are excluded in this table to facilitate comparison.

In the analysis by men and women there are three "sacrifices" upon which the differences may be considered significant. Women are more willing than men (by a margin of 8 per cent in each instance) to continue rationing and to support a disarmament program. By a margin of 7 per cent, men are more willing than women to have part of the American army remain overseas for a time to help establish order after the war.

In only one instance do the two age groups differ to a significant degree—38 per cent of persons between 21 and 40 years of age, compared with 46 per cent of the "over 40" group, support the disarmament proposal. Obviously majorities in both categories oppose the idea.

In most questions of economic and social interest, the economic and educational breakdowns are rather closely related, following a very similar pattern of gradation through three levels. That is, if the college group shows the highest proportion of "internationalist" attitudes, the grade school group will show the lowest proportion, with the high school group falling in between. On these "sacrifice" questions, however, the possession or lack of at least some college training seems to be a critical factor in the forming of internationalist attitudes. There is little differentiation between the high school and grade school groups on these questions, while the college group stands out in the willingness of its members to make the sacrifices.

In fact, in **all questions except one** both the upper economic and the college group are most willing to accept the various sacrifices. The single exception—rationing—indicates that persons in the lower

income brackets are most willing and the higher economic group least willing to continue rationing after the war. Since the upper income groups are probably more inconvenienced by the rationing, this difference is not surprising.

Especially significant are the considerable margins by which the upper education and economic groups, in contrast to the middle and lower categories, approve foregoing lend-lease payments from our Allies and reparations from the Axis countries. Contrasts on the same questions can be observed in the occupational breakdowns between the professional-business and other groupings. (See page 30.)

By and large, few differences of opinion are found in the sectional and "size of place" breakdowns. However, some interesting differences do appear. For example, 85 per cent of the sample in the West and South are willing to have the American army remain overseas after the war to maintain order, while in the North and East the figure is only 77 per cent. Fifty-four per cent of people in the South, as against only 39 per cent in the Midwest and 46 per cent in the balance of the nation, are willing to consider the bulk of lend-lease shipments as gifts. People of the West and South are somewhat more willing than those in the North and East to continue to pay more taxes than other countries during the reconstruction period in order to support a world union.

Fifty-three per cent of farm residents approve disarmament, as opposed to considerably smaller proportions (38-43%) for urban dwellers. People in the great metropolitan districts are least willing to have the army remain overseas.

CROSS-TABULATION. It is interesting to compare the responses of the same persons on the question of United States' membership in a world union and on the sacrifice questions. The following table summarizes this comparison.

How Those Approving and Disapproving United States Membership in a World Union Answer the Sacrifice Questions

	WILLING			NOT WILLING		
	World Union	World Union	Diff.	World Union	World Union	Diff.
	Good Idea	Bad Idea		Good Idea	Bad Idea	
(a) Stay on food rationing.....	86%	69%	17	11%	27%	16
(b) Army remain overseas.....	82	57	25	14	36	22
(c) Pay more taxes.....	71	46	25	23	45	22
(d) Forego lend-lease payment..	46	31	15	48	57	9
(e) Disarmament.....	44	33	11	53	63	10
(f) New tariff policy.....	31	19	12	61	70	9
(g) Forego reparations.....	31	23	8	64	68	4

It will be observed that on the first three "sacrifices" supporters of a world union seem to have the courage of their convictions, but as the tests become harder the difference between those who favor and oppose a world union becomes less.

ATTITUDE TOWARD WORLD UNION AND POSSIBLE SACRIFICES

QUESTION: "If a union of nations is formed after the war, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it?"

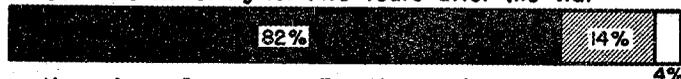
Good Idea  Bad Idea 
 Qualified  No Opinion 



QUESTION: "In order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars, would you be willing or not willing to:"

Willing  Unwilling  No Opinion 

Continue Rationing for Five Years after the War



Keep Army Overseas a Few Years after the War



Pay More Taxes while World Union Organized



Consider Most Lend-Lease Aid as Gifts



Give up Armed Forces if Other Nations Do Same



Allow Competitive Imports, Even if Prices Were Lower



Forget Reparations from Germany or Japan



Attitudes Toward Post-War Problems

UNITED STATES POST-WAR INDUSTRIAL AND TARIFF POLICY

Students of economics have long been convinced of a fact which the general public is now only beginning to realize dimly—namely, that international trade and world peace are inextricably bound up with one another. The Center has in the past asked a number of questions probing opinion regarding the United States' industrial and tariff policy in the post-war period.* The present survey includes two questions on this subject.

"After the war, should the United States try to develop its own industries, like rubber and sugar, to such an extent that we don't have to buy ANY products from foreign countries, OR do you think that we should keep on buying from other countries?"

Develop Own.....	46%
Keep Buying.....	42
Both.....	8
Other Qualified.....	2
No Opinion.....	2
	<hr/>
	100%

SIGNIFICANT. The people of the South and persons in the lower education and income brackets are most in favor of developing United States' economic self-sufficiency. Persons in the upper income brackets, those with a college background, the professional-white collar group, and residents of the West and Midwest are most in favor of international trade. (For further analysis, see page 31.)

Persons who reply "Both" to this question usually qualify their answers by a statement such as, "Buy to keep up trade relations, but develop our own industries in case we have another emergency." Others express the opinion that our trade should be limited to the Western Hemisphere, or should be extended to all nations except the Axis powers. A few advance the idea of following climatic differences and

*See Report No. 3, April, 1942.

trading complementary products, for example, "Buy only what our climate prevents us from producing."

CROSS-TABULATION. An attitude of self-sufficiency for America so far as this question is concerned is closely correlated with similar attitudes on other questions. For instance, of those who favor the United States joining a post-war world union only 40 per cent feel we should develop and depend upon our own resources entirely, while of those who oppose a world union 64 per cent vote to continue buying from other countries.

Of those who favor entering a world union on an equal footing with Russia, only 38 per cent favor economic self-sufficiency, but the figure rises to 52 per cent among those who would not enter a union on an equal basis with Russia. Similar contrasts appear in the case of Great Britain and Germany. Of those who are willing to continue rationing after the war, 44 per cent vote for economic self-sufficiency, while among those who are unwilling the vote is 59 per cent. A similar pattern can be traced through all the "sacrifice" series, with margins of difference ranging from 4 to 15 per cent.

People Who Express the Opinions Shown Below on the "Sacrifice" Series Have THESE Opinions on Post-War Industrial and Tariff Policy:

	Develop Own Industries (Diff.)	Continue to Import (Diff.)	Other Opinions*
TOTAL	46%	42%	12% = 100%
(a) Willing to stay on food rationing.....	44	44	12
Unwilling	59 (15%)	32 (12%)	9
(b) Willing to have army remain overseas.....	42	45	13
Unwilling	56 (14%)	34 (11%)	10
(c) Willing to pay more taxes.....	42	45	13
Unwilling	53 (11%)	36 (9%)	11
(d) Willing to forego lend-lease repayment.....	41	47	12
Unwilling	49 (8%)	40 (7%)	11
(e) Willing to disarm if other countries do.....	44	45	11
Unwilling	48 (4%)	40 (5%)	12
(f) Willing to lower tariff barriers.....	38	51	11
Unwilling	50 (12%)	38 (13%)	12
(g) Willing to forego reparation payments.....	37	50	13
Unwilling	50 (13%)	39 (11%)	11

*"Other Opinions" includes, for the TOTAL, 8% who reply "Both," 2% who make other qualified answers, and 3% who have no opinion. Other figures in this column are similarly constituted.

The question under discussion is closely related to (f) in the "sacrifice" series. Of the entire cross-section only 28 per cent express themselves as willing "to allow foreign goods to come into this country and compete with things we grow or make here—even if the prices were lower." Of those who answer "willing" 50 per cent favor international trade, as contrasted with only 39 per cent of the "unwilling."

ACQUISITION OF NEW POSSESSIONS BY THE UNITED STATES

A fundamental consideration involved in any peace settlement in which the United States participates is the policy of this country regarding possessions outside continental North America. According to the Atlantic Charter the United States seeks "no aggrandizement, territorial or other," and desires "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

The following question, asked at intervals of about five months, indicates that American attitudes are fairly well crystallized, with opinion almost equally divided between a policy of retaining only land possessions held before the war and a policy of acquiring new military bases exclusively.

"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?"

	Today	August 1942	March 1942
(a) The United States should give up all the land outside the United States that is difficult to defend.....	7%	7%	9%
(b) The United States should be satisfied with the amount of land in the world she had before she entered the war*.....	41	33	38
(c) The United States should try to get new military bases but nothing else.....	37	41	32
(d) The United States should try to get as much new land in the world as she can.....	10	11	13
No Opinion	5	8	8
	100%	100%	100%

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

SIGNIFICANT. Thus it seems that the American people are overwhelmingly in agreement with the Atlantic Charter so far as new overseas possessions are concerned. The 10 per cent who say the United States should try to get as much new land as she can drops to 5 per cent among persons with a college background and among the upper economic group. It increases, however, to just over 13 per cent among the lower economic and educational groups. Opinion also varies somewhat in the various sections of the country. The South is most in favor of our acquiring additional territory (14%), and twice as many people in New England favor this policy (10%) as do in the Mountain and Pacific states (5%). (For further analysis, see page 32.)

CROSS-TABULATIONS. Comparisons of individual answers to this and to questions previously discussed reveal several interesting relationships. Of those who believe United States membership in a world union a good idea, 40 per cent vote for acquiring new military bases only, while of those who are opposed to our joining a world union, only 29 per cent favor getting only new military bases. Of those who favor giving up our army, navy, and air force if all other nations would do the same, 29 per cent vote for new military bases, while of those opposed to such a disarmament plan 44 per cent vote for the bases. Of those who feel we should develop our own industries, such as rubber and sugar, 33 per cent favor acquiring new military bases, while of those who sanction international trade, 40 per cent favor acquiring military bases.

People Who Express the Opinions Shown Below on Preceding Questions Have THESE Opinions on Acquiring Land After the War:

	Give Up Land	Be Satisfied with Pre-War Land	Military Bases Only	As Much Land as Possible	No Opinion
TOTAL	7%	41%	37%	10%	5% = 100%
United States Membership in a World Union					
Good Idea	8	41	40	8	3
Bad Idea	7	44	29	14	6
Disarmament					
Willing	10	46	29	10	5
Unwilling	5	38	44	9	4
Post-War Industrial and Tariff Policy					
Continue to Import.....	7	45	40	5	3
Develop Own Industries.....	8	38	33	14	7

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES HELP FEED THE AXIS COUNTRIES AFTER THE WAR?

One of the many problems which must inevitably be faced in the post-war period is the degree to which the United States, as a leader of the United Nations, should be responsible for feeding the rest of the world. In the present survey one question is devoted specifically to American attitudes on supplying the Axis countries with food.

"If the people in Germany (Japan) are starving right after the war, do you think the United States should sell them only what food they can pay for, or send them food as a gift if they can't pay, or not send them any food at all?"

	GERMANY	JAPAN
Give	39%	30%
Sell	41	34
Send None	16	31
No Opinion	4	5
	100%	100%

SIGNIFICANT. Every question asked by the Center comparing American attitudes toward Germany and Japan reveals more bitterness toward the latter.* In the present query, about twice as many Americans think the Japanese should receive no food from us as think the Germans should be left to starve. This proportion remains reasonably consistent throughout the breakdowns. The lower economic and education groups express most hostility toward the Japanese. For example, 38 per cent of those with a grammar school background, against only 19 per cent of those with a college background, say: "Send no food to Japan." The comparable figures for Germany are 22 per cent (grammar school) and 8 per cent (college).

Again, persons with a college background are most in favor of sending food as a gift, their vote being 54 per cent in the case of Germany and 46 per cent in the case of Japan. Exactly half as many (23%) of respondents with a grammar school background favor sending food as a gift to Japan.

Sectional differences in attitudes toward Japan are not significant, but they are toward Germany. The sample in New England and the Middle Atlantic states chiefly favors **giving** food to the Germans; the sample in the Midwest and South chiefly favors **selling** the food, and those in the Mountain and Pacific states divide their vote almost equally between these two policies.

*See Report No. 5, pages 16-17, August, 1942.

Among the occupational groups, professional, business, and white collar workers outvote all other groups' in favoring the gift policy toward both Germany and Japan. (For further analysis of this question, see page 33.)

COMPARISONS. It seems clear that the American people are more willing to help feed Germany than to help feed Japan. But Americans are even more willing to help feed the people of the Allied and conquered territories when the war is over. In March, and again in August, 1942, more than 90 per cent of a national cross-section expressed themselves in favor of feeding people in "some of the countries of the world" if they are starving after the war.*

The present report shows that 82 per cent of the cross-section are willing to "stay on a rationing system in this country for about 5 years to help feed the starving people in other countries." (See page 10.)

Other recent survey questions indicate that out of every hundred Americans 90 favor sending England and Russia additional food even if it means more rationing at home. Eighty-five per cent of the same cross-section approve the government's policy of sending food to the people of North Africa.

CROSS-TABULATION. Of those who think United States membership in a world union a good idea, 44 per cent favor giving food to Germany after the war, 42 per cent favor selling it, and 12 per cent say "Send none." The balance of the cross-section, 2 per cent, vote "No Opinion." Of those who disapprove of United States membership in a world union, 28 per cent say "Give," 40 per cent say "Sell," and 27 per cent say "Send none." A respondent's viewpoint regarding a world union makes little difference in the willingness to sell food, but it definitely seems to condition attitudes on giving food or not sending any at all. An examination of the entire table indicates that those responding in an "internationalist" manner to the other questions tend to favor giving food, while those responding in a "non-internationalist" manner tend to favor sending no food at all.

The following table indicates the relation between opinions on previous questions and the question on supplying food to the Axis countries.

*Ibid., page 11.

People Who Express
the Opinions Shown
Below on Preceding
Questions

Have THESE Opinions on Feeding the Axis
Countries After the War:

	GERMANY				JAPAN			
	Give	Sell	Send None	No Opinion	Give	Sell	Send None	No Opinion
TOTAL.....	39%	41%	16%	4% = 100%	30%	34%	31%	5% = 100%
United States Membership in a World Union								
Good Idea.....	44	42	12	2	34	36	27	3
Bad Idea.....	28	40	27	5	19	29	45	7
Enter World Union on Equal Footing with Great Britain								
Favor.....	45	42	11	2	35	37	25	3
Against.....	35	43	16	6	23	33	40	4
Enter World Union on Equal Footing with Russia								
Favor.....	46	41	11	2	36	37	25	2
Against.....	32	46	16	6	22	35	38	5
Enter World Union on Equal Footing with Germany								
Favor.....	56	37	6	1	47	34	16	3
Against.....	35	45	16	4	23	38	36	3
Continue Rationing of Food								
Willing.....	43	40	13	4	33	35	28	4
Unwilling.....	22	44	29	5	15	33	47	5
Post-War Industrial and Tariff Policy								
Continue to Import.....	49	39	10	2	37	34	26	3
Develop Own Industries.....	30	42	23	5	23	35	36	6

In every instance on the table persons holding a "non-internationalist" viewpoint on the other questions (those who consider world union a bad idea, are opposed to entering such a union on an equal footing with other nations, etc.) say "Send no food" by a definite margin above those who have an "internationalist" attitude. The differences are most striking in the case of Japan. For instance, of those who are **willing** to continue rationing food after the war, 28 per cent think no food should be sent to Japan. Of those **unwilling** to continue rationing, 47 per cent think Japan should receive no food—a difference of 19 per cent. On the parallel cross-tabulation for Germany, 13 per cent of those **willing** to continue to ration food say, "Send none," in contrast to 29 per cent of those **unwilling** to continue rationing—a difference of 16 per cent.

PART III

Attitudes Toward War

ARE WARS INEVITABLE?

Will there always be large-scale, devastating wars? This, of course, is a question which no living person can answer conclusively. However, an individual's opinion on whether or not wars are inevitable is important, because this opinion may condition his entire outlook on such questions as post-war reconstruction policy, a world union of nations, and disarmament. A public already convinced that all war-prevention measures are futile is a defeatist force working against all attempts to establish a lasting peace.

The following question was therefore included in the present survey:

"After the war, do you think we will be able to end all wars between nations, or do you think there will always be big wars?"

Can End Wars.....	27%	} 34%
Depends on Type of Peace.....	7	
Always Be Wars.....	57	
Other Qualified Answers.....	1	
No Opinion.....	8	
	100%	

SIGNIFICANT. Of the 34 per cent who believe wars can be abolished, about one in five persons suggests that future peace depends on the nature of the peace settlement after the present war. For example, a number suggest that wars can be eliminated only through the establishment of some sort of world union, league, or court, with police power to enforce peace throughout the world. A few think that a lasting peace depends on completely destroying the Axis powers; and a handful express the opinion that wars can be ended only if the people of the world can circumvent the influence of isolationists, politicians, fascists, and international bankers.

The sub-groups most hopeful that wars can be ended are, geographically—the people of the South; economically—those in the lower income brackets; and educationally—those with a grammar school education or less. Women have slightly more faith than men in the possibility of an enduring peace, while farmers and small town

residents are more optimistic than are urban dwellers. However, in every group a definite majority feels that we will always have large-scale wars. (No breakdowns are shown for this question.)

In commenting on the results just presented, the Washington columnist Raymond Clapper remarks:*

"What will be the consequences of such public opinion in sustaining post-war arrangements that the Administration may attempt to make in order to give greater promise of preventing another war?

"The answer, possibly, is that if 60 per cent or more of the people, of those who have opinions, think there is no way of preventing another big war, then they are not going to want to see the United States put forth very much effort in trying to prevent one. Instead they will want all our effort put forth in insuring a strong military position so that when the next war comes our side will be sure to win it.

"That would mean a quite different approach to the post-war world from what we attempted after the last war. The League of Nations was built on the expectation that war could be eliminated. But if we assume that there will be another war, we will not be thinking in terms of another Washington arms conference at which part of our navy would be scuttled. We will think in terms of maintaining large military strength, and particularly of keeping our air superiority up to date, for the greatest danger with airpower is its rapid obsolescence.

"Public sentiment that believes another war is inevitable will be less interested in a broad international organization, in the United Nations, say, and more interested in alliances with powerful nations."

CROSS-TABULATIONS. Of those who think the United States should join a post-war world union 37 per cent believe that wars can be ended. Of those who oppose such membership only 25 per cent think wars can be ended. The following table compares responses to the "sacrifice" series as to their opinions on the inevitability of wars. The consistency with which persons willing to make the various sacrifices have greater confidence in the possibility of ending war than do the unwilling is extremely interesting.

*New York World-Telegram and other papers, February 1, 1943.

People Who Express the Opinions Shown Below on the "Sacrifice" Series Have THESE Opinions on Post-War Industrial and Tariff Policy:

	Wars Can Be Ended: (Diff.)	Wars Are Inevitable (Diff.)	Other Opinions ²
TOTAL	34%	57%	9% = 100%
(a) Willing to stay on food rationing.....	36	55	9
Unwilling	25 (11%)	68 (13%)	7
(b) Willing to have army remain overseas.....	36	56	8
Unwilling	26 (10%)	64 (8%)	10
(c) Willing to pay more taxes.....	38	54	8
Unwilling	27 (11%)	65 (11%)	8
(d) Willing to forego lend-lease repayment.....	38	54	8
Unwilling	31 (7%)	61 (7%)	8
(e) Willing to disarm if other countries do.....	41	49	10
Unwilling	29 (12%)	63 (14%)	8
(f) Willing to lower tariff barriers.....	37	54	9
Unwilling	33 (4%)	59 (5%)	8
(g) Willing to forego reparation payments.....	38	53	9
Unwilling	32 (6%)	60 (7%)	8

PREPARING FOR PEACE

As evidenced by the results on the preceding question, only a minority in the United States expresses faith or hope in the possibility of establishing a lasting peace following World War II. To discover the public's reaction concerning post-war peace plans, the Center asked this question:

"In addition to waging the war, should the Allies start talking and preparing NOW for the kind of peace we want after the war, or should we think and plan only for winning the war, letting peace plans wait?"

Prepare Now.....	59%
Wait	39
No Opinion.....	2
	100%

SIGNIFICANT. In the total cross-section six out of every ten people (59%) vote in favor of planning now, while we are fighting the war, for the kind of peace we want after the war.³ Analysis of the compo-

¹This figure includes those who say: "Yes . . . depends on peace."
²Other Opinions² includes, for the TOTAL, 1% who reply with a qualified answer and 8% who have no opinion. Other figures in this column are similarly constituted.
³The Center's next survey will test opinions on the kind of peace the American people want.

nent parts of the cross-section, however, reveals wide divergencies of opinion. The largest vote in favor of peace planning now—77 per cent—is given by persons with some college background. Those with a grammar school education or less vote 49 per cent for preparation now and 46 per cent for waiting. Seventy-two per cent of the upper economic group, as compared with 60 per cent of the middle, and 46 per cent of the lower group, feel present planning for peace is worthwhile.

Sectionally, preparing for peace now receives the largest vote of approval (70%) from the Pacific and Mountain states; the smallest (53%) from the South. Sixty-nine per cent of professional, business, and white collar workers, against only 49 per cent of factory and construction workers, consider peace planning practical. In only one category, the low income bracket, does the vote for "waiting" exceed the vote for "planning now." Among manual workers opinion is evenly divided. (For further analysis, see page 34.)

CROSS-TABULATION. Comparison of the responses to this question with those to others asked in the present survey reveals a considerable degree of consistency among persons who might be said to have either an "internationalist" or a "non-internationalist" point of view on world affairs.

For example, of those who consider United States membership in a world union a good idea—an "internationalist" attitude—66 per cent approve preparing now for peace, while of those who consider United States membership in such a union a bad idea—a "non-internationalist" attitude—only 41 per cent approve preparing now for peace. The difference is 25 points, which shows a considerable degree of consistency in opinion among the "internationalists" and among the "non-internationalists." Again, of those in favor of entering a world union on an equal footing with Great Britain—an "internationalist" attitude—68 per cent favor preparing now for peace. Of those opposed to equal membership rating—a "non-internationalist" attitude—only 51 per cent favor preparing now for peace. The difference in this case is 17 points.

In each cross-tabulation on the table the "internationalist" attitude is shown first, followed by the "non-internationalist."

People Who Express the Opinions
Shown Below on Preceding
Questions

Have THESE Opinions on "Shall
We Prepare Now for Peace?":

	Prepare Now for Peace (Diff.)	Wait (Diff.)	No Opinion
TOTAL	59%	39%	2% = 100%
United States Membership in a World Union			
Good Idea	66	33	1
Bad Idea	41 (25%)	56 (23%)	3
Membership on an Equal Basis with:			
GREAT BRITAIN			
Favor	68	31	1
Against	51 (17%)	47 (16%)	2
RUSSIA			
Favor	69	30	1
Against	52 (17%)	47 (17%)	1
GERMANY			
Favor	75	24	1
Against	59 (16%)	40 (16%)	1
Sacrifice Series			
(a) Willing to stay on food rationing.....	63	35	2
Unwilling	44 (19%)	54 (19%)	2
(b) Willing to have army remain overseas.....	64	35	1
Unwilling	46 (18%)	51 (16%)	3
(c) Willing to pay more taxes.....	64	34	2
Unwilling	51 (13%)	48 (14%)	1
(d) Willing to forego lend-lease repayment.....	66	32	2
Unwilling	56 (10%)	43 (11%)	1
(e) Willing to disarm if other countries do.....	64	34	2
Unwilling	57 (7%)	41 (7%)	2
(f) Willing to lower tariff barriers.....	66	32	2
Unwilling	57 (9%)	42 (10%)	1
(g) Willing to forego reparation payments.....	69	29	2
Unwilling	56 (13%)	42 (13%)	2
United States Post-War Industrial and Tariff Policy			
Continue to Import.....	68	31	1
Develop Own Industries.....	50 (18%)	47 (16%)	3

The questions on post-war territorial policy and feeding the Axis countries do not fit into the pattern of the table, since more than two

choices are offered, but the responses indicate a definite relationship in attitudes. For example, of those in favor of getting new military bases only, 35 per cent say "Wait," while of those favoring getting all the new territory possible, 51 per cent say "Wait to make peace plans." Of those willing to give food to Japan, 74 per cent say "Prepare now," while of those in favor of sending Japan no food at all, only 47 per cent approve a policy of planning now for peace.

HOW MUCH LONGER WILL THE WAR LAST?

"About how much longer do you think the war will last?" is a question which has been used on almost every survey the National Opinion Research Center has ever made. Public opinion on this question has little intrinsic value, except as it may be related to the amount of energy people put into the war effort.

Results tend to reflect not so much actual events as the manner in which people react to newspaper and radio reports. For instance, in mid-February, 1942, after the fall of Singapore, two out of every three persons expressing opinions (67%) anticipated a war lasting at least two years longer from that date. Less than three months later, at the beginning of May, when hopes were raised by news of American victories in the Coral Sea and the bombing of Tokyo by American flyers, the per cent expecting two years more of war fell to 29. The figure rose again, to 51 per cent, in July, when Allied forces seemed in almost full retreat on the Russian and North African fronts. But Rommel's set-back and the new Allied offensive in North Africa in November conditioned public opinion to the extent that at Thanksgiving time only one out of four Americans (26%) anticipated more than two years of fighting ahead. It would be dangerous to call these results **measurements** of morale; they are, however, **indications** of morale.

In the current survey, the question was worded to differentiate popular expectations concerning the defeats of Italy, Germany, and Japan. When only persons expressing opinions are considered, 85 out of every hundred think Italy will be out of the war by the end of 1943. More than half of these anticipate Mussolini's defeat by midsummer. Sixty-seven persons out of every hundred think the war against the Third Reich will be successfully concluded within the year, but only 30 believe Japan can be defeated by Christmas, 1943.

	TODAY (January 1943)			Year War Ex- pected to End	A YEAR AGO (January 1942)	
	How long will the war last with:				How much longer do you think the war will last from now?	
	Italy	Germany	Japan			
Up to 6 mo...48%	} 85%	14%	5%	1942	} 8	Up to 6 mo.
6 mo.-1 year...37		53	25	1943		24
1-2 years12		27	40	1944	25	2-3 years
2-3 years 2		4	18	1945	12	3-4 years
Over 3 years.. 1		2	12	1946	30	Over 4 years
	100%	100%	100%		100%	
No Opinion .. 9%		13%	13%		16%	

SIGNIFICANT. There is a general tendency for people in the upper income brackets and those with college educations to expect a longer war than do those on the lower economic and education levels. For example, 57 per cent of those with at least some college training, as against 73 per cent of those with a grammar school education or less, expect the war with Germany to end by January, 1944. Forty-three per cent of persons with a college background, as compared with 23 per cent of those with 8 years or less of schooling, think it will take more than two years to defeat Nippon. Men seem to expect a somewhat longer war than do women. In the case of Japan, only 26 per cent of the men, as against 33 per cent of the women, guess the war will end in a year or less.

Some of the sectional contrasts are equally striking. Nineteen per cent of West coast residents, contrasted with **twice** as many people in the South (38%), think Japan will be defeated within the year. Sixty-one per cent of the people in cities of over half a million population, as compared with 72 per cent of farm dwellers, believe Germany will be brought to her knees within a year. (For a detailed analysis of these figures, see page 35.)

BREAKDOWNS: THE UNITED STATES AND A POST-WAR WORLD UNION

If a union of nations is formed after the war, 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.....	69%	5%	17%	9% = 100%
By Economic Level				
Upper	80	4	11	5
Middle	70	5	17	8
Lower	58	4	22	16
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	84	5	9	2
Some or Completed High School....	72	5	15	8
Grammar School Grad. or Less.....	58	4	23	15
By Section¹				
New England and Atlantic States..	72	5	16	7
Midwest	73	4	16	7
Pacific and Mountain States.....	78	6	9	7
South	60	5	20	15
By Occupation				
Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers.....	78	5	12	5
Manual Workers	65	4	19	12
Service Workers*.....	56	6	23	15
Farmers	63	4	20	13

¹For states included in these areas, consult the map on page 2.

*Service workers include the domestic and protective services, beauticians, waiters, laundry workers, etc. These figures are based on fewer cases and are therefore somewhat less reliable than those in the other categories.

BREAKDOWNS: MEMBERSHIP OF A POST-WAR WORLD UNION —JAPAN AND GERMANY

Do you think Germany (Japan) should be in this union?

	% of Total Cross-Section	GERMANY				JAPAN			
		Yes	Qual.	No	No Opinion	Yes	Qual.	No	No Opinion
TOTAL.....	74%	44%	7%	21%	2%	39%	5%	28%	2%
By Age									
21 to 40.....	76	48	6	20	2	44	4	26	2
Over 40.....	73	41	7	23	2	36	6	29	2
By Economic Level									
Upper	84	54	10	19	1	48	7	27	2
Middle	75	45	7	21	2	40	5	28	2
Lower	62	31	4	24	3	28	4	27	3
By Education									
Some or Completed College	89	65	10	12	2	60	8	19	2
Some or Completed High School.....	77	45	7	23	2	40	5	29	3
Grammar School Grad. or Less....	62	30	4	25	3	26	3	31	2
By Occupation									
Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers..	83	54	9	18	2	48	7	26	2
Manual Workers.....	69	37	5	24	3	33	4	28	4
Service Workers*..	62	35	5	20	2	31	3	26	2
Farmers	67	33	5	26	3	30	4	31	2

*See footnote on preceding page.

BREAKDOWNS: COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SACRIFICES: PER CENT WILLING

(Excluding "No Opinion")

	(a) Continued Ration- ing	(b) Army Remain Abroad	(c) More Taxes	(d) Lend- Lease Gift	(e) Dis- arma- ment	(f) Tariff Change	(g) No Repara- tions
TOTAL	85%	80%	69%	46%	43%	30%	30%
By Sex							
Men	81	84	70	45	39	31	30
Women	89	77	69	47	47	32	31
By Age							
21 to 40.....	85	79	69	45	38	29	32
Over 40.....	85	82	69	47	46	30	28
By Economic Level							
Upper	83	80	74	57	46	36	37
Middle	85	80	67	44	41	29	28
Lower	87	77	70	43	44	29	26
By Education							
Some or Completed College	86	87	74	57	45	43	44
Some or Complete H. S.....	85	79	68	44	38	26	28
Grammar School Grad. or Less	84	78	68	41	47	30	24
By Section¹							
New England and Atlantic States	82	77	68	46	38	32	33
Midwest	85	77	65	39	43	32	29
Pacific and Mountain States	86	85	73	46	42	38	30
South	88	85	75	54	44	29	29
By Size of Place							
Metropolitan Districts Over 1 Million.....	84	75	68	47	41	33	34
Metropolitan Districts 50 Thousand to 1 Million.....	83	83	69	45	38	29	29
Small Towns and Rural Non- Farm	86	81	72	46	43	28	28
Farms	87	81	68	45	53	33	27
By Occupation							
Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers	84	83	73	52	40	32	34
Manual Workers	84	77	67	38	39	28	26
Service Workers ²	87	76	66	44	45	30	26
Farmers	87	81	68	45	53	33	27

¹See map, page 2.

²See footnote, page 28.

BREAKDOWNS: POST-WAR INDUSTRIAL AND TARIFF POLICY

After the war, should the United States try to develop its own industries, like rubber and sugar, to such an extent that we don't have to buy ANY products from foreign countries, OR do you think that we should keep on buying from other countries?

	Develop Own	Keep Buying	Both	Other Quali- fied	No Opinion
TOTAL	46%	42%	8%	2%	2% = 100%
By Economic Level					
Upper	34	50	13	1	2
Middle	46	44	6	2	2
Lower	59	29	5	2	5
By Education					
Some or Completed College.....	32	56	10	1	1
Some or Completed High School.....	45	43	9	2	1
Grammar School Graduate or Less....	56	32	5	2	5
By Section¹					
New England and Atlantic States....	45	41	11	1	2
Midwest	39	50	7	2	2
Pacific and Mountain States.....	36	50	9	3	2
South	60	30	5	1	4
By Occupation					
Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers.....	37	50	11	1	1
Manual Workers	53	35	6	3	3
Service Workers ²	61	32	3	1	3
Farmers	50	39	6	1	4

¹See map, page 2.

²See footnote, page 28.

BREAKDOWNS: ACQUISITION OF NEW POSSESSIONS BY THE UNITED STATES

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 United States 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) Military Bases Only	(d) As Much Land As Possible	No Opinion	
TOTAL	7%	41%	37%	10%	5%	= 100%

By Economic Level

Upper	8	45	38	6	3
Middle	7	40	39	9	5
Lower	7	39	31	14	9

By Education

Some or Completed College.....	9	45	39	5	2
Some or Completed High School....	6	42	40	9	3
Grammar School Grad. or Less.....	8	38	31	13	10

By Section¹

New England and Atlantic States..	7	39	40	10	4
Midwest	7	44	39	7	3
Pacific and Mountain States.....	8	43	37	5	7
South	7	40	30	14	9

By Occupation

Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers	8	40	43	6	3
Manual Workers	9	38	35	12	6
Service Workers ²	5	42	31	14	8
Farmers	7	47	27	11	8

¹See map, page 2.
²See footnote, page 28.

BREAKDOWNS: FEEDING THE AXIS COUNTRIES AFTER THE WAR

If the people in Germany (Japan) are starving right after the war, do you think the United States should sell them only what food they can pay for, or send them food as a gift if they can't pay, or not send them any food at all?

	GERMANY				JAPAN			
	Give	Sell	Send None	No Opinion	Give	Sell	Send None	No Opinion
TOTAL	39%	41%	16%	4%	30%	34%	31%	5%
By Economic Level								
Upper	45	40	12	3	36	35	25	4
Middle	40	42	14	4	30	35	31	4
Lower	31	39	23	7	24	32	38	6
By Education								
Some or Completed College	54	36	8	2	46	32	19	3
Some or Completed H. S.	38	43	15	4	27	37	32	4
Grammar School Grad. or Less	32	40	22	6	23	32	38	7
By Section¹								
New England and Atlantic States	45	34	17	4	33	29	34	4
Midwest	39	44	14	3	29	37	30	4
Pacific and Mountain States	40	41	15	4	29	37	30	4
South	33	43	18	6	28	35	31	6
By Occupation								
Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers ..	47	39	11	3	36	33	27	4
Manual Workers.....	34	41	20	5	25	33	38	4
Service Workers ²	33	38	24	5	26	34	35	5
Farmers	33	44	17	6	25	39	29	7

¹See map, page 2.
²See footnote, page 28.

BREAKDOWNS: PREPARING FOR PEACE

In addition to waging the war, should the Allies start talking and preparing NOW for the kind of peace we want after the war, or should we think and plan only for winning the war, letting peace plans wait?

	Prepare Now	Wait	No Opinion	
TOTAL	59%	39%	2%	= 100%
By Economic Level				
Upper	72	27	1	
Middle	60	38	2	
Lower	46	50	4	
By Education				
Some or Completed College.....	77	22	1	
Some or Completed High School.....	59	40	1	
Grammar School Graduate or Less.....	49	46	5	
By Section¹				
New England and Atlantic States.....	60	38	2	
Midwest	60	39	1	
Pacific and Mountain States.....	70	29	1	
South	53	43	4	
By Occupation				
Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers..	69	30	1	
Manual Workers	49	49	2	
Service Workers ²	51	48	1	
Farmers	56	39	5	

¹See map, page 2.

²See footnote, page 28.

BREAKDOWNS: DURATION OF THE WAR

How long will the war last with Germany . . . Japan?¹

	GERMANY				JAPAN				No. Opinion	
	To 6 Mo.	6 Mo.-1 Yr.	1-2 Yrs.	Over 2 Yrs.	To 6 Mo.	6 Mo.-1 Yr.	1-2 Yrs.	Over 2 Yrs.	Germany	Japan
TOTAL	14%	53%	27%	6%	5%	25%	40%	30%	9%	13%
By Economic Level										
Upper	12	55	28	5	2	18	46	34	6	9
Middle	13	51	29	7	4	26	39	31	9	12
Lower	16	52	23	9	9	30	36	25	13	17
By Education										
Some or Completed College	9	48	35	8	2	15	40	43	5	7
Some or Completed High School.....	13	51	28	8	4	24	42	30	8	10
Grammar School Grad. or Less.....	16	57	22	5	7	32	38	23	14	19
By Section²										
New England and Atlantic States.....	14	50	28	8	4	22	41	33	7	10
Midwest	15	51	28	6	5	25	41	29	7	10
Pacific and Mountain States.....	12	50	30	8	3	16	43	38	8	11
South	13	57	25	5	6	32	37	25	14	19
By Size of Place										
Metropolitan Districts Over 1 Million	11	50	30	9	4	21	40	35	7	10
Metropolitan Districts 50 Thousand to 1 Million.....	18	51	26	5	5	27	39	29	9	12
Small Towns and Rural Non-Farm..	11	53	28	8	4	26	41	29	8	12
Farms	15	57	23	5	7	26	40	27	14	19
By Occupation³										
Professional, Business, and White Collar Workers.....	11	53	30	6	2	21	41	36	6	9
Manual Workers.....	18	48	26	8	7	27	41	25	9	13

¹Breakdowns on Italy are not included, because there were almost no significant differences between categories.

²See map, page 2.

³The other two sub-groups in this category are farmers (given directly above) and service workers. The breakdowns for service workers are not given since they are based on too few cases to be statistically significant.

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 stratified according to 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 metropolitan districts, towns, and rural areas of that division. For the urban population the interviews were apportioned to metropolitan districts 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 follow:

Census Division	% of Cross-Section
New England	6.0
Middle Atlantic	22.8
East North Central.....	21.3
West North Central	10.4
South Atlantic	11.4
East South Central	7.4
West South Central	9.1
Mountain	3.1
Pacific States.....	8.5
	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% correct 962 times in 1,000. Actually, the survey reported here is based on 2,466 interviews.

AGE AND SEX. Before the war, the adult population could be said to be split approximately equally between persons over 40 years of age and those between 21 and 40 years. Since Pearl Harbor the ever-growing military personnel have been instructed not to voice opinions

on matters related to the war effort, so they have been excluded from the sample. This affects the age and sex distributions rather radically. After making adjustments for this factor, the resulting sex split on the present survey is 47.6% men and 52.4% women. On the age distribution, 57.4% are over 40, with the remainder between 21 and 40.

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 the 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. Persons receiving government aid 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. (26% of the sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Four and one-half per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining 21½% is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully between which ones to buy.

MIDDLE. (48% of the sample)—This group is called the great middle class of America. They have incomes large enough to maintain an adequate standard of living but can seldom afford luxuries.

LOWER. (26% of the sample)—This group includes people from families receiving government aid and also the lowest income non-relief families. These people have difficulty maintaining an adequate standard of living.

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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.

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- B. **Total United States Population.** Same as A, based on total United States population.
- C. **Popular Vote for President.** Same as A, based on popular vote for president, 1940.
- D. (In color) **Distribution of Population, 21 Years of Age and Over, States and Metropolitan Districts.** (No. 4.) (11 by 15 inches—15 cents.)
- E. **Distribution of World Population.** Map of the world showing countries of over 100,000 population as they would appear if their area were proportional to their population. (11 by 15 inches—25 cents) (22 by 34 inches, bond paper—one dollar).

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