

The Public Looks at
World Organization



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Report No. 19



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Why This Report

What Leaders in the United States say:

On November 5, 1943, the United States Senate resolved by a vote of 85 to 5:

"That the United States, acting through its constitutional processes, join with free and sovereign nations in the establishment and maintenance of international authority with power to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world.

"That the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

"That, pursuant to the Constitution of the United States, any treaty made to effect the purposes of this resolution, on behalf of the Government of the United States with any other nation or any association of nations, shall be made only by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

"In the chancelleries of Britain and Russia there must be many question marks about what their future course shall be, and those question marks . . . essentially relate to the uncertainty of what the United States of America will do after the war."—Senator Claude Pepper.¹

"The position taken by the United States as to the future peace will become a portent for good or evil beyond anything heretofore known in human history."—Brooks Emeny.²

What the People say:

This report outlines some of the fundamental attitudes of the American people regarding United States participation in a post-war union and regarding the responsibilities such membership might entail.

¹Pepper, Claude, Senator, *Congressional Record—Senate*, October 26, 1943, page 8859.

²Emeny, Brooks, *Main Springs of World Politics*, Foreign Policy Association, October, 1943, page 11.

Summary

Before the outbreak of World War II majority opinion in the United States definitely opposed any American affiliation or cooperation with the League of Nations. But today, out of every ten Americans, more than seven approve the general idea of the United States' being active in some type of world organization.

Most Americans want China, Great Britain, and the other United Nations to be included in the membership of a world union. Many would include the neutral countries, but opinion is divided regarding membership for Italy, Germany, and Japan.

Distribution of power among the member countries is an issue still in need of clarification. Fuller understanding should develop with more widespread discussion concerning the form and organization of some kind of world union.

More than three out of four persons believe that a world union should have power to make laws about problems which may come up between member countries. Not quite as many think it would be better for nations to try to settle disagreements through an international organization than independently.

About seven out of ten favor an international police force and the same proportion think countries should get together in a union of nations to decide the size of their armies, navies, and air forces. Almost nine out of ten are convinced that the United States will need to maintain larger armaments after the war than she did before. More than seven out of ten, however, would deny the right of unrestricted armament to **all** countries.

Problems of world trade are more controversial. While 73 per cent of the public agree that problems of trade between countries may often contribute to war, 65 per cent advocate in principle the regulation of international trade by a world union and 57 per cent favor the United States' joining a union of nations with that understanding. When the problem is put squarely in terms of United States production and protective tariffs, only a minority believe this country should sacrifice certain economic interests, even for the sake of a world union.

Opinion is also divided as to whether future wars can be prevented—with or without a world organization. Besides doing everything possible to promote lasting peace, a world union should perform political, economic, social, and educational functions, Americans believe. A number of persons mention activities very similar to those performed by various divisions of the League of Nations. While, at the time the survey was taken, about two out of three persons favored a formal expression of Congressional sentiment toward United States membership in a post-war world union, a plurality but not a majority had any confidence that Congress would vote an intention to join.

Differences in attitude toward world organization are evident among many of the groups included in the survey. The more education a person has, the more likely he is to favor international cooperation. If a person votes in elections he is more apt than a non-voter to express an "internationalist" viewpoint on post-war problems.

This report is based upon nation-wide surveys conducted by the National Opinion Research Center and other opinion-finding organizations. The findings indicate that popular attitudes are crystallized and thinking is clear-cut regarding some aspects of world organization, while in other areas there exist uncertainty and divided opinion. The report suggests the need for more widespread dissemination of information—for further education and discussion.

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PART I

Do Americans Want World Organization?

Opinion between Wars

At the end of the last war, when membership in the League of Nations was being widely debated throughout the United States, modern survey methods were as yet undeveloped. Thus the division of public opinion is not recorded. Whether or not the 1920 Presidential elections reflected popular attitudes toward the League will always be a debatable point, since there is little doubt that some Harding voters favored the United States' joining the League.

In October, 1937, when the Gallup Poll was less than two years old, this question was asked: **"Do you think the United States should have joined the League of Nations after the last war?"** The same question was repeated in August, 1941—four months before Pearl Harbor—and a similar question¹ was asked eleven months later in July, 1942.

During this five year period Americans with definite attitudes on the subject completely reversed their opinions:

All Voters Favoring U. S. Membership in League.....	1937 33%	1941 50%	1942 73% ²
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Opposition to United States membership in the League has been identified chiefly with the Republican party, yet by 1942 the Gallup Poll showed a complete shift of sentiment among Republicans:

Republican Voters Favoring U. S. Membership in League.....	1937 23%	1941 44%	1942 70% ²
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Since Pearl Harbor

Since Pearl Harbor, whenever a public opinion poll has asked a question regarding some type of post-war world organization, a majority of the American public have expressed approval of the idea in principle. Persons with a college education and those well informed on current affairs express a greater degree of approval than do persons with less education and background. Democrats favor the idea to a somewhat greater degree than do Republicans. But majorities in almost all groups favor United States participation in whatever type of world organization is formed after the war.

CALLUP reports (December, 1942):

"Should the government take steps now, before the end of the war, to set up with our Allies a world organization to maintain the future peace of the world?"

	National Total	Democratic Voters	Republican Voters
Yes.....	73%	75%	69%

¹In 1942 the question read: "Would you like to see the United States join the League of Nations after the war is over?"

²Those with opinions only.

FORTUNE reports (June, 1943):

"Which of these statements comes closest to what you would like to see us do when the war is over?"				
	National Total	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
"Stay on our side of the oceans and have as little as possible to do with Europe and Asia....."	13.0%	5.4%	10.7%	22.0%
"Try to keep the world at peace, but make no definite agreements with other countries....."	25.2	15.5	26.0	33.5
"Take an active part in some sort of international organization with a court and police force strong enough to enforce its decisions"....."	56.6	77.7	61.4	33.3
Don't know.....	5.2	1.4	1.9	11.2
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NORC reports:

The following trend question has been used several times over a period of more than a year with results so similar as to indicate that opinion on the issue is quite definitely crystallized:

"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?"				
	Sept. 1942 ¹	Jan. 1943	June 1943	Sept. 1943
Good idea.....	68%	70%	70%	81%
Qualified answer.....	3	5	4
Bad idea.....	15	16	13	11
Undecided.....	14	9	13	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The 81 per cent who answered "Good idea" on the September, 1943, survey were asked:

"Do you think that the best way to try to prevent wars would be for countries to get together in a union of nations, or can you think of a better way?"		
Union best.....	76%	Better way.....3%
Undecided.....	2%	= 81%

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

Those who favor the United States' participating in some kind of world organization make such comments as: "We'd gain the same thing that the United States gained when they formed a union—world stability," and "If we are out, they might combine against us; if we are in, perhaps we can pull together."

Those who qualify their answers make such remarks as: "If it can be made practical. The League of Nations was too visionary," and "If they keep the union on a world equality basis and do not let it become an instrument of domination for any one group." And those people who oppose United States participation give such reasons as: "The United States should mind its own business," and "Make other nations democratic like us and stay out of any League! Teach them American ideals, and to feed themselves." Some differences of opinion among population groups exist. The most important point, however, is that, in the most recent survey, more than seven out of ten in **every** population sub-group want the United States to join a union of nations if one is formed after the war.

¹On this survey the question read: "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?"

²On the September, 1943, survey "Qualified answers" were not permitted. This factor might be partially responsible for the 11 per cent increase in "Good idea" between June and September.

What Countries Should Be Members?

83% of the American public believe a union of nations will have the best chance for success if **all countries belong**.



72% favor membership for **China**.¹



72% likewise favor membership for **Great Britain**.



62% would favor the United States' joining a world union on a basis of **equal power with Great Britain**.²



70% of the public think **Russia** should be in the union.



55% would favor United States membership on **equality with Russia**.²



69% would welcome the **Latin American countries**. (2 of these would make some exceptions.)



68% want **France** in the union.



65% want **Sweden**.



63% want **Spain**.



52% of Americans think **Italy** should be a member.



44% believe **Germany** is entitled to membership.



28% would be willing to have the United States **on a par with Germany** in the union.²



39% want **Japan** in the union.



 = 5%

¹Figures for all countries except China are based on the January, 1943, survey. (See Report No. 8 for complete tabulations.) China is based on the July, 1942, survey.

²For details, see Report No. 8.

Most Americans have quite definite ideas regarding the membership of the proposed world organization. A strong majority believe that a world union would have the best chance for success if **all** countries were members. Many, however, are dubious about admitting Germany and Japan into full membership, and Italy's position is somewhat ambiguous. Some Americans believe the United States should dominate the union. Some express definite distrust of Russia and Great Britain as post-war partners.

The two most recent survey questions asked by NORC show these opinions, as of the fall of 1943:

"Do you think a union of nations would have the best chance of working if all countries were members, or if just some countries were members?"

All.....83% Some.....11% Undecided.....6% = 100%

"After the war is over, do you think Germany, Italy, and Japan should be members of the union?"¹

Yes.....54% Qualified answer....14% No....25% Undecided....7% = 100%

A similar question, asked in February, 1942, showed comparable results.²

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

Comments on the current question bring out various shades of opinion regarding Allied post-war policy toward Germany, Japan, and Italy. Some people seem quite willing to give the defeated countries an opportunity to rejoin the family of nations:

COMMENTS

"If they would accept the terms and responsibilities of other countries participating, I think it would be desirable."

"I don't see why not if they have the right peace treaty over there."

"If they settle down and try to do what's right. We should give em a chance, anyway."

"I think they should be permitted to be members. They should be watched."

"If they can agree with us on big problems."

EXPRESSED BY:

Wife of business executive, Chester, South Carolina

Truck driver, Austin, Texas

Aluminum plant laborer, Phoenix, Arizona

Owner of grain elevator, Kansas

Mechanic's wife, Blackstock, South Carolina

Many respondents specify a probationary period of good behavior as a prerequisite to full membership privileges:

"After they learn to behave themselves, let them come in."

"When they've graduated from the 'reform school'."

"On probation with restrictions—they should not have a full voice until they prove they are working for permanent peace."

"Not right away. We'll have to see to it that their educational system is changed."

Wife of airplane factory executive, Wichita, Kansas

Woman musician, Oberlin, Ohio

City detective, Philadelphia

Public service investigator, Denver

¹Asked before the surrender of Italy.

²See Report No. 2.

Other people believe treatment of the defeated powers should depend somewhat upon the type of government leadership they adopt:

COMMENTS

EXPRESSED BY:

- "Not immediately, not until they have a government that represents the people."** Wife of university professor, Ohio
- "That all depends on how the war ends and how the peace is signed. I don't think the present governments of Japan and Germany should even exist."** War plant foreman, Knoxville, Tennessee
- "It depends on what kind of government they have and who the leaders are. They shouldn't be members right away."** Prospector, Helena, Montana
- "If they surrender unconditionally and after a while set up a peaceful government, they should be allowed to join."** Farmer, Tulsa, Oklahoma

A few mention some type of strict military supervision:

- "With strict supervision of military powers."** Repairman, Massachusetts
- "Yes, if they are always under a military police force."** Woman airplane worker, Jenks, Oklahoma

A number of respondents advocate domination of a world union by one country or by a group of countries:

- "They should be in it under exclusive American control."** Wife of coastguardsman, Brooklyn
- "If it's dominated by the United States and England."** Court reporter, Texas

Typical of respondents who favor membership for Italy, but not for Germany and Japan, are these comments:

- "Germany and Japan should be broken up and done away with. Italy is O. K. under the new government."** Wife of furniture salesman, Waltham, Massachusetts
- "Italy should; she didn't want to fight in the first place. But not Germany or Japan."** Core maker, Oberlin, Ohio
- "Except Japan. I would like to see them at the bottom of the ocean."** Soldier's wife, Baltimore

POST-WAR ALLIANCES?

A number of scholars and statesmen, most vocally Walter Lippmann, advocate a post-war alliance among some or all of the United Nations as either a substitute for or a supplement to an international organization. In the fall of 1943, the Gallup Poll reported majorities of persons with opinions in favor of alliances between the United States and England, and the United States and China. At that time, however, a majority of Republicans opposed any alliance with Russia. The high "Undecided" vote indicates considerable uncertainty, probably due to lack of information on the subject.

"After the war should the United States and China (Great Britain) (Russia) make a permanent military alliance, that is, agree to come to each other's defense immediately if the other is attacked at any future time?"

	PERCENTAGE IN FAVOR (Excluding "Undecided")			PERCENTAGE UNDECIDED (National Total) ¹
	National Total	Democratic Voters	Republican Voters	
China	71%	77%	66%	21%
Great Britain.....	71	78	66	14
Russia	51	59	46	24

¹The "Undecided" vote by parties is: Democratic, China—22%; Britain—14%; Russia—24%; Republican, China—17%; Britain—14%; Russia—21%.

PART II

What Should Be the Powers of a World Union?

Possibly even more significant than people's opinion regarding the general idea of a world union are their present attitudes about its functions—what its duties should be and how much power it should exercise in the regulation of world affairs.

A majority of Americans think a world union should have power to make laws about international problems . . . to use a military police force to implement its decisions . . . to regulate the size of armies, navies, and air forces . . . to direct trade . . . and to fulfill certain other political and non-political functions.

Power to Make Laws?

More than two out of three Americans think an organization of nations would have a better chance of settling disagreements between nations than would the nations working independently. More than three out of four persons think a world union should have power to make and enforce laws about international problems.

SETTLING DISAGREEMENTS

While majorities of **every population group included in the survey** take the "internationalist" view on both phases of the problem, marked differences of opinion do appear. Men have more confidence than women in the ability of a world union to settle disagreements between nations. Professional and business people more than farmers and factory workers, the well-off and the well-educated more than less privileged groups, and New Englanders more than Southerners tend to believe a world union has a real chance of settling international disagreements.

The most marked differences of opinion appear between persons in various standard-of-living groups. Of those in the upper brackets, 80 per cent believe international settlement of disputes would be more successful than independent settlement. In the middle brackets, 69 per cent agree, and in the lower brackets, only 55 per cent.

The question:

"After this war, if two countries have a disagreement, do you think it would be better if they tried to settle it themselves, or do you think it would be better if some kind of organization of nations worked with them to try to settle the disagreement?"

Countries settle disagreement themselves.....	26%
Organization of nations help settle it.....	69
Undecided	5
	<hr/>
	100%

A number of respondents qualified their answers by saying that the countries involved should first have an opportunity to try to settle the dispute themselves, then, if necessary to prevent a war, a union of nations or world court should arbitrate. Others expressed this idea: "If they were two

backward countries then an organization should help them settle it, but if they were two leading countries, then they should settle it themselves."

Persons who said they thought countries should settle their own disagreements gave such reasons as that of a Massachusetts officer who said: "Being a policeman, I find it better to let people settle their own problems." A farmer's wife in Iowa stated: "Any country that is independent should be able to handle its own affairs, or it shouldn't be independent." And a high school teacher in North Carolina uses this argument: "From past experience, the League of Nations didn't do much to prevent this war. We were not in it, of course, but other nations were." A widow in South Carolina thinks: "Other nations interfering may pull all countries into war."

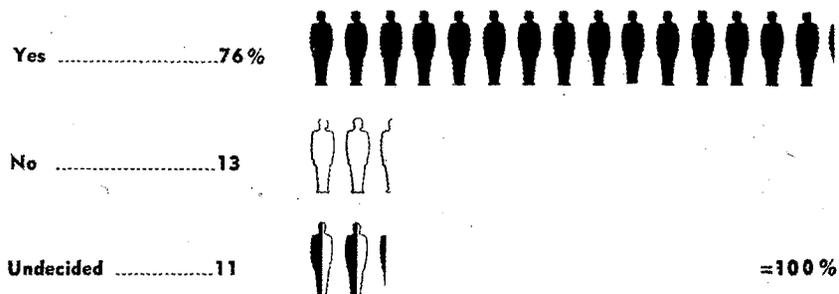
MAKING LAWS

On the issue of law-making powers the sharpest difference of opinion is between persons of various educational backgrounds. Among persons with some college background, 86 per cent advocate legislative powers for a world union, in contrast to 77 per cent of high school respondents and only 69 per cent of those with grade school education or less.

A wider difference of opinion appears between voters and non-voters than between Democratic and Republican voters. For example, 80 per cent of 1940 Roosevelt voters and 81 per cent of 1940 Willkie voters, but only 70 per cent of non-voters, say they think a union of nations should have power to make laws about problems that may come up between member-nations in the union.

This is the question:

• "As you know, Congress has the power to make laws about problems that may come up between states. Do you think a union of nations should have power to make laws about problems that may come up between countries in the union?"



Those who took the negative position made such statements as that of a secretary in a New Jersey law office: "Nations won't stand for someone else making their laws." A dock operator's wife in Ohio believes: "Each country should run its own business or else there will be a war." And a New York surveyor says: "Seems to me we don't know what countries across the sea need." A Negro farmer in North Carolina fears that "making laws won't stop wars."

An International Police Force?

Widely discussed, and widely polled, have been attitudes toward an international police force, probably—though not necessarily—functioning under the direction of a world union.

In the NORC survey of September, 1943, the 76 per cent of the public who said they think a world union should have power to make laws regarding international problems were then asked:

"Do you think a union of nations would need to have some kind of a military police force to make all countries obey these laws?"

Yes.....68% No.....6% Undecided.....2% = 76%

While majorities in all groups see a need for an international police force, fairly sharp differences appear along educational and political lines. Persons with a college background favor the idea to a greater degree than those with less education, and voters (72% for both Democrats and Republicans) more than non-voters (61%).

The third alternative in the *Fortune* question quoted on page 6 includes the phrase "an international organization with a court and **police force strong enough to enforce its decisions**"—the proposal selected by a majority in all groups except the "Uninformed."

Gallup Polls conducted in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain suggest that the people of these countries are now in substantial agreement as to the necessity of a world police force. Very similar results are obtained on three quite differently worded questions:

UNITED STATES	CANADA	GREAT BRITAIN
<p>"Should the countries fighting the Axis set up an international police force after the war is over to try to keep peace throughout the world?"</p> <p>Yes 74 % No 14 Undecided 12</p> <hr style="width: 100%;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">100 %</p>	<p>"Would you like to see Canada take an active part in maintaining world peace after the war, even if that meant sending Canadian soldiers, sailors, and airmen to keep peace in other parts of the world?"</p> <p>Yes 78 % No 15 Undecided 7</p> <hr style="width: 100%;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">100 %</p>	<p>"After the war, would you like to see Britain joining with other countries to form an international police force?"</p> <p>Yes 74 % No 10 Undecided 16</p> <hr style="width: 100%;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">100 %</p>

An indirect endorsement of the world police force idea—closely related to the Canadian question quoted above—is indicated by the following NORC question, asked in January, 1943:

"In order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars, would you yourself be willing or not willing for part of the American army to remain overseas for several years after the war to help establish order?"

Willing.....75% Not willing.....19% Undecided.....6% = 100%

An Associated Press Poll of the Senate in the spring of 1943 showed a distribution of recorded opinion almost opposite to that of the general public:

"Do you favor committing the Senate and the country now to a post-war course of preserving the peace through an international police force?"

	All	Those Voting
Yes 24 Senators	25 %	43 %
No 32	33	57
Not voting 40	42	---
<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>
96	100 %	100 %

Control of Armaments?

77% of the American public think the nations of the world should get together in a world union to decide how big an army, navy, and air force each country should have . . .



AND 70% say they would be willing to have a union of nations decide how big the United States army, navy, and air force should be . . .



HOWEVER 87% think that after this war it will be necessary for the United States to maintain a **larger** army, navy, and air force than before the war . . .



BUT ONLY 22% think every country should be allowed to build as large an army, navy, and air force as it wants to when the war is over.



The exact questions used, together with the most significant breakdowns, follow:

"Do you think countries should get together in a union of nations to decide how big an army, navy, and air force each country can have?"

Yes.....77% No.....17% Undecided.....6% = 100%

"If the United States does join with other countries in a union of nations, would you be willing to have the union decide how big an army, navy, and air force the United States should have?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Yes	70%	82%	69%	64%
No	24	15	26	27
Undecided	6	3	5	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Persons who replied "No" to either of the above questions were asked:

"If the United States could not become a member of the union of nations unless we were willing to have the union decide how big our armed forces could be, would you want to join or stay out?"

	Opposed to General Regulation	Opposed to Regulation for U. S.
Join	4%	4%
Stay out.....	12	17
Undecided	1	3
	17%	24%

With an amazing unanimity of opinion, nearly nine out of ten respondents endorse a policy of strong "preparedness" for post-war America. No population sub-group varies from the population as a whole by more than 2 or 3 per cent.

The exact question read:

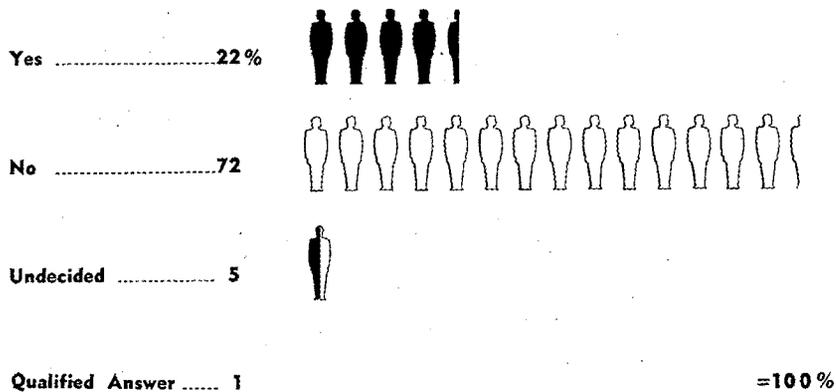
"After this war, do you think it will be necessary for the United States to keep a larger army, navy, and air force than we had before the war?"

Yes.....87% Qualified answer.....3% No.....8% Undecided.....2% = 100%

A few people qualify their answers by saying, "for a while," "it depends on the peace," or "unless we have international laws that will hold." A retired Texas farmer remarked, "That would depend on the peace terms and I believe in being prepared," while a bowling alley manager in Richmond, Virginia, believes, "We will have to police the world to keep peace."¹

More than seven out of ten Americans, however, would deny the right of full armament to **all** countries:

"After the war, do you think every country should be allowed as large an army, navy, and air force as it wants to?"



While majorities of all population groups included in the survey disapprove general rearmament after the war, considerable differences of opinion exist, with the more privileged groups most against unrestricted rearmament.

ATTITUDES TOWARD UNRESTRICTED REARMAMENT

	Most Opposed	Least Opposed
By Education	Persons with at least some college background87%	Persons with a grade school education or less64%
By Section	Residents of Pacific and Rocky Mountain states81	Residents of the South.....64
By Occupation	Professional, business, and white collar workers81	Farmers70 Factory and construction workers.....64
By Sex	Men80	Women66
By 1940 Voting Status	Roosevelt voters.....81 Willkie voters77	Non-voters62

¹In the NORC survey on which this report is largely based, the question just quoted preceded the question on a military police force, yet a number of respondents apparently took it for granted, as indicated by their comments, that such a force would be established after the war, probably in connection with a world union.

Regulation of Trade?

Americans are noticeably less enthusiastic about war prevention measures involving world trade than about those involving international politics.

WHILE 73% of the public agree that problems of trade between countries may often contribute to wars . . .



JUST 65% advocate in principle the regulation of international trade . . .



AND ONLY 57% would favor the United States joining a union of nations with willingness to accept trade regulation as a prerequisite to membership.



These are the actual questions:

"Do you think problems of trade between countries have anything to do with starting wars?"

Yes 73 %
 No 19
 Undecided 8

100 %

"Do you think it would be a good idea for countries to get together in a union of nations to decide how trade between countries should be handled, or do you think each country should handle trade any way it wants?"

Get together..... 65 %
 Any way..... 29
 Undecided 6

100 %

"If the United States could not become a member of the union of nations unless we were willing to trade according to ways decided upon by ALL MEMBERS of the union, would you want to join or stay out?"

Join 57 %
 Stay out 31
 Undecided 12

100 %

On each question, persons with a college education seem most "internationally minded," giving more affirmative votes than any other group. Among sections of the country, the Midwest is the most "internationalist" section of all on the second and third questions, and ranks behind the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states only on the first question.¹

On questions asked a year ago by NORC, public opposition to changes in American trade and tariff policy were clearly indicated.

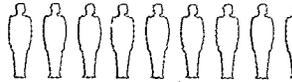
¹That public opinion polls have shown the Midwest to be far less isolationist than it is generally considered has already been pointed out by Robert J. Blakely in his *Foreign Affairs* article, "The Midwest and the War" (July, 1942).

OUT OF EVERY 100 AMERICANS:

46 said they believe that after the war the United States should "try to develop its own industries, like rubber and sugar, to such an extent" that it would be unnecessary "to buy any products from foreign countries."



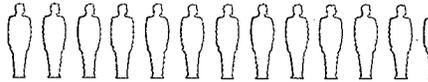
AND 42 thought the United States should keep on buying from other countries.



BUT ONLY 28 were willing—as a measure to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars—to allow foreign goods to come into the United States and compete with things grown or made here, even if the price were lower.



AND 62 were not willing to make this trial sacrifice.¹



Can a World Union Prevent Wars?

The most important reason for forming a world organization after the present war is the hope of preventing future wars. People in general are rather pessimistic about future wars. Out of every four Americans, only one thinks that there is any chance at all of preventing all wars after this one, and two think that there will always be wars. (The other one either thinks that **some day** all wars will be prevented, or is undecided.)

The question read:

"Which one of these ideas comes closest to what you think about the chances of preventing wars in the future?"

a. "No matter what is done to prevent them, there will always be wars....."	32%
b. "It is possible to prevent all wars, but people will never do what is necessary to prevent them....."	21
c. "Some day all wars will be prevented, but this war will not be the last one....."	17
d. "After this war, it is likely that a way will be worked out to prevent any more wars".....	26
Undecided	4
	<hr/> 100%

Three out of four persons, however, think that a world union is the **best way** to try to prevent wars. (See page 6.) Only 3 per cent of the entire cross-section have "better ways" in mind, and most of the methods suggested would probably function, in practice, through the machinery of a world

¹For a more detailed discussion of these questions, see Report No. 8.

organization. Typical of the three means of preventing wars most frequently suggested are these:

"Have an international police force."	Shipyard worker, Oakland, Calif.
"Break down tax barriers, and have free trade."	Secretary, Brooklyn, New York
"Accept the gospel of Christ. It represents the doctrine of peace."	Minister's wife, Oregon

Opinion is divided about just what chances a world union would have actually to prevent wars. Only one person in every ten thinks there's **no chance at all** for a union of nations to prevent future wars. Five out of each ten persons think the chances of preventing wars through a union of nations are **good**; four rate them **fair**.

NORC asked:

"In general, what chance do you think a union of nations will have to prevent wars—good, fair, or no chance at all?"

Good chance....52% Fair chance....38% No chance....10% = 100%
Undecided....6%

On this issue differences of opinion among population groups are small. However, of those who voted for Roosevelt in 1940, 56 per cent—in contrast to only 42 per cent of Willkie voters—think a union would have a good chance of preventing wars.

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY Persons who give a union only a fair chance or no chance at all of preventing wars base their opinions on a number of factors. Naturally many of the comments mention more than a single factor and overlap several categories. Many believe that wars are inevitable because of factors inherent in human nature, particularly greed and jealousy:

COMMENTS

"It's a question of human nature. Some countries are jealous and want what they don't have and are willing to fight for it."
"It's the same story. When a nation becomes powerful it gets greedy and no union can hold it back."
"As long as there are human beings on earth they'll fight."
"I think there'll be wars right on till the end of time. Our country might not be in wars, but I'd like to see you keep some of 'em out."

EXPRESSED BY:

Machine operator, Middletown, Connecticut
Storekeeper, Wayne, West Virginia
Store manager's wife, Stockton, California
Inspector's wife, Knoxville, Tennessee

Others feel sure that there will always be disagreements between large and small nations and difficulties over territorial expansion and boundaries:

"Some nations wanting more land and power in the future cause trouble. Even neighbors will fight among themselves, so what can you expect of nations?"
"Just like it was before. There is always one nation that will not live up to their agreement."
"Domination by powerful nations, and smaller countries feel they are not getting a square deal."
"Conquering nations imposing conditions on conquered nations not agreeable to them."
"It is natural for people to be aggressive and the smaller nations would resent the attitude of the larger ones."
"There will be a certain amount of arrogance in the powers settling the peace now, which will cause resentment among the smaller peoples."
"The small nations are too crowded, need more territory, and will fight for more land whenever able."

Daughter of mine operator, Dunmore, Pennsylvania
Superintendent of cotton mill, Alabama
Woman lawyer, Hornell, New York
Interior decorator, Goshen, Indiana
Negro laborer, Camden, South Carolina
Steel mill foreman, Amherst, Ohio
Farmer's wife, Montezuma, Indiana

Some people think it impossible for any world organization to overcome basic economic factors underlying international conflict:

COMMENTS

- "Regional economic interests will set up tensions within the union."
- "Trade jealousies between countries would jeopardize this league or union."
- "Economic rivalries and good ol' American isolationism."
- "There will always be countries who want additional land and resources."
- "Greed starts wars, and so do over-population and the size of countries."
- "As long as certain countries control resources essential to the existence of other countries in a world of industry and commerce, strong underlying alliances will be developed. These later on will develop into a balance of power among certain nations."
- "There is too much big business which always wants war."

EXPRESSED BY:

- Divinity student, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Machine shop inspector, St. Charles, Missouri
- English professor, Austin, Texas
- Wife of navy yard worker, Raymond, New Hampshire
- Wife of filling station manager, Greendale, Wisconsin
- Personnel officer, Oberlin, Ohio

- Merchant, Kearny, New Jersey

A number of respondents believe that the League of Nations was a failure and that another world organization would have similar difficulties, particularly in enforcing its decisions:

- "From their failure after the last war I've lost faith in leagues or unions of nations."
- "Because wars have not been prevented in the past by the League of Nations and this new union will face the same issues."
- "It was tried before and was not successful—perhaps if every nation were a member it might work."
- "They will not force nations in the union to live up to the laws."
- "If a warlike country decides to start a war there is nothing much the union could do to prevent it."
- "It will have a good chance among small countries but not among major powers. Who can prevent the great powers if they won't conciliate, and go to war?"
- "A union could only make laws and the nations would break them when they got ready to."
- "If aggression was stopped immediately with economic sanctions."
- "As that time comes and a union is developed it will not have enough ability to enforce its commands. The strong nations will be strong and the weak nations weak."

- Mail truck driver, Des Moines, Iowa
- Wife of insurance agent, South Bend, Indiana
- Wife of Negro war plant worker, Detroit, Michigan
- Farmer's wife, near Goshen, Indiana
- Clothing store manager, Middletown, Connecticut
- Architect, Kirkwood, Missouri

- Negro farmer, Raleigh, North Carolina
- Druggist, Orange, New Jersey

- Minister, Chicago

Some mention power politics as a force contrary to world peace and union:

- "I'm afraid of power politics. Powerful nations might not stay with a world union."
- "The involvement of power politics would lead to a disagreement between socialistic and capitalistic nations."
- "There's always too many politics—always some selfish interests controlling the pressure group."
- "There will probably be secret treaties and high powered politics enter into it on the sly."

- Civil engineer, Seattle
- Wife of packing house worker, Manhattan
- Wife of cattle rancher, near Phoenix, Arizona
- Prospector, Helena, Montana

Others feel that certain cultural and racial differences and certain national tendencies must inevitably lead to conflict:

COMMENTS

EXPRESSED BY:

"The races of European people will just fight every 20 or 30 years anyway."

Cashier, Richmond, Virginia

"All nationalities will not be able to think alike any more than we live alike."

Farmer's wife, near Tulsa, Oklahoma

"People and countries will have to become educated not to want wars and it will take more than a union to do it."

Wife of sales manager, Wichita, Kansas

"The English-speaking countries could agree and should have the largest responsibility and more to say. The other countries will be difficult to handle."

Owner of machine factory, Chicago

"There will always be wars because there is hatred among young children and when they grow up they will start another war. Germans have abilities for everything but peace."

Wife of garage worker, Philadelphia

A number of respondents refer to the Biblical quotation regarding "wars and rumors of wars":

"Well, folks is folks, and the Bible says there'll always be wars."

Farmer, near Wayne, West Virginia

"It says in the Bible there will always be wars and racial hatreds. You can't iron these out in a conference."

Woman teacher, Clarion, Iowa

"The Bible says we'll have wars and we've always had wars."

Farmer's wife, near Genoa, Texas

A few believe that a world union will definitely help to prevent at least some wars:

"I don't think there is anything that can prevent wars, but a union will help."

Farmer, near Four Oaks, North Carolina

"I think it would help; just like a police force doesn't cut down all crime, but it helps."

Woman teacher, Altus, Oklahoma

"I think a union would have a good chance to prevent some wars but not all. There will always be wars."

Engineer, Alabama

Other Functions?

Aside from its most vital function of keeping the peace, what else should a world union be expected to accomplish? To the open question: "**Can you think of any other things, besides trying to prevent wars, that you would like to see a union of nations try to do?**" NORC received a wide variety of suggestions, many evidencing thoughtful consideration of world problems.

Answers to this question clearly indicate that very few Americans have any accurate information regarding the wide variety of non-political functions once performed—and in many instances still being successfully performed—by various sections of the League of Nations. While many respondents specifically mention work in the fields of health, education, and labor problems as desirable functions of a world organization, only a few comments relate such work to that pioneered by the League.

The few who do evidence knowledge of the League program tend to speak in generalizations. A woman teacher in Ohio, for example, thinks a world union should try to do "all the things the League of Nations and the International Labor Office have been doing—international relations, health, reallocation of raw materials." A Boston wholesale merchant suggests "some of the things the League did, health, education, etc." And an English professor in Austin, Texas, believes a world organization should undertake "the kind of work the League of Nations once carried on to improve health conditions, communications, and international labor."

POLITICAL FUNCTIONS

Most of the suggestions in this category, as well as many in the following sections, are closely associated with the core problem—keeping the peace. In fact, a number of respondents reply in terms of that problem alone. A typical answer was that of a Buffalo, New York, policeman who said: "If a union succeeds in stopping wars, it will have accomplished its true purpose." An electrician in Gloucester, Ohio, put it this way: "If they can prevent wars that is enough."

Although some persons specifically mention that "politics" should be kept out of a union of nations, others believe it should hold "executive" and law-enforcing powers, including the direction of an international police force. A South Carolina farmer is one of several respondents to suggest: "Let the union of nations be to the world like Congress is to the United States."

Others believe that a world organization should control sea and air routes and international fishing grounds to assure freedom of access to all nations. Some respondents express the conviction that a world union should take concrete measures to bring about international disarmament and to prevent rearmament. The settlement of boundary disputes and all questions involving the allocation of territory are considered the business of a world organization. A United States inspector in Baltimore even advocates "the slow obliteration of national frontiers."

A few persons believe the union should punish those leaders responsible in large measure for the present conflict. To be avoided at all costs is the development of new dictatorships either within the union itself or within individual countries.

Here are a few additional comments presenting further viewpoints regarding the political functions of a world organization:

COMMENTS

- "I'd like to see a world union have the power to decide anything that would come up between nations."
- "If preventing wars is all it tries to do, it won't succeed. But if it is for mutual benefit in other ways, then it may succeed. Peace will have to be a by-product of the agreement—not an end in itself."
- "Prosecute vigorously any persons or group of persons who have been the instigators of the present war or might be the instigators of future wars."
- "Put in men with brains and leave it up to them."
- "Keep down all the 'isms' and prevent future dictatorships."
- "Work together for the benefit of the whole world."
- "Keep the peace. Know all the time if nations are keeping peace, and I mean KNOW."
- "Have an army of ours stationed in each country to keep them from rebuilding fighting material."
- "Little European countries should have more consideration and more say in world problems."

EXPRESSED BY:

- Farmer, near Chester, South Carolina
- Lawyer, Waltham, Massachusetts
- Policeman, Dyersburg, Tennessee
- Shipyard worker, Oakland, California
- Secretary, Altus, Oklahoma
- Wife of research worker, Stockton, California
- Woman laboratory technician, Hornell, New York
- Night wine steward, hotel, Baltimore
- Wife of oil company executive, Genoa, Texas

ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS

"If economic conditions are settled, war problems will take care of themselves," is the verdict of a plantation owner in Jonestown, Mississippi, who voices the opinion of a considerable section of the public. Regulation of trade and the solution of complex tariff problems are the major economic concerns of the union of nations, many Americans believe. Different viewpoints exist, however:

COMMENTS

- "Get world trade on a sound and competitive basis, so some countries will not have complete monopoly."**
- "Let the union decide problems of trade, especially tariffs, to offset high wages paid in one country when low wages are paid in another."**
- "Make trade profitable for everyone."**
- "I'd like to see them work out some balance of trade that would give every nation a chance for a decent standard of living for their people."**

EXPRESSED BY:

- Automotive executive, Dallas, Texas
- Textile worker, Chester, South Carolina
- Packing house worker, Hillsboro, Oregon
- Wife of army officer, Alabama

A few of those interviewed suggest "discourage imperialism" and "free the colonies." Others say "take the profit out of war." Still others believe that a world organization should coordinate the resources and the production of the world—on a scale even more comprehensive than that projected in the realm of food by the recent Hot Springs Conference: "Have someone at the head that would see that natural resources were developed in each country to the betterment of everybody and thus avert depression," says an engineer. "Divide agriculture between nations. Let one country grow one thing and another something else," says a farmer. "Make large countries divide up with small countries. Everybody that is born is entitled to a chance to live and to have a share of the world's goods," says a millwright.

A number of people believe that a world union should work on problems of over-population and immigration, though opinion is divided between a stricter and a more lenient policy:

- "Let every nation keep its own people in its own country."**
- "Stop migration from one country to another in time of stress."**
- "They ought to insist on the people going back to the country they came from. I think we'd get along better."**
- "Tighten the immigration laws."**

- Wife of machinist, Trimble, Ohio
- Storekeeper, Baltimore
- Farmer, near Sparta, Tennessee
- Groceryman, Decatur, Alabama

CONVERSELY

- "Open the door for immigrants."**
- "Take the surplus population out of Europe, regardless of religion, color, or creed, and distribute them in Africa."**

- Housewife, Springfield, Massachusetts
- Bank teller, Stockton, California

Some respondents suggest that a union of nations should assume responsibility for the stabilization of currency and/or the establishment of an international currency base. "Bring order into the exchange of money with an international currency," advocates an electrician in Waltham, Massachusetts.

Many people think that a world union should try to get rid of unemployment, make social security world-wide, take care of overproduction, and work for a decent standard of living in every country:

- "Raise the standard of living. Give people the security necessary to bring happy children into the world."**
- "Raise the standard of living of the whole world so that there won't be any jealousy."**
- "Give a lift to nations with a lot of under-privileged, like India."**
- "Give the boys fighting now provisions for their living when they return—a normal way of life."**

- Physician, Manhattan, New York City
- Chemist, Loraine, Ohio
- Woman artist, Philadelphia
- Wife of laundry superintendent, Cleveland, Ohio

A number mention the rehabilitation and reconstruction of countries devastated by war—to "reinstate them economically and politically" and "handle distribution of food until they are able to get their own." One person suggests that a union "plan reclamation projects on a world basis, even such as making the Sahara of use."

A minority suggest changes which would involve rather fundamental readjustments in—even the elimination of—the capitalistic system as we know it:

COMMENTS

- "Return the powers of government to the people rather than to the money men."**
- "The whole system should be made cooperative instead of competitive."**
- "Try to get away from capitalism and everyone being money crazy."**
- "Improve labor conditions all over the world."**
- "A universal treatment of labor problems."**

EXPRESSED BY:

- Wife of machinist, Avon Lake, Ohio
- 60-year-old newsboy, Los Angeles
- Saleslady, Dorchester, Massachusetts
- Messenger boy, Kearny, New Jersey
- Wife of air corps instructor, Austin, Texas

HEALTH AND WELFARE

A union of nations, some respondents say, should attempt to establish and maintain satisfactory health standards throughout the world, even establish universal health education and medical service. A world union should work out a "health program that would be universal with international quarantine and medical assistance," says a school teacher. "Let it study problems of health and sanitation of various nations," says a minister. It should "promote medical and scientific exchange," says the wife of a retired banker.

A few people specifically mention assistance in case of catastrophies such as floods and earthquakes. A union should "act like the Red Cross," according to a Manhattan psychologist. Others suggest an international housing program to "clean up slums" and "try to improve housing for people in all countries."

Several respondents itemize "moral" problems, including control of vice and the drug and liquor traffics. A farmer's wife believes that a world union should "control liquor and regulate drinking and smoking among young people." A retired real estate broker in Los Angeles advocates promotion of "moral improvement in all countries."

THE FOUR FREEDOMS: EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

"Advance civilization and give the Four Freedoms to every man in the world," says a Negro history teacher in the Kentucky public schools. Others also specifically mention the Four Freedoms and at least one person connects them with the Atlantic Charter. Another suggests: "Execute a Bill of Rights for all nations."

A number of suggestions concerning world education are advanced, with the idea of using education to prevent future wars perhaps paramount:

COMMENTS

- "I want to see all the children of Europe educated, with no military training until they are old enough to think."**
- "Eliminate all lines of distinction and class in education."**
- "Train and educate conquered people to our way of thinking and living."**
- "Educate the backward countries and there will not be a chance to war so often."**
- "We need an international exchange of education—science especially."**

EXPRESSED BY:

- Wife of business executive, Kearny, New Jersey
- City fireman, Altoona, Pennsylvania
- Wife of salesman, Baltimore
- Storekeeper, Oakland, California
- Army student, Charlestown, South Carolina

The need for a universal language is occasionally mentioned. Typical of one viewpoint is this comment: "Work out a universal language that would be a second language of all people;" of another viewpoint: "Make all peoples learn the English language."

A large number of persons believe that a world union should take definite steps to promote friendship and understanding among the peoples of all countries. These suggestions are only a few selected from the many offered:

COMMENTS

"Promote friendship and good feeling and understanding between countries. Get each one to see others' point of view."

"Work out ways to live together amicably during peace time."

"Create a feeling of good fellowship among all nations."

"Make everyone conscious of a 'One-World' idea."

EXPRESSED BY:

Wife of delivery man, eastern Massachusetts

Negro minister, Camden, South Carolina

Wife of army officer, Los Angeles

Wife of army officer, Richmond, Virginia

Some people think that, through a world union, all people should be given religious freedom. Others, however, seem to feel that a union should perform evangelical functions—"help nations rediscover God" and "spread Christianity." The widow of an insurance agent in a small West Virginia town puts it this way: "It would be a wonderful work if they could bring Christianity to all nations."

Intermingled with problems of religion are those of race. Both colored and white people make such comments as: "Build a social order without discrimination of races;" "Racial differences and prejudices should be settled and wiped out;" "Prevent lynchings;" and "Work for less discrimination against Negroes, Chinese, Jews, etc." A dentist's wife in upper New York state remarks: "Insist upon rights for minorities; insist that the White Paper of '39 be recalled and the Balfour Declaration enforced." A Negro teacher in Raleigh, North Carolina, expresses this opinion: "The next war is going to be between the colored and white races of the world. If a union could bring colored races up to a plane of equality and free them, the next war could be eliminated."

Only a few respondents suggest that a world union should become an instrument for keeping Negroes, Jews, and other minority groups "in their place," or "transporting the Jews to Palestine."

PART III

The United States and a World Union

What Does the Public Think of Congressional Endorsements of World Cooperation?

A widely discussed issue and one frequently in the legislative limelight is the degree to which the United States Congress should commit itself to a post-war policy of world cooperation.

In July, 1943, the Gallup Poll reported that 78 per cent of all American voters—90 per cent of those with opinions—wanted their Congressmen to vote for the Fulbright Resolution. Those questioned were handed a copy of the resolution to examine before giving their opinion. The resolution then read:

"That the Congress hereby expresses itself as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations of the world, and as favoring participation by the United States therein."

Before the House passed the resolution, 360 to 29, the words "through its constitutional processes" were added to the last line, as an assurance to those who feared the loss of American sovereignty.

In September, 1943, NORC reported that 65 out of every 100 Americans favored an immediate Congressional vote to determine attitudes toward United States membership in a world union, but that only 47 thought Congress would actually favor joining if the vote were taken "now." As to the result of an immediate vote, almost one person in three was undecided regarding the attitude of Congress.

"Would you like to see the United States Congress take a vote NOW to find out how Congressmen feel about the United States joining some kind of a union of nations?"

PERCENTAGE FAVORING CONGRESSIONAL VOTE ON UNION OF NATIONS

	All	Those with Opinions	Undecided
Total	65%	71%	8%
By Education			
College	57	59	4
High School	66	71	7
Grade School	69	78	12
By Political Preference, 1940			
Democrat	68	72	6
Republican	60	64	6
Non-Voters	65	73	11

"If Congress were to vote now on whether the United States should join a union of nations after the war, do you think it actually would vote to join or stay out?"

PERCENTAGE SAYING "CONGRESS WOULD VOTE TO JOIN"

	All	Those with Opinions	Undecided
Total	47%	67%	30%
By Education			
College	49	64	24
High School	50	68	27
Grade School	40	66	39

PERCENTAGE SAYING "CONGRESS WOULD VOTE TO JOIN"—Continued

	All	Those with Opinions	Undecided
By Political Preference, 1940			
Democrat	51	69	26
Republican	46	65	29
Non-Voter	42	67	37

Will Americans Sacrifice to Make a World Union Successful?

A year ago, in January, 1943, NORC asked respondents a group of questions designed to determine whether Americans would be willing to make concessions, some personal and others national, to give a world union a chance to function successfully. All attitudes were based on the assumption "in order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars."¹

IN BRIEF:

82% of the American public say they would be willing to "stay on a rationing system in this country for about five years to help feed the starving people of other countries."



75% would be willing "for part of the American army to remain overseas for several years after the war to help establish order."



AND 64% of the public would be willing "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."



BUT ONLY 41% say they would be willing "to consider most of the lend-lease materials as aid to the Allies and not expect any payment for them."



41% likewise would be willing "to give up our army, navy, and air force, if all other nations would do the same."



AND JUST 28% of Americans say they would be willing "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."



28% also would be willing "to forget reparations—that is, not try to collect any money from Germany or Japan to pay for what the war has cost the Allies."



¹For detail, see Report No. 8.

PART IV

Attitudes of Special Groups

Education and International Attitudes

On almost every issue discussed in this report distinct differences of opinion can be observed among persons of various educational backgrounds. The most interesting contrasts are shown graphically on the opposite page.

The more education a person has had, the more likely he is to favor the general principle of world organization, a broad membership base, reasonably broad powers, and full United States cooperation. Persons with college or high school education¹ are also much more apt to express opinion than are those with less educational background. The "Undecided" vote in the lowest classification is often several times as great as that in the college category. "Undecided" votes have been excluded from the data shown on the graph—all comparisons are based only on persons with opinions.

The distribution shown on the first section of the graph—opinions on United States membership in a world union—is reasonably characteristic. The same question has been asked on several previous surveys with a similar spread between the various educational groups apparent.²

On the question of a military police force—among those with opinion—78 per cent of persons with a college background, 70 per cent of those with some high school education, and only 62 per cent of those with less education favor the idea.

By even larger majorities all three educational groups agree (with no significant differences) that after the war the United States must keep a larger army, navy, and air force than before. Charts 4 and 5 on the opposite page show opinions on other phases of the armament problem.

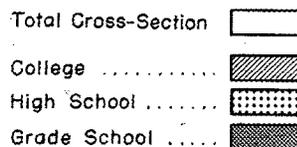
The relationship of trade problems to war is recognized by 89 per cent of the college group, 78 per cent of the high school group, and 72 per cent of those with less education. These proportions answer "Yes" to the question: **"Do you think problems of trade between countries have anything to do with starting wars?"** On a companion question regarding the general principle of trade regulation by a world organization 78 per cent of the college group, 68 per cent of the high school group, and 66 per cent of those who have never attended high school approve the idea. (These figures include only persons with opinions.) The graph opposite shows the sharp division of opinion regarding the commitment of the United States in so far as trade policies are concerned—(6). On these particular questions regarding trade it should be noted that no educational group expresses "international leanings" by less than a majority, although there is evidenced a significant difference in degree of approval.

As to whether or not a world union would have a good chance of preventing wars, the educational groups give a rather unusual distribution, with the lowest group evincing both the greatest degree of optimism and the greatest degree of pessimism. Both the high school and college groups tend to divide between the "Good" and "Fair" categories, with only a few choosing the "No chance at all" alternative.

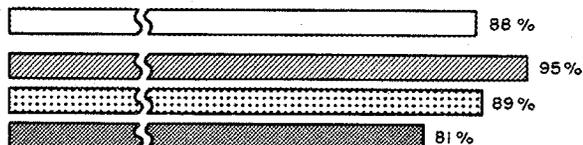
¹Persons interviewed in connection with NORC surveys are divided by education into three groups. The "college" category includes those who have attended college for more than one year. The "high school" group takes in those who have had one to four years of high school work. The third group includes all others—persons who have graduated from elementary school, persons who have attended, and some with no formal education at all.

²The exact wording of the questions can be found earlier in the report.

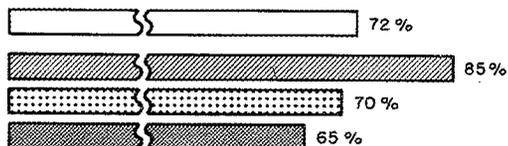
EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES



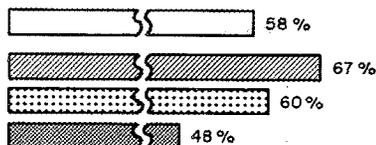
1. It would be a good idea for the United States to join a union of nations after the war.



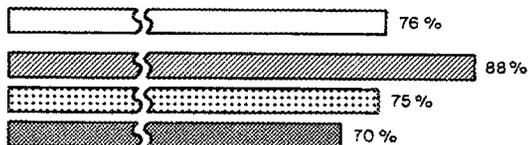
2. It would be better for nations to try to settle disagreements through an international organization than independently.



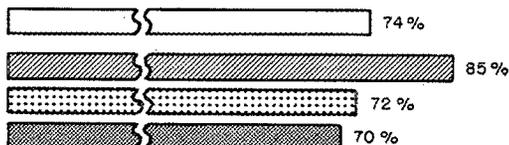
3. Italy, Germany, and Japan should be members of a world union if one is formed.



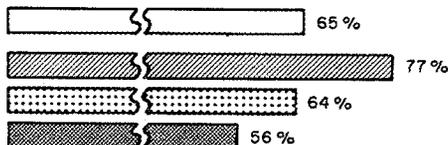
4. After the war armaments should be limited for all countries.



5. If the United States joins a union of nations, it will be all right for the union to limit U.S. armaments as well as those of other countries.



6. If a union of nations had the power to regulate the trade of all the member nations, the United States should still join.



NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

This is the exact distribution:

	College	High School	Less
Good	49%	49%	57%
Fair	44	42	30
No chance	7	9	13
	100%	100%	100%
Undecided	2%	4%	12%

Interestingly enough, on the questions regarding a Congressional vote on United States membership in a world union, those with the **most** education were least enthusiastic about the idea and they were also least convinced that Congress would vote in favor of even a very general type of commitment.

Voting and International Attitudes

The accompanying graphs point out the most interesting differences of opinion toward a world organization among:

- Persons who voted for Roosevelt in 1940—Democrats
- Those who voted for Willkie—Republicans
- Those who did not vote in 1940

Fewer non-voters than members of either political party favor world cooperation. Also a larger number of non-voters are without definite opinions on international questions. For the sake of clarity the data used in the chart opposite are based only on persons with opinions.

Democrats tend to express a greater degree of approval than do Republicans regarding various aspects of world organization.

For example, more Democrats than Republicans believe that it would be better for nations to try to settle disagreements through an international organization than independently—(1). And more Republicans subscribe to this idea than do non-voters.

The two issues on which differences of opinion between voters and non-voters are most pronounced concern armament and a military police force. How opinion on armament limitation divides is shown on the opposite page—(3). On the question of a military police force 62 per cent of non-voters with opinions and 73 per cent of **both** the Willkie and Roosevelt voters consider concrete law-enforcement essential for successful world organization.

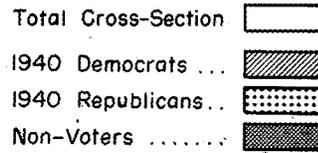
More Republicans than Democrats, however, appear to favor disarmament after the war—(3). The chief differences between supporters of the two political parties concern the functions of a world union in the prevention of war. This division is shown most clearly in the first question (1) presented on the chart. The related question follows:

"In general, what chance do you think a union of nations will have to prevent wars—good, fair, or no chance at all?"

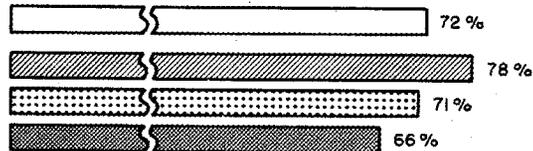
	Democratic Voters	Republican Voters	Non-Voters
Good	56%	42%	52%
Fair	37	44	36
No chance.....	7	14	12
	100%	100%	100%

On several issues the opinion of the Democratic voters is noticeably similar to that of non-voters. One example is shown above. Another is the issue of whether Congress should or should not vote on the United States' joining some kind of world organization. Seventy-three per cent of non-voters and 72 per cent of Democratic voters—in contrast to 64 per cent of Republicans—favor formal expression of Congressional opinion on this issue.

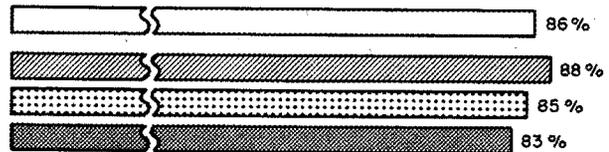
VOTING AND INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES



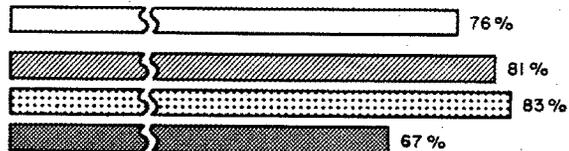
1. It would be better for nations to try to settle disagreements through an international organization than independently.



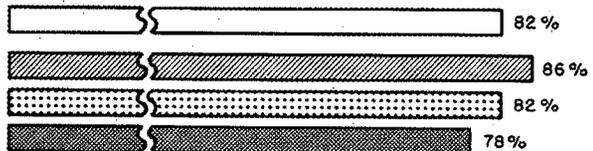
2. A union of nations should have power to make laws about problems which may come up between member countries.



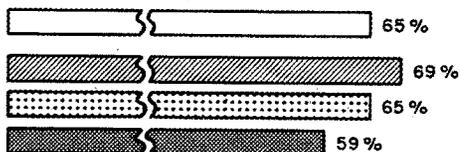
3. After the war armaments should be limited for all countries.



4. Countries should get together in a union of nations to decide the size of their armies, navies, and air forces.



5. If a union of nations had the power to regulate the trade of all the member nations, the United States should still join.



NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

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 are 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 a research center to discover, test, and perfect new methods, techniques, and devices for ascertaining the status of public opinion.

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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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How Is a Public Opinion Survey Made?

The subjects for the Center's surveys are arrived at in consultation with its Board of Trustees and other experts. Members of the Center's staff collaborate in drawing up a questionnaire. The individual questions are carefully "pre-tested," that is, tried out on various types of respondents in order to eliminate, insofar as possible, the chance of more than one interpretation and to produce wordings universally understandable and capable of measuring all shades of opinion relative to a specific attitudinal area. "Specifications," or sets of directions for interviewers, are also compiled to insure uniform interviewing procedure. Each member of the Center's personally-trained interviewing staff is sent a set of questionnaires and assigned a quota of interviews he is to secure, together with their distribution by sex, age, economic level, etc.

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The results of the Center's surveys are published in news releases and reports which are utilized by educators, scientists, government officials, publishers and broadcasters, business men, and others especially interested in keeping up-to-date on public opinion trends.

Comparisons of NORC's results with those of other opinion-finding organizations are frequently published in *OPINION NEWS*—the Center's fortnightly digest of outstanding polls and surveys.

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 21 years of age and over. 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 civilian 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 various size groups, while in the rural areas the interviews were properly apportioned among farmers and non-farmers.

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 in a national survey necessary to be within 3 per cent correct on questions that divide evenly is 2,500. This number is sufficient 997 times in 1,000. The Harvard table adds that HALF this sample, or 1,250 interviews, would be within 3 per cent correct 962 times in 1,000. The survey reported here is based on exactly 2,448 interviews.

Age and Sex Before the war, the adult population for the entire country could be said to be split approximately equally between persons 40 years of age and over and those between 21 and 39 years. Since Pearl Harbor the ever-growing military personnel have been instructed not to voice opinions, 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 47.1 per cent men and 52.9 per cent women. On the age distribution, 53.4 per cent are 40 and over, with the remainder between 21 and 39.

Race Within each Census Division were obtained a number of Negro respondents proportional to the Negro 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. For purposes of tabulation the two upper groups are combined in this report. The economic characteristics of persons in each one of these three groups can be defined roughly as follows:

Upper (25 per cent of the sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Four per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining 21 per cent is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully which ones to buy.

Middle (48 per cent of the sample)—The 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 (27 per cent of the sample)—This group has difficulty in maintaining an adequate standard of living. Included are the lowest income non-relief families and also those receiving government aid.

¹Data in this section refer specifically to the NORC survey of September, 1943, which included the large majority of the questions on which the report is based. The other NORC surveys referred to are based on very similar cross-sections. It is understood that the Gallup and *Fortune* surveys cited are based on cross-sections of at least 2,500 cases.

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