

Can the U. N. O. Prevent Wars?



NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

Report No. 29



25 cents

S U M M A R Y

I Can the U.N.O. Prevent Wars

... in general?

Page 1

83% of the public think the UNO has at least a fair chance of preventing all future wars.

... between big nations?

Page 1

79% think the UNO has at least a fair chance of preventing wars between big nations.

... between small nations?

Page 1

82% think the UNO has at least a fair chance of preventing wars between small nations.

II The Security Council and the Veto

Page 7

56% believe the agreement of a two-thirds majority should be sufficient to invoke the world police force against an aggressor nation.

III Controlling the Atom Bomb?

Page 10

53% of persons with opinions believe that the control of the atom bomb by a world organization would defend this country most effectively, and

64% of those with opinions think that the world organization could control the bomb most effectively if the UNO became a powerful world government.

IV The United States and the U.N.O.

Page 12

63% think that United States membership in the UNO should be implemented by further cooperation in other ways.

V Another War?

Page 15

64% of the public feel that the atomic bomb makes wars less likely, yet

67% expect the United States to fight in another war within 50 years.

Part I

C A N T H E U . N . O . P R E V E N T W A R S ?

Out of every ten people in the United States, about eight -- a large majority -- believe that the world organization* set up at San Francisco has at least a fair chance to prevent all wars -- both those between big nations and those between small nations. One person in ten thinks the UNO has no chance at all to prevent wars, and one has no opinion.

ALL WARS

In 1943 NORC asked a general question and in 1945 a more specific one about the chances a world organization would have of preventing wars. The proportion replying "Good chance" declined noticeably, but the proportion replying "No chance at all" remained the same. The questions:

	<u>1943</u>		<u>1945</u>
<i>"In general, what chance do you think a union of nations will have to prevent wars -- good, fair, or no chance at all?"</i>		<i>"In general, what chance do you think the world organization set up at San Francisco will have to prevent wars -- good, fair, or no chance at all?"</i>	
Good chance	48%		39%
Fair chance	36		44
	84%		83%
No chance at all	10		10
Don't know	6		7
	100%		100%

BETWEEN B I G N A T I O N S ? . . . B E T W E E N S M A L L N A T I O N S ?

As might be expected, public opinion is somewhat more optimistic about the chances of preventing wars between small countries than of preventing wars between big countries. NORC asked:

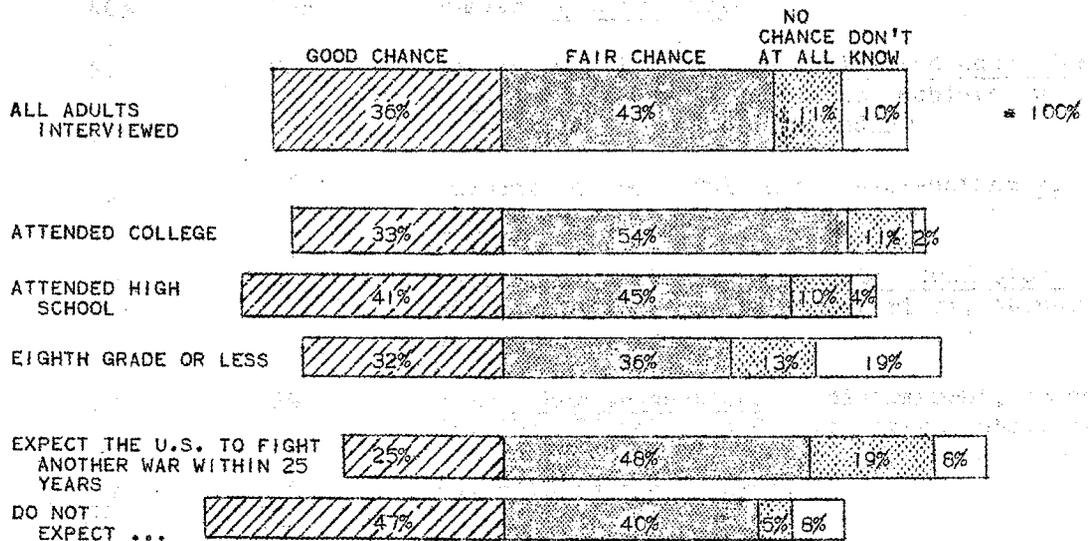
"In general, what chance do you think the world organization set up at San Francisco will have to prevent wars between BIG NATIONS (SMALL NATIONS) -- good, fair, or no chance at all?"

	<u>B E T W E E N B I G N A T I O N S</u>	<u>B E T W E E N S M A L L N A T I O N S</u>
Good chance	36%	57%
Fair chance	43	25
	79%	82%
No chance at all	11	8
Don't know	10	10
	100%	100%

* FOR BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON ATTITUDES TOWARD A WORLD ORGANIZATION, SEE NORC REPORTS: THE PUBLIC LOOKS AT WORLD ORGANIZATION (NO. 19) AND PUBLIC OPINION ON WORLD ORGANIZATION UP TO THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE (NO. 25).

The more education a person has, the more likely he is to answer "Good" for small nations and "Fair" for big nations. Persons with no more than an eighth grade education are more apt than others to reply "No chance" or "Don't know." Attitudes on the question are also closely related to opinion on the likelihood of United States' involvement in another war within the next quarter-century. The following differences in attitude concerning big nations are of special interest:

CAN THE UNO PREVENT WARS BETWEEN BIG NATIONS?



Most of the comments volunteered by those answering the question emphasize the expectation that the UNO will have a better chance of preventing wars between small nations than between big nations. Persons who reply "Good chance" to both parts of the question or "Fair chance" to both frequently add a comment such as: "There'll be a better chance of preventing wars between small nations."

Others answer "Good chance" regarding small nations and "Fair chance" regarding big nations. One such, a salesman in Minneapolis, comments: "For big nations -- fair. A fair chance is going a long way, because as long as there are people, there will always be the desire for wealth and power. For small nations -- good. Parents can always stop small children from fighting when they can't stop the big ones." Others say: "The police force would go right in and tell small nations 'The fighting's off,' -- big brother stuff!" or "The Big Five can use the police force to stop smaller nations."

CAN WAR-PREVENTION BE MADE EASIER?

A second NORC question shows that almost half the public can give no concrete suggestions as to how the UNO's task of preventing wars can be made easier:

*"What, if anything, do you think could be done that would give the world organization a better chance of preventing wars between BIG NATIONS (SMALL NATIONS)?"**

<u>REGARDING</u> <u>B I G</u> <u>NATIONS</u>	<u>REGARDING</u> <u>S M A L L</u> <u>NATIONS</u>	
46%	45%	answer " <u>I don't know.</u> "
20	20	suggest working through a <u>directed educational and religious program</u> to achieve world wide good will and understanding.
5	6	advocate a powerful and quick-acting <u>world police force.</u>
5	4	recommend <u>bettering economic conditions</u> -- stimulating trade, lowering tariffs, stopping imperialism, etc.
17	19	make <u>other suggestions</u> -- disarmament, changing the UNO voting and veto set-up, etc., etc.
<u>7</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%	say <u>nothing can be done.</u>

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Although many persons recommend the same measures to give the world organization a better chance of preventing wars both between big nations and between small nations, a number make definite distinctions in discussing the two problems. Regarding BIG NATIONS, a tailor in Alhambra, California, for example, answers: "The success of the world organization depends on what interest the American people take in it. If they get behind it wholeheartedly, it will work out fine and be able to stop wars." An Indiana businessman replies: "Nothing can be done. The United States and Russia will do the real deciding." A social worker in Little Rock, Arkansas, makes this recommendation: "Stop newspaper criticism of Russia -- don't misrepresent things." Others suggest: "Forget power politics." "Prevent secret treaties and alliances." "Forbid large armies and navies." "Have plenty of authority vested in the Security Council."

* THIS QUESTION WAS ASKED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE MORE GENERAL ONE JUST REPORTED - OF A DIFFERENT BUT COMPARABLE CROSS-SECTION.

Regarding SMALL NATIONS, various shadings of attitude are expressed: "The bigger nations should police the smaller nations." "Give the smaller nations democratic governments, but watch them carefully." "Let the small nations have a voice in their own affairs." "Keep dictators out; let the people decide their own government and vote like we do."

People who advocate working for peace along educational and religious lines make a variety of suggestions, some general, some specific. A mechanical engineer in New Britain, Connecticut, for instance, believes: "We need improved education, understanding, and sympathy with our Allies' points of view." The potentialities of education are emphasized in answers such as these:

"We should have interchanging of students between all nations. Education is our best weapon." (Mining contractor, Arkansas)

"If we were allowed to learn more about other big nations and they were allowed to learn about us, it would help." (Farmer's wife, near Oklahoma City)

"Nothing that I know of except a generation of educating people against war." (Farmer's wife, near Clarksdale, Mississippi)

"Educate people and try to give them better living conditions so their minds can't be swayed." (Gas station attendant, Philadelphia)

"Educate people to the fact that they have to live together, whether they're one of the Big Five or a smaller nation." (Elementary school principal, Illinois)

"Teach the people how to get along with each other." (Farmer, near Madisonville, Kentucky)

"Spend more money on education." (Minister's wife, Baltimore)

"Improve human beings. Education may help." (Furniture buyer, Brooklyn)

Some aspect of religion as a power for peace is stressed in answers like the following:

"Educate people for peace and Christianity." (Housewife, Worcester, Massachusetts)

"I think education along religious lines is the only hope." (Navy yard worker, Tacoma, Washington)

"Don't spend so much money on big armies, etc. Use that money for spreading the gospel." (Farmer, near Brentwood, Tennessee)

"Cut out a lot of politics and have more Christianity."
(Shoe repairman, Oregon)

"Promote brotherly love and kindred feelings between countries instead of hate and prejudice." (Civil service employee, Alhambra, California)

"The only way is teaching more love in our hearts toward our fellow men." (Salesman's wife, Cleveland)

A number suggest the need for a wider application of democratic principles. A fireman in Cumberland Center, Maine, for example, says: "All countries should have a democratic government." In West Orange, New Jersey, a railroad agent answers: "Strive for true democratic governments so that no dictator can arise to cause trouble." Others reply: "Work for better understanding between countries -- less propaganda." "Send honest politicians to Washington." "Live peacefully and eliminate discrimination within our own country." "Stop jealousy between countries."

One example of an answer recommending a powerful and quick-acting world police force is that of an electrical engineer in West Orange, New Jersey: "There should be an international police force and no other armaments." A merchant marine engineer in Brooklyn suggests: "In case of violence or even a small scale attack, there should be immediate action by an emergency police force under one supreme commander -- before a two-thirds vote is taken." Others say: "Hit at once if any country gets out of line." "They should use the police force against any attacking country." "Big nations must be forced to remain in the organization and to accept the decisions arrived at. No withdrawal allowed."

Some respondents answer rather generally: "Establish better economic conditions," or "Stabilize world economics." Others suggest more specifically: "Take the profit out of war." "For the big nations -- have an international council for controlling the export of war materials." "Give all countries equal access to raw materials." "Lower tariffs." "Establish free trade." "We need economic collaboration with the big powers to raise the standard of living all over the world, including colonies."

A number of those interviewed advocate various degrees of disarmament: "Have a disarmament program and put all the cards on the table instead of under the table." "Hold the size of armed forces of all large countries to a certain level." "Do away with all armies and navies." "Put the manufacture of munitions in government hands." "The United States and England should stop selling materials to fight with to Germany and other countries."

The provisions of the United Nations Charter, particularly those regarding the Security Council are the subject of other suggestions: "A majority vote of the Council should evoke armed force against a big nation aggressor." "Change the veto power of the Big Five and let the small nations have more voting power." "Work to improve the provision of the United Nations Charter; give small nations more representation on the Security Council." However, some persons feel, as does the wife of a Negro farmer near Laurinburg, North Carolina: "The Charter is as near perfect as we can make it for preventing wars between large or small nations."

People who think that nothing can be done make comments such as that of a Negro farm woman near Clarksdale, Mississippi: "Only let them tend to their own business and we tend to our own," or that of a Detroit housewife: "There will always be wars -- the Bible says so."

Part II

T H E S E C U R I T Y C O U N C I L A N D T H E V E T O

More than half the public believe that the agreement of two-thirds of the member countries in the Security Council ought to be sufficient to invoke the world police force against an aggressor nation. Only 12 per cent like the present arrangement whereby the approving majority of the Council must include every one of the Big Five. However, two-thirds of the public were not, at the time of the survey, familiar with the voting set-up provided in the UNO Charter agreed on at San Francisco.

THE FORMULA

NORC asked these two questions: *

"As you may know, the Security Council of the world organization is set up to keep peace, and it has a police force for this purpose. The Council has 11 members. Suppose one country attacks another country after this war. How many members do you think SHOULD have to agree before the Council can use the police force against the attacking country?"

1. "All 11 members should have to agree to use the police force. If ANY ONE country votes against using the police force, it can't be used.
2. "The Big Five -- that is, Russia, England, France, China, and the United States -- and any two other members should have to agree to use the police force. If ONLY ONE of the Big Five votes against using force, it can't be used.
3. "A two-thirds majority of the Council should have to agree to use the police force. Even if one of the Big Five countries votes against using force, it can still be used."

- AND -

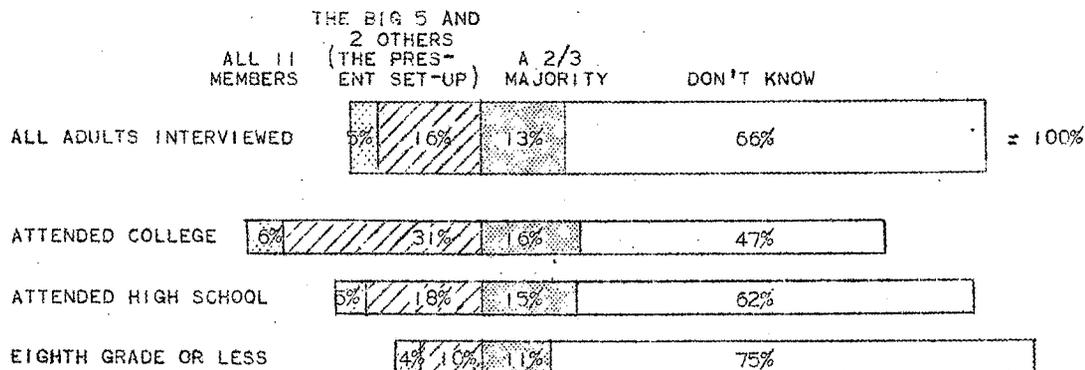
"As far as you know, which one of these three ways is the Security Council set up now?"

FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO USE THE WORLD POLICE FORCE REQUIRES THE VOTES OF ...	1. ALL 11 MEMBERS	2. THE BIG 5 AND 2 OTHERS (THE PRESENT SET-UP)	3. A 2/3 MAJORITY	DON'T KNOW	
The way it is <u>n o w</u>	5%	16%	13%	66%	=100%
The way it <u>s h o u l d</u> be	10	12	56	22	

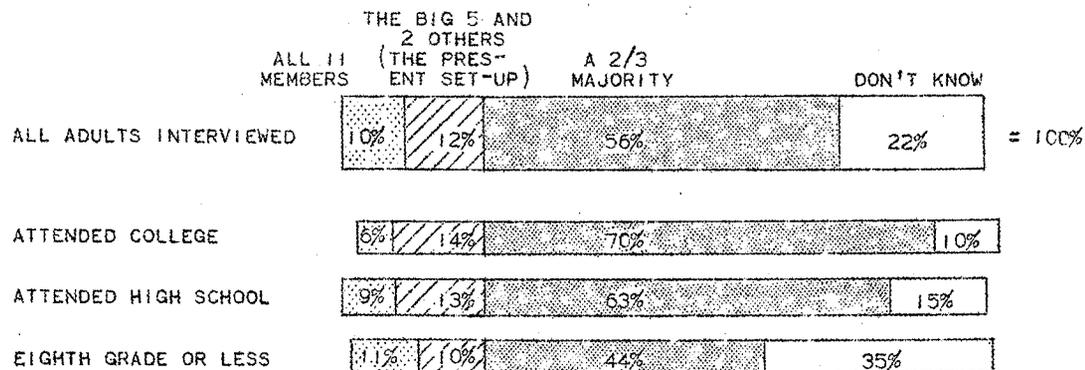
* TO INSURE CLEARER UNDERSTANDING, THE FIRST QUESTION WITH THE THREE POSSIBLE ANSWERS WAS REPRODUCED ON A CARD WHICH WAS HANDED TO EACH PERSON INTERVIEWED.

The more education a person has, the more likely he is (1) to give a definite answer, and (2) to think that a two-thirds majority vote ought to be sufficient to invoke the use of force against an aggressor nation. As to the actual provisions of the San Francisco Charter, even among persons who have attended college -- consistently the best informed group within the population -- 47 per cent answer "I don't know," and only 31 per cent recognize the correct formula. These are the comparisons among educational groups:

FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO USE
THE WORLD POLICE FORCE NOW
REQUIRES THE VOTES OF ...



FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO USE
THE WORLD POLICE FORCE
S H O U L D REQUIRE THE
VOTES OF



APPLICATIONS

Another set of two questions, presenting the Security Council voting formula in a specific application, again indicates (1) that a majority oppose in theory the present formula which gives any one of the Big Five (France and Russia are the examples used) the right to veto the use of force against herself, and (2) that only a small minority know what the present formula is. Almost identical results were obtained when the question was asked regarding Russia and when a different but comparable cross-section was asked the same question about France:

"After the war, suppose the Security Council has to decide if it should use its police force against one of the Big Five -- in case Russia (France), for example, threatens some country. Do you think Russia (France) should have the right to prevent the Council from using force against her, or don't you think she should have this right?"

"As the Security Council is set up now, do you think Russia (France) DOES have the right to prevent the Council from using force against her, or DOESN'T Russia (France) have this right?"

	RUSSIA		FRANCE	
	DOES	SHOULD	DOES	SHOULD
Have the right (Present set-up)	18%	8%	14%	8%
<u>Not</u> have the right	27	75	29	74
Don't know	55	17	57	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Although majorities of all population groups studied concur with the general consensus, the more education a person has, the more likely he is to believe that no single big power should have the right to prevent the use of force against herself. "Russia should not have the right" is the answer given by 86 per cent of persons with a college background; 91 per cent of the same group say "Should not" regarding France. (Comparable figures for persons with no more than an eighth grade education are 67% and 62%.)

Among even the best-educated, however, little more than a third know that, under the San Francisco Charter, Russia does have the right to veto the use of the international police force, and only a fourth know that France has the same right.

The comment volunteered most frequently by those who believe that France or Russia should not have the right to veto the use of the world police force is: "No country should have the right." Numerous other comments are more specific. A steel plant foreman in Lorain, Ohio, for example, says: "Any of the Big Five should be spanked same as any of the rest!" The wife of a Chicago truck driver comments: "I don't think a bigger country should have more rights than a small one." According to the wife of an auto parts salesman in Minneapolis, "What's the use of the Security Council if one of the big nations can determine whether force can be used against her?" Another housewife in the same city says: "That's going against the theory of the world organization. What's the use of having the mechanism if someone can turn the lever off and not use the machine?" Others add: "If you couldn't use the force against a big nation, there would be war all the time." "We have to take the same action against all countries regardless of size." "That would make the Council null and void." "I think such a set-up is all wrong!"

Part III

C O N T R O L L I N G T H E A T O M B O M B *

The public in the United States is almost evenly divided on the best means of controlling the atom bombs, with a majority of those with opinions believing that the United States should depend on the world organization. On the premise that the world organization will control the bomb in some way, a majority favor transforming the UNO into a real world government with the power to enforce control of the use of atomic energy. It is significant that Republicans and Democrats are in comparatively close agreement on these issues.

HOW DEFEND THE UNITED STATES?

When only those with definite opinions one way or the other are considered, majorities of the public as a whole and of many population groups are seen to prefer reliance on a world organization. The first NORC question read:

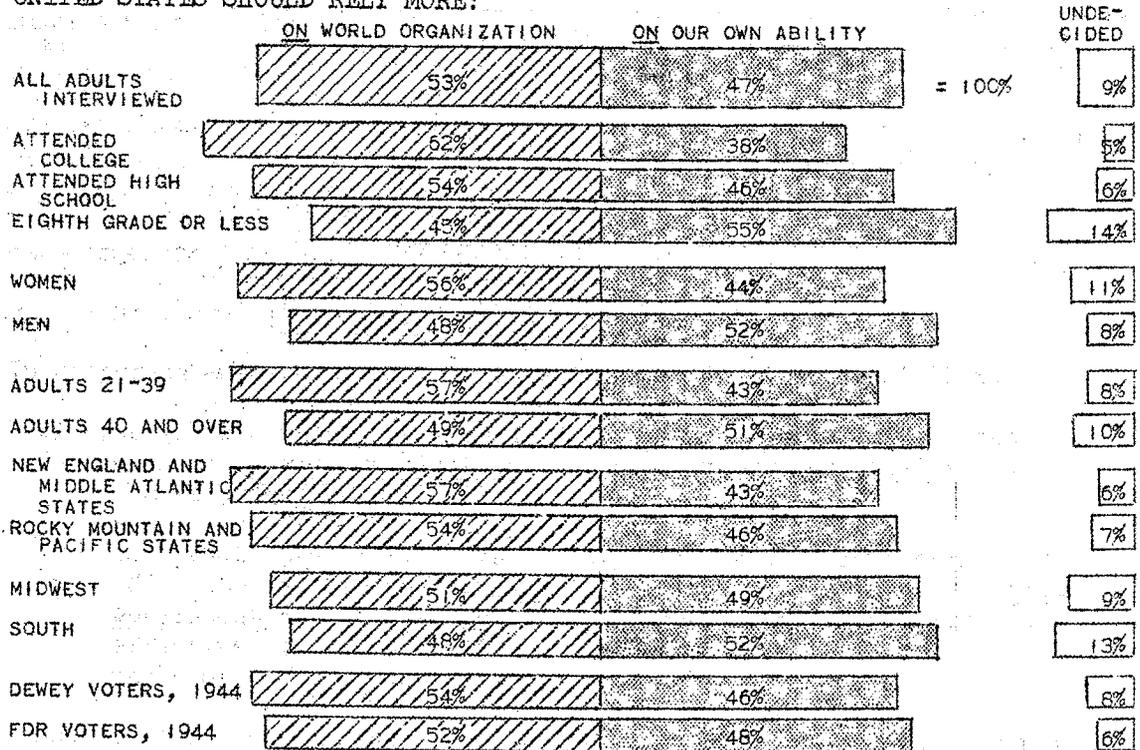
"In order to defend itself, do you think our country should rely more:

on our own ability to make better atomic bombs than any other country

-- OR --

on the ability of the world organization to prevent any country, including our own, from ever using such bombs in another war?"

FOR ATOM BOMB DEFENSE THE UNITED STATES SHOULD RELY MORE:



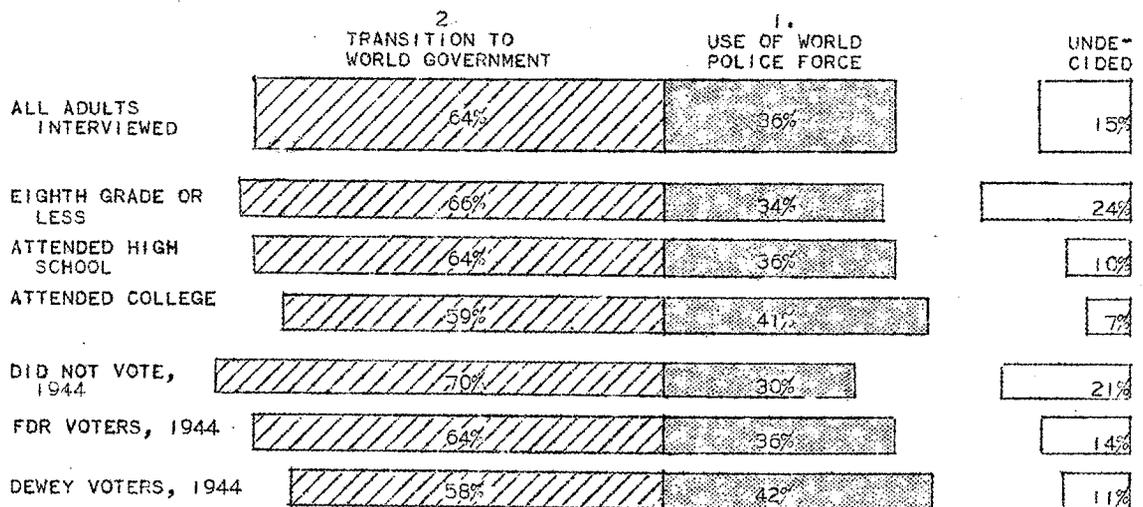
* NOW IN PREPARATION IS AN NORC REPORT DEVOTED TO A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING MANY ASPECTS OF THE ATOMIC BOMB AND ATOMIC ENERGY.

TOWARD WORLD GOVERNMENT?

A majority of every population group studied say they believe that the UNO could best control the atomic bomb if the organization became a kind of world government with the power to pass and enforce laws. NORC asked:

"If the world organization does try to prevent any country from ever using atomic bombs in another war, which one of these two ways do you think would have the best chance of working?

1. "For the world police force to have such bombs to use against any nation that attacks another, but otherwise to let the countries in the United Nations develop the bombs for themselves if they could.
2. "For the United Nations to become a kind of world government which could pass a law that no country, not even our own, may make atomic bombs, and which could also set up a world-wide FBI or detective system to make every country obey this law."



In comparing answers to the two questions, it is significant that:

Of people who think we should depend on the world organization for atom bomb defense ...

72% say that transforming the UNO into a powerful world government would be most effective in controlling the bomb.

28% believe using the world police force would be most effective.

Of people who think we should depend on our own ability ...

54% say that transforming the UNO into a kind of world government would make control most effective.

46% think using the world police force would be best.

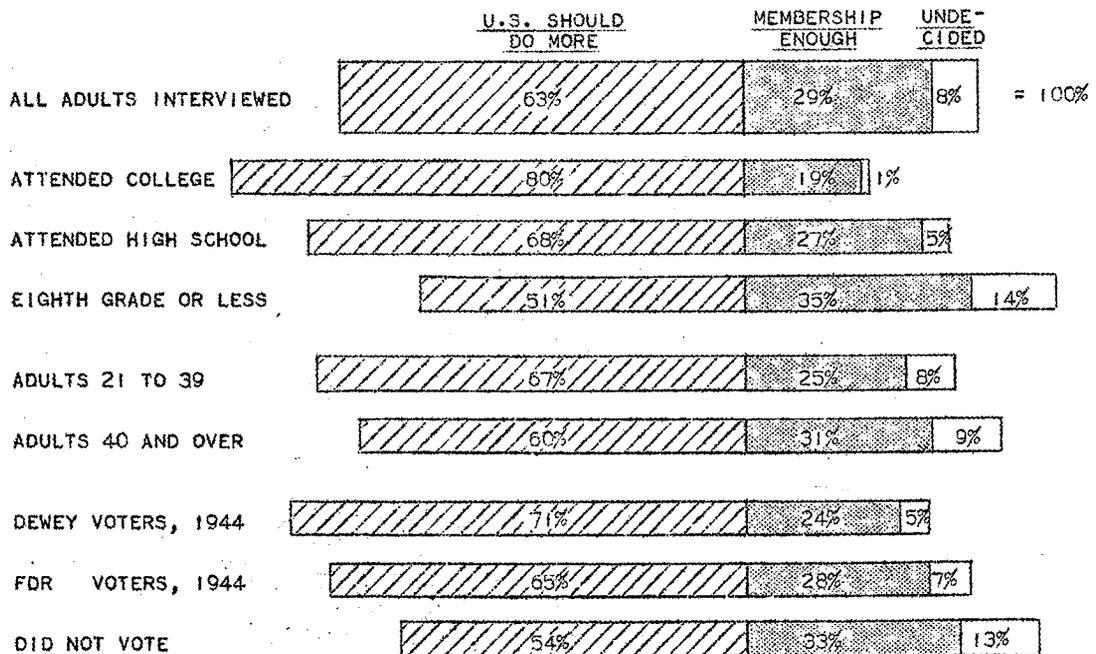
Part IV

T H E U N I T E D S T A T E S A N D T H E U . N . O .

A majority of the people in this country are aware that the United States' responsibility for world peace and cooperation has implications broader than UNO membership alone. In some population groups, however, more than a third seem to believe that UNO membership alone fulfills this country's international obligations. Education has the strongest influence on attitude, with age and political preference also important. It is interesting that more Republicans than Democrats express the desire for the widest possible international cooperation.

Before the Senate voted United States membership in the United Nations Organization, NORC asked:

"If the United States Senate does agree to join the world organization, do you think we should try to do anything more to get countries to cooperate, or do you think that is enough to do?"



Do More Many of those who believe that the United States should do more than merely go through the mechanics of joining the UNO suggest ways in which this country might help make the organization a success. A number emphasize their answers by adding "Everything possible" or "Anything we can." The wife of a New York City publisher exclaims: "There's no such thing as 'doing enough' to keep peace! We must do everything we can." An aircraft engine tester in Hartford, Connecticut, remarks: "The more we do the better off we are."

Closely related are comments stressing the importance of the leadership and example of the United States. An advertising man in Butte, Montana, for example, believes: "We should definitely take the lead, and as long as we go into something we should do everything we can to make it a success." According to a Baltimore lawyer, "The United States will be the most influential factor, and we should do all in our power to make the organization a permanent success." Others comment: "We can influence smaller countries. They would respect us more than England and Russia." "We could show by our example that it is better to live in peace."

Another associated idea frequently expressed is that the United States can be influential in getting other countries to cooperate in the world organization. A radio dispatcher in Hartford, Connecticut, for instance, says: "A big country like this has a great chance to make the others cooperate." In Duquesne, Pennsylvania, the foreman in a steel rolling mill suggests: "We should try to bring other countries into the organization." And a lawyer in Hot Springs, Virginia, thinks: "We should use as much influence as we have with both large and small countries."

Some of those interviewed suggest that joining the UNO is "just merely the start" or "We should never stop trying." More specifically:

"We should always do more to preserve peace -- never quit. The present plan is only a formula, and if we can improve it, so much the better." (Truck driver, Portland, Oregon)

"We must continue to work on it, and change the Charter to suit the needs of changing times." (Army wife, Clayton, Georgia)

"We must continually work at it. Just forming a great big organization doesn't mean anything." (Salvation Army officer, Montana)

"The San Francisco Conference alone won't prevent war, and we must help take other steps." (Railroad mail worker, Waterloo, Indiana)

"We must keep on working until all the countries in the world are in it -- otherwise it's just domination. (The small countries won't approve of war, where the big ones will.)" (Wife of laundry owner, Minnesota)

A number of people suggest definite constructive steps, most frequently along educational and economic lines, that the United States can take to help make the UNO a success. A smelter foreman in Washington state,

for example, says: "We should do more along lines of education than by force of arms." A steel foreman in Lorain, Ohio, thinks: "We should keep on trying to improve and educate other countries to a better way of life." Others remark: "We should take the hatred out of the German people." "Work for a universal language and free tariffs." "Try to talk peace and give crowded countries enough land to take care of their people." "We're going to have to help feed and clothe people. We must have peace and comfort among the citizens or we'll have war again." "We're going to have to cooperate more than ever and be willing to give as well as take."

A printer in Des Moines, Iowa, suggests: "We're going to have to keep on selling the idea of a world organization -- both abroad and here at home." A church custodian in Minneapolis says: "The United States must try to get close to these other countries and try to understand their problems better -- their mode of living, their religious beliefs; and try to bring up their standard of living so they will understand fully what real democracy means."

Only a few make belligerent suggestions such as these:

"The United States will have to watch and be after the foreign countries all the time." (Wife of truck driver, Chicago)

"Put the fear of God in other countries by our power and wealth." (Hat blocker, Reading, Pennsylvania)

"We should make ourselves secure with a big army, so they'll look out for us." (Housewife, Minneapolis)

"Show other countries that we mean business -- this time for keeps." (Salesgirl, Baltimore)

"Scare them and threaten them. Germany sees what we can do." (Ingot caster, steel rolling mill, Duquesne, Pennsylvania)

That's Enough The minority who believe that United States membership in the world organization is enough to guarantee full cooperation on the part of other countries make a number of comments emphasizing or explaining their attitude. Most frequent are remarks such as: "What more do they expect us to do?" or "I don't see what more we could do at this time." The wife of a Nashville engineer adds: "Plenty -- I sure do think so!" The wife of a railroad record clerk in Chicago thinks: "When the organization starts to function, there will be cooperation enough." A St. Louis housewife says: "We've given enough. I don't believe in getting other countries to cooperate by lending them money or feeding them." Others comment: "The main countries are members now." "We always do more than our share." "Leave the other countries alone." "We've done too much for other countries already. Let's tend to our own business."

Part V

A N O T H E R W A R ?

That public thinking on the issue of peace or war may be confused and inconsistent to a considerable degree is suggested by the fact that ...

ALTHOUGH 64% of Americans believe that the atomic bomb makes wars less likely,

67% expect the United States to fight in another war within the next 50 years.

THE ATOMIC BOMB AND FUTURE WARS *

Almost two-thirds of the people in this country say they believe that the atomic bomb decreases the chance of future wars. The differences of opinion recorded for persons in the several standard-of-living groupings are paralleled by differences for occupational and education groups. NORC asked:

"Do you think that the atomic bomb makes wars more likely or less likely?"

	LESS LIKELY	MORE LIKELY	NO DIFFERENCE	DON'T KNOW
All adults interviewed	64%	12%	13%	11% = 100%
Wealthy and prosperous	69	11	15	5
Middle class	66	12	13	9
Poor	57	13	12	18

Those expressing a definite opinion one way or the other were asked:

"Why do you think so?"

L E S S L I K E L Y	47%	believe that the <u>general fear</u> evoked by the use of the atomic bomb will make nations slower to start new wars.
	16	think that the <u>quasi-monopoly</u> of atomic bomb power exercised by the United States may prevent wars.
	<u>1</u> 64%	give other answers, or say "I don't know."
M O R E L I K E L Y	4%	mention the tremendous <u>power of aggression</u> provided by the bomb.
	3	think the " <u>secret</u> " cannot be kept.
	3	suggest that the Axis countries or other nations may be able to <u>attack the United States</u> with atomic weapons.
	2 <u>12%</u>	believe that the atomic bomb has <u>aggravated distrust between nations</u> .

* NOW IN PREPARATION IS AN NORC REPORT DEVOTED TO A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING MANY ASPECTS OF THE ATOMIC BOMB AND ATOMIC ENERGY.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Less Likely Among those who think the atomic bomb will make wars less likely, the bulk of the answers (49% of the entire cross-section) emphasize the fear the bomb has evoked. Some reply in very general terms: "It's too dangerous," or "Everyone will be afraid of it." Other common reactions include:

"The bomb is so destructive, no one will take a chance on being bombed by it." (Millwright, West Orange, New Jersey)

"Every responsible person knows the use of the atomic bomb could end civilization." (Businessman, Scranton, Pennsylvania)

"The atomic bomb is such a deadly thing. People are afraid of it -- a country could so easily be wiped out." (Farmer's wife, near New Iberia, Louisiana)

Some express the same idea in other ways:

"Use the atomic bomb as a threat -- like the queen on a chess board. Everyone will be afraid to use the queen. (But I think the atomic bomb will stop all wars.)" (Government technician, Brooklyn)

"I think the people will have more to say about wars. They will make it their business because they now have an actual fear of being destroyed." (Baby shop owner, Salt Lake City)

"I don't think the atomic bomb will ever be used again as a weapon of war. The people of the world are too wise to allow it." (Florist, Yarmouth, Maine)

A number (16% of the entire cross-section) suggest that the possession of atomic bomb information gives the UNITED STATES a chance to enforce peace. The most common reaction is exemplified by the reply of a housewife in Upper Derby, Pennsylvania: "If we are able to keep the secret intact, other countries cannot produce it." Other examples of this attitude include: "No one has the secret except us, and we're not going to fight in another war." (Army wife, Butte, Montana) "Other powers don't have much chance to start a war if only one power has the atomic bomb." (Farmer's wife, near Charlotte, North Carolina) "We had the other countries afraid to start using gas during this war because we could outdo them. They will be afraid of our bombs." (Stenographer, Wichita)

The remaining 1 per cent answer in a variety of ways. One idea is that of the sales manager of a Jacksonville, Florida, lumber company: "The atomic bomb will make wars less profitable."

More Likely

One reason given as to why the atomic bomb might make wars more likely is typified by the reply of a New Jersey housewife: "Other countries will get the atomic bomb and try to win quickly with it. It will make wars more likely but shorter." A Waltham Massachusetts, grocer thinks: "We have the bomb to use, and we will not be afraid to fight anyone for any cause."

Of the opinion that the atomic bomb secret cannot be kept is a ship worker in Portland, Oregon, who says: "It will soon be in the hands of every government of the world." A railroad track foreman in Decatur, Georgia, answers: "It's a certain fact we can't keep the atomic bomb secret from other nations, and they will attack us like they did at Pearl Harbor."

The wife of a farmer near Derby, Kansas, was one of a number to reply in these terms: "If other nations get atomic bombs they can come near destroying us." A Milwaukee banker states flatly: "America discovered the bomb and America is not the best loved country in the world." Others say: "Countries will fight over the control of the atomic bomb." "Each national will struggle to perfect a more powerful bomb and try it out." "I think Japan and Germany will be nice to this country so they can get the secret of that bomb and then get a chance to come back at us with it."

ANOTHER WAR IN 25 YEARS? ... IN 50 YEARS?

Two thirds of the public expect the United States to fight in another war within the next 50 years. Even before the advent of the atomic bomb, four different NORC surveys showed a definite majority anticipating this country's involvement in another war within the next half century. The latest survey -- made after the use of the atomic bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima and after the surrender of Japan -- shows that 44 per cent of the public expect this country to fight in another war within the next 25 years.

In February '44 and September '44, NORC asked only one question -- regarding the likelihood of another war within 50 years. On more recent surveys, people were asked first whether or not they expected this country to fight again within 25 years, then whether or not they expected a war within 50 years. The results are combined in the trend shown below:

"Do you expect the United States to fight in another war within the next 25 years? ... within the next 50 years?"

	<u>FEB.</u> <u>1944</u>	<u>SEPT.</u> <u>1944</u>	<u>MARCH</u> <u>1945</u>	<u>JULY</u> <u>1945</u>	<u>SEPT.</u> <u>1945</u>
In 25 years	--	--	36%	42%	44%
In from 25 to 50 years	--	--	23	19	23
<u>TOTAL -- in 50 years</u>	59%	54%	59%	61%	67%
Expect no war in 50 years	25	25	20	23	18
Don't know	16	21	21	16	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Between the last two surveys the increased expectancy of war on the part of the public as a whole is actually heavily weighted by a sharp rise in pessimism on the part of persons with no more than an eighth grade education, the largest segment of the population. Actually people who have attended high school or college have been less pessimistic since the use of the atomic bomb against Japan.

On the most recent survey, opinions among persons with various educational backgrounds and among residents of the several large sections of the United States show significant differences:

ANOTHER WAR:	<u>IN 25</u> <u>YEARS</u>	<u>IN 50</u> <u>YEARS</u>	<u>EXPECT NO WAR</u> <u>IN 50 YEARS</u>	<u>DON'T</u> <u>KNOW</u>
All adults interviewed	44%	23%	18%	15% - 100%
Eighth grade or less	47	19	16	18
Attended high school	44	25	19	12
Attended college	41	25	22	12
Midwest	49	20	18	13
Rocky Mountain and Pacific states	46	26	17	11
South	44	24	19	13
New England and Middle Atlantic states	40	22	19	19

Persons anticipating another war in 25 or 50 years seldom comment as to their reasons. Those who do comment usually say either that there will always be wars or that losing the atomic bomb secret will endanger the United States. The minority who do not expect the United States to become involved in another war within the next half century make a number of interesting comments. A Montgomery, Alabama, housewife answers: "No, not if we use intelligence in our diplomatic relations." Others who say "No" add such comments as: "I believe in the world organization." "Everything is now controlled by the United States and Great Britain." "We are going to control Japan for a long while."

How Is a Public Opinion Survey Made?

The subjects for the Center's surveys are determined 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.

When the completed questionnaires are returned to the Center the answers are classified and given code numbers for transfer to a punched card. A separate card is punched for each questionnaire, with a punch for the answer to each question. The punched cards are then run through a special tabulating machine which can be set to count the answers, to separate the cards into categories, and in other ways materially to assist the statisticians.

The final percentaged results—the responses to the various questions—are reported not only for the total cross-section interviewed, but also for comparisons between various population sub-groups, such as men and women, young people and older people, groups of people with varying educational and economic backgrounds, farm and

city dwellers, and residents of various sections of the country. The differences of opinion shown in these breakdowns are often of even greater significance than the opinions of the entire cross-section.

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, businessmen, 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 population samples upon which NORC surveys are made are representative, within a small degree of error, of the national population 21 years of age and over. That is, the samples used are 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 are properly apportioned among the adult civilian population in the metropolitan districts, towns, and rural areas of that division. For the urban population the interviews are apportioned to metropolitan districts, and towns in various size groups, while in the rural areas the interviews are 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. NORC surveys used in this report are based on over 2,500 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 is 46 per cent men and 54 per cent women. On the age distribution, 53 per cent are 40 and over, with the remainder between 21 and 39.

Race Within each Census Division are obtained a number of Negro respondents proportional to the Negro population in that area. These interviews are properly apportioned among the urban, rural non-farm, and farm residents.

Economic Status Within each sex group the interviews among the white population are 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 (16 per cent of the sample)—Those persons who have all the necessities of life and some of the luxuries characteristic to their community. Two per cent of the sample is made up of what is understood as the prosperous and wealthy group. The remaining 14 per cent is made up of persons who can afford some luxuries, but must choose rather carefully which ones to buy.

Middle (52 per cent 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 (32 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.

* With the exception of a few questions based on half this number.

PUBLICATIONS

Publications of the National Opinion Research Center include:

REPORTS

9.	<u>The Reconversion Period from War to Peace.</u> June, 1943.	\$.15
19.	<u>The Public Looks at World Organization.</u> April, 1944.	.25
20.	<u>The Public Looks at Politics and Politicians.</u> March, 1944*	.10
22.	<u>Do Negroes Have Equal Economic Opportunities?</u> April, 1944*	.10
23.	<u>Compulsory Military Training in Peacetime?</u> December, 1944*	.15
24.	<u>Germany and the Post-War World.</u> January, 1945	.50
25.	<u>Public Opinion on World Organization up to the San Francisco Conference.</u> April, 1945*	.25
26.	<u>Public Opinion on Control of Prices ... Wages ... Salaries ... during War and Reconversion.</u> June, 1945*	.25
27.	<u>For the Record ... Public Opinion Misses on Russia but Scores on World Organization.</u> September, 1945	.10
28.	<u>What ... Where ... Why ... Do People Read?</u> January, 1946.	.50
29.	<u>Can the U.N.O. Prevent Wars?</u> February, 1946*	.25

* MIMEOGRAPHED

DISTORTED MAPS

A.	<u>(REVISED) POPULATION 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER -- 1940.</u> 8½ X 11 INCHES	.10
B.	<u>(REVISED) TOTAL UNITED STATES POPULATION -- 1940.</u> 8½ X 11 INCHES	.10
D.	<u>DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, STATES AND METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS.</u> IN TWO COLORS, 11 X 15 INCHES	.15
E.	<u>DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD POPULATION.</u> 11 X 15 INCHES	.25
	22 X 34 INCHES, BOND PAPER	1.00
G.	<u>SERIES.</u> -- BASE MAP -- OUTLINE MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING STATES AS THEY WOULD APPEAR IF THEIR AREA WERE PROPORTIONAL TO THE POPULAR VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1944.	
G-1	<u>ROOSEVELT AND DEWEY STATES -- 1944 ELECTION.</u>	
G-2	<u>VOTERS AND TREATY-MAKING POWER.</u>	
G-3	<u>HOW THE 531 ELECTORAL VOTES REPRESENTED AMERICAN VOTERS IN 1944.</u>	
G-4	<u>PERCENTAGE OF CITIZENS VOTING IN 1944 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.</u>	
G-5	<u>UNITED STATES SENATE: PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN THE 79TH CONGRESS BY STATES.</u>	
G-6	<u>U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN THE 79TH CONGRESS BY STATES.</u>	
G-7	<u>DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS -- 1945</u>	
G-8	<u>STATE-BY-STATE MAJORITIES -- 1944 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.</u>	
G-9	<u>HOW EACH STATE VOTED IN 4 ROOSEVELT ELECTIONS.</u>	

ALL MAPS 8½ X 11 INCHES. EACH10
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