

UNESCO

and

*Public Opinion
Today*

The National Opinion Research Center
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is an international organization to which 30 countries now belong. Its purpose is to contribute to peace and security by promoting a sense of unity among the peoples of the world through the media of educational, scientific, and cultural interchange. UNESCO believes that the maintenance of peace and security is dependent upon more than economic and political agreements between governments—that it is dependent also upon the mutual understanding among the peoples of the various nations of the world.

The basic assumption of UNESCO is "that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." Historically, ignorance of each other's ways and lives has contributed to suspicion and mistrust—the prelude to war. Ignorance and prejudice, contributing to the denial of the "democratic principles of the dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men," made possible the war which has just ended.

The realization by the peoples of the world of the *dignity, equality, and mutual respect of men*—the values basic to the UNESCO program—is a goal efforts toward the achievement of which are assumed as a responsibility of the member nations. To attain the ends of mutual understanding between peoples, universal respect for justice, rule of law, human rights, and fundamental freedoms for all peoples, UNESCO proposes:

- Full and equal opportunities for education for all people.
- Free exchange of ideas and knowledge.
- Unrestricted pursuit of objective truth.

* * * *

This report, based on a survey of public opinion in the United States conducted by the National Opinion Research Center between April 28 and May 10, 1947, provides those interested in the UNESCO program with a description of opinion, both over-all and among special groups, regarding various aspects of the work of UNESCO. The study was designed to:

1. Evaluate attitudes relating to the basic philosophy of UNESCO.
2. Provide an indication of public support of various specific projects which might be sponsored by UNESCO.
3. Analyze the relationship between opinions regarding UNESCO and participation in various groups and organizations that, through their interest in international problems, might serve in carrying out UNESCO programs.
4. Study the attitudes of youth in relation to the above subjects.

Summary

Fear prevails in the minds of men—fear of another war, fear that this nation may be attacked, fear of the atomic bomb. Most people believe the United States will be involved in another war within 25 years. Half of the people believe another war is inevitable—that there is nothing they can do personally to prevent it, nothing scientists can do, nothing the United States as a whole can do.

People's reactions to their fears take many forms. A small group would withdraw from international affairs into political and cultural isolationism, would hope thereby to escape the world and wars. Others turn to the "armed peace"—to piling up national armaments and to developing the atomic bomb to still greater effectiveness. These people would have the government of the United States follow a "firm" foreign policy. They wish to impress upon the rest of the world the military strength of this country so that no one dare attack it.

But most of those who feel that something can be done turn to international cooperation, education, and understanding. They put their faith in methods on which UNESCO bases its programs. Further findings, however, show that much of the support of UNESCO projects is passive rather than active.

Since the thirties, United States opinion has grown increasingly favorable to international cooperation in the cause of peace. Many people regard the United Nations as the hope of the future. People are willing to subscribe to the basic principle of UNESCO philosophy—mutual understanding through increased communication among peoples. They say they believe in the free exchange of ideas and information as a means of increasing understanding. They believe the United States should help the United Nations to carry out several specific projects to this end. This is in itself a hopeful prospect for proponents of UNESCO ideals—if international cooperation has become part of the basic thinking of the American people, much progress has been made since the days when isolationism was the accepted philosophy.

But mere verbal acceptance of a philosophy is not enough. Many people who say they believe in UNESCO ideals are unwilling to accept some rather obvious specific applications of those principles. On the national level people must do more than pay lip service to democracy to make it work; to make international cooperation a reality they must learn how to apply principles to concrete situations.

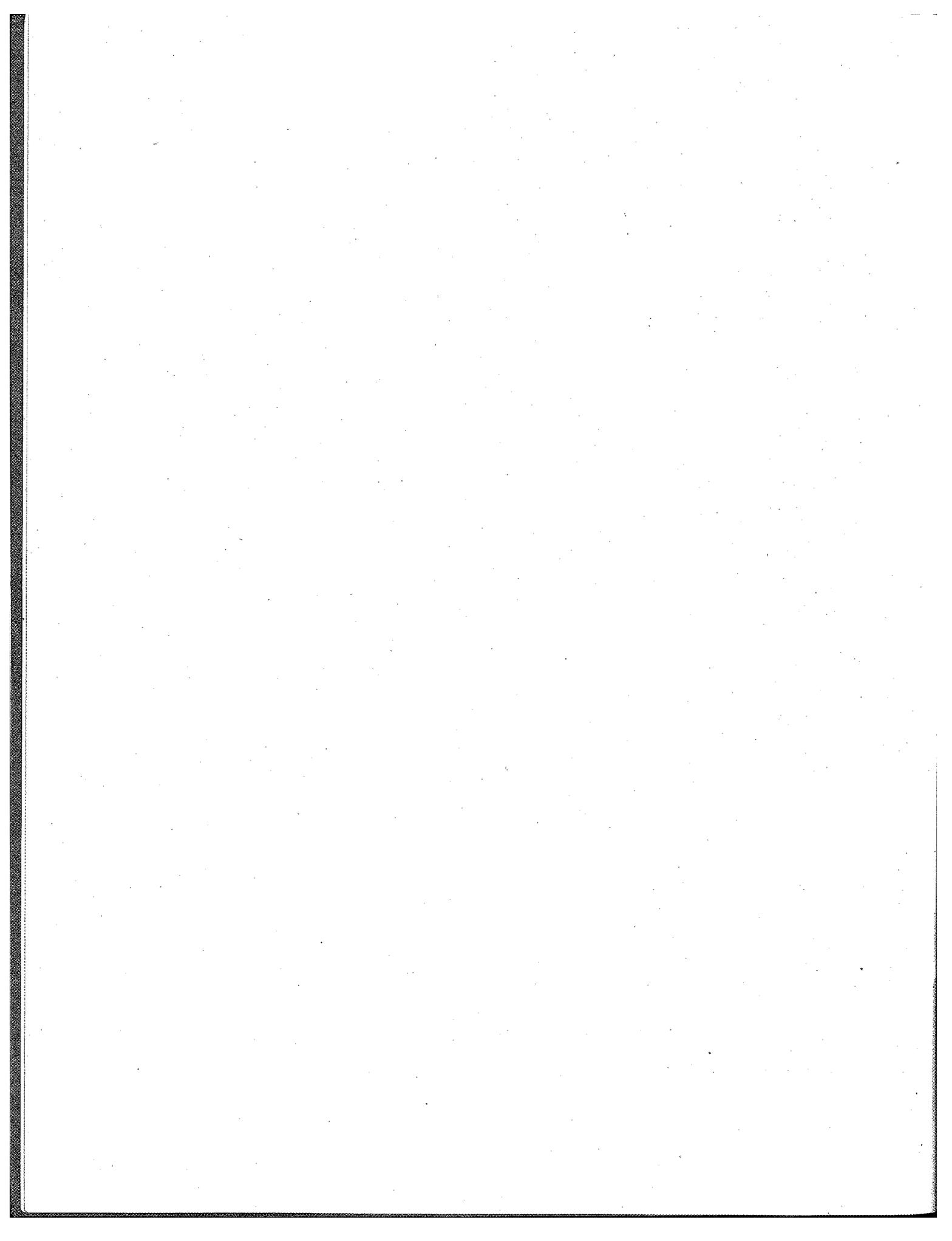
People are not yet ready to pay the price of peace—in fact they know nothing of the dynamics of peace. For example—three-fourths of the American public say they favor this country's participation in an international police force. Yet three-fourths of those who would favor such participation say that the armed forces of the United States should equal or surpass those of the international police force.

Confronted with serious inconsistencies in popular thinking, UNESCO faces an enormous task. Even in a country with a tradition of guaranteed human rights, people fail to recognize the fundamental value of those rights, or to apply them to specific problems. To extend such value into the international sphere, people must simultaneously learn to understand their own national problems and to realize that they themselves are also citizens of the world.

In the United States UNESCO has little positive opposition to face—fear, ignorance, prejudice, apathy are the enemies. Many educated, informed, interested people are already sold on UNESCO philosophy and the means to the desired ends. Among the uninformed, the less well educated, the apathetic, and the fearful—the principles upon which UNESCO rests are not whole-heartedly accepted, and the specific applications of the principles find even less support. The patterning of opinion through the various strata of society suggests the need for various distinct levels in UNESCO's educational programs:

The college-educated, professional, and managerial workers, and those in the upper income bracket do not need to have the *principles* of international understanding stressed. These groups are aware of the fundamentals necessary for the success of the UNESCO program. In approaching these groups, there is need for more specific implementation of the broad principles—*action* should be the main point of emphasis.

The less well educated, the poorer people, the manual workers and farmers need to be convinced that there is a way to peace. These are the people that UNESCO may forget about, or not know, because they are the hardest to reach. They do not belong to organized groups and they are relatively inarticulate. They are the kinds of people who did not know a war was imminent until Pearl Harbor, but who were mobilized in support of the war effort. They are the people who have not yet heard of UNESCO, but who must now be mobilized for true world cooperation. They must be reached before UNESCO can promote a real *people's* peace program.



World War III?

FEAR OF WAR

Fear of war is one of the most important psychological factors with which UNESCO must deal in its educational programs. A complacent people, with no recognition that international tensions do exist, might not be receptive to programs designed to lessen the danger of war. On the other hand, people mastered by fear may have so many doubts, suspicions, and prejudices that they are psychologically incapable of cooperating with other countries in any efforts toward peace.

Expectations

The fear of war still dominates the American people—6 out of every 10 expect this nation to fight in another war within 25 years. One-third say they are “fairly sure” the country will be in a war within that time. The questions:

“Do you expect the United States to fight in another war within the next 25 years?”

(If “Yes”) “How strongly do you feel that we’ll fight in another war within the next 25 years—are you fairly sure, or do you think that it is just likely?”

| | |
|----------------------------------|------|
| Yes, expect war in 25 years..... | 63% |
| Fairly sure | 32% |
| Just likely | 30 |
| Don't know how sure..... | 1 |
| No, do not expect war..... | 26 |
| Don't know | 11 |
| | 100% |

Even before the end of World War II a substantial portion of people in the United States expected another conflict within 25 years. Since March of 1945 the pessimism has steadily increased.

Fear of another war prevails among all types of people—young and old, men and women, rich and poor, alike feel we will be in another war before many years. (See Appendix, Table 1.)

International Orientation

Another indication of a growing awareness of the tense international situation is the frequency with which people specify *international* problems when asked to name the paramount problems facing the United States at the present time. Today's domestic problems are many and occupy the attention of many people, but international problems are in the forefront of consciousness of over half the American public.

Earlier surveys have found domestic problems paramount in popular attention.¹ Today, however, it is probable that people are much more aware of international problems than they were a year ago.

In answer to the questions:

“When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first? What other problems do you think of?”

| | |
|-----|--|
| 72% | in all mentioned international problems; |
| 56% | mentioned international problems first; |
| 17% | mentioned only international problems. |
| 79% | in all mentioned domestic problems; |
| 39% | mentioned domestic problems first; |
| 22% | mentioned only domestic problems. |

All but a few of the answers given in an “international frame of reference” dealt with problems of another war or how to keep the peace, rather than with international trade, labor, and the like. In the table below, domestic problems of reconversion and living costs lead the list of specific problems, but international problems are mentioned with almost the same frequency as are domestic ones.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 72% | named INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS; among these... |
| 33% | emphasized United States relations with Russia and the status of agreements between the two countries; |
| 23 | mentioned peace and war in rather general terms; |
| 10 | answered “international problems” without more specific explanation; |
| 9 | named the atomic bomb; |
| 7 | stressed stopping communism, with frequent references to the Truman Doctrine and aid to Greece and Turkey; |
| 5 | saw as the most serious problems making the peace treaties (the Moscow Conference was often mentioned), occupation policies, and relations with the Axis countries; |
| 5 | mentioned the rehabilitation of Europe, feeding foreign peoples, or foreign trade; |
| 3 | felt making the United Nations work constitutes a major problem; |
| 3 | named the Palestine problem; and |
| * | suggested other problems, including fascism, cartels, and monopolies. |
| 98% ² | |

*Less than 0.5%.

¹See particularly AIPO release, August 3, 1946.

²Since many persons named more than one problem, percentages total to more than 72.

79% named *DOMESTIC PROBLEMS*; among these...

- 35% answered in terms of *reconversion problems*: the high cost of living, price controls, and scarcities;
- 32 mentioned *strikes* and other labor difficulties;
- 10 answered "*depression*" or "*unemployment*";
- 9 cited problems of *national economic policy*: balancing the budget, the national debt, high taxes, and changes in running the government;
- 8 mentioned *housing*;
- 6 spoke of general *social problems*; such as education, health, social maladjustment;
- 6 merely answered "*domestic problems*";
- 5 named *racial problems*;
- 3 mentioned various *veterans' problems*; and
- 2 spoke of *national security*, conscription, armaments.

116%*

5% said "I don't know," or gave inspecific or ambiguous answers.

Women, the poor, and the less educated—traditionally those groups somewhat limited to immediate interests—stressed domestic problems. Nevertheless, the divergence was not great. All segments of the population mentioned both international and national problems. The awareness of international tensions cuts deeply from top to bottom of the social structure. (See Appendix, Table 2.)

THE PREVENTION OF WAR

Another aspect of the fear of war is the attitude toward its certainty—can anything be done to prevent it?

What Can INDIVIDUALS Do?

A National Opinion Research Center question asked a year ago found that almost two-thirds of the *adult* cross-section interviewed felt there was *nothing* they could do *personally* to prevent another war. People were first asked:

"Can you think of anything that you personally can do that would help prevent another war?"

| | |
|-----------|------|
| Yes | 36% |
| No | 64 |
| | 100% |

*Since many persons named more than one problem, percentages total to more than 79.

When those who answered "Yes" were asked a further question "What can you do?" *educational activities* tied with *political action* for first place in popular emphasis. Answers grouped themselves as follows:

| | |
|--|----|
| Participate in <i>educational activities</i> ; teach peace to children and adults; join organizations working for peace; become informed about other peoples; study to achieve understanding and tolerance.... | 9% |
| Take <i>political action</i> ; use my vote right; change the present set-up..... | 9 |
| Stop <i>talking and thinking war</i> ; stop propaganda; mind my own business..... | 8 |
| Practice <i>Christianity</i> and the Golden Rule; pray; get more people to join the church; refuse to fight if war is declared | 7 |
| Promote <i>good will and tolerance</i> ; develop character | 6 |
| Other answers | 7 |

46%**

This analysis of popular thinking on the individual level suggests that, while some people have been thinking within the "UNESCO frame of reference," many more need to be oriented into this new approach to the solution of world problems.

What Can THE UNITED STATES Do?

The spring, 1947, study indicates that almost a third of the public are convinced that there is *nothing* the *United States* can do to prevent a war, and half as many answer "I don't know"—making almost half the people in the country without confidence in the ability of the United States to help prevent another war.

The question read:

"Do you think there's anything the United States *COULD* do to prevent a war?"

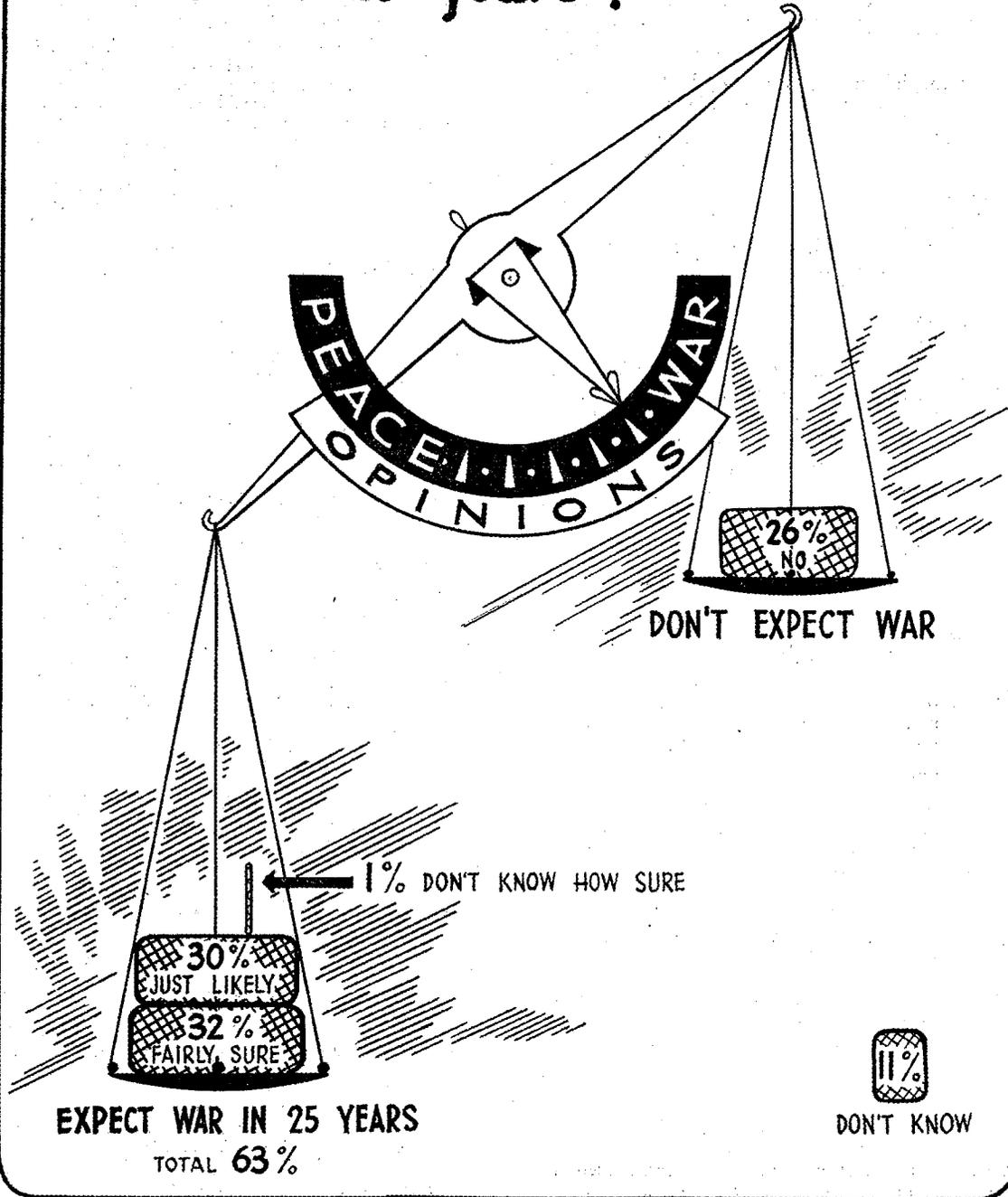
| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Yes | 55% |
| No | 30 |
| Don't know | 15 |

100%

College-educated people, those in the upper economic bracket, and young people most often gave suggestions about what the United States could do to maintain peace. More veterans than non-veterans think the United States can do something. (Table 3.)

**Because some people made more than one suggestion, the percentages total more than 36.

War in 25 years ?



What can the United States do? Those who had said something could be done were asked to suggest what this country could do. Most of the suggestions fell within the UNESCO frame of reference of friendly cooperation with other countries.

Two other groups of answers, however, are in direct conflict with the UNESCO point of view as to how to keep the peace. A few people advocate a "get tough" policy, including building up our armaments and adopting a "firm" foreign policy. Fewer still would revert to isolationist doctrines and stay out of foreign affairs. Answers grouped themselves as follows:

39% suggested methods *within the UNESCO frame of reference* . . .

16% mentioned compromise, cooperation, strengthening the United Nations;

12 named educational activities such as exchange of literature and workers, or teaching to promote international understanding;

5 advocated developing more friendly attitudes, love, tolerance, prayer;

3 suggested cultivating a more friendly attitude toward Russia;

3 mentioned aid to needy countries;

26% named methods *not compatible with the UNESCO viewpoint* . . .

11% thought this country should work for military supremacy by building defenses, increasing armaments, and making more atomic bombs;

9 said the United States should mind its own business and withdraw from international affairs; concentrate on solving domestic problems;

3 advocated a firmer foreign policy; and

3 recommended a firmer attitude toward Russia.

2% made still other suggestions, or said they knew of no way to prevent war.

67%*

What the People Say

Many of the methods people recommended by which the United States might help prevent war

*Because some people made more than one suggestion, the percentages add to more than 55.

suggest a wide acceptance of the basic philosophy of UNESCO. The importance of *international organization*—particularly the United Nations—occupied the minds of a sizable group:

"This country should cooperate fully with the United Nations and not back down because of political influences within the United States." (Housewife, Paterson, New Jersey)

"We should try through cooperation with other countries to spread friendship and good feeling and understanding for one another's economic position, so that we would all have sympathetic understanding of the problems of other peoples as we have for our own." (Hotel manager, New York City)

"We should work for better cooperation at the United Nations conferences." (High school girl, Portland, Oregon)

"There is only one defense against another war—a strong United Nations." (Housewife, Rocky River, Ohio)

Various types of educational activity were also emphasized by those interviewed:

"An educated person doesn't go for wars or for violence. They know that they aren't profitable, so we must help educate the foreign countries that we all are much more prosperous in peacetime and not all torn up and starving to death. It seems to me it's more a matter of education than anything else." (Auto re-builder, Minneapolis)

"Education—teaching people history and the language of other nations. Then we'd see our own problems RELATIVELY—in the light of the experience of other people." (Postal employee, New York City)

"We are trying everything we can. We've got to help educate people in other countries. It will take a great deal of time, money, and patience." (Dentist, Ohio)

"We should make a definite effort to make peace attractive." (Salesman, Buffalo)

"Stop so much talk over the radio in regard to war. Don't discuss it so much. Talk more peace in the papers, over the radio, and in the home." (Wife of bricklayer, Washington, D. C.)

An understanding that our relations with Russia are of utmost importance seems widespread, apparent in comments in many different groupings. A number of people believe that this country should make a definite effort to bring about an increased understanding between the United States and Russia. For example:

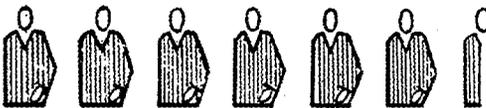
"We must make a desperate attempt to understand and be understood by the Russians." (Oiler, Buffalo, New York)

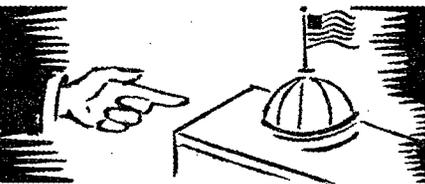
"Work out some program with Russia—see what Russia wants. It's a give and take. That's the only country we could have a war with." (Housewife, Chicago)



"Can you think of anything that YOU PERSONALLY can do that would help prevent another war?"

YES  36%

NO  64%



"Do you think there's anything the UNITED STATES could do to prevent a war?"

YES  55%

NO  30%

DON'T KNOW  15%

There is little evidence of aggressive militarism—not even among the replies opposed to UNESCO methods of achieving peace. These people advocate “getting tough” or building up defenses because they are afraid of being attacked. There is evidence, less of desire for actual aggression than of dominating, almost panic, fear. But it is equally true that fear and insecurity are the parents of aggression. Once a certain almost indeterminable point has been reached in the psychological processes through which fear becomes aggression, there is no turning back. It is possible that an uncomfortably large segment—though still a minority—of the American people is already dangerously close to that “point of no return.” How strongly some people feel is shown by suggestions such as these:

“Build our defenses strong enough to make all countries afraid of us.” (Meat packer, Salt Lake City, Utah)

“They could be prepared. All divisions of the Army could be on their toes. We could keep the secrets we know because the U. S. A. is not the aggressor.” (Apartment house manager, Pasadena, California)

“There’s only one thing and that is we must be prepared so that an aggressor nation would think before they attacked us.” (Ditch-digger, Minneapolis)

“We could show them that we are powerful enough that they would be afraid to fight in another world war.” (Widow, Purcell, Oklahoma)

“Don’t tell all our secrets and progress with the bombs.” (Farmer, near Bloomingdale, Indiana)

A comment of a type fortunately rare exemplifies how the defensive feeling may develop into a dangerous spirit of aggression:

“The United States should go over to Russia and blow it off the top of the earth.” (Track worker, New York City)

The spirit of isolationism is apparent in a few answers:

“We could begin to take care of our own affairs and keep our noses out of other countries’ business.” (Housewife, Cleveland)

“This country should mind its own business and take care of the U. S. A. first.” (Housewife, Buffalo)

Since most of the suggestions are in harmony with the UNESCO point of view, and few people would advocate either a “get tough” policy or one of isolationism, it is apparent that what UNESCO has to contend with is not so much positive opposition to its basic principles, but rather ignorance and defeatism. So many people do not know what can be done—or fear nothing can be done.

The Role of CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

UNESCO proposes that various clubs and organizations within the community assume definite educational responsibilities in working for peace. Half of the people in the United States think that such organizations as businessmen’s clubs and women’s clubs *could do something* to help prevent wars. But only a fourth know of anything that such clubs are *now doing*.

Popular opinion about the role of such clubs is quite in line with UNESCO’s concept of the part these groups should play. Most people stress the educational activities by which the groups could increase mutual understanding and good will among nations. An almost negligible minority (only 2 per cent) feel that clubs should advocate preparedness—an increase in armaments.

The differential between what people think clubs are doing and what they *could be doing* is apparent from the table below. People have no new types of activities to suggest, beyond what they think the groups already do.

All those interviewed were asked:

“Do you know of anything that businessmen’s clubs, women’s clubs or such organizations are doing to help prevent wars?”

“Do you think there’s anything that clubs and groups **COULD** do to help prevent wars?”

| | CLUBS | |
|--|-----------|----------|
| | Are Doing | Could Do |
| Nothing; don’t know what..... | 74% | 47% |
| Promote educational activities: exchange literature, teach to further international understanding, support the United Nations and UNESCO | 10 | 20 |
| Lend material assistance to other countries | 6 | 3 |
| Encourage more good will and tolerance toward other countries..... | 4 | 10 |
| Promote pacifist activities; preach and think peace; educate people as to the horror and futility of war | 3 | 8 |
| Facilitate international exchange of workers, speakers, students; have international clubs | 2 | 5 |
| Encourage political action; write Congressmen | 1 | 5 |
| Work for military preparedness..... | 1 | 2 |
| Promote international unity..... | * | 3 |
| Other answers | 3 | 5 |
| | 104%** | 108%** |

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

**Because some people mentioned more than one activity, percentages add to more than 100.

The Role of SCIENTISTS

Since the discovery of the atomic bomb the scientist's responsibility for war and peace has been the subject of much debate. Half the people think there is nothing that scientists as groups could do to help prevent war, or don't know what they could do.

Among those who think scientists could help maintain peace, the emphasis is divided between the two opposite policies of *increasing armaments* by inventing more powerful weapons of war, and of *refusing to invent destructive weapons*. Scientists are enjoined by some to keep the secret of the atomic bomb, and, by about equal numbers, to share all their knowledge with other scientists.

In answer to the question:

"How about groups of scientists—can you think of anything they **COULD** do to help prevent wars?"

people gave the following sorts of answers:

15% of those interviewed said scientists should *make only peaceful inventions*; make things to help mankind live a better life; make things to improve health and living conditions; refuse to invent destructive things; turn wartime inventions into peacetime uses. These answers are representative . . .

"They should put their efforts toward diverting their warlike inventions to peacetime channels. They should harness atomic energy for everyday use—to help workers and farmers." (Druggist, Huntington, West Virginia)

"Instead of using atomic energy for bombs, put it to use in running machinery, getting better living conditions for people." (College student, Paterson, New Jersey)

"They could work on beneficial things instead of destructive weapons." (Jewelry salesman, The Bronx)

"Let them work for life and health instead of death." (Merchant, West Lebanon, New Hampshire)

"Sure—if they invent a lot of good things—you know, something scientific, foods, and clothes. If everybody's living all right there wouldn't be wars." (Student, Chicago)

"Develop more things to raise the standard of living among nations that have low standards of living." (Armature winder, Decatur, Georgia)

5% thought scientists should stop making atomic bombs; destroy and outlaw all war weapons . . .

"If they would do away with the atomic bomb, they would prevent wars." (Widow, Clarksdale, Mississippi)

"Scientists should quit inventing explosive things—they already have enough to destroy the world." (Mechanic, Dallas)

4% said scientists should *educate people to the horrors of another war*; or tell other nations about our weapons so they will be afraid to start a war . . .

"Impress upon the people of the world what the next war would be like from their standpoint." (Insurance agent, Pennsylvania)

"Help spread knowledge of the deadliness of war weapons now." (Businessman, Sylvania, Ohio)

4% advised scientists to *share their knowledge* with all scientists everywhere . . .

"They could have something to promote better understanding between the scientists of different countries." (Electrician, Chicago)

"Have the truth out in the open on the advancement of all inventions and let everyone know they are trying to do the right thing." (Housewife, Denver)

"They could form a council of nations to develop science. That way no one would get ahead of anyone else." (School girl, Milwaukee)

2% said scientists should work for *international regulation or supervision of the atomic bomb* . . .

"Scientists should band together and demand international control of atomic energy." (Furrier, Carlisle, Pennsylvania)

"Our own scientists should get together and find some way to control the atomic bomb. By controlling the bomb they would help to promote peace." (Farmer, near New Iberia, Louisiana)

Only a minority of the people feel that the scientist's role in the prevention of war should be through his efforts to *build up national armaments*.

11% said that scientists should *make more bombs*, or more horrible weapons to counteract the atomic bomb; they should help to build up superior defenses . . .

"Build the biggest and the best atomic bomb in existence." (Cattle buyer, Talladega, Alabama)

"Make atomic bombs and have them ready. That would prevent war because other countries are scared of atomic bombs." (Farmer, near Rock Hill, South Carolina)

"Scientists sure the heck could do something. The atomic bomb research should go on full force even if we have to increase taxes." (Farmer, near Avon, Ohio)

"Invent something so powerful it would scare hell out of Russia." (Engineer, Portland, Oregon)

"Scientists should keep working on all scientific discoveries so we'll be prepared. Countries will hesitate to fight us if they think they can't win." (Teacher, Nashville, Tennessee)

"Develop some scientific method of being able to stop the atomic bomb—some defense, because the next war will be an atomic one." (Printer, Dubuque, Iowa)

5% said that scientists should help keep the secret of the atomic bomb and all military secrets...

"Yes, scientists in America could keep their secrets to themselves. If they had kept their big yaps shut about the bomb, everything would have been all right." (Carpenter, Wellington, Ohio)

"They ought to keep their secret inventions for their own country." (Farmer, near Oklahoma City)

53% of the people answered that they had no idea of what scientists can do to prevent wars or said there is nothing scientists can do...

"They have already caused the trouble. They have already invented too much." (Nurse, Reagan, Texas)

"I think they'd better stop where they're at now. They stirred up enough trouble with the atomic bomb." (Farmer, near St. Charles, Missouri)

"No, scientists are just talent. They can be hired for any job." (Housewife, Leesburg, Virginia)

"I can't see that there's anything they can do. The decision of the next war rests in the hands of the politician and economist—not the scientist." (Chief radio operator, Chicago)

"I can't think of anything scientists could do to prevent war. I can think of a lot of things they could do to cause it." (High school student, Ohio)

"Usually scientists are helping to make war by inventions. I don't know what they could do to prevent war." (Laborer, De Soto, Illinois)

Conscription and/or a World Police Force

An almost inevitable result of the fear of war and the feeling that nothing can be done to prevent war is a dependence upon compulsory military training to build up a large armed force to protect this country when the war does come. Since 1940 numerous surveys conducted by various public opinion polls have found majorities approving such a measure.¹ On this survey the National Opinion Research Center found almost two-thirds of the public advocating universal military training:

"Should every able-bodied American twenty years old be required to go into the Army or Navy for one year?"²

Yes 65% No 32% Don't know 3%=100%

Over half the people in all the population groups studied are in favor of compulsory military training. The least degree of approval is found among farmers and Midwesterners. Little difference of opinion

¹For a detailed analysis of current opinion and trends, see *Opinion News*, Vol. 9, No. 2, August 1, 1947.

²Originally asked by the American Institute of Public Opinion, December, 1938. At that time only 37 per cent of persons with opinions favored conscription.

regarding the issue is found between men and women, or according to the age, education, or economic standing of the respondent. (See Appendix, Table 4.)

Another consequence of the fear of war is the popular wish to establish an international police force to maintain world peace. In line with opinion increasingly favorable toward world organization during the last few years, three-fourths of the people approve the general principle of United States' participation in an international police force:

"Would you like to see the United States join in a movement to establish an international police force to maintain world peace?"

Yes 75% No 17% Don't know 8%=100%

The majority of people in all population groups (See Appendix, Table 5) subscribe to the principle of an international police force. Yet they also approve of universal military training for this country. It is obvious that these two means of guaranteeing peace are somewhat inconsistent with each other. The reason for the inconsistency in people's thinking is probably that they are so beset with fear they are ready to approve almost any measure they think will lessen the danger of another war. They have no clear-cut and consistent view as to what is the best method.

People are unwilling to approve of the real essence of an international police force—that it should outnumber the armed forces that any nation could put in the field against it. Even though three-fourths of the public pay lip service to this principle of collective security, only 15 per cent³ are willing to see the United States forces smaller than those of an international police force:

"If an international police force is set up, do you think the United States should keep armed forces that are larger, smaller, or about the same size as this international police force?"

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Larger | 31% |
| Same size | 39 |
| Smaller | 15 |
| Don't know | 15 |

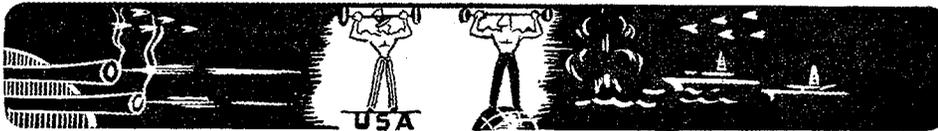
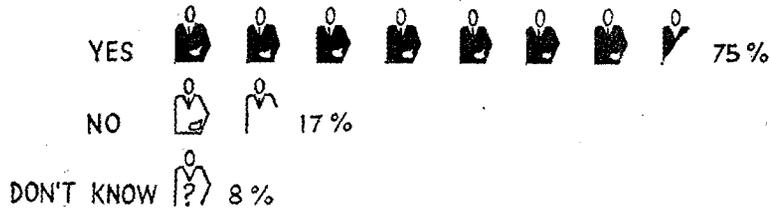
100%

³The Roman maxim *quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* ("Who shall watch the guardians?") was never better exemplified.

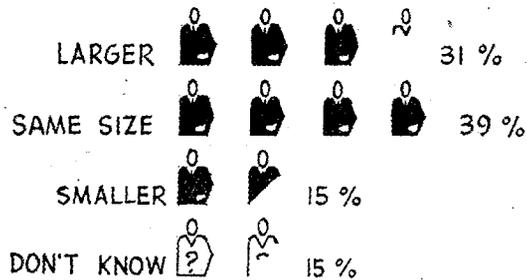
INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE?



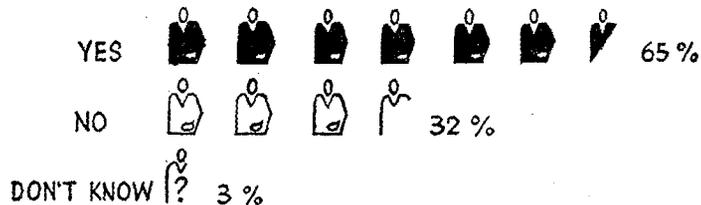
"Would you like to see the United States join a movement to establish an international police force to maintain world peace?"



"If an international police force is set up, do you think the United States should keep armed forces that are larger, smaller, or about the same size as this international police force?"



"Should every able-bodied American twenty years old be required to go into the Army or Navy for one year?"



However, of those who want the United States to join an international police force, only 17 per cent approve the essential point—that national forces

should be kept smaller than the world police force. The inconsistencies in popular thinking are suggested by the following table:

Of those who WANT the United States to join an INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE...

32% still think the United States forces should be LARGER;

41% think the United States forces should be the SAME SIZE;

17% think the United States forces should be SMALLER; and

10% are undecided.

100%

Of those who DO NOT WANT the United States to join an INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE...

37% think the United States forces should be LARGER;

36% think the United States forces should be the SAME SIZE;

9% think the United States forces should be SMALLER; and

18% are undecided.

100%

It would not seem unreasonable to call such a state of mind a mere, pious gesture toward international order.

Only 13 per cent of all the people want the United States to join in an international police force and are also willing to have the police force outnumber the armed forces of this country.

The essential principle of an international police force—that it should outnumber the armed forces of the United States—is approved only by minorities in all the population groups. (See Appendix, Table

6.) Even among college-educated people, usually the group most consistent in their thinking and most in favor of international cooperation, only 26 per cent say our forces should be smaller.

The relationships between opinion on universal military training and the international police force point strongly to at least two types of *opposition to military training*—opposition from those who take an isolationist point of view, and from those who would want the United States to disarm in favor of an international police force. The table shows the relationship:

Of those who APPROVE compulsory military training...

79% still want the United States to join an international police force.

12% still think the United States forces should be smaller than the international police force.

Of those who DISAPPROVE compulsory military training...

67% want the United States to join an international police force.

21% think the United States forces should be smaller than the international police force.

Peace the UNESCO Way

FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATIONS

Basic to UNESCO philosophy is the concept of a free exchange of ideas and information among the various countries of the world—to the end that people may grow in understanding of each other. The UNESCO preamble states that:

“... ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war; ...”

In view of traditional freedoms guaranteed the people of the United States, they might be expected to endorse the principle of *international freedom of communication*. Previous research, however, has indicated that substantial segments of the American population are not in wholehearted accord with the principle or practice of these basic human rights on the *national level*, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.* Regarding *international communication* also, many Americans concede to national governments the right to censor news coming in or going out of the country.

Censorship and Mutual Understanding

Two-thirds of the people believe that a free exchange of news between Russia and the United States would make for better understanding between the peoples of the two countries:

“If our news reporters in Russia—and Russian reporters in this country—were allowed to report on everything that goes on, do you think this would make for better or worse understanding between the people of Russia and the United States?”

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| Better understanding | 66% |
| Worse | 22 |
| Don't know | 12 |
| | 100% |

The minority who deny one of the most fundamental UNESCO premises by saying that an exchange of news would be *detrimental* to mutual understanding, in answering a further question, “Why do you think that?” reveal three main patterns of thought:

*See NORC Report No. 34, Where UNESCO Begins, pages 63, 64.

Most prevalent is the feeling that the *cultural, economic, and political* patterns of the two countries are so dissimilar that increased knowledge of each other's ways would only lead to more quarrels, jealousy, and even war. The belief that *cultural isolation* is desirable, and that the *status quo* should not be disturbed, is evidenced in replies such as these:

“I think it would make us mad to have them watch us, and we wouldn't like what we see and hear over there.” (Student, Huntington, West Virginia)

“The more we would know about each other the bigger mess it would be.” (Farmer, near Talladega, Alabama)

“There's different things said and done that other people wouldn't understand. We have such different standards of living I don't see how we could get together.” (Housewife, North Olmstead, Ohio)

“There would be another war. Each country should stay on its own side of the fence.” (Laborer, Milwaukee)

Some expressed the opinion that the *press* both in the United States and in Russia, tends to distort the news so that mutual understanding cannot be improved through the medium of the press:

“Reporters like to sensationalize news and if there isn't news they make up some. There are too many anti-Russian interests in the United States press. It would cause friction without a doubt.” (Student, Brooklyn)

“Too much misunderstanding has come about from bad newspaper work. I say no—not let the free press go that far.” (Farmer, near Blacksburg, Virginia)

A third fear, directly connected with national security, was expressed by those who said that the Russians would take advantage of such reciprocity to learn our *military secrets*, our inventions and technical know-how for use against us in war. For instance:

“Well, I think they know too much now. If they were over here snooping around, they'd find out too much about the bomb, and we sure wouldn't like that.” (Contractor, Huntington, West Virginia)

“Russia would not play the game square because her reporters would be spies.” (Plastic technician, Cleveland)

“We have secrets we must guard and protect.” (Salesman, Pasadena, California)

While a majority of people in each of the different population groups studied feel that reciprocity of news reporting between the two countries would improve international understanding, there are differences in the degree to which the various groups adhere to the principle. Eight out of every 10 college-educated people in contrast to barely half of those with only a grammar school education hold the UNESCO point of view. A similar pattern is found in comparing opinions of people in the upper economic level, and in professional and managerial positions with those of poorer people and of manual workers. Three-fourths of the veterans interviewed subscribe to the principle of free exchange of news. (See Appendix, Table 7.)

Exchange of Publications

Endorsement of the free access of United States reporters to Russian news, and vice versa, does not necessarily mean endorsement of the basic principle of a free flow of information and ideas between the two countries. Only half the public feels that American publishers should have the right to send any publications they choose into Russia, and half feels the United States should have the right of censorship over Russian publications entering this country:

"Do you think American publishers should have the right to send their magazines and newspapers into Russia, or should Russia have the right to keep out things it doesn't agree with?"

"Do you think Russian publishers should have the right to send their magazines and newspapers into the United States, or should the United States have the right to keep out things it doesn't agree with?"

| | U. S. Publications into Russia | Russian Publications into U. S. |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Publishers right to send.... | 50% | 44% |
| Country's right to keep out | 40 | 48 |
| Don't know | 10 | 8 |
| | <u>100%</u> | <u>100%</u> |

Most of the people are consistent in their point of view—if they grant the right of freedom from

censorship to American publishers they tend to give Russian publishers the same privilege:

- 41% think that both United States and Russian publishers should have the right to send their magazines and newspapers into each other's countries.
 - 38 think that both the United States and Russia should have the right to keep out publications with which they do not agree.
 - 10 think that one government should have the right of censorship, but not the other one.
 - 11 have no opinion on one or both questions.
- 100%

Many of those who subscribe to the principle of free exchange of news between the two countries would give to the government of each country the right to censor incoming publications. This group is, however, naturally less inclined to approve of the censorship than are those who feel that free reporting of news would only make understanding between the two countries worse. The exact comparison:

Of those thinking exchange of reporters between Russia and the United States would make for BETTER understanding...

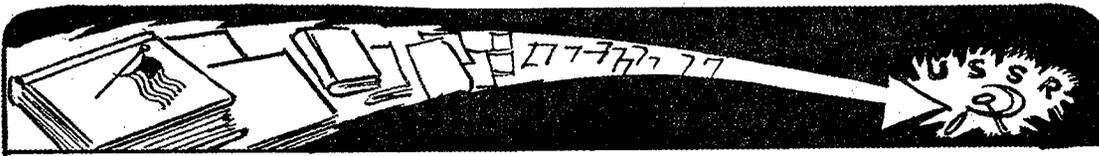
- 41% would give the United States censorship rights.
- 34% would give Russia censorship rights.

Of those thinking exchange of reporters between Russia and the United States would make for WORSE understanding...

- 68% would give the United States censorship rights.
- 58% would give Russia censorship rights.

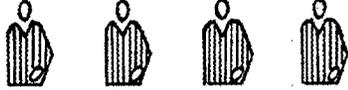
Group Consistency

People who have attended college are more likely to believe in the right of international freedom of communication than are those of less education. The better educated are also more consistent in their view that freedom from censorship should be two-way—that it should be granted to both Russian and United States publishers. (See Appendix, Tables 8 and 9.) Women, manual workers, poor people, farmers, Southerners, and non-veterans are the most likely to believe that the United States, and, to a lesser degree, Russia, should exercise the right of censorship.



"Do you think American publishers should have the right to send their magazines and newspapers into Russia, or should Russia have the right to keep out things it doesn't agree with.?"

AMERICAN PUBLISHERS
RIGHT TO SEND  50%

RUSSIA'S RIGHT TO
KEEP THEM OUT  40%

DON'T KNOW  10%



"Do you think Russian publishers should have the right to send their magazines and newspapers into the United States, or should the United States have the right to keep out things it doesn't agree with.?"

RUSSIAN PUBLISHERS'
RIGHT TO SEND  44%

AMERICA'S RIGHT TO
KEEP THEM OUT  48%

DON'T KNOW  8%

RACE PREJUDICE IN OUR OWN LAND

"... the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;..."

Thus in its preamble the UNESCO constitution emphasizes the folly of race prejudice at home and abroad. That the American people as a whole do not live up to the high ideals of UNESCO is obvious, and perhaps in no situation more obvious than in their treatment of Negroes.

An Index of Prejudice

Almost half of the people would deny to Negroes in this country the same opportunities for employment that white people have. Previous research indicates that anti-Negro prejudice may be lessening;¹ but the high proportion of prejudiced people is an inescapable indictment of a country which pays lip service to the principles of freedom and equality of all men. The question on this point read:

"Do you think Negroes around here should have as good a chance as white people to get every kind of job, or do you think white people should have a better chance?"

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----|
| As good as whites..... | 52% |
| Whites should have better..... | 45 |
| Don't know | 3 |

100%

College-educated people, young people, veterans, residents of large cities, and of the northeastern and western sections of the country show less prejudice than do the less well educated, older people, non-veterans, residents of small towns and farms, and those from the South and Midwest.² (See Appendix, Table 10.)

An overwhelming majority of the public recognizes the fact that employment discrimination does exist. In answer to the question: "In general, if a Negro and a white person with the same training were trying to get some good job around here, which one do you think would be likely to get it?"—9 out of every 10 respondents say the white person would get the job.

¹See NORC Report 34, Where UNESCO Begins, page 20.

²The anatomy of race prejudice in this country is analyzed in: Samuelson, Babette, "Mrs. Jones's Ethnic Attitudes: A Ballot Analysis," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (April, 1945).

International Implications

It is obvious that, in this modern world, at least some people in other countries have heard about the Negro problem in the United States. It is equally obvious that informed people all over the world may consider our solution of the problem in evaluating our democratic form of government. Slightly over a third of the people in the United States recognize that the Negro problem in this country has an effect on the attitudes of other countries toward us:

"Do you think the way Negroes are treated in this country has any effect on the attitudes of people in foreign countries toward us?"

Yes 36% No 45% Don't know 19%=100%

Those who recognize the international implications of the problem point out that we lose the respect of other countries by not practicing democracy at home. In answer to a further question, "What effect do you think it has?" specific reasoning went like this:

People in foreign countries say we don't practice democracy; they think we don't have freedom and equality, that we are unfair to the Negroes, prejudiced and intolerant..... 18%

Our attitude makes them dislike us; they decide we are haughty, arrogant; it lowers our prestige..... 9

People in other countries fear that if they come over here we will treat them the same way we treat Negroes..... 4

Foreigners use our attitude as propaganda against us; they use this attitude as an argument against democracy and in favor of other types of government 3

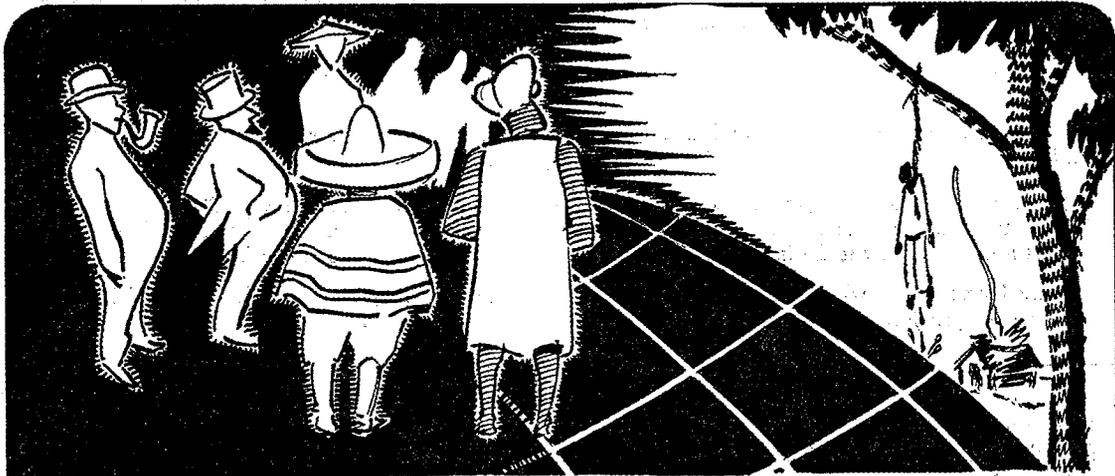
Our attitude weakens our relations with other countries; other nationalities say we should not try to tell other countries how to live or act; they feel that we would persecute any country where we have authority or leadership 2

People of other countries think we are liberal and generous with Negroes; they may respect the United States for this attitude, or they may think we are inferior because we associate with Negroes 2

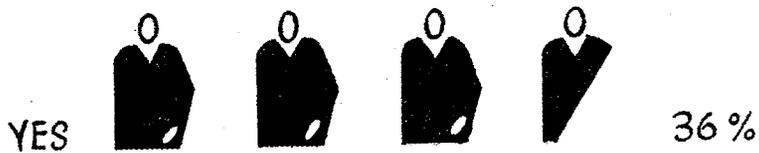
Other answers or don't know..... 1

39%³

³Since some people gave more than one reason, percentages add to more than 36.



"Do you think that the way Negroes are treated in this country has any effect on the attitudes of people in foreign countries toward us?"



People having an international frame of reference in regard to problems facing the United States now* are more aware of the international implications of our Negro problem than are those whose

frame of reference is purely domestic. The internationally minded people are also less prejudiced against equal job opportunities for Negroes. This is the comparison:

Of those who mention only INTERNATIONAL problems...

39% believe that the way Negroes are treated in this country affects *other countries' attitudes toward the United States.*

57% say Negroes and whites should have *equal chances for jobs.*

Of those who mention only DOMESTIC problems...

28% believe that the way Negroes are treated in this country affects *other countries' attitudes toward the United States.*

46% say Negroes and whites should have *equal chances for jobs.*

Table 11 (see Appendix) shows that awareness of the fact that the Negro problem in the United States has a bearing on international relations is more prevalent among the college-educated, the

wealthy, the young, and residents of the New England and Middle Atlantic states than is the case among the less educated, the poor, adults, and residents of other sections of the country.

*When asked the question, "When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first? What other problems do you think of?" 17% mentioned

only international problems and 22% mentioned only domestic problems. (See pages 5, 6, this report.)

Five Proposals for Increasing Understanding among Peoples

Findings presented in the previous sections have indicated that people in the United States subscribe only partially to the *basic philosophy* of UNESCO—"Peace through understanding." It is also important to know to what extent the public endorses the *methods* UNESCO proposes to use in implementing its program to increase understanding through communication among the various peoples of the world. If UNESCO is to be a "people's program," it must be able—in the working out of its projects—to count upon the cooperation of men and women from all strata of society. The National Opinion Research Center study measured the popular acceptance of five representative program projects, typifying the UNESCO way of working toward the attainment of peace.

THE PROJECTS

A majority of the public would have the United States cooperate with UNESCO in each of the five types of activity proposed: educational rehabilitation and reconstruction, world-wide broadcasting, textbook revision, international exchange of persons, and exchange of art and museum exhibits, books, and magazines.

Educational Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

Within the entire education program advocated by UNESCO, "over-riding priority"—during the first year—is accorded to "giving assistance toward such rehabilitation and reconstruction work, direct or indirect, as UNESCO can suitably undertake, in connection with any of its projects."¹ Because of its limited budget and staff, UNESCO conceives of its function in relation to educational rehabilitation and reconstruction in war-devastated areas as three-fold: (1) publicizing the needs; (2) stimulating member governments, private agencies, and individuals to aid the program; and (3) coordinating and assisting efforts made by others.

More than two-thirds of the people in this country believe that the United States should put up money to help rebuild schools and colleges destroyed in the war. Almost a third

believe this is the most important of the five projects tested.

World-wide Radio Broadcasting

The Paris UNESCO conference included in its basic program "a study preliminary to the employment, on a planetary scale and for the purpose of planetary understanding, of the new and revolutionary developments in mass communication which have made it possible for the first time in human history, to conceive of culture in planetary terms. A world-wide radio network at the disposition of UNESCO and the United Nations is one of the possibilities which will be investigated."²

Again, a substantial majority—two-thirds—of the people feel that the United States should put up money to forward the establishment of "a United Nations broadcasting station that would send radio programs to all countries, telling the people what's going on in the world." One-fifth think this is the most important of the five projects suggested.

Revision of Textbooks

The Paris conference recommended, for UNESCO's first year, "plans for a comprehensive revision of textbooks and teaching materials in the interest of international truthfulness, international understanding and international peace. This project involves a number of separate steps beginning with the establishment of a clearing house for the collection and dissemination of data on the analysis and revision of textbooks and other teaching materials, to be followed by a study of these materials with the assistance of the national commissions, and the drafting of codes of principles or ethics by which member states may analyze their own books and materials."³

Ranking third in popular approval is the proposal that the school books used in all countries be examined to see that they do not build up misunderstandings among the peoples of the world. Sixty-four per cent would approve of the United States' spending money on this project, and 17 per cent deem it the most important of the five.

¹First Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, Report of the United States Delegation, (Paris, December, 1946), page 10.

²Ibid., page 12.

³Ibid., page 11.

International Exchange of Persons

Highly favored by UNESCO as a method of increasing understanding through communication are plans for "international exchange of persons representative of the lives and cultures of their peoples, particularly with a view to re-establishing the trained personnel needed for teaching and study, and to facilitate direct human relationships between students and specialists and scholars and technicians and workers in the several nations."¹

About 6 out of every 10 Americans look with favor on a program of exchanging teachers and workers with foreign countries, but about half as many express active disapproval.

Further questions² show that about 6 out of every 10 people feel that a program of temporary exchange of workers between this country and foreign countries would make for better mutual understanding, but only a third of the public would approve of such an exchange with all nine countries mentioned as possibilities. Only half of those interviewed would approve an exchange with Russia, for instance, probably the most important country in terms of NEED for mutual understanding.

*Exchange of Books, Magazines,
Art, and Museum Exhibits*

Other activities recommended by the Paris conference include "the establishment of an international inter-library loan system to make printed materials in any part of the earth accessible . . . to readers in any other part of the earth . . . assistance to libraries and schools in their efforts to obtain books, museum materials, scientific materials and works of art from other countries . . . encouragement in the establishment, where they do not now exist, of public and popular libraries and museums as aids in the labor of mass education. This will be closely related to the programs of fundamental education and of education for international understanding."³

The international exchange of books, magazines, art, and museum exhibits is regarded as the least important of the five projects. However, a clear majority—6 out of every 10 people—think the United States should help finance such a program.

¹Ibid., page 13.

²See page 26, this report.

³First Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, Report of the United States Delegation, op cit, page 14.

THE PATTERN OF PUBLIC OPINION

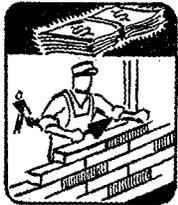
In studying public acceptance of the various projects, the National Opinion Research Center asked two different questions of respondents, who were handed a card listing the five projects in the order and wording given below:

"It has been suggested that each country in the United Nations put up some money to do the things on this card. Do you think the United States should put up money to do any of these things?" "Are there any of these things that you think we should NOT put up money for?"

| | Should | Should Not | Undecided | |
|--|--------|------------|-----------|-------|
| 1. "To help rebuild schools and colleges destroyed in the war!....." | 68% | 22% | 10% | =100% |
| 2. "To look over the school books used in all countries to see that they don't build up misunderstandings among countries?" | 64 | 24 | 12 | |
| 3. "To help all countries exchange with each other such things as books, magazines, art, and museum exhibits?" | 58 | 25 | 17 | |
| 4. "To send teachers and workers to foreign countries on an exchange arrangement in which other countries would send their teachers and workers here?" | 61 | 28 | 11 | |
| 5. "To help pay for a United Nations broadcasting station that would send radio programs to all countries, telling the people what's going on in the world?" | 67 | 23 | 10 | |

As might be expected, the same groups that are most in sympathy with the basic ideals of UNESCO are similarly higher in approval of specific projects than are the groups lukewarm to UNESCO ideals. The college-educated, the wealthier people, the young, white-collar workers, and residents of large cities and of the New England and Middle Atlantic states are again more favorably inclined than others. (Tables 12-18, Appendix, show the detailed comparisons.)

Should the United States put up money to do any of these things?



To help rebuild schools and colleges destroyed in the war.

YES 68%

NO 22%

DON'T KNOW 10%



To look over school books to see that they don't build up misunderstanding among countries.

YES 64%

NO 24%

DON'T KNOW 12%



To help all countries exchange, with each other, books, magazines and museum exhibits

YES 58%

NO 25%

DON'T KNOW 17%



To exchange teachers and workers with foreign countries

YES 61%

NO 28%

DON'T KNOW 11%



To help pay for U.N. radio broadcasting stations' programs on world activities for all countries

YES 67%

NO 23%

DON'T KNOW 10%

Do you think the United States should help the United Nations do this, even if it meant our government couldn't lower the income taxes people are now paying?

YES 61%

NO 13%

UNDECIDED 5% (21% favored none or only one of the proposed projects)

Priorities

Every project in the list is approved of by a majority of the public, but when people are asked to name the *one* they consider the "most important," some striking differences show up.

Rebuilding educational facilities in war-torn areas, which 68 per cent of the population think we should help do, is deemed the most important project by 29 per cent of the total population. An exchange of books, magazines, art, and museum exhibits is approved of by 58 per cent of the people, but only 3 per cent rate it as the one most important item. The question read:

"Of the things you'd like to see the United States help do, which one do you consider most important?"

| | |
|--|------|
| Help rebuild schools and colleges..... | 29%* |
| Help pay for a United Nations broadcasting station | 20 * |
| Send teachers and workers to foreign countries | 18 * |
| Look over school books used in all countries | 17 * |
| Help countries exchange... books, magazines, art, museum exhibits..... | 3 * |
| The United States should not help do any of these..... | 9 |
| No opinion | 4 |
| | 100% |

Over-all Support of UNESCO

The five projects listed can be considered representative of specific aspects of the UNESCO program. Support of all five programs, then, might be interpreted as effective support of UNESCO as a whole. Contrarily, disapproval of all five items would probably indicate opposition to the UNESCO movement as a whole. But this assumption would hold only if all people were equally sincere in their recommendation that the United States put up money to help the United Nations carry out the projects.

To provide a rough measure of *intensity* of approval, those who said the United States should help do two or more of the projects were asked a further question, which included concrete reference to the fact

*Included in the figures are the people who named this as the only project we should help do.

that United States cooperation would involve financial support—a burden eventually borne by the taxpayers. A clear majority—61 per cent of the public as a whole—still indicated their approval in response to this question:

"Do you think the United States should help the United Nations do this, even if it meant that our government couldn't lower the income taxes people are now paying?"

| | |
|---|------|
| United States should still help..... | 61% |
| Should not help..... | 13 |
| Undecided | 5 |
| In favor of none or only one of proposed projects | 21 |
| | 100% |

From a combination of the results on the above intensity question and answers to the specific propositions, people were grouped on a five-point scale of approval-opposition toward the UNESCO program. Among the public as a whole, the gradations from wholehearted support to opposition appear to progress in the following manner:

| | |
|---|------|
| <i>High support</i> —those who said the United States should do all five of the projects, and answered "Yes" to the intensity question | 28% |
| <i>Considerable support</i> —those who said the United States should do two, three, or four of the projects, and answered "Yes" to the intensity question | 31 |
| <i>Qualified support</i> —those who said the United States should do two, three, four, or five of the projects, but answered "No" to the intensity question | 13 |
| <i>Slight support</i> —those who said the United States should do only one of the projects. (These were not asked the intensity question.) | 9 |
| <i>Opposition</i> —those who said the United States should not do any of the projects | 9 |
| <i>Undecided</i> —those who answered "Don't know" to either of the questions | 10 |
| | 100% |

People who reveal the highest degree of support for UNESCO tend to be most in favor of *freedom of communications* between the United States and Russia. They are more sure than others that our race problems at home have an effect on international relations; they are *less prejudiced* against

Negroes. They are *more optimistic* about what the United States can do to prevent another war. They tend to emphasize the *international aspects of problems* facing the United States now, favor the participation of this country in an *international police force*, and show a higher degree of acceptance of

the principle that such a force should outnumber our own.

The following table shows how support of UNESCO projects is related to opinion on the more generalized aspects of UNESCO philosophy:

OF THOSE WHOSE ATTITUDE
TOWARD UNESCO IS ONE OF:

| High Support | Considerable Support | Qualified Support | Slight Support | Opposition | |
|--------------|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|---|
| 58% | 54% | 45% | 43% | 40% | think American publishers should have the <i>right to send material into Russia.</i> |
| 57 | 49 | 37 | 31 | 20 | think Russian publishers should have the <i>right to send material into the United States.</i> |
| 79 | 69 | 63 | 51 | 47 | believe an <i>uncensored exchange of news with Russia</i> would lead to better understanding. |
| 83 | 67 | 57 | 42 | 36 | feel that an <i>exchange of workers with other countries</i> would lead to better understanding. |
| 62 | 55 | 47 | 44 | 32 | say Negroes and whites should have <i>equal chances for jobs.</i> |
| 47 | 45 | 23 | 26 | 15 | believe the way Negroes are treated in this country <i>affects other countries' attitudes toward the United States.</i> |
| 80 | 80 | 68 | 58 | 51 | tend to think in an <i>international frame of reference.*</i> |
| 61 | 61 | 52 | 43 | 44 | think the United States can <i>help prevent war.</i> |
| 83 | 78 | 76 | 68 | 53 | think the United States <i>should join the world police force.</i> |
| 22 | 16 | 10 | 8 | 7 | believe the world police force should <i>outnumber</i> the United States armed forces. |

*These respondents named at least one international problem in answer to the question "When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first?"

"What other problems do you think of?" (See analysis on page 5, this report.)

An Exchange of Workers Between the United States and Other Countries?

A workable plan for the exchange—between countries—of individuals representing the lives and cultures of their homelands could be a key method of increasing understanding among peoples, UNESCO believes. Because this is potentially such a promising program, various approaches were employed in the study to measure the acceptability of such a plan to the people of the United States.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE IDEA IN PRINCIPLE

Almost two-thirds of the public subscribe in principle to the hypothesis that such an exchange of workers would bring about better understanding between the people of the countries involved:

"If this country had different kinds of workers trade places with workers in foreign countries for a few months—such as teachers, office workers, factory workers, and farmers—do you think this would bring about a better feeling between the people of this country and other countries, or not?"

| | |
|------------------|-----|
| Yes | 64% |
| No | 27 |
| Don't know | 9 |

100%

Asked, "Why don't you think it would?" the minority who do not think the plan as described would be a success give a number of reasons for their point of view. A few of the actual answers enliven the statistical analysis:

6% say there are too many differences among countries to be reconciled in this way. They emphasize the fact that each country has different customs, ways of living, its own language and government—all of which may result in inconveniences, antagonisms, and resentments . . .

"We are so different in every way that we wouldn't get along. They do their work one way and we do ours another." (Farmer, near Mulvane, Kansas)

"I don't believe we could ever understand each other's way of living." (Housewife, Detroit)

5% say that the plan as described is not feasible, that a few months is too short a time to accomplish anything, or that a few workers could not accomplish enough. Some point out that having had foreigners here in the past has not increased mutual understanding . . .

"The workers would not come in contact with enough people to make any impression or influence the greater number." (Housewife, Washington, D. C.)

"It would take longer than a few months to learn the language and understand the people." (Auto mechanic, Denver)

"It would be too long a process to get results. More time and money should be spent on broadcasting, newspapers, and magazines." (Lawyer's wife, Georgia)

3% say that other countries are satisfied with their own ways, that foreigners are hard-headed, uncooperative, or suspicious, and that they do not want to learn about us . . .

"People are educated in their own ways and have no desire to change." (Schoolteacher, Indiana)

"Other countries think they know it all; they wouldn't be willing to take advantage of ideas workers might bring over." (Seamstress, Baltimore)

2% feel that each country should take care of itself. They say we need our workers here, and other countries need their own workers there.

2% fear that under such a plan the foreign workers would become dissatisfied, they would not want to live in their own country again, or would be jealous of our standard of living.

2% are afraid the plan would disturb the status quo of this country by bringing in Communists and Fascists, low wages and low standards of living, or that labor trouble would result. They fear that the foreign workers would try to influence us.

1% are afraid foreign countries would send spies to learn our military secrets.

1% believe we are already superior, and could not learn anything from foreign countries.

1% fear that our workers would not be happy working in a foreign country under poor living and working conditions.

6% give other reasons, or are unable to give any reason at all for their point of view.

29%*

*Because some people gave more than one reason, percentages add to more than 26.

The belief that increased communication between peoples makes for mutual understanding is the basic philosophy underlying proposals for exchange of news and information whether through the printed page or through direct exchange of people. Acceptance of the two proposals, then, is somewhat inter-related:

72% of those who believe that exchange of news with Russia would lead to better understanding believe also that an international exchange of workers would result in "better feeling" among the countries;

AND ONLY

54% of those who feel that exchange of news with Russia would make for worse understanding express their approval of an international exchange of workers.

The by now familiar pattern of group opinion is again apparent in that the better educated, younger, and professional people are more apt to subscribe to the UNESCO point of view than are the less well educated, the adults, manual workers, and farmers. (Table 19, Appendix, shows the exact percentages.) Veterans' opinions are about the same as those of non-veterans, except that veterans register approval of an exchange with Russia more often than do non-veterans.

ACCEPTANCE OF SPECIFIC APPLICATIONS

Approval of the *general principle* of international exchange of workers does not necessarily mean approval of an exchange with *every country*. Logically, a full approval and understanding of the purpose of the plan would mean perhaps an emphasis on the countries with which we do *not* now have full mutual understanding. Actually, the prejudices, dislikes, and unfavorable stereotypes which people carry around with them operate to negate in actual application the principles to which they pay lip service.

Nine Countries

When people are asked specifically about each of the nine countries with which an exchange of workers might be proposed, the plan as applied to *England, Sweden, and France* elicits the highest degree of approval.

Varying majorities, however, would approve an exchange with every country listed except *Japan*, in which last instance only a bare plurality would endorse an exchange arrangement. People are most undecided about *Greece*.

How people answered regarding each of the nine countries is shown below:

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like to have send some of their workers to the United States?"*

"Are there any of these countries that you would NOT like to have send workers to the United States?"**

| | Would Like | Would Not Like | No Opinion** | |
|---------------|------------|----------------|--------------|-------|
| England | 64% | 17% | 19% | =100% |
| Sweden | 62 | 14 | 24 | |
| France | 61 | 15 | 24 | |
| China | 57 | 21 | 22 | |
| Mexico | 56 | 19 | 25 | |
| Greece | 54 | 17 | 29 | |
| Germany | 54 | 28 | 18 | |
| Russia | 53 | 31 | 16 | |
| Japan | 43 | 40 | 17 | |

Persons under 21, the college-educated, professional people, and white-collar workers are the population groups most receptive to the idea of an exchange of workers between countries. Many of the group differences are undoubtedly due in large part to ignorance on the part of the poorer, less well-educated people who are unable to express an opinion as to active prejudices against foreigners. (See Appendix, Tables 20-28, for detailed comparisons.)

The pattern of popular opinion regarding an exchange of workers is another example of *inconsistent thinking*, of subscribing to a general principle, but negating it by not accepting the specific application of the program. Although 64 per cent of the public as a whole believe an exchange plan would bring about better understanding among nations, and 61 per cent think the United States should put up money to help the United Nations work out such a plan . . .

*People were handed a card on which the countries were listed in the following order: Sweden, Russia, Japan, Greece, Germany, China, France, Mexico, England. Interviewers were instructed to make sure that respondents considered each country individually.

**Includes both people who said "Don't know" and people who did not mention the country as "Would like" or "Would not like."

AMONG ALL THOSE INTERVIEWED, only 34 per cent would approve of the participation of all nine countries about which they were asked specifically.

And 18 per cent do not express approval of any of the countries.

AMONG THOSE EXPRESSING ACCEPTANCE OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE there is still some lack of consistency . . .

Even among those who say we should spend money to help the United Nations develop a program of international exchange of workers, only 46 per cent would like to have the United States exchange workers with all nine countries.

And among those who say such an exchange would lead to better feeling between the United States and the countries involved, only 45 per cent would like to exchange workers with all nine countries.

The people who would like an exchange of workers with all nine countries are—as shown by their answers to other questions—consistently closer in their thinking to the UNESCO philosophy than are those who express a desire to cooperate with none of the nine countries in a plan of worker exchange. Those who favor an exchange plan in all nine instances are clearly more likely (1) to endorse freedom of communications, and (2) to support the specific projects which constitute the basic program of UNESCO.

Of those who would like to exchange workers with ALL NINE countries named* . . .

- 59% think American publishers should have the right to send material into Russia.
- 56% think Russian publishers should have the right to send material into the United States.
- 78% believe an uncensored exchange of news with Russia would lead to better understanding.
- 80% think the United States should help the United Nations rebuild schools and colleges.
- 79% would like to see this country help pay for a United Nations broadcasting station.
- 81% believe the United States should help the United Nations by exchanging teachers and workers with foreign countries.
- 75% think the United States should help the United Nations look over school books used in all countries.
- 74% would like the United States to help the United Nations promote the exchange of books, magazines, art, and museum exhibits among countries.

Of those who would like to exchange workers with NONE of the nine countries* . . .

- 38% think American publishers should have the right to send material into Russia.
- 26% think Russian publishers should have the right to send material into the United States.
- 49% believe an uncensored exchange of news with Russia would lead to better understanding.
- 48% think the United States should help the United Nations rebuild schools and colleges.
- 44% would like to see this country help pay for a United Nations broadcasting station.
- 28% believe the United States should help the United Nations by exchanging teachers and workers with foreign countries.
- 46% think the United States should help the United Nations look over school books used in all countries.
- 36% would like the United States to help the United Nations promote the exchange of books, magazines, art, and museum exhibits among countries.

*Asked "Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like to have send some of their workers to the United States? Are

there any of these countries that you would NOT like to have send workers to the United States?" 34% said they would like to exchange workers with all NINE countries, and 18% said they would like to exchange workers with NONE of the countries.

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVAL OF AN EXCHANGE

To analyze the resistance which UNESCO may encounter in gaining popular support for the international exchange of workers, the National Opinion Research Center asked people who disapproved of an exchange program with each country to give their reasons. Answers to the question, "Would you mind telling me why you wouldn't like to have workers from.....sent here?" are analyzed in detail in Table 29 of the Appendix. Some of the unfavorable sentiment is based on objections to the plan itself or on a generally unfavorable attitude toward all foreigners:

"I don't think it would help conditions one bit. I think it would be money wasted. Their ideas (all of the countries) are widely different from ours and their methods of doing things are so varied." (Meatcutter, Buffalo.)

"I can't lump it all into one. The English are enough like us and they don't want anything from us. It would be nice and friendly to have them. All the others would get over here and just want to sponge off us and take all they could get. We don't want any of that." (Wife of handyman, Huntington, West Virginia.)

Much of the opposition reflects prejudices and stereotypes—specific or vaguely generalized—in regard to the different nationalities named in the question. Except in the cases of Japan, Germany, and Russia, substantial minorities of those disapproving did not give a specific reason for their objections.

Most of the opposition to an exchange with countries with which we are now on clearly friendly terms is based on doubts of the feasibility of the plan, or on doubts of the necessity for such a plan, since mutual understanding does now exist.

Japan

Against an exchange of workers with Japan are 40 per cent of the people in the United States. The chief reason given for not liking the idea can be classified as an unfavorable stereotype—people say the Japanese are *treacherous, sneaky, sly, and can't be trusted*:

"I don't trust those sneaky Japs—they already had their chance before and look what took place." (Wife of grocer, Pasadena, California)

"They are a treacherous yellow race you can't trust." (Sander, Fitchburg, Massachusetts)

Many people say they can never forget that the Japanese were once enemies, and that they will always hate them:

"You never can tell what some of them might do, they're still our enemies." (High school girl, Flushing, New York)

"I don't believe the boys in service would like it. They learned to hate them. It's liable to cause a problem." (Textile worker, Chester, South Carolina)

Russia

About one-third of the public—31 per cent—is opposed to an exchange of workers with Russia. Ideological and political differences are the main basis for opposition, while general mistrust and fear of spying show up to a considerable extent. Those who say the Russians would bring in bad ideas, spread communism, cause labor trouble, or otherwise upset the status quo often express their opinions in terms such as these:

"I don't like Russia's attitude of world domination. She has the idea of making all the world come under her communistic system. She would use the exchange plan as a chance to spread communism here." (Minister, York, South Carolina)

"The Russians got too many big ideas. They may give wrong ideas, like communism, to our people." (Baker's son, The Bronx)

Second in frequency are answers to the effect that the Russians are *treacherous, sneaky, sly, and can't be trusted*:

"They're too sneaky. They'd stab you in the back. I wouldn't want them here nor us to go there." (Farmer, near Dublin, Georgia)

The fear that an exchange would be a *menace to national security*, that the Russians would learn our military secrets and use them against us, ranks third:

"There's too much spy work done." (Laborer, Honey Brook, Pennsylvania)

Germany

Twenty-eight per cent of the people in the United States would prefer not to have Germany participate in an exchange plan. Most frequently mentioned is the feeling that the Germans were once enemies and are hated because of the war:

"I feel the same as I do about Japan. I hate them all. I can't forgive the way they did us in the war." (Housewife, Nashville, Tennessee)

Some say the Germans would bring in bad ideas, spread communism or fascism, cause labor trouble, or otherwise upset the status quo:

"They are too much for Hitler even now." (Waitress, California)

Others believe the Germans are *treacherous, sneaky, sly, and can't be trusted*:

"They've shown they have no heart. They can't be trusted." (Machinist, Birmingham, Alabama)

Still others fear that the Germans would be a *menace to national security*, that they would learn our military secrets and use them against us:

"The Germans are liable to find secrets about the atomic bomb and other important things." (Roadhouse worker, Coatesville, Pennsylvania)

China

About one-fifth of Americans—*21 per cent*—would object to Chinese workers coming to the United States on an exchange basis. The feeling of strangeness, that the culture of the Chinese is too different for them ever to reach mutual understanding with us, is prominent in people's thinking. Many who objected to an exchange plan with China were unable to state a specific reason for their answer; many took refuge in the assertion that there are too many Chinese here now.

Mexico

Nineteen per cent of the United States public would not like Mexico's participation in an exchange program. They say there are too many persons of Mexican nationality in this country already. Others state that the plan would not work because the specified time ("a few months") would be too short, or that such a plan would be ineffective because too few people could participate in it.

England

The people who would not like England's participation in the plan—*17 per cent*—object because they doubt the feasibility of such an arrangement. Some Americans do not think such a plan is necessary because the two countries already understand each other.

Greece

Seventeen per cent object to an exchange of workers with Greece. Many of these respondents are unable to give a specific reason for their answer. The concrete objection raised most often is the feeling that the culture of the United States is so superior to that of Greece that this country would have nothing to gain or learn from such an exchange.

France

The few people who object to an exchange of workers with France—*15 per cent*—tend to think that the plan wouldn't work, that the time specified would be too short, or that too few people would be involved to make the plan worth while. Several mention that there are too many French people in this country now.

Sweden

On this study Sweden was the country to which people were least likely to object as a potential participant in a worker exchange plan. Only *14 per cent* of Americans said they would not like to have Sweden included in such a project. The people who do object point out that the plan is *unnecessary* because we already enjoy good relations with Sweden; some say there are too many Swedish people in this country already. A few voice resentment toward Sweden because that country did not do enough to help the cause of the Allies during the war.

Many people found it difficult to look at the *essential principle* of an exchange plan; the idea was new to them, and they sometimes answered within a mistaken frame of reference—in terms of *immigration* of people from the various countries rather than in terms of *exchange of persons for a limited time only*.

If an exchange plan is put to the people by UNESCO, it is important that the people be educated to understand the specific workings of the plan, as well as the reasons behind it. By inference, the same caution might apply to each of the other UNESCO projects, which a majority approve, but perhaps do not understand.

PREJUDICE AGAINST NEGROES AND FOREIGNERS

Findings presented in previous sections have shown that prejudice against Negroes characterizes the thinking of a substantial segment of the population of the United States—at least *45 per cent*. Those who are prejudiced are less wholehearted in their support of UNESCO than those who would accord to Negroes the right of equal job competition with white people.

Those who are prejudiced against Negroes also tend to be more prejudiced against all foreigners. Forty-one per cent of the people classified as "unprejudiced" favor an exchange of workers with all nine countries, while only 26 per cent of the prejudiced are so inclusive. Each individual country

received a higher "would not like" count from the prejudiced than from the unprejudiced.

The close correlation between prejudice against Negroes and prejudice against foreigners is shown in the comparison which follows:

Of those prejudiced against Negroes...*

- 26% would like an exchange of workers with all nine countries.
- 15% are definitely against an exchange in all nine instances.
- 52% would NOT like an exchange with JAPAN.
- 42% would NOT like an exchange with RUSSIA.
- 38% would NOT like an exchange with GERMANY.
- 29% would NOT like an exchange with CHINA.
- 24% would NOT like an exchange with MEXICO.
- 22% would NOT like an exchange with GREECE.
- 21% would NOT like an exchange with ENGLAND.
- 20% would NOT like an exchange with FRANCE.
- 19% would NOT like an exchange with SWEDEN.

Of those NOT prejudiced against Negroes...*

- 41% would like an exchange of workers with all nine countries.
- 6% are definitely against an exchange in all nine instances.
- 31% would NOT like an exchange with JAPAN.
- 22% would NOT like an exchange with RUSSIA.
- 20% would NOT like an exchange with GERMANY.
- 15% would NOT like an exchange with CHINA.
- 15% would NOT like an exchange with MEXICO.
- 12% would NOT like an exchange with GREECE.
- 14% would NOT like an exchange with ENGLAND.
- 12% would NOT like an exchange with FRANCE.
- 10% would NOT like an exchange with SWEDEN.

*The 45 per cent who would deny equality of employment opportunity to Negroes were considered "prejudiced"; the 52

per cent who would concede equal job opportunities to Negroes and whites were judged to be "not prejudiced."

Part V

Group Membership and The UNESCO Program

UNESCO is particularly interested in forwarding its programs on the community level through the membership of various organized groups already in existence. For this reason NORC collected some exploratory data on group membership.

A few questions are not sufficient to gather definitive data on the whole question of group membership; nevertheless results are presented because they indicate the general characteristics of a number of groups.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

Only 16 per cent of the people regard themselves as members of groups that discuss problems of national and international scope. This is not to say that only 16 per cent are members of *any* organized discussion group, as undoubtedly many more belong to groups which, though not regarded as discussion groups, do in fact engage in discussion of international affairs. In fact, 12 per cent of the people interviewed are union members, but only 1 per cent mentioned labor groups in answer to the question. Although 4 per cent are members of professional societies, only 1 per cent mentioned such groups.

Various different types of groups were named in answer to the question:

"Do you happen to belong to any groups or organizations that discuss national or international problems? Which ones?"

| | |
|--|----|
| Veterans organizations | 3% |
| Religious groups | 3 |
| Business and civic groups..... | 3 |
| Education and study groups..... | 3 |
| Political action groups..... | 2 |
| Fraternal organizations | 1 |
| Labor groups | 1 |
| Youth groups | 1 |
| Professional societies | 1 |
| Agriculture groups | * |
| Other miscellaneous types of groups..... | * |

18%**

As would be expected, group membership is reported more often by wealthy people, professional and business workers, and the college-educated than by the poor, manual workers and farmers, and those with no more than an eighth grade education. (See Appendix, Table 32.)

As can be inferred from the type of people saying they belong to groups discussing national and international affairs, group members are more favorable to UNESCO philosophy than are non-members. Some pertinent comparisons follow:

Of those who ARE members of a group that discusses national and international problems . . .

79% think an *uncensored exchange of news with Russia* would lead to better understanding.

23% believe the world police force should *out-number* the United States armed forces.

76% feel that an *exchange of workers with other countries* would lead to better understanding.

63% say Negroes and whites should have *equal chances for jobs*.

48% believe that the way Negroes are treated in this country *affects other countries' attitudes toward the United States*.

Of those who are NOT members of a group that discusses national and international problems . . .

63% think an *uncensored exchange of news with Russia* would lead to better understanding.

13% believe the world police force should *out-number* the United States armed forces.

62% feel that an *exchange of workers with other countries* would lead to better understanding.

50% say Negroes and whites should have *equal chances for jobs*.

24% believe that the way Negroes are treated in this country *affects other countries' attitudes toward the United States*.

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

**Because some people named more than one group they belonged to, percentages total more than 16.

Members of organized discussion groups are also more aware than others that the United States does participate in international organizations working for peace (82 per cent know of some organization, as compared to 61 per cent of the non-members.) UNESCO was mentioned as a United Nations agency working for peace by 6 per cent of the group members, while only 2 per cent of the rest of the people thought of UNESCO in this connection.

Such findings show that UNESCO has an excellent chance to cooperate with the various organized groups. Also the results highlight the fact that *working only through established groups does not reach the very people most in need of education in the principles of international understanding.*

VETERANS

Veterans as a group are better informed on international affairs than are non-veterans. They are more in accord with the principle of freedom of communications, but are no more nor less likely than non-veterans to approve of specific projects designed to further free communications.

While at the present time the some 14 million veterans of World War II do not form a cohesive segment of the population, in regard to opinions on UNESCO matters, it is not hard to envision the tremendous potential force of a united veterans' opinion. Already there are many veteran organizations—these can be merely fraternal groups, or they can develop into a force for good or evil. UNESCO can help such groups to develop their potentialities as molders of American policy, in directions leading to peace through international understanding.

LABOR UNIONS

Organized labor is another large and potentially powerful group through which UNESCO might work for the cause of peace. The opinion of union members as a group resembles the pattern shown for the population as a whole. They are more informed on international happenings than are non-union members.

Opinion of union members on the five UNESCO projects is consistently—though only slightly—less

favorable than that of non-union members.* On the exchange of workers with other countries—a question on which the opinion of union labor is particularly relevant—non-union members indicate slightly more approval than do union members.

Thirty-seven per cent of the union members favor an exchange with all nine countries, as compared to 33 per cent of the non-union members. Union members are slightly more favorable to an exchange with Sweden, France, Greece, Russia, and Japan. Their opinions regarding China, Mexico, and Germany are similar to those of the rest of the population.

CHURCHES

The churches of America represent groups that are in principle attuned to UNESCO's basic message—peace. Therefore, it has been generally assumed that the churches could be one of the most fruitful channels for the dissemination of UNESCO ideas. This assumption may well be true of church leaders. But as to the rank-and-file churchgoers, this survey brings to light the fact that churchgoing bears little relationship to tolerance on an international level. People who attend church regularly, or occasionally, show about the same opinion patterns as those who say they never go to church. The churchgoers are no better informed on international events, no more likely to believe in the freedom of international communication, and no more likely to support UNESCO projects than those who do not go to church. Churchgoers may be slightly less prejudiced against Negroes, although the differences are not great.

Sociologists recognize that there may be many sources of motivation for churchgoing, not all of them related to the spiritual or moral enlightenment of the attendants. But whatever the causes of churchgoing, the facts of the survey show that on all relevant questions, the churchgoers are no more tolerant, and no more enlightened than those who do not go to church. The churches of America, as a whole, have not brought their members to a better understanding of world brotherhood than is possessed by non-churchgoers. This is a challenge to the churches and to UNESCO.

*Since the "non-union" member category includes people in all occupational strata, a comparison should also be made between the opinions of union members and the opinions of all manual and factory workers.

Part VI

Information and Attitudes: Their Implications for UNESCO

THE LEVEL OF POPULAR INFORMATION ON WORLD AFFAIRS

The old adage, "What we don't know won't hurt us," has been aptly rephrased by modern social scientists to read, "What we don't know *will* hurt us." As a prerequisite to orderly and intelligent progress toward a lasting peace, every citizen in the United States and every citizen of every country in the world should have some knowledge of the basic facts of international life and should utilize this understanding.

A minimum of sound knowledge upon which people can base their opinions on international and national policy is the very essence of the democratic form of government. Without knowledge, the people are prey to almost any demagoguery of narrow nationalism. If UNESCO is to be a genuine people's program in the United States, plans must take into account the level of information of the average citizen.

United States Membership in the United Nations

More than one-third of the American people are not aware that the United States has joined any international organization working for peace—this despite the facts that the United Nations Charter was signed in June of 1945, and UNESCO, with the United States as a signing charter member, was approved by joint Congressional resolution on July 30, 1946.

Only a handful of people volunteered the information that the United States is a member of UNESCO when asked:

"As far as you know, has the United States joined any international organizations that are working for peace?"

"What organizations are you thinking of?"

| | |
|--|------------------|
| YES, United States has joined..... | 64% |
| United Nations | 54% |
| UNESCO | * |
| Other United Nations agencies | 3 |
| Non-United Nations organizations | 6 |
| Don't know name..... | 5 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 68% ¹ |
| NO, United States has not joined..... | 15 |
| Don't know | 21 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 100% |

A further question aimed at eliciting specific mention of UNESCO was only slightly more successful. When people were asked: "Do you happen to know the names of any organizations connected with the United Nations that are working for peace?" only 2 per cent mentioned UNESCO.

The lack of information revealed here about UNESCO as an organization working for peace points to the definite need for an intensive educational campaign among the people of the United States. Surely people can not be expected to devote time and energy—which they must if the objectives are to be attained—to an unknown organization.

The Truman Doctrine

At the time of the survey (April, 1947), people were much better informed regarding the Truman Doctrine, and aid to Greece and Turkey than regarding the existence of UNESCO. Seven out of every 10 people were able to identify Greece as one country for which assistance had been recommended, and 5 out of every 10 knew Turkey was included. The question:

"As you know, President Truman recently suggested that the United States send 400 million dollars to aid two European countries—can you remember which two countries he wants to aid?"

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Greece | 70% |
| Turkey | 50 |
| Other countries | 18 |
| Don't know | 20 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 158% ² |

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

¹Percentages add to more than 64 because a few people mentioned more than one organization.

²Percentages add to more than 100 because many people mentioned more than one country.

The Palestine Problem

People also were very much aware of the situation in Palestine—at least to the extent of knowing some of the groups involved in the controversy. The question used to measure popular information in this area read:

"Can you tell me which groups of people have been having trouble in Palestine recently?"

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Jews, or Zionists..... | 81% |
| Arabs, or Mohammedans..... | 44 |
| English | 32 |
| Others | 5 |
| Don't know | 15 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 177%* |

LEVEL OF INFORMATION: GROUP COMPARISONS

During the weeks just before the survey was made, both the Truman Doctrine and the difficulties in Palestine had been in the news constantly, so knowledge in these two areas may be taken as an elementary index of interest and information on international affairs. An analysis of the way people answered the question on the Truman Doctrine and

*Percentages add to more than 100 because many people mentioned more than one group.

the question on Palestine indicates that only 10 per cent of the population can be rated as *very well informed*, in that they identified both Greece and Turkey as the proposed recipients of a 400 million dollar aid program and named correctly the three groups involved in the Palestine upheavals—Jews, Arabs, and British.

Classified as *well informed* were the 32 per cent who identified both Greece and Turkey and named two of the three groups involved in Palestine. Considered *partially informed* were 45 per cent who were but partly right on one or both questions.

The remaining 13 per cent gave totally wrong answers to both questions, or replied "I don't know." This group was classified as *uninformed*.

Almost all of those classified as *very well informed* (89 per cent)—in contrast to only 24 per cent of the *uninformed*—know that the United States has joined an international organization working for peace. In answering other questions throughout the survey, well informed people consistently support both the ends and means of the UNESCO program to a far greater degree than do the poorly informed. The summary table which follows shows clearly the sharp gradations in attitude:

OF THOSE WHO ARE:

Very Well Informed Well Informed Partially Informed Un-informed

| Very Well Informed | Well Informed | Partially Informed | Un-informed | |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---|
| 52% | 39% | 33% | 21% | approve <i>all five UNESCO projects</i> . |
| 1 | 6 | 10 | 14 | approve <i>none</i> of the UNESCO projects. |
| 83 | 73 | 64 | 39 | believe an <i>uncensored exchange of news with Russia</i> would lead to better understanding. |
| 71 | 56 | 47 | 32 | think American publishers should have the <i>right to send materials into Russia</i> . |
| 68 | 52 | 41 | 20 | think Russian publishers should have the <i>right to send materials into the United States</i> . |
| 78 | 66 | 64 | 53 | feel that an <i>exchange of workers with other countries</i> would lead to better understanding. |
| 51 | 40 | 31 | 17 | would <i>like</i> to exchange workers with <i>all nine countries</i> named. |
| 61 | 51 | 54 | 39 | say Negroes and whites should have <i>equal chances for jobs</i> . |
| 56 | 43 | 32 | 18 | believe that the way Negroes are treated in this country affects <i>other countries' attitudes toward the United States</i> . |
| 70 | 59 | 53 | 45 | think the United States can <i>help prevent war</i> . |
| 25 | 20 | 10 | 6 | believe the world police force should <i>outnumber</i> United States armed forces. |
| 85 | 81 | 71 | 41 | tend to think in an <i>international frame of reference</i> ** |

**These respondents named at least one international problem in answer to the question "When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first?"

What other problems do you think of?" (See analysis on page 5, this report.)

Although significant differences appear on almost every question asked, there were three issues on which the level of information seemed to have no bearing on attitudes. Well informed and uninformed alike approve of universal military training; they are equally pessimistic about the prospects of another war within 25 years; approximately three-fourths of all groups subscribe in principle to our participation in an international police force.

Considerable caution should be exercised in interpreting these findings. While those who are best informed are consistently more in accord with UNESCO than are others, this does not mean that even a many-fold increase in the dissemination of information about international happenings would result in significant changes in public attitudes.

Psychologists have often established the fact that learning and retention are directly dependent upon the individual's *interest in learning*. Any UNESCO informational program, to change the views of those now hostile or indifferent, should begin by establishing the will to learn—and in a fashion best designed to appeal to the uneducated personal interest.*

Further, those responsible for educational programs should remember that this survey has found that people are only too ready to pay lip service to a general principle, but to flout the principle when there arises a concrete example of carrying it out. Therefore, educational programs should be pointed toward conclusions that are as concrete and down-to-earth as possible.

Although it would seem that the well informed subscribe to UNESCO principles, closer scrutiny reveals that their agreement stands out only by contrast with the uninformed. Note that with the "very well informed" group, only slightly more than half approve of all five UNESCO projects or would like to see an exchange of workers with all nine countries mentioned, or feel that the way Negroes are treated affects attitudes of other countries toward the United States. The basic principle behind an effective international police force is that it should be larger than the forces of any single nation, but

*Numerous earlier surveys have established the fact that the less well educated are more susceptible to the spoken word than to the written word—to the radio more than to newspapers or magazines.

only 25 per cent even of the "very well informed" group agree with this principle. Thus it is clear that even members of the best informed group evidence a number of blockages and inconsistencies in their thinking on international problems. The uninformed sadly need education, but the "very well informed" need a good deal of education, also.

Group comparisons show that the best informed segments of the population are the *college-educated* (66 per cent of whom are very well informed or well informed), the *wealthy and prosperous* (59 per cent), *professional and managerial workers* (56 per cent), and *veterans* (52 per cent). (See Appendix, Table 31, for a detailed analysis.)

EDUCATION AND ATTITUDES

Educational level, as well as level of information, is related to significant differences in the opinions of people about almost all the issues considered in this report. College-educated people are much more in accord with the basic philosophy behind UNESCO, and more consistent in supporting the specific measures to implement the broad policies than are those with less schooling. The college-educated are more informed about world affairs, and more inclined to express an opinion on most of the issues than are the less well educated. That educational level alone is not the only determining factor in people's opinions is of course a truism. Age, occupation, place of residence, and membership in a certain socio-economic class all have their influence, as well as the more subtle factors of interest and personal philosophy. However, educational level is probably one of the most important single determinants of the support of UNESCO philosophy.

Detailed tables in the Appendix will show clearly that most college-educated people are already in the UNESCO vanguard. From those with less education UNESCO can expect opposition, or at least inertia, in its efforts to obtain popular acceptance of its programs.

The lesson for UNESCO is clear—its educational programs must appeal not only to the well informed, alert, and well educated people who attend UNESCO conferences and meetings, but also to the broader base consisting of those who have not yet heard of UNESCO.

Youth...the Key to the Future

The opinions of youth (persons from 14 to 21 years of age) on national and international problems are not usually solicited by most research agencies. But, because the National Opinion Research Center feels with UNESCO that the opinions of youth are particularly relevant to the work of UNESCO, the Center deviated from its usual practice and included in this survey a special sample of young people.

In general, the thinking of young people is more in harmony with the UNESCO point of view than is the opinion pattern of their elders. Compared with those 21 and over, young people are more "internationally minded," more favorably inclined toward all the specific UNESCO projects tested, more hopeful that the United States can contribute to mutual understanding among nations in the cause of peace. Youth as a group is better informed than adults in regard to United States participation in organizations to maintain peace, but less well informed concerning the Palestine situation and the Truman Doctrine. Young people's opinions do not differ materially from those of older people on the issues of military training or this country's participation in an international police force.

Most hopeful of all indications is the fact that the opinion pattern of young people is very similar to that of persons on the highest educational level.

WAR AND PEACE

Expectations of Another War

Youth's traditional optimism is not evidenced on the question of another war involving the United States. Like their elders, young people believe that the United States will fight in another war within 25 years, and they are equally sure of their opinions.

The comparison:

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Expect war within 25 years..... | 65% | 62% |
| Fairly sure | 33% | 31% |
| Just likely | 32 | 30 |
| Don't know how sure..... | * | 1 |
| Do not expect war..... | 24 | 26 |
| Don't know | 11 | 12 |
| | 100% | 100% |

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

When asked to mention the problems facing the United States now, young people are more inclined than others to stress the importance of *international* problems. Thirty per cent mentioned only international problems, in contrast to 15 per cent of the adult group. Thirteen per cent of the young people mentioned only domestic problems, while 24 per cent of the older group limited their answers to domestic problems.

While it is quite natural that youth is less concerned with such domestic problems as the high cost of living, and housing, the difference in frame of reference may be an indication that the orientation of the people as a whole is becoming more international.

Prevention of War

Young people are not significantly more sure than their elders that the United States could do something to prevent a war, but their ideas as to *what could be done* tend to approach the problem from a different angle. Young people are more inclined to suggest a course of action falling within the UNESCO framework of friendly cooperation and understanding between nations and are less inclined to feel that we can avoid war by building up our defenses. The comparison follows:

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Think the United States COULD prevent war | 59% | 55% |
| The United States can do nothing.. | 28 | 30 |
| Don't know | 13 | 15 |
| | 100% | 100% |

Suggestions within a UNESCO frame of reference...

| | | |
|---|-------|-------|
| Strengthen the United Nations, compromise, cooperate with other countries | 26% | 14% |
| Foster educational activities, such as exchange of literature and workers, teaching to increase international understanding | 18 | 11 |
| Develop more friendly and tolerant attitudes | 5 | 6 |
| Work for a more friendly attitude toward Russia | 5 | 3 |
| Aid needy countries..... | 3 | 3 |
| | 57%** | 37%** |

**See footnote (1) on following page.

Suggestions not compatible with UNESCO philosophy and methods . . .

| | | |
|---|------------------------|------------------------|
| Build up United States defenses, increase armaments, make more atomic bombs | 5 | 12 |
| Withdraw from international affairs, mind our own business; give first attention to solving domestic problems | 5 | 10 |
| Practice a firmer foreign policy..... | 2 | 3 |
| Take a firmer attitude toward Russia; stop the spread of communism.. | 1 | 3 |
| Other answers; don't know what to do | 3 | 2 |
| | <u>16%¹</u> | <u>30%¹</u> |

Young people and adults have very similar ideas as to what clubs and organizations could do to help prevent wars, but the two age groups have different concepts of the scientist's role. The younger generation lays *more* stress on the peaceful potentialities of science and *less* emphasis on making more varied and deadly weapons of war. This relative emphasis is strikingly consistent with the distribution of suggestions as to what the United States as a country can do to prevent another war:

THINK SCIENTISTS SHOULD :

Suggestions within a UNESCO frame of reference . . .

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Make only peaceful inventions; refuse to invent war weapons; make things to help mankind live a better life | 21% | 14% |
| Stop making atomic bombs; destroy and outlaw war weapons..... | 6 | 4 |
| Educate people to understand the horrors of new weapons and another war | 2 | 4 |
| Share their knowledge with scientists everywhere | 8 | 4 |
| Work for international control of atomic energy | 5 | 1 |

Suggestions not compatible with UNESCO philosophy and methods . . .

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Make more bombs, more horrible weapons | 8 | 12 |
| Keep the atomic bomb secret; guard all military secrets..... | 5 | 5 |
| Other suggestions | 3 | 5 |
| Scientists can do nothing; or don't know | 46 | 54 |
| | <u>104%²</u> | <u>103%²</u> |

¹Because some people made more than one suggestion, percentages add to more than the percentage saying "Yes," when both types of suggestions are totaled.

²Because some people made more than one suggestion, percentages add to more than 100.

Conscription and/or a World Police Force

Young people are as much in favor of compulsory military training as are those over 21 (65 per cent of both groups approve). Young people are about as inconsistent as their elders in approving the general principle of a world police force, and yet not agreeing that our armed forces should be outnumbered by the international police force:

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| United States should join international police force..... | 77% | 74% |
| United States armed forces should be <i>smaller</i> than international police force | 17% | 14% |

THE UNESCO VIEWPOINT

Freedom of Communications

About half of both young and old people indicate an adherence to the general principle of freedom of communications between Russia and the United States. The young group is no more consistent than are adults regarding the extension of the same freedoms to both Russia and the United States. The comparison:

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Believe that exchange of reporters between United States and Russia would make for <i>BETTER</i> understanding | 65% | 66% |
| Russians should have right of censorship | 39% | 39% |
| United States should have right of censorship | 46% | 47% |

Racial Prejudice

Since World War II, educators in all parts of the United States have redoubled their efforts to stem the tide of race prejudice. In the words of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, of India: "Children know no barriers of race or creed. Let us not educate them to know them."³ Perhaps the most encouraging of the findings on attitudes of youth is that they are to some degree less prejudiced against Negroes than are older people. Also, almost half of the younger group are willing to face one of the implications inherent in the "Negro problem"—that the way Negroes are treated in this country affects attitudes of other countries toward the United States. However, even if education can be credited with endeavoring to lead the younger generation toward a more complete realization of the rights of man, much

³"Understanding Through Education," *The School Executive*, October, 1946.

still remains to be done. Thirty-nine per cent of young people still do not believe in equal job opportunities for Negroes.

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Negroes should have <i>equal chances</i> to get jobs..... | 61% | 50% |
| The way Negroes are treated in this country affects other countries' attitudes toward the United States.... | 46% | 34% |

SPECIFIC UNESCO PROJECTS

Young people are consistently more in favor of United States participation in UNESCO projects than are those older. The pattern of approval resembles that of their elders in that the rank order of the projects is the same. The over-all support of youth is more wholehearted—only 1 per cent withhold support from all five programs, as contrasted to 10 per cent of older people.

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Per cent saying the United States SHOULD put up money to:</i> | | |
| Help rebuild schools and colleges.... | 86% | 65% |
| Help pay for a United Nations broadcasting station | 75 | 66 |
| Look over school books used in all countries | 72 | 63 |
| Send teachers and workers to foreign countries | 66 | 60 |
| Help countries exchange books, magazines | 64 | 56 |

Young people, in line with the previous findings that their opinions tend to agree with UNESCO philosophy, are more agreeable to the principle of exchange of workers with other countries than are older people. However, they are no more consistent than older people in extending the exchange program to all of the various countries. Seventy-four per cent of the youth group feel that an international exchange of workers would create better feeling among the countries, as contrasted to 63 per cent of those over 21 years. Only one-third of both age groups extend the basic principle to cover an exchange with *all nine* countries asked about. However, young people were less prone to say they would like an exchange with *none* of the countries (8 per cent as contrasted to 20 per cent of older group).

The table below, indicating how the two age groups feel about an exchange of workers with each of the nine countries named, shows that in each instance the "would like" percentage of young people is higher than the "would like" percentage of adults. Fewer young people also say they "would not like" specific countries; the difference is especially striking in the case of Germany and Russia.

Attitudes toward an international exchange of workers between the United States and . . .

| | WOULD LIKE | | WOULD NOT LIKE | | NO OPINION | |
|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
| England.. | 73% | 62% | 11% | 18% | 16% | 20% |
| Sweden.... | 62 | 63 | 8 | 15 | 30 | 22 |
| France.... | 64 | 60 | 9 | 17 | 27 | 23 |
| China | 65 | 56 | 13 | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| Mexico.... | 58 | 55 | 16 | 20 | 26 | 25 |
| Greece | 59 | 53 | 10 | 18 | 31 | 29 |
| Germany | 62 | 52 | 18 | 30 | 20 | 18 |
| Russia | 58 | 52 | 22 | 33 | 20 | 15 |
| Japan | 50 | 41 | 35 | 41 | 15 | 18 |

INFORMATION ABOUT WORLD AFFAIRS

Young people are more aware that the United States has joined organizations working for peace than are their elders:

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Yes, the United States has joined organizations | 72% | 63% |
| United Nations | 59% | 53% |
| UNESCO | * | * |
| Other UN agencies..... | 4 | 3 |
| Non-UN organizations..... | 9 | 6 |
| Don't know | 6 | 5 |
| | 78%** | 67%** |
| No, the United States has NOT joined organization | 13 | 15 |
| Don't know | 15 | 22 |
| | 100% | 100% |

But youth is less well informed than the older group about Palestine and the Truman Doctrine. Fewer young people than older ones were able to identify Greece and Turkey as the proposed recipients of the Truman aid program, and fewer were able to identify the opposing factions in Palestine.

| | Youth Under 21 | Adults 21 and Over |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|
| The comparison: | | |
| Identified as Recipients of Aid Program: | | |
| Greece | 61% | 72% |
| Turkey | 39 | 52 |
| Other countries | 24 | 17 |
| Don't know | 26 | 19 |
| | 150%** | 160%** |

Mentioned as Having Trouble in Palestine:

| | | |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|
| Jews, or Zionists..... | 75% | 82% |
| Arabs, or Mohammedans..... | 40 | 45 |
| English | 28 | 33 |
| Others | 4 | 5 |
| Don't know | 23 | 14 |
| | 170%** | 179%** |

This special study of the opinions of young people clearly indicates that there is much hope for a greater tolerance and international understanding in the coming generation. Youth is one group that, if reached on its own terms, can do a great deal to further the UNESCO program.

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

**Because many people gave more than one answer, percentages total more than the original percentage of respondents.

THE CROSS-SECTION

The cross-sections used by the National Opinion Research Center vary from survey to survey and are adapted to the particular problems and specific purposes of each research project. The sample employed in the survey on which this report is based was a miniature of that portion of the population of the United States 14 years of age and over, stratified according to a number of relevant characteristics.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION: Within each of four regions, interviews were properly apportioned among metropolitan districts, towns, and rural areas.

AGE AND SEX: Similarly, interviews were apportioned among the different age and sex segments of the population in accordance with the most recent reliable estimates available in Census data. Sixteen per cent of the respondents were 14 through 20 years of age, 39 per cent were 21 through 39 years of age, and 45 per cent were 40 years of age and over. Forty-eight per cent were men and 52 per cent were women.

RACE: Within each of the regions, the number of Negro respondents was proportionate to the Negro population of the area. Negro respondents were also properly distributed as to urban and rural residence.

ECONOMIC STATUS: The white rural non-farm and urban portions of the sample were also apportioned according to four standard-of-living categories, as follows:

- A. This group is drawn from among those people who, in their respective communities, comprise the top 2 per cent of the families, arranged according to their wealth or economic prosperity.
- B. This group is drawn from the next 14 per cent of families.
- C. This group is drawn from the next lower 52 per cent of families.
- D. This group is drawn from the lowest 32 per cent of families.

For purposes of tabulation the two upper categories (A and B) were combined; this joint group is referred to in the report as the "*wealthy and prosperous*." The C and D groups are referred to as the "*middle class*" and the "*poor*" respectively.

SIZE OF SAMPLE: A total of 1,530 interviews was obtained, of which 239 were with persons 14 to 21 years of age and the remaining 1,291 with persons 21 years of age and over.

Interviewers' assignments were made, on a quota basis, in such way as to secure a sample of the foregoing design.

The sub-groupings reported in the appendix are based on the case distribution indicated below:

| | |
|--|------|
| Men | 742 |
| Women | 788 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 360 |
| White collar workers..... | 218 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 558 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 104 |
| Farmers | 248 |
| Not reported | 42 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 264 |
| Middle class | 772 |
| Poor | 485 |
| Not reported | 9 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 239 |
| Adults 21-39 | 599 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 692 |
| Attended college | 296 |
| Attended high school | 752 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 480 |
| Not reported | 2 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 431 |
| Midwest | 472 |
| South | 437 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 190 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 439 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 369 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 459 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 263 |
| Union members* | 178 |
| Union member in family..... | 261 |
| Non-members | 1014 |
| Not reported | 77 |
| Veterans | 209 |
| Veteran in family..... | 694 |
| Non-veterans | 624 |
| Not reported | 3 |

*Since the "non-union" member category includes people in all occupational strata, a comparison should also be made between the opinions of union members and the opinions of all manual and factory workers.

APPENDIX

Table 1

| <i>"Do you expect the United States to fight in another war within the next 25 years?"</i> | | | |
|--|-----|-----|------------|
| | Yes | No | Don't Know |
| All persons interviewed..... | 63% | 26% | 11%=100% |
| Men | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| Women | 61 | 24 | 15 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 57 | 30 | 13 |
| White collar workers..... | 57 | 30 | 13 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 64 | 25 | 11 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 75 | 15 | 10 |
| Farmers | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 65 | 27 | 8 |
| Middle class | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| Poor | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| Adults 21-39 | 64 | 25 | 11 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 61 | 27 | 12 |
| Attended college | 62 | 29 | 9 |
| Attended high school..... | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 56 | 28 | 16 |
| Midwest | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| South | 67 | 23 | 10 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 68 | 24 | 8 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 56 | 29 | 15 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 67 | 25 | 8 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 69 | 20 | 11 |
| Union members..... | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| Non-members | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| Veterans | 65 | 28 | 7 |
| Veteran in family..... | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| Non-veterans | 63 | 27 | 10 |

Table 2

"When you think of the problems facing the United States now, which one comes to your mind first? What other problems do you think of?"

| | International Only | International and Shift to Domestic | Domestic or Ambiguous and Shift to International | Domestic Only | Domestic or Ambiguous and Shift to Domestic | Don't Know |
|--|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--|---------------|---|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 17% | 39% | 16% | 22% | 2% | 4%=100% |
| Men | 16 | 41 | 18 | 19 | 2 | 4 |
| Women | 18 | 37 | 14 | 24 | 2 | 5 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 19 | 44 | 19 | 14 | 3 | 1 |
| White collar workers..... | 18 | 51 | 13 | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 15 | 34 | 15 | 27 | 3 | 6 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 20 | 27 | 16 | 28 | 2 | 7 |
| Farmers | 17 | 35 | 16 | 23 | 2 | 7 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 19 | 46 | 19 | 15 | 1 | * |
| Middle class | 17 | 44 | 17 | 18 | 2 | 2 |
| Poor | 17 | 26 | 14 | 31 | 2 | 10 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 30 | 35 | 12 | 13 | 1 | 9 |
| Adults 21-39 | 15 | 38 | 16 | 25 | 2 | 4 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 15 | 41 | 17 | 22 | 2 | 3 |
| Attended college | 13 | 50 | 22 | 12 | 3 | |
| Attended high school..... | 19 | 41 | 15 | 20 | 2 | 3 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 16 | 29 | 14 | 31 | 2 | 8 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 18 | 39 | 15 | 20 | 4 | 4 |
| Midwest | 19 | 38 | 16 | 23 | 1 | 3 |
| South | 15 | 40 | 16 | 22 | 1 | 6 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 15 | 37 | 18 | 22 | 5 | 3 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 15 | 39 | 14 | 26 | 2 | 4 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 17 | 37 | 22 | 18 | 2 | 4 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 19 | 43 | 12 | 21 | 3 | 2 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 18 | 34 | 17 | 22 | 2 | 7 |
| Union members..... | 12 | 38 | 17 | 26 | 4 | 3 |
| Non-members | 17 | 39 | 15 | 22 | 2 | 5 |
| Veterans | 15 | 44 | 16 | 23 | 1 | 1 |
| Veteran in family..... | 17 | 36 | 16 | 23 | 3 | 5 |
| Non-veterans | 17 | 40 | 16 | 20 | 2 | 5 |

Table 3

"Do you think there's anything the United States COULD do to prevent a war?"

| | Yes | No | Don't Know |
|--|-----|-----|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 55% | 30% | 15% = 100% |
| Men | 60 | 29 | 11 |
| Women | 51 | 30 | 19 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 67 | 24 | 9 |
| White collar workers..... | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 51 | 32 | 17 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 45 | 36 | 19 |
| Farmers | 48 | 31 | 21 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 62 | 28 | 10 |
| Middle class | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| Poor | 46 | 32 | 22 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| Adults 21-39 | 54 | 31 | 15 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Attended college | 71 | 21 | 8 |
| Attended high school..... | 54 | 32 | 14 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 47 | 32 | 21 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 60 | 23 | 17 |
| Midwest | 53 | 34 | 13 |
| South | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 50 | 35 | 15 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 57 | 29 | 14 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 58 | 28 | 14 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 55 | 32 | 13 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 49 | 29 | 22 |
| Union members..... | 58 | 31 | 11 |
| Non-members | 54 | 29 | 17 |
| Veterans | 62 | 28 | 10 |
| Veteran in family..... | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Non-veterans | 53 | 31 | 16 |

Table 4

"Should every able-bodied American twenty years old be required to go into the Army or Navy for one year?"

| | Yes | No | Don't Know |
|--|-----|-----|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 65% | 32% | 3% = 100% |
| Men | 65 | 32 | 3 |
| Women | 65 | 31 | 4 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 68 | 28 | 4 |
| White collar workers..... | 61 | 36 | 3 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 67 | 31 | 2 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 70 | 27 | 3 |
| Farmers | 58 | 38 | 4 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| Middle class | 64 | 32 | 4 |
| Poor | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 65 | 34 | 1 |
| Adults 21-39 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 64 | 31 | 5 |
| Attended college | 65 | 32 | 3 |
| Attended high school | 65 | 32 | 3 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 65 | 30 | 5 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 66 | 29 | 5 |
| Midwest | 60 | 37 | 3 |
| South | 68 | 29 | 3 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 68 | 30 | 2 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 64 | 33 | 3 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 65 | 31 | 4 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 69 | 28 | 3 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 59 | 37 | 4 |
| Union members..... | 64 | 34 | 2 |
| Non-members | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| Veterans | 69 | 30 | 1 |
| Veteran in family..... | 65 | 31 | 4 |
| Non-veterans | 64 | 33 | 3 |

Table 5

"Would you like to see the United States join in a movement to establish an international police force to maintain world peace?"

| | Yes | No | Don't Know |
|--|-----|-----|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 75% | 17% | 8% = 100% |
| Men | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| Women | 74 | 15 | 11 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 76 | 17 | 7 |
| White collar workers..... | 73 | 20 | 7 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 74 | 17 | 9 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 78 | 11 | 11 |
| Farmers | 75 | 14 | 11 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 76 | 18 | 6 |
| Middle class | 76 | 17 | 7 |
| Poor | 72 | 16 | 12 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 77 | 16 | 7 |
| Adults 21-39 | 76 | 15 | 9 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 73 | 18 | 9 |
| Attended college | 76 | 20 | 4 |
| Attended high school..... | 73 | 19 | 8 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 76 | 11 | 13 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 76 | 18 | 6 |
| Midwest | 75 | 17 | 8 |
| South | 75 | 14 | 11 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 73 | 20 | 7 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 76 | 17 | 7 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 70 | 18 | 12 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 79 | 16 | 5 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 72 | 16 | 12 |
| Union members..... | 73 | 19 | 8 |
| Non-members | 75 | 16 | 9 |
| Veterans | 76 | 20 | 4 |
| Veteran in family..... | 75 | 15 | 10 |
| Non-veterans | 75 | 17 | 8 |

Table 6

"If an international police force is set up, do you think the United States should keep armed forces that are larger, smaller, or about the same size as this international police force?"

| | Larger | Smaller | Same Size | Don't Know |
|--|--------|---------|-----------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 31% | 15% | 39% | 15%=100% |
| Men | 34 | 19 | 35 | 12 |
| Women | 28 | 10 | 43 | 19 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 27 | 19 | 39 | 15 |
| White collar workers..... | 26 | 16 | 42 | 16 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 35 | 12 | 39 | 14 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 33 | 13 | 40 | 14 |
| Farmers | 32 | 11 | 37 | 20 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 26 | 18 | 41 | 15 |
| Middle class | 31 | 15 | 40 | 14 |
| Poor | 35 | 11 | 35 | 19 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 29 | 17 | 46 | 8 |
| Adults 21-39 | 33 | 16 | 38 | 13 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 31 | 13 | 37 | 19 |
| Attended college | 20 | 26 | 40 | 14 |
| Attended high school..... | 33 | 13 | 42 | 12 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 36 | 10 | 32 | 22 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 28 | 16 | 40 | 16 |
| Midwest | 28 | 16 | 42 | 14 |
| South | 37 | 12 | 35 | 16 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 33 | 15 | 37 | 15 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 24 | 15 | 41 | 20 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 36 | 15 | 34 | 15 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 34 | 16 | 41 | 9 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 32 | 11 | 38 | 19 |
| Union members..... | 39 | 15 | 33 | 13 |
| Non-members | 31 | 14 | 39 | 16 |
| Veterans | 33 | 21 | 36 | 10 |
| Veteran in family..... | 31 | 11 | 40 | 18 |
| Non-veterans | 31 | 16 | 38 | 15 |

Table 7

"If our news reporters in Russia—and Russian reporters in this country—were allowed to report on everything that goes on, do you think this would make for better or worse understanding between the people of Russia and the United States?"

| | Better | Worse | Don't Know |
|--|--------|-------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 66% | 22% | 12% = 100% |
| Men | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| Women | 62 | 25 | 13 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 73 | 17 | 10 |
| White collar workers..... | 74 | 16 | 10 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 55 | 26 | 19 |
| Farmers | 60 | 26 | 14 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 78 | 17 | 5 |
| Middle class | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| Poor | 52 | 30 | 18 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 65 | 27 | 8 |
| Adults 21-39 | 66 | 24 | 10 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 66 | 20 | 14 |
| Attended college | 79 | 17 | 4 |
| Attended high school..... | 68 | 23 | 9 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 54 | 25 | 21 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 69 | 19 | 12 |
| Midwest | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| South | 60 | 26 | 14 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 77 | 14 | 9 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 65 | 22 | 13 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 60 | 26 | 14 |
| Union members..... | 69 | 20 | 11 |
| Non-members | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Veterans | 74 | 19 | 7 |
| Veteran in family..... | 65 | 23 | 12 |
| Non-veterans | 64 | 23 | 13 |

Table 8

"Do you think American publishers should have the right to send their magazines and newspapers into Russia, or should Russia have the right to keep out things it doesn't agree with?"

| | Publishers Right to Send | RUSSIA Right to Keep Out | Don't Know |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 50% | 40% | 10%=100% |
| Men | 53 | 40 | 7 |
| Women | 47 | 40 | 13 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 59 | 35 | 6 |
| White collar workers..... | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 46 | 42 | 12 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 44 | 39 | 17 |
| Farmers | 40 | 46 | 14 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 57 | 38 | 5 |
| Middle class | 53 | 39 | 8 |
| Poor | 42 | 42 | 16 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| Adults 21-39 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 50 | 39 | 11 |
| Attended college | 63 | 34 | 3 |
| Attended high school..... | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 59 | 33 | 8 |
| Midwest | 48 | 42 | 10 |
| South | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 56 | 36 | 8 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 54 | 36 | 10 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 50 | 39 | 11 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 51 | 42 | 7 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 42 | 43 | 15 |
| Union members..... | 55 | 40 | 5 |
| Non-members | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Veterans | 56 | 41 | 3 |
| Veteran in family..... | 49 | 39 | 12 |
| Non-veterans | 50 | 40 | 10 |

Table 9

"Do you think Russian publishers should have the right to send their magazines and newspapers into the United States, or should the United States have the right to keep out things it doesn't agree with?"

| | Publishers Right to Send | UNITED STATES Right to Keep Out | Don't Know |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 44% | 48% | 8%=100% |
| Men | 50 | 45 | 5 |
| Women | 38 | 51 | 11 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 55 | 42 | 3 |
| White collar workers..... | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| Farmers | 35 | 54 | 11 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 51 | 46 | 3 |
| Middle class | 47 | 47 | 6 |
| Poor | 35 | 51 | 14 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 48 | 46 | 6 |
| Adults 21-39 | 46 | 46 | 8 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 42 | 50 | 8 |
| Attended college | 60 | 37 | 3 |
| Attended high school..... | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 52 | 41 | 7 |
| Midwest | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| South | 37 | 51 | 12 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 50 | 46 | 4 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 48 | 45 | 7 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 47 | 46 | 7 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 38 | 51 | 11 |
| Union members..... | 49 | 47 | 4 |
| Non-members | 43 | 48 | 9 |
| Veterans | 55 | 44 | 1 |
| Veteran in family..... | 41 | 49 | 10 |
| Non-veterans | 44 | 48 | 8 |

Table 10

"Do you think Negroes around here should have as good a chance as white people to get every kind of job, or do you think white people should have a better chance?"

| | As Good as Whites | Whites Have Better | Don't Know |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 52% | 45% | 3% = 100% |
| Men | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| Women | 52 | 44 | 4 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 60 | 37 | 3 |
| White collar workers..... | 51 | 46 | 3 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 51 | 46 | 3 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 51 | 43 | 6 |
| Farmers | 44 | 53 | 3 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 54 | 42 | 4 |
| Middle class | 51 | 46 | 3 |
| Poor | 51 | 45 | 4 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 61 | 37 | 2 |
| Adults 21-39 | 53 | 44 | 3 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| Attended college | 62 | 36 | 2 |
| Attended high school..... | 53 | 43 | 4 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| Midwest | 47 | 50 | 3 |
| South | 46 | 53 | 1 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 56 | 41 | 3 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 60 | 36 | 4 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 50 | 48 | 2 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 47 | 50 | 3 |
| Union members..... | 50 | 46 | 4 |
| Non-members | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| Veterans | 58 | 39 | 3 |
| Veteran in family..... | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| Non-veterans | 49 | 47 | 4 |

Table 11

"Do you think the way Negroes are treated in this country has any effect on the attitudes of people in foreign countries toward us?"

| | Yes | No | Don't Know |
|--|-----|-----|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 36% | 45% | 19% = 100% |
| Men | 38 | 47 | 15 |
| Women | 34 | 43 | 23 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 47 | 40 | 13 |
| White collar workers..... | 41 | 43 | 16 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 32 | 47 | 21 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 23 | 42 | 35 |
| Farmers | 31 | 50 | 19 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| Middle class | 37 | 46 | 17 |
| Poor | 29 | 43 | 28 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 46 | 38 | 16 |
| Adults 21-39 | 37 | 44 | 19 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 32 | 48 | 20 |
| Attended college | 54 | 38 | 8 |
| Attended high school..... | 36 | 46 | 18 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 25 | 47 | 28 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 43 | 40 | 17 |
| Midwest | 34 | 46 | 20 |
| South | 31 | 47 | 22 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 36 | 46 | 18 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 38 | 43 | 19 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 33 | 43 | 24 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 39 | 45 | 16 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 30 | 51 | 19 |
| Union members..... | 35 | 46 | 19 |
| Non-members | 35 | 46 | 19 |
| Veterans | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| Veteran in family..... | 33 | 44 | 23 |
| Non-veterans | 37 | 45 | 18 |

Table 12

"It has been suggested that each country in the United Nations put up some money to do the things on this card. Do you think the United States should put up money to help rebuild schools and colleges destroyed in the war?"

| | Should | Should Not | No Opinion |
|--|--------|------------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 68% | 22% | 10%=100% |
| Men | 66 | 24 | 10 |
| Women | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 73 | 19 | 8 |
| White collar workers..... | 72 | 19 | 9 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 69 | 19 | 12 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| Farmers | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| Middle class | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| Poor | 63 | 23 | 14 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 86 | 5 | 9 |
| Adults 21-39 | 69 | 21 | 10 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Attended college | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| Attended high school..... | 71 | 19 | 10 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 59 | 27 | 14 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 74 | 18 | 8 |
| Midwest | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| South | 68 | 19 | 13 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 61 | 24 | 15 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 65 | 22 | 13 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 68 | 21 | 11 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| Union members..... | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| Non-members | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| Veterans | 69 | 22 | 9 |
| Veteran in family..... | 66 | 23 | 11 |
| Non-veterans | 70 | 20 | 10 |

Table 13

"It has been suggested that each country in the United Nations put up some money to do the things on this card. Do you think the United States should put up money to look over the school books used in all countries to see that they don't build up misunderstandings among countries?"

| | Should | Should Not | No Opinion |
|--|--------|------------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 64% | 24% | 12%=100% |
| Men | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| Women | 67 | 21 | 12 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 71 | 21 | 8 |
| White collar workers..... | 67 | 23 | 10 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 64 | 23 | 13 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 61 | 24 | 15 |
| Farmers | 57 | 28 | 15 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 68 | 26 | 6 |
| Middle class | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| Poor | 57 | 25 | 18 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 72 | 15 | 13 |
| Adults 21-39 | 63 | 24 | 13 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| Attended college | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| Attended high school..... | 68 | 21 | 11 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 69 | 21 | 10 |
| Midwest | 66 | 25 | 9 |
| South | 62 | 22 | 16 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 70 | 23 | 7 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 65 | 21 | 14 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 57 | 27 | 16 |
| Union members..... | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| Non-members | 65 | 23 | 12 |
| Veterans | 62 | 26 | 12 |
| Veteran in family..... | 64 | 24 | 12 |
| Non-veterans | 65 | 23 | 12 |

Table 14

"It has been suggested that each country in the United Nations put up some money to do the things on this card. Do you think the United States should put up money to help countries exchange with each other such things as books, magazines, art, and museum exhibits?"

| | Should | Should Not | No Opinion |
|--|--------|------------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 58% | 25% | 17%=100% |
| Men | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| Women | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 67 | 19 | 14 |
| White collar workers..... | 66 | 21 | 13 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 56 | 27 | 17 |
| Farmers | 44 | 35 | 21 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 64 | 25 | 11 |
| Middle class | 63 | 22 | 15 |
| Poor | 46 | 31 | 23 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 64 | 20 | 16 |
| Adults 21-39 | 58 | 25 | 17 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 56 | 28 | 16 |
| Attended college | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| Attended high school..... | 61 | 23 | 16 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 45 | 32 | 23 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Midwest | 60 | 27 | 13 |
| South | 49 | 28 | 23 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 54 | 22 | 24 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 53 | 27 | 20 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 57 | 24 | 19 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 46 | 34 | 20 |
| Union members..... | 55 | 26 | 19 |
| Non-members | 58 | 26 | 16 |
| Veterans | 60 | 25 | 15 |
| Veteran in family..... | 56 | 26 | 18 |
| Non-veterans | 59 | 26 | 15 |

Table 15

"It has been suggested that each country in the United Nations put up some money to do the things on this card. Do you think the United States should put up money to send teachers and workers to foreign countries on an exchange arrangement in which other countries would send their teachers and workers here?"

| | Should | Should Not | No Opinion |
|--|--------|------------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 61% | 28% | 11%=100% |
| Men | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| Women | 61 | 28 | 11 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 73 | 18 | 9 |
| White collar workers..... | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 58 | 30 | 12 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 54 | 34 | 12 |
| Farmers | 50 | 38 | 12 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 66 | 25 | 9 |
| Middle class | 65 | 27 | 8 |
| Poor | 52 | 32 | 16 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 66 | 23 | 11 |
| Adults 21-39 | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| Attended college | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| Attended high school..... | 62 | 29 | 9 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 50 | 35 | 15 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| Midwest | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| South | 60 | 26 | 14 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 51 | 32 | 17 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 54 | 34 | 12 |
| Union members..... | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| Non-members | 62 | 28 | 10 |
| Veterans | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| Veteran in family..... | 61 | 28 | 11 |
| Non-veterans | 60 | 29 | 11 |

Table 16

"It has been suggested that each country in the United Nations put up some money to do the things on this card. Do you think the United States should put up money to help pay for a United Nations broadcasting station that would send radio programs to all countries, telling the people what's going on in the world?"

| | Should | Should Not | No Opinion |
|--|--------|------------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 67% | 23% | 10%=100% |
| Men | 67 | 24 | 9 |
| Women | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 70 | 22 | 8 |
| White collar workers..... | 75 | 18 | 7 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| Farmers | 60 | 27 | 13 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 69 | 24 | 7 |
| Middle class | 70 | 20 | 10 |
| Poor | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 75 | 14 | 11 |
| Adults 21-39 | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 65 | 26 | 9 |
| Attended college | 74 | 19 | 7 |
| Attended high school..... | 70 | 21 | 9 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 58 | 27 | 15 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 72 | 18 | 10 |
| Midwest | 66 | 28 | 6 |
| South | 66 | 22 | 12 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 62 | 23 | 15 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 62 | 24 | 14 |
| Union members..... | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| Non-members | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| Veterans | 68 | 23 | 9 |
| Veteran in family..... | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| Non-veterans | 69 | 21 | 10 |

Table 17

A Summary of Tables 12-16

| | Should Do 5 Items | Should Do 2-4 Items | Should Do 1 Item | Should Do None | Don't Know |
|--|----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 34% | 45% | 9% | 9% | 3%=100% |
| Men | 35 | 44 | 9 | 9 | 3 |
| Women | 34 | 46 | 9 | 8 | 3 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 42 | 43 | 8 | 5 | 2 |
| White collar workers..... | 40 | 44 | 7 | 8 | 1 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 33 | 46 | 8 | 9 | 4 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 35 | 37 | 11 | 12 | 5 |
| Farmers | 23 | 51 | 11 | 11 | 4 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 34 | 49 | 7 | 8 | 2 |
| Middle class | 39 | 45 | 8 | 7 | 1 |
| Poor | 30 | 41 | 11 | 11 | 7 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 39 | 49 | 7 | 1 | 4 |
| Adults 21-39 | 34 | 47 | 9 | 8 | 2 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 34 | 42 | 9 | 12 | 3 |
| Attended college | 42 | 47 | 6 | 5 | * |
| Attended high school..... | 37 | 46 | 8 | 7 | 2 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 26 | 43 | 11 | 13 | 7 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 42 | 42 | 8 | 6 | 2 |
| Midwest | 33 | 45 | 8 | 13 | 1 |
| South | 32 | 47 | 9 | 7 | 5 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 29 | 46 | 14 | 7 | 4 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 47 | 34 | 9 | 9 | 1 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 33 | 44 | 6 | 11 | 6 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 31 | 52 | 9 | 6 | 2 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 24 | 52 | 12 | 9 | 3 |
| Union members..... | 31 | 46 | 9 | 11 | 3 |
| Non-members | 36 | 43 | 10 | 8 | 3 |
| Veterans | 35 | 45 | 9 | 10 | 1 |
| Veteran in family..... | 34 | 46 | 8 | 9 | 3 |
| Non-veterans | 36 | 44 | 9 | 8 | 3 |

Table 18

"If this country had different kinds of workers trade places with workers in foreign countries for a few months—such as teachers, office workers, factory workers and farmers—do you think this would bring about a better feeling between the people of this country and other countries, or not?"

| | Yes | No | Don't Know |
|--|-----|-----|------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 64% | 27% | 9% = 100% |
| Men | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| Women | 65 | 25 | 10 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 72 | 22 | 6 |
| White collar workers..... | 68 | 25 | 7 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 55 | 30 | 15 |
| Farmers | 61 | 31 | 8 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 64 | 30 | 6 |
| Middle class | 68 | 25 | 7 |
| Poor | 59 | 27 | 14 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| Adults 21-39 | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Attended college | 74 | 22 | 4 |
| Attended high school..... | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 56 | 29 | 15 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| Midwest | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| South | 67 | 22 | 11 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 64 | 27 | 9 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 63 | 25 | 12 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 68 | 24 | 8 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| Union members..... | 60 | 32 | 8 |
| Non-members | 64 | 26 | 10 |
| Veterans | 67 | 27 | 6 |
| Veteran in family..... | 62 | 27 | 11 |
| Non-veterans | 66 | 26 | 8 |

Table 19

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | SWEDEN | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 62% | 14% | 10% | 14%=100% |
| Men | 65 | 16 | 7 | 12 |
| Women | 60 | 13 | 12 | 15 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 71 | 12 | 7 | 10 |
| White collar workers..... | 70 | 13 | 7 | 10 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 57 | 15 | 10 | 18 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 51 | 18 | 17 | 14 |
| Farmers | 60 | 14 | 12 | 14 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 69 | 16 | 4 | 11 |
| Middle class | 66 | 13 | 8 | 13 |
| Poor | 52 | 16 | 15 | 17 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 61 | 8 | 8 | 23 |
| Adults 21-39 | 60 | 16 | 9 | 15 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 65 | 15 | 11 | 9 |
| Attended college | 77 | 11 | 2 | 10 |
| Attended high school..... | 62 | 14 | 8 | 16 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 54 | 17 | 17 | 12 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 66 | 14 | 9 | 11 |
| Midwest | 65 | 14 | 8 | 13 |
| South | 57 | 13 | 13 | 17 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 62 | 17 | 7 | 14 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 65 | 14 | 10 | 11 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 61 | 17 | 12 | 10 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 61 | 12 | 8 | 19 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 63 | 13 | 10 | 14 |
| Union members..... | 70 | 14 | 7 | 9 |
| Non-members | 62 | 14 | 11 | 13 |
| Veterans | 59 | 20 | 5 | 16 |
| Veteran in family..... | 63 | 13 | 11 | 13 |
| Non-veterans | 63 | 14 | 10 | 13 |

Table 20

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | RUSSIA | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 53% | 31% | 8% | 8%=100% |
| Men | 53 | 33 | 6 | 8 |
| Women | 52 | 29 | 10 | 9 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 65 | 25 | 4 | 6 |
| White collar workers..... | 61 | 27 | 5 | 7 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 48 | 34 | 9 | 9 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 40 | 36 | 13 | 11 |
| Farmers | 44 | 35 | 11 | 10 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 59 | 33 | 3 | 5 |
| Middle class | 57 | 30 | 6 | 7 |
| Poor | 42 | 32 | 14 | 12 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 58 | 22 | 6 | 14 |
| Adults 21-39 | 57 | 28 | 8 | 7 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 47 | 37 | 9 | 7 |
| Attended college | 74 | 20 | 1 | 5 |
| Attended high school..... | 53 | 31 | 7 | 9 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 38 | 39 | 14 | 9 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 58 | 28 | 8 | 6 |
| Midwest | 51 | 33 | 7 | 9 |
| South | 51 | 29 | 10 | 10 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 48 | 37 | 6 | 9 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 54 | 31 | 7 | 8 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 52 | 32 | 10 | 6 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 53 | 31 | 6 | 10 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 49 | 31 | 10 | 10 |
| Union members..... | 56 | 31 | 6 | 7 |
| Non-members | 52 | 31 | 9 | 8 |
| Veterans | 62 | 25 | 3 | 10 |
| Veteran in family..... | 51 | 32 | 9 | 8 |
| Non-veterans | 52 | 32 | 8 | 8 |

Table 21

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | JAPAN | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 43% | 40% | 8% | 9% = 100% |
| Men | 44 | 41 | 6 | 9 |
| Women | 41 | 40 | 10 | 9 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 54 | 32 | 5 | 9 |
| White collar workers..... | 53 | 33 | 6 | 8 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 37 | 44 | 9 | 10 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 33 | 44 | 14 | 9 |
| Farmers | 36 | 46 | 10 | 8 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 50 | 38 | 5 | 7 |
| Middle class | 47 | 38 | 5 | 10 |
| Poor | 32 | 45 | 14 | 9 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 50 | 35 | 4 | 11 |
| Adults 21-39 | 43 | 40 | 8 | 9 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 40 | 43 | 9 | 8 |
| Attended college | 62 | 27 | 2 | 9 |
| Attended high school..... | 42 | 42 | 6 | 10 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 32 | 46 | 15 | 7 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 47 | 38 | 7 | 8 |
| Midwest | 42 | 39 | 7 | 12 |
| South | 41 | 42 | 11 | 6 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 39 | 44 | 6 | 11 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 48 | 35 | 7 | 10 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 38 | 44 | 10 | 8 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 44 | 41 | 7 | 8 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 38 | 43 | 9 | 10 |
| Union members..... | 46 | 38 | 6 | 10 |
| Non-members | 42 | 40 | 9 | 9 |
| Veterans | 47 | 38 | 3 | 12 |
| Veteran in family..... | 40 | 43 | 9 | 8 |
| Non-veterans | 45 | 38 | 8 | 9 |

Table 22

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | GREECE | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 54% | 17% | 10% | 19%=100% |
| Men | 56 | 19 | 8 | 17 |
| Women | 52 | 15 | 12 | 21 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 63 | 14 | 6 | 17 |
| White collar workers..... | 61 | 16 | 7 | 16 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 49 | 18 | 11 | 22 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 43 | 21 | 17 | 19 |
| Farmers | 51 | 17 | 13 | 19 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 60 | 17 | 4 | 19 |
| Middle class | 58 | 17 | 9 | 16 |
| Poor | 43 | 18 | 16 | 23 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 59 | 10 | 8 | 23 |
| Adults 21-39 | 54 | 17 | 10 | 19 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 52 | 19 | 12 | 17 |
| Attended college | 72 | 12 | 2 | 14 |
| Attended high school..... | 53 | 17 | 9 | 21 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 44 | 20 | 18 | 18 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 60 | 16 | 9 | 15 |
| Midwest | 54 | 16 | 8 | 22 |
| South | 52 | 17 | 14 | 17 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 46 | 21 | 9 | 24 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 58 | 16 | 9 | 17 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 48 | 21 | 14 | 17 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 55 | 15 | 8 | 22 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 54 | 15 | 11 | 20 |
| Union members..... | 59 | 19 | 7 | 15 |
| Non-members | 53 | 17 | 11 | 19 |
| Veterans | 55 | 22 | 4 | 19 |
| Veteran in family..... | 51 | 17 | 12 | 20 |
| Non-veterans | 57 | 15 | 10 | 18 |

Table 23

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | GERMANY | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|-------------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 54% | 28% | 8% | 10% \equiv 100% |
| Men | 57 | 28 | 6 | 9 |
| Women | 50 | 30 | 10 | 10 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 63 | 22 | 4 | 11 |
| White collar workers..... | 63 | 23 | 6 | 8 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 50 | 30 | 9 | 11 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 42 | 37 | 13 | 8 |
| Farmers | 46 | 35 | 10 | 9 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 58 | 31 | 4 | 7 |
| Middle class | 58 | 26 | 6 | 10 |
| Poor | 45 | 31 | 14 | 10 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 62 | 18 | 5 | 15 |
| Adults 21-39 | 54 | 29 | 8 | 9 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 50 | 32 | 10 | 8 |
| Attended college | 73 | 19 | 2 | 6 |
| Attended high school..... | 53 | 29 | 6 | 12 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 42 | 34 | 15 | 9 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 58 | 25 | 8 | 9 |
| Midwest | 53 | 30 | 6 | 11 |
| South | 51 | 31 | 10 | 8 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 52 | 27 | 7 | 14 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 57 | 27 | 7 | 9 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 50 | 29 | 11 | 10 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 56 | 28 | 6 | 10 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 50 | 31 | 9 | 10 |
| Union members..... | 56 | 30 | 6 | 8 |
| Non-members | 53 | 29 | 9 | 9 |
| Veterans | 62 | 27 | 3 | 8 |
| Veteran in family..... | 49 | 29 | 10 | 12 |
| Non-veterans | 56 | 28 | 8 | 8 |

Table 24

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | CHINA | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 57% | 21% | 9% | 13% = 100% |
| Men | 56 | 24 | 7 | 13 |
| Women | 58 | 18 | 11 | 13 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 67 | 17 | 5 | 11 |
| White collar workers..... | 64 | 19 | 6 | 11 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 52 | 22 | 11 | 15 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 44 | 26 | 15 | 15 |
| Farmers | 53 | 23 | 12 | 12 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 61 | 21 | 5 | 13 |
| Middle class | 61 | 20 | 7 | 12 |
| Poor | 48 | 23 | 15 | 14 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 64 | 13 | 6 | 17 |
| Adults 21-39 | 58 | 21 | 9 | 12 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 53 | 24 | 11 | 12 |
| Attended college | 72 | 15 | 2 | 11 |
| Attended high school..... | 58 | 21 | 7 | 14 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 47 | 24 | 17 | 12 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 61 | 19 | 9 | 11 |
| Midwest | 54 | 22 | 8 | 16 |
| South | 58 | 19 | 13 | 10 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 53 | 27 | 6 | 14 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 61 | 19 | 8 | 12 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 52 | 26 | 12 | 10 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 57 | 19 | 8 | 16 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 57 | 20 | 11 | 12 |
| Union members..... | 57 | 23 | 8 | 12 |
| Non-members | 57 | 21 | 10 | 12 |
| Veterans | 57 | 26 | 4 | 13 |
| Veteran in family..... | 55 | 21 | 11 | 13 |
| Non-veterans | 60 | 19 | 9 | 12 |

Table 25

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | FRANCE | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 61% | 15% | 10% | 14%=100% |
| Men | 62 | 17 | 7 | 14 |
| Women | 60 | 14 | 12 | 14 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 69 | 13 | 7 | 11 |
| White collar workers..... | 66 | 14 | 8 | 12 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 56 | 17 | 11 | 16 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 54 | 18 | 15 | 13 |
| Farmers | 58 | 15 | 12 | 15 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 67 | 16 | 5 | 12 |
| Middle class | 63 | 15 | 8 | 14 |
| Poor | 53 | 16 | 15 | 16 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 64 | 9 | 6 | 21 |
| Adults 21-39 | 62 | 15 | 9 | 14 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 59 | 18 | 12 | 11 |
| Attended college | 75 | 11 | 2 | 12 |
| Attended high school..... | 60 | 16 | 8 | 16 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 52 | 18 | 18 | 12 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 63 | 15 | 9 | 13 |
| Midwest | 59 | 17 | 7 | 17 |
| South | 64 | 12 | 14 | 10 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 56 | 19 | 7 | 18 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 63 | 15 | 9 | 13 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 58 | 19 | 13 | 10 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 61 | 14 | 8 | 17 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 61 | 13 | 10 | 16 |
| Union members..... | 65 | 16 | 7 | 12 |
| Non-members | 61 | 15 | 11 | 13 |
| Veterans | 63 | 19 | 4 | 14 |
| Veteran in family..... | 60 | 15 | 12 | 13 |
| Non-veterans | 62 | 14 | 9 | 15 |

Table 26

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | MEXICO | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 56% | 19% | 10% | 15% = 100% |
| Men | 57 | 20 | 8 | 15 |
| Women | 54 | 18 | 12 | 16 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 62 | 15 | 7 | 16 |
| White collar workers..... | 61 | 18 | 7 | 14 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 52 | 19 | 11 | 18 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 43 | 14 | 16 | 17 |
| Farmers | 55 | 21 | 12 | 12 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 59 | 21 | 5 | 15 |
| Middle class | 59 | 18 | 8 | 15 |
| Poor | 47 | 20 | 16 | 17 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 58 | 16 | 6 | 20 |
| Adults 21-39 | 56 | 17 | 10 | 17 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 54 | 21 | 12 | 13 |
| Attended college | 71 | 13 | 3 | 13 |
| Attended high school..... | 54 | 20 | 8 | 18 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 49 | 21 | 18 | 12 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 57 | 18 | 10 | 15 |
| Midwest | 52 | 23 | 8 | 17 |
| South | 59 | 15 | 13 | 13 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 49 | 22 | 9 | 20 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 56 | 19 | 10 | 15 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 51 | 21 | 13 | 15 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 57 | 17 | 8 | 18 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 57 | 20 | 10 | 13 |
| Union members..... | 57 | 19 | 8 | 16 |
| Non-members | 55 | 19 | 11 | 15 |
| Veterans | 56 | 22 | 4 | 18 |
| Veteran in family..... | 53 | 19 | 13 | 15 |
| Non-veterans | 58 | 18 | 9 | 15 |

Table 27

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you'd like (would not like) to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | ENGLAND | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|------------|
| | Would Like | Would Not Like | Don't Know | No Opinion |
| All persons interviewed..... | 64% | 17% | 9% | 10% = 100% |
| Men | 63 | 20 | 7 | 10 |
| Women | 65 | 14 | 11 | 10 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 72 | 15 | 5 | 8 |
| White collar workers..... | 70 | 16 | 6 | 8 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 60 | 19 | 10 | 11 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 54 | 20 | 15 | 11 |
| Farmers | 61 | 15 | 12 | 12 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 71 | 16 | 4 | 9 |
| Middle class | 66 | 18 | 7 | 9 |
| Poor | 57 | 17 | 14 | 12 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 73 | 11 | 6 | 10 |
| Adults 21-39 | 62 | 18 | 8 | 12 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 63 | 18 | 11 | 8 |
| Attended college | 78 | 12 | 2 | 8 |
| Attended high school..... | 64 | 18 | 7 | 11 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 55 | 19 | 16 | 10 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 66 | 18 | 8 | 8 |
| Midwest | 60 | 20 | 8 | 12 |
| South | 68 | 12 | 12 | 8 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 59 | 21 | 7 | 13 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 62 | 21 | 9 | 8 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 62 | 18 | 11 | 9 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 67 | 14 | 7 | 12 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 65 | 14 | 10 | 11 |
| Union members..... | 64 | 18 | 7 | 11 |
| Non-members | 64 | 17 | 10 | 9 |
| Veterans | 63 | 21 | 4 | 12 |
| Veteran in family..... | 62 | 17 | 11 | 10 |
| Non-veterans | 67 | 16 | 8 | 9 |

Table 28

"Suppose our government does ask workers from other countries to trade places with workers in the United States for a few months. Are there any of these countries you would like to have send some of their workers to the United States?"

| | Total Countries Respondent "WOULD LIKE" | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----|-------|------|------|-----|-------|-------|------|--------------|
| | One | Two | Three | Four | Five | Six | Seven | Eight | Nine | None |
| All persons interviewed..... | 5% | 8% | 9% | 6% | 6% | 6% | 4% | 4% | 34% | 18% =100% |
| Men | 6 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 34 | 17 |
| Women | 5 | 9 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 33 | 19 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 4 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 42 | 10 |
| White collar workers..... | 4 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 42 | 13 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 6 | 9 | 11 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 29 | 20 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 6 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 25 | 30 |
| Farmers | 7 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 30 | 23 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 4 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 39 | 14 |
| Middle class | 5 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 37 | 15 |
| Poor | 7 | 9 | 12 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 27 | 25 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 4 | 8 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 34 | 8 |
| Adults 21-39 | 6 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 36 | 18 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 6 | 8 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 32 | 21 |
| Attended college | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 52 | 8 |
| Attended high school..... | 6 | 9 | 11 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 52 | 15 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 6 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 26 | 29 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 5 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 38 | 16 |
| Midwest | 6 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 32 | 20 |
| South | 6 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 33 | 16 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 5 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 32 | 18 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | | | | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 6 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 38 | 17 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 4 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 31 | 22 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 6 | 9 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 33 | 15 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 6 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 33 | 20 |
| Union members..... | 7 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 37 | 16 |
| Non-members | 6 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 33 | 18 |
| Veterans | 5 | 11 | 9 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 38 | 15 |
| Veteran in family..... | 5 | 9 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 33 | 20 |
| Non-veterans | 6 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 34 | 17 |

Table 29

| | Japan | Russia | Germany | China | Mexico | England | Greece | France | Sweden |
|---|-------|--------|---------|-------|--------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| Per cent of total population saying "Would not like" | 40% | 31% | 28% | 21% | 19% | 17% | 17% | 15% | 14% |
| BASES FOR OPPOSITION TO AN EXCHANGE PLAN: | | | | | | | | | |
| Plan wouldn't work; it would be a waste of money, time is too short, too few people are concerned..... | 5%** | 6% | 7% | 9% | 10% | 11% | 12% | 12% | 11% |
| They don't need our help, are friendly now.. | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 13 | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| We have nothing to gain or learn from them; we are already superior..... | 5 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 4 | 10 | 4 | 6 |
| Let them look out for themselves; they are satisfied as they are..... | 3 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| They would lower wages, take our jobs, lower our standards..... | 4 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| They would bring in bad ideas: disrupt the status quo, give a chance for communism, fascism, labor trouble..... | 4 | 25 | 11 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| They would be a menace to national security: they would learn our secrets and use them against us | 7 | 11 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Because of the hatred we feel due to the war: they were our enemies (or they were not enough help) | 14 | 1 | 15 | * | 1 | * | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| SPECIFIC STEREOTYPES | | | | | | | | | |
| They are treacherous, sneaky, sly, can't be trusted | 21 | 12 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| They are strange, difficult to understand, would never mix..... | 7 | 4 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| They are cruel, mean, barbarous, not civilized | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | * | * | * | * |
| They are imperialistic, troublemakers, dic- tatorial, selfish | 4 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| They are uncooperative, smug, don't want to learn | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | --- | 3 | 1 | --- | * |
| They are dumb, ignorant, lack capacity, are backward | 2 | 1 | * | 4 | 3 | * | 1 | * | 2 |
| They are lower socially, dirty, would soon be on relief | 2 | * | --- | 4 | 6 | * | 2 | 1 | * |
| They are lazy, irresponsible, won't work..... | * | * | * | 1 | 2 | * | 1 | 3 | * |
| They think we owe them something, are haughty, let us pay the bills..... | * | 1 | * | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| They are heathens, godless, have no religion.. | * | 1 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Other reasons | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| There are too many here already..... | 5 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 10 |
| I don't like foreigners, we wouldn't get along | 9 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 12 | 9 | 7 |
| Don't know and no reason specified..... | 10 | 11 | 13 | 19 | 22 | 21 | 25 | 27 | 26 |
| | 112% | 109% | 109% | 110% | 112% | 108% | 110% | 110% | 107% |

*Less than one-half of one per cent.

**Percentages in each column are based only on persons answering "Would not like" regarding the particular nationality.

Because many respondents gave more than one reason, percentages add to more than 100.

Table 30

"As you know, President Truman recently suggested that the United States send 400 million dollars to aid two European countries—can you remember which two countries he wants to aid?"

"Can you tell me which groups of people have been having trouble in Palestine recently?"

| | Answers to Both Questions ENTIRELY CORRECT | Answers to First Question Correct; One Mistake on Second Question | Part Right | All Wrong or Don't Know |
|--|--|---|------------|-------------------------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 10% | 32% | 45% | 13% = 100% |
| Men | 13 | 38 | 39 | 10 |
| Women | 6 | 26 | 52 | 16 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 20 | 36 | 39 | 5 |
| White collar workers..... | 12 | 40 | 43 | 5 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 5 | 30 | 50 | 15 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 1 | 23 | 56 | 20 |
| Farmers | 5 | 27 | 43 | 25 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 17 | 42 | 39 | 2 |
| Middle class | 10 | 35 | 45 | 10 |
| Poor | 5 | 21 | 49 | 25 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 7 | 24 | 50 | 19 |
| Adults 21-39 | 8 | 31 | 48 | 13 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 11 | 35 | 42 | 12 |
| Attended college | 20 | 46 | 32 | 2 |
| Attended high school..... | 9 | 32 | 50 | 9 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 4 | 23 | 46 | 27 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 14 | 37 | 43 | 6 |
| Midwest | 7 | 32 | 49 | 12 |
| South | 7 | 23 | 45 | 25 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 12 | 39 | 44 | 5 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 10 | 33 | 49 | 8 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 10 | 35 | 42 | 13 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 10 | 31 | 46 | 13 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 6 | 27 | 44 | 23 |
| Union members..... | 9 | 41 | 42 | 8 |
| Non-members | 10 | 30 | 45 | 15 |
| Veterans | 14 | 38 | 42 | 6 |
| Veteran in family..... | 9 | 28 | 48 | 15 |
| Non-veterans | 8 | 34 | 44 | 14 |

Table 31

"Do you happen to belong to any groups or organizations that discuss national or international problems?"

| | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----------|
| All persons interviewed..... | 16% | 84%=100% |
| Men | 17 | 83 |
| Women | 15 | 85 |
| Professional and managerial workers..... | 27 | 73 |
| White collar workers..... | 15 | 85 |
| Manual and factory workers..... | 13 | 87 |
| Domestic and personal service workers..... | 10 | 90 |
| Farmers | 11 | 89 |
| Wealthy and prosperous..... | 28 | 72 |
| Middle class | 16 | 84 |
| Poor | 8 | 92 |
| Young people 14-20..... | 19 | 81 |
| Adults 21-39 | 16 | 84 |
| Adults 40 and over..... | 15 | 85 |
| Attended college | 32 | 68 |
| Attended high school..... | 15 | 85 |
| Eighth grade or less..... | 7 | 93 |
| New England and Mid-Atlantic states..... | 19 | 81 |
| Midwest | 16 | 84 |
| South | 15 | 85 |
| Rocky Mountain and Pacific states..... | 12 | 88 |
| Residents of metropolitan districts | | |
| ... 1 million or more population..... | 17 | 83 |
| ... 50,000-1 million | 17 | 83 |
| Smaller cities and towns..... | 17 | 83 |
| Farmers and farm residents..... | 11 | 89 |
| Union members..... | 15 | 85 |
| Non-members | 16 | 84 |
| Veterans | 23 | 77 |
| Veteran in family..... | 15 | 85 |
| Non-veterans | 14 | 86 |

NORC Reports

Every year the National Opinion Research Center issues several research reports, each of which presents a detailed analysis of public opinion in a given area as revealed by one or more NORC surveys, often supplemented by findings from other opinion research organizations. The complete roster of reports follows:

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. One Week before Pearl Harbor. Attitudes toward the war in Europe. December, 1941..... | Out of Print |
| 2. National Opinion on Current and Post-War Problems. March, 1942. (32 pages)..... | \$.10 |
| 3. Regional Opinion on Vital Economic and Political Questions. Rocky Mountain attitudes toward post-war problems. April, 1942. (32 pages with map).... | .10 |
| 3S. (Supplement to Report No. 3) Regional Opinion toward Federal Regulation. Federal vs. state control of utilities, services, etc. May, 1942. (8 pages)..... | .10 |
| 4. Anti-Inflation Measures. National opinion on tax proposals, wartime regulation of prices, incomes, and profits. June, 1942. (24 pages with map)..... | .10 |
| 4S. (Supplement to Report No. 4) National Opinion toward Federal Regulation. June, 1942. (8 pages)..... | .10 |
| 5. A Nation-Wide Survey of Post-War and Current Problems. August, 1942. (32 pages with map)..... | .10 |
| 6. Current and Post-War Problems. Special graphic supplement. October, 1942. (16 pages with 12 charts)..... | .10 |
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