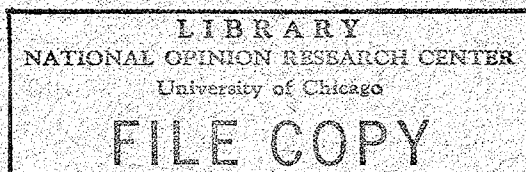


Germany and the Post-War World



NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

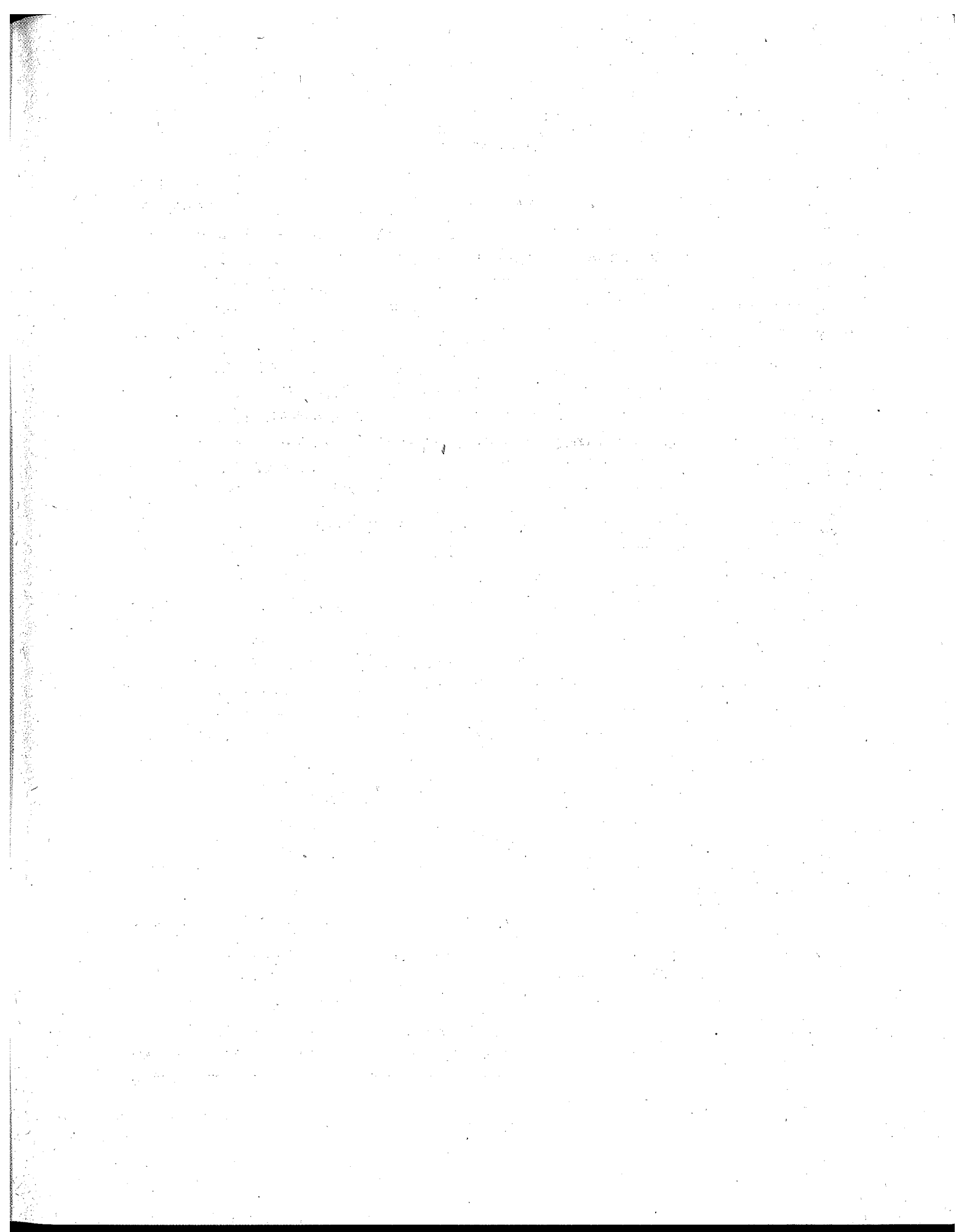
Report No. 24



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Summary

This report is entitled "Germany and the Post-War World" because most intelligent and thoughtful people **agree** that what is done with Germany and the German people after the war will determine to a very considerable extent how much **peace** and **prosperity** the entire world will enjoy in the years to come. Experts and "men-in-the-street," however, are by no means agreed among themselves as to the wisest way of dealing with a defeated Germany in order to secure a lasting peace. The present report gathers together, from the United States and several members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, public opinion regarding important aspects of Germany's post-war future—political, social, and economic.

Although an increasing proportion of the public judge the German people to be **essentially warlike**, many people in the United States still make a fundamental distinction between the **people of Germany** and their **Nazi leaders**, still consider the basic fault of the German people to be their ill-advised adherence to the **Fuehrer Prinzip**—the leaders in the present instance being Hitler and the Nazi-Junker-industrialist-military congeries which has furnished him support. While almost two out of three Americans think the Germans would like to be rid of their Nazi leaders, almost as many think the people incapable of ousting this Nazi hierarchy. Although a majority of **all** civilian adults consider the **Nazi leaders alone** to be held accountable for wartime cruelties, a majority of persons with a **college** background would place responsibility on **both** the Nazis and the German people.

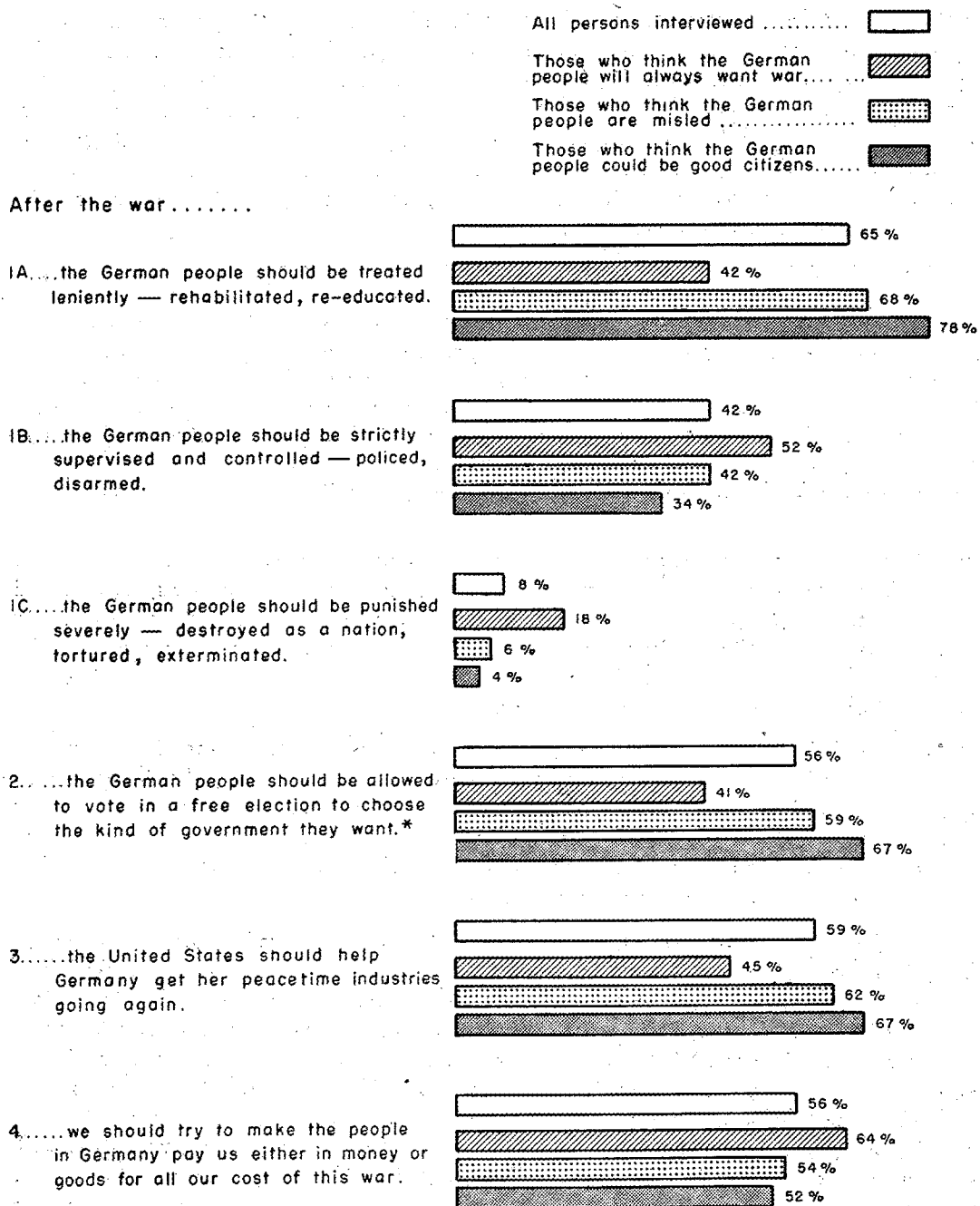
When asked to recommend post-war treatment for the German people, a **majority suggested leniency**—kindness, re-education, with a substantial minority advocating **strict supervision and control**, and less than one person in ten suggesting **extreme severity**. Questions posed in terms of "**Germany**" rather than "the German people" tend to elicit somewhat harsher recommendations. For "**Hitler and the Nazi leaders**" is reserved the severest treatment of all—execution, torture, or imprisonment.

Clear majorities in the United States tend to **favor** providing some **relief** for the German people after the armistice, permitting the Germans to hold **free elections**, and having the Allies assume responsibility for the **re-education** of German youth. Americans also advocate the complete **disarmament** of the Reich and steps to prevent any sort of re-armament. Majorities here **oppose long-term occupation** of Germany proper or drastic **dismemberment**, either into independent but impotent segments or into territories subject to foreign rule.

The people of the United States would like to see the Allies help Germany get her **peacetime industries** going again after the war—a measure felt to be fundamental to permanent world peace and international prosperity. On the question of German **reparations** the public is divided, with a majority in favor of **trying** to make Germany pay, but with an equal majority believing collection **impossible**. Almost half the public, however, would demand reparations even if Germany were made to give up all conquered territories and if Hitler and the Nazi leaders were punished. A bare majority would favor the use of **forced German labor** to rebuild devastated Europe. Although slightly less than half believe that the enforcement—or non-enforcement—of the **Treaty of Versailles** contributed to the underlying **causes** of World War II, seven out of ten think the treatment of Germany **after** World War II will have an influence on the **future peace** of the world. It is most significant that, although more than seven out of ten Americans would approve United States **participation** in a post-war union, nearly six out of ten believe that there will **always be wars**—that, more specifically, the United States will fight another war within the next 50 years!

ARE THE GERMAN PEOPLE MISLED ?

RELATED ATTITUDES



* Percentages include "Depends" responses

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PART I

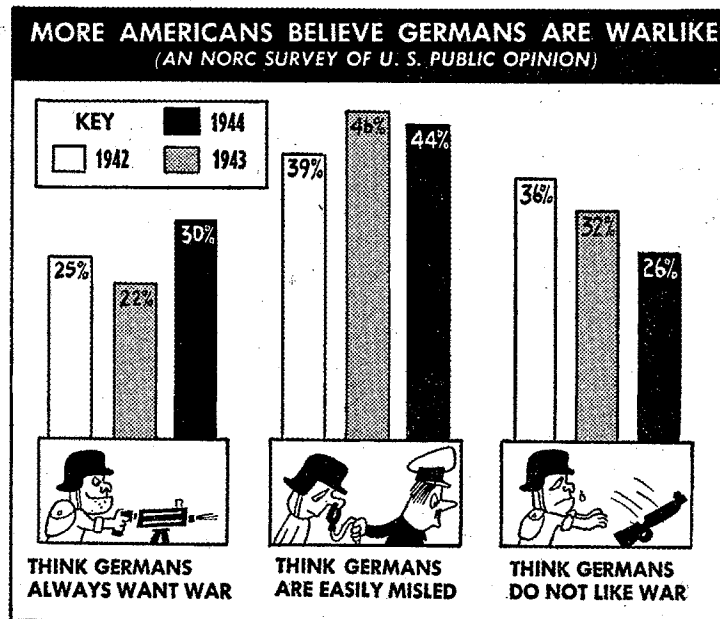
The German People and Their Nazi Leaders

Who was fundamentally responsible for Germany's part in World War II—the people of Germany or only the Nazi government? To what extent is public opinion justified in making distinctions between the German people and their leaders? American attitudes on these issues are vitally important because what we in the United States **think** about the people of Germany may have a considerable influence on decisions regarding the peace and the treatment of Germany in the years following the war.

While the first section of the report is devoted to questions hinging most definitely on the distinction or lack of it between the German people and their Nazi leaders, the issue reappears time and again throughout the report. Attitudes on this point seem basic to almost every other attitude regarding Germany's post-war future that the polls have attempted to measure.

Are the German People Misled?

An NORC trend question, asked first in February '42, showed, up to the time of the Allied invasion of Europe, a growing inclination to regard the German rank-and-file as fundamentally misled rather than basically war-minded. After the invasion, a significant reversal of the trend became evident. History will show whether or not public judgment has been correct in its estimate of the German people.



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NORC has asked the following question at intervals during the past three years:

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

	Feb. '42	Sept. '42	June '43	Feb. '44	Aug. '44	Dec. '44
"The German people will always want to go to war to make themselves as powerful as possible."	23%	25%	22%	25%	30%	37%
"The German people may not like war, but they have shown that they are too easily led into war by powerful leaders."	32	39	46	47	44	37
"The German people do not like war. If they could have the same chance as people in other countries they would become good citizens of the world."¹	45	36	32	28	26	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Undecided	7%	7%	3%	3%	5%	4%

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BY EDUCATION AND SECTION

From the fall of 1942 until the fall of 1944 pluralities of all three educational groups² and all sections of the country considered the basic fault of the German people to be their susceptibility to the force of powerful leaders. Persons with a college background and persons living in the Pacific and Mountain states have been most likely to hold that opinion. On the December, 1944, survey, when equal percentages of the public as a whole chose the "will always want war" and "too easily led" alternatives, for the first time pluralities of the least educated and residents of the South believed the German people **"will always want war."** The following table is based on the December '44 survey:

THE GERMAN PEOPLE				
	Will Always Want War	Are Too Easily Led	Could Be Good World Citizens	Undecided
TOTAL	37%	37%	26% = 100%	4%
By Education				
College	31	49	20	1
High School	36	40	24	2
Grade School	40	31	29	7
By Section				
South	46	33	21	8
New England and Middle Atlantic States	36	40	24	3
Pacific and Mountain States	30	39	31	4
Midwest	32	39	29	2

What attitudes toward the German people and their leaders are basically related to attitudes regarding other phases of the "German problem" is suggested by the chart on page 4. Those who thought that the German people would always want war invariably took a harsher stand than did those who considered the Germans misled or potential good world citizens.

¹On the February, 1942, survey this alternative read: "The German people are like any other people. If they could really choose the leaders they want, they would become good citizens of the world."

²Persons interviewed in NORC surveys are divided by education into three groups. The "college" category includes those who have attended college for at least one year. The "high school" group takes in those who have had one to four years of high school work. The third group includes all others—persons who have completed elementary school, persons who have attended, and some with no formal education at all.

COMPARISONS

In November '44 **Wallaces' Farmer**¹ reported a division of Iowa farm opinion somewhat at variance with that of the nation as a whole. Thirteen per cent thought the Germans would **always want war**, 47 per cent thought them **misled**, and 40 per cent—as compared with NORC figures of 31 per cent for the Midwest or 26 per cent for the nation as a whole—believed that if the Germans could "have the same chance as people in other countries, they would become **good citizens** of the world."

According to the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, the attitude of the majority of voters in Canada on the same issue could be summed up in the words of a general merchant in a western province who told a CIPO interviewer: "I believe that Germany goes to war because she has warlike leaders, but to my mind, that doesn't mean that the German people themselves should be treated too leniently by the Allies. After all the people allow the leaders to exist." The question eliciting the comment was asked in the fall of 1944:

"Do you think it is the German people themselves that make Germany go to war, or do you think it is because they have warlike leaders?"

German people 25% Some German people 11% Leaders 57% Undecided 7% = 100%

Men more than women and Canadians of British extraction more than those of other ancestry tended to hold the German people themselves responsible for the war.

A somewhat similar question, asked by **Fortune** before Pearl Harbor, although the effective alternatives presented were only two, indicated a division of opinion essentially in harmony with the trend obtained on the NORC version. The December '39 issue of **Fortune** reported:

"Which of these statements comes closest to your own idea of Germany?"

"The German people have always had an irrepressible fondness for brute force and conquest which makes the country a menace to world peace so long as it is allowed to be strong enough to fight.	19.6%
"The German people are essentially peace loving and kindly, but they have been unfortunate in being misled, too often, by ruthless and ambitious rulers.	66.6
"The needs of Germany's expanding population compel her to seek to conquer because other jealous powers try to keep her from expanding in a normal way.	4.2
"The best way for peace in Europe is to allow Germany, with her great organizing ability, to integrate the small nations of Central Europe."	1.8
Undecided	7.8
	100.0%

The Chief Enemy?

A distinction in popular thinking between the German people and their leaders has seemed quite clear-cut in the United States, but considerably less so in Great Britain.

The Gallup Polls² asked the following question in both the United States and Great Britain:

"In the war with Germany, do you feel that our chief enemy is the German people as a whole or the German government?"

	United States (December '42)	Great Britain (April '43)
German people	6%	41%
Nazi government	74	51
Both	18	—
Undecided	2	8
	100%	100%

At the outbreak of the war in September, 1939, 91 per cent of the British named the Nazi government as their chief enemy. During the blitz, in November, 1940, 50 per cent named the German people.

¹Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead, Des Moines, Iowa.

²American Institute of Public Opinion and British Institute of Public Opinion.

In a release dated June 11, 1943, Gallup summarized American opinion as follows: "The majority feel that, while German leaders must be fully punished for their crimes, nevertheless without those leaders we can get along with the German people."

In November, 1944, the Minnesota Poll¹ reported state-wide opinion on the following question:

"After Germany surrenders, which of these things do you believe we should do?"

Punish all Germans.....	16%
Punish only the German leaders.....	76
Do not punish any Germans.....	2
Undecided	6
	100%

According to the **Fortune** Survey of January '44, "Americans . . . are . . . outraged not just with the Nazis but with the German people, and they are talking tough." **Fortune** made the following summary of American attitudes, based on several survey questions, including the one quoted on page 7.

"American opinion, which once held the leaders of Germany largely responsible for German aggression, has now apparently changed to a belief that the German people must also bear the blame themselves. After the outbreak of World War II, 66.6 per cent of Americans interviewed said 'the German people are essentially peace loving and kindly.' But by mid-1942, 47.9 per cent thought that someone else would have started the war if Hitler hadn't. By June, 1943, only 4.2 per cent gave the trial and execution of leading Nazi officials as the sole measure they would recommend in dealing with Germany.

"It is certain that the Americans want to be firm with the German people on whom they now squarely lay the blame. But they do not want to destroy them. And they might return to their old emphasis on the good side of the German character. . . .

"Any workable solution . . . must probably balance firmness with humanity." ²

A British view—not a poll—is even harsher:

"Before the war and from personal observation in Germany it was clear to me that the bulk of Germans under 45 were Nazis in varying degrees of fervor and that the bulk of army officers over 45 were not, and with them may be dumped the bulk of the Junkers—the blue-blooded Prussians."³

The views of the people of the liberated countries—France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland, and the others—are analyzed in a recent **Foreign Policy Report**:

"The liberated peoples feel very strongly that no distinction should be drawn between Nazis and other Germans. Such distinction, they believe, is entirely unjustified, for they have failed to discover any evidence of the existence of 'two Germanys,' one militaristic and the other peace-loving. In the opinion of most Europeans, all Germans—'good' and 'bad' alike—supported the plan to rule the continent as long as it succeeded and should, therefore, be held responsible for the resulting suffering inflicted on Europe."⁴

Others take the opposite side of the argument:

"The Germans who will be freed from the Nazi straight-jacket love freedom as much as we do, and they have reason to hate war even more than we do."⁵

In "What Future for Germany?" Vera Micheles Dean summarized the arguments for and against making distinctions between the German people as a whole and the Nazis:

"Those who make this distinction urge the extermination of the Nazis and their associates, but fair and moderate treatment of the German people as a whole. It is contended that the German nation has produced men of great distinction in music, art, science, and literature, and that a people who could give the world Beethoven, Goethe, and Kant cannot be regarded as entirely beyond hope. To denounce the German people as a whole, it is said, is to adopt the Nazi technique of castigating entire races and excluding them from the human pale, and merely shows that the poison of Nazi doctrine is beginning to take effect among Germany's opponents. Therefore it is believed that one of the tasks of the Allies is to sift out the 'good' Germans from the 'bad,' and help the 'good' Germans rebuild the Reich on new, nonmilitarist lines after the war.

"This line of argument is rejected by others in the United Nations who are convinced that the German people are militaristic and nationalistic by nature, and have been bent on expansion and conquest since the dawn of history—from the German tribes immortalized by Tacitus and the Teutonic knights who fought the Slavs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, through Frederick the Great and Bismarck, to Wilhelm II and Hitler. They believe that it is impossible, and dangerous, to try to distinguish between the Germans and their leaders, and that henceforth the United Nations should destroy Pan-Germanism and deal with the German people in such a way as to deprive them forevermore of the ability to resume military conquest." Mrs. Dean draws this conclusion: "If the Allies are to win a 'decisive' victory, they must emphasize over and over again that the Nazis, not the German people as a whole, are the enemy; that they have no intention of annihilating the German nation; but that the Germans will have to bear the responsibility for continued support of Nazism and execution of orders issued by Nazi leaders."⁶

¹Sponsored by the Minneapolis Star Journal and Tribune.

²Fortune (Elmo Roper) news release dated January 3, 1944.

³Major General J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., British Army Retired, *Newsweek*, September 4, 1944.

⁴Winifred N. Hadsel, "What Kind of Peace with Germany—Terms Proposed by Liberated Nations of Europe," November 15, 1944.

⁵George N. Shuster, "Our Relations with Germany," *Foreign Policy Reports*, October 15, 1943.

⁶Foreign Policy Reports, February 1, 1943.

How Popular Were the Nazis?

NORC FINDINGS

Before the Allied invasion of the continent a majority of the American public (64%) believed that most of the German people would like to banish their leaders. A smaller majority (53%) thought that the German people were saddled with the Nazis, whether they wanted them or not. In February, 1944, NORC asked:

"Do you think that most of the people living in Germany would like to get rid of their Nazi leaders now, or not?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Yes	64 %	51 %	67 %	68 %
Qualified answer	2	3	3	1
No	19	29	18	15
Undecided	15	17	12	16
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

The same national cross-section of civilian adults was also asked:

"Do you think the German people could get rid of their Nazi Leaders if they wanted to?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Yes	31 %	26 %	29 %	36 %
Qualified answer	2	3	2	2
No	53	62	58	42
Undecided	14	9	11	20
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

The more extensive a person's educational background, the more likely he was to think that the German people did **not want** to be rid of the Nazi leaders, and that the Nazis **could not** be banished, even though the people might wish it. As on most questions, opinions of persons in the upper economic brackets and in the more skilled occupations paralleled, in general, those of the better educated, while persons less privileged economically and occupationally paralleled the opinions of respondents with little educational background.

Sectionally, the "Yes" answers divided as follows: Midwest—68 per cent; South—64 per cent; Pacific and Mountain states—60 per cent; New England and Middle Atlantic states—60 per cent. The uniformly high "Undecided" vote may indicate an appreciation not only of the lack of accurate information, but also of the somewhat controversial nature of the issue.

Typical of the qualified answers was the reply of a Baltimore electrician: "The older people would like to be rid of the Nazis; the younger ones don't know any better."

The majority who believed the Germans would like to oust their leaders suggested that the Germans were "sick of war" and "would like to be at peace." A lumberman in upper New York state put it this way: "Yes, but the people are afraid and are watched by their leaders." Respondents answering, "No, the German people don't want to be rid of their leaders," suggested that the Germans weren't "well enough informed about the outside world. . . . weren't yet convinced that the war is lost." Others remarked: "The Germans like war and conquest. They still think they're a super race."

Of those who qualified their answers regarding the ability of the German people to banish the Nazis, this remark by an Illinois cattle raiser is representative: "Only if the army commanders turn against Hitler."

The majority who believed that the Nazi could **not** be deposed by the German people made comments such as these: "No, it would mean a revolution and I don't think they have the courage. . . . They must be defeated on the battlefield. . . . Not at the present time; all the arms and ammunition are in control of the leaders. . . . Not without the assistance of the Allies. . . . No, all the younger generation are fanatically Nazi."

Respondents who thought the Germans **could** get rid of their leaders gave a variety of suggestions. The wife of an Auburn, Indiana, rubber worker said: "Yes, I think they will. An underground movement will be started." A farmer's wife near Paterson, New Jersey, replied: "Yes, if they knew the truth about the aims of the Allies, the German people could get rid of their Nazi leaders." According to a mechanic in Pontiac, Michigan, "You can get rid of anything the majority wants to get rid of."

Whether or not people think the Germans **would like** to get rid of their Nazi leaders has only a limited effect on opinion as to whether it would be **possible** for the German people to oust the Nazi. This is the comparison:

Of those who think the German people WOULD like to get rid of the Nazis:

32% think the German people **could** oust the Nazis if they wanted to.
55% think the German people **could not** oust the Nazis.

Of those who think the German people WOULD NOT like to get rid of the Nazis:

40% think the Germans **could** oust the Nazis.
52% think the Germans **could not**.

In the *New York Herald-Tribune*,¹ William L. Shirer commented on the question regarding the desire of the German people to be rid of their Nazi leaders:

"Today, as in World War I, most Americans are convinced that there is a vast difference between the German people and their Nazi leaders. It is widely believed both here and in England that the overwhelming majority of Germans are all right as people, but that unfortunately in modern times they have been victimized by their rulers—the Hohenzollern kings, the Iron Chancellor Bismarck, and last of all, by Hitler and his Nazi gangsters."

"Nothing could be further from the truth."

"The truth is that the German people have never had, in modern times, a regime more typical of its aspirations and character than that of the Nazis. Do you think that the Nazis could have overrun most of Europe, driven to the Volga, and almost knocked Russia and Great Britain out of the war, without the active, loyal, wholehearted, and fanatical support of the overwhelming majority of the German people? It is utter naivete or stupidity—or both—to think that the great effort of Germany in this war could be wrung from an unwilling nation, even by Himmler-Gestapo terrorist means...."

"Last month, the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver found in a nation-wide survey that 64 per cent of the American people thought that the German people would like to get rid of their Nazi leaders, while 53 per cent were sure that it was impossible for the Germans to get rid of the Nazis even if they wanted to."

"There is obvious danger in this kind of thinking. Getting rid of Hitler and his Nazi stooges will no more solve the problem of German aggression than chasing the Kaiser did in 1918. Only when Americans understand the role of other powerful elements in the German nation—the Junkers, the heavy industrialists, the Pan-German intellectuals—and the fact that the mass of the German people have supported Hitler's war, can we hope to get a solution of the German problem that will at least spare our next generation from war...."

"Let us hope that this curious softness in the British and American peoples toward the Germans will not lead us to commit the same terrible mistakes we made after 1918."

GALLUP FINDINGS

A Gallup question asked four and a half years earlier—in November, 1939—indicated that at that time a clear majority of the American public believed the Hitler regime lacked genuine popular support in Germany. AIPO asked:

"Do you think the people of Germany are in favor of Hitler?"

Believe majority favor Hitler.....	28%
Believe majority oppose Hitler.....	55
Undecided	17
	<hr/> 100%

Comments indicated that, before the United States' entry into the war, most Americans pictured the entire Hitler regime as "based on force and suppression."² Many doubted that "the German people approved of the persecution of Jews, Catholics, labor leaders, and other dissenters, which have marked the Nazi regime." A typical comment: "If the people were for him, Hitler wouldn't need to follow strong-arm methods." Most remarks visualized the German people under Hitler as "oppressed and cowed, silently submitting to the Nazi dictatorship."

¹May 7, 1944.

²See AIPO release, November 15, 1939.

Do Americans Hate the Germans?

To what extent is popular hatred of Germany or the Germans a factor in American recommendations for the post-war disposition of the German nation? Available data would seem to indicate that a majority of the United States public have not felt any deep emotion against the people of Germany. This apparent absence of hatred may be somewhat explained by an NORC question asked a nationwide civilian sample in the fall of 1942:

"Do you think it is necessary to hate our enemies in order to win the war, or do you think we can win the war without hating our enemies?"

Hate is necessary....31% Hate is NOT necessary....64% Undecided....5%—100%

The most significant difference of opinion on this question was by sex. Almost twice as many men as women considered hating the enemy a necessary part of waging a successful war. The more education a person had the more likely he was to consider hate **necessary** for winning the war.

In May, 1942, Gallup reported that 82 per cent of a national cross-section answered "No" to the question: "Do you, personally, hate the German people?" Even more than on the NORC question, the South stood out from the other sections, with 33 per cent hating the German people. For the balance of the United States the figure was 14 per cent. According to Dr. Jerome Bruner's analysis, "The one section which stands out above the rest of the country in its hatred of the enemy is the section where hate—race hatred—is always just below the surface."¹

That attitudes of the public in this country toward the German people have been both friendly and unfriendly is indicated by results of an "adjective-reaction" test included in a 1942 survey of the Office of Public Opinion Research (Princeton). From a list of adjectives, including terms which might be considered as indicating various degrees of favorable and unfavorable opinion, respondents chose the ones which seemed to them "to describe the German people best."

Of the three adjectives selected by majorities of the cross-section, two—"warlike" (68%) and "cruel" (59%)—are definitely unfavorable, and one—"hard-working" (62%)—seems favorable. Of the six adjectives selected by between 30 and 45 per cent of the cross-section, three may be considered unfavorable—"treacherous" (43%), "conceited" (33%), and "arrogant" (30%), and three may be classed as favorable—"intelligent" (41%), "progressive" (31%), and "brave" (30%). Other adjectives chosen by 20 per cent or more of the group are: "radical," "sly," "practical," and "quick-tempered."

ATROCITIES—NORC FINDINGS

A related NORC question, asked in connection with the one quoted above, showed that majorities in all population groups would exonerate the German people of blame for German war atrocities. The sectional differences are of particular interest:

"Do you think the German people should be blamed for the cruelties to religious groups, the mass killings in occupied countries, and the tortures in concentration camps?"

	TOTAL	BY SECTION			
		Midwest	New England, Mid-Atlantic	Far West	South
Yes, should be blamed	31%	25%	28%	32%	43%
No, should NOT be blamed	61	69	61	61	52
Undecided	8	6	11	7	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Men were more ready than women, and adults over 40 more prone than those under 40 to blame the German people. Persons in the upper economic and educational groups also tended to be somewhat more critical than their counterparts.

¹Bruner, Jerome S., *Mandate from the People* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), page 128.

A definite majority of the United States public blamed the Nazi leaders alone for wartime cruelties, as indicated by another NORC question, asked in the fall of 1944:

"Do you think we should blame the German people themselves, or the Nazi leaders, or both the people and their leaders for the cruelties in this war?"

	German People	Nazi Leaders	Both	Undecided
TOTAL	2%	58%	38%	2% = 100%
By Education				
College	1	43	55	1
High School	2	58	39	1
Grade School	2	64	31	3
By Economic Level				
Upper	1	50	48	1
Middle	1	59	39	1
Lower	3	61	32	4
By Sex				
Men	3	54	41	2
Women	1	61	36	2

That public opinion on the issue was definite and crystallized is suggested by the very small proportion of "Undecided" responses in all groups. It is significant that a majority of persons with a **college** background—generally the best informed segment of the cross-section—believe **both** the German people and the Nazis to be responsible for wartime atrocities. Those in the upper economic brackets were almost evenly divided. In every other population group considered—men and women, adults under and over 40, whites and Negroes, various occupational groupings, residents of urban and rural areas in every section of the United States—clear majorities thought that the **Nazi leaders alone** should be blamed for the cruelties of the war.

Of the 58 per cent of the cross-section who believed the **Nazi leaders** to be **alone** responsible for wartime cruelties, this comment from a pipefitter in Plymouth, Massachusetts, was typical: "The Nazis really make the people do what most of them don't want to do." A St. Louis school executive commented: "The German people have been victims of propaganda." A farmer's wife living near Geneva, Alabama, felt that "many people in Germany are against their leaders." According to a Minneapolis mechanic, "The Nazis have taught the kids to be cruel."

More vocal in their comments were the 38 per cent who thought that **both the Nazis and the German people** must share the responsibility for wartime atrocities. Most frequent were remarks such as these: "The people set up the government. . . . The Nazis couldn't perpetrate cruelties without the support of the people. . . . If the German people didn't want war, they could have rebelled. . . . One is as bad as the other." Another point of view was expressed by a minister in eastern Massachusetts who replied: "The blame is first on the people for letting the leaders get power, and then on the leaders who played upon the emotions of the people, to inspire actions they would not otherwise have taken." A farmer's wife outside Omaha, Nebraska, said: "It was the leaders at first; all are involved now." Still other respondents suggested: "It's a matter of education. . . . The younger people were willing partners, but not the older generation."

The 2 per cent would blame the **German people** "because they allowed themselves to have such leaders." A train dispatcher in Connecticut answered: "I'm **not sure** who's to blame. You can't believe all you hear. We have had no proof."

ATROCITIES—FINDINGS OF OTHER POLLS

Early in December '44 the American Institute of Public Opinion published results of the following question:

"Do you believe the stories that the Germans have murdered many people in concentration camps are true or not true?"

True.....76% Not true.....12% Undecided.....12% = 100%

The 76 per cent who believed the stories of German mass murders to be true were asked:

"Nobody knows, of course, how many may have been murdered, but what would be your best guess?"

100,000 or less.....	27%
100,000 to 500,000.....	5
500,000 to 1,000,000.....	1
1,000,000 to 2,000,000.....	6
2,000,000 to 6,000,000.....	8
6,000,000 or more.....	4
Unwilling to guess.....	25
	<hr/> 76%

According to the Gallup release, "Various investigating boards, official and unofficial, have put the figure much higher. A report issued a week ago by the War Refugee Board, a United States government agency, concluded that between 1,500,000 and 1,765,000 had been put to death in the torture chambers of one camp in Poland, and an estimated 1,500,000 in another."

Gallup also put this question to a nation-wide cross-section:

"What do you think should be done to punish the Germans found guilty of these charges?"

Results were summarized as follows: "The country is virtually unanimous in thinking that harsh punishment should be meted out to Germans found guilty of ordering the mass murders in concentration camps or of helping to perpetrate them. . . . The largest number of replies favored execution of the guilty—in poison gas chambers, by hanging, electrocution, or by firing squad. Others favored imprisonment, physical torture, or some other unspecified form of punishment. Virtually nobody expressed any desire for leniency. A few simply said, 'Give them to the Poles'."

In January, 1945, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion reported:

"Do you believe the stories about the Germans' having murdered many people in the concentration camps in Europe?"

Yes.....71% Qualified answer.....7% No.....11% Undecided.....11% = 100%

In October, 1944, the Iowa Poll¹ asked a state-wide cross-section:

"After Germany surrenders, what do you believe we should do?"

"Punish all who have committed atrocities, the highest to the lowest in authority?"	34%
"Punish only the leaders and higher authorities who ordered atrocities to be committed?"	56
Undecided.....	8
No punishment.....	2
	<hr/> 100%

"Fifty-nine per cent of the women and 51 per cent of the men favored punishment of the responsible authorities only. Forty per cent of the men and 30 per cent of the women were for punishing all who have committed atrocities."

Questions discussed elsewhere in this report indicate that in 1944 a majority of people in the United States suggested lenient treatment of the German people following the war and that a plurality considered the Germans misled rather than inherently warlike.

¹The Des Moines Register and Tribune, released October 22, 1944.

HOW SHOULD WE TREAT THE GERMAN PEOPLE ?

RELATED ATTITUDES,

After the war.....

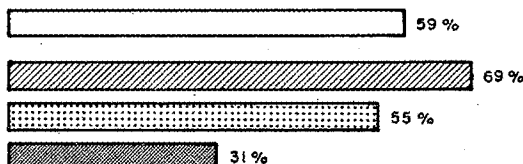
All persons interviewed.....

Those who think we should treat the German people *LENIENTLY*....

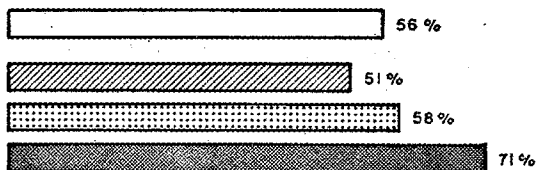
Those who think we should *SUPERVISE* and *CONTROL* the German people..

Those who think we should treat the German people with *SEVERITY*.....

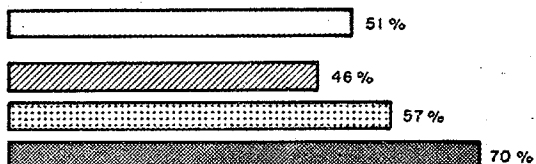
1.....the United States should help Germany get her peacetime industries going again.



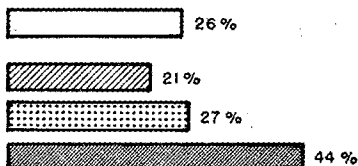
2.....we should try to make the people in Germany pay us either in money or goods for all our cost of this war.



3.....German workers should be sent into devastated countries to rebuild the homes and industries destroyed by the German war machine.



4.....Germany should be divided up and given to other countries.



NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

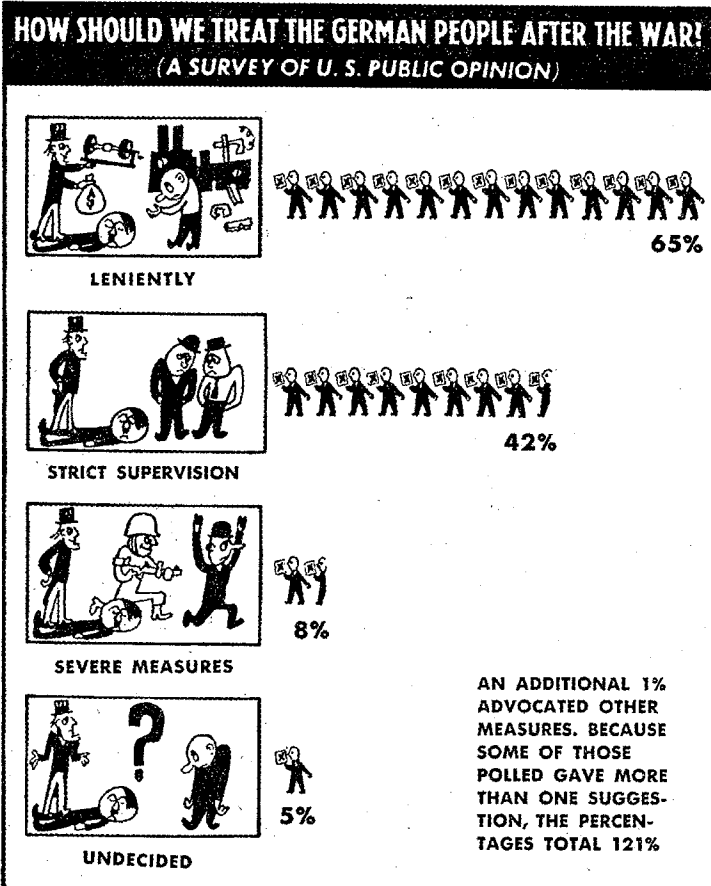
PART II

What Shall We Do with the Germans?

If the opinion of the people of the United States in their pre-invasion mood carries any weight in determining Germany's fate, the treatment accorded the people of Germany will be more kindly than that advocated by Sumner Welles, Lord Vansittart, and Henry Morgenthau.

That a majority of Americans favored liberal rather than harsh treatment of the German people was shown by the results of two similarly worded NORC questions:

1943	"How do you think we should treat the German people after this war?"	
1944	"If you had your say, how would we treat the people who live in Germany after this war?"	
1943	1944	
67%	65%	advocated lenient treatment —a liberal attitude toward the German people (but not toward their Nazi leaders) . . . active assistance . . . or a re-education program.
40	42	recommended strict supervision of economic and political life in Germany—a probationary period . . . isolation . . . policing . . . or disarmament.
10	8	favored more severe measures —definite punitive action . . . cruelty . . . or even complete extermination.
4	1	gave other suggestions, were undecided.
5	5	
126% ¹	121% ¹	



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¹Because a number of respondents make more than one suggestion, the percentages total more than 100.

While opinion among population groups was reasonably uniform, **lenient** treatment of the German people was advocated more often by women than by men, and by residents of the Midwest (71%) than by those in other parts of the country (Pacific and Mountain states—67%; New England and Middle Atlantic states—62%; South—60%). Persons living in the New England and Middle Atlantic states and those with no more than a grade school education were more inclined than other groups to suggest **extreme** severity.

The following comments represent the various shades of opinion and points of view expressed by the people interviewed in the more recent survey.

How closely opinions regarding the general treatment of the German people after the war are related to specific questions is shown by the chart on page 14. Those who recommend lenient treatment of the German people were consistent in that they also took a milder attitude on specific questions than did those who advocated supervision or actual severity.

Treat the Germans Leniently

The great majority of those who favored a lenient post-war policy toward the German people offered no specific program, but made their suggestions in **general** terms: "Treat the German people as human beings . . . same as we treat our own people . . . leniently . . . decent . . . like we would want to be treated . . . have a good Christian spirit toward them." Verbatim answers along this same line of thought include:

"I don't think the people of Germany are at fault. I think they have been forced into it. I'd treat them the same as any other people. I don't blame them at all."

Foundry worker,¹ Wellington, Ohio

"Treat them good. The German people are just like the people around here."

Farmer, near Chesterfield, Missouri

"Be friendly to 'em and help 'em along, or we'll have another war."

Negro laborer, St. Louis

"Treat them with kindness and respect. I don't think the German people wanted war any more than we did."

Woman personnel worker, Ogden, Utah

"The people should be given consideration. My German relatives dislike the leaders, but don't have any voice in things."

Wife of air cadet, Milwaukee

"Treat them humanly—if you can forget the people put Hitler there, for I don't believe the average German wanted this war."

Daughter of electrical engineer, Raleigh, North Carolina

A few mentioned the government of Germany and the country's role in **world affairs**:

"Give Germany equality with all other powerful nations."

Owner food products business, Boston

"I think they should be treated fairly. Give them a government which will provide some freedom of expression and initiative."

Lawyer, Mississippi

"I think the people should be given a chance to rebuild and a chance at all raw materials the same as the rest of the world."

Grocer, Raleigh, North Carolina

A number drew a definite distinction between the treatment to be accorded the **German people** and their **Nazi leaders**. These replies are typical:

"Deal harshly with the leaders, but leniently with the German people as a whole."

Woman mechanic, Dallas

"Treat the German people with Christian justice and charity—the military leaders with justice, the rest with charity."

Catholic priest, Baltimore

"The Prussian Junkers should be punished, but not the common people."

Wife of jeweler, upstate New York

"The people should be treated well, but they shouldn't be allowed any leaders who could train them for war."

Wife of war worker, Wellington, Ohio

"It is a matter of controlling the moneyed and political interests."

Wife of college professor, Milwaukee

A few suggested giving **active assistance** to the people of Germany:

"Try to lift their standard of living so they won't want war."

Farmer's wife, near Cairo, Illinois

"Help them get started in building up their country and get their industries going again for peaceful living."

School teacher, Kansas

"Feed and clothe them, but make them work."

Soldier's wife, Rockville, Indiana

"Help them rebuild their factories and be self-supporting."

Streetcar motorman, San Francisco

¹Respondents are men, and white, unless otherwise designated.

Other respondents specified a **re-education** program in Germany:

"Educate them to know that war is evil, and keep control of them until they are re-educated."
 "Make them realize there is no 'master race,' and that they must take their place with the other people of the world."
 "I'd like to see the anti-Nazis have a chance to go back and re-educate Germany."
 "Educate the youth of Germany that democracy is best."
 "We need to re-educate the children in Germany, but the fanatics should be closely guarded."
 "Take over the schools and teach the Germans to lead a decent life. Let no militarism be taught."
 "Supervise the educational system for 20 or 30 years."
 "The Germans are a moronic race that needs direction. I'd start re-educating the children to get rid of Nazism."

Owner of magazine store, Utah
 Tax collector, northern New Jersey
 Wife of clergyman, Massachusetts
 Businessman, Helena, Montana
 Wife of Army M.P., Auburn, Indiana
 Building contractor, Portland, Oregon
 Insurance agent, St. Louis
 Wife of sound engineer, Los Angeles

Supervise Them Strictly

Many respondents emphasized, generally or specifically, the need for **"watching"** the German people, for **controlling** or **supervising** their government and industry:

"I suppose we should treat them as one does a delinquent child that needs constant watching."
 "Little by little, as they show they can, let them have their own way of life."
 "Supervise them until the treaty terms are carried out."
 "Control the people to a large extent, the type of government, and the personnel of the government."
 "There should be a long period of supervision; the Nazi leaders should be shot and the Nazi doctrines abolished."
 "They should be under some sort of civil supervision by the Allies. War is born and bred into them and they'll need watching."
 "Give them enough land to cultivate for their own use, and don't let them manufacture many things."
 "Control them severely for from 10 to 15 years. Then see how they behave, and if necessary control them indefinitely."

Waitress, Montana
 Wife of electrical inspector, Nashville
 Businessman, Dallas
 High school teacher, Middletown, Connecticut
 School teacher, Haverhill, Massachusetts
 Church secretary, West Virginia
 Steam hammer driver, locomotive works, Ohio
 Bookkeeper, Phoenix, Arizona

A number specified the use of an **international police force** to supervise Germany after the war:

"Police the German nation for 50 years and make them pay for it."
 "Put them under strict military discipline for two or three generations."
 "They need strict military policing and other restrictions. These should be followed up and not let go as they were last time."
 "Keep them under strict rule by our soldiers. Make them pay heavily for this war, but never be cruel to them."

Airplane parts worker, Detroit
 Farmer, near Lyon, Mississippi
 Wife of plantation owner, near Decatur, Alabama
 Restaurant cook, Altus, Oklahoma

Other respondents stressed their conviction that Germany should be completely **disarmed** and prevented from rearming:

"Take away all power from Germany and all fighting equipment so they can't start another war."
 "Prevent Germany from ever making arms again."
 "Destroy the German general staff."
 "I certainly wouldn't let the Germans do any goose-stepping."
 "I think they should be disarmed for good and all — not treated leniently as they were before. It is hard, of course, for a whole nation to suffer for their leaders, but still that's their hard luck."
 "Don't let Germany have any army, navy, or air force."

Horticulturist, St. Joseph, Missouri
 Engineer, Houston
 Wife of bank cashier, Montana
 Farmers wife, near Wichita, Kansas
 Wife of bank official, Chester, South Carolina
 Janitor, aircraft parts factory, Los Angeles

Still others suggested **isolating** Germany:

"Let the German people settle their own affairs. We should be through with them when the war is over."
 "As long as they don't bother any of us, let them alone."
 "Don't have anything at all to do with the Germans. Don't cooperate with them in any way."
 "Buy nothing from the Germans and sell them nothing."
 "Let Europe handle the problem."

Wife of realtor, Kearny, New Jersey
 Waiter, San Francisco
 Wife of farmer, near Whiting, Iowa
 Old age pensioner, Helena, Montana
 Wife of radio executive, Jamaica Estates, New York

Punish Them Severely

A variety of severe measures were suggested, ranging from forced labor to actual cruelty. These replies are typical:

"The Germans ought to be put to work to rebuild the countries that they destroyed."
 "Treat them like slaves."
 "I'd treat them like murderers."
 "Treat them like dogs—with revenge. Preachers and everybody say we should love them, but I don't see how we can."
 "Nothing would be bad enough for them, nothing too hard."
 "The entire German race should be put at hard labor just as as if they were in jail."
 "We should torture Hitler and the other Nazi leaders."
 "They should pay for this war even if it takes a hundred years."
 "Put the leaders in prison and make others work in factories."
 "We should be cruel and show no mercy."
 "I'd treat the Germans just as rugged as I could. I've just been discharged from the Army, and I've been taught to hate them. I think it's the leaders who are to blame."

Liquor dealer, Dallas

Farmer, near Crowder, Mississippi
 Elevator operator, The Bronx
 Business man, Silverton, Oregon

Surgeon's wife, Hornell, New York
 Wife of steamfitter, near Boston

Farmer, western New York
 Insurance agent, Ohio

Mechanic's wife, Chelmsford, Massachusetts
 Carpenter, Indiana
 Foundry worker, Ohio

A number replied in terms of the German treatment of their enemies:

"Treat the Germans just like they are treating our boys over there now—and that's bad. I wouldn't give 'em enough to eat, and I wouldn't give 'em clothes."
 "Treat them as barbarous as they have treated others."
 "Treat them like they have treated people in the countries they have taken."
 "Treat them just like they treated the Jews."

Negro steel-worker, Chicago

Postmaster, central Illinois
 Cook, Fort Dodge, Iowa

Negro stenographer, New York City
 Sister of shipyard welder, Haverhill, Massachusetts

"An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is all I say. I have no sympathy for the Germans."

A few respondents agreed with Sumner Welles that Germany should be **broken up into small states**:

"The German people have to have a chance to live, but Germany as a nation should be split up into several states so there is no central control."
 "Split Germany up into small countries."
 "The German people must be divorced from the Prussian regime. Break up the empire and form them into states."
 "I would restore Germany to its position of states before 1870, and destroy Prussian militarism."

Insurance agent, Toledo

Farmer, near Bloomfield, Connecticut
 Insurance agent, Peoria, Illinois

Lawyer, Raleigh, North Carolina

Others would **divide Germany into parts and give these parts to other countries**¹:

"I would divide the country into parts and give to other countries, and not have any German people."
 "Split the country up so there wouldn't be any Germany. Give some to Poland, some to other countries."
 "Cut Germany up politically. Divide her among the nations."
 "Cut down their territory so they can't be so strong."

War worker, Honey Brook, Pennsylvania
 Wife of truck driver, Chicago

Carpenter, Chelmsford, Massachusetts
 Pin setter in bowling alley, Chicago

Still others spoke of **putting Germany under foreign rule**, but not necessarily breaking up the country:

"Let the Russians and Poles and Jews run the country."
 "Turn them over to the Poles."
 "We ought to let Russia fix them up. I believe she can give them what they need. They are not ignorant, and we gained nothing before by treating them kindly."
 "I'd put them under United States rule."

Foundry worker, Middletown, Connecticut
 Advertising executive, Nashville
 Wife of dry-cleaner, South Carolina

Farmer, near Phoenix, Arizona

A number replied in terms of **complete extermination**:

"I'd kill them all."
 "Dey oughter be punished and de best way is to kill 'em."
 "Execute them all—according to the Old Testament."
 "If I had my way there wouldn't be a Germany or German people left after the war."
 "Exterminate all the men, at least."

Jeweler, St. Joseph, Missouri
 Negro sharecropper, near Chester, South Carolina
 State clerical employee, Indianapolis
 Accountant's wife, Hornell, New York
 Housewife, Carlisle, Massachusetts

¹For a further discussion of this aspect of the problem, see this report, pages, 25-28.

That some American soldiers agree with civilians advocating harsh treatment of Germany is suggested in an article by Drew Middleton in the **New York Times Magazine** of October 8, 1944. According to Correspondent Middleton:

"Two years of war have built up an intense hatred among front-line troops for the Germans. They have seen too many of their comrades die and found too many wounded with their throats cut to have any vestige of sporting attitude toward the enemy. Surprisingly, this is true of a great many soldiers in the Service of Supply as well. A big truck driver from Winterville, Mississippi, told this correspondent: 'I've seen too much of what these Heinies did in France. If we gotta shoot all these S. S. and all the soldiers too, and blow up all their factories, it's okay with me. We have to teach them a lesson once and for all.'"

"Private Marco Battista of Brooklyn added: 'I wouldn't trust the Germans an inch. Now that we have a chance to really make them feel what war's like, let's do it. Maybe they won't get so gay in twenty years.' . . ."

"Two years of fighting have taught them (American soldiers) what all the persuasion of thousands of indoctrination lectures failed to teach—that the German is arrogant, deceitful, and cruel, that he represents evil."

Here is an opinion from a Pfc. Bernard Milcowitz:

"What to do about Germany? How to impress upon the people of Germany that they were decisively defeated and there will be no respite to wage another war in the near future? We should learn from our mistakes made at the end of World War I. At the end of World War I, Germany was partly disarmed but not demilitarized."

"At the end of this war we should destroy the Junker clique, which I think is responsible for Hitlerism; destroy the General Staff of the German Army, destroy the ammunition factories of Germany and anything that goes toward making ammunition, punish war criminals. It isn't for us to re-educate the German people. German teachers can do that under our supervision. No German should be allowed to leave his country for five or ten years. No German should be allowed to wear a uniform. Germany must be deprived of some of the things it destroyed. German manpower will have to work to repair the destruction they caused."

PRESS REACTION

Most of the editorial comment on this question attacked the idea of leniency in the treatment of the German people as being not only unrealistic but actually dangerous. Repeatedly raised was the point that distinctions between the German people and the Nazi are academic and impractical. A few representative comments follow.

This editorial appeared in a number of eastern papers, including the **Raleigh** (North Carolina) **Times**, usually under the head:

No Soft Peace

"As the net slowly and surely closes around Germany, and the time for retribution grows near, a familiar situation develops. It appears clearly in a poll of the National Opinion Research Center and other inquiring groups. They urge lenient treatment of the German people, aside from the Nazi leaders, and talk of a 're-education program' instead of punishment. They seem to assume that the people responsible for the launching of this dreadful war are not 'the real Germans' who have themselves been betrayed by unwise or evil leaders."

"This is the sort of make-believe that would create a false peace and lead again, in due time, to another and still more dreadful war. Should it not be assumed by all sane men that the individuals and groups responsible for this horror deliberately chose the way of crime, and must be suitably punished for it? And also that, while the active leaders of the German onslaught against civilization deserve special punishment, there should be penance too for the millions of Germans and Japanese who have been willing to accept the expected benefits of their leaders' crime? Otherwise, criminal groups could wreck the world."

The **Cleveland Plain Dealer** spoke its mind thus:

The Dear Germans Again

"With a timing too exact to be accidental, the approaching end of the war in Europe brings an upsurge of that

poisonous philosophy which makes a distinction between the Nazis and the German people and advocates a lenient peace."

"Well-intentioned people are the instruments for some of this propaganda. Much of it is spread by directly inspired German sources. But the free world must be on guard against the well-intentioned as well as against openly known enemy sources."

"Evidence of the extent of this virus in the thinking of Allied people is supplied by the poll of the National Opinion Research Center. It discovered that 65 per cent of the American people 'advocate lenient treatment—a liberal attitude toward the German people (but not toward their Nazi leaders), active assistance, or a re-education program.'"

"The basic misconception here is the assumption that the Nazi leaders are not Germans. Not only the leaders but the rank and file of Nazis are Germans and they won their way to power not over the opposition of the 'German people' but with their approval and help. The Nazis are the German people and vice versa."

"The be-good-to-Germany point of view can make an inroad today because of the conditioning received in the last war. Then the Allied governments themselves made a distinction between 'militarists' and 'people.' The folly of that belief has been amply demonstrated. The governments are making no such error this time."

"Germany" or "the German People"?

Comparisons between results obtained by various polling organizations indicate that when a question is asked in terms of treatment of **"the German people"** considerably more lenient recommendations are made than when the question is asked in terms of **"Germany."**

¹New York Times Magazine, November 26, 1944.

²August 28, 1944.

³August 13, 1944.

A 1943 Gallup question ascertaining public opinion regarding the post-war disposition of "**Germany, as a country**" elicited somewhat harsher reactions¹ than did the NORC question. This was the first question to be asked identically by the four Gallup Polls in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Australia.

"What do you think we should do with Germany, as a country, after the war?"

	United States	Canada	Great Britain	Australia
Be lenient —rehabilitate, re-educate, encourage trade, start afresh.	17%	12%	10%	9%
Supervise and control — police, disarm completely, eliminate Nazis.	44	40	43	44
Be severe —divide her into small states, destroy her as a political entity, cripple her forever.	21	35	31	26
Miscellaneous and undecided.	18	13	16	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Persons interviewed in Great Britain replied to the Gallup question in ways surprisingly similar to responses to the NORC question discussed on the preceding pages. Advocating **re-education**, a woman shop-clerk replied: "Introduce English and American teachers." Another businesswoman suggested: "Occupy Germany and teach the children kindness." Persons feeling that Germany should be **strictly supervised** answered in terms such as there: "Disarm Germany completely. . . . Control her as a mandate by all the Allies."

Respondents from all walks of life made up the plurality recommending **severe measures**. According to a car park attendant, "Germany should be split up among the Allies," while a poulterer would "let Russia have the main share." A factory worker succinctly replied: "Scrap it," and a chimney sweep answered: "Break up the German nation by scattering it over Europe." Typical of the extreme of severity were those who believed "There shouldn't be any Germany left to deal with," or "We should not leave a single German alive."

When the American and Canadian Institutes repeated the question in the fall of 1944, **increased** percentages of the public in both countries favored the **harshes**t treatment of Germany. The comparison:

	UNITED STATES		CANADA		
	1943	1944	1942 ²	1943	1944
Treat the Germans leniently ; re-educate them.	17%	12%	8%	12%	9%
Supervise and control the Germans.	44	32	36	40	30
Treat the Germans with severity ; destroy them as a nation.	21	34	38	35	42
Miscellaneous and undecided.	18	22	18	13	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Another question regarding "**Germany**" was asked by Elmo Roper for **Fortune** in January, 1940. At that time the answer which made a definite distinction between the Nazis and the German people was chosen by slightly more than half those interviewed:

"If the Allies should win the war, what kind of peace should they make with Germany?"

"One which will wipe Germany out completely as a nation and divided her up among the Allies so that she can never organize and start trouble again.	19.2%
"One which, while it will completely crush Hitler and his type of government, will not oppress the German nation or give them reason to let a man like Hitler gain control again.	50.5
"One which will leave Germany as a nation but completely disarmed and in some way prevented from making trouble.	14.4
"One which will give Germany back everything she owned before the last war and thereby put her on equal footing with other big European powers."	5.0
Other solutions	1.5
Undecided	9.4
	100.0%

¹This question was asked in between the two NORC surveys. Differences in classifying the answers as well as the different question wording—"Germany" rather than "German People"—may contribute to the different results obtained.

²The CIPQ question used in 1942 and 1944 was worded: "If you were the one to decide, what would you do with Germany after she has been defeated?"

Three and a half years later **Fortune** reported a somewhat different question on the post-war treatment of Germany. In comparing the results with those on the NORC and AIPO questions, it should be noted that (1) the second check-list provided no positive suggestions for actual help to Germany such as those classified as "lenient" in the other polls or the "equal footing" category above, and (2) the execution of Nazi officials has no parallel in the NORC question, since that concerns only the German **people**. Roper asked:

"If we win the war, which of these things comes closest to what you think should be done with Germany?"		
"Do nothing to Germany, but see to it that she stays within her own boundaries."	13.2%	
"Set up a United Nations council to rule Germany for ten years or so, and eventually make her adopt a democratic government and see that she sticks to it."	36.9	57.6
"Set up an international government to rule Germany for 100 years."	20.7	
"Make Germany use all her available men, money, and materials to rebuild the damage done in other countries."	27.2	42.1
"Carve Germany up and divide her among some of the United Nations."	11.2	
"Kill a Nazi for every person killed by the Germans in occupied countries."	3.7	31.5
"Bring to trial and execute all found to be leading Nazi officials."	6.9	
Undecided	6.9	
	151.3% ¹	

THE UNITED NATIONS?

The use of "we" in the NORC and Gallup questions may possibly have been interpreted as referring to the government of the country where the question was asked, or to the United Nations collectively. A **Fortune**² question put the matter squarely in terms of the United Nations:

	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
"Do you think the United Nations should or should not:			
"Abolish the Nazi party?"	87.9%	3.2%	8.9% = 100.0%
"Completely demobilize the German Army and keep them from having any army again?"	77.2	13.0	9.8
"Govern Germany with an occupation force for several years?"	73.2	11.4	15.4
"Break Germany up into smaller states?"	29.5	40.5	30.0
"Prevent the Germans from rebuilding their steel, chemical, and automotive industries?"	30.9	52.8	16.3
"Make German labor rebuild devastated areas in other countries at the rate usually paid prisoners of war?"	46.1	31.9	22.0

Hitler and the Nazi Leaders

That, before the United States' entry into World War II, a majority of Americans considered Hitler's individual ambition to be at the root of the European conflict is indicated by a question reported in the December '39 issue of **Fortune**:

"Which of these reasons comes closest to describing your own idea as to the real cause of the present European war?"	
"Hitler's greed for land and lust for power."	54.0%
"Germany's (or Hitler's) desire to regain all possessions lost in the last war."	19.5
"The same old hatred between the peoples of Europe."	10.5
"The Treaty of Versailles—it was unfair to Germany."	10.2
"England and France are trying to keep Germany from becoming a really strong power."	6.0
"The German people always want to have things their own way, even if that brings a war."	6.0
"The overpopulation of Europe—a war is needed to thin them out."	1.5
Other	2.8
Undecided	4.9
	115.4% ³

¹Because a number of respondents checked more than one suggestion, the percentages total to more than 100.

²January, 1944, Elmo Roper for **Fortune**.

³Although asked to "please select only one most important reason if you can," some respondents selected more than one, to bring the total to more than 100 per cent.

In 1942 Gallup Polls in the United States and Canada assembled some extremely interesting popular attitudes regarding the post-war treatment of Hitler and the Nazi leaders (as opposed to the German people themselves).¹ The most popular suggestion in every case was "execution"—by hanging, shooting, or some other method. This is the comparison:

CANADA		UNITED STATES		
"If it were your job to sentence Hitler for his past actions, what would you have done with him?"		"After the war is over, how do you think we should treat:		
		Hitler?"	the Nazi leaders in Germany?"	
Execute	51 %	39 %	35 %	
Exile	8	6	2	
Imprison	11	23	31	
Torture	8	8	7	
Other	15	14	13	
Undecided	7	10	12	
	100 %	100 %	100 %	

Classified under "Imprison" were a number of replies specifying confinement in an asylum. "Find a St. Helena for him; he's nearly insane anyway," was typical of responses suggesting exile. Ingenious methods of mental and physical torture conceived included such ideas as these: "Have someone read Hitler's speeches back to him eight hours a day until he goes nuts. . . . Bring him over to the United States and put him on public exhibition in a steel cage. . . . Nothing is too bad for Hitler. Hang him by his thumbs. . . . Tie Hitler near an ant-hill. Killing is too good for him." Some believed that "the Nazis should be treated as they have treated others." Also specified were: "Let the Czechs have Hitler," or "Turn him over to the Jewish population of Warsaw."

In 1944 the British Institute of Public Opinion asked several questions regarding the treatment of Hitler and the other Nazi leaders. An overwhelming majority of **97 per cent believed that "Hitler, Himmler, Goering, and other Nazi leaders should be punished after this war."** Asked how they should be punished, more than half of the British people (52 %) chose **execution**, 24 per cent suggested **exile**, while most of the remainder inclined toward **torture**, though a few had still other ideas. As on the question of German forced labor after the war (See this report, page 49), the British people, probably because of their first-hand experience with the realities of war, tend to take a considerably harsher attitude regarding the treatment of Germany than do the people of Canada or the United States. A further question revealed that two out of three Britons would have the punishment of German war criminals administered by the United Nations."

"Should Germans who have committed crimes against other Germans be punished by the United Nations, or by the German people?"

United Nations.....67 % Germans.....26 % Undecided.....7 % = 100 %

How strongly the people of Canada feel about punishing the Nazi leaders is indicated by two questions asked since D-Day by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. The first:

"If some neutral country should give refuge to Nazi leaders after the war, and try to protect them from the Allies, do you think the Allied countries should make an effort to get hold of these men to try them, or do you think we should do nothing about it?"

Try to get them.....91 % Do nothing.....5 % Undecided.....4 % = 100 %

The 91 per cent who replied "Try to get the Nazis leaders" were asked:

"How far do you think we should go in our efforts to get these men?"

Make war	36 %
Stop trade	29
Try persuasion	14
Other methods	5
Undecided	7
	91 %

¹The United Nations agreement of January 13, 1942, established as a major war aim the trial and punishment of war criminals.

PART III

Political and Social Problems

The post-war treatment of the German people involves a number of specific problems—political, social, and economic. The present section considers public opinion on certain of the political and social problems as approached through definite questions, posing as clear-cut issues many of the points raised by the public in response to the more general questions discussed in the preceding section. Parts IV and V deal with two of the leading economic issues of chief post-war concern to Germany and the world—the problem of Germany's industrial future and the problem of reparations.

Most people in the United States seem to favor providing a certain amount of relief for the German people after the war, permitting the Germans to hold free elections, and having the Allies assume responsibility for the re-education of the German youth. Americans also advocate complete and enforced disarmament of the Reich. The public in Great Britain and Canada tend to take a harsher view of the treatment of the Germans, particularly on long-term occupation, and actual dismemberment of Germany proper. British and Canadian majorities favor these measures, which are opposed by majority opinion in the United States.

Relief and Rehabilitation for Germany

There seems little doubt that after the war both Germany and the liberated areas surrounding the Reich will be in desperate need of the elements of food and other necessities. How much help should the United States and her Allies extend to a defeated Germany? This is an issue on which public opinion is divided.

UNITED STATES OPINION

When relief for needy peoples has been broached, without the naming of specific countries, large majorities have favored the proposal. Twice in 1942 NORC found more than 90 per cent of those interviewed replying affirmatively to the question: "If after the war, people in some of the countries of the world are starving, do you think the United States should help feed the people in these countries?" When the question of financing such a program was put, about a third of the public favored loaning money to the countries helped, another third preferred voluntary contributions through organizations such as the Red Cross, and only a few thought such a program should be financed through taxation in the United States.

In 1943, NORC asked more specifically:

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

TOTAL		BY EDUCATION			BY ECONOMIC LEVEL		
		College	High School	Grade School	Upper	Middle	Lower
Give.....	39%	54%	38%	32%	45%	40%	31%
Sell.....	41%	36%	43%	40%	40%	42%	39%
Send none.....	16%	8%	15%	22%	12%	14%	23%
Undecided.....	4%	2%	4%	6%	3%	4%	7%
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

When the "Give" and "Sell" replies were combined, strong majorities in every population group favored assisting the German people. The less education a person had and the lower his standard of living the more likely he was to suggest withholding help entirely. On this issue women took a somewhat **more severe** attitude than men, and older persons than younger ones.

Persons questioned in New England and the Middle Atlantic states chiefly preferred **giving** food to the Germans, those in the Midwest and South chiefly favored **selling** the food, and residents of the Mountain and Pacific states divided their vote almost equally between the two policies.

Another NORC question, asked at the same time, revealed that 82 per cent of the people in the United States would be willing—"in order to try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars—to stay on a rationing system in this country for about five years to help feed the starving people in other countries." A Gallup question, much more strongly worded, found 67 per cent answering affirmatively when the issue was posed as follows: "For a year or two after the war, should people in the United States continue to put up with shortages of butter, sugar, meat, and other rationed food products in order to give food to people who need it in Europe?"

In an NORC survey made later that same year (1943), 93 per cent of the public indicated that they expected "some countries" to need **food** to "help them get back to their normal way of life." Among other items specified in connection with the same question, needs were mentioned as follows: **medical supplies**—82 per cent; **clothing**—78 per cent; **machinery**—70 per cent; **building materials**—68 per cent; and **household furnishings**—54 per cent. Of the entire cross-section, 88 per cent said they believed "the United States should try to produce more of these things than we need ourselves so that we can help other countries."

CANADIAN OPINION

In October '43 the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion reported that a majority of the public north of the border would disapprove sending free food to the Axis peoples if this help were given at the price of continued rationing on the home front. Most opposed to the proposal were the nation's primary food producers, the farmers, 67 per cent of whom answered negatively. Almost as much against the suggestion were the lower income group, 64 per cent of whom replied "Disapprove," in contrast to only 49 per cent of the upper income group.

The CIPO question:

"After the war, would you approve or disapprove if Canada, along with the United Nations, were to give food supplies free to the people of Germany and Japan, until they get on their feet, even if this means that rationing will have to be continued in Canada?"

	Approve	Disapprove	Undecided
TOTAL	33%	59%	8% = 100%
By Residence			
Cities over 100,000	43	50	7
Cities 10-100,000	33	59	8
Towns under 10,000	29	64	7
Farms	26	67	7
By Income Level			
Upper	43	49	8
Middle	35	57	8
Lower	29	64	7

A question released a year later, in the fall of 1944, indicated a rather close division of opinion on the issue of extending help through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) to German populations. A Dominion cross-section was asked:

"The United Nations have made plans for supplying food and other material to friendly countries as they are released from German occupation. Do you think this organization should also supply the Germans as the Allies occupy German territory?"

Should supply Germans	44%
Qualified answers	6
Should NOT supply Germans	41
Undecided	9

100%

Supporters of the Conservative Party in Canada were more opposed to helping the German people than were backers of the liberal parties. Residents of Quebec and the other eastern Canadian provinces were more against the proposal of UNRRA assistance than were western Canadians, particularly those living along the Pacific coast.

Occupation and Disarmament

That many people in the United States have accustomed themselves to the idea of an army of occupation in post-war Europe is suggested by results of an NORC question asked in January, 1943. Seventy-five per cent of the public indicated their willingness "for part of the American army to remain overseas for **several years** after the war to help establish order"—as a measure "to try out a **union of nations** as a possible way of preventing wars."

Two Gallup questions, one British and one American, showed that, while 37 per cent of the British public looked forward to an occupation period longer than ten years, only 14 per cent of the United States public expected such extended supervision. The contrasts shown below are exceptionally sharp.

UNITED STATES

"About how long do you think we should keep some of our armed forces in Germany to maintain peace and order after the war?"

Up to 6 months.....	13 %
1 year	20
2-3 years	18
4-10 years	21
Total—10 years or less.....	72 %
Total—more than 10 years.....	14
Undecided	14
	100 %

GREAT BRITAIN

"How long do you think it will be necessary to occupy Germany with armed forces after the war?"

Up to 5 years	16 %
5 years	21
10 years	25
Total—10 years or less.....	62 %
20 years	16
30 years	12
Always	9
Total—more than 10 years.....	37 %
Undecided	1
	100 %

Other questions indicated that the people of Great Britain also anticipated an extended period of complete disarmament for Germany. Nearly one-third of the public replied "Always." The questions:

"Would you approve or disapprove of depriving Germany of all arms and armed forces?"

Yes.....94 % No.....4 % Undecided.....2 % =100 %

The 94 per cent in Great Britain who approved disarmament for Germany were asked:

"If so, for how long?"

Less than 5 years.....	3 %
5 years	7
10 years	13
Total—10 years or less.....	23 %
20 years	18
30 years	21
Always	29
Total—more than 10 years.....	68 %
Undecided	3
	94 %

Two **Fortune** questions, reported in January '44, reported United States public endorsement of the occupation and disarmament of Germany. Some 77.2 per cent favored a proposal to "completely demobilize the German army and keep them from having any army again," while 73.2 per cent agreed that the "United Nations should govern Germany with an occupation force for **several years.**"

Shall Germany Be Dismembered?

Frequently mentioned as a post-war possibility has been the dismemberment of Germany. One proposal has been that the Reich be split up into several smaller states, each politically independent. Another often-voiced suggestion has been that all or part of Germany be divided up among neighboring countries. In the United States a majority of the public opposed dismembering Germany in either fashion. In Great Britain a harsher attitude has prevailed.

OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1944 the National Opinion Research Center asked this question:

"Some people say that Germany should be divided up and given to other countries. Would you like to see this done after the war or not?"

	Yes, Divide Germany	No, Don't Divide Germany	Undecided
TOTAL	26 %	63 %	11 % = 100 %
By Education			
College	19	74	7
High School	27	63	10
Grade School	31	54	15
By Size of Place			
Metropolitan districts of 1 million or more....	22	68	10
Cities 50,000—1 million.....	24	64	12
Small cities and towns.....	29	58	13
Farms	29	59	12

The 26 per cent "Yes" included 1 per cent who qualified their replies. A typical example was a Detroit war plant worker, who said: "Yes, if Germany were given to some democratic country." A painter in western New York state commented: "Yes, if it stops fighting and wars."

The wife of a Colorado ranch foreman replied: "Yes, I think it would be the best thing. Then there wouldn't be any Germany left to start another war." A nurse in Indiana answered: "I'd rather have Germany divided up and given to the countries she has destroyed, if that can be done."

Most respondents **opposed** to the idea made comments such as these: "Breaking up Germany wouldn't do any good. . . . Just let the German people have their own country and keep to themselves. . . . Germany can handle her own people better than some other country can. . . . I think the land she has taken from other countries should be given back, but I don't think Germany should be divided up. . . . This would create seed for a new war."

Less typical was the reply of a Missouri secretary who remarked: "It seems to me that Germany is the strongest nation in Europe next to Russia and should be maintained to counteract Russia's influence."

Another NORC question checked public knowledge of Germany's territorial losses after World War I:

"As far as you know, after the FIRST World War, did the Allies take any land away from Germany that belonged to her before that war started?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Yes	35 %	63 %	34 %	19 %
No	25	15	27	30
Don't know	40	22	39	51
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

A number of those who replied "Yes" mentioned specific territories, frequently European, less often colonies in Africa or the Pacific.

Of interest is a comparison of Germany's possible territorial losses in the present war with those following World War I:

"If all the territorial changes proposed by the French, Dutch, and the rival Polish groups² were carried into effect, Germany would lose approximately one-fifth of its pre-1938 area. And through these cessions, Germany's coal and steel production would be reduced by nearly one-fourth, compared with the pre-war output. Important zinc, lead, and lignite resources would also

be lost, as would key strategic areas along the Baltic and the Rhine. In comparison, the Treaty of Versailles —by which Germany surrendered one-eighth of its European territories, 10 per cent of its manufacturing establishments, and important raw materials, but retained its strategic approaches to the east and west virtually intact—appears mild."³

In October, 1942, the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) reported a basically similar reaction to the following question:

²France, supported by Belgium and Holland, would like to occupy the Rhineland indefinitely. Holland may wish to annex rich borderlands to compensate for flooded Dutch areas difficult to restore. Poland is demanding East Prussia, parts of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Silesia, and possibly even extensive German lands up to the Oder and Neisse rivers.

³Hadsel, *op. cit.*

"In general, after the war is over, do you feel that Germany should be broken up completely so that she will never again be able to rise as a unified nation, or that Germany's military and political leaders only should be overthrown and the German people allowed to build a new nation?"

Break Germany into small states.....	30%
Keep Germany intact under a new government.....	64
Undecided	6
	100%

In response to the NORC question "If you had your say, how would we treat the people who live in Germany after this war?" less than 2 per cent suggested breaking Germany up either into small independent states or for use by other countries. According to the Minnesota Poll,¹ 6 per cent of a state cross-section replied "Break Germany up into several independent parts," in response to the question: "What should be done with Germany after the war?" **Fortune** found 29.5 per cent answering "Should" to the question: "Do you think the United Nations should or should not break Germany up into smaller states?"

Sumner Welles based his proposal for splitting Germany into three autonomous states on the thesis that "German unity means a continuing threat to the peace of the entire world" and that "partition is the only way of offsetting the German menace in the future." According to him "Germany became a menace to the rest of the civilized world only after two major developments in her history. The first of these was that the German people came to believe in German militarism as the supreme glory of the race. The second development was the centralization of authority over all the widely divergent peoples of the German race." Welles further contends that "the unification of the German people is by no means a prerequisite for the happiness and prosperity of individual Germans. The several German nations were both happy and prosperous during the 19th Century." He holds that his proposal to divide the Reich into three states will prove "practicable from the economic and political standpoints," as it is "based upon economic, political, and cultural considerations."²

Vera Micheles Dean, on the other hand, believed that dismemberment of Germany would hold little hope of stability for Europe.

*"It would merely throw the Germans back into the very conditions from which, with great pain for themselves and even greater suffering for the rest of the world, they are still in the process of emerging. The disunited states would only strive to unite once more, under some new nationalistic leader who would out-Hitler Hitler, precipitating another series of internal and external convulsions that would reduce what is left of Europe to ashes."*³

Opinions of the Universities Committee group discussions on the point were summarized as follows:

*"A large majority of the Groups are opposed to the partition of Germany. Most of these consider it to be undesirable on its own account, since it would conflict with the principle of 'self-determination' as set forth in the Atlantic Charter. Others oppose it also on the ground that it would be likely to have precisely the opposite effect to that intended, i.e. it would perpetuate and even increase German nationalist sentiment and German hostility toward the victor nations. Still others oppose the partition of Germany on the ground that it can not be enforced in the long run."*⁴

BRITISH OPINION

In October '44 the British Institute of Public Opinion released results on several questions regarding the dismemberment of Germany. A majority of the British public approved the idea of breaking up the Reich into several states. A somewhat smaller proportion liked the general suggestion of giving sections of German territory to other countries. The BIPO questions:

"Would you approve or disapprove of splitting Germany permanently into a number of smaller states?"

Approve	56%
Disapprove	23
Undecided	21

100%

"In general, do you approve or disapprove of the idea of giving portions of Germany to other countries?"

Approve	48%
Disapprove	35
Undecided	17

100%

¹April 16, 1944.

²Sumner Welles, **The Time for Decision**, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), pp. 336-61.

³"What Future for Germany?" *op. cit.*

⁴Universities Committee on Post-War International Problems, made up of committees of participating faculties of various universities.

More specific suggestions for disposal of territories now German met with majority favor. BIPO asked:

"Specifically, would you approve or disapprove of the following:

"Giving East Prussia and parts of East Germany to Poland?"

Approve	53%
Disapprove	25
Undecided	22
	<hr/> 100%

"Permanently taking over the whole Ruhr and Rhineland, making it into a zone under international administration?"

Approve	66%
Disapprove	17
Undecided	17
	<hr/> 100%

Shall Germany Be Permitted Free Elections?

In World War I, an internal revolution precipitated the final capitulation of Germany on November 11, 1918. Two months later on, January 19, 1919, new free elections were held, and the government continued to function with periodic free elections until Hitler was appointed chancellor.

What measure of self-government should be allowed Germany immediately after her surrender in World War II? Free elections—at least—would be granted the German people by a majority of the American public, who may or may not be consulted in the actual event.

UNITED STATES OPINION—1942

Questions on this particular issue measure not only opinion regarding the political desirability of some measure of German self-government, but the idea of voting serves as a vehicle to measure feeling toward the people in Germany. The first NORC question:

"Do you think the people in Germany should be given a chance to vote, in a fair election, to choose what kind of a government they should have after the war?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Yes	62%	65%	65%	54%
Depends	3	4	3	3
No	28	27	28	29
Undecided	7	4	4	14
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%

Another NORC question, asked in the summer of 1942, disclosed that half the public believed that the people of Germany would want a democratic government after the war. When only persons with opinions are considered, 69 per cent foresaw a desire for democracy on the part of the Germans. The question:

"In your opinion, after the war will the German people want the kind of government they have now or some other kind?"

	PRESENT KIND	SOME OTHER KIND		UNDECIDED
		Democratic	Other than Democratic	
TOTAL	19%	50%	4%	27% = 100%
By Education				
College	17	56	9	18
High School	18	57	4	21
Grade School	21	42	2	35

While the largest numbers of respondents replied simply "a democracy" or "a government like ours," some suggested "a limited monarchy" or "a constitutional monarchy." Ten per cent of the college group fell into this category and smaller portions of the other educational groups. Respondents mentioning types of government other than democratic ranged all the way from "absolute monarchy" to "communistic."

UNITED STATES OPINION—1944

Again in 1944, NORC approached the same problem. Although 56 out of every 100 persons interviewed in this survey believed we should let the German people vote in a free election to choose the

kind of government they want, only half as many would favor permitting a communist government to take office if such a ticket were elected. NORC asked:

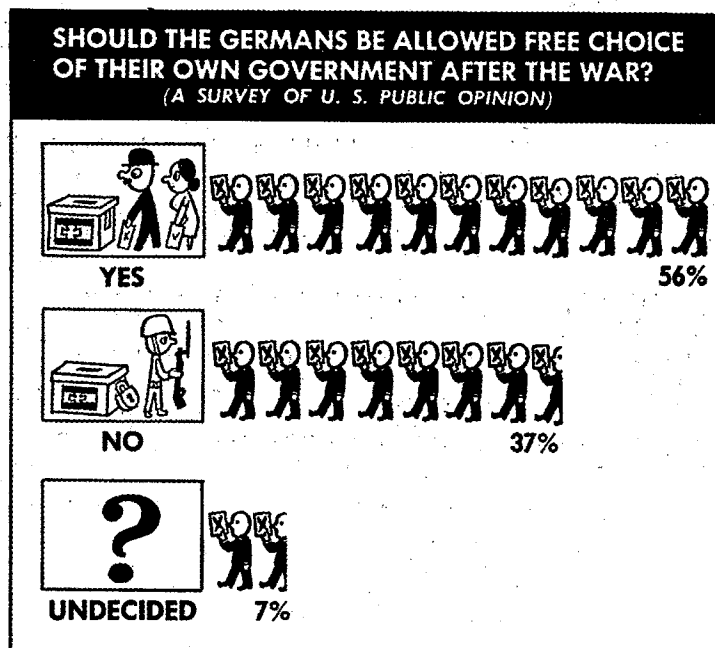
"After the war, do you think we should let the people in Germany vote in a free election to choose the kind of government they want?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Yes	56 %	66 %	58 %	48 %
No	37	30	36	43
Undecided	7	4	6	9
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Those who replied "Yes" were asked:

"If the German people voted to have some form of communism, do you think we should let them have it, or not?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Let them have it....	23 %	41 %	20 %	16 %
Don't	26	20	31	24
Undecided	7	5	7	8
	56 %	66 %	58 %	48 %



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GROUP OPINIONS

The tables reveal the sharp differences in opinion among persons of various educational backgrounds. On the 1942 survey persons of all educational groups approved the fair election proposal by approximately a two-to-one majority. Two years later, only the college group favored the idea by the same ratio, while grade school people were almost equally divided. This shift suggests that, as the war progressed, persons with limited educational background were more susceptible to the influence of the events of the conflict and the publicity given those events. (Compare with the direct question on attitudes toward the German people, page 6 of this report.)

By a two-to-one preference the college educated advocated leaving a communist government alone, while persons with less education would not allow such an election to stand.

Approving a free election in Germany after the war were 63 per cent of the men interviewed, but

only 49 per cent of the women. Most of this group of men would favor allowing the German people to elect a communist government if they want one, while most of the women's group would take the opposite view. Sectionally, the South was split almost evenly on the issue of a free election, while the other sections of the United States by almost two-to-one majorities would **permit** such an election. On the question of allowing the Germans to choose a communist government if they wanted one, opinion was divided in every section, with only the New England and Atlantic states in **favor** of allowing the Germans a free choice and the Midwest more **against** such a policy than the other sections.

As might be expected, an individual's basic attitude toward the people of Germany was a strong factor in determining his approval or disapproval of free post-war elections in Germany. Those who believed that the German people are capable of becoming good citizens were much more in favor of free elections than were those who think the Germans incurably warlike. The comparisons hold valid for both the 1942 and 1944 questions:

Of persons considering the Germans "incurably warlike":		Of persons considering the Germans too easily led:		Of persons considering the Germans potential good citizens:	
In 1942....43 %	thought the German people should be allowed to vote in a free election.	62 %	avored a free election.	74 %	avored a free election.
In 1944....42 %	thought the German people should be allowed to vote in a free election.	59 %	avored a free election.	67 %	avored a free election.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

A number of persons (9%) who said they favored holding a free election in Germany after the war made certain qualifications. Some would approve such an election **only if the results were satisfactory to the Allies**. Others would wait awhile (even as long as 50 years) until the country has become stabilized or reorganized, and until re-education has been well begun. Typical replies included:

"The Germans should elect their own government eventually, but they will have to be re-educated first. I don't think they are normal people now."

"I think some other country will have to run Germany for awhile before they have a free election."

"Only under supervision and after long re-education."

Wife of county superintendent of schools, Alabama

Painter, Indiana

Owner of tent and saddlery business, Montana

Most of those interviewed who thought, without qualifications, that the Germans **should be allowed to hold a free election** made no comments. A few, however, expressed ideas such as these:

"The Germans should have their own government the same as any other nation."

"That's the only way they can ever get on an even keel again."

"We cherish freedom. Why not allow others to have it?"

"The election should include all the people, not just one group."

Retired farmer, Indiana

Wife of dairy farmer, near Reedville, Oregon

Storekeeper's wife, Illinois

Daughter of Army engineer, Santa Monica, California

Persons who **opposed** the idea of a free election gave as some of their reasons:

"War is born and bred in the German people. They AREN'T peace-loving."

"We should have something to say about it. Otherwise they will go back to their former way of life."

"They have forfeited their right to choose."

"They might re-elect Hitler."

Woman war worker, St. Louis

Wife of repairman, Los Angeles

Farmer's wife, near Talledega, Alabama

Negro packing house worker, Oklahoma

In one instance, persons giving opposite replies made almost the same comment. A woman realtor in Louisburg, North Carolina, replied: "Yes, the German people should vote in a free election, because they have always been brought up to follow their leaders." A soldier's wife in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, answered: "No, the Germans shouldn't be permitted a free election. The German people have always been told what to do. They expect and need new leadership."

²The question under discussion appeared on the questionnaire immediately following the attitude scale regarding the German people. See page 6, this report.

Respondents who would **favor** allowing an election to stand even if a communist government were chosen remarked:

"I don't think it makes much difference to other nations as long as Germany minds her own business."

"The Germans would have to settle it themselves. The United States can't be grand-daddy to all the world."

"The present Russian form is proving reasonably satisfactory for the masses."

"Maybe they could be satisfied and make it work as Russia has."

Farmer, near Waterloo, Indiana

Farmer's wife, Washington

Business man, San Mateo, California

Wife of business executive, Sheffield, Alabama

Comments of those who thought the communists should **never** be allowed to assume power in Germany included:

"If they have communism, they'll get back powerful leaders and we'll have another war."

"Communism is the same as Nazism."

"It wouldn't be a free election if they voted for communism."

Streetcar motorman, San Francisco

Niece of policeman, California

Secretary, Clayton, Missouri

An interesting comparison exists between public opinion polls, representative of the public as a whole, and the conclusions of college faculty groups, representative of experts in every area of learning. Under the title "Treatment of Defeated Enemy Countries—Germany," the Universities' Committee on Post-War International Problems presented the following summary of discussions from forty-six cooperating groups:

"There is virtually unanimous agreement that the United Nations should not 'require' the adoption of free and democratic political institutions by Germany. Most Groups consider that such a requirement is not consonant either with the disparity among the political systems of the United Nations themselves or with the ideals of liberalism and democracy. It is the consensus of opinion, therefore, that the German people should be allowed to decide freely for themselves the ultimate pattern of political organization which they are to have. Certain important limitations, however, are commonly recognized as necessary restrictions upon such a decision:

- (a) It is universally assumed that no continuation of a Nazi or Fascist government will be acceptable to the United Nations.
- (b) An acceptable German government will have to give evidence of its good faith in renouncing militarism and aggression as instruments of foreign policy.
- (c) Such a government must recognize and guarantee the civil rights and legal equality of all Germans.
- (d) It must be willing to cooperate with other nations and to assume its share of responsibility in help-

ing to preserve the peaceful cooperation of all nations.

"In short, the German people should be allowed to choose for themselves the type of political system by which they shall be governed upon the condition that such a system does not conflict with the other main principles of the Atlantic Charter."¹

A somewhat different opinion regarding Germany's future government is expressed by Dr. George N. Shuster:

"The future political orientation of Germany is a matter of supreme importance to us. . . . Above all . . . we cannot afford to see the impoverished and broken lands of the Old World become pawns in a game of power politics. . . . The time has surely come to think carefully about what sort of government we do want in Germany. To make no preparations at all, and to assume that unconditional surrender will be followed by sane and reasonable plebiscites, is quite unrealistic. A quarter of a century may have to elapse before the system of democratic elections can be expected to work satisfactorily in Central Europe."²

Education

Any general question regarding the post-war treatment of Germany and the German people elicits a certain number of replies suggesting as essential some type of re-education for the Reich, particularly the Nazi-indoctrinated youth of the country. The eleventh of Lord Vansittart's "Twelve Points for Germany"³ specified: "The curriculum of school and university studies to be under inter-Allied supervision and advice until the re-education of the German people is assured in accordance with the principles of international goodwill."

Although this problem has been widely discussed in academic circles, public discussion has not been extensive. Only one concrete question appears, this one asked by the Gallup Poll in the summer of 1944:

"Do you think the Allies should supervise the education and training of German youth after this war?"

Yes.....66% No.....19% Undecided.....15%=100%

¹International Conciliation, June, 1944.

²George N. Shuster, "Our Relations with Germany," *Foreign Policy Reports*, October 15, 1943.

³R. G. Vansittart, *Lessons of My Life* (New York, Knopf, 1943).

According to Gallup, comments made in connection with the question underlined "the public conviction that educational supervision of German youth is necessary to wean the younger generation of Germans from the totalitarian and military philosophies of the Hitler regime." Comments cited as typical included: "Yes, teach them democratic ways. . . . Wean them away from Hitlerism. . . . Teach them world spirit rather than national spirit. . . . We've got to counteract the military teachings."

Gallup considered inconsistent a public opinion which, on the one hand, advocated a policy of long-time supervision of the German educational system, and, on the other hand, expected Allied occupation forces to be left in Germany for only a few years. (See this report, page 25.)

Opposing Allied control of German education following the war has been James Paul Warburg, who has said:

"It is not our job to 're-educate the German people.' To be effective, the reorganization of German education must come about not as the compliance of a defeated people with the demands of the victors but as a result of the regeneration of a liberated people, the reestablishment of free thought, and the rebirth of science free from preconception. Our task is not to be teachers ourselves; our task is to help the Germans free themselves from the reactionary bureaucracy of the teaching profession, just as it is our task to help them to free themselves from the reactionary Junker-militarist-industrialist clique."¹

Likewise, a report put out by the Foreign Policy Association included the following recommendation:

"The United Nations should establish an international educational commission, with Germans among its members. One of the tasks of this commission should be to encourage the work of groups and individuals in Germany who share the ideas of the United Nations and can advance them in terms understandable to the German people. Attempts by the United Nations to direct or supervise German education should be avoided."²

¹"Can the Germans Cure Themselves?" *New York Times Magazine*, August 20, 1944.

²Dean, *op. cit.*

PART IV

Shall Germany's Peacetime Industries Be Rebuilt?

When the time comes for the reconstruction of devastated Europe, should the United States government help set the wheels of Germany's **peacetime** industries turning again? Few, if any, Americans would favor the reconstruction of the Reich's **wartime** industries under any circumstances. Of course, the definition of and distinction between wartime and peacetime industries is a matter for experts, not for the public.

Some authorities hold that reducing Germany to a largely agricultural state or states would pose a problem of permanent unemployment amounting to millions of German workers. Others advocate technical means of controlling German industry to prevent the resumption of preparations for a future war. It has been suggested that supplies of nitrogen and oil¹ for the Reich (both imports and internal synthetics) be rigidly controlled, or that electricity be supplied German industry only from power plants beyond her borders, or that the heavy industrial region of the Saar-Ruhr-Rhineland be permanently internationalized.

However, the basic alternative is well-defined by Ernest K. Lindley, who says: "Decisions about German industry . . . must be made before or very shortly after the armistice. For the reconstruction of Europe cannot very well proceed until German industry's place in it has been settled. The debate now in progress may be defined, crudely, by two questions: **To what extent is the suppression of German industry necessary to insure that Germany can never again take the path of aggression? To what extent is German industry necessary to the economic health of Europe and of the world?**"²

On the specific question of **peacetime** industries most people believed that, in the long run, the United States would benefit from helping Germany rebuild. Before the great German drive in December '44, public opinion was convinced that the announcement of a reconstruction policy might speed German surrender.

TO SUMMARIZE:

Basic to the specific questions is the general issue:

"Should the United States government help Germany get her peacetime industries going again after this war?"

64% of persons with opinions **would like** to see the government follow **such a policy**.

More than half of these would be willing—in order to accomplish the desired end—to have **rationing** in the United States continued for several years after the war.

54% of respondents with opinions thought that, in the long run, **the United States would benefit** from such a policy.

The public believed that such a reconstruction policy would contribute to international **peace** and **prosperity** and save the United States money.

Persons who opposed the idea feared it would prove **unsound economically**, that it might cause **wars**, and that it would make it easier for Germany to **re-arm**.

78% of those with opinions (69% of the entire cross-section) believed that—if the German people had their say—they might **surrender sooner** if they were convinced the Allies would help them get their peacetime industries going again after the war.

¹McConnell, R. E. "How to Disarm Germany for Keeps," *Reader's Digest*, January, 1944.

²*Newsweek*, October 2, 1944. Boldface is ours.

Whether or not respondents favored the general idea of the United States' helping reconstruct Germany's peacetime industries was fundamental to attitudes expressed on the related questions.

Of those who WOULD like to see "our government help Germany get her peacetime industries going again after the war":

70% thought the United States would be **better off** by helping.

JUST 7% thought the United States would be **worse off** by helping.

78% believed such a policy might induce the German people to **surrender sooner**, if they had their say.

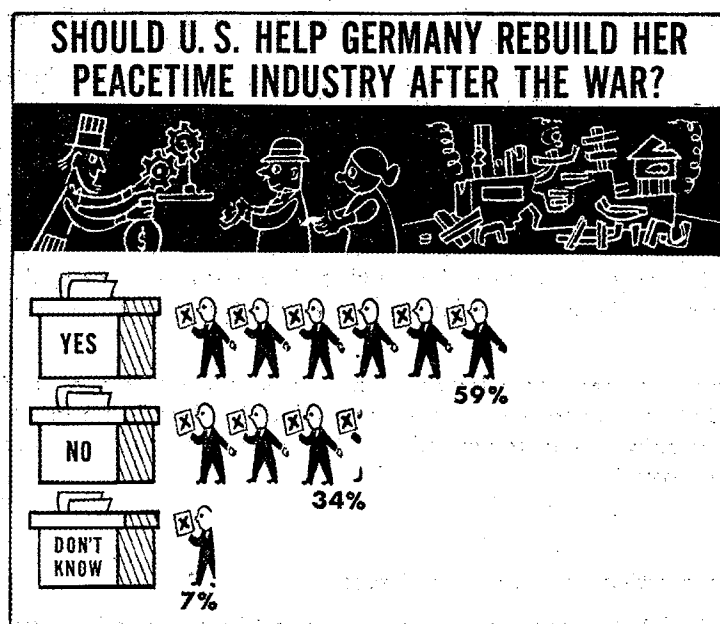
Of those who WOULD NOT like to see our government help Germany:

ONLY 10% thought the United States would be **better off**.

BUT 59% thought the United States would be **worse off**.

59% believed it would **speed** surrender.

Should the United States Help?



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The first NORC question read:

"Would you like to see our government help Germany get her peacetime industries going again after this war, or not?"

	All	Those with Opinions
Yes	59%	64%
Undecided	7
No	34	36
	100%	100%

A definite "Yes" response without qualifications was given by 51 per cent, while the other 8 per cent would have the United States give help only under specified conditions.

Persons who expressed **unqualified approval** of the policy made a variety of comments. Some approached the question from an idealistic point of view, but more seemed to face the issue in the light of cold economic facts. These reactions are typical:

"If a man owes you money, you'd better help him along to be sure you get it back."

"Fascism grows out of inadequate economy. Avoid planting the seeds of another fascism."

"Yes, help them. The people in Germany have got to live, and a people who are working we can trade with, and with convicts we couldn't."

"If we want world trade we must help Germany re-build."

"It's an economic necessity, but it should be done with the greatest of care and thought."

"Germany has an industrial system that's just got to run."

"Yes, help German industries—even though it will mean competition. All nations should compete on an equal basis in trade and in other achievements."

"It would be the only thing to do—convince the Germans that we want to help them, and encourage them to be democratic, too."

Lawyer, Independence, Missouri

Son of construction engineer, Brooklyn

Farmer, near Manning, South Carolina

Wife of business executive, Kearny, New Jersey

Bank president, Massachusetts

University professor, Austin, Texas

Surgeon, Chicago

Mother of bread man, Chicago

The 8 per cent who gave **conditional approval** believe the United States should help re-establish Germany's peacetime industries "under Allied supervision so they couldn't be converted to war-time use . . . if the peacetime industries were used for legitimate purposes . . . but not too much 'Santa Claus business' . . . to the extent that it will make Germany economically independent, but not too competitive . . . if the new German government will play ball with us . . . if they vote for a free government and stick to it . . . only if we will have everything we need."

Persons who answered "**No**" gave as their reasons:

"It will make Germany more powerful and lead to another war."

"We tried to help the Germans before and they took advantage of us."

"No. They'll just turn around and start making war materials again."

"The Germans wanted to break up the peacetime industries of the whole world. Let them build up their own peacetime industries."

"Let the Germans work it out themselves. The United States will have her hands full with her own conversion to peace."

"The Germans kill our boys and then we should help them? Let them start out themselves."

"Manufacturing industries make opportunities to make war materials. The German people should be made to return to agriculture."

Wife of shipyard worker, Paterson, New Jersey

Milk tester, Oregon

Auto supply company manager, Montana

Tire salesman, Denver

Lawyer, Oklahoma City

Moulder, casting company, Lorain, Ohio

Window washer, Newark, New Jersey

RATIONING?

Those who **wanted** the United States government to help get German peacetime industries in operation again after the war and those who were **undecided**—66 per cent of the cross-section—were asked:

"Would you be willing to have some things rationed in this country for several years after the war in order to help Germany get her peacetime industries going again?"

Yes.....37% No.....22% Undecided.....7%—66%

Those giving **affirmative** answers added remarks such as the following: "We must sacrifice to have peace. . . . I don't think rationing hurts anyone, and we should help all we can. . . . I think it will protect our children in the future. . . . If the rationing were world-wide."

The most frequent **negative** reaction was: "That would be going too far with help."

On both the general issue of United States help and the specific issue of rationing to make such help possible, persons with a college background were considerably more willing to assist Germany than were those with less education. Sectionally, residents of the Midwest seemed **most** willing and those of the South **least** willing to help Germany. Women more than men would favor rationing in the United States if it would help to rebuild Germany.

Would the United States Benefit?

The probable effect on the United States of a program to rehabilitate German peacetime industry—an issue already raised by some respondents in their comments regarding the more general question—was specifically approached when NORC interviewers asked:

"Do you think the United States would be better off or worse off in the long run if we did help Germany get her peacetime industries going again after this war?"

	All	Those with Opinions
Better off	44 %	54 %
Makes no difference	11	13
Worse off	27	33
Undecided	18	—
	100 %	100 %

The largest percentages replying "Better off" were found among persons with a college background (63%), those in the upper standard-of-living brackets (57%), professional, business, and white collar workers (54%), and those living in large metropolitan districts (51%).

Those who replied either "Better off" or "Worse off" were asked:

"In what way would we be better off (worse off)?"

BETTER OFF—ECONOMICALLY

Economic benefits were emphasized by a majority of those who believe the United States will be better off if she helps Germany. A considerable number mentioned in rather general terms the desirability of **trade** with Germany: "If we help the Germans rebuild their industries, we could resume trade with them. . . . It would promote trade relations. . . . The Germans will be good people to trade with when they get back on their feet." A few specified the United States' need for trade in certain superior **specialized products** of German industry, such as dyes, chemicals, steel, precision tools, and surgical instruments. Others believed an economically sound Germany is essential to both world prosperity and world peace. In the following sample of responses, the **economic interdependence of the nations of the world** was stressed:

"The whole world will be better off when all nations get their peacetime industries going again."

"Nobody can be economically well off as long as such a large nation as Germany is in a chaotic state."

"Our own prosperity depends upon the prosperity of the world."

"The economic set-up after the war must be world-wide, and Germany is a part of the world."

"The world is too small for the people of any one nation not to have a chance to make a living."

"Helping Germany would start the wheels of her economic system going again, which in the long run would, of course, help us and all other nations."

"It would stabilize international trade, currency, and prices."

"It would show that we were interested in the welfare of the German people and not just in conquering them."

Wife of clergyman, Illinois

Daughter of industrial executive, Buffalo

School principal, Kearny, New Jersey

Farmer, near Amherst, Ohio

Wife of bank cashier, Helena, Montana

Secretary in newspaper office, Chicago

University professor, Boston

Grocer, eastern Colorado

BETTER OFF—IN TERMS OF PEACE AND GOODWILL

Concern over the establishment of a lasting peace was the basic motive behind another large group of responses. Implied in many of these was a differentiation between the Nazi leaders and the German people. The close relation between economic security and a disposition toward **peace or war** was brought out in replies such as these:

"Unless the people of the world are satisfied, there will always be cause for wars."

"If the Germans were a successful nation, they wouldn't be apt to arm again—and that would avoid future wars."

"If the whole world were prosperous—everybody buying and selling—there's less apt to be another Hitler."

"If Germany can be put back on her feet and become stable, there is more chance for international peace. If she is deprived of necessary things, she will be more inclined to go to war again."

"Germany will continue to disturb the peace of the world as long as her internal economic problems are not settled."

"If we don't help Germany, the people will again become so dissatisfied they will follow whatever leader comes along."

Drug clerk, San Francisco

Dentist's wife, Harvey, Illinois

Woman department store executive, New York City

Shipping clerk in bookbindery, Chicago

Wife of research engineer, Dayton

Wife of Chamber of Commerce executive, Ohio

Some respondents stressed the value of **cooperating** with the German people and fostering **friendly** relations. A few of these responses represented a spirit of Christian altruism. Others implied the feeling: "You get more flies with honey than vinegar. . . . Cooperation will pay dividends in good will." Representative suggestions included:

"The world must be a brotherhood of men if we are to have peace."

Housewife, northern Massachusetts

"If we helped rebuild Germany's peacetime industries, then we'd be working with a satisfied self-respecting people."

Wife of radio equipment executive, Highland Park, Michigan

"Then the Germans would be more apt to accept our viewpoint."

Wife of retired druggist, Massachusetts

A frequently expressed idea was that the United States and the world would benefit if Germany became **self-supporting** as soon as possible:

"Give the Germans a chance to be self-supporting so we won't have to take care of them."

Supervisor, passenger transportation, Missouri

"If we don't help Germany, what will we do with a nation of starving people?"

Farmer's wife, near Chesterfield, Missouri

"The quicker we help the Germans get their peacetime industries going, the less relief they'll need."

Insurance agent, Wellington, Ohio

"Such help would prevent Germany from becoming an economic burden to the world."

Daughter of department store manager, Massachusetts

"It would set the Germans on their feet, and they could begin to settle their accounts with us."

Wife of health engineer, Ohio

"Industrial help would enable Germany to establish trade and put her in a position to pay her debts to us."

Justice of the Peace, Texas

BETTER OFF—OTHERS

A few of those interviewed spoke of German cultural and scientific achievements—contributions in invention, medicine, philosophy, education, music, and other fields—and their value to the United States and the rest of the world. Still different points of view were expressed in answers such as the following:

"If we helped Germany rebuild, we could have more control over their industries."

Drug store owner, Chicago

"We could control their educational system because we'd have their confidence."

Wife of Navy clerk, Charleston, South Carolina

"We could show them that our form of government is better than theirs."

Department store owner, Forest Hills, Long Island

"It would look better in history."

Mechanic, St. Joseph, Missouri

WORSE OFF

Persons who thought that the United States would be worse off if she helped Germany get her peacetime industries going again were almost equally divided between those who objected for economic reasons and those who objected in terms of world peace.

"More wars," "Another war to fight," and similar reactions were the responses most frequently made by those who feared Germany would **re-arm** if we helped her re-establish her peacetime industries. Others were more explicit:

"We'd just help the Germans to get started again in military power to use against us."

Housewife, Mountain Brook, Alabama

"Get the Germans going good, and they would get another army going."

Paperhanger, western Pennsylvania

"Unless we watch the Germans very closely they'd do as they did in the last war—re-arm again."

Wife of cotton gin operator, South Carolina

"Germany would only build up to fight again."

Farmer, near Hornell, New York

"Dey's fightin' folks; dey'd be studying another war."

Negro farmer, near Leighton, Alabama

"If the Germans have industries they will have the means to go to war again."

Farm laborer, near Reedville, Oregon

A general **distrust** of Germany, less specific than an actual fear of war, seemed the common denominator of answers such as these:

"The stronger we make Germany, the greater menace she will be."
 "We helped the Germans before, and we would be right back where we started from and nothing would be gained."
 "The Germans would lose respect for us if we are too easy with them."
 "We can't trust the Germans."
 "I think we shouldn't have a thing to do with the Germans."

Newspaperman, Pontiac, Michigan
 Repairman, Los Angeles
 Wife of government research worker, Detroit
 Merchant's wife, Indiana
 Wife of Internal Revenue employee, Baltimore

Several different **economic** aspects of the problem were also emphasized. Some persons felt that domestic problems in the United States would demand all available resources—**energy, goods, money**:

"It's time we took care of ourselves. We have sacrificed enough trying to be Santa Claus to the world."
 "If we try to do too much AWAY from home, we'd get all mixed up HERE AT HOME."
 "We would have to deny ourselves to give to the Germans, and they should be able to take care of themselves."
 "We have enough bills of our own to take care of."
 "Such a policy would mean severe taxation here in the United States."
 "It would make the United States more a creditor nation than ever."

Wife of special investigator, Chicago
 Dairy farmer, near Oklahoma City
 Housewife, Jenks, Oklahoma
 Building contractor, Portland, Oregon
 Salesman, Jackson Heights, Long Island
 College professor, Louisville, Kentucky

A few respondents specifically brought the **Allies** into the picture. A farmer's wife near Clarksdale, Mississippi, for example, felt that the United States would "have enough to do to rehabilitate our Allies and the countries over-run by Germany. The Germans should have to carry their own burden." A Brooklyn lawyer who expressed a strongly vengeful attitude toward Germany was convinced that "we should direct our efforts toward nations who could use some help, but only those who have been our Allies."

Some persons feared that helping Germany would only hasten the day when her economic **competition** would become a problem: "We would be making a dangerous competitor out of Germany. . . . German labor is cheaper—they would undersell us. . . . If we don't let Germany get her peacetime industries going, we can make more things over here to sell them. . . . They would compete with us in world markets. . . . They would flood our markets with their goods."

Here is what three eminent political thinkers have to say regarding the post-war disposition of German industry: According to Lord Vansittart:

"The Allies must . . . control all the German war potential—that is, the bulk of German heavy industry. Some industries must be prohibited altogether—for example, aircraft, synthetic oil and rubber, and explosives. Imported key materials must be rationed to legitimate commercial requirements, and, therefore, imported only under Allied license. Among these, for example, would be copper, nickel, tungsten, chrome, wolfram, bauxite, iron ore, and a number of others.
 "The Allies must exercise strict and prolonged supervision over the factories of the German war machine. In some instances, they will have to take over part at least of the loan and share capital and have their own directors on the boards and, in the most dangerous cases, their own managers."¹

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman states:

"Any program for destroying German heavy industry, it seems to me, condemns some twenty or thirty million Germans to starvation. . . . I do not believe that we are quite prepared to go that far."²

Dr. George N. Shuster considers the demobilization of Germany industry to be:

"the most important and crucial aspect of the disarmament and reconstruction program. It is quite true that Germany must be restrained from manufacturing the implements of war. But that its industry should be dismantled because potentially any industry can manufacture armaments is an utterly fallacious inference. . . . To say . . . that Germany must take to agriculture . . . is merely to indicate that one expects the United States to underwrite a program for reducing the German population by twenty million. We must be prepared to give the Germans their opportunity to serve the markets of the world, their measure of access to raw materials, and their proper part in the reconstruction of economic civilization. Not to do so would be to create a revolutionary proletariat driven by the peril of starvation to undermine what little will remain of order and hope in Central Europe."³

¹Broadcast to the Chicago Round Table, August 27, 1944.

²Ibid.

³Shuster, *op. cit.*

Ernest K. Lindley reports on some of the findings of the Foreign Economic Administration (FEA), which has been studying for some time control of the war-making power of Germany:

"Certain measures are more or less obvious, such as the surrender of all munitions in German hands at the close of the war, dissolution of the German General Staff and of all agencies of military instruction, and prohibition of the manufacture of finished munitions of any type. Certain further measures become obvious when the facts are examined. The synthetic-oil and gasoline plants in Germany have no economic justification. It would be far cheaper for Germany to import petroleum products. The synthetic plants already have been heavily damaged by bombing and may be practically out of commission by the time the war ends. What, if anything, is left of them can be destroyed and their reconstruction prohibited.

"The construction and operation of commercial, as well as military, airplanes can also be forbidden. The present disposition in Washington is to make this prohibition sweeping—probably extending it to private flying and possibly even to the employment of Germans for ground crews at commercial airports within Germany.

"Other restrictions and prohibitions which are being studied apply to the production of heavy forgings, high-alloy steels, nitrogen, hydrogen, machine tools, aluminum, electric power, and coal. To enforce restrictions, not only continuous inspection, but international management of some types of German industry is being considered. Corresponding studies are being made in Britain and, possibly, in Russia. If these controls on the war-making capacity of Germany are skillfully worked out and firmly enforced by Allied agreement, mistakes in the political treatment of Germany need not be fatal."¹

The complex interrelationship of reparations, German industrialization, and rearmament, has been excellently summarized in a recent **Foreign Policy Report**:

"German goods . . . rather than labor would be the most useful form of reparation that the liberated countries could receive. Instead of finding substantial inflows of extra goods from Germany an embarrassment—as Britain and France did after World War I—all the European allies could probably use almost any amount of German products for at least several years after this war. Whether the liberated nations will actually ask for all the German goods they need or could use, however, is doubtful because of their preoccupation with their future security. For heavy reparation, they realize, would require preservation of those German industries that survive United Nations bombings, and reconstruction of plants which have been destroyed or heavily damaged in the course of the war. Moreover, the payment of reparation over a long period would give the Germans extensive business connections and make their products so widely known that they might gain a predominant position in the export markets of the world. At this point, therefore, it becomes clear that the liberated countries will have to choose between their desire for German reparation and their demand for a permanently weakened German economy. For it cannot be emphasized too strongly that Germany cannot make

large-scale payments in goods if its heavy industries are dismantled at the end of the war.

"Forced to decide between large-scale reparation and a deindustrialized Germany, most of the continental allies do not hesitate to choose the destruction of Germany's industrial potential. Because of the importance of industry in modern warfare they feel that the razing of Germany's large industrial plants is more important to their long-term welfare than the collection of the largest possible amount of reparation. At the risk of having to pay for the greater share of their own reconstruction, therefore, the European nations stand for the plan which Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau is reported to have submitted to President Roosevelt last September. By restricting Germany to light industries and agricultural production, they hope not only that the Germans will be unable to rearm but that their population and the potential size of their army will be eventually reduced."

European nations who have depended on Germany as a market for their own agricultural products have opposed proposals to transform Germany into a country of light industries and agriculture. "This is particularly true of the Netherlands, and presumably of Denmark and the Balkan countries. Rather than build up an agricultural competitor and eliminate the demand of German urban centers for imported food products, these European allies with predominantly agricultural economies suggest long-term United Nations control of German industries as an adequate security measure."

One spokesman for this group of nations, Dr. Alexander Loudon, Netherlands Ambassador to the United States, has suggested that "majority shares of stock in German industry be placed in the trusteeship of an international cooperative body. To avoid the charge that this arrangement would create cartels, none of the members of this body would be permitted to have ties with similar business in their own countries. According to this suggestion, the shares of German industry to be placed in trust would be computed by each nation on the basis of its reparations claims against Germany. This plan, because of the huge claims that could be made against Germany would, in Dr. Loudon's opinion, insure complete control of German industries—or as much of it as remains after United Nations bombings cease and reparation in the form of industrial equipment have been paid. Such supervision, he believes, is the only effective method of preventing German rearmament, particularly in view of the Germans' demonstrated ability to devise new instruments of war. This does not mean that regular diplomatic observers in Germany could not detect most forms of rearmament if it occurred. For even the Nazis' 'secret' preparations for war were well-known to the other powers, and their refusal to take strong measures in time was not due to lack of information. But Dr. Loudon is convinced that control of Germany's means of production, rather than resort to measures designed to destroy its industrial potential, will be more effective in preventing the Germans from rearming in the future."²

¹Newsweek, October 9, 1944.

²Hadsel, op cit.

Would the Policy Speed Surrender?

Before Germany's surrender, seven out of ten Americans thought that, if the people in the Reich had their say, they might surrender sooner if they were convinced that the Allies would help them get their peacetime industries going again after the war. Two out of ten believed the hope of Allied economic assistance would make no difference to the Germans, and one person in ten was undecided. Persons of all backgrounds were in amazing agreement on this question; no population group varied significantly from the following total distribution:

"If the people in Germany had their say, do you think they might surrender sooner if they thought we would help them get their peacetime industries going again after the war?"

Yes.....69% No.....19% Undecided.....12%=100%

A few qualified their replies by comments such as these: "The older generation would, but the younger generation wants war: . . . I think the older people would, but the Nazi-minded younger group is in the majority. . . . Some would, but the ones who have been trained believe in what they're doing."

WOULD SPEED SURRENDER

In the wording of the question the use of "if" and "might" made possible "Yes" replies from persons who are somewhat doubtful as well as from those who feel quite definitely on the matter. Several shades of certainty are suggested by comments volunteered by some of the persons interviewed.

Strong "YES" answers would accompany such comments as these:

"If the Germans could be SURE we'd help them get their peacetime industries going, they'd quit tomorrow."
"Of course. It would be good propaganda on our part."
"I honestly believe they would. All these blitzes we've been putting over Germany have changed their minds in the last few months."

Retired businessman, Berkeley, California
Wife of Air corps captain, Oregon
Janitor, Los Angeles

A medium "Yes" might have preceded the following remarks:

"As things are now, the German people have no incentive to do other than FIGHT—HARD—for what they think they must."
"One reason the Germans still fight is that they think they will be alone in the world."
"The Germans are so misinformed by propaganda that they don't realize such a thing could be possible. They expect reprisals of all kinds."

Transport truck driver, Nashville
Machinist helper, New York
Dairy operator, Portland, Oregon

A doubtful "Yes" is implied by these and similar comments:

"If the German people had their way they sure would."
"The PEOPLE, yes, but NOT THOSE IN CHARGE."
"I don't think it would influence their army."
"But that isn't what's keeping them fighting—rather fear of the Allies and the conquered nations."

Mother of naval officer, Tulsa
Executive, saddlery, Montana
Salesman's wife, Birmingham
Student, World War II veteran, Baltimore

The wife of a Negro steel worker in Detroit footnoted her "Yes" reply with this comment: "It is hard to answer questions about Germany, because the people there are used to war and it doesn't mean so much to them as it does to us."

WOULD NOT SPEED SURRENDER

The "No" responses also suggested several shadings of attitude. Closely related to the "doubtful yes" replies are those who answered "No," implying in their answers that the people of Germany would have no say in determining whether or not the Reich should surrender:

"The German people have nothing to do about surrendering. It's all up to Hitler. The people are afraid."
"The people would be shot down if they tried to surrender."
"Hitler told the Germans to stay with the fighting to the last man. I don't think they'd give up any sooner."
"The ones who love peace aren't the ones that started the war, so they couldn't end it."

Woman clerk, Silverton, Oregon
Retired businessman, northern Massachusetts
Farmer's wife, Colorado
Widow living on independent income, University City, Missouri

Quite common were remarks such as "The people of Germany will fight to the bitter end," or "They won't surrender; we've got to beat them," with no motivation suggested. Some persons seemed convinced that the Germans were **determined** to fight indefinitely: "They are entirely too bull-headed to consider anything but winning the war. . . . Peace terms have nothing to do with it—at this point. They're fighting to a finish for principles they believe in. . . . The Germans are strong and will keep going to the end, as they think they will be the rulers."

Others gave a variety of reasons for their negative replies. A Brooklyn biochemist added: "It's too late for Germany to back out after the big gamble. In a long war peace terms will not be so severe." "The Germans have enough industry. They can get going alone. They're not fighting for that, but for a better standard of living," remarked an Ogden, Utah, hotel man.

PART V

Can Germany Pay Reparations?

Reparations—one of the knottiest problems in the financial tangle which inextricably linked European and United States fiscal policies after World War I—cannot help but constitute a major international issue following World War II.

A series of NORC questions on the issue of reparations shows that today many Americans face this problem realistically—at least in comparison with some of the “wishful thinking” prevalent twenty-five years ago. While before the invasion of Germany more than six out of every ten adult civilians believed that the **United States should try** to make Germany pay for our cost of the war, many of these foresaw difficulties involved in collecting any sort of reparations, and an almost equal majority believed that **Germany will be unable to pay us fully in either money or goods.**¹ A bare majority favored the proposal that forced labor from Germany be used to rebuild the devastated countries of Europe.

TO SUMMARIZE:

	62 %	of Americans believed that “We” should try to make the people in Germany pay us in either money or goods for our cost of this war.” (This includes 6 % who would try to get only part payment.)
But only	48 %	of the same cross-section thought we should demand reparations if Germany “is made to give up all the land she has taken since 1930,” and “if Hitler and the other Nazi leaders are punished. ”
Likewise	57 %	believed that Germany will be unable to pay our cost of the war in either money or goods.
And	31 %	of the public—all of whom thought we should try to collect at least some reparations—expressed the opinion that nothing can be done , that “you can’t get blood out of a turnip!”
	51 %	felt that German workers should be “ forced to rebuild the homes and industries ” in “the countries they have fought against.”

Should We TRY to Get Reparations?

First NORC asked the nation-wide civilian cross-section a direct question on the issue of reparations:

“Do you think we **SHOULD TRY** to make the people of Germany pay us either in money or goods for our cost of this war?”

	TOTAL		BY EDUCATION			
			College	High School	Grade School	
Yes	56 %	62 %	46 %	53 %	59 %	65 %
Yes, for part.....	6	7	7	6	6	6
No	29	42	42	32	19	19
Undecided	9	5	5	9	9	10
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

The amount of education a person had seemed to be a strong factor in determining his views on the question of reparations. Those with a college background favored by only a five-to-four majority trying to collect reparations from Germany, while those with high school training divided approximately two-to-one and those with grade school or less, three-to-one. Residents of the New England and Middle Atlantic states and Southerners gave affirmative replies in larger proportions than did persons in other parts of the United States.

¹The term “reparation” is used in a semi-technical sense to mean German payment in money or goods. The possible use of German labor for reconstruction outside of Germany is considered in connection with reparations. The question of territorial settlement is regarded as a separate problem.

²It is assumed that the “we” used in the question was interpreted by most respondents to mean the United States, though some may possibly have construed it, in a larger sense, to mean the Allies or the United Nations.

MAKE THE GERMANS PAY

Of those who favored trying to make the German people pay either in **money or goods** for the cost of the war to the United States, a number commented as to the reasons for this attitude. According to a Brooklyn lawyer, "We should make the Germans pay in order to deplete them of both labor and natural resources to such an extent that it will keep them weakened and in a position not to impose another war on the world for at least another two generations." A Chicago shipping clerk suggested that "There is no use making the German people pay money because it would upset the balance of trade and we wouldn't profit. They could pay us in goods we need or in scientific achievements such as inventions or scientific devices we would find useful."

A few emphasized the idea of German "war guilt." Others recalled that reparations after World War I were ineffective. Still others suggested that payment for the cost of the war should be agreed upon, in principle at least, as part of the "unconditional surrender" to be demanded of Germany. One of the harshest reactions came from a parking lot attendant in Beverly Hills, California: "Make the Germans pay plenty and stand the cost of insurance for every man that was lost. Germany should be kept in debt forever."

Those who considered "part payments" fair made such comments as: "Payments should be insisted upon in proportion to what the Germans can pay—over a period of years, but not forever. . . . They should pay as much as they can and still maintain an organized government. . . . The German people can't pay all of it, but for a long time they should have a reminder that they have reparation to make."

DON'T MAKE THE GERMANS PAY

Some of the 29 per cent who thought we shouldn't try to make Germany pay expressed definite reasons for their conviction. Most frequently mentioned were the ideas:

- (1) that reparations sow the seeds for future wars,
- (2) that it would be impossible for Germany to pay, and
- (3) that the guilt of the war is not Germany's alone.

A "vegetable man" in Milwaukee remarked: "Reparations would only keep the Germans down and dissatisfied, and breed seeds for another war." A farmer near Raleigh, North Carolina, believed: "If we did try to make the Germans pay, they would never get out of bondage. They would never get it paid, and we would never have peace."

"How can we make the Germans pay? They'll be hungry . . . homeless . . . clothesless," said a Los Angeles janitor. "The Germans could not pay if we destroy them as we should," according to a laundry truck driver near Rockville, Indiana.

A contractor's wife in San Francisco commented: "It was not Germany's fault entirely that we became involved in the war." A Spokane blacksmith suggested that "the debt should be cancelled all the way 'round." A Cincinnati business man, one of a number who linked the problems of Axis reparations and Allied war debts, answered: "I don't expect Germany to pay reparations any more than I expect England or Russia to pay back Lend-Lease. We might as well cross the whole thing off and start from scratch."

HOW MUCH REPARATIONS SHOULD GERMANY PAY?

Another NORC question, asked two years previously—in 1942, showed that even at that time the majority of the public favored trying to collect reparations from Germany. As in the more recent question, persons with at least some college training tended to take a more lenient attitude than did those with little schooling. The question:

"How much do you think the Allies should TRY to make Germany pay toward what the war has cost the Allies?"

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
"As much as it is possible to get out of the Axis countries, even if it breaks them.	43 %	28 %	42 %	52 %
"None of the cost of the war..."	9	16	9	5
"Something in between these two."	38	50	41	30
Undecided	10	6	8	13
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

Are Territorial Readjustments and Elimination of Nazism Enough?

Most discussions regarding the post-war disposition of Germany presuppose that the territories Hitler conquered will be transferred to other jurisdiction and that Hitler and the other Nazi leaders will be punished. Presupposing these two lines of action, the following question ascertained how many people in the United States would demand further reparations from the people of Germany:

"If Germany is made to give up all the land she has taken since 1930, and if Hitler and the other Nazi leaders are punished, should we try to make the German people pay for our cost of this war or not?"¹

	All	Those with Opinions
Yes, try to make them pay.....	42 %	46 %
Yes, try to get part.....	6	7
	48 %	53 %
No, don't try to make them pay.....	43	47
Undecided	9	---
	100 %	100 %

Sharp differences of opinion occurred among various population groups. More men replied "Yes" and more women "No." A majority of persons with a college background believed the United States should **not** make the Germans pay reparations in addition to territorial settlements and the punishment of the Nazis. Persons with an elementary school education or less tended to take the opposite view.

YES, TRY TO MAKE THE GERMANS PAY

Most of those who replied "Yes" made no comment. A few, however, added opinions such as that of a building contractor in Portland, Oregon, who said: "The land isn't Germany's anyway. She should still pay." A prosperous farmer near Leighton, Alabama, added: "I imagine the Allies will hang all the leaders, and the German people will have to pay the debt." A Los Angeles service station operator commented: "In some slow way someone is going to have to pay for the war. If the Germans can manufacture things cheaper than we—take that as payment."

The 6 per cent who suggested that the German people should pay for **part** of the American cost of the war did so in these terms: "They should do what they can . . . should be assessed **something** . . . should make some compensation in whatever way they are able." A retired Indiana farmer remarked: "The German people should pay at least a part of this debt. It's a good way to keep them down so they can't get ready for another war."

A few (less than 0.5%) believed with the wife of an Ohio auto salesman that "there won't be any Germans left" to pay reparations.

¹A similarly phrased question regarding Japan found that 63 per cent of the public, in contrast to the 48 per cent above, would favor demanding from the Japanese people further reparations beyond loss of territory and punishment of "Hirohito and the other Japanese leaders."

NO, DON'T TRY TO MAKE THE GERMANS PAY

The 43 per cent who believed this country should **not** demand reparations in addition to the other conditions were asked:

"Why don't you think we should?"

20%	thought it would be impossible for the German people to pay,
17	said that the Nazi leaders , not the German people were primarily to blame for the war,
3	believed that strict reparations accounting would only lead to new wars in the future, and
3	gave other answers.
43%	

Most of those who thought the German people **can never pay** made comments such as: "They would have nothing to pay with. . . . How can they pay? . . . Germany can't possibly pay." Others were more specific in their remarks:

"It would strangle the Germans to try to make them pay. People who are not economically free are never contented."
 "The Germans won't have anything. We would just have to fight to make them pay."
 "The Germans couldn't pay. It would keep them down for too many generations."
 "It's too fanciful to expect any money, and we don't want goods."
 "Let them build their country first."
 "Other nations don't pay their debts. Germany could never repay, anyway."
 "If Germany is divided up, there would be nothing to make payments with."

Secretary, Dallas
 Woman dairy worker, Tulsa
 Dentist's wife, Los Angeles
 Buyer, leather goods business, Missouri
 War worker, Pennsylvania
 Janitor, Waterloo, Indiana
 Wife of ranch foreman, Colorado

Respondents who believed that the **German people should not be blamed** for the war made comments such as these:

"It's not the people's war. It's the leaders' war."
 "The people themselves did not want this war any more than we did."
 "If all the leaders were punished—and we could be sure they got all of them—that would be enough. I have aunts and uncles over in Germany, and I know they don't want to fight."
 "The German people were forced into the war! If they had the proper education, they would do all right."
 "The German people are not directly responsible for our entrance into the war."

Truck driver, Beaverton, Oregon
 Machinist's wife, Waltham, Massachusetts
 Wife of government inspector, Indiana
 Fireman, Indiana
 Son of Negro minister, Louisville, Kentucky

Typical of those who thought strict reparations accounting would only lead to **another war** was this comment from a New England clothing store owner: "The Germans won't be able to pay, and it would foster hatred and another war."

Can Germany Pay?

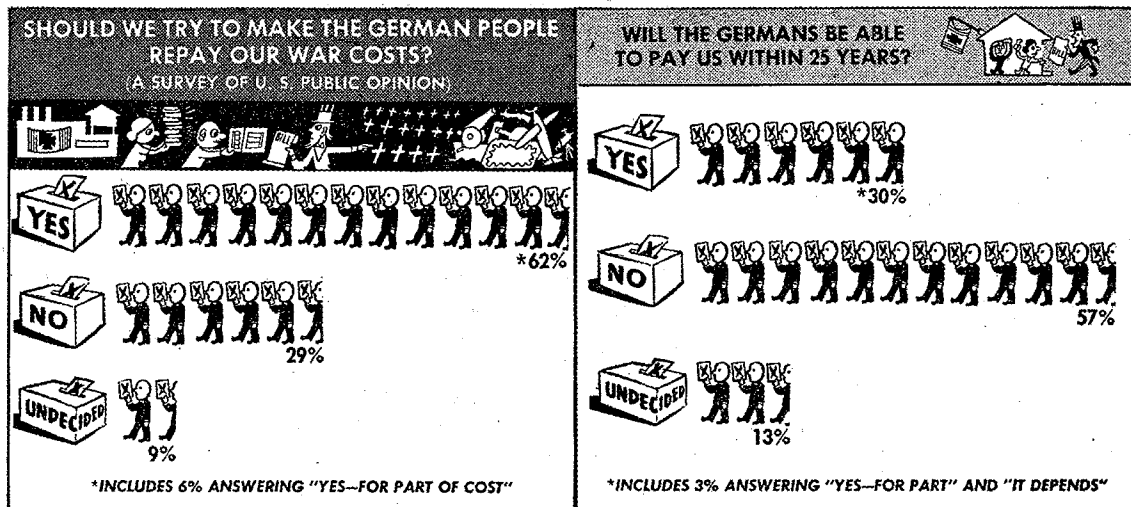
While 62 per cent of the public thought that the German people **ought to be made to pay** for the United States' cost of the war, less than half as many—29 per cent—believed that such payment would be **possible** within a quarter century. NORC asked:

"Do you think the people in Germany **WILL BE ABLE** to pay us either in money or goods for our cost of this war—within 25 years after the war is over?"

Yes	27%
Yes, for part.....	2
It depends	29%
No	1
Undecided	57
	13
	100%

No population group deviated markedly from this general distribution. However, among persons with at least some college education, **two out of three** thought Germany would be **unable** to pay, while among persons who have no more than grade school training the proportion was less than **one-half**.

Respondents' attitudes as to whether or not Germany **could** pay for our cost of the war were closely associated with their attitudes as to whether or not she **should** pay. Of those who believed that Germany **should** be made to pay, 38 per cent thought she could and 46 per cent thought she couldn't. Of those who believed that we **should not** try to make Germany pay, only 12 per cent thought Germany would be able to and 81 per cent thought she would not be able to. Of both groups, however, more felt Germany **would NOT be able to pay reparations** than thought she would.



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GERMANY CAN'T PAY

Those who thought that Germany **will not** be able to pay most often stressed the economic impossibility of full reparations payments. An airport employee in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, remarked: "Germany will be bankrupt. If it were not for the occupied countries, she couldn't afford to fight." A fruit farmer outside Portland, Oregon, answered: "Germany won't have money or goods to pay. Let them have a little experience in modified slave labor. They've forced plenty of it on others." Other comments included: "It's impossible for any nation to pay off the damage done in this war. . . . If they did pay, it would cause inflation. . . . Not if they're going to rehabilitate their own country. . . . No, unless the peace settlement were **not** unconditional and they kept lands and were therefore in a position to pay."

GERMANY CAN PAY

Persons who believed that Germany **will** be able to pay most frequently commented: "They are a prosperous nation," or "They are energetic and will soon be on their feet." The wife of a Chicago pharmacist made a typical reply: "If the Germans could build up the war machine they did before 1939, they certainly should be able to pay us for this one in 25 years."

A few responses were put in the form of definite qualifications: "Yes, if we help their industries and take labor as payment. . . . Providing our aviators don't destroy too much before the war is over. . . . Not the entire cost, but something."

If Germany Can't Pay—Then What?

Questions asked from various frames of reference have all elicited results similar insofar that only minorities would, under any circumstances, forego reparations payments from Germany after the war. Even in January, 1943, when the question was put in terms of helping to make a world organization successful, opinion was substantially the same as in later surveys. The reparations issue was one of a series¹ predicated on the same introductory statement:

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

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

"to forget reparations—that is, not try to collect any money from Germany or Japan to pay for what the war has cost us and our Allies?"

Willing....28% Not willing....64% Undecided....8%—100%

Implicit in many responses and comments, as well as clearly expressed in the question regarding Germany's ability to pay, was the fear that—regardless of what decisions the peacemakers may reach—Germany will again be unable to make restitution in either money or goods for the war expenses incurred by the United States and the other United Nations.

To make the issue crystal clear, the 62 per cent² who thought we should try to make the German people pay us either in money or goods for all or part of our cost of the war and the 9 per cent who were undecided on this matter—71 per cent in all—were asked:

"If the people in Germany are not able to pay us within 25 years after the war, what do you think we ought to do about making them pay?"

31% made no practical suggestions; they believed that **nothing could be done**, or that it is up to someone else to worry about it,
18 thought the **time** allowed for payments **should be extended**,
11 believed that the Germans should **"pay regardless,"** or that we should take over German industries to insure payment,
6 said, in effect, **"Forget it,"**
5 suggested the use of physical force to collect—**forced labor, military occupation, or even war.**

71%

Only 16 per cent—those who said "pay regardless" and those who suggested the use of physical force—advocated, actually harsh treatment. The other 55 per cent favored leniency, in either positive or negative terms. The more education a person had, the more likely he was to suggest a positively lenient treatment of reparations problems. The less education he had, the more likely he was to say negatively: "What can you do?"

LENIENT TREATMENT

The 31 per cent who had **no practical suggestions** to make were frankly baffled. Many merely shrugged and said: "What can you do?" One of a number to use a familiar phrase was an Alabama housewife who replied: "You can't get blood out of a turnip. You can put the turnip in jail, but then you'd have to feed him." Others answered:

"I don't know what we can do to make them pay."

"I don't see how we can make them pay if they can't."

"It wouldn't be worth going to war again. I don't know how we could make them pay."

Wife of typesetter, Toledo

Wife of repairman, Helena, Montana

Wife of meat packer, Colorado

Still others would **shift the responsibility**: "Leave that decision until later on. . . . Let that go until peace comes. . . . It would be up to the coming generation. . . . Nobody paid before and they probably won't again."

¹For a complete discussion of the question, see Report No. 8.

²See this report, page 41.

Of the 18 per cent who would **extend the time limit** and give the Germans more than 25 years in which to pay, a number gave brief answers such as that of a Negro woman government employee in Oklahoma: "Just give them more time." Others suggested:

"Give them an extension of time, as any banker does."	Fruit farmer, near Portland, Oregon
"Tax them high and wait for them to pay, even if it takes 100 years."	Woman worker, airplane factory, Illinois
"We should set up a budget system so they can pay a little at a time."	Daughter of war worker, Haverhill, Massachusetts
"When I make a bad crop, Mr. Ed carries me over and gives me another year to pay. Guess that's what we'll have to do with the Germans."	Negro farmer, near Leighton, Alabama
"We could grant the Germans an extension of time or take substitute goods, such as chemicals."	Interior decorator, St. Louis

Six per cent of the cross-section favored cancelling all reparations and war debts which are not paid after 25 years. Some simply said: "**Forget it!**" Others answered more fully:

"Forget repayment. Nothing matters except security from future wars."	Wife of research engineer, Ohio
"Drop it. In 25 years a new generation will live in Germany. Why penalize them?"	Wife of clergyman, Detroit
"Cancel them as bad debts by taking it out of income tax here in the United States."	Bartender, Buffalo
"We have a bad-debt law in this country. After seven years debts are outlawed. The same should apply to German debts."	Farmer's wife, Missouri

HARSH TREATMENT

Many of the 11 per cent who believed that payment should be insisted upon failed to suggest how. A typical reaction was that of a restaurant man in Astoria, New York, who said: "Force them! They can pay!" Others replied:

"The Germans should be kept at it until they do pay. As long as they are busy paying for this war, they won't start another war."	Housewife, Santa Monica, California
"We ought to take what we can get in any way we can and hold 'em down until we do get it!"	Millwright, St. Louis
"Just don't send supplies of any kind to them, or permit them to trade with us until they do pay."	Wife of fruit dealer, Lancaster, Pennsylvania
"Beat hell out of them again and snoop and see why they can't pay."	Doctor, Alabama

Some specifically suggest **supervision of German industry and trade** to insure payment: "Take possession of certain of their natural resources. . . . We should garnishee them—take over their trade and industry. . . . Take over their factories . . . mines . . . and oil. The riches of the Reich can be run to **pay** us, not **fight** us."

The 5 per cent who would use "**physical force**" made various suggestions. Some believed, for example, that Germany should "pay in **labor** and reconstruction," and rebuild "all the cathedrals and religious shrines." Others thought German labor should be brought to the United States to build roads and work on farms. A few went so far as to say: "Make them slaves like they made other people, and force them to pay like they made those people pay."

Still others advocated "**military supervision** until payment is made in full. A shoe repairman in Massachusetts thought we should: "Put in an army of occupation and collect money in taxes." A small number of respondents suggested that the United States "Take over the country, lands, and industries of Germany." Only a very few would start another war against Germany and "kill off" all the Germans.

PRESS REACTION

Like the respondents themselves, newspapers reacted in a variety of different ways on the issue of reparations. Here are three comments on NORC's findings:

Columnist Selden Menefee in the **Washington Post** wrote:

*"The real danger, so far as public opinion is concerned, is not that we will be too lenient with Germany. Rather, it is that we may be unrealistic about collecting cash reparations, in spite of our experience in the last war; or that we may become apathetic about the settlement once the fighting is over, leaving it to 'experts' who will turn out to be politicians rather than statesmen in the end."*¹

The **Denver Post** stated:

*"Sentiment for German reparations is an expression of the American sense of justice. Society punishes ordinary criminals. War criminals, who are the worst of all, should be forced to pay in some way for their crimes. Of course the Germans will plead bankruptcy, but that shouldn't deter the Allies from trying to compel them to repair some of the damage they have done. After the first world war, Germans found the money and developed the production to prepare for another war. If they are forced to build what they have destroyed, they will be kept so busy for the next hundred years they won't have time to get ready for a third world war."*²

A more moderate view was expressed in a California editorial:

"Few will dispute the general proposition that Germany ought to be compelled to repair as much as possible of the destruction she has caused in Poland and Russia and Holland and Belgium and Great Britain and Greece and on down the long list. But how? That is where opinions differ."

"With goods? In some cases, yes. But there are many kinds of goods that the aggrieved countries do not want. Great quantities of butter were stolen from Denmark, for example, but forcing Germany to send back butter, after the war has been won, would only make it harder for the Danish farmers to re-establish their own dairy industry. They will want cows and chickens, but not butter and eggs, save possibly for a brief time when needed to avert actual hunger."

"Shall Germany repay with labor? Again we run into the question of details. Certainly Rotterdam ought to be rebuilt, but it is doubtful if Holland wants German slave labor after the war, competing with her own laboring people for available jobs. One observer even commented that the German workers would all be murdered the day they arrived."

"Americans, while they have had little direct experience with reparations as such, in any form, had a somewhat similar problem in the effort to collect debts from her Allies after the last war. They could not pay, except by sending goods of some kind to us, and most of their goods we did not want to accept, because accepting them injured the market for our own products of the same kind."

*"Ways can be found to make use of a good deal of German material, though. France got a great deal of German coal in the first years following the other war, while her own flooded coal mines were being reconditioned. Russia can use many German products and doubtless will insist on getting them, as reparations. Wherever it can be done without disrupting the economy of the recipient nation, Germany should be compelled to make good what she has destroyed. But no matter what hardships the Allies might be willing to inflict on their defeated enemy, a very great part of the war's destruction can never be made good by anyone."*³

A short and simple recommendation was embodied in the Foreign Policy Report, "What Future for Germany?":

*"The Germans should be required to supply labor and technical skill for the reconstruction of regions devastated by German armies. Germans should be represented on the international body charged with this task of physical reconstruction. A plan of this character would have to be worked out in such a form as not to create unemployment in other countries. Reparations in cash or commodities should not be required from Germany."*⁴

Fortune for February '44 carried a realistic and hard-headed article on the many complicated ramifications of the reparations problem. Certain high-lights are of particular interest in connection with a consideration of public opinion on the question. The discussion begins:

"Reparations are no longer academic. The Russians have made it abundantly clear that they expect Germany to make good the appalling damage and destruction wrought by the Wehrmacht. This fall Professor Varga, influential Russian economist, intimated that **it would take ten million Germans ten years to rebuild Russian devastated areas**. He has also argued that since Germany spent, on the average 15 billion reichmarks (\$4 to \$6 billion) per year in the pre-war years for armament, she should be able to produce a similar amount of goods on reparations account. Spread over a period of twenty-five years this would make a sum of between \$100 and \$150 billion for Russia alone. Total claims of all nations, according to Mr. Varga in a bulletin released by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, might run up to \$600 or \$800 billion."

These figures are called "dizzying and indeed preposterous" when compared with the World War I bill of \$32 billion of which only \$9 billion was ever paid. However, these claims cannot be ignored, but huge reparations are going to be demanded by Russia and other European nations in bitter reprisal for German fiscal policies in the occupied countries as well as for military destruction.

"The United Nations have already voted that Germany should make restitution for all illegally seized properties, such as plants of large corporations, and that Germany should make specific contribution to the relief of Europe, though both Britain and the United States feel strongly that the problems of relief and of reparations should be dealt with separately."

¹Washington Post, June 29, 1944.

²September 3, 1944.

³Eureka Times, May 21, 1944.

⁴Dean, op. cit. Boldface ours.

According to **Fortune**, the United States must decide to "throw its weight" behind one of these three alternative theories:

- (1) "that while the devastated countries are entitled to all they can get . . . prolonged collection of reparations is impractical;
- (2) "that 'huge and protracted claims' must be collected;
- (3) "that collection will have to be fairly extended but can be used to canalize the German economy back into the ways of peace."

After examining the reparations problems of World War I, **Fortune** concludes: "No doubt the prime failure after Versailles was political rather than economic. If the U. S. had entered the League of Nations, if the U. S. had joined in a military security system, then Germany might not have been able again to bring war upon the world." However, "Politics aside, Versailles held its quota of economic lessons also." These included the vicious circle of reparations, war debts, and the steadily advanced United States tariffs, which made collection of war debts impossible. Following World War II, decisions regarding reparations must be made in the light of what imports creditor nations will accept from debtor nations.

A long-term reparations program would inevitably involve long-timed Allied occupation of the Reich, since the payment of reparations "is quite incompatible with the attempt to set up a free democratic government." The German people, if given the vote, would very likely refuse to maintain in power a government which tried to levy high taxes to repay reparations. A long-term reparations program would also mean extended control of German industry, since "without absolute control over the main levers of the German economy (of which the budget is the decisive one) reparations can rapidly become not a means of exacting justice but of building Germany back for yet a third try at conquest." After the last war the gearing of German industry to supply France with coal and coke "served as a pretext for the vast expansion of German coal output that became the underpinning for new electrochemical war industries."

In accordance with theory (3) it is suggested that the United Nations control German fiscal policy and industry to distribute German manufactures to the countries which most need them, and at the same time to break down the economic self-sufficiency of the Reich so that Germany will find herself "dependent on the rest of the world for imports to a much greater degree than before the war and hence more a part of the community of nations."

The article also pointed out that the amount German industry will produce for reparations will depend on her boundaries as set by the peace conference and the degree to which her industrial plant is destroyed by Allied bombings before the final surrender. The necessity for France, England, and the United States to cooperate in destroying international cartels and tariffs, and of encouraging small business and a free world market is stressed.

Fortune concludes: "No economic settlement will ever work unless backed by the power to prevent war. But if the United Nations can use wisely the immense power that will be in their hands after this war, then Germany may in fact make good some of the vast destruction she has caused and eventually be returned to the family of European nations. This, at any rate, rather than any monetary claim, is the U. S. stake in reparations. And it is a huge one."

Shall German Workers Rebuild Europe?

During World War II, laborers from many conquered countries were brought to Germany to relieve the labor shortage, principally by working in factories. Would it be only fair for German labor to be drafted to help rebuild the European countries devastated by German armies or laid waste by German bombs? According to the findings of public opinion polls, majorities in most English-speaking countries would favor such a plan.

In 1944 NORC put the question:

"After the war, do you think workers from Germany should be sent into some of the countries they have fought against and forced to rebuild the homes and industries in those countries?"

	All	Those with Opinions
Yes	51 %	55 %
No	41	45
Undecided	8	----
	100 %	100 %

COMPARATIVE OPINIONS

Early in 1944 the Gallup Polls ascertained public opinion in the same general area. The question asked in the United States and Canada was put **specifically in terms of Russia**. The British question was more general.

"After the war should three or four million German men be sent to Russia to help rebuild destroyed cities there?" (AIPO, CIPO)

"The Russians say that the Germans will have to help rebuild the countries they have destroyed. Do you agree or disagree?" (BIPO)

	United States	Canada	Great Britain
Germans should help rebuild.....	62 %	56 %	82 %
Should not	38	44	18
	100 %	100 %	100 %
Undecided	20 %	13 %	15 %

In a release comparing these results (February 11, 1944), Gallup commented:

"Whether or not German forced labor will eventually be used in Russia or in other parts of Europe for purposes of rehabilitation will not, of course, be decided by public opinion. The importance of the present findings lies in their indication of sentiment toward the German people, and the desire of United States, British, and Canadian citizens to see the German people, as well as the Nazi leaders,¹ punished for this war. Moreover, the results are also indicative of widespread sympathy for the plight of war-torn Russia."

"It is also important to note that the proposal, first put forth last September by Professor Eugene Varga, head of the Institute of World Economics and World Politics at Moscow, and viewed as semi-official by many observers, has met a cool reception in some labor quarters in the United States. William Green, A. F. of L. president, has denounced any plan calling for German 'forced labor' for the rebuilding of devastated cities after the war."

In August, 1944, the American Institute of Public Opinion reported another variation of wording, to which a time element was added. Of persons with opinions, 71 per cent replied "Yes" to this question: "After the war should three or four million German men be required to spend **two or three years**¹ helping rebuild cities in Russia which they have destroyed?"

A **Fortune** question reported a year ago² showed 46.1 per cent of the cross-section (59% of those with opinions) agreeing that "the United Nations should make German labor rebuild devastated areas in other countries at the rate usually paid prisoners of war."

The effect of question wordings is shown, too, by a CIPO (Canadian) question identical with the question previously quoted except for an introductory sentence. The difference in response to the two questions is of interest.

"Germany is using millions of men from countries she has conquered to help make munitions and help with the war effort. When Germany is defeated, should three or four million German men be sent to Russia to help rebuild destroyed cities there?"

	Question Above	Shorter Question
Germany should help rebuild.....	64 %	56 %
Should not	36	44
	100%	100%
Undecided	13%	13%

A series of British questions, released in October '44, indicated an increasingly strong feeling on the part of the British public that forced labor is the **most satisfactory method** of making reparations. The British Institute of Public Opinion first asked:

"Should Germany be forced to make good the war damage she has done?"

Yes.....88% No.....6% Undecided.....6% = 100%

Those who replied **"Yes"** were asked: **"If so, how?"**:

By money payments.....33% By goods.....14% By forced labor.....41% = 88%

A further question was asked of all respondents:

"If German men are going to be sent to other countries to repair damage, should they be drafted from the German population as a whole, from among German war prisoners, or only from the ranks of Nazis guilty of war crimes?"

From population as a whole.....	41 %
From war prisoners	13
From guilty Nazis	46
	100%

The NORC question: "After the war, do you think workers from Germany should be sent into some of the countries they have fought against, and forced to rebuild the homes and industries in those countries?" offered opportunity for interesting analysis.

While opinion from group to group within the population varied less than on most questions, it is noteworthy that persons with a college background were somewhat less enthusiastic about the idea than were those who had not gone beyond grammar school.

¹Boldface ours.

²See page 21, this report.

A few of those who said "Yes" (1%) qualified their replies by comments such as that of a New Jersey elevator starter: "But they should be compensated. **No slave labor.** We are fighting for freedom." Others specified that German labor should rebuild Russia and Poland at least.

APPROVE USE OF GERMAN LABOR

Of those who approved the idea of German labor helping to rebuild Europe, a number gave as their main reason that the **Germans should help rebuild what they have destroyed.** Sometimes definite areas were mentioned, most often Russia and Poland. A few mentioned the precedent set by Germany in her use of "slave labor" during the war. These comments are representative:

"The Germans were the cause of all the destruction, so they should rebuild the other countries."
 "If the war is ever over, I think the German people should do what they can to rebuild the destruction they have caused."
 "They can't rebuild completely, but they should reconstruct all the monuments and historic buildings."
 "The Germans should rebuild roads, railways, and municipal utilities. It will be good discipline for them."
 "They should rebuild, particularly for the Polish and Russian and Chinese people they tore up—but not as slave labor."
 "Other conquered peoples have been forced into Germany to help them fight the war."

Service station operator, Albany, Oregon
 Farmer's wife, near Raleigh, North Carolina
 Apartment house superintendent, Brooklyn
 Banker, Indianapolis
 Machinist, Los Angeles
 Lawyer, Oklahoma City

Other respondents felt that forcing German labor to rebuild other countries would **teach the German people a needed lesson:**

"It would teach the Germans to think twice before tearing down other countries again."
 "It would be good medicine for the German people. They wouldn't follow another Hitler so soon."
 "It would be more feasible than making them pay. In this way they might be taught something."
 "I know of nothing that would impress the Germans so much with their devastation as making them actually see the damage."
 "It might bring home to the youth of Germany the seriousness of war."

Physician's wife, Denver
 Wife of electric welder, Haverhill, Massachusetts
 Grocer's wife, Chester, South Carolina
 Librarian, Berkeley, California
 Wife of shoe repairman, northern Massachusetts

Respondents who believed that the use of German labor would be a **more practical plan than attempting to collect monetary reparations** remarked:

"The Germans can't pay with money. It's the only way to make them pay."
 "Take German men from 18 to 40 years old and use them to rebuild. It would be better than trying to collect indemnities."
 "That would be paying on their war debt more effectively than reparations."

Wife of industrial relations man, Paterson, New Jersey
 Dairy farmer, near Reedville, Oregon
 Farmer, near Tulsa

A number suggested that the plan should be arranged so that **imported German labor would not upset labor conditions** in the countries under reconstruction:

"Yes, if it wouldn't interfere with labor conditions in those countries and if Germany furnished the labor free to the country."
 "I don't think they should take the jobs from someone and get paid for it, but they should help rebuild what they've destroyed."
 "If Germany sent 'em and paid 'em, and then didn't take the work from the people already there."
 "Don't pay them a dime. Just give them something to eat."
 "Yes, if there is a labor shortage in the destroyed lands."

Justice of the Peace, Texas
 Wife of truck driver, Sparta, Tennessee
 Millwright, St. Louis
 Negro railroad brakeman, Louisville, Kentucky
 Carpenter, Phoenix, Arizona

Unclassified comments included such diverse ideas as these: "Don't force the poor workers to repair the damage; make the **leaders** do it. . . . Keep them as prisoners and make them work as prisoners until everything is straightened out. . . . Not so much for what they might build as to remove them from Nazi influence. . . . Yes, but it would be better to let those countries import labor from somewhere else and have the Germans pay for it in taxes."

DISAPPROVE USE OF GERMAN LABOR

Many persons disapproved of using German workmen to rebuild Europe on the basis that **"slave labor" is undemocratic and opposed to the principles for which the war has been fought:**

"Freedom is what we want. That's just what we're fighting for, and we mustn't have it just for ourselves."

Printer, Chicago

"We're fighting a war for freedom, and that plan would make the Germans slaves."

Mechanic, St. Joseph, Missouri

"The advantage is doubtful. No form of slavery is ever good."

Publishing executive, Raleigh, North Carolina

"It would be making the Germans slaves, and two wrongs don't make a right."

Merchant, Helena, Montana

Others feared that **such a plan would create both unemployment in the countries rebuilt and a labor shortage in Germany:**

"If you drain the labor in Germany, it's going to defeat your own purpose of supplying the needs of Europe. It will also create unemployment in the countries themselves."

University instructor, Texas

"The countries will be needing jobs to employ their own men."

Teacher, Beech Grove, Indiana

"There will be enough depression without bringing in outsiders to work."

Fireman, Kearny, New Jersey

"The Germans will have to rebuild their own homes. Their soldiers have been forced to fight."

Grandfather of dairy farmer, near Glendale, Arizona

A number definitely **preferred reparations in terms of money to reparations in terms of labor:**

"Forced labor is not good labor. It would be far better to leave the Germans at home and insist that part of their money be used for rebuilding."

Production man, New York City

"Dislocation of German people from their homes wouldn't build up Germany very quickly. It's a question of money not labor."

Lawyer, Baltimore

"The German people have plenty to do in their own country. The faster they can build up at home, the faster they can pay us."

Farmer's wife, near Onawa, Iowa

Some of those interviewed thought that rebuilding devastated countries by the use of German forced labor **would only stir up hate which might lead to another war:**

"Retribution such as this offers a basis for future wars."

Biochemist, Brooklyn

"The German workers would all be murdered the day they arrived."

Merchandise manager, San Mateo, California

"We've got to live in the same world with the Germans. Slavery would hinder friendly relations between us."

Wife of cement salesman, Birmingham

"Those countries wouldn't want the Germans in there. They'd be so glad to get rid of 'em they'd never want to see 'em again."

Housewife, University City, Missouri

"It would only make trouble. You'd have another war right away."

Woman composer, Los Angeles

Unclassified comments included:

"Everyone will be happier if each country rebuilds its own. The women in Germany want their men back, too."

Wife of Air cadet, Milwaukee

"It wasn't the workers in Germany who caused all the trouble."

Wife of iron chipper, Denver

"Hitler was to blame, not the German people, but the little guy who would have to do the work is the victim."

Novelist, Detroit

"There won't be enough Germans left. They'll be all killed off."

Actress, Los Angeles

LABOR PRIORITIES

The 51 per cent of the NORC cross-section¹ who favored sending German labor abroad for reconstruction purposes were asked:

"If there aren't enough workers in Germany after the war to rebuild the homes and industries in BOTH Germany and the countries she fought against, do you think we should force them to work in other countries, or not?"

Yes.....28% No.....16% Undecided.....7% = 51%

¹See page 49, this report.

One of the most thoughtful answers came from a woman nutrition expert in New York City: "Yes, before even their own country is rebuilt. They must be punished in this way. Also their mere living together with the people they've recently been fighting—their working out a **modus vivendi**—is going to be educational for each side." Another considered answer was that of a New York department store executive, who replied: "Yes, but only in token fashion, to a small extent. This would be an interesting approach, rather than reparations, which force future generations to pay."

More typical were remarks such as these:

"Sure, let Germany be rebuilt last."

"Yes, force them to work in other countries; it's part of their punishment."

"They should build up what they tore down even if they have nothing besides food all their lives."

"The Germans should rebuild other countries first. If they build their own, they'll be ready for war that much quicker."

Army nurse, Spokane, Washington

Wife of grocer, Chester, South Carolina

Farmer, near Oklahoma City

Farmer's wife, near Salem, Oregon

A number suggested a **division of labor** between reconstruction in other countries and reconstruction in Germany:

"They should be divided—part in Germany and part in other countries."

"Labor should be rationed according to their manpower."

"They should work it out to the best of their ability—divide the work time between the other countries and Germany."

Night watchman, upper New York state

Fireman, Louisiana

Carpenter, Austin, Texas

Those who **opposed** the idea of forcing German workers to rebuild other countries if there are not enough workers to handle reconstruction at home and abroad gave as some of their reasons: "Let the German people straighten up their own country first. . . . The Germans should **send** enough money so the other people can rebuild their own countries. . . . If we are fighting for a free world and the Germans are made to go to other countries, they are still not free."

PART VI

Germany and the Post-War World

In determining what should be done after the war—economically, politically, and socially—with Germany and the German people, the basic consideration would seem to be: Will the measures decided upon lead to new and more devastating wars or do they hold at least the **hope** of lasting peace? Only among the best educated and most prosperous population groups have **majorities** of the population seen a connection between the treatment accorded Germany after World War I and the developments leading up to World War II. In the population as a whole more people think Germany was treated too **leniently** after the last war than think she was treated too **harshly**. However, a clear majority—**70 per cent**—of people in the **United States think that the treatment of Germany after World War II will have an influence on the future peace of the world**: Also significant is the fact that, although seven out of ten Americans would like to see the United States take an active part in a post-war **world organization**, six out of ten expect the United States to **fight another war** within the next 50 years!

Versailles and World War II

While a majority of the American people see a definite connection between the treatment to be accorded a defeated Germany after the present war and the prospect for future peace, the Treaty of Versailles and its application to Germany after 1919 are less directly related—in the average mind—to the rise of Hitler and Germany's role in World War II.

In 1943 NORC found seven out of ten Americans linking the treatment of the German people with the prospects of world peace. Majorities in every population group agreed closely with the opinion of the public as a whole. The question:

"Do you think that the way we treat the German people after this war will have anything to do with the chances of having world peace in the future?"

Yes.....70% No.....20% Undecided.....10%=100%

Furthermore, more Americans thought the Treaty of Versailles dealt with the Germans **too leniently** than thought it was **too harsh**. In 1944 NORC asked:

"Do you think the way we treated Germany after the FIRST World War had anything to do with starting this war?"

	All	Those with Opinions
Yes	49%	57%
No	37	43
Undecided	14	---
	100%	100%

On this question the proportion of "Undecided" responses ran as high as 25 per cent for Negro respondents and ranged from 18 to 22 per cent for women, manual workers, farmers, non-voters, and persons in the lower economic and educational brackets.¹

Many respondents who answered, "**No**, the way we treated Germany after the FIRST World War had **nothing** to do with starting this war," believed the German people are "incurably warlike." A New York City redcap replied: "I know that is claimed, but it ain't so. The Germans just like war." A drillpress man in a Portland, Oregon, shipyard said: "No. I really don't. We might just have postponed this war awhile by enforcing the Treaty of Versailles, but this Hitler party would

¹In August, 1937, 41 per cent of persons with opinions in the United States answered "Too easy" to the AIPO question: "Do you think the peace treaty after the war was too easy or too severe on Germany?" Thirty per cent replied "Too severe," and 19 per cent believed the World War I treaty was "About right." The remaining 10 per cent were "Undecided."

have eventually caused war." According to a service station operator in central Iowa, "This war started before the other ended. Germany still had leaders left. They surrendered and then began to plan for war again."

The 49 per cent who answered, "Yes, the way we treated Germany after the FIRST World War had **something** to do with starting this war," were asked: **"In what way?"**

26%	thought Germany was treated too leniently ,
18	thought Germany was treated too harshly ,
4	believed that the United States didn't accept a fair share
	of the responsibility for maintaining a peaceful world, and
1	couldn't explain.
<hr/>	
49%	

TOO LENIENTLY

According to some of those who thought Germany was dealt with too leniently, the Allies **should have carried the war to a more decisive finish**—"marched on to Berlin" and given Germany "a taste of real war." These replies are typical:

"The Allies let the Germans give up before they were whipped."
 "We didn't finish Germany. She started arming right afterwards."
 "We didn't finish the job last time. When we got to the point where the Germans might have been destroyed, we stopped. We're suckers."

Negro farmer, near Renfro, Alabama
 Filling station operator, Wellington, Iowa
 Lawyer's wife, northwestern Oregon

Most respondents in this group, however, based their criticisms on the belief that the **peace treaty itself was too easy** on Germany and that the **enforcement was lax**. Many said merely: "We were too lax . . . too lenient . . . too easy on Germany."

Others replied:

"We weren't severe enough with Germany. The treaty was not strong enough, and we did not make her stay with it."
 "The Versailles Treaty was not strict enough, and what there was was not enforced."
 "We encouraged Germany to be self-supporting, thereby establishing a foundation for industry that started this war."
 "We forgave them reparations, which they used to fortify themselves. We put guns in their hands."
 "We didn't make Germany pay her debts for the other war; we didn't make her carry out all the terms of the Armistice or live up to the Versailles Treaty."
 "We should have kept a standing army over there in Germany and given them no chance to re-arm and carry out their military plans."
 "We neglected to eliminate the military leaders or to re-educate the people."

Railroad supervisor, San Francisco
 Wife of insurance agent, Huntington, West Virginia
 Wife of sound engineer, Los Angeles
 War industry executive, Toledo
 Lawyer, Taylor, Texas
 Wife of retired banker, Ohio
 Jeweler, Glendale, California

TOO HARSHLY

Those who believed we treated Germany too harshly considered that the Treaty of Versailles was unfair and that the working out of the peace terms gave the Nazis their opportunity. Some criticisms of Allied treatment of Germany emphasized the **political** aspects of the situation:

"The Versailles Treaty was the bitterest and most infamous document ever conceived by free people."
 "Put impossible restrictions on a people as strong and intelligent as the Germans, and trouble will follow."
 "The treaty made the German people more determined to become leaders in world affairs in order to get a fair deal for themselves."
 "The treaty made it practically impossible for the Germans to have a stable government."
 "The peace treaty started to build a military barrier around Germany. This caused the war."
 "The new government should have been given help and encouragement so that the Nazis would have had no ground to get started."

Field engineer, Houston
 Stockbroker, central Ohio
 Tank car loader, Nashville
 Biology research worker, Austin, Texas
 Realtor, Beverly Hills, California
 Water works employee, Chicago

Other criticisms stressed economic factors in Germany's domestic situation following the war:

"It was the economic situation. The Germans were so poor they were desperate for necessities as well as power."

"They **THOUGHT** they were unfairly treated whether they were or not. The food blockade made them bitter toward the conquerors."

"We tried to assess the Germans too heavily in money, and then we didn't supervise their armament factories."

"Debts cause all wars. We should have forgiven Germany her war debts."

"We took their livelihood away from the German people. They were starving and Hitler offered a solution."

Wife of steel company executive, Kansas City, Missouri

County supervisor of school lunch projects, South Carolina

Furniture dealer, Helena, Montana

Locksmith, Glendale, California

Liquor store manager, Texas

A number of respondents made special mention of Germany's losses in **land and trade**:

"The Allies robbed Germany of her colonies. They took away from her the ability to become economically independent."

"We took too many territories away from the Germans and refused them admission to the League of Nations."

"It is a fact that Germany was deprived of some raw materials and trade she deserved to have."

"Germany suffered from the United States' monopolistic methods, and tariff laws."

Secretary, Dallas

Wife of ensign, Santa Monica, California

Grocer, Raleigh, North Carolina

Business executive, Boston

Those interviewed frequently spoke of the **resentment and bad feeling** fostered by the peace terms:

"The Germans felt they were not treated right, and that made it easier for them to be led into war."

"Germany was resentful. If she had known the terms that would be imposed on her, she never would have surrendered."

"We bred hatred by putting armies of occupation in Germany."

"The pride of a certain domineering class of people in Germany fostered World War II. Their pride couldn't stand an inferior position in which we left them after World War I."

Wife of real estate salesman, The Bronx

Farm operator, near Raleigh, North Carolina

Housewife, Ogden, Utah

Investment banker, Missouri

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES

A number of people felt that the United States contributed to the war by failing to accept her share of responsibility for maintaining world peace:

"If people had listened to Wilson on the League of Nations, things would have been different."

"The United States should have joined the League of Nations and helped to establish an international police force."

"We in the United States didn't do our part after the Armistice. We backed out."

"The Allies failed to live up to Wilson's fourteen points."

"The United States didn't join the League of Nations. We withdrew from the only means of watching Germany."

Divorcee, Milwaukee

Farmer's wife, near Clarksdale, Mississippi

Carpenter, Massachusetts

Baker, Colorado

Congregational pastor, Massachusetts

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BY EDUCATION

The more education a person had the more likely he was to connect the Treaty of Versailles with events leading up to World War II. Persons with a college education tended to believe, also, that treatment of Germans following World War I was too harsh rather than too easy. Practically all other groups held an opposite view.

	TOTAL	BY EDUCATION		
		College	High School	Grade School
Germans treated too leniently in past.....	26%	28%	29%	23%
Germans treated too harshly in past.....	18	32	17	9
United States shirked responsibility.....	4	7	3	2
Can't explain	1	*	1	1
Total who think the treatment of Germany after				
World War I helped to start World War II.....	49%	67%	50%	35%
Total who see no connection.....	37	26	35	47
Undecided	14	7	15	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chances for Future Peace

HOW SEVERE A PEACE?

Shortly before December 7, 1941, a majority of the public in the United States indicated a desire for a peace treaty after World War II which would be harder on Germany than was Versailles. The Gallup Poll asked:

"If England and France defeat Germany, should the peace treaty be more severe on Germany or less severe than the treaty at the end of the last war?"

More severe.....58% Less severe.....36% Same.....6% = 100% Undecided.....17%

A question put by the British Institute of Public Opinion in the summer of '44 indicated that the English thought future peace for Europe was substantially dependent on a harsh peace settlement against Germany:

"Which do you think is more likely to insure future peace in Europe—a hard peace on Germany or a soft peace?"

Hard peace.....80% Soft peace.....8% Undecided.....12% = 100%

Opinions gleaned by various polls have shown a strong consensus in favor of demanding unconditional surrender from Germany, even if Hitler should be deposed and the German general staff or some other group should assume command of the Reich. Such a mood usually presages a severe peace treaty.

WORLD WAR III?

In connection with a consideration of Germany's place in a future world order, it is important to know how much hope is seen for future peace. There is clear evidence that civilians are approaching the post-war period definitely convinced that a lasting peace is impossible.

NORC questions, asked on three nation-wide surveys, indicated that a majority of the American public believed there will always be wars. The June '43 survey found 37 per cent of the national cross-section believing that "no matter what is done to prevent them, there will **always** be wars" and 20 per cent convinced that, while "it is **possible** to prevent all wars, people will never do what is necessary to prevent them"—a total of **57 per cent** agreeing, in essence, that World War III is inevitable.

More recently, Australians, Canadians, and United States citizens expressed these views on the probability of another war within 25 or 50 years:

	"Do you expect the United States to fight another war within the next 50 years?" (NORC)			"Do you think there is likely to be another world war within the next 25 years?" (CIPO; Aus.)		
	United States			Canada	Australia	
Yes	59%			29%	42%	
It depends on the peace.....	4			16	---	
No	25			34	34	
Undecided	12			21	24	
	100%			100%	100%	

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

Canadians who predicted another war within a generation were asked: "Do you think it could be avoided?" Most expressed the opinion that international co-operation, disarmament, and other effective measures could prevent another war.

NORC found the groups most pessimistic regarding future peace to be persons with a high school or college background, 64 per cent of whom expected the United States to fight another war within the next 50 years, Midwesterners (64%), persons 21 to 39 (62%), and persons at the middle and upper economic levels (61%).

To the NORC question, persons thinking the probability of a future war to be **largely dependent on the peace settlement** made comments such as that of a high school teacher in Haverhill, Massachusetts: "If we're in a union of nations—no; if we're not in a union—yes." An Iowa superintendent of schools believed that "Unless we put in sound economic policies, we'll be fighting again."

Respondents who expected **another war within 50 years** expressed ideas such as these: "This war will not be decisive and will have to be fought later. . . . As long as we have a big army, we'll fight. . . . We Americans are too soft and won't see that peace terms are obeyed. . . . There's too much money made during this war not to have another one. . . . Not a foreign war, but I think there'll be a race war right here. . . . The greedy and the warmongers will be at the peace table, too."

Another note of pessimism was sounded by the Gallup report that six out of ten American voters believed that German defeat would only precipitate plans for another war. This was the question:

"As soon as Germany is defeated, do you think she will start making plans for another war?"

Yes.....60% No.....21% Undecided.....19% = 100%

Should Germany Be Permitted to Join a World Organization?

In spite of these gloomy predictions, questions asked by all the major polls over the last several years have indicated that a majority of Americans favor active United States participation in some type of world organization.

NORC has measured trends on this question:

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

	1942	1943	1944
Good idea.....	70%	70%	71%
Bad idea	16	13	13
Undecided	14	17	16
	100%	100%	100%

The 71 per cent who replied "Good idea" to the question in 1944 were asked:

"Do you think the union of nations should be set up so that Germany can join it sometime?"

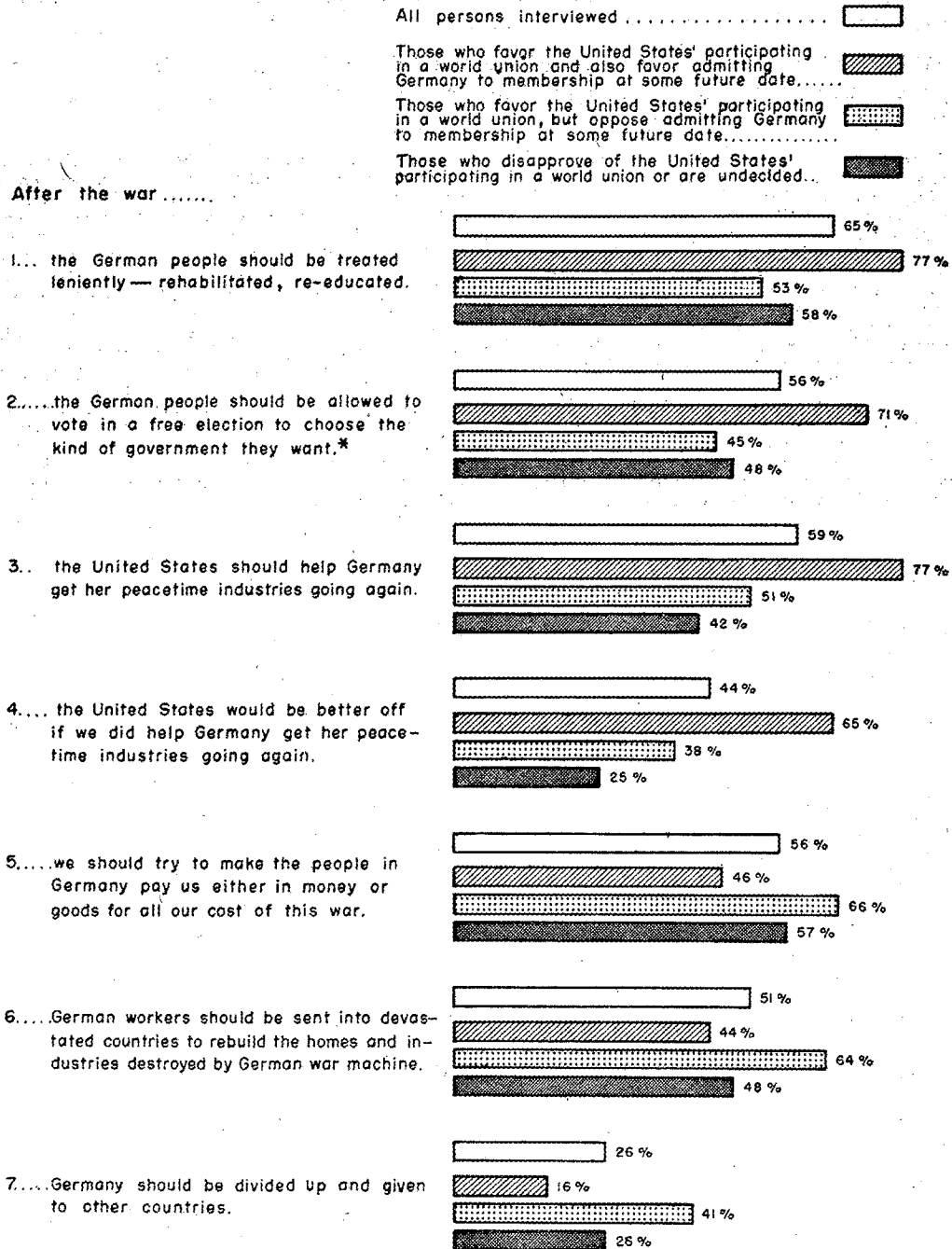
Yes.....40% No.....26% Undecided.....5% = 71%¹

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Some respondents seemed quite willing to give Germany an opportunity to rejoin the family of nations. As an Arizona war worker put it: "If they settle down and try to do what's right, we should give 'em a chance, anyway." Others specified a probationary period of good behavior as a prerequisite to full membership. "They should be put on probation with restrictions and not have a full voice until they prove they are working for permanent peace," is the view of a member of the Philadelphia police force. Other ideas expressed included these: "It depends on what kind of government they have and who the leaders are. They shouldn't be members right away. . . .

¹A question asked on an earlier survey indicated that, although a majority of those who approved United States participation in a world union would eventually include Germany in such an organization, only 28 per cent of the public would favor allowing Germany—to begin with, at least, to be on an equal basis with the United States and other Allied countries.

GERMAN MEMBERSHIP IN A WORLD ORGANIZATION RELATED ATTITUDES



* Percentages include "Depends" responses

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UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

If they surrender unconditionally and after a while set up a peaceful government, they should be allowed to join. . . . Yes, if they are always under a military police force."

The chart on the preceding page indicates that what people think about a world organization and inclusion of Germany in such an organization makes a profound difference in their opinions regarding every phase of the post-war treatment of the country.

That thinking people realize the importance of a successful world organization if the problems of Germany are to be solved intelligently and satisfactorily is shown by the consensus expressed by Universities Committee discussion groups:

"The establishment of a system of collective security and an international organization empowered to make adjustments between the conflicting interests of individual states is indispensable to the permanent solution of the international political and economic problems affecting Germany's position in the post-war world. The peace and prosperity of post-war Europe requires that all countries, including Germany, should be given guarantees of security and of equality of economic opportunity. This end, however, can be achieved only if some workable international machinery is established for the peaceful reconciliation of conflicting national interests, political or economic."

Most Groups feel that: "Permanent security is not likely to be obtained solely by the initial disarmament of Germany or solely by the establishment of an international organization. As one Group says, 'The United Nations want protection against German aggression, but, better still, they want a Germany against which

protection is unnecessary. Neither objective can be achieved solely by demilitarizing Germany and creating an international league or government.' The best guarantee of European security against future German aggression, if not the only one in the long run, is the 'psychological disarmament' of the German people.

"To achieve this, however, the Groups are in virtually unanimous agreement that it will be necessary to provide from the outset for the ultimate incorporation of Germany, on terms of full equality and responsibility, into the community of nations and whatever form of international organization is established. Not to envisage this objective at the outset will involve running the risk of establishing a short-sighted policy toward Germany which will create a permanently hostile and embittered German people who will seize upon any opportunity or pretext in order to divide the allied nations and to restore the military power of Germany to enforce its national demands."¹

¹International Conciliation, op. cit.

PURPOSES OF THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

- 1 . . . to establish the first non-profit, non-commercial organization to measure public opinion in the United States. Through a national staff of trained investigators, representative cross-sections or samples of the entire population are personally interviewed on questions of current importance.
- 2 . . . to make available to legislators, government departments, academicians, and non-profit organizations a staff of experts in the science of public opinion measurement and a highly trained nation-wide corps of interviewers.
- 3 . . . to analyze and review the results of surveys made by other polling organizations.
- 4 . . . to create a research center to discover, test, and perfect new methods, techniques, and devices for ascertaining the status of public opinion.

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How Is a Public Opinion Survey Made?

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

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

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

city dwellers, and residents of various sections of the country. The differences of opinion shown in these breakdowns are often of even greater significance than the opinions of the entire cross-section.¹

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

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

Factual Information

The Cross-Section The population samples upon which NORC surveys are made are representative, within a small degree of error, of the national population 21 years of age and over. That is, the samples used are stratified according to certain sociological characteristics of the adult population of the United States.

Geographical Distribution Within each of the nine Census Divisions of the country, interviews are properly apportioned among the adult civilian population in the metropolitan districts, towns, and rural areas of that division. For the urban population the interviews are apportioned to metropolitan districts, and towns in various size groups, while in the rural areas the interviews are properly apportioned among farmers and non-farmers.

Size of Cross-Section As a result of statistical research, it is now known that a poll will not be accurate, no matter how large a sample is taken (short of a total census of the entire population), if the cross-section is not an **accurate miniature** of the whole population.

According to a statistical table copyrighted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, the number of interviews in a national survey necessary to be within 3 per cent correct on questions that divide evenly is 2,500. This number is sufficient 997 times in 1,000. The Harvard table adds that HALF this sample, or 1,250 interviews, would be within 3 per cent correct 962 times in 1,000. NORC surveys used in this report are based on over 2,500 interviews.

Age and Sex Before the war, the adult population for the entire country could be said to be split approximately equally between persons 40 years of age and over and those between 21 and 39 years. Since Pearl Harbor the ever-growing military personnel have been instructed not to voice opinions, so they have been excluded from the

sample. This affects the age and sex distributions rather radically. After making adjustments for this factor, the resulting sex split is 46 per cent men and 54 per cent women. On the age distribution, 53 per cent are 40 and over, with the remainder between 21 and 39.

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

Economic Status Within each sex group the interviews among the white population are assigned on the basis of four standard-of-living categories. For purposes of tabulation the two upper groups are combined in this report. The economic characteristics of persons in each one of these three groups can be defined roughly as follows:

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

Middle (52 per cent of the sample)—This group is called the great middle class of America. They have incomes large enough to maintain an adequate standard of living but can seldom afford luxuries.

Lower (32 per cent of the sample)—This group has difficulty in maintaining an adequate standard of living. Included are the lowest income non-relief families and also those receiving government aid.

¹It is understood that the *Fortune* Survey is based on 5,000 cases, the American Institute of Public Opinion on between 3,000 and 3,500 cases, and the other polls quoted on somewhat smaller cross-sections.

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