

Public Opinion on
WORLD ORGANIZATION
up to the
San Francisco Conference



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THE BACKGROUND

After World War I Allied statesmen undertook the almost Herculean task of drawing up, in the course of a single conference, the terms of five major peace treaties plus the charter of a world organization. Most of the decisions reached were arrived at under pressure of time and conflicting political interests, increasingly influenced by the growing strength of post-war reaction.

It is significant that the statesmen responsible for the peace following World War II have approached an international security organization as a problem distinct from that of working out actual peace terms and that the large-scale planning of relief and rehabilitation, of food production and distribution, of monetary stabilization, and of civil aviation have also been considered as related but separate problems. Already in successful operation are organizations, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, originally set up by United Nations planning conferences to deal with both immediate and long-term problems.

In conferences of a somewhat different sort -- at Casa Blanca, Moscow, Teheran, Cairo, and Yalta -- the spokesmen for the great powers already have discussed not only high military strategy and the terms of the peace settlements but also the operation of the international security organization. The details of this organization, first planned by representatives of the "Big Four" at Dumbarton Oaks, may be determined in more final form by United Nations delegates at San Francisco.

To what extent should statesmen be influenced by public opinion? It has been shown that, in a democracy such as the United States, statesmen who ignore the wishes of the public may encounter unexpected, even insurmountable, opposition. But it would be unreasonable to expect statesmen to follow popular attitudes in toto, because opinion is all too frequently based on incomplete information or influenced by blind prejudice. Yet is it not the responsibility of all national leaders who endeavor to provide genuine leadership to know as much as possible about what their people are thinking -- be it right or wrong? Perhaps the areas of ignorance and misunderstanding revealed by public opinion research may prove a genuine challenge to educational and political leaders who are deeply concerned with the future of the United States and the peace of the world.

-- Louise Merrick Van Patten
Editor of Publications

Part I

DO AMERICANS WANT WORLD ORGANIZATION?

PLANNING FOR PEACE

Between 1942 and 1943 public opinion shifted significantly on the question of planning for the eventual peace even before the end of the war. Identically-worded questions were asked by the Fortune Survey* and the Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research:

"Which of these seems better to you -- for us to win the war first and then think about the peace, or to start thinking now about the kind of peace we want after the war?"

	<u>JUNE '42</u>	<u>AUGUST '43</u>
	(FOR.)	(OPOR)
Start planning now	33%	59%
Wait till after the war	59	38
Undecided	8	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

This trend is confirmed by the results of two National Opinion Research Center questions asked in the interval between the surveys quoted above. In September, 1942, 41 per cent replied "Plan the peace now" to the question: "Which of these seems better to you -- for us to win the war first and then think about the peace, or to start thinking now about the kind of peace we want after the war?" A 55 per cent majority replied "Win the war first," and 4 per cent were undecided.

Since fighting the war and planning for peace are not mutually exclusive actions, NORC changed its question-wording and, in June 1943, found 61 per cent of the public answering "Prepare now" to the question: "In addition to waging the war, should the Allies start talking and preparing now for the kind of peace we want after the war, or should we think and plan only for winning the war, letting peace plans wait?"

* FOR COMPLETE INFORMATION ON SURVEYS AND CROSS-SECTIONS OF THE VARIOUS POLLS, SEE PRINTED PAGE AT BACK OF THIS REPORT.

WORLD ORGANIZATION

On the specific issue of United States participation in a world organization several polls make significant contributions.* In comparing results on the various questions, differences in wording must be carefully noted. Between December '42 and November '43 "Yes" responses (of those with opinions) to the following question increased from 73 to 81 per cent: "Should the government take steps now, before the end of the war, to set up with our Allies a world organization to maintain the future peace of the world?" Of perhaps even greater importance was the decline in "Undecided" reaction from 12 per cent to less than 1 per cent. This question was asked first by the American Institute of Public Opinion and repeated by the Office of Public Opinion Research.

In October, 1937, only 26 per cent replied "Yes" to the AIPO (Gallup Poll) question: "Would you like to see the United States join the League of Nations?" In May, 1941, the question wording was changed to: "Would you like to see the United States join a league of nations after this war is over?" At that time 37 per cent of the public replied "Yes," which proportion increased to 60 per cent in June, 1942, after the United States became an active belligerent. When OPOR used the question in October, 1943, 62 per cent answered affirmatively.

A different approach to the same problem, with the provision of a choice of post war policies for the United States, is shown in a Fortune Survey question reported in March '44:

"Which of these comes closest to expressing what you would like to have the United States do after the war?"

<i>"Enter into no alliance and have as little as possible to do with other countries."</i>	12.7%
<i>"Depend only on separate alliances with certain countries."</i>	7.7
<i>"Take an active part in an international organization."</i>	68.1
Undecided	<u>11.5</u>
	100.0%

* SEE ALSO NORC REPORT NO. 8, WAR AND PEACE -- 1943 EDITION (MARCH, 1943) AND REPORT NO. 19, THE PUBLIC LOOKS AT WORLD ORGANIZATION (APRIL, 1944).

The National Opinion Research Center has used several question-wordings to determine public attitudes toward a world organization. A clear majority of the public have favored the proposal, however worded. These are the questions:

"After the war, if a union of nations that would try to solve world problems were formed, do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea for the United States to join it?" (September, 1942)

"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?" (January and June, 1943; February, 1944)

"After the war would you like to see the United States join some kind of world organization, or would you like to see us stay out?" (September, 1944)

"After the war would you like to see the United States belong to some kind of world organization, or would you like to see us stay out?" (December, 1944; March, 1945)

	SEPT. 1942	JAN. 1943	JUNE 1943	FEB. 1944		SEPT. 1944	DEC.* 1944	MARCH 1945
Good idea	68%	70%	70%	71%	Belong to	64%	62%	64%
Qualified					Qualified			
answer	3	5	4	1	answer	--	--	1
Bad idea	15	16	13	13	Stay out	26	26	26
Undecided	14	9	13	15	Undecided	10	12	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%

A striking similarity of opinion is noted in the comparison of NORC's February, 1944 results with those secured by Gallup in May of the same year:

"If a new council or union of nations is formed after the war to take the place of the old League of Nations, should this country join?"

Yes 72% No 13% Undecided 15% = 100%

* THIS QUESTION WAS ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER FOR FREE WORLD MAGAZINE, AND PUBLISHED BY FREE WORLD UNDER CONTRACT WITH NORC.

Gallup's most recent question on the issue read:

"Do you think the United States should join a world organization with police power to maintain world peace?"

Yes 81% No 11% Undecided 8% = 100%

The 81 per cent who answered "Yes" were asked:

"How important do you think it is that we join such a world organization -- very important, fairly important, or not too important?"

Very important	67%
Fairly important	10
Not too important	2
Undecided	<u>2</u>
	81%

It will be seen that the inclusion in the question of the prestige phrase "to maintain world peace" or even the impersonal "a good idea or a bad idea" produces a higher affirmative response than the more objective "belong or stay out" wording. An opposite effect might be produced by the use of a question biased against world organization, for example: "Do you think the United States should abide by its historical policy and not join a world organization or are you in favor of our joining?" The NORC "belong or stay out" wording was designed to hold a middle course between the two other types of wording.

As on most questions of international import, the more privileged groups within the population -- educationally, economically, and occupationally -- are most in favor of United States participation in a world organization. It is significant, as shown by the two most recent NORC polls, that opinion in favor of the United States' belonging to a world organization is gaining most rapidly among persons with a college background -- usually the best informed group within the population. This is the comparison:

	<u>College*</u>		<u>High School</u>		<u>Grade School</u>	
PERCENTAGE WHO WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE UNITED STATES...	<u>Dec. 1944</u>	<u>March 1945</u>	<u>Dec. 1944</u>	<u>March 1945</u>	<u>Dec. 1944</u>	<u>March 1945</u>
<u>Belong</u> to a world organization	84%	91%	66%	69%	52%	52%
<u>Stay out</u>	13	6	26	24	31	35
<u>Undecided</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>13</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* PERSONS 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.

Part II

MILESTONES ON THE ROAD TO PEACE

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

In November, 1943, an NORC question revealed that 80 per cent of the people in this country knew (or said they knew) that the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, had held a conference at Moscow the previous month. Only half as many, however, could tell specifically any of the decisions reached at the conference. Slightly more than half believed that all three countries would fulfill their commitments. The questions:

"Did you know that the United States, Great Britain, and Russia held a conference in Moscow recently?"

The 80 per cent who replied "Yes" were asked:

"Will you tell me, in general, some of the things that were decided at this conference?"

and

"Do you think all three countries will stick to these agreements after the war?"

	<u>ALL THOSE</u>		<u>HIGH</u>	<u>GRADE</u>
	<u>INTERVIEWED</u>	<u>COLLEGE*</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>
Correct knowledge of conference decisions	41%	66%	42%	25%
Incorrect replies	9	12	11	7
Don't know	<u>30</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>34</u>
<u>Total who knew of conference</u>	80%	97%	85%	66%
Believe all three countries will stick to agreements	45%	57%	47%	36%
Believe they won't	18	24	19	13
Undecided or no answer	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Total who knew of conference</u>	80%	97%	85%	66%

* IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE PERCENTAGE GIVING INCORRECT ANSWERS TO THE SECOND QUESTION IS SLIGHTLY LARGER AMONG THE BETTER-EDUCATED GROUPS BECAUSE MORE INDIVIDUALS, IN THE COLLEGE GROUP PARTICULARLY, KNEW THAT A CONFERENCE WAS HELD AND FEWER ANSWERED FLATLY THAT THEY KNEW NOTHING OF CONFERENCE DECISIONS.

In judging whether or not a respondent knew of the decisions reached at Moscow any answer showing knowledge of any part of the conference was considered correct. For example, a number of respondents mentioned the decision to open a second front; others spoke of unified action and further cooperation among the three powers; still others spoke of peace terms in general, unconditional surrender, no separate peace, and the established policy that Axis leaders would be tried as war criminals in the countries where the crimes had been committed. Considered incorrect were answers touching upon specific plans for war strategy or detailed peace terms, since no such decisions were made public after the conference.

THE YALTA CONFERENCE

That a majority of the informed public approve in general the accomplishments of the "Big Three" conference at Yalta in the Crimea is suggested by the results of an American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) survey completed just prior to President Roosevelt's address to Congress and the nation on March 1, 1945. AIPO first asked: "Have you heard or read about the Crimean Conference between Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt?" The 70 per cent who had heard or read about the conference were then asked:

"On the whole is your opinion of what was accomplished at the conference favorable or unfavorable?"

	<u>FAVORABLE</u>	<u>UNFAVORABLE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
Nation-wide opinion	61%	9%	30% = 100%
Roosevelt voters	70	6	24
Dewey voters	55	12	33

The difference in opinion between persons who voted for Roosevelt and those who voted for Dewey in the fall elections should be considered in light of the parallel differences in "Undecided" responses.

Gallup commented: Among the rank and file of both Republicans and Democrats familiar with the Crimean Conference, a majority are inclined to view its accomplishments optimistically. The extent to which Republican and Democratic voters agree in their views on the conference is important when one remembers the bitter partisan fight that broke out in Congress over international policy in 1919 after the last war. ...The behavior of the substantial number who either are suspending their judgment awaiting future developments or who had not thought enough about the conference to form an opinion will be particularly interesting to watch after the San Francisco parley."

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

On the most recent NORC survey -- in March, 1945 -- respondents were asked their specific recommendations regarding United States commitments at the San Francisco Conference. Exactly half of the total cross-section and definite majorities of the more informed groups favor wholehearted United States cooperation in the projected world organization. The question:

*"When the United Nations get together at San Francisco next month, which one of these things comes closest to what you would like to see the United States delegates pledge our country to do?"**

	<u>ALL THOSE</u>			
	<u>INTER-</u>	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>GRADE</u>	
	<u>VIEWED</u>	<u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>
1. <i>"<u>Agree</u> to join a world organization, and <u>promise</u> that some American armed forces <u>can</u> be used <u>with</u> those of other United Nations if this is ever necessary to stop one country from attacking another.</i>	50%	73%	53%	40%
2. <i>"<u>Agree</u> to join a world organization, but do <u>not</u> promise that American armed forces can be used to stop one country from attacking another.</i>	23	20	27	20
3. <i>"Do <u>not</u> agree to join a world organization of any kind, and do <u>not</u> promise the use of American armed forces."</i>	18	5	16	24
Undecided	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%

Persons at the three standard-of-living levels and those in various occupational groups parallel the three educational groups in their differences of opinion. Men choose the first alternative more often than do women, while a larger percentage of women than of men select the second. Fifty-six per cent of residents of the Pacific and Mountain States, but only 47 per cent of Southerners desire complete United States cooperation at San Francisco.

* THIS QUESTION WAS ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER FOR FREE WORLD MAGAZINE, AND PUBLISHED BY FREE WORLD UNDER CONTRACT WITH NORC.

Part III

THE SENATE AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

Any charter or constitution for a world organization must be officially ratified by the proper authorities in each country of the world. In the United States such a charter would, in all likelihood, be considered as a treaty, requiring approval of two-thirds of the Senate. In view of the past record of the Senate in ratifying treaties -- particularly in the famous sword-crossing between Wilson and the Senate following World War I -- there has been, from time to time, considerable discussion of (1) whether or not the Senate should continue to exercise such great treaty-making and treaty-breaking powers, and (2) what the Senate's attitude is likely to be toward approving the world organization charter drawn up at San Francisco.

TREATIES AND THE SENATE

In the past certain international understandings have been reached through the use of "Executive Agreements" entered into between the President of the United States and an official of the other nation involved. A recent example was the lease of naval bases from Great Britain. Another device sometimes used as a substitute for Senate-ratified treaties has been a joint resolution by simple majorities of both houses of Congress. This method was employed, for example, to annex Texas to the Union more than a hundred years ago.

That majority public opinion in this country is ready to accept a major reform in the method of approving peace treaties is suggested by results of an American Institute of Public Opinion question, asked at intervals over a period of a year and a half. It should be noted that the question itself does not indicate which of the methods suggested is the present practice as provided in the Constitution. If the opinions of persons aware of the present practice had been reported separately from the opinions of those who are not familiar with the Constitutional provision, the findings might present an entirely different picture.

In October, 1943, 54 per cent of the United States public opinion and in May, 1944, 60 per cent endorsed the idea of treaty ratification by the approval of the President and a majority of both houses of Congress. In January, 1945, Gallup again reported the question:

"When the war is over, it will be necessary for the Allies to decide on peace terms for the Axis. Which one of these three ways would you, personally favor as the best way to have peace treaties approved after the war?"

	<u>ALL THOSE</u>			
	<u>INTER-</u>		<u>HIGH</u>	<u>GRADE</u>
	<u>VIEWED</u>	<u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>
"Approval by President <u>only</u> ."	8%	3%	5%	12%
"Approval by President and <u>ma-</u> <u>iority of whole Congress</u> ."	58	65	64	52
"Approval by President and two thirds of Senate."	22	29	25	19
Undecided	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

That many people in the United States are confused as to what will comprise official adherence of this country to the world organization, the structure and functions of which may be outlined in final form at San Francisco, is suggested by the results of a question asked in March, 1945, by the National Opinion Research Center:

"As far as you know, has the United States already agreed to join a world organization, or hasn't this been decided yet?"

Replies show that a substantial section of the public are uncertain just how far the policy of the President and his advisers commits the United States as a country to membership in a world organization. Comments made by some of those interviewed indicate that, while a number are aware that any world charter must be ratified by Congress in some way, many consider Administration policy to be more important than legislative sanction. Only a very few give concrete evidence of understanding the complexities of United States foreign policy, formulation or function. A third of those interviewed frankly admit they "Don't know."

PM POLLS THE SENATORS

Most discussion of whether the United States will take an active part in a world organization is based on the assumption that the decision will rest with the Senate, that any United States commitment to formal world cooperation will be in the form of a treaty which would require the approval of two-thirds of the Senators -- 64 votes out of the 96.

On March 18, 1945, PM of New York City released results of a confidential poll in which 87 out of the 96 Senators participated, 33 replying by mail or wire and the remainder expressing their views in personal interviews. The 49 Democrats and 38 Republicans were assured that their names would not be used, and that, in view of the confidential nature of the survey, PM would report only the over-all results.

PM submitted the following question to the Senators:

"Would you, on the basis of information now available, vote for or against United States entrance into the new world security council to be established at the San Francisco Conference?"

49 Senators state unequivocally that they will vote for United States entrance into the new world security council.

4 will probably vote for the measure.

0 say definitely that they will vote against United States participation.

34 "reservationists" are at present unprepared to commit themselves on the world structure as outlined to date.

9 refused to discuss the poll or were unavailable for comment.

96 Senators

It seems highly significant that not a single Senator gave a flat "Against" answer. The "For" and "Probably for" responses total 53 votes, 11 less than the 64 necessary for the Senate confirmation of a treaty.

According to PM, a large majority of those who voted "For" "did not expand their replies. . Having continuously supported the president's foreign policy, they obviously felt no need to elaborate their views." Typical of responses classed as "Probably for" is this statement:

"I am disturbed over some of the situations and disappointed in some of the agreements reached, for I want the most effective world security organization possible. Nevertheless my desire for constructive affirmative action is such that my vote will be in the affirmative. I am hoping, however, that certain of these things bothering me can be cleared up before final action is taken."

R e s e r v a t i o n s It will be remembered that United States participation in the League of Nations was killed, not by Senators opposed to the general idea of world organization, but by opponents of the particular plan of organization outlined in the League Covenant.

For this reason in particular, it is of vital importance to know what sort of reservations are already shadowing the forthcoming debate on the world security council.

Many "reservationist" replies hinge on the question of the amount of information available about the world security council, possible changes to be made at San Francisco, and the doubtful status of "small nations." Here are several sample statements:

"I favor the general philosophy of a world organization, but I want to know what provision will be made for small nations and what the agreement on voting procedure will be before I make any statement."

"A world security council is essential to preservation of civilization, but it is also essential that the world security council be so organized as not to become an instrument of arbitrary international power. We fight to make men free. Diplomacy must have the same objective."

"It is my intention to support some plan that I will feel will bring world security and prevent war after this one is over, but I do not feel I can pledge support to any certain plan at this time. There is much yet to learn about the whole matter."

"I don't see how anyone could intelligently express an opinion now on the possible entrance of the United States into the new world security council on the basis of information now available since there are 50 countries that have not yet been consulted or expressed their views."

THE PEOPLE JUDGE THE SENATE

The attitude of the general public toward the possible role of Congress in making the peace is shown in two questions reported by the Fortune Survey. First:

"If you had to take your choice between a peace planned by Roosevelt and his Cabinet, or one planned by the Congress just elected which would you prefer to take your chances on?"

	<u>JUNE '43</u>	<u>JANUARY '45</u>
Roosevelt and his Cabinet	58.1%	53.2%
Congress	27.9	36.5
Undecided	14.0	10.3
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

In the more recent survey 77.1 per cent of those who preferred Roosevelt in the last election, but only 24.4 per cent of those who preferred Dewey would take their chances on a peace planned by Roosevelt and his Cabinet.

The January '45 issue of Fortune also reported this question:

*"Do you expect that the Senate just elected will
or will not pass what you think is a good peace
treaty?"*

Will 61.3% Will not 7.6% Undecided 31.1% = 100.0%

Part IV

HOW WOULD A WORLD ORGANIZATION FUNCTION?

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER?

Even before certain decisions of Yalta had become the basis of almost world-wide controversy, a substantial plurality of the people of the United States were convinced that the projected world organization would be unable to function without a degree of what might be termed "modified power politics." Although a plurality of 43 per cent would like to see all member countries have an equal say, a plurality of 49 per cent think a world organization is most likely to be dominated by the "Big Three," the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union.

In December, 1944, NORC asked:

1. "If some kind of world organization is formed, which one of these things would you like to see?"*

2. "Which one of these ways do you think a world organization is most likely to be run?"

	1. <u>WHAT PEOPLE WOULD LIKE TO SEE</u>	2. <u>WHAT PEOPLE EXPECT TO HAPPEN</u>
"The United States have the most to say about running it.	26%	12%
"Britain, Russia, and the United States together have the most to say about running it.	19	49
"All the countries in the organization have about the same amount to say about running it.	43	17
"Something else."		
Vote according to size, population, power, etc.	3	--
The "Big Three" and China; Russia and the United States; Britain and the United States; Russia alone; Britain alone	1	4
Other answers	2	3
Undecided	6	15
	100%	100%

* THIS QUESTION WAS ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER FOR FREE WORLD MAGAZINE, AND PUBLISHED BY FREE WORLD UNDER CONTRACT WITH NORC.

D i f f e r e n c e s
o f O p i n i o n

Persons of varied educational backgrounds differ considerably in their reactions to this problem. The less education a person has, the more likely he is to desire and expect a world organization dominated by the United States.

Although a plurality of persons with a college background would like to see a world organization in which all countries accept equal responsibility, it is significant that more than a fourth -- 27 per cent -- would consider domination by the "Big Three" desirable. No other group within the population has as large a percentage favoring the "Big Three" domination. Actual control of a world organization by Britain, Russia, and the United States is anticipated by 72 per cent of the college educated, but by only half as many of the lowest educational group.

Sectional differences are also of interest. Residents of the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states might be considered most "idealistic" in that they and the high school educated group are the only population subgroups with a clear majority who would like to see all countries have an equal voice in a world organization. Residents of the New England and Middle Atlantic states might be termed most "realistic" in that a majority expect the world organization to be dominated by the United States, Britain, and Russia.

The complete figures follow. For the sake of clarity, the various categories under "Something else" have been combined.

BY EDUCATION

	<u>UNITED STATES CONTROL</u>	<u>"BIG THREE" CONTROL</u>	<u>EQUAL FOR ALL</u>	<u>"SOME-THING ELSE"</u>	<u>UN-DECIDED</u>
<u>What People Would Like to See</u>					
College	12%	27%	47%	13%	1% = 100%
High School	21	18	52	6	3
Grade school or less	37	16	34	3	10

What People Expect

College	3	72	11	9	5
High school	9	53	21	7	10
Grade school or less	19	36	15	6	24

BY SECTION

What People Would Like to See

Pacific and Mountain states	21	15	52	8	4
Midwest	23	16	49	7	5
New England, Mid-Atlantic states	25	22	42	7	4
South	31	21	35	5	8

What People Expect

Pacific and Mountain states	11	48	17	11	13
Midwest	9	50	20	7	14
New England, Mid-Atlantic states	11	56	13	7	13
South	18	42	16	5	19

In the spring of 1944* the Fortune Survey approached the same problem with this question:

"If we should take part in an international organization, which do you think would be better?

"To let certain countries have more say at the start than other countries.

39.8%

"To let all member countries have the same say."

50.3

Undecided

9.9

100.0%

Those who think certain countries should have more to say at the start were asked which countries they believed should have the most to say. The "'Big Four" were most frequently mentioned, with the United States and Britain named slightly more often than Russia and China.

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP

What countries besides the United States should be charter members of a world organization? Surveys by both NORC and Fortune have shown Great Britain, China, and Russia named most often. Only a minority think that all nations should be members from the start, or that the Axis countries specifically should be included. Smaller countries and neutrals are mentioned less frequently than the "Big Four," but more often than the Axis powers. However, 83 per cent of the public, according to the NORC survey of September, 1943, think "a union of nations would have the best chance of working if all countries were members."

An NORC question asked in January, 1943, indicated that at that time there was doubt in the minds of some people as to whether the United States should join a world organization on a basis of equality with Great Britain and Russia. The following question was asked of those people who favored United States membership in a world union or who were undecided -- a group comprising 84 per cent of the cross-section:

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

	<u>GREAT BRITAIN</u>	<u>RUSSIA</u>	<u>GERMANY</u>
Favor	62%	55%	28%
Against	13	18	46
Undecided	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
	84%	84%	84%

* MARCH, 1944

There are many indications that the American people are today more reconciled to the United States' sharing responsibility with Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

Strongly influencing attitudes in this area, as well as in others, may be the fact that three out of four people regard the United States as the most powerful country in the world. Only one person in ten names the Soviet Union. In March, 1945, NORC asked:

"Generally speaking, what country would you say has the most influence in the world today?"

75% reply the United States

10 name the Soviet Union

7 say Great Britain

3 give other answers -- the Big Three, combinations of two of the countries, Germany or Japan, and others.

$\frac{5}{100\%}$ say "Don't know."

SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS

The people of the United States are reasonably well agreed that a world organization should have extensive political and military powers, but there is considerable difference of opinion as to the extent of its economic powers. While a substantial majority of the public consider that keeping the peace is the main function of a world organization and therefore endorse measures to settle disputes between member countries, only a plurality recognize the international implications of so-called "civil wars" to the extent of thinking that a world organization should have the right to intervene. A definite majority of Americans, as well as majorities in the other English-speaking nations, believe that some type of world police force will be necessary to maintain the peace. Regulation of armaments, a related problem, is also conceded to be a desirable function of a world organization. Opinion is somewhat more divided regarding the international regulation of trade and other economic functions which a world organization might fulfill.

A n I n t e r n a t i o n a l
P o l i c e F o r c e ?

While a majority of the people of the United States believe that a world organization will need a military police force to help maintain the peace, the details of how such a force would function constitute a focal point for discussion. In June, 1942, the Fortune Survey published this question:

"Some people think the only way to prevent some countries from picking on others is to have one or two strong nations police the world. After the war is over, do you think the United States should take on this responsibility alone, or take it on with some other nation, or do you think it just isn't our job at all?"

Take it on alone	5.9%
Take it on with some other nation	43.6
Not our job	37.6
Undecided	12.9
	<u>100.0%</u>

In contrast to the 43.6 per cent plurality of the public as a whole who favored the United States' assuming a joint responsibility for policing the world, 60.3 per cent of business leaders and 70.4 per cent of intellectual leaders interviewed by Fortune endorsed the idea. Great Britain was named most frequently as the nation with whom the United States should share police responsibility.

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

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

<u>Yes 68%</u>	<u>No 6%</u>	<u>Undecided 2%</u>	= 76%
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In the fall of 1943 the Office of Public Opinion Research asked a series of questions delineating popular opinion regarding the ways in which an international police force might function. Two somewhat differently worded questions designed to measure the same attitude gave very similar results. The simpler:

"Should the countries fighting the Axis set up an international police force after the war is over to try to keep peace throughout the world?"

<u>Yes 79%</u>	<u>No 11%</u>	<u>Undecided 10%</u>	= 100%
----------------	---------------	----------------------	--------

The more elaborate:

"Now I am going to ask you some questions about an international police force after the war. By an international police force we mean an army, navy, and air force made up of men from different countries. This police force would be directed by a group of men representing these different countries. Do you think all countries fighting Germany and Japan should set up an international police force after the war to try to keep peace throughout the world?"

Yes 77% No 15% Undecided 8% = 100%

Here again the inclusion of the phrase "to keep the peace" in the two OPOP questions may operate as a "prestige" factor, since people who deeply desire peace may find it difficult to vote negatively on any question in which the word appears.

The 77 per cent who replied "Yes" were asked several additional questions:

"There has been a lot of discussion about how the international police force should work. Which ONE of these plans do you like best?"

"The international police force should police only the Axis countries to see that they do not build up strong armies or attack neighboring countries.

7%

"The international police force should police the Axis countries and should also keep the small countries all over the world from going to war with each other.

9

"The international police force should see to it that no country prepares to make war on other nations. It should police the Axis countries and the small countries, but it should also have the power to stop big countries like the United States, Russia, and Great Britain from going to war."

57

Undecided

4
77%

"Do you think all the countries now fighting Germany and Japan should have soldiers in the international police force, or do you think some of these countries should not?"

All countries	66%
Some countries should not	7
Undecided	4
	<u>77%</u>

"However large the United States Army will be after the war, do you think that the international police force should be larger, smaller, or about the same size?"

"Do you think it should be larger, smaller, or about the same size as the Russian Army will be after the war?"

Larger	20%	Larger	25%
Smaller	22	Smaller	15
About same size	23	About same size	20
Undecided	12	Undecided	17
	<u>77%</u>		<u>77%</u>

All those interviewed in the survey were asked:

"Some people say that a strong international police force would be a threat to this country, because it might try to make us do things we don't want to do. Do you agree or disagree?"

Agree 26% Disagree 61% Undecided 13% = 100%

A Fortune Survey question, reported in March, 1944, showed that 54 per cent of the public considered that "a permanent military police force of its own, stronger than any single nation" would be a necessary adjunct to "a general international organization."

Nine months later, in December, 1944, NORC asked the 62 per cent who said that they would like to see the United States belong to some kind of world organization:

"Do you think a world organization would need some kind of a military force to fight any country which tried to invade another country, or don't you think a military force would be necessary?"*

Need military force	53%
Military force not necessary	7
Undecided	2
	<u>62%</u>

* THESE QUESTIONS WERE ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER FOR FREE WORLD MAGAZINE, AND PUBLISHED BY FREE WORLD UNDER CONTRACT WITH NORC.

The 53 per cent who replied "Need military force" were then asked:




"When the world organization is deciding whether or not to fight any army invading a country, who should have the right to say if the United States will help fight the invaders? Should the American representative in the world organization decide, or should Congress decide?"

Congress -- alone or in combination	
with representative or President	30%
American representative	15
Popular vote of the people of the	
United States	2
President	1
Decision by world court or interna-	
tional consultation	1
Undecided	4
	<hr/> 53%

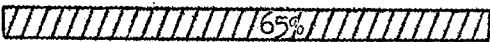
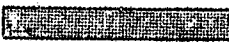

As a world organization is envisioned at the present time, the American representative on the security council would probably be the individual involved. It goes without saying that, in time of war emergency, a popular vote by the people of the United States might be a rather unrealistic approach to the problem. It has been suggested that the use of an international police force on emergency duty might be regulated by vote of the security council; but that the use of national forces on a complete war footing would be subject to the control of the individual nations involved.

T r a d e a n d A series of questions asked by the National Opinion
T a r i f f s Research Center in September, 1943, showed that
almost three-fourths of the public believe that
problems of trade between countries have something
to do with starting war. Smaller majorities, how-
ever, think that a world organization should be concerned with trade
problems or that the United States should surrender any measure of its
economic sovereignty. These are the questions:




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

Yes		73%
No		19
Undecided		8
		= 100%

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

Get together		65%	
Any way		29	
Undecided		6	= 100%

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

Join		57%	
Stay out		31	
Undecided		12	= 100%

In March, 1944, a plurality of 44.8 per cent of the public told Fortune Survey interviewers that they thought "a general international organization ... should be organized to ... decide what tariff rates should be charged by nations;"* 23.3 per cent were against this idea, and 31.9 per cent were undecided.

Differences of Opinion by Education

On all three of the NORC questions, persons with a college background give a larger affirmative vote than any other population group. The spread of opinion among respondents of varying education experience is particularly revealing:

	COLLEGE	HIGH SCHOOL	GRADE SCHOOL
Yes - <u>International trade problems may Cause wars.</u>	87%	73%	63%
No	10	21	24
Undecided	3	6	13
	100%	100%	100%
Yes - <u>A world organization should make decisions on trade problems.</u>	75%	65%	59%
No	21	30	31
Undecided	4	5	10
	100%	100%	100%
Yes - <u>The United States should join a world organization with willingness to accept trade regulations as a prerequisite to membership.</u>	71%	57%	47%
No	21	33	37
Undecided	8	10	16
	100%	100%	100%

* UNDERLINING OURS.

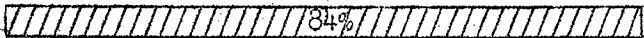


The attitude of college students themselves on these problems has been explored by the Cooperative Study in General Education of the American Council on Education. The students included in the inventory*expressed the following beliefs pertinent to the present discussion:

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	
"If we separated the economy of this country from that of other nations, we could avoid world depressions and preserve our system of free competition."	3%	89%	8%	=100%
"At the conclusion of hostilities we must create an organization of nations in which the United States will actively participate."	94	2	4	
"After the war some degree of international control of tariffs and trade is necessary."	92	3	5	

I n t e r n a t i o n a l
C o o p e r a t i o n
I n E d u c a t i o n

A series of National Opinion Research Center questions asked in the spring of 1945 indicate that American people in every walk of life are sympathetic to the idea of trying to prevent some of the causes of war through educational activity on an international scale. These are the questions:

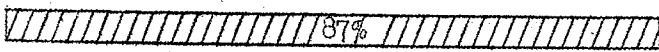


"It has been suggested that the nations of the world set up a world agency that would help schools in all countries teach children how to understand the people of other countries. Would you like to see an agency like this set up, or not?"**

Would like		84%	
Would not like		10	
Undecided		6	= 100%

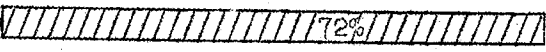


* BETWEEN APRIL AND AUGUST, 1943, AN INVENTORY OF 150 STATEMENTS DRAWN FROM CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY WAS PRESENTED TO 2,206 COLLEGE STUDENTS IN ELEVEN COOPERATING INSTITUTIONS. THE GROUP TENDS TO BE MOST REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MIDWEST, WITH FRESHMEN AND SOPHOMORES PREDOMINATING. FOR A COMPLETE DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY, SEE "SOCIAL BELIEFS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS" BY ALBERT WILLIAM LEVI, WHICH APPEARED IN THE MARCH, 1944, ISSUE OF JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION, PAGES 127-134.

**THESE QUESTIONS WERE ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER UNDER CONTRACT WITH THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D.C., AND USED WITH THEIR PERMISSION.

"If such an agency were set up, would you be willing to have it examine the school books used in this city (county) to see if they are fair to all nations?"

Yes, Willing		87%	
Not willing		7	
Undecided		6	= 100%

(If "Yes") "Suppose the men in this agency decide that the school books used in this city (county), give an unfair picture of the history of Germany. Would you be willing to have the books changed, or not?"

Yes		72%	
No		9	
Undecided		6	= 87%

Summary
of Powers

A comprehensive battery of questions prepared by Fortune Survey* shows results largely comparable to the findings of NORC and other polls. Fortune introduced its check-list with this question:

"If a general international organization should be set up, which of these things do you think it should and should not be organized to do?"

Keeping the Peace

	<u>SHOULD</u>	<u>SHOULD NOT</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	
"Prevent any member country from starting a war of its own against an outside country.	79.0%	7.0%	14.0%	= 100%
"Decide which country is right if two members get into a dispute.	75.9	8.2	15.9	
"Decide which side is right if a civil war breaks out in a member nation and support that side.	43.0	31.7	25.3	

* MARCH, 1944

World Military Force

SHOULD SHOULD NOT UNDECIDED

"Have a permanent military force of its own, stronger than any single nation. 54.0% 23.3% 22.7% =100%

Regulation of Armaments

"Decide what military strength each member nation can have. 69.0 13.6 17.4

Support

"Decide what taxes individual member nations must pay to support the organization. 69.7 8.9 21.4

Trade and Tariffs

"Decide what tariff rates should be charged by member nations. 44.8 23.3 31.9

Other Economic Functions

"Regulate the rights of airplanes from one member nation to land on airfields in other member nations. 61.1 14.0 24.9

"Decide minimum standards for working conditions in member countries." 32.0 44.7 23.3

Some important NORC findings* in the same areas may be summarized as follows:

Keeping the Peace

69% of the public think that, after this war, if two countries have a disagreement it would be better if some kind of organization of nations worked with them to try to settle the disagreement than if they tried to settle it themselves. (26% would let the countries settle it themselves and 5% are undecided.)

90% believe that a union of nations will have either a good or a fair chance to prevent wars. (10% say "No chance.")

* SEPTEMBER, 1943, SURVEY.

76% think that a "union of nations should have power to make laws about problems that may come up between countries in the union" just as "Congress has the power to make laws about problems that may come up between states." (13% say "No," and 11% are undecided.)

Regulation of Armaments

77% of the people in the United States think the countries of the world "should get together in a union of nations to decide how big an army, navy, and air force each country can have." (17% say "No," and 6% are undecided.)

70% say they would be willing to have a world organization decide how big the United States Army, Navy, and Air Force should be. (24% say "No," and 6% have no opinion.)

87% think that after the war "it will be necessary for the United States to keep a larger army, navy, and air force than we had before the war." (3% qualify their answer, 8% reply "No," and 2% are undecided.)

22% believe that "every country should be allowed to build as large an army, navy, and air force as it wants to" when the war is over. (1% qualify their answers, 72% say "No," and 5% are undecided.)

HEADQUARTERS

One point of interest, though perhaps not of vital social significance, is this: Where shall the world organization have its headquarters? Some observers have suggested that Geneva is too closely associated with the so-called failures of the League of Nations. Some think that the various departments of a world organization might be located in various countries, not necessarily grouped in a single city. Certainly meetings of the various councils could rotate from capital to capital.

Many citizens of the United States, particularly those less privileged economically and educationally, would choose Washington as the headquarters for a world organization. Geneva ranks second. NORC has measured opinion on the problem twice, first with a completely free question with no cities at all suggested, and the second time with the use of a check-list. The order of the cities is that used in the check-list:

"In what large city in the world do you think a world organization should have its headquarters after the war?"
(November, 1944)

*"If there is a world organization, in which one of these cities do you think it should have its headquarters?"**
(December, 1944)

* THIS QUESTION WAS ASKED BY THE NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER FOR FREE WORLD MAGAZINE, AND PUBLISHED BY FREE WORLD UNDER CONTRACT WITH NORC.

SpontaneousCheck-list

Quebec	%%
London	6
Vienna	*
Washington	34
Geneva	9
Moscow	*
The Hague	1
Paris	3
Others	30
Undecided	<u>17</u>
	100%

Quebec	2%
London	3
Vienna	1
Washington	58
Geneva	11
Moscow	1
The Hague	2
Paris	4
Others	3
Undecided	<u>15</u>
	100%

When the 30 per cent "other" answers to the spontaneous reply question are further analyzed, it is found that two-thirds of them -- approximately 20 per cent of the entire cross-section -- mention some locality in the United States as desirable headquarters for a world organization.* Most frequently mentioned city is New York, preferred by some 12 per cent of all those interviewed, with Chicago mentioned by a few, and scattered suggestions ranging all the way from Peoria to Baton Rouge, and from Dumbarton Oaks to Spokane.

About 6 per cent of the entire cross-section suggest a European location, with about half of these mentioning Switzerland or some Swiss city other than Geneva alone. The remainder of the suggestions are either scattered through the Americas, Africa, and Asia or are indefinite geographically.

Differences in response among persons of varying educational backgrounds are of interest, both on the spontaneous-answer question and on the one where the check-list was used. Smaller categories are combined for the sake of clarity. The comparison follows:

SPONTANEOUS-ANSWERCHECK-LIST

	<u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>HIGH SCHOOL</u>	<u>GRADE SCHOOL</u>		<u>COLLEGE</u>	<u>HIGH SCHOOL</u>	<u>GRADE SCHOOL</u>
Washington	28%	33%	38%		36%	60%	65%
Geneva	20	9	3		29	14	4
London	7	7	4		4	3	3
Others	34	37	32		19	13	9
Undecided	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>23</u>		<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>19</u>
	100%	100%	100%		100%	100%	100%

Some persons who would like to see the headquarters located in Washington make comments suggesting a strongly nationalistic motivation for their choice. These remarks are representative: "I don't trust them foreigners much." "We are the strongest nation in the world." "Let the rest come over here. They come here for everything else." "Keep it in our own backyard." "We're the ones who decided both wars."

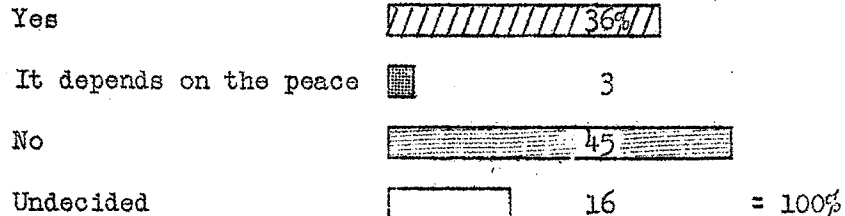
* IF THE 20 PER CENT WHO SUGGEST A UNITED STATES LOCATION ARE ADDED TO THE 34 PER CENT SAYING WASHINGTON SPECIFICALLY ON THE NOVEMBER QUESTION, THE TOTAL FIGURE BECOMES COMPARABLE TO THE 58 PER CENT WHO CHOSE WASHINGTON, THE ONLY AMERICAN CITY PROVIDED ON THE DECEMBER CHECK-LIST. IF THE 3 PER CENT WHO SUGGEST A SWISS LOCATION ARE ADDED TO THE 9 PER CENT SPECIFYING GENEVA, THE NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER FIGURES BECOME VERY SIMILAR ON THIS POINT AS WELL.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The desire of the public to establish a workable world organization in which the United States will bear a major responsibility seems unmitigated by the fact that six out of every ten Americans believe that the United States will fight another war within the next half-century. Many of these people think that even within another quarter-century the United States will again become involved in war.

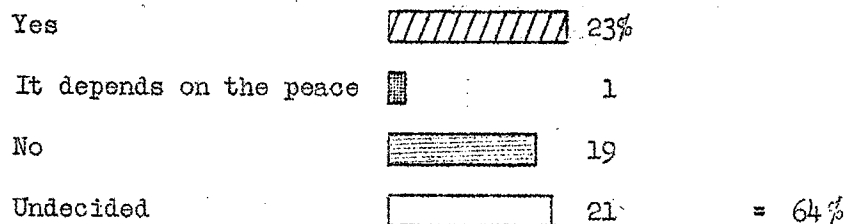
In February, 1944, 59 per cent of a nation-wide cross-section told NORC interviewers they believed that the United States would fight another war within the next 50 years. In March, 1945, NORC asked:

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



The 64 per cent who replied "It depends," "No," or "Undecided" were then asked:

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



When the "Yes" responses on both questions are added together, it appears that 59 per cent -- the same percentage as in 1944 -- expect the United States to be involved in war within the next 50 years.

The majority opinion which anticipates another war within 50 years or less is subject to two possible interpretations:

1. That a fatalistic point of view regarding the inevitability of war is deeply rooted in the public mind.
2. That, although after World War I idealistic hopes changed to complacency, today the man in the street is more realistic. He is not confusing a sincere desire for peace with a blind faith that it will come to pass.

Nevertheless -- a consideration of the findings of public opinion research would seem to indicate that, up to the time of the San Francisco Conference a majority of the American people have clearly desired that the United States become an active member of a world organization. It remains to be seen whether or not this public wish can be translated into action through the devious political paths, diplomatic and legislative, by which a world organization must come to fulfillment.

How Is a Public Opinion Survey Made?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Factual Information

The Cross-Section The sample population upon which this study¹ was made is representative, within a small degree of error, of the national population 21 years of age and over. That is, the sample used is stratified according to certain sociological characteristics of the adult population of the United States.

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

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

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

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

sample. This affects the age and sex distributions rather radically. After making adjustments for this factor, the resulting sex split on the present survey is 47.1 per cent men and 52.9 per cent women. On the age distribution, 53.4 per cent are 40 and over, with the remainder between 21 and 39.

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

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

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

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

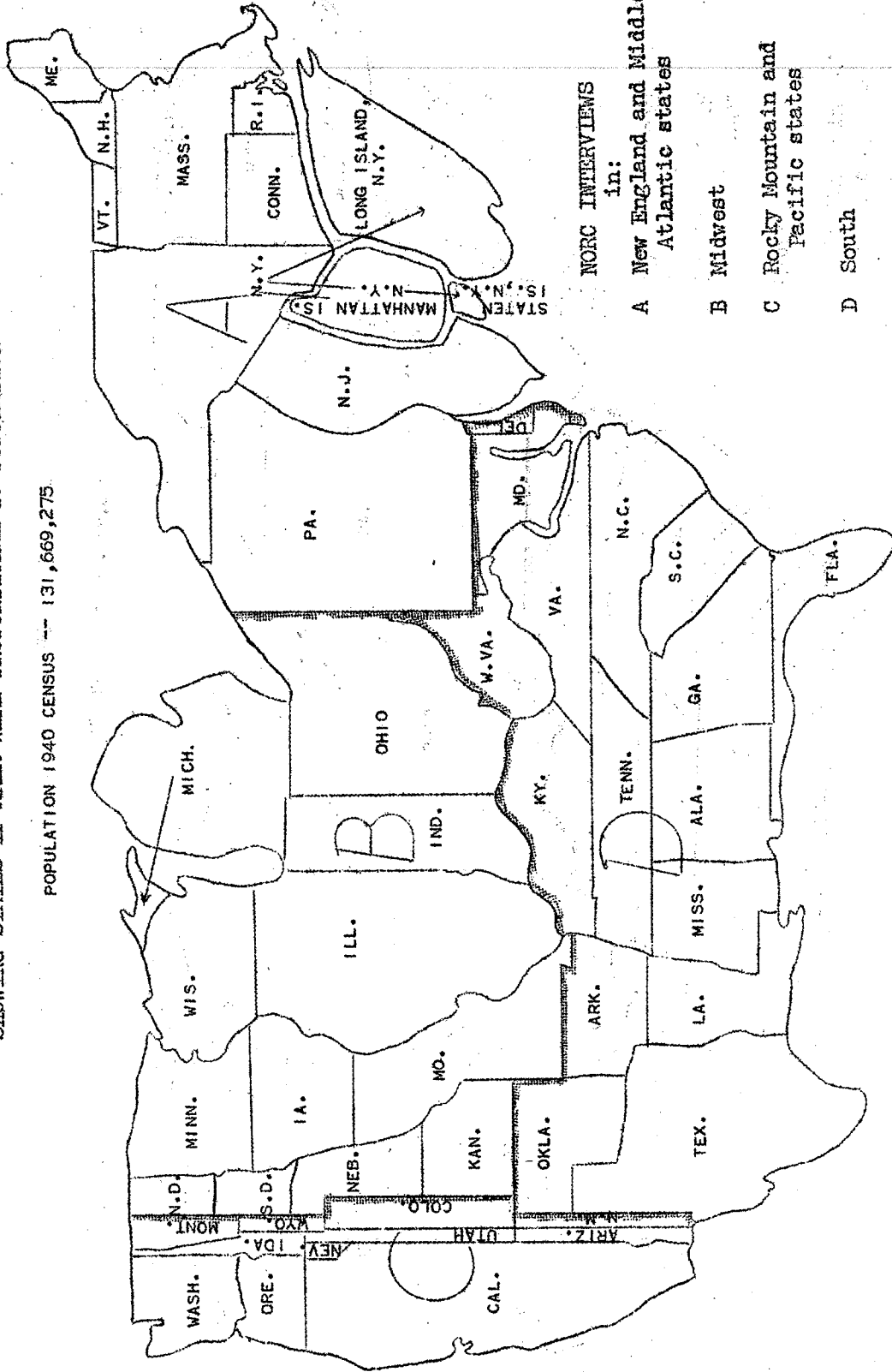
Lower (27 per cent of the sample)—This group has difficulty in maintaining an adequate standard of living. Included are the lowest income non-relief families and also those receiving government aid.

* It is understood that the Gallup and Fortune surveys are based on cross-sections slightly larger than NORC's, while the Office of Public Opinion Research sample is somewhat smaller.

TOTAL UNITED STATES POPULATION -- 1940

SHOWING STATES IF AREA WERE PROPORTIONAL TO POPULATION

POPULATION 1940 CENSUS -- 131,669,275



NORC INTERVIEWS

in:

- A New England and Middle Atlantic states
- B Midwest
- C Rocky Mountain and Pacific states
- D South

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UNIVERSITY OF DENVER
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PUBLICATIONS

Publications of the National Opinion Research Center include:

REPORTS

4. <u>Anti-Inflation Measures.</u> June, 1942	\$.10
8. <u>War and Peace -- 1943 Edition.</u> March, 1943 .....	.25
9. <u>The Reconversion Period from War to Peace.</u> June, 1943 .....	.15
10. <u>Should the Churches Plan for Peace?</u> July, 1943* .....	.10
11. <u>Lend-Lease to England: What Are We Getting? What Should We Get?</u> August, 1943 .....	.10
19. <u>The Public Looks at World Organization.</u> April, 1944 .....	.25
20. <u>The Public Looks at Politics and Politicians.</u> March, 1944* .....	.10
21. <u>The Public Looks at Education.</u> August, 1944 .....	.25
22. <u>Do Negroes Have Equal Economic Opportunities?</u> April, 1944* .....	.10
23. <u>Compulsory Military Training in Peacetime?</u> December, 1944* .....	.15
24. <u>Germany and the Post-War World.</u> January, 1945 .....	.50
25. <u>Public Opinion on World Organization up to the San Francisco Conference.</u> April, 1945*25

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SPECIAL REPORTS

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DISTORTED MAPS

B. <u>Total United States Population.</u> 8½ by 11 inches10
D. <u>Distribution of Population, 21 years of Age and Over, States and Metropolitan Districts.</u> In two colors, 11 by 15 inches15
E. <u>Distribution of World Population.</u> 11 by 15 inches25
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