

• PSF Public Opinion Polls - Subject File

Box 175

*Will Literary Digest PSF: Public (2)
Opinion Polls*

polls

Responding to Demands from All Parts of the United States, The Literary Digest Plans Another NATION-WIDE POLL on the Foremost Question of To-Day

Fellow Citizen:

ARE YOU NOW FOR OR AGAINST THE ROOSEVELT POLICIES?

Two years and eight months ago Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated as President of the United States.

In the first year of his administration many "New Deal" policies and organizations were formulated and put into operation. The NRA (National Recovery Administration) came into being with its numerous codes. Wide controversy arose because it was claimed that many of these new policies had not been defined during the preelection campaign and that other policies promised by the Democratic platform and candidate had been abandoned. On the other hand these claims were denied by spokesmen for the "New Deal." The Literary Digest was urged to poll the Nation to ascertain whether the people at large approved or disapproved the "New Deal" policies as far as they had been tried.

To ascertain whether this demand was sufficiently universal The Literary Digest, in March-April, 1934, took a preliminary poll of 65,000 voters. The response was heavy and the interest great. The results of this test poll showed 69.03 per cent "for" and 30.97 per cent "against" the Roosevelt "New Deal" program.

Convinced of the wide demand and interest The Literary Digest went ahead in May-June, 1934, with a Nation-wide poll of approximately ten million voters. The result showed a change of percentages to 61.15 per cent "for" and 38.85 per cent "against" the Roosevelt "New Deal" policies.

This marked difference in two months was noticed and widely commented on, coupled with demands

that we recheck the original 65,000 voters and find out once more what they thought of the "New Deal," and whether they had changed their minds.

Accordingly the same question was mailed again, in August-September, 1934, in precisely the same way, to the same 65,000 voters who had been polled in March-April. This time, five to six months after the first test, the result was 50.97 per cent "for" (instead of 69.03) and 49.03 per cent "against" (instead of 30.97).

Naturally these results have increased rather than ended discussion, and now another year has passed, during which the "New Deal" activities and agencies have multiplied, and the United States Supreme Court, by a unanimous decision, has declared the NRA unconstitutional.

This decision, of course, did not invalidate all the numerous "New Deal" policies, bureaus, commissions and other agencies, and controversy is more heated than ever as to popular approval of the "New Deal," and as to whether the result of the August election in Rhode Island does or does not indicate correctly the sentiment of voters in the West, South, North, and East of the Nation.

It has been the practise of The Literary Digest for many years to discover and report the true opinions of citizens in all parts of the Nation. Therefore we must respond to the demands for a new Nation-wide poll on the Roosevelt policies.

Are you for them or against them NOW, after two years and eight months of trial?

Please mark your answer with a cross (X) on the secret ballot card enclosed herewith, and mail the card back to The Literary Digest at once. It requires no postage stamp.

Your personal vote is of critical and immediate importance, as a new presidential campaign draws near. All citizens of the United States who believe in President Roosevelt's "New Deal" policies will mark a cross (X) under "YES" on the enclosed card. All who disapprove them will make a cross (X) under "NO."

DO NOT FAIL TO VOTE ONE WAY OR THE OTHER!

The results of this Literary Digest Poll will be read and accepted as accurate by the leaders of the Nation, as all the other Literary Digest Nation-wide polls have been proved to be accurate. No political purpose nor desire for either approval or disapproval is suggested in these polls. They reflect the real sentiment of the voters because they are always strictly impartial.

You will not wish to miss a single issue of The Digest containing the articles which tabulate and analyze the returns of this vitally important Poll, as well as the great wealth of other articles by which The Digest is bringing its readers into contact with all the significant events, movements, and problems of modern life, both in our own Nation and in the greatly disturbed nations of the old world; with opinions on both sides of controversial subjects. In these critical days the necessity for such service is so imperative that Alvin Macauley, President of the Packard Motor Company, expresses the opinion of business men everywhere when he says, "The Literary Digest means a great deal to me. I couldn't get along without it."

You will of course read with special interest not only the issues of The Literary Digest which contain reports of the Nation-wide Poll on the Roosevelt policies but also the many articles describing and interpreting the important developments of the coming year. Doubtless you have noticed the improved editorial program of The Literary Digest and will find all of the forthcoming issues more and more interesting and informative.

Mark your Ballot and mail it now, and remember: It will not cost you even a one-cent postage stamp to vote, and no one will know how you vote.

Very truly yours,

December, 1935
354-360 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

The Literary Digest

FROM: COMMISSIONER EICHER

TO: *General Watson*

Chairman Douglas

Executive Assistant to Chairman

Commissioner Mathews

Commissioner Healy

Commissioner Frank

General Counsel

Registration Division

Trading and Exchange Division

Public Utilities Division

Forms and Regulations Division

Research Division

Office of Chief Accountant

Reorganization Division

Director of Information Research

The Secretary

Chief, Service Section

Chief, Personnel Section

Chief, Budget and Accounting Section

Chief, Docket, Mail and Files Section

Library

Remarks:

*I believe you
will agree with me that the
President should see the
attached memo. etc*

PSF: Public Opinion Polls
file
personal

MEMORANDUM

October 9, 1940

TO: The President
The White House

FROM: Edward C. Eicher

Here is the summary of a telephonic cross-examination to which I subjected George Gallup last evening:--

His October 1st poll giving you 499 electoral votes he assures me is reckoned on the conservative side. Subsequent spot by spot returns are confirming the trend. He assured me also that your pick-up of six points (moving from 46 to 52) in our home State of Iowa since September 20 is no fluke. He double-checked and is convinced that there has been a definite recession from Willkie since his two trips across our State.

On the question whether you should yield to the reported pressure, coming from both inside and outside our own camp, for a series of two-fisted, name-calling speeches by you, he feels strongly you would have nothing to gain and everything to lose by such a course. He feels that the technique so far has been perfect, but that reasonably soon a speech amplifying the theme of national unity -- that you touched upon in your Big Smoky Park speech -- would be helpful. The same speech could re-emphasize your efforts for peace to counteract any appeal by Willkie on that score to the potential draftees and their mothers.

E. C. E.

PSF: Public Opinion Polls

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE DIRECTOR

February 15, 1941

file personal
FEB 15 11 55 AM '41
THE WHITE HOUSE
RECEIVED

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT:

Attached a poll on the question of
United States interest in the Far East,
which you may find very interesting.

LM

Lowell Mellett

These figures come from a survey made by the Princeton Public Opinion Research Project at the end of December, 1940. The Project uses the same sampling procedures and the same interviewers as the Gallup Poll.

Two of these questions are now being repeated to note trends.

Hadley Cantril, Director

QUESTIONS ON THE FAR EAST

Do you think Japan will try to seize possession of Singapore and the Dutch East Indies?

Yes 40% No 23.8% Don't Know 36.2%

Some people say that if Japan got the Dutch East Indies and Singapore, she could cut off supplies of tin and rubber from the United States. Do you agree or disagree with this?

Agree 44.4% Disagree 28.6% No Opinion 27.0%

Do you think the United States should try to keep Japan from seizing the Dutch East Indies and Singapore?

Yes 58.8% No 23.0% No Opinion 18.2%

If "Yes" or "No Opinion", ask:

Do you think the United States should risk war with Japan, if necessary, in order to keep Japan from taking the Dutch East Indies and Singapore?

Yes 50.6% No 30.1% No Opinion 19.3%

If "No", ask:

Would you change your mind about this if you could be sure the United States could prevent Japan from seizing the Dutch East Indies and Singapore without a long and costly war?

Yes 36.4% No 55.8% No Opinion 7.8%

Do you think the interests of the United States would be threatened if Japan took Singapore and the Dutch East Indies?

Yes 59.8% No 20.3% No Opinion 19.9%

If "yes", ask: In what way?

- 10.6% Yes, no comment
- 18.8 Would hurt U.S. trade with the Far East
- 10.3 Our commercial interests in Far East would be threatened
- 0.4 Affect National Defense plans
- 14.8 Would be cut off from supplies
- 11.8 Would encourage Japan to further expansion
- 0.1 Would upset Status Quo
- 13.0 Endanger Phillipines and Hawaii
- 3.9 Japan would establish bases too close to U. S.
- 1.9 Might involve us in war
- 0.3 Axis powers would have access to Japanese bases
- 0.5 Undesirable psychological effect here and abroad
- 0.5 Would raise prices on essential products (imports)
- 5.3 Would threaten military security of United States
- 4.5 Because it would give Japan advantage over us
- 1.9 Would be another victory for Germany (Axis)

- 0.1 Would destroy social work done there by U. S.
- 0.3 Would be a threat to democracy
- 0.8 No and no opinion

How far would you say it is, roughly, from the United States to the Dutch East Indies?

Less than 5,000	21.8%
5,000 - 8,000	19.7
8,000 - 10,000	5.6
10,000 - 14,000	4.5
Over 14,000	1.0
Don't know	47.4

Do you happen to know where Singapore is? (K form only)

Yes (no further specification)	1.3%
Correct or near correct	17.7
Generally close	14.4
Correct as to Hemisphere	18.3
Other and incorrect	1.4
Indefinite	1.8
No	45.1

Do you happen to know whether or not Singapore is in the same part of the world as China and India? (T form only)

Yes, it is 67.8% No, it is not 3.3% Don't Know 28.9%

Some people say that if Japan got the Dutch East Indies and Singapore, she could greatly increase her own supply of oil. Do you agree or disagree with this?

Agree 50.1% Disagree 8.3% No Opinion 41.6%

✓

PSF: Public Opinion Polls - Princeton Public
full personal Princeton Public
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY Opinion
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY Folder

Office of Public Opinion Research
203 Eno Hall

Sunday night

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

Enclosed is the final tabulation on an interesting
question that will probably be reported soon.

Wadley

As of late May, 1941

* If Roosevelt and our leading military experts say that Britain will be defeated unless we go into the war in the near future, would you favor, or oppose, going into the war within a few days.

Favor 51 Oppose 41 Don't know 8

So far as you, personally are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough?

Too far 22 About right 48 Not far enough 22 Don't know 8

Latest Returns on Princeton Ballot

Interviewing done between
July 11th and July 19th [1941]

1. The desire to help Britain at the risk of war, rather than to stay out of war has maintained itself among approximately 60% of the population since June 1st.

Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to try to do:

- 58% To help Britain, even at the risk of getting into war, or
- 37% To keep out of war ourselves,
- 5% No choice.

Which of these two things do you think is the more important --

- 61% That Germany be defeated, even at the risk of our getting into the war, or
- 34% That this country keep out of war,
- 5% No choice.

2. There has been a drop of approximately 6% since June 1st of those who think the United States will go into the war. At present, 75% think the United States will sooner or later be involved directly in the war.
3. The following question concerning war aims has been repeated since the beginning of the war, and there have been no significant shifts in percentages.

Which of these two statements do you think is closer to the truth?

- 37% England is now fighting to preserve democracy against the spread of dictatorship.
- 31% England is now fighting mainly to keep her power and wealth.
- 28% Both
- 4% No Opinion.

4. A majority of people -- before the Japanese move into French Indo-China -- believed that the United States should risk war to keep Japan from becoming more powerful.

Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking a war with Japan?

52% Yes

31% No

17% No opinion.

5. 65% believe that Germany and Italy would start a war against the United States within the next ten years if England is defeated in the present war.

24% do not think so.

11% have no opinion.

6. The following two questions, posing the issue of continued aid to Britain in view of the Russo-German war, show that opinion on this question is stable and not influenced by the deliberately posed biased questions.

Some people say that since Germany is now fighting Russia, as well as Britain, it is not as necessary for this country to help Britain. Do you agree, or disagree, with this?

72% Disagree

20% Agree

8% No opinion.

Some people say that since Germany will probably defeat Russia within a few weeks and then turn her full strength against Britain, it is more important than ever that we help Britain. Do you agree, or disagree with this?

71% Agree

19% Disagree

10% No opinion.

7. The overwhelming majority of Americans still want Russia to win the war with Germany.

In the present war between Germany and Russia, which side would you like to see win -- Germany or Russia?

72% Russia

4% Germany

20% No difference

4% No opinion.

8. Two-thirds of all those with opinions believe that we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa.

(The following split wording indicates that when the President's name is used in this question the "No opinion" vote is reduced.)

President Roosevelt said recently that in order to keep the Germans out of North and South America we must prevent them from capturing the islands off the west coast of Africa. Do you think we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa?

56% Yes
24% No
20% No opinion

It has been said recently that in order to keep the Germans out of North and South America, we must prevent them from capturing the islands off the west coast of Africa. Do you think we should try to keep the Germans out of the islands off the west coast of Africa?

50% Yes
21% Yes
29% No opinion

9. The majority of people disagree with the theory that the United States should back a peace movement to end the war now.

(When Senator Wheeler's name is used in this connection fewer people subscribe to the idea.)

Senator Wheeler says that the power of the United States should be put behind a peace movement to end the war now. Do you agree, or disagree, with Senator Wheeler's statement?

38% Agree
50% Disagree
12% No opinion

It has been said recently that the power of the United States should be put behind a peace movement to end the war now. Do you agree, or disagree?

43% Agree
48% Disagree
9% No opinion.

10. About 20% think we have gone too far in aid to England, another 20% think we have not gone far enough, and half the population thinks we are doing about right in aiding Britain.

When the question is worded using "aid by the United States", as contrasted to "President Roosevelt's policies" more people

answer "Not far enough" when the government rather than the President is involved.

So far as you, personally are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough?

20% Too far
55% About right
19% Not far enough
6% No opinion.

So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think the United States has gone too far in helping Britain, or not far enough?

18% Too far
49% About right
24% Not far enough
9% No opinion.

11. Persons who identify themselves with a higher economic than social group tend more than others to fall in the Non-Interventionist camp.

July 10, 1941

DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN SUBJECTIVE JUDGMENTS OF
 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS

Questions: What income group do you feel you are a member of?
 What social class do you feel you are a member of?

SOCIAL CLASS	INCOME GROUP					Total
	Upper	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Lower	
Upper	17.3 (62.5)	10.4 (7.4)	36.8 (4.4)	13.2 (2.7)	22.3 (4.0)	100.0
Upper Middle	2.9 (22.5)	44.8 (68.8)	32.3 (8.2)	15.1 (6.8)	4.9 (1.9)	100.0
Middle	0.3 (15.0)	2.4 (23.3)	53.6 (85.4)	22.2 (62.1)	21.5 (52.6)	100.0
Lower Middle	0.0 (0.0)	0.3 (0.5)	4.9 (1.3)	57.9 (27.2)	36.9 (15.1)	100.0
Lower	0.0 (0.0)	0.0 (0.0)	3.9 (0.7)	3.6 (1.2)	92.5 (26.4)	100.0
Total	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	

Income Group Identification

Social Class Identification

	1.4	-----	UPPER	-----	4.9	middle or above 81.2
	6.9	-----	UPPER MIDDLE	-----	10.5	
	41.3	-----	MIDDLE	-----	65.8	
middle or below 91.7	23.5	-----	LOWER MIDDLE	-----	11.1	
	26.9	-----	LOWER	-----	7.7	
	100.0				100.0	

Discrepancies

Percentage of total population

Same income and social class	-----	54.3
SOCIAL class regarded as one step higher	-----	22.6
SOCIAL class regarded as 2 steps higher	-----	17.6
SOCIAL class regarded as 3 or more higher	-----	2.3
INCOME group regarded as one step higher	-----	2.7
INCOME group regarded as 2 or more higher	-----	0.5
SOCIAL class regarded as ONE OR MORE STEPS HIGHER	-----	42.5 **

Y. L. Bussell

June 16, 1941

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg

FROM: Hadley Cantril

SUBJECT: The state of public opinion subsequent to the President's Speech of May 27.

These results are based on ballot sent out May 29 which means the bulk of the interviewing was done during the first week of June.

There were several slight but significant shifts in opinion from the middle of May to the time in which these results were gathered. Most noteworthy are:

1. Slight rise in the percentage willing to aid England even at the risk of war. This slight rise stopped a drop that had been going on since the German successes in the Balkans.
2. The percentage of those who think the United States will go into the war has reached a new high point.
3. There is evidence from preliminary analysis of data not included below that the intensity of feeling of both the interventionists' and non-interventionists' side is increasing. This shift in intensity is not revealed by changes in the direction of opinion.

The latest results of interest are the following:

1. Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to do:

39% to keep out of war ourselves, or
58% to help Britain, even at the risk of getting into the war?
3% no choice

2. Which side do you think will win the war - Germany and Italy or Britain?

16% Germany and Italy
55% Britain
6% draw
23% undecided

(NOTE - The reaction to Britain's defeats this spring had a very different effect on public opinion than the conquest of

TO: Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg
June 16, 1941

the Lowlands and France as far as this particular question goes. Since the successful conquest of the Balkans the percentage who think Britain will win has dropped about 28 points. However, there has not been any such rapid rise in the percentage of those who feel that Germany will win as there was at this time last year when more people thought Germany would win than thought England would win. This is certainly due to the fact that people are now identifying themselves more with Britain's Battle and assuming that Britain will win with United States help even though this is not quite explicit in the question itself.)

3. Do you think the United States will go into the war in Europe some time before it is over, or do you think we will stay out of the war?

83% will go in
12% will stay out
5% undecided

4. If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war now against Germany and Italy, how would you vote - to go into war now, or to stay out of the war?

26% go in
69% stay out
5% no opinion

5. Do you think the United States Navy should be used to guard (convoy) ships carrying war materials to Britain?

58% yes
36% no
6% no opinion.

(NOTE - This figure is based on trial tabulations and may vary approximately 4% from the final figure which will probably be published within the next ten days. This large majority in favor of convoying is higher than it has been at any other time.)

For
The President

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Office of Public Opinion Research
203 Eno Hall

*Personal
Confidential*

July 3, 1941

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

Enclosed are some brief summaries of latest results for the President and Mr. Winant, together with some questions and figures. If you prefer that I send data direct to Mr. Winant just let me know the mechanism and I shall do so.

Although these are all trial tabulations, the conclusions seem so clear that I am sending them on at once. I shall get a final, more complete report to you shortly. I am sending only what seems most important. If you or anyone else ever care to see more complete findings just let me know.

These new questions are all on Gallup's ballot, all were my suggestions. But they are Gallup's property to be published, hence to be kept confidential.

I am breathing more easily tonight to see the Catholics following along and wanting Russia to win. Most differences are beginning to close.

(of Aug 27)
You asked about the President's speech. I believe the main reason it had comparatively little effect was that he failed to indicate any new, overt policy that people could readily conceptualize, and that the "national emergency" meant little when it required no change whatever in daily life. The same with Knox and Conveys - the majority already want Conveys and must wonder why we don't convey if Knox, too, is in favor of the idea. I still feel confident the great majority would favor some more dramatic aid to Britain, if it were possible.

Enough editorializing.

As ever,

Huddy

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg
11 West 42 Street
New York City

From Hadley Cantril

July 3, 1941

Summary Interpretations
of Latest Results

1. The Nazi attempt to enlist moral support for a holy war against Russia has so far completely failed here.
2. The overwhelming majority of Americans want Russia to win the war against Germany. Only four per cent want Germany to win.
3. What slight change of opinion concerning aid to Britain has resulted from the Russo-German war is mainly in the direction of favoring more aid to Britain. About seven per cent say the German attack on Russia has shifted their attitudes in favor of more aid to Britain; about four per cent have shifted to less aid to Britain.
- ✕ 4. The Russo-German war has not widened class or religious differences. Almost as many Catholics as Protestants, rich people as poor people want Russia to win. Differences between Catholics and Protestants, rich and poor are only around four per cent.
5. However, a majority of people oppose helping Russia the way we are helping Britain.

* * *

Trends

- ✕ 1. Young people (under 30) of the upper income group are shifting more rapidly toward intervention than any other group.
2. Religious differences concerning aid to Britain are decreasing, although Catholics still remain appreciably less interventionist.
3. Sex differences concerning aid to Britain are increasing slightly - women average about 10 per cent less interventionist than men.
4. More people are now giving as their reason for favoring aid to Britain the military advantages of a help-Britain policy. It is more generally assumed now that we shall sooner or later have to fight the Nazis. Reasons such as "If England loses, we lose" and "Hitler is out to rule the world" are increasing; reasons dealing with our own ideological stakes in a British victory are decreasing.
5. Fifty-five per cent now favor convoys; 35 per cent oppose them; 10 per cent have no opinion.

PRELIMINARY REPORT

Interviewing done during last week of June

In the present war between Germany and Russia, which side would you like to see win - Germany or Russia?

	<u>Total</u>	Catholics	Protestants
Germany	4	6	4
Russia	73	65	74
Makes no difference	17	21	17
No opinion	6	8	5

Which side do you think will win the war - Germany or Russia?

Germany	47
Russia	24
Draw	8
No opinion	21

Has the new war between Germany and Russia changed your attitude toward helping Britain?

	<u>Total</u>	Catholics	Protestants
Yes	11	11	11
No	84	83	83
No opinion	5	6	6

If "Yes," Are you now more in favor, or less in favor, of aiding Britain?

	<u>Total</u>	Catholics	Protestants
More in favor	67		
Less in favor	33		
No opinion	0		

Should the United States government supply Russia with arms, airplanes, and other war materials on the same basis that we supply them to Britain?

Yes	37
No	53
No	10
opin.	

Do you think the United States Navy should be used to convoy ships carrying war materials to Britain?

Yes	55
No	35
No opinion	10

So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough?

Too far	22
About right	56
Not far enough	17
No opinion	5

So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think the United States has gone too far in helping Britain, or not far enough?

Too far	16
About right	47
Not far enough	30
No opinion	7

PSF: Public Opinion
Folder
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OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
Princeton University

Box 429
Princeton, N. J.

Princeton 1714

September 17, 1941

The enclosed report is the first of a series of special studies that the Office of Public Opinion Research hopes to get out during the next year. All reports sent you should be regarded as strictly confidential.

The research of this office is financed by a Foundation grant. Our results are based on surveys of public opinion which use methods comparable to the Gallup Poll and which have the same degree of reliability.

Hadley Cantril

Hadley Cantril
Director

COMPARISON OF OPINIONS OF THOSE WHO
DO AND DO NOT LISTEN TO THE
PRESIDENT'S RADIO TALKS

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

Office of Public Opinion Research
Princeton University

Hadley Cantril, Director
September 17, 1941

(Note: The data reported here are based on surveys of opinion which use the same methods as the Gallup poll. This report does not include the effects of the President's speech of September 11th. Data on this are now being gathered. It is based on data obtained after the speeches of December 29th and of May 27th.)

1. LISTENING TO THE PRESIDENT VARIES WITH INCOME LEVEL. Among members of the upper economic brackets, the ratio in favor of listening to the President's talks is about 3 : 1.

Among the middle class the ratio is around 3 : 1, and in the lower class about 1.5 : 1. (See Table 1, appended)

2. THOSE WHO LISTEN TO THE PRESIDENT'S TALKS ARE MORE INTERVENTIONIST. For example, people in every economic group who listen to the President as contrasted to those of comparable economic groups who do not listen are more of the opinion that (Table 2):

- a. it is more important to help England or to defeat Germany than it is to keep out of the war;
- b. the President has not gone far enough in providing aid to Britain;
- c. the U. S. Navy should be used to convoy.

The opinions of people of comparable economic groups are compared since there is a definite tendency for persons in the upper income groups to be more interventionist. It is of interest to notice that on the question of aid to Britain at the risk of getting into the war vs. stay out of the war, even the people of the lower economic bracket who listen to the President are more interventionist than those in the upper bracket who do not listen to him. The rank order of interventionist opinion on this question is:

Upper income who listen	76% help England at risk of war
Middle	71%
Lower	67%
Upper " " do not listen	63%
Middle	58%
Lower	53%

3. THOSE WHO LISTEN TO THE PRESIDENT'S TALKS ARE MORE OF THE BELIEF THAT THEY WOULD BE PERSONALLY AFFECTED BY A GERMAN VICTORY. Here, again, people who listen are more of this opinion than people who do not listen,

irrespective of economic status. The figures are:

Upper income who listen	88%	believe they would be personally affected
Middle	78%	
Lower	71%	
Upper " " do not listen	66%	
Middle	58%	
Lower	50%	

4. There was a rise of 9 percent in favor of aid to Britain the week following the talk of December 29th. (Table 3). This increased sentiment slipped back, however, to its former level four weeks later. From other data available and from comment analysis, it appears that any increase of interventionist opinion resulting from a Presidential radio address will not be maintained unless the address announces or is shortly followed by some action.

Conclusion

It is impossible to separate cause from effect in the data so far obtained. There is a well known tendency for people not to listen to or to read what they don't agree with or prefer not to know. For example, there is some evidence that newspaper sales and audiences to news broadcasts are smaller (by about 10%) when war news is of German victories than when it is of Allied successes.

However, the fact that people in all economic groups who listen are more for aid to England and realize more the personal consequences of a German victory than persons in comparable economic groups who do not listen, makes it seem safe to conclude that the President's talks do have some influence. If more effort were made to publicize these speeches in advance, especially among the lower income groups, the effect might be more noticeable.

Table 1.

Listening to President's Broadcast of May 27th by Economic Status*

<u>Economic Status</u>	<u>"Did you happen to listen to President Roosevelt's fireside chat Tuesday night (May 27th)?"</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Upper	86%	14%
Middle	74	26
Lower	58	42

*Those who listened to only a part of it or who did not hear but read the speech are omitted.

Table 2.

Variation of Interventionist Sentiment by Listening.

	<u>Economic Status</u>					
	<u>Upper</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Lower</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(Listening)</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Which of these two things do you think is more im- portant for the U.S. to try to do (12/31/40):						
Keep out of war ourselves, or	21%	32%	25%	37%	31%	43%
Help Britain, even at the risk of getting into the war?	76	63	73	59	67	53
(No answer)	3	5	2	4	2	4
So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough? (5/29/41)						
Too far	21	42	19	22	15	21
About right	45	49	51	48	53	50
Not far enough	26	5	25	16	26	12
Don't know	8	4	5	14	6	17
Do you think the U.S. Navy should be used to guard (convoy) ships carrying war materials to Britain? (5/29/41)						
Yes	63	32	65	45	62	47
No	33	59	31	47	32	41
No opinion	4	9	4	8	6	12

Table 3.

Opinion Before and After Fireside Chat of December 29, 1940.

	<u>December 16</u>	<u>December 31</u>	<u>January 22</u>
Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to try to do:			
Keep out of war ourselves,	39%	31%	36%
Help Britain, even at the risk of getting into the war?	57	66	59
No Opinion	4	3	5

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P
Y

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Office of Public Opinion Research
Box 429
Princeton, New Jersey

November 17, 1941

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

Enclosed are some trial tabulations (maybe 4% off final returns) that just came in on an AIPO ballot. Some of the questions are mine.

Particularly interesting are the second and third questions which I have marked. These neatly illustrate the present state of opinion: at least 70 per cent of the people think we must help defeat Germany at any cost. The majority of those with opinions would favor sending an army to Europe IF THEY WERE CONVINCED THIS WERE NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT THE GENERAL GOAL THEY WANT TO ACHIEVE.

The President may get the labor data via another channel but I am including it here anyway.

I am wondering if the President would care for a new edition of my trend charts - brought up to date. They tell a nice story and there are many implications for strategy in them.

Will be in Washington tomorrow (Tuesday) but here the rest of the week.

As ever,

Hadley

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg
11 West 42 Street
New York City

Which of these two things do you think is the more important -

28% That this country keep out of war
69% That Germany be defeated
3% No Choice.

If in trying to defeat Germany, it becomes necessary to send a large American army to Europe, would you favor this step?

Yes - 47% No - 44% No Opinion - 9%

It has been suggested that Congress pass a resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany. Would you favor, or oppose such a resolution at this time?

Favor - 29% Oppose - 61% No Opinion - 10%

So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in opposing Germany, or not far enough?

Too far - 22% About right - 46% Not far enough - 24%
No Opinion - 8%

70%

What do you think is the most important issue before the country today?

Are we going to enter the war?	31%
Speeding up the defense program	12
Getting supplies to Britain and allies	9
Defeating Hitler, retaining American freedom and democracy	9
Keeping out of the war	9
How far we should go in aiding allies	9
Preventing strikes in defense industries	7
Higher cost of living, increased taxes, inflation	6
Promoting world peace	2
Meeting the cost of national defense	2
All others	8
No Opinion	3
	107%*

*Percentages add to more than 100 because some respondents gave more than one answer.

Are you in favor of the "Closed shop" - that is, requiring every worker in a company to belong to a union before he can be hired?

Yes - 17% No - 77% No Opinion - 6%

Should the government forbid strikes in defense industries, or should the workers in those industries continue to have the right to go on strike?

78% Should forbid strikes
18% Should have right to strike
4% No Opinion

What is your opinion of John L. Lewis?

72% Those who disapprove of John L. Lewis
14% Those who approve of him
14% Those who gave no opinion

Those who disapprove of John L. Lewis give answers which range from expressions of strong disapproval, including recommendations of execution and deportation, to more explicit comments as to why they disapprove. These last include:

He is a radical, a Communist; his theories and practices are a menace to the country.
He is a racketeer, out for as much money as he can get.
He has too much power.
He is trying to increase his personal power over business and labor, would like a high political position, wants to be president.
He is unpatriotic, is taking advantage of the present crisis.
He is out for personal revenge against Roosevelt.
He is in league with Hitler.
He is not fitted for the position he holds, is doing labor more harm than good.
He is narrow-minded, sees but one side of the issue.

Those who approve of John L. Lewis include those who think he is capable and sincere, is trying to help labor, has done much for labor in the past, and those who, although they approve of him in general, feel that he has overstepped himself this time.

Have you heard or read about the strike in the captive coal mines which John L. Lewis called last month?

Yes - 84% No - 16%

Those who answered "Yes" were asked: Do you think Lewis was justified in calling this strike?

Yes - (8%) No - (74%) No Opinion (18%)

file
personal

75F Princeton Poll

May-June 1940

December 1940

Ballots # 196, 199, 802

Ballots # 223, 804, 805

<u>Economic Status</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Keep Out</u>	<u>Help Defeat</u>	<u>No Choice</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Keep Out</u>	<u>Help Defeat</u>	<u>No Choice</u>	<u>Total</u>
Upper	Under 30	68%	31%	1%	100%	49%	50%	1%	100%
	30 - 49	55	42	3	100	29	68	3	100
	50 & over	53	44	3	100	34	63	3	100
Middle	Under 30	67	30	3	100	42	55	3	100
	30 - 49	58	38	4	100	35	61	4	100
	50 & over	59	36	5	100	35	62	3	100
Lower	Under 30	66	31	3	100	47	49	4	100
	30 - 49	61	35	4	100	43	53	4	100
	50 & over	68	27	5	100	45	51	4	100

Breakdowns on the question: "Which of these two things do you
think is the more important for the United States to try to do-

- To keep out of war ourselves, or
- To help England win, even at the risk of getting into
the war
(alternate on this last part - to defeat Germany,
even at the risk of our getting into the war?)

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Office of Public Opinion Research
203 Eno Hall

TSF: Princeton Public Opinion
Folder

file
per mail

May 20, 1941

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

Here is some more information. No late figures but
new presentations, etc.

Did you ever see Abe Lincoln's statement (made to
Douglas just after his inauguration): "What I want is to get
done what the people desire to have done, and the question for
me is how to find that out exactly."

As ever,

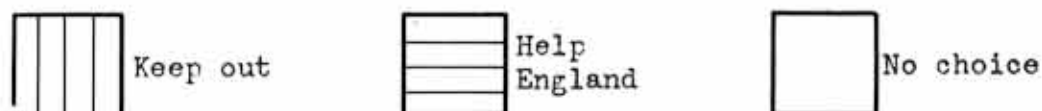
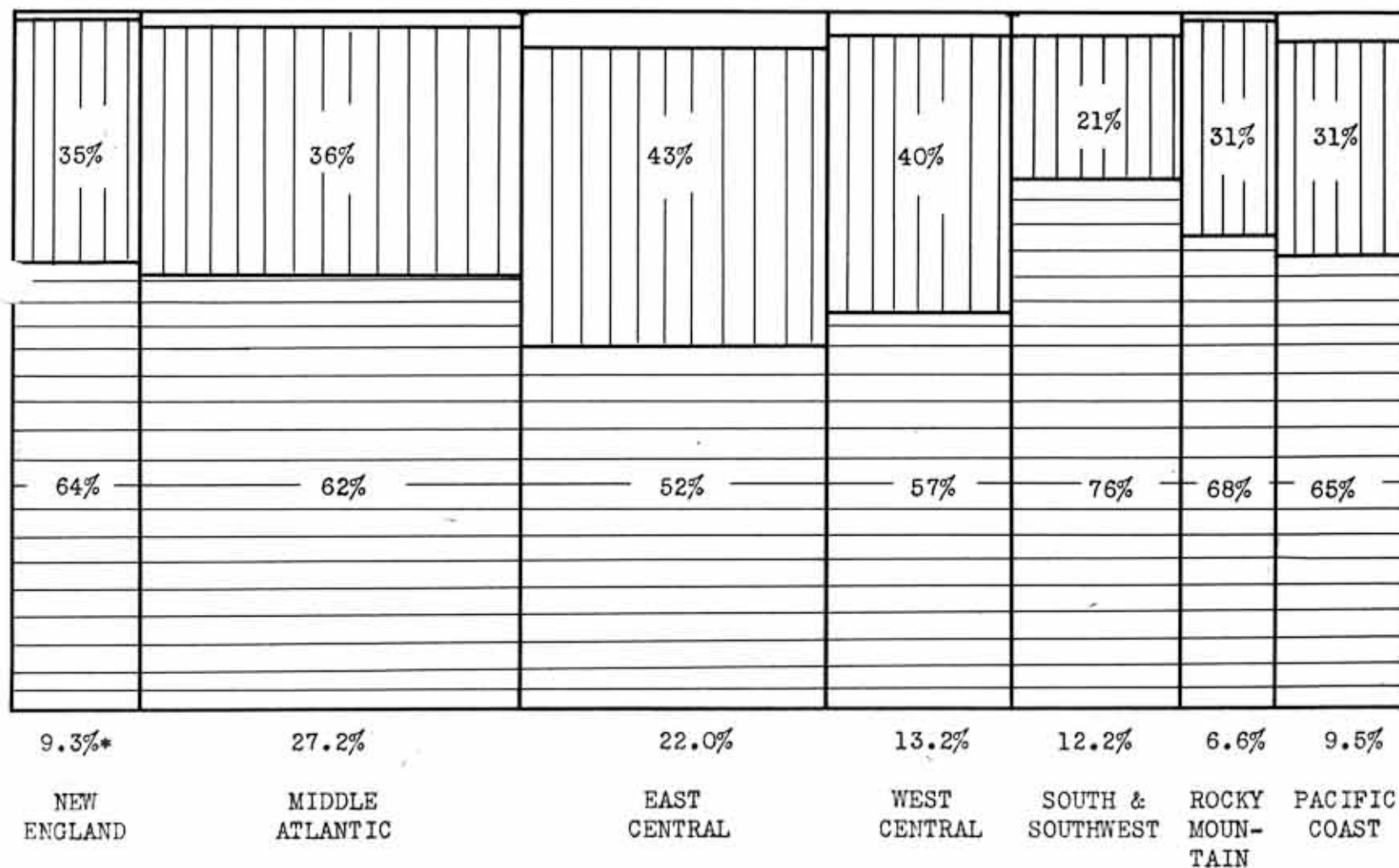
H. A. A. A.

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg
11 West 42 St.
New York City

SECTIONAL VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDE PATTERNS

Question: "Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to try to do -- To keep out of war ourselves, or To help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war?"

Keep out 35%
Help England 62%
No choice 3%



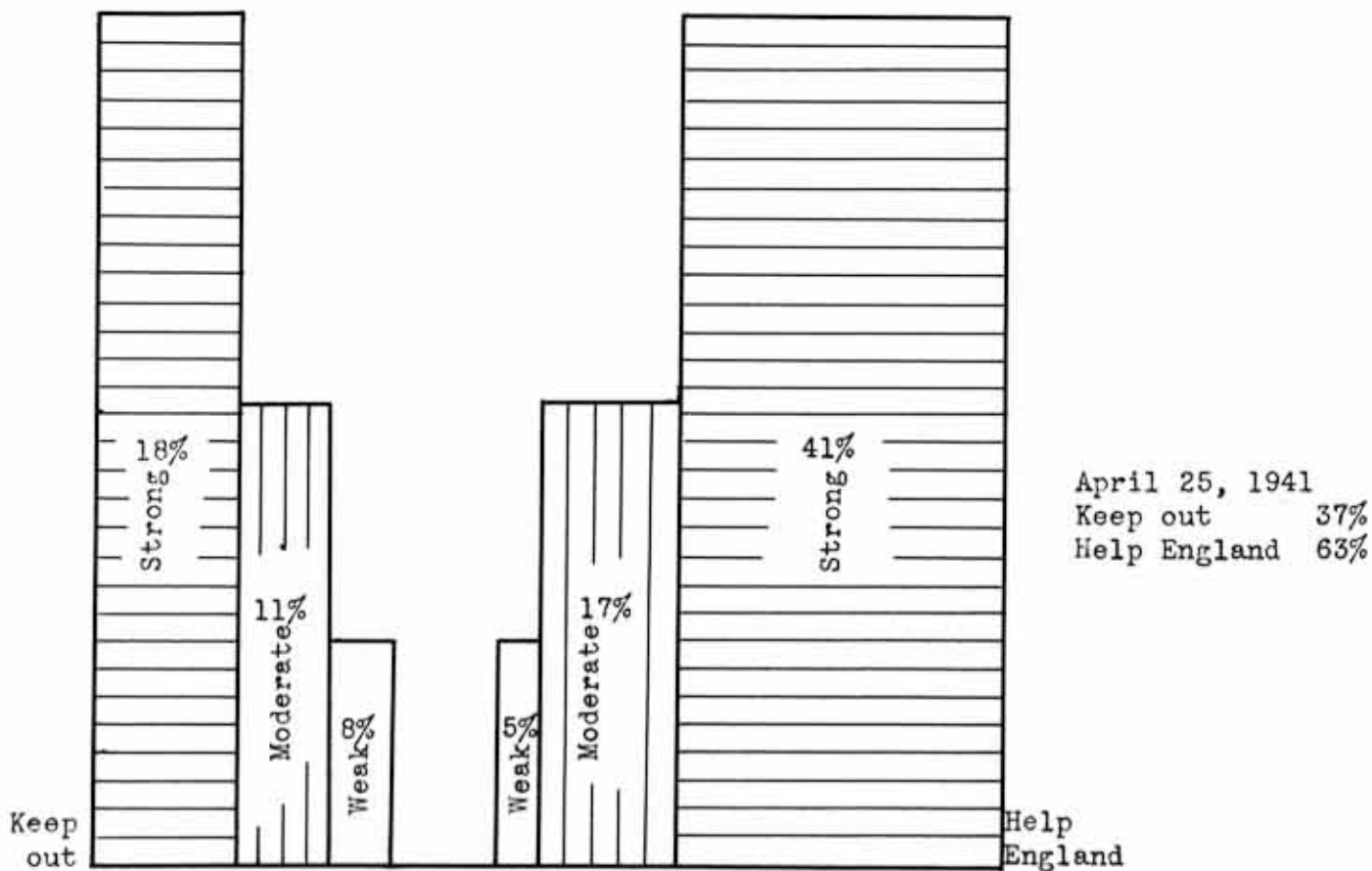
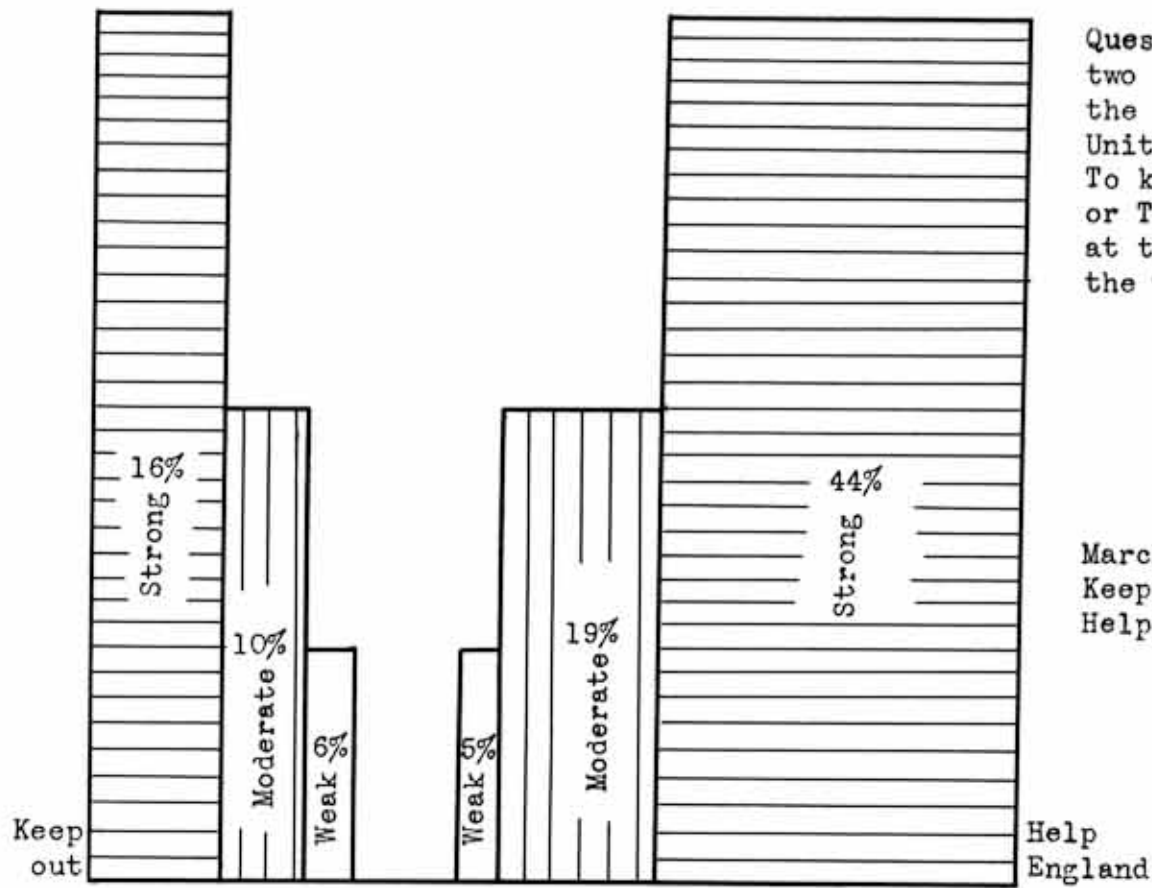
*Percent of political sample of national population

April 25, 1941

Princeton Public Opinion Research Project

INTENSITY OF OPINION

(Note: height of bars indicates relative intensity of opinion; width equals percentage of population in each category.)



PSF
P.O. Polls

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
personal

9-26-41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Anna Rosenberg gave me this for
you to read at your leisure.

E. M. W.

PSF: Public Opinion Polls

CIVILIAN OPINION TOWARD ARMY MORALE

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

Office of Public Opinion Research
Princeton University

Hadley Cantril
Donald Rugg

November 10, 1941

THIS MEMO IS IN NO SENSE A THOROUGH STUDY
OF THE PROBLEM. IT MERELY REPRESENTS A
SOMEWHAT MORE THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN
DATA AVAILABLE WHICH MIGHT BE OF PARTICULAR
INTEREST TO THOSE CONCERNED WITH THE PROB-
LEM OF ARMY MORALE.

In late August 1941, the American Institute of Public Opinion asked the question "From what you have heard or read, do you think the spirit (morale) of drafted men in the Army is good, or poor?". The Institute reported the following national percentages:

Good	39%
Fair	22%
Poor	25%
Undecided	14%

More detailed comparison of the answers to this question with the answers to other questions on the same ballot, show three significant tendencies.

1. People who personally know someone in the army are able to give more opinions on army morale - their "undecided" vote is 9 per cent as contrasted to the 29 per cent "undecided" vote of people not acquainted with someone in the army. (Table 1) Adjusting for the "don't know" vote there is, however, no difference between opinion as to whether morale is good or bad in the army.

2. THOSE WHO ARE RELATIVELY SATISFIED WITH THE STATE OF ARMY MORALE ARE MORE INTERVENTIONIST THAN THOSE WHO ARE MORE SKEPTICAL OF IT. For example people who think morale is good believe more than others that President Roosevelt has not gone far enough in helping Britain, that the law should be changed to permit drafted men to be sent outside the Western Hemisphere, that we should declare war on Germany, and that we should risk war if necessary to prevent further Japanese expansion. (Table 2)

3. Although persons in the upper income group are in general more interventionist and although interventionists have a higher opinion of army morale than non-interventionists, it appears that upper income people do not believe army morale is as high as lower income people do. (Table 3) This apparent inconsistency turns out to be due to the fact that LOW INCOME INTERVENTIONISTS WHO KNOW SOMEONE IN THE ARMY HAVE BY FAR THE MOST FAVORABLE OPINION OF ARMY MORALE. (Table 4) It seems likely that a major reason for this state of affairs might be traced to the greater contentment of army men who come from low income families, whose standard of living and ambitions have in general not been quite so drastically changed, and whose morale is reflected by those who know them and approve of a strong defense program.

Table I

Comparison of the Opinions Toward Army Morale of Those Who do and
do not know Army Men

Do you know anyone
personally who is in
the army now?

From what you have heard or read, do you
think the spirit (morale) of drafted men
in the army is good, or poor?

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	41%	23%	27%	9%	100%
No	34	19	18	29	100

Table II

Opinion on Army Morale Versus Opinions on Other War Issues

From what you have heard or read, do you think the spirit (morale) of drafted men in the Army is good, or poor?

So far as you, personally, are concerned, do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough?

	<u>Too far</u>	<u>About Right</u>	<u>Not far enough</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
Good	13%	54%	29%	4%	100%
Fair	19	54	22	5	100
Poor	35	39	21	5	100

The Army has asked Congress to change the law which says drafted men cannot be sent to fight outside of North or South America or this country's possessions. Do you think Congress should give the Army power to send drafted soldiers to any part of the World?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
Good	44%	51%	5%	100%
Fair	37	59	4	100
Poor	31	66	3	100

If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote--to go into war, or to stay out of the war?

	<u>Go In</u>	<u>Stay Out</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
Good	28%	65%	7%	100%
Fair	19	76	5	100
Poor	18	78	4	100

Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking war with Japan?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total</u>
Good	77%	15%	8%	100%
Fair	69	19	12	100
Poor	64	26	10	100

Table III

Opinions on Army Morale By Economic Status

From what you have heard or read, do you think
the spirit (morale) of drafted men in the Army
is good, or poor:

<u>Economic Status</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
Upper	33%	26%	30%	11%	100%
Middle	39	24	28	9	100
Lower	43	19	21	17	100

Table IV

Comparison, By Economic Status, of Interventionists and Non-interventionists
On the Question of Army Morale*

From what you have heard or read, do you think
the spirit (morale) of drafted men in the Army
is good, or poor?

<u>Economic Status</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total</u>
Average) Interventionist	38%	26%	27%	9%	100%
or above) Non-Interventionist	33	26	33	8	100
Below) Interventionist	54	18	15	13	100
average) Non-Interventionist	37	21	27	15	100

*For the purposes of this comparison, "interventionists" were defined as those who replied "yes" to the question: "The Army has asked Congress to change the law which says drafted men cannot be sent to fight outside of North or South America or this country's possessions. Do you think Congress should give the Army power to send drafted soldiers to any part of the World?". "Non-interventionists were defined as those who said "no".

11/12/41

21

*File
Personal
Confidential*

PSF: Public Opinion Poll

*Elmer Peters**Paul Felt
Monroe*I. AFTER THE WAR: PORTRAIT OF GLOOM

Unlike the people of many warring countries, the American here appears convinced that the sun will never shine as brightly after the storm as it did before. The German may visualize the New Order in all its centralized glory, and the Briton is dead certain that the post-war world will be an immensely better place to live in, but the American sees nothing so good as the world he left behind him. Not that he doubts the military outcome of the war. He is overwhelmingly sure of victory in the field, but defeat at home. Even his prejudicial optimism about his children's opportunities to make good has declined steeply. Does this state of mind help account for his lingering reluctance to do what he knows must be done? Certainly his appetite for the job would be a lot sharper if he could look forward to something more than a few medals after it is all over.

#

People think they will work harder for less money;

They also think they will pay higher prices

#

After the present war is over, do you think people will have to work harder, about the same, or not as hard as before it started?

#

Harder.....69.9%

About the same.....18.0

Not as hard..... 7.1

Don't know..... 5.0

#

Thus, in one fell swoop, does the public dispense with any notion that post-bellum life will be one of greater leisure. More of the upper income groups think we will have to work harder, doubtless because they are generally most worried by economic and social trends. The Negroes, factory workers, very poor, and unemployed are not so positive, but anywhere from 54 per cent to 65 per cent of these groups count on working harder. That a fairly big minority of unemployed should think folks will work no harder or less hard probably does not spring from a conviction that their enforced leisure will continue; indeed, their answers to questions about employment after the war (below) show they anticipate more employment than the average. Apparently they are relatively less pessimistic. Hope, as usual, springs eternal in men who have little save hope to console them.

#

After the present war is over, do you think people
will be paid more, about the same, or less than before it started?

More.....10.9%

About the same.....21.2

Less.....60.5

Don't know..... 7.4

#

In general, the same reaction patterns obtained here as in the previous question. Negroes and unemployed, for instance, are less inclined to see lower wages. Combining the majority opinion here with the majority opinion in the previous question, we arrive at the synthetic opinion that people will work harder for less. It could be argued that this eventuality would occur on a national scale only as the result of scrapping much labor-saving machinery. But remember that people respond according to the dictates of their feeling at the time. This reply may not seem strictly consistent with the previous one, but there is nothing inconsistent about the pessimism that provoked it.

1 line #

After the present war is over, do you think that people will have to pay higher prices for things, about the same for things, or less for things, than before it started?

Higher prices.....	43.2%
About the same.....	20.4
Less.....	29.6
Don't know.....	6.8

1 line #

-

-

-

-

By this time, judging from the moderate vote for higher prices, it has occurred to many that prices may not be higher if people are working harder, or for less, or for both. But these replies, which vary comparatively little by age groups, geography, and economic and occupational levels, again demonstrate a consistency of feeling rather than a significant attempt by people to make their answers to this question dovetail with those to the preceding ones. The three questions were addressed separately to folks who plainly are full of doubt and depression about the future; their answers were phrased not in terms of a reasonably well integrated prediction but in terms of a vague dread. Cross-tabulation of the three sets of answers shows that the majority for one ~~presumptive~~ proposition generally was generally part of the majority for the other two. The pessimistic, in brief, were consistently pessimistic.

1 line #

Most people think there will be lots of unemployment;

And nearly half say it will be bad or worse than last time.

1 line #

And now emerges a veiw of the world to come that is specific as a skeleton and comprehensive as a panorama. Everybody who lived through the last depression can supply the details.

1 line #

After the war, do you think there will be jobs for everybody, some unemployment, or lots of unemployment?

1 line #

Jobs for everybody 11.3%
 Some unemployment 22.8
 Lots of unemployment 60.7
 Don't know 5.2

1 line #

Here again the figures are typical of nearly all people. The top income group, top executives, students, and those who voted for Willkie are most pessimistic, all showing percentages around 70 for lots of unemployment. But 27 per cent of the Negroes, 21 per cent of the farm hands, and 18 per cent of the unemployed (as against 11 per cent for the average) think there will be jobs for everybody; while only 38 per cent of the Negroes and 43 per cent of the farm hands foresee lots of unemployment. Geographically the variations are not worth attention. But how much unemployment is "lots of unemployment"? Let us dissect the opinion of the 60.7 per cent.

1 line #

(Asked of people who think there will be lots of unemployment after the war) Will there be more, about the same, or less unemployment than the worst of the last depression?

	Percentage of those answering	Percentage of Population
More	51.5%	00.0%
Same	29.2	00.0
Less	12.8	00.0
Don't know	6.5	00.0

} 80.7%

Thus better than 80 per cent of those asked, or nearly half of the people, think the impending depression will be as bad or worse than the last one. The question arises: would people entertain similar notions if the war had not come closer? Fortunately, the question can be answered with considerable accuracy.

People see opportunities fading;

Their children will have a harder time of it.

#

Almost two years ago, in the issue of FORTUNE devoted to the achievements and potentialities of the U.S.A., the Survey found that the American was individualistic and optimistic. Despite the years of depression, he hoped for a splendid future for himself and his children. A key question dealt with his estimates of his son's opportunities to succeed. This Survey repeated the question:

1 line #

Do you think your son's opportunities to succeed will be better than, or not as good as, those you have?*

* People without sons were asked to assume they had one.

	February, 1940	December, 1941
Better	59.9%	37.3%
Not as good	15.0	30.7
Same	10.3	19.3
Not comparable ...	2.3	1.8
Don't know	12.5	10.9

1 line #

This is the kind of a question people find easy to answer optimistically. They naturally hope their sons have more ability and luck than they have, and they allow their hopes to influence their answers. Indeed, the majority of those who (in this Survey) said their sons' chances will be better also opined that there will be lots of unemployment. Making allowance for this phenomenon, the current figures are bad enough in themselves. But compared to the answers of less than two years ago, they depict a decline in fundamental optimism that is little short of alarming.

Geographic breakdown discloses that the Mountain States tend to be unusually pessimistic, showing only a 27 per cent vote for "better." The big majority of Negroes have high hopes for their offspring. The upper income groups, on the other hand, are somewhat more pessimistic than the average, apparently because they anticipate more government control of industry: cross-tabulating these answers with those to the next question shows that people most dubious about their sons' chances also are most certain that government will regulate more industry after the war. But such cases of minority reasoning are dwarfed by the half-reasoned, half-felt reaction of the people as a whole, who fear that history will play the same (or worse) grim jest on them that it did a few years ago.

II AFTER THE WAR: PORTRAIT OF THE GOVERNMENT

People anticipate more government regulation of industry

Because they want more government regulation.

#

After the war is over, do you think there will be more, the same or less government regulation of:

	More	Same	Less	Don't know
Public utilities	46.4%	22.4%	8.2%	23.0%
Farming	40.2	28.0	13.0	18.8
Railroads	38.9	25.6	10.0	25.5
The oil business	37.8	20.5	10.0	31.7
Banking	36.3	36.0	6.1	22.6
The steel business	34.9	18.9	13.0	33.2
Milk distribution	33.4	27.3	8.8	30.5
Auto manufacturing	30.6	22.5	20.2	26.7

So public utilities come out doomed to more government regulation by the largest percentage, and farming is next on the list. But it would be interesting to know just how much regulation of farming people think exists already; the chances are most of them are not aware of the magnitude of indirect controls already held by the government. Auto manufacturing is obviously favored greatly; it receives not only the smallest vote for more regulation, but the largest vote for less regulation after the war. But these figures, like the statistically correct Average

American who exists only on paper, embrace so wide a range of opinion they hide many significant and interesting variations. Here they are broken down by selected occupations:

	Average	Salaried Executives	Farm hands	Professional men
Public utilities				
More	46.4%	65.4%	27.6%	64.3%
Don't know ...	23.0	4.7	36.7	7.6
Farming				
More	40.2	47.9	29.0	47.1
Don't know	18.8	5.7	27.6	9.35
Railroads				
More	38.9	55.0	26.2	60.2
Don't know	25.5	8.1	36.7	9.0
Oil Business				
More	37.8	53.6	25.8	51.4
Don't know	31.7	8.5	43.0	13.3
Banking				
More	36.3	54.5	20.8	53.8
Don't know	22.6	3.8	38.9	9.1
Steel business				
More	34.9	48.3	24.0	48.6
Don't know	33.2	11.9	41.6	14.2
Milk Distribution				
More	33.4	46.5	16.7	52.4
Don't know	30.5	19.9	40.3	14.7
Auto Manufacturing				
More	30.6	36.0	21.7	36.2
Don't know	26.7	9.5	38.9	11.9

So the higher the rank and income, the smaller the percentage of "Don't know" and the larger the percentage predicting government regulation. White collar workers are generally above average, but not so much as their bosses; laborers come close to the average; and the unemployed are below, but not so far below as farm hands. Since these figures represent the extremes, they account for only a small fraction of the total, the rest of which lies scattered between them, and can contradict the average without affecting it notably. Thus we find salaried executives, who are against further government control, foreseeing more regulation; but we also find, by the next breakdown, that the average person is a wishful thinker who has merely predicted what he approves. Asked whether the regulation they predicted is good or bad, in every case the majority of people (and in most cases, the great majority) approved:

Opinion	Degree of Regulation			Industry
	More	Same	Less	
Good.....	60.7	71.4	62.2)	Public utilities
Bad.....	29.9	13.6	23.8)	
Good.....	58.7	70.5	74.6)	Farming
Bad.....	33.1	19.7	17.8)	
Good.....	56.3	70.7	60.2)	Railroads
Bad.....	32.4	13.8	25.9)	
Good.....	58.2	73.9	70.3)	Oil business
Bad.....	30.8	13.0	16.2)	
Good.....	59.9	84.3	51.9)	Banking
Bad.....	30.4	7.5	37.9)	
Good.....	58.5	73.1	66.2)	Steel business
Bad.....	31.8	14.4	18.9)	

Good.....	67.7	77.8	71.3)	Milk distribution
Bad.....	25.9	10.6	19.4)	
Good.....	56.2	74.8	79.3)	Auto manufacturing
Bad.....	32.9	11.9	11.3)	

1 line #

Especially worth noting is the size of the minority -- "bad thing" -- vote by those who predict more government regulation. It hovers around 30 per cent for every industry. Its size is accounted for by people who are willing or know enough about the subject to predict what they do not prefer -- the managerial, professional, and other above-average income groups. But ironically they are far outnumbered by the people who merely anticipate what they prefer. And the above tabulation therefore provides a good idea of what the average American now hopes will happen after the war. And remember that although the average American is a statistical creation existing only on paper, his opinion is nevertheless the one that counts.

#

They see the New Deal continued as is or made stronger because they want it continued as is or made stronger

#

After the war, do you think the aims and programs of the New Deal will be --

Partly or entirely done away with.....	30.0%	
Continued as is.....	20.5)	50.3%
Made stronger than ever.....	29.8)	
Don't know.....	19.7	

Breakdown by sex, age, economic level, occupation, and geography contributes only a little to the analysis of the answers: Negroes are considerably below average in prophesying the New Deal's doom, and professional men and executives are above average in foretelling its further ascendance. Extreme interventionists are more inclined than the average to think it will grow stronger, and people who voted for Willkie still seem hopeful that the New Deal will be ousted. But the significant fact about the responses is that people have again largely indulged in wishful thinking. Asked what they thought of their predictions, the overwhelming majority approved of them. So the x above tabulation, too, provides a fairly accurate idea of what the average American now hopes will happen after the war.

III. THE WAR TODAY: AMERICA GOES INTERNATIONALIST

Inclined to be realistic, the people see a long war.

They also see the Allies victorious.

The average man's estimate of the war's duration seems to make little concession to wishful thinking. This, of course, may be one reason for his pessimism about post-war times. Aware that the problem of shifting from all-out war to peace is a forbidding and complicated one, he knows that the longer the war lasts, the worse the problem becomes. Here is the

verdict on the conflict's duration:

Regardless of what you hope, how long do you think
the war will last?

Less than six months.....	.8%	
Six months to a year.....	4.6	
One to two years.....	14.5	
Two to five years.....	37.8	50.2%
Five to ten years.....	9.7	
Ten years and over.....	2.7	
Depends on what the U.S. does.....	5.9	
Depends on what Russia does.....	1.4	
Depends on other factors.....	1.1	
Don't know.....	22.0	

Less than 5 per cent agree with New York City's Mayor La Guardia, who announced early in November that Hitler's goose would be well done within a year. Since World War II is already more than two years old, a majority is counting on a conflict of longer duration than World War I. Note that only a small percentage makes the thoughtful observation that the war's length depends on what the U.S. does, and that an almost negligible percentage makes the equally thoughtful observation that it depends on what Russia does. As for the rather sizeable "don't know" group, some of these may have given the matter too much thought to come to a conclusion; others may

have given it too little. In any event, analysis of their responses to the next question reveals that 41 per cent of them (equal to less than 5 per cent of the total population) think the Axis or neither side will win. The vast majority of people, of course, believe otherwise:

Taking everything into consideration, which side do you think will win the war?

Allies.....72.5%

Axis..... 7.0

Neither..... 4.3

Don't know.....16.2

The vote for the Allies is decisive in all groups and geographical divisions. But since the remaining 27.5 per cent may be described as lacking confidence in the Allies' ability to fight a successful war, this minority is worth attention. Breakdown of the pessimistic 7 per cent vote shows that it tends to run a little heavy among the poor and unemployed, and lightest among executives. Breakdown of the "neither" vote discloses that it is stronger among wealthy, the people who voted for Willkie, and the isolationists. The "don't know" votes run lowest among executives (who are also surer the Allies will win), and highest among housewives, Negroes, and isolationists. Geographically, they are highest in the West North Central, South Atlantic, and Mountain States, and those in effect reduce the size of the vote for an Allied victory. So the West North

Central States, by way of extreme example, are only 59.4% sure of an Allied victory.

The public's war temperature rises

And it is more willing than ever to implement a shooting war.

The following questions, which chart the people's attitude toward intervention, were part of the last two Surveys. Repeated again, they show a notable shift in public opinion. ^{isolationists} The extreme/~~interventionists~~ show a 60 per cent decline, the extreme interventionists a 00 per cent increase.

Which one of the following statements most nearly represents your attitude toward the present war?

	October Survey	December Survey
Those who think this is our war are wrong, and the people of this country should resist to the last ditch any move that would lead us any further toward war	17.4%	12.7
A lot of mistakes have brought us close to a war that isn't ours, but now that it's done we should support in full the government's program	23.1	27.5
While at first it looked as though this was not our war, it now looks as though we should back England until Hitler is beaten	40.7	39.0
It is our war as well as England's, and we should have been in there fighting with her before this ..	10.7	15.0
Don't know	8.1	5.8

The willingness to use our armed forces has increased even more than our nominal tendency toward intervention:

(Asked of the 27.5 per cent who think the government program should be supported even if the war is not ours and the 39 per cent who think we should now back Hitler) Would you be willing to see our navy used if necessary? Our air force?

Our army?

	Navy		Air Force		Army	
	October	December	October	December	October	December
Yes	81.4%	90.8%	79.2%	89.5%	67.6%	78.4%
No	11.1	5.8	12.6	7.0	22.4	16.9
Don't know	7.5	3.4	8.2	3.5	10.0	4.7

In every case, the "Yes" figures work out to more than a majority of the population. Add to them the 15 per cent who think we should have been fighting before this (all of whom are presumably for using the armed forces), and you have big majorities for using all branches of the armed forces -- if necessary.

The people have become international-minded,

and even show signs of an aroused imperialism

By the middle of last summer the American people had become war-minded, ready to act the part of a deputy sheriff, perhaps, but they still clung tenaciously to their inherent isolationism. The August Survey reported that only 7 per cent would have us join a union of democracies; the burden of public

opinion was for throttling the aggressor and minding our own business. Since then public opinion has not merely reversed itself, but has traveled fast and far in the opposite direction. Maybe people were not as reconciled to the idea of fighting war a few months ago as they are now, and revealed their inner doubts when asked questions about war aims; or maybe the course of world events has forced them to their new stand. In any event, that stand is now unmistakable.

After the war, do you think the United States should play a larger part, about the same part, or a smaller part in world affairs than it did up to a couple of years ago?

Larger.....	58.4%
About the same....	18.3
Smaller.....	10.1
Don't know.....	13.2

This response is also typical of all groups, with no breakdown showing more than 10 per cent variation from the average. The chief of these variations consists of a more tempered internationalism among the very poor, Negroes, housewives, and in the West North Central and Mountain States. Executives, on the other hand, are extremely international-minded -- about 90 per cent for taking a larger part in world affairs. Cross tabulation shows there is correlation between the replies to this question and the replies to the questions on post-war internal conditions; that is to say, people for America's taking a larger

in world affairs are no more or no less pessimistic about post-war times than the average. Cross-tabulation also shows that a good majority of those who think we should get no trade rights or territories vote for a "larger" part. And another breakdown shows, ironically enough, that even 50 per cent of the 7 per cent minority who think the Axis will win the war are for our taking a larger part in world affairs.

To find out just what people envision when they think of "larger" part in world affairs, those who plumped for a "larger" part were then asked:

<u>Which one of these is closest to the course you would like to see the United States follow?</u>		
Limit our activities to Western Hemisphere defense.....	Per cent of those answering 11.8%	Per cent of population 00%
Join a union of democracies in all parts of the world to keep order.....	59.7	00.0
Join forces with just Great Britain to keep order.....	11.0	00.0
Try, all by ourselves, to keep order.....	11.4	00.0
Don't know.....	6.1	0.0

So 82 per cent of this group would have the U.S. assume at least part of the job of keeping order in the world. This works out to nearly half of all people questioned. Even the extreme isolationists by a curious reverse -- or lapse -- in logic, are very internationally-minded, at least in answering these questions. Nearly 41 per cent would join a union of democracies, ^{and} no less than 22 per cent -- about twice the average

vote -- would have us try to keep order all by ourselves. Of course, 63 per cent of the extreme isolationists amount to only 8 per cent of the total. But it looks as if many isolationists were frustrated imperialists who don't precisely mean "America first" but America "uber alles." It is just possible, moreover, that all public opinion is swinging that way:

Should we, or should we not, get either foreign territory or trade rights in other countries in return for whatever we do to beat Hitler?

Yes.....61.6%

No.....24.6

Don't know....13.8

This unblushingly imperialist attitude can be found in the mental baggage of people in all groups, all classes, all districts. Only in the Mountain States do the "yes" votes fall below 50 per cent, and there by a mere trifle. The factory hands are 10 per cent above average in approval. And almost 51 per cent of the people who think we should resist to the last ditch ~~may~~ any move toward war believe we should get a reward for helping to beat Hitler if we do. Does all this mean that the leaders of public opinion have been playing the wrong music? Are Americans more attuned to the blunt war-cry of "practical" men than to the old-time hymns of the idealists?

end

MILITARY VICTORY: ECONOMIC DEFEAT

After the War

WE WILL HAVE TO WORK HARDER say 69.9% of the people

WE WILL GET PAID LESS say 60.5% of the people

WE WILL HAVE TO PAY HIGHER PRICES say 63.6% of the people

THERE WILL BE LOTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT say 60.7% of the people

11 20
BUREK
11/12/41
BUREK

J. Roosevelt 11:91m.

MacLure 11 30

THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT
SURVEY OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
AND THE ADJACENT AREAS
THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEY
WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE
PUBLIC IN THE NEAR FUTURE

THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT

THESE ARE THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT

PSF: Public Opinion
Polls

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
personal

11-28-41

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Anna Rosenberg gave me this
and said perhaps you would have time to
look it over during your trip.


E.M.W.

Princeton Public
Opinion Folder
4-41

PSF: Public
Opinion Polls

PUBLIC OPINION AND LABOR PROBLEMS

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

Office of Public Opinion Research
Princeton University

Hadley Cantril
Frederic Swift

November 11, 1941

SUMMARY: Analysis of some recent results from the American Institute of Public Opinion Polls shows that although the American people say that they are in favor of labor unions, they are actually opposed to the Union Shop, the closed shop, and strikes in defense industries. They believe in greater regulation of unions by the government, and have greater confidence in business leaders than in labor leaders. Even a majority of union members are in favor of forbidding strikes in defense industries and believe many union leaders are racketeers.

The situation seems to be that there is an acknowledged respect for the rights of the laboring man -- for some groups this is merely the well-known lip service, but for others, including the majority of union members, there is a feeling that the present mechanisms for gaining labor's rights and the present labor leadership involved are far from satisfactory.

This memo brings together a number of recent results gathered by The American Institute of Public Opinion on the general topic of public opinion toward labor issues. A list of recent questions with their results is given in Table I. These results indicate that the American people approve of labor unions in principle, but are not in favor of many specific practices of labor unions, and have little trust in labor union leaders. People are particularly intolerant when labor struggles interfere with National Defense. Most of the people (61%) believe that many labor union leaders are Communists, and even more (73%) believe that many of them are racketeers. Foreign agitators and graft in the unions are put first and second as causes of today's labor troubles, and Labor unions are ranked third (after Nazis and Communists) among organized groups which are trying to overthrow our government. The people favor stricter government supervision of labor unions, especially with respect to their accounting practices. The blame for labor troubles is placed very largely on the labor leaders, less on business leaders, and very little on the government or the President.

It is worth noting that there is a limit to the amount of regulation of labor the public wants. This limit has not been clearly defined by the questions asked to date, but it is indicated by the fact that people are opposed to a bill that would classify strikers as traitors. Nevertheless, they do not favor unionization of government employees.

Those people who say they favor unions apparently do not mean it without reservation. Of those who are in favor of unions, three-quarters feel that unions should be regulated to a greater extent, but less than half feel that business should be further regulated. Of this same group, about one-eighth believe that union leaders are helping the National Defense program as much as they should, whereas over two-fifths believe that business leaders are helping as much as they should.

This same group was examined with respect to their attitude on the union and closed shop. Sixty-two per cent of those who favor unions nevertheless are opposed to the union shop, and 55% of the same group are opposed to the closed shop. From these results it would appear that there is a large group who pay lip service to unionism, but who are in fact opposed to much that unions stand for.

Who are the people in favor of prohibiting strikes in defense industries? The answer seems to be practically everybody. Even a majority of union members themselves, both CIO and AF of L favor forbidding defense strikes. This majority, (54% and 64% respectively) is smaller than that in the nation as a whole (77%) but it is nevertheless a majority.

The occupational breakdown shows the same thing: skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers vote by a smaller majority to forbid such strikes, but nevertheless a clear majority are opposed to them.

The breakdowns by section reveal the South to be most strongly and consistently opposed to defense strikes. On the other hand, the Middle Atlantic States are least unified with respect to their attitudes toward forbidding defense strikes. In this section, every breakdown yields significant differences, between economic groups, between age groups, and between different sized towns and cities.

In general, throughout the country young people, lower income people, and persons living in large cities are more inclined to tolerate strikes.

It is worth noting that the "no opinion" vote throughout is unusually small (around 5%) indicating that most people have already made up their minds on this issue.

Last March, the following question was asked, "Westbrook Pegler, the newspaper writer, says that many union leaders are racketeers. Do you agree or disagree?" This October a similar question was asked: "Do you believe that many labor union leaders are racketeers?" When the results of these two surveys are pooled, we find that a majority of each age, sex, and economic group, and even members of each union agree that many union leaders are racketeers. If the wording is changed to "some union leaders", only 5.2% will disagree with the statement.

The number of cases in the two ballots is too small to draw any valid conclusions about changes within groups between the two dates (there was no significant change for the population as a whole), but it looks very much as though a number of AF of L members who were in doubt in March have since made up their minds that they agree with Pegler. On the other hand, some non-union people who were in doubt in March have apparently since decided that they do not agree with the statement.

Analysis of the questions "Do you think union leaders are helping the national defense production program as much as they should?" and "Do you think industrial (business) leaders are helping the national

defense production program as much as they should?" shows that confidence in labor leaders and confidence in business leaders vary inversely, the upper economic classes having the most faith in business leaders and the least in labor leaders, and the lower economic classes show the reverse tendency. The same point is illustrated by the occupational breakdown, where professional people and business managers show the greatest faith in business leaders and the least in labor leaders, while semi-skilled and unskilled labor show the reverse. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in no group does faith in labor leaders rise as high as the lowest point to which faith in management falls, in other words, in every group shown on this breakdown there is more confidence in management than in labor leaders.

TABLES

FIGURE I



Percent who say they are in favor of labor unions.

Table I

Labor Practices

ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF THE UNION SHOP---THAT IS, REQUIRING EVERY WORKER IN A COMPANY TO JOIN A UNION AFTER HE IS HIRED? 10/1/41

Yes	39%	No	52%	No Opinion	9%
-----	-----	----	-----	------------	----

ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF THE CLOSED SHOP--THAT IS, REQUIRING EVERY WORKER IN A COMPANY TO BELONG TO A UNION BEFORE HE CAN BE HIRED?

Yes	15%	No	76%	No Opinion	9%
-----	-----	----	-----	------------	----

SHOULD COMPANIES HAVING A CLOSED OR UNION SHOP TAKE UNION DUES OUT OF THE WORKER'S PAY ENVELOPES AND TURN THE MONEY OVER TO THE UNION, OR SHOULD THE UNIONS COLLECT THE DUES THEMSELVES? 10/1/41

Companies collect	16%
Unions collect	59
Other	4
No Opinion	21

Labor Leaders

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT MANY LABOR UNION LEADERS ARE COMMUNISTS? 10/7/41

National--Yes	60.9%	No	25.2%	No Opinion	13.9%
---------------	-------	----	-------	------------	-------

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT MANY LABOR UNION LEADERS ARE RACKETEERS? 10/7/41

Yes	73.2%	No	17.1%	No Opinion	9.7%
-----	-------	----	-------	------------	------

Table I (cont'd)

Labor Troubles

WHAT DO YOU THINK IS CAUSING THE LABOR TROUBLE AT THIS TIME?

Foreign agitators, propaganda to hinder defense production, 5th columnists	29.2%
Graft in unions, union leaders	17.7
Increased cost of living but no rise in wages	11.0
Wage question, dissatisfied workers	9.1
Labor unions	8.8
Greed, avarice of worker	6.9
Lack of patriotism	6.6
Administration policies	6.0
Capital unfair to labor, profits not distributed fairly	5.7
Competition between unions	3.1
Boom in business	2.5
Labor shortage, good time to demand higher wages	1.1
Priorities, hard on small business	0.8
Long hours	0.6
Jews	0.4
Nothing, isn't any	0.4
Miscellaneous	3.9
No answer	11.7

SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT OUR COUNTRY IS IN REAL DANGER FROM ORGANIZED GROUPS WHICH ARE TRYING TO OVERTHROW OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT. DO YOU THINK OUR COUNTRY IS IN ANY REAL DANGER FROM ANY OF THESE GROUPS?

IF "YES": WHAT ORGANIZED GROUPS DO YOU FEEL ARE MOST DANGEROUS?

Communists	35.3%
Nazi	32.2
Labor Unions	21.7*
American First	8.9
5th column	7.2
Fascists	5.3
Administration	4.1
Foreign Groups	3.5
Jewish	1.0
Big Business	0.8*
Miscellaneous	5.8
No answer	8.9

Table I (cont'd)

DO YOU THINK LABOR UNION LEADERS ARE HELPING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PRODUCTION PROGRAM AS MUCH AS THEY SHOULD? 5/29/41

Yes 12% No 78% No Opinion 10%

DO YOU THINK INDUSTRIAL (BUSINESS) LEADERS ARE HELPING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PRODUCTION PROGRAM AS MUCH AS THEY SHOULD? 5/29/41

Yes 43% No 41% No Opinion 16%

CONTROL OF LABOR UNIONS

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT FORBID STRIKES IN INDUSTRIES MANUFACTURING MATERIALS FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM, OR SHOULD THE WORKERS IN THOSE INDUSTRIES CONTINUE TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO GO ON STRIKE? 8/19/41

Forbid 77% Have Right 18% No Opinion 5%

DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS DO YOU THINK BUSINESS SHOULD BE REGULATED TO A GREATER EXTENT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? 5/3/40

Yes 27% No 56% No Opinion 17%

DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS DO YOU THINK LABOR SHOULD BE REGULATED TO A GREATER EXTENT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? 5/3/40

Yes 62% No 20% No Opinion 18%

DO YOU THINK BUSINESS SHOULD BE REGULATED TO A GREATER EXTENT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? 5/29/41

Yes 44% No 44% No Opinion 12%

DO YOU THINK LABOR SHOULD BE REGULATED TO A GREATER EXTENT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? 5/29/40

Yes 76% No 15% No Opinion 9%

DO YOU THINK LABOR UNIONS SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO FILE WITH THE GOVERNMENT EVERY YEAR A STATEMENT OF ALL MONEY TAKEN IN AND SPENT? 5/16/40

Yes 77% No 8% No Opinion 15%

Table I (cont'd)

CONTROL OF LABOR UNIONS

DO YOU THINK LABOR UNIONS SHOULD BE REQUIRED BY LAW TO MAKE YEARLY PUBLIC REPORTS OF MONEY THEY COLLECT AND SPEND? 10/1/41

Yes 86% No 6% No Opinion 8%

POWER OF LABOR UNIONS

DO YOU THINK LABOR UNIONS SHOULD HAVE MORE POWER, OR LESS POWER, THAN AT PRESENT? 10/1/41

More 7.7% Same 25.8% Less 50.0% No Opinion 16.5%

DO YOU THINK THERE IS TOO MUCH POWER IN THE HANDS OF A FEW RICH MEN AND LARGE CORPORATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES? 4/8/41

Yes 59% No 27% No Opinion 14%

DO YOU THINK THERE IS TOO MUCH POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON? 4/8/41

Yes 32% No 56% No Opinion 12%

DO YOU THINK THERE IS TOO MUCH POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE LEADERS OF LABOR UNIONS IN THIS COUNTRY? 4/8/41

Yes 75% No 13% No Opinion 12%

GOVERNMENT AND LABOR UNIONS

IN GENERAL, DO YOU APPROVE OF THE WAY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IS HANDLING THE FOREIGN POLICY? 9/17/41

THE FOREIGN POLICY?	Approve	63.4%	Disapprove	24.6%	No Opinion	12%
LABOR DISPUTES?		47.8		39.2		13
THE DEFENSE PROGRAM?		67.5		22.5		10

SHOULD GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES BE ALLOWED TO JOIN LABOR UNIONS? 10/7/41

Yes 28% No 64% No Opinion 8%

SHOULD PEOPLE WHO WORK FOR THE GOVERNMENT BE ALLOWED TO GO ON STRIKE? 10/7/41

Yes 17% No 79% No Opinion 4%

A BILL HAS BEEN PROPOSED WHICH WOULD TREAT ANY WORKER WHO GOES ON STRIKE IN A DEFENSE INDUSTRY AS A TRAITOR, TO BE PUNISHED BY ONE YEAR IN PRISON. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE CONGRESS PASS THIS LAW? 4/8/41

Yes 34% No 57% No Opinion 9%

Table II

ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO ARE IN FAVOR OF UNIONS

ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF LABOR UNIONS? 5/29/41

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Favor greater regulation of unions	74.5%	85.1%	56.5%
Oppose greater regulation of unions	19.4	8.9	5.4
No Opinion	6.1	5.7	38.1
Favor greater regulation of business	48.4	38.1	30.1
Oppose greater regulation of business	42.7	50.9	29.3
No Opinion	8.9	11.0	40.6
Believe union leaders are helping as much as they should	17.3	4.0	5.8
Do not believe union leaders are helping as much as they should	74.6	89.0	64.8
No Opinion	8.1	7.0	29.4
Believe business leaders are helping as much as they should	42.5	47.0	29.5
Do not believe business leaders are helping as much as they should	44.5	37.9	32.4
No Opinion	13.0	15.1	38.2

DO YOU THINK WORKERS SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO JOIN TOGETHER IN A UNION, IN ORDER TO BARGAIN WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS? 5/18/39

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
In favor of "union shop"	31.7%	5.6%	11.7%
Not in favor of "union shop"	61.7	92.9	48.7
No Opinion	6.6	1.5	39.6

ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF LABOR UNIONS? 5/18/39

In favor of "closed shop"	33.9	2.9	7.4
Not in favor of "closed shop"	54.6	89.8	36.9
No Opinion	11.5	7.3	55.7

Table III

DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE WHO WOULD FORBID DEFENSE STRIKES

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT FORBID STRIKES IN INDUSTRIES MANUFACTURING MATERIALS FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE, OR SHOULD THE WORKERS IN THOSE INDUSTRIES CONTINUE TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO STRIKE?

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Forbid</u>	<u>Have Right</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Professional	76.4%	20.9%	2.7%
Farmers	84.8	9.5	5.7
Managers	82.8	14.2	3.0
Clerks	75.1	21.6	3.3
Skilled Workers	70.1	25.6	4.3
Semi-Skilled	69.6	25.9	4.5
Farm Laborers	"	"	"
Unskilled	70.0	21.3	8.7
Servants	72.5	23.0	4.5
No Answer	77.3	17.2	5.5
<u>Union Membership</u>			
None	79.2	16.6	4.2
CIO	54.1	38.5	7.4
AFL	63.9	30.8	5.3
Others and Unspecified	58.5	33.0	8.5

Table III (cont'd)

INCOME GROUPS BY SECTION

	<u>Forbid</u>	<u>Have Right</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>New England</u>			
Upper	73.1%	23.1%	3.8%
Middle	75.1	22.0	2.9
Lower	64.6	29.1	6.3
<u>Middle Atlantic States</u>			
Upper	76.4	21.1	0.5
Middle	75.1	22.0	2.9
Lower	67.4	26.1	6.5
<u>East Central States</u>			
Upper	78.6	15.6	5.8
Middle	76.8	19.1	4.1
Lower	70.5	21.6	7.9
<u>West Central States</u>			
Upper	81.4	15.5	3.1
Middle	79.2	16.0	4.8
Lower	74.1	18.5	7.4
<u>South</u>			
Upper	87.1	9.9	3.0
Middle	92.9	5.5	1.6
Lower	85.7	9.6	4.7
<u>Rocky Mountain States</u>			
Upper	80.7	14.0	5.3
Middle	77.9	19.1	3.0
Lower	79.9	16.6	3.5
<u>Pacific States</u>			
Upper	76.0	21.3	2.7
Middle	73.3	23.3	3.4
Lower	73.6	21.8	4.6

Table III (cont'd)

SIZE OF TOWN BY SECTION

	<u>Forbid</u>	<u>Have Right</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>New England</u>			
Farm	-	-	-
Small town	80.5	13.9	5.6
2500-10,000	-	-	-
10,000-100,000	69.4	27.5	3.1
100,000-over	62.5	33.2	4.3
<u>Middle Atlantic States</u>			
Farm	85.4	10.6	4.0
Small town	83.0	13.3	3.7
2500-10,000	81.4	16.5	2.1
10,000-100,000	72.8	24.8	2.4
100,000-over	63.8	29.3	6.9
<u>East Central States</u>			
Farm	84.7	9.4	5.9
Small town	88.7	7.8	3.5
2500-10,000	79.5	15.2	5.3
10,000-100,000	75.0	19.2	5.8
100,000-over	63.8	29.3	6.9
<u>West Central States</u>			
Farm	81.0	9.6	9.5
Small town	82.8	13.5	3.7
2500-10,000	80.9	15.0	4.1
10,000-100,000	65.1	26.4	8.5
100,000-over	68.6	27.4	4.0
<u>South</u>			
Farm	90.1	4.7	5.2
Small town	90.1	7.3	2.6
2500-10,000	88.1	8.7	3.2
10,000-100,000	89.6	6.2	2.2
100,000-over	81.0	17.8	1.2
<u>Rocky Mountain States</u>			
Farm	74.6	19.5	5.9
Small town	78.6	17.6	3.8
2500-10,000	84.5	12.7	2.8
10,000-100,000	81.8	18.2	-
100,000-over	81.4	16.9	1.7

Table III (cont'd)

	SIZE OF TOWN BY SECTION		
	<u>Forbid</u>	<u>Have Right</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>Pacific States</u>			
Farm	82.4	13.2	4.4
Small town	81.4	14.2	4.4
2500-10,000	-	-	-
10,000-100,000	-	-	-
100,000-over	63.8	32.6	3.7

Table III (cont'd)

AGE BY SECTION			
	<u>Forbid</u>	<u>Have Right</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>New England</u>			
Under 30	64.0%	33.8%	2.2%
30-49	72.4	22.9	4.7
50 and over	76.0	18.7	5.3
<u>Middle Atlantic States</u>			
Under 30	65.0	29.7	5.3
30-49	72.6	24.6	2.8
50 and over	77.6	16.9	5.5
<u>East Central States</u>			
Under 30	66.2	28.8	5.0
30-49	75.2	19.2	5.6
50 and over	79.6	13.7	6.7
<u>West Central States</u>			
Under 30	75.6	16.4	8.0
30-49	78.2	16.5	5.3
50 and over	77.7	17.0	5.3
<u>South</u>			
Under 30	85.5	11.3	3.2
30-49	91.3	5.4	3.3
50 and over	87.3	9.3	3.4
<u>Rocky Mountain States</u>			
Under 30	75.3	20.6	4.1
30-49	78.2	18.6	3.2
50 and over	82.4	14.2	4.4
<u>Pacific States</u>			
Under 30	73.4	25.9	0.7
30-49	71.3	23.6	5.1
50 and over	78.8	16.5	4.7

Table IV

THOSE WHO BELIEVE MANY UNION LEADERS ARE RACKETEERS

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT MANY LABOR UNION LEADERS ARE RACKETEERS? 10/7/41

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>National</u>	73.2%	17.1%	9.7%
<u>Economic Status</u>			
Wealthy	80.0	16.0	4.0
Average+	79.8	16.2	4.1
Average	77.2	15.1	7.7
Poor	71.0	19.2	9.8
On Relief	65.9	19.0	15.1
Old Age Asst.	75.8	7.6	16.7
<u>Age</u>			
Under 30	73.4	18.4	8.2
30-49	74.7	17.1	8.2
50 and over	73.8	16.1	10.1

Combined with: WESTBROOK PEGLER, THE NEWSPAPER WRITER, SAYS THAT MANY UNION LEADERS ARE RACKETEERS. DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE? 3/7/41

<u>Union Membership</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
None	76.1%	13.3%	10.6%
CIO	56.0	34.6	9.4
AFL	58.5	33.7	7.8
Others and Unspecified	67.5	21.7	10.8

WESTBROOK PEGLER, THE NEWSPAPER WRITER, SAYS THAT SOME UNION LEADERS ARE RACKETEERS. DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE? 3/7/41

<u>Union Membership</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
None	76.6%	4.4%	19.0%
CIO	75.0	18.2	6.8
AFL	82.6	8.7	8.7
Others and Unspecified	75.0	10.7	14.3

Table V

DO YOU THINK INDUSTRIAL (BUSINESS) LEADERS ARE HELPING THE NATIONAL
DEFENSE PRODUCTION PROGRAM AS MUCH AS THEY SHOULD? 5/29/41

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>Economic Status</u>			
Upper	55.2%	32.5%	12.3%
Average	43.8	41.9	14.3
Lower	37.9	43.2	18.9
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional	49.5	43.1	7.4
Farmers	36.4	42.7	20.9
Managers	49.8	39.7	10.4
Clerks	48.7	37.5	13.8
Skilled Laborers	42.4	42.1	15.5
Semi-Skilled Laborers	43.0	42.0	15.0
Unskilled Laborers	32.1	47.7	20.2
Servants	45.5	36.6	17.9
No answer and others	37.4	42.9	19.6

DO YOU THINK UNION LEADERS ARE HELPING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PRODUCTION
PROGRAM AS MUCH AS THEY SHOULD? 5/29/41

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
<u>Economic Status</u>			
Upper	6.5%	88.0%	5.5%
Average	11.4	80.5	8.1
Lower	15.3	71.3	13.4
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional	6.4	86.8	6.8
Farmers	6.6	81.1	12.3
Managers	8.8	85.3	6.0
Clerks	10.5	82.5	7.0
Skilled Laborers	12.9	81.1	6.0
Semi-Skilled Laborers	22.6	66.5	10.9
Unskilled Laborers	21.1	65.7	13.2
Servants	20.2	69.7	10.1
No Answer and others	9.4	76.2	14.4

PSF
Public Opinion Polls

December 5, 1941

file
personal
PSF Public Opinion Polls
Feld

Trial tabulations on the Far Eastern situation that just came in from Hadley Cantril.

(May be 4% off final figure)

1. Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful even if this means risking a war with Japan?

69% - Yes
20% - No
11% - No Opinion

2. Do you think the United States will go to war against Japan some time in the near future?

51% - Yes
27% - No
22% - No Opinion

3. (From earlier ballots sent to Nelson) Hitler says he has no interest in South America. Do you believe him?

4% - Yes
87% - No.
9% - No Opinion.

P.S.F. Public Opinion Polls
1941

Respectfully forwarded to the President:

E.M.W.

E.M.W.

file

Miscellaneous
(handwritten)

PSF: Public Opinion Polls

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12-11-41

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL WATSON:

Anna Rosenberg thought the President and you might be interested in the results of the Gallup Poll, taken before the outbreak of war with Japan, and now more than 2/3 tabulated.

1. If this country should get into war with Japan, do you think we will win or lose?

Win	Lose	No opinion
92%	1%	7%

2. Do you think that at the present time our Navy is strong enough to defeat the Japanese Navy?

Yes	No	No opinion
80%	4%	16%

PSP: Public Opinion Polls

file
confidential

Princeton Project
Opinion Project
drawn 4-41

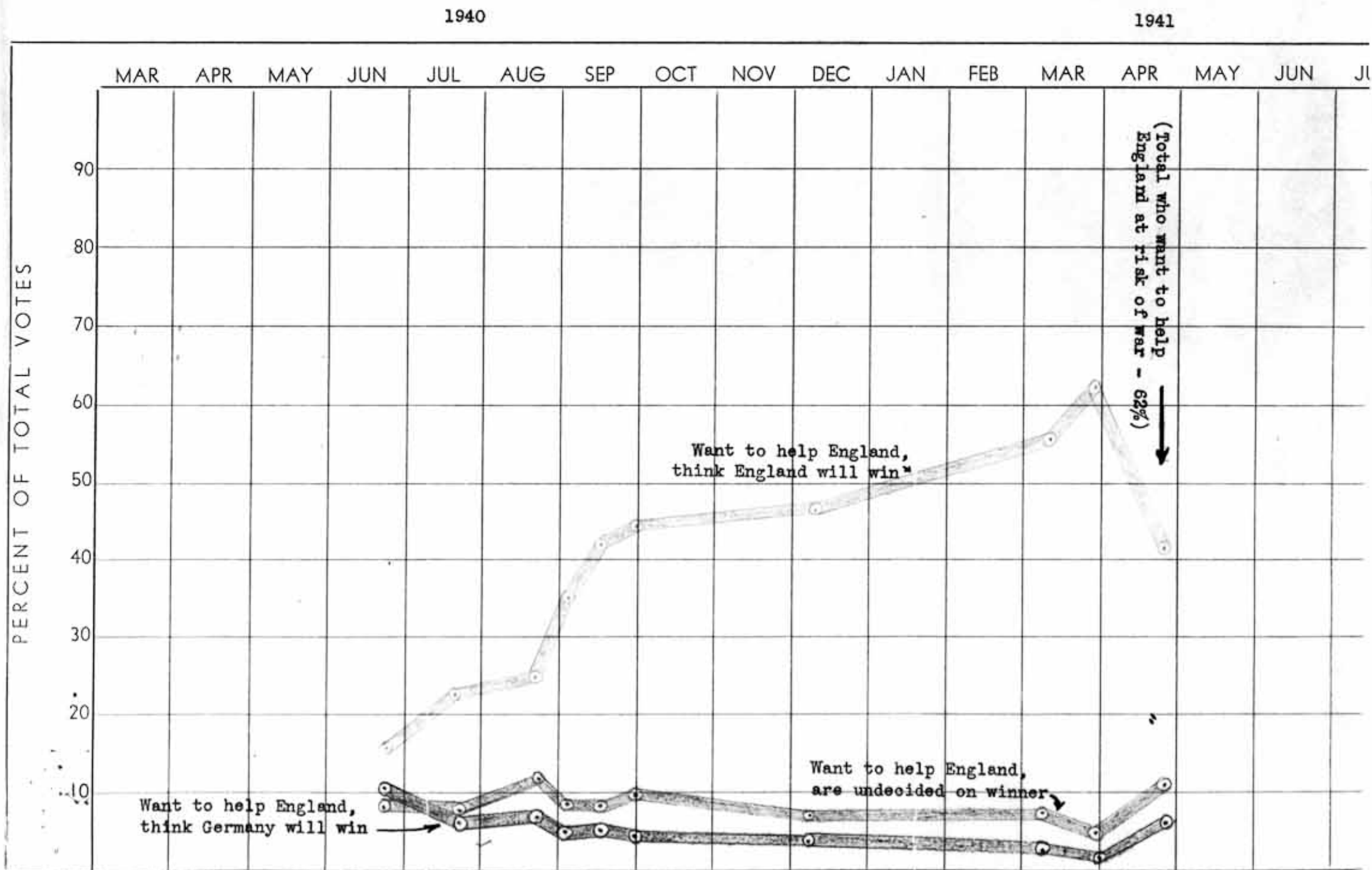
I have had this chart worked out to see if there was any growing desire to help England on the part of those who ~~xxxx~~ are not sure England will win.

There is.

And although the upswings in the two bottom curves are small, the fact that there are any upswings at all is important. It's the "still a fighting chance" attitude VS. the "what's the use now" attitude.

Princeton Public Opinion Project

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO HELP ENGLAND AND EXPECTATION OF WINNER



[illegible]

*file
personal*

PSF; *President's Public
Opinion Polls*
[1941]

Thursday noon

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

Since all of these questions were on the most recent Gallup poll, I am trusting you and your friend not to let others in Washington know about them. The old problem of property rights - plus the fact that if certain Senators knew about this they would raise hell with Gallup and his faith in me would be shaken.

The third question (which shows a slight variation from the trial figures I gave you) will be published on Saturday.

I have arranged these questions in rank order of a sort - most non-interventionist at the top. You will see how important it is to learn many answers at once for the context makes so much difference in results. The final conclusion is clear.

In regard to the second question. Since the general point of view of the country is for all out aid and since the President's popularity is still at an all time high (around 72%) and since people are never very clear about specific ways to instrument their general attitudes, I would bet anything that should the President come out for convoys or other specific aid that one week later about the same results would be found on question 2. At least half the population will follow whatever he does, at least 15 per cent will be ahead of him, at least 15 per cent would disagree with him.

Should it seem advisable to inform cabinet members, etc. of the general state of opinion, I could work up a confidential memorandum based on published results and on my own stuff that I would be free to pass out.

Interviewing done May 7-17.

If you were asked to vote today on the question of the United States entering the war against Germany and Italy, how would you vote - to go into the war, or to stay out of the war?

29 Go in
66 Stay out (rise of about 7 percent in last 10 days)
5 No opinion

Do you think President Roosevelt has gone too far in his policies of helping Britain, or not far enough?

19 Too far
53 About right
18 Not far enough
10 No opinion

Which of these two things do you think is more important for the United States to try to do:

40 To keep out of war ourselves, or
56 To help England, even at the risk of getting into the war

If Germany and Italy should defeat Britain in the present war, do you think Germany and Italy would start a war against the United States within the next ten years?

62 Yes
29 No
9 No opinion

Would you rather see Britain surrender to Germany than have the United States go into the war?

26 Would rather see Britain surrender
62 Would rather have U.S. go into war
12 No opinion

Should the United States Navy be used to guard ships carrying war materials to Britain?

54 Yes
39 No
7 No opinion

If it appears certain to you that Britain will be defeated unless we use part of our navy to protect ships going to Britain, would you favor, or oppose, such convoys?

73 Favor
23 Oppose
4 No opinion

Do you think that if our navy guards ships carrying war materials to Britain, this will get us into the war?

74 Yes

16 No

10 No opinion

(See next page)

Some people say that if the United States goes on helping England, Germany may start a war against our country. Do you think we should continue to help England, even if we run this risk?

76 Yes
21 No
3 No opinion

file personal

PSF: Public Opinion Polls Princeton Poll Folder 4-41

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
BOX 429
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

September 13, 1941

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

I just returned from a short holiday and a series of conferences. Will try to get you a complete report on public opinion very shortly.

In the meantime, I thought the following single result would be of interest to the President.

"Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means risking war with Japan?"

Yes	67%
No	19
No	14
opinion	

This is the highest point yet reached on this question. These results are from interviewing made during the latter part of August. During the latter part of July the "Yes" answers to the identical question were 52 per cent.

The President might be interested in the sectional breakdowns:

Rocky Mountain states	81% "Yes"
South	76
Pacific Coast	72
New England	72
Middle Atlantic	71
East Central	62
West Central	62

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg
11 West 42 Street
New York City

9/20/41

~~Dr. Connelley~~ called

A Gallup Poll taken on following questions.
Stated ballots went out September 9, but that probably most of the interviewing was done after the President's talk. These are trial tabulations and not complete returns.

Question I - Do you believe the U. S. Navy should shoot at German submarines on sight or should our ships wait until they are attacked?

- a. Shoot on sight - 57%
- b. Wait until attacked - 35%
- c. No opinion - 8%

Question II- Do you think the U. S. Navy should be used to convoy ships carrying war materials to Britain?

- a. Yes - 59%
- b. No - 33%
- c. No opinion - 8%

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH
BOX 42
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

September 13, 1941

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

I just returned from a short holiday and a series of conferences. Will try to get you a complete report on public opinion very shortly.

In the meantime, I thought the following results would be of interest to the President.

"Should the United States take steps now to keep Japan from becoming more powerful, even if this means making war with Japan?"

Yes	67%
No	18
No	15
Opinion	

This is the highest point yet reached on this question. These results are from interviewing made during the latter part of August. During the latter part of July the "yes" answer to the identical question were 55 per cent.

The President might be interested in the sectional breakdown:

West Mountain states	81% "Yes"
South	78
Pacific Coast	75
New England	73
Middle Atlantic	71
East Central	68
West Central	63

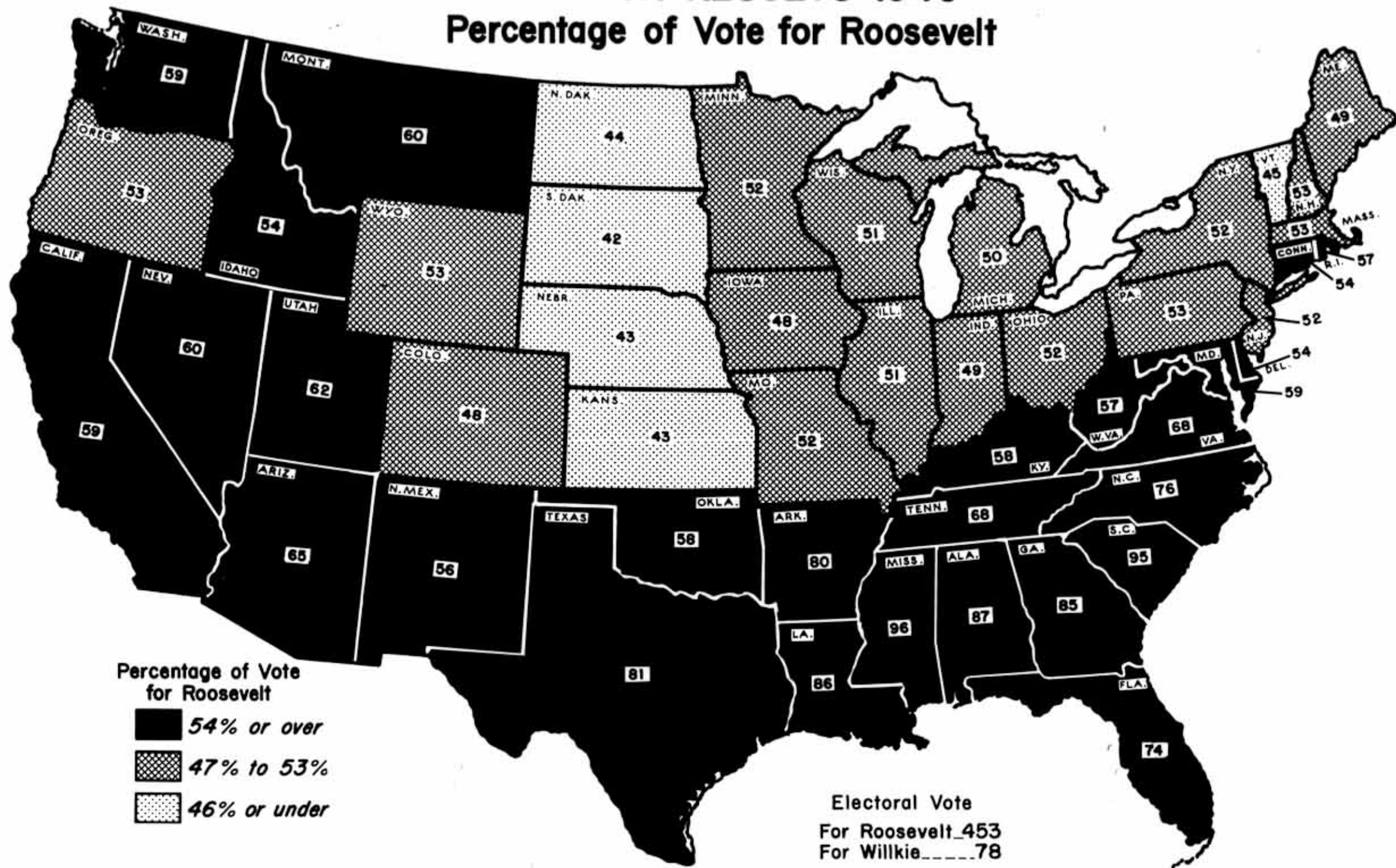
Sincerely,

W. D. Dill

Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg
11 West 43 Street
New York City

ELECTION RESULTS 1940

Percentage of Vote for Roosevelt



PRE-ELECTION GALLUP POLL 1940

Percentage of Vote for Roosevelt

