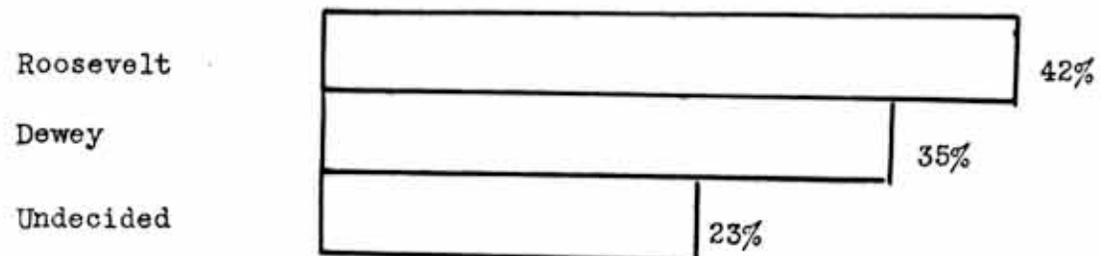


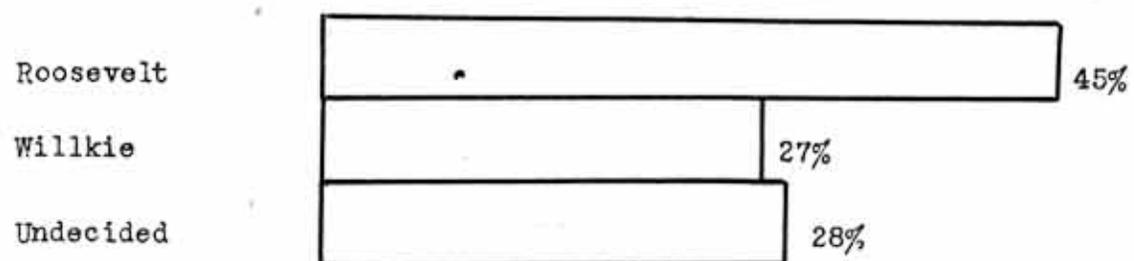
Dr. Hadley Cantril  
PSF: Public Opinion Polls

~~Gen. Course~~  
3-42  
file  
Pres.

If ROOSEVELT runs for President in 1944 on the Democratic ticket, against DEWEY on the Republican ticket, which man would you favor?



If ROOSEVELT runs for President in 1944 on the Democratic ticket, against WILLKIE on the Republican ticket, which man would you favor?

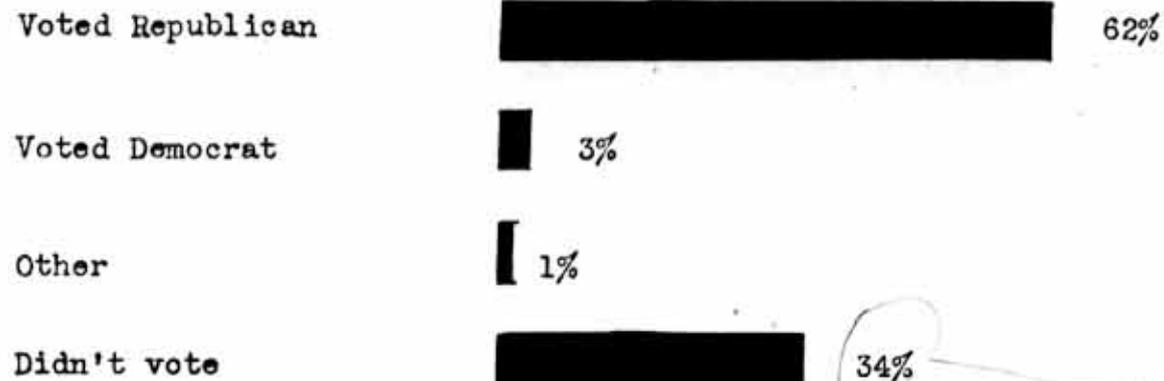


(From a Gallup survey-12/15/42)  
(not published)

H.C.

In politics, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Independent?

How those who regard themselves as REPUBLICAN voted in November 1942.

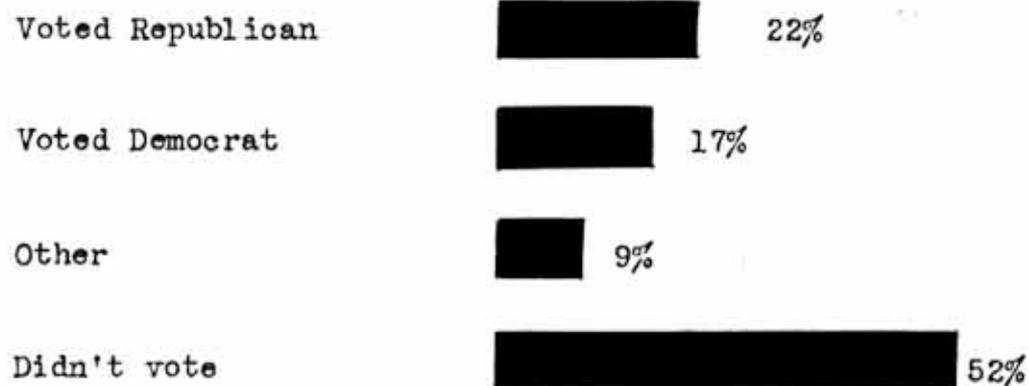


How those who regard themselves as DEMOCRATS voted in November 1942.



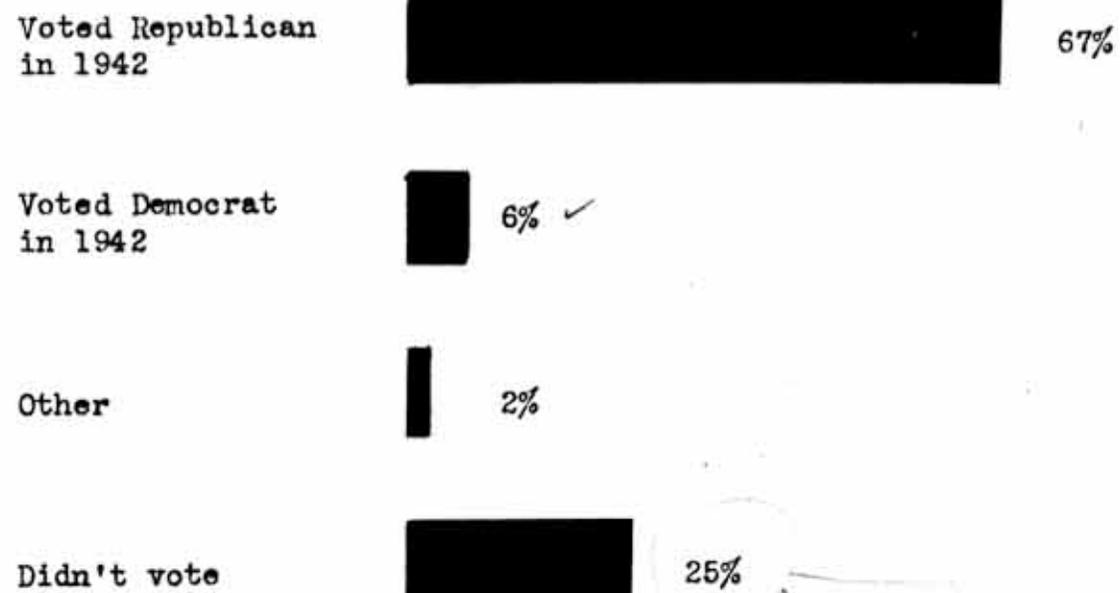
*Notice how  
Democrats vote*

How those who regard themselves as INDEPENDENTS voted in November 1942.

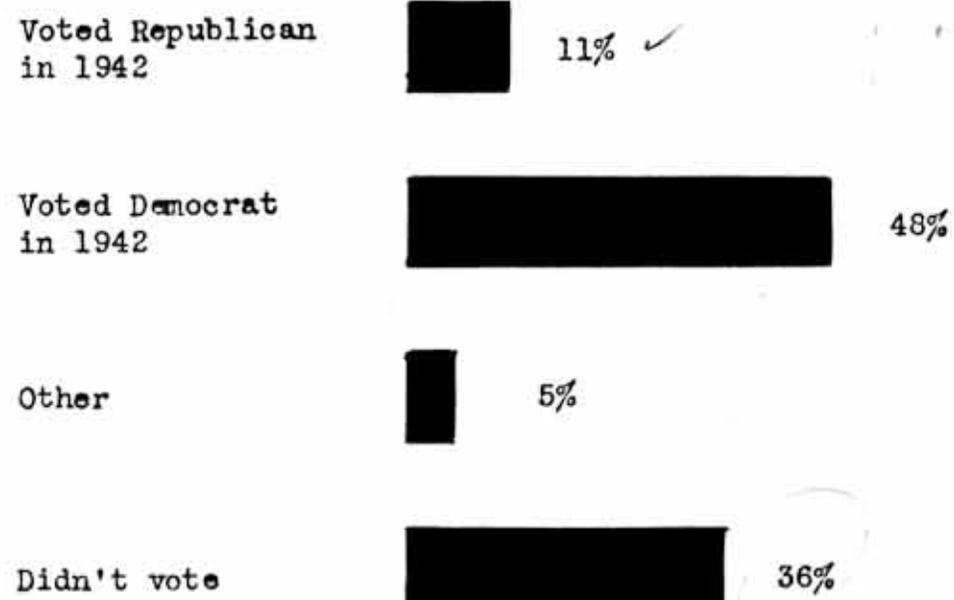


How those who voted in 1940 voted in November 1942.

Voted for Willkie in 1940.



Voted for Roosevelt in 1940.



*- Low Democratic vote  
+ 1940*

In politics, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Socialist, or Independent?

National Total (as formerly reported)

Republican 34%	Democrat 46%	Indep. 20%
-------------------	-----------------	---------------

Political Identification by AGE GROUPS

	In Nation as Whole			Excluding South		
Under 30	28	42	30	29	39	32
30 - 39	29	44	27	34	40	26
40 - 49	32	45	23	37	38	25
50 - 59	36	48	16	43	40	17
60 and over	42	40	18	50	33	17

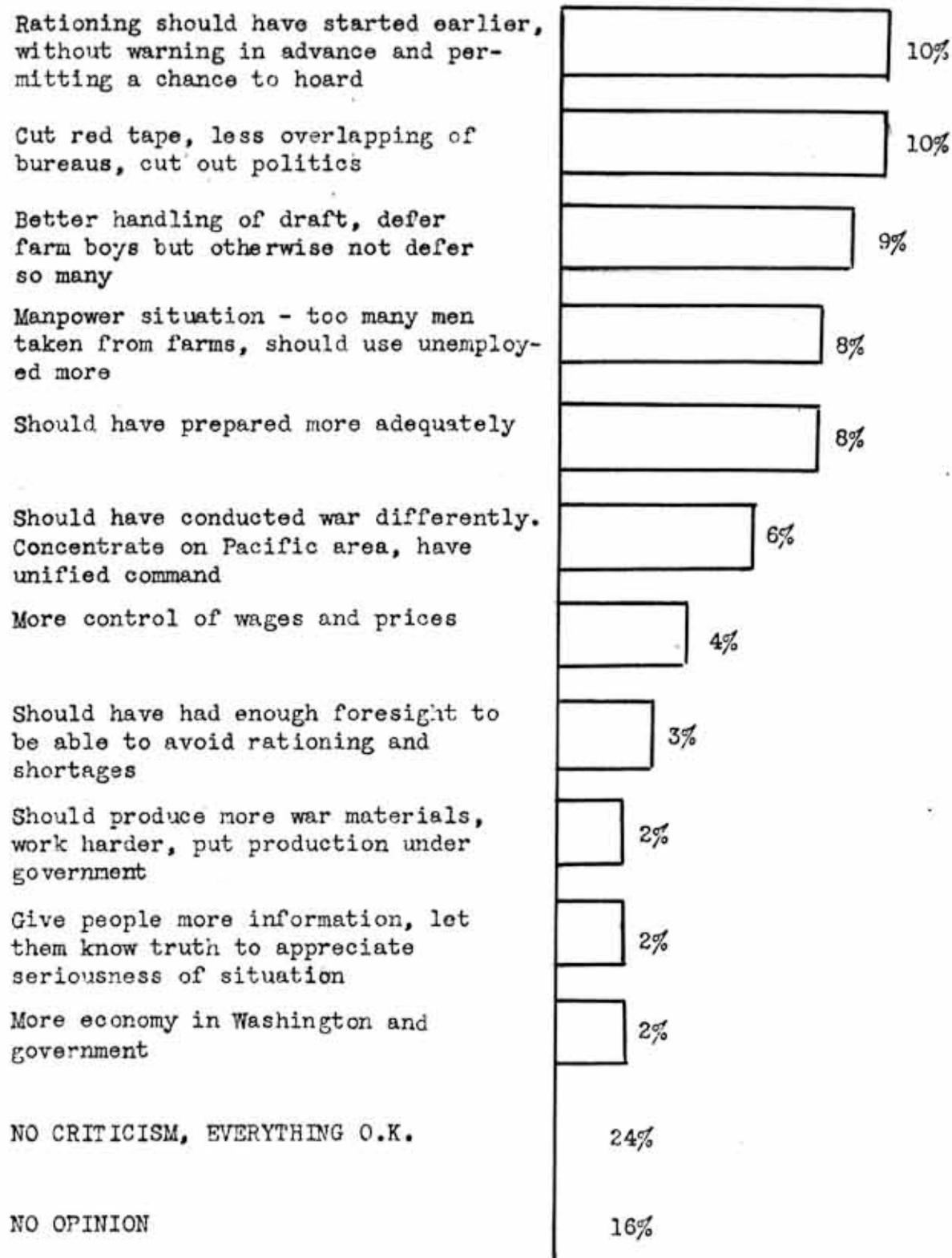
↑  
*Good thing they are not all octogenarians!*

Political Identification by SIZE OF CITY

Farm	35	49	16	48	36	16
Small Town	40	46	14	50	35	15
2500 - 10,000	38	43	19	44	36	20
10,000 - 100,000	35	39	26	39	35	26
100,000 - 500,000	26	52	22	30	47	23
Over 500,000	24	40	36	24	40	36

*Democratic strength in urban centers.*

In looking back over the first year of the war, what do you wish the government had done differently?



(Taken from Gallup survey - 12/15/42)

H.C.

*Gallup's published story did not give figures and exaggerated extent of complaint.*

PSF: Public Opinion  
Polls

~~Gen Louis C~~

3-42

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 30, 1942

Dear Dr. Cantril:

The President has asked me to thank you for your courtesy in sending him that confidential report titled "Trends of Opinion During The First Year of War". The President deeply appreciates your action in making available to him this fruit of a year's research.

Very sincerely yours,

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

Dr. Hadley Cantril  
Box 429  
Princeton, New Jersey.

wdh-mms

ilo

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1942.

*D.K.N.  
to thank  
him*

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS TULLY:

Dear Grace:

Attached is a report which  
Mr. Cantril left with me for the  
President.

D.K.N.

*David K. Niles*

Dear Mr. President:

I have had my trend charts brought together  
in this booklet as a New Year's present. You may  
find it convenient for reference. I am taking the  
liberty to give copies to Dave Niles and a few  
officials in O.W.I.

Dec. 29, 1942

Hadley Cantril

*Subj. 12/30/42  
Mm*

PSF; Public Opinion Polls  
*filled personal*

*Gen. Cress C*  
3-43

HAVE YOU MORE CONFIDENCE OR LESS CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT  
THAN YOU HAD A YEAR AGO?

More



76%

Less



11%

Same



13%

H. C.

*(Dr. Hadley Control)*

February 4, 1943.

P S F: Public Opinion Polls ~~Gen. Cox~~

File 3-43  
personal

Grace

The President might like to read this

MEMORANDUM

Harry

February 13, 1943

TO: Mr. Harry L. Hopkins

FROM: Oscar Cox

In December, Cantril did a poll on the following question with the following results:

"As Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, the President sometimes makes decisions before consulting Congress. Do you think it is all right for the President to make some important decisions before consulting Congress or should he consult Congress even if it means a delay in the war effort?"

All right to make decisions	78%
Should consult Congress	22

As one concrete illustration on the public opinion question, insofar as it involves the relationships between Congress and the President, I think two things ought to be done:

1. An attempt ought to be made to get across to the public some of the historical and other reasons why the Chief Executive, in time of war, has to have a good deal of scope in decisions in the same way that a Commanding General in the field does.

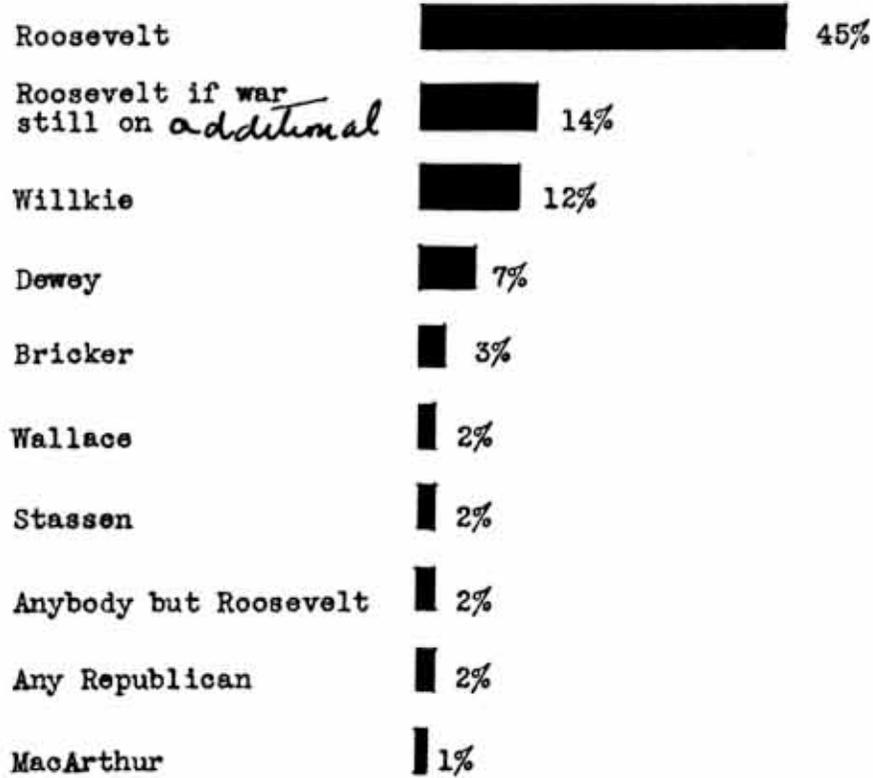
2. After this is done, there ought to be another poll run, with the idea in mind that the poll itself would be made public and have its own effect on public opinion.

Oscar Cox

PSF: Public Opinion Polls  
file

Gen. Coates C

WHOM WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE COUNTRY  
NEXT YEAR?



LESS THAN 1%

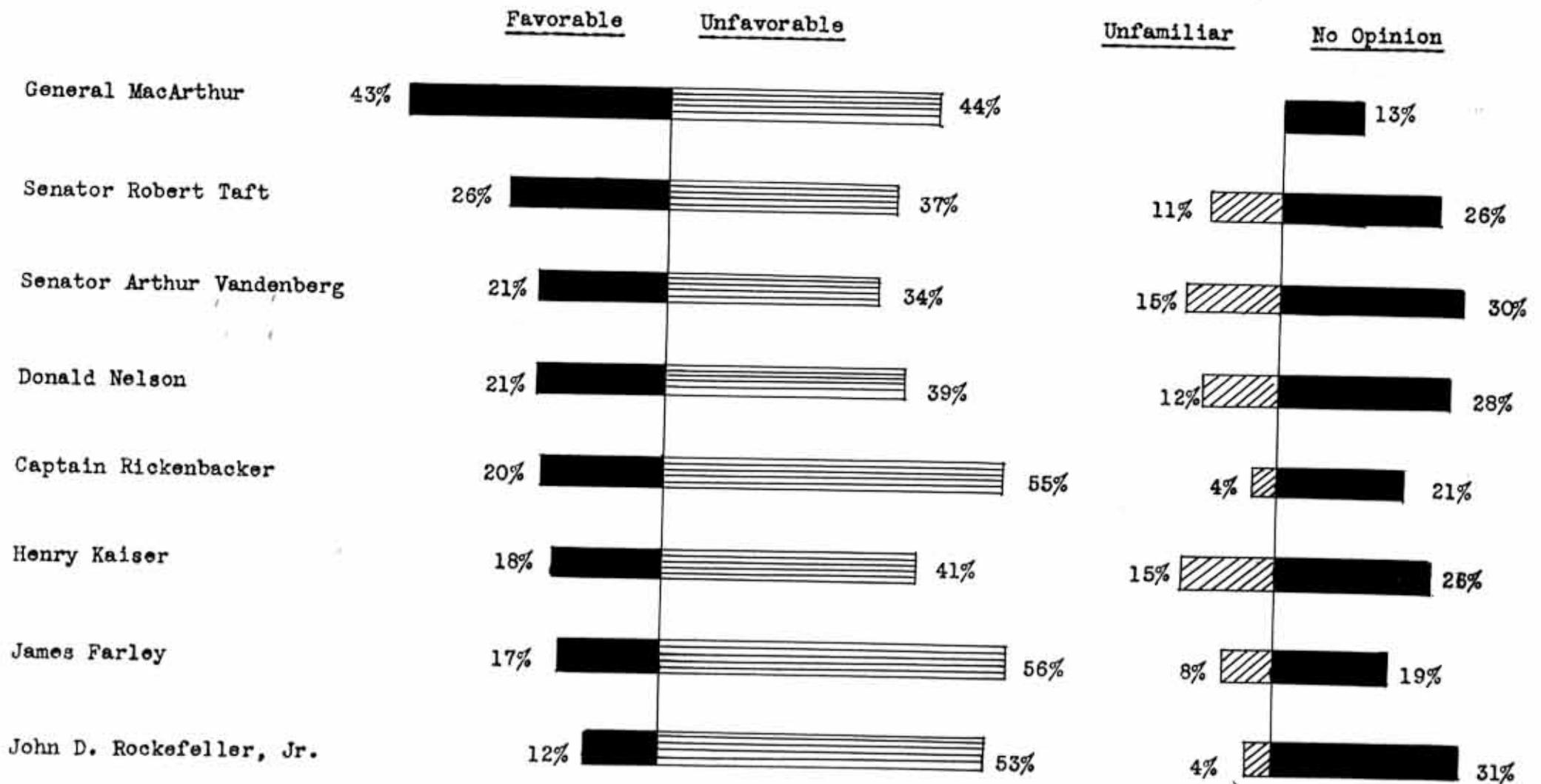
Byrnes  
Douglas  
Farley  
Hoover  
Hull  
Kaiser  
Rickenbacker  
Taft  
Vandenberg  
Warren  
Any Democrat

H. C.

March 29, 1943.

*Taken from unpublished Gallup surveys.*

WILL YOU TELL ME FRANKLY WHAT YOU THINK OF EACH OF THESE MEN. GENERALLY SPEAKING, IS YOUR OPINION OF THEM AS PRESIDENTIAL MATERIAL FOR NEXT YEAR FAVORABLE, OR UNFAVORABLE?



H. C.

*Taken from unpublished Gallup survey.*

March 29, 1943.

~~Sen Courts F~~  
PSF: Public Opinion Polls 3-43

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file*  
*Personal*

May 8, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Here are advance proof sheets of  
a FORTUNE survey to be released sometime  
between May 30 and June 2.

W.D.H.

Scheduled for release May 30 but not later than June 2.

# THE FORTUNE SURVEY

*If war continues—Roosevelt. If war ends, a Roosevelt peace, but not Roosevelt. His successor must have a world view, with a particular eye for our new friend—Russia.*

The results of this Survey will be significant to every thoughtful reader. In the spectacular statistics here presented, there are conspicuous guideposts for the government and for the nation at large. For an editorial discussion of these guideposts, see page 128.

WITH a succession of battles over war strategy and war production occupying newspaper headlines, the country has had almost no opportunity to observe a striking political portent of its own making: the change of Franklin D. Roosevelt from a familiar peacetime President of waning popularity into a wartime President of the highest stature.

If the war should end before the 1944 elections, and if Roosevelt should run, the American people have decided that they would vote him out of office—at least they had when this Survey was made. But if the war is still going on—and most people think it will be—a large majority have determined that he should be returned to the White House for a fourth term. They are impressed by the way he has been fighting the war abroad, and they are by no means unsold on his generalship at home. The Roosevelt of new Deal reforms has been retired for the duration; the man of the hour is the warrior Roosevelt, the nation's Commander-in-Chief. Assuming that war will still be going on next year, anyone attempting to challenge the President on the grounds of the last three elections is likely to find himself attacking the wrong candidate. And even if the war should end, it would be an unwise challenger, according to this Survey, who would throw overboard the President's policy of postwar international cooperation. In that event, it is not impossible that the people would return Roosevelt for another peacetime term. For while the people seem disposed to try a non-Roosevelt domestic policy after the war, they believe that the time has come for the U.S. to assume the status of an adult, active collaborator among the nations of the postwar world.

## The people appraise their President

In their thinking about the length of the war, Americans have not been carried away by forecasts of early victory. Manufacturers and others whose job it is to keep people working at top speed have deplored these statements, but evidently their effect has not been widespread. The people are prepared in their minds for a long war. As the following question shows, remarkably few of them thought when they were interviewed that the war could end in less than two years. Politically, that is, before the 1944 elections.

Regardless of what you hope, about how long from now do you think the war in Europe will last? How long in Asia?

	In Europe	In Asia
Less than 6 months	1.5%	.7%
6 months to a year	15.2	6.5
1 year to 2	33.1	19.2
2 years to 3	26.7	24.7
3 years or more	12.4	27.2
Don't know	11.1	21.7

Anticipating that the nation will still be at grips with the Axis next year, and sensing the infinite complications of modern war, the people have evidently decided that this would be no time to change the head man.

If the war is still on by election day next year, would you favor or oppose the reelection of Roosevelt for another term?

	Total	Economic Level				Negro
		High	Upper middle	Lower middle	Low	
Favor	64.8%	42.1%	52.8%	67.3%	74.5%	78.9%
Oppose	27.8	50.3	38.0	26.5	19.1	10.9
Don't know	7.4	7.6	9.2	6.2	6.4	10.2

Roosevelt's greatest show of strength continues to lie among the economic groups that have always supported him: the lower middle, the low, and the Negroes. But a majority even of the upper middle level would be unwise to change Presidents while the war continues. And a surprisingly large minority of the prosperous—42.1 per cent—agree with them. The group showing a minority for Roosevelt are executives. About 45 per cent think they would favor him; but only a few more have definitely decided to oppose him. Nearly 10 per cent don't know now what they would do. Meantime, over 77 per cent of factory and farm wage earners would choose Roosevelt and people in the South are still strong supporters. Nearly 80 per cent in Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi say they will favor him next year if the war is still in progress. In terms of current information (see box) all groups show majority preference for the President; well-informed 53.9 per cent; poorly informed 66.8 per cent; uninformed 73.4 per cent.

Wherein does the great wartime strength of the President lie? The Survey indicates that it is strongest in his conduct of the nondomestic phases of the struggle.

[Continued on page 12]

## Do People Know What They're Talking About?

To gain a rough idea of the fund of information lying behind the opinions of each person questioned for this Survey, interviewers asked six random questions about the war: Who is the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in North Africa; who is the man at the head of the Chinese Government; what man became famous for betraying Norway; have or have not Brazil, New Zealand, and Ireland declared themselves our allies. Persons answering five or six correctly are classed as well-informed, those answering three or four correctly as poorly informed, and those answering two or less correctly as uninformed.

Such questions, of course, do not measure intelligence, but the results can serve some purpose in indicating who is alert, especially in questions requiring some background of information as well as thought. The final tabulations reveal, on the basis of these questions, that about a third of the people are well-informed, a little less than a third poorly informed, and slightly more than a third uninformed.

## The Fortune Survey

[Continued from page 10]

Apart from home problems connected with the war, do you rate the job President Roosevelt has done on running the war good, fair, or poor?

	Total	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
Good	70.4%	71.4%	69.4%	70.3%
Fair	21.2	21.5	23.1	19.6
Poor	4.1	5.3	4.7	2.5
Don't know	4.3	1.8	2.8	7.6

For a people in whom political acrimony is a major characteristic, this is a remarkable show of solidarity—one to bewilder Axis propagandists. However bitter our turmoil at home, we stand behind the President as he confronts the world at large. Many reasonable perplexities might have been expected to diminish the chorus of unity: the political maneuverings in North Africa, merchant-ship sinkings, charges of neglect in the South Pacific and China. But approval is everywhere strong just the same. Even among the prosperous, Roosevelt's long-time opponents, 59.9 per cent think he is fighting a good global war; only 9.8 per cent would call it poor.

But when they permit themselves to think about war's end, the American people sharply reverse themselves on Mr. Roosevelt. When that time comes, they now feel, he will have done his job and should step aside for someone else. Political analysts will be able to advance many reasons why they should feel that way, but whatever complex of reasons may lie behind it, there is no doubt, according to the following question, that the feeling permeates a large segment of the people.

If the war is over by election day next year, would you favor or oppose the reelection of Roosevelt for another term?

	Total	Economic Level				Negro
		High	Upper middle	Lower middle	Low	
Favor	33.3%	12.6%	18.9%	31.9%	47.1%	61.2%
Oppose	59.2	84.0	74.6	60.7	44.7	25.9
Don't know	7.5	3.4	6.5	7.4	8.2	12.9

In a postwar election, Roosevelt would still show considerable strength among the poor and the Negroes, but noticeably less than in the past. The well-informed would be vigorously opposed to him (73.5 per cent), and the only occupational group in which a majority would favor him would be the farm wage earners. Significantly, only about 40 per cent of factory wage earners, solidly behind him in the past, would vote for him if the war were to end. Most strongly opposed, of course, would be executives, professional people, and farm proprietors—all by 70 per cent or more.

Why should Roosevelt show such phenomenal strength as a war President, so much less as the man to direct the nation in peace? Some indications of the nation's leanings for peacetime government, at least in domestic affairs, may be contained in the responses to the following:

After the war, do you think the aims and programs of the New Deal will be entirely done away with, partly done away with, continued along the same lines, or made stronger than ever? (Unless "don't know" to that question) Do you think this will be a good thing or a bad thing?

Entirely done away with	8.2%	Good thing	83.7%
		Bad thing	8.7
		Don't know	7.6
Partly done away with	41.6	Good thing	87.1%
		Bad thing	5.6
		Don't know	7.3
Continued along same lines	17.8	Good thing	80.6%
		Bad thing	10.0
		Don't know	9.4
Made stronger than ever	14.1	Good thing	76.3%
		Bad thing	16.2
		Don't know	7.5
Don't know	18.3		

Thus nearly half of the people appear to have decided that the New Deal will be pruned after the war; if not cut down altogether. Psychologists will be interested to note, in the second column, that most people expect to happen what they want to have happen. If wanting is willing, there should be some engaging turmoil, after the war, over which New Deal programs shall continue, which shall end.

More farm hands think the New Deal will be continued or strengthened than think retrenchment will occur, but about a fourth of these don't know what to think. All other occupational groups forecast modification or elimination. Perhaps the most significant group to watch is the factory wage earner. About as many think the New Deal will go on as anticipate retrenchment. But over 15 per cent don't know what to think.

People are not so well satisfied with Roosevelt's handling of home problems connected with the war as they are with his handling of its larger aspects, but the President still commands confidence on the home front.

On the whole, do you rate the job President Roosevelt has done on home problems connected with the war as good, fair, or poor?

	Total	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
Good	56.2%	43.4%	58.6%	66.4%
Fair	30.8	36.9	31.0	25.0
Poor	11.1	18.9	9.5	4.9
Don't know	1.9	.8	.9	3.7

Although Roosevelt still holds a majority of the people in his conduct of the war at home, there are important voices of qualification. Only 29.5 per cent of the prosperous call his domestic war program good, as contrasted with 65.5 per cent of the poor. Geographically, New England is least satisfied, where only 42.8 per cent call it good. Among executives only 31.9 per cent think well of Roosevelt's handling of home problems, but 65.6 per cent of factory workers voice approval.

Very few people rate as actually poor the President's handling of domestic war issues. About 27 per cent of the prosperous feel that way, but only 5.9 per cent of the poor agree with them. Most of those who are unable to call home problems well handled are willing to call them fair.\* More specific attitudes are revealed by the following:

Would you rate as good, fair, or poor the job that has been done so far on putting into effect the rationing of foodstuffs? On giving out news about the war?

	Good	Fair	Poor	Don't know
Rationing foodstuffs	44.8%	36.9%	13.0%	5.3%
Giving out war news	42.7	35.9	11.5	9.9

It is perfectly clear from these figures that there is nowhere near the dissatisfaction on the home front that the professional \*Reaction to this question may have altered somewhat since John L. Lewis's maneuvers early in May.

[Continued on page 16]

## The Fortune Survey

[Continued from page 12]

pulse feelers have imagined. Anyone who tampers with the food and the news of the American people is on dangerous ground. That over two-thirds of the people think the tampering has been well or tolerably handled is a remarkable vote of confidence, and a rebuke to those sections of the press that have been spending the greater part of their time in carping criticism of conditions at home.

### Peace and prosperity—under law

The American people are getting set now, according to this Survey, to take an active part in the postwar international scene. They do not mean to repeat after the present war the errors they made after the last one. Throughout the land, and in all groups, people are learning to think globally. They want peace and they want a decent standard of living. To get it, they have decided to be tough with the bullies, and to go halfway with any nation that wants to play fair—even, as with Russia, when they don't entirely approve of the way that nation conducts herself at home. In a world so run, many people see increased opportunities for young men to lead full and active lives, as the following question indicates:

*On the whole, after the war, do you think the average young man will have more opportunity, about the same opportunity, or less opportunity to get ahead than a young man had after the last war?*

	Total year ago	Total now	Well- informed	Poorly informed	Uninformed
More	46.0%	59.5%	63.8%	61.0%	54.4%
Less	17.2	14.8	14.6	15.5	14.6
Same	26.3	16.7	17.3	16.5	16.1
Don't know	10.5	9.0	4.3	7.0	14.9

Compared with their reactions a year ago, when they were decidedly lukewarm about the postwar chances of young men, people are now quite optimistic. Optimism is slightly lower (57.4 per cent) among those fifty years old and over, who remember best the conditions that prevailed after the last war and the difficulties involved in preventing their recurrence. But the difference is slight, and people between thirty-five and fifty, most of whom can also remember the end of the last war, share the fuller optimism of the younger generation.

### After this war—plenty of Guams

A few years ago the American people, through their Congress, rejected a proposal to fortify Guam. They are now determined that no like blindness shall occur after this war. Large majorities have already decided that our air and naval bases abroad shall be kept at ready after the actual shooting stops. But less than a third—and those mostly poorly informed or uninformed—think we should acquire other types of territory from the war.

*Do you think the U.S. should come out of this war with more military bases outside this country than we had before the war?*

	Total	Well- informed	Poorly informed	Uninformed
Should	84.0%	89.1%	87.0%	77.1%
Should not	8.1	8.9	8.6	6.9
Don't know	7.9	2.0	4.4	16.0

*Aside from military bases, do you think the U.S. should or should not come out of this war with more territory under our control than when we went into the war?*

	Total	Well- informed	Poorly informed	Uninformed
Should	30.9%	18.9%	30.0%	42.7%
Should not	59.6	78.5	63.5	39.0
Don't know	9.5	2.6	6.5	18.3

That as many as 30.9 per cent of Americans think we should acquire more nonmilitary territory after the war is a surprising response. It is apparent, however, that the tendency toward aggrandizement lies chiefly among the uninformed, who were probably moved more by jealousy and suspicion than by understanding of the issues.

*Do you think there will probably be another big war during the next twenty-five to thirty years, or do you think there is a fairly good chance to avoid it?*

Chance to avoid 61.9% Another war 30.8% Don't know 7.3%

Among the well-informed, optimism on this question is a little higher (67.5 per cent) than the national average, which is perhaps an encouraging sign. But no group varies greatly from another; optimism toward a peaceful postwar world is at present a nationwide attitude.

The belief of the people that another big war can be avoided is not entirely wishful. They are trying hard to puzzle out how the peace can be kept in a world whose outstanding characteristic in recent decades has been international anarchy.

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

	Total	Economic Level			Negro
		High	Upper middle	Lower middle	
Roosevelt	58.1%	45.4%	53.2%	59.5%	60.7%
Congress	27.9	45.1	35.6	27.9	20.9
Don't know	14.0	9.5	11.2	12.6	18.4

Whatever peace is actually written will be worked out through collaboration between the Administration and the Congress. But in so far as the Administration has become the advocate of international cooperation, whereas Congress is often the sounding board for isolationist sentiment, the responses serve to show the way public feeling is trending.\*

### The postwar world will know us

On the eve of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Survey asked the American people to state what degree of participation in world affairs they thought the country should take (FORTUNE, December, 1941). In this Survey the same question was repeated. Comparative results make clear that, for the moment at least, Americans are disposed to assume an active role in the postwar world.

*After the war, do you think the U.S. should play a larger part, about the same part, or a smaller part in world affairs than it did before the war?*

	Larger	Same	Smaller	Don't know
December, 1941	58.4%	18.3%	10.1%	13.2%
Now	76.6	12.1	4.0	7.3

[Continued on page 18]

\*Congress fared rather badly in this Survey. Asked whether they felt Congress has been doing a good, fair, or poor job in helping to win the war, only 25.6 per cent said good, 46.9 per cent said fair, 16.7 per cent said poor, and 10.8 per cent didn't know.

# The Fortune Survey

[Continued from page 16]

It will be remembered that isolationism was approaching its last gasp when the Japanese attacked Hawaii, and correspondingly that more and more Americans were beginning to believe that the U.S. must play a larger part in world affairs. That attitude has increased during the course of the war until three-fourths of the people have adopted it. As sentiment stands now, the way of the isolationist will not be so smooth after this war as it was after the last.

A cross tabulation between this question and the question as to whether the U.S. should come out of the war with more nonmilitary territory under its control shows that only about a third of those who think we should play a larger part would like to see us acquire more territory. But over a fourth of those who think we should play a smaller part also think we should acquire more territory, suggesting again that some answers to the earlier question were emotional, not thoughtful.

*Which one of these statements comes closest to what you would like to see us do when the war is over?*

	Total	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
Stay on our side of the oceans and have as little as possible to do with Europe and Asia	13.0%	5.4%	10.7%	22.0%
Try to keep the world at peace, but make no definite agreements with other countries	25.2	15.5	26.0	33.5
Take an active part in some sort of international organization with a court and police force strong enough to enforce its decisions	56.6	77.7	61.4	33.3
Don't know	5.2	1.4	1.9	11.2

One of the most striking facts about the responses to this question is the small number of "don't know" answers, suggesting that people everywhere are thinking about the problem and trying to decide what will be the best postwar plan. Only the uninformed turn in a sizable percentage of "don't knows"; the small percentages in the other information groups may represent instances of honest perplexity. Desire for a world court and police force is highest, occupation-wise, among executives—83 per cent. Geographically, the mountain states are at present most international-minded; about 70 per cent of the people there want a court and police force. About 53 per cent in the west north central states, including Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois—bailiwick of the *Chicago Tribune*—are thinking internationally.

*After the war do you think we should or should not plan to help other nations get on their feet by sending them money and materials?*

	Should	Should not	Don't know
Totals	72.8%	19.1%	8.1%
<i>In terms of current information:</i>			
Well-informed	82.7	12.8	4.5
Poorly informed	74.8	18.4	6.8
Uninformed	62.0	25.6	12.4
<i>In terms of occupation:</i>			
Executives	86.4	10.6	3.0
Farm proprietors	74.5	16.9	8.6
Factory wage earners	69.8	22.3	7.9

[Continued on page 22]

# The Fortune Survey

[Continued from page 18]

While there is a fair amount of variation among the different groups in answering this question, there is obviously contained in the responses a strong endorsement of lend-lease or its equivalent after the war. There are many ways, of course, by which we might help other nations to get on their feet after the war: relief, distribution of noncompetitive surpluses, gifts of machinery and facilities, and the encouragement of trade. The following question shows that large majorities of the people now believe that a policy of reciprocal trade will not only assist the other nations, but will make a busy and prosperous America. Whether that conviction can stand the onslaught of limited group interests, only the postwar world will know.

*If we do send money and materials do you think this will result in a lower standard of living here, or that it will so increase trade that this country will be more prosperous than ever?*

	More prosperous	Lower standard	Don't know
Totals	58.6%	22.4%	19.0%
<i>In terms of current information:</i>			
Well-informed	66.6	23.3	10.1
Poorly informed	61.6	22.6	15.8
Uninformed	48.8	21.5	29.7
<i>In terms of selected occupation:</i>			
Executives	68.2	23.7	8.1
Farm proprietors	60.7	21.9	17.4
Factory wage earners	61.0	23.2	15.8

## The hand is out to Russia

There are considerable minorities in the U.S. who appear to distrust the ultimate good intentions of Russia. In spite of that, overwhelming majorities believe we should cooperate equally with her both in the prosecution of the war and in the formulation of the peace. Here is a challenge of the first order to U.S. foreign policy to work out agreements with Russia that will allay the suspicions of the minorities, and make possible the collaboration desired by the majorities.

*Do you think we should or should not try to work with Russia as an equal partner in fighting the war? As an equal partner in working out the peace?*

	Total	Well-informed	Poorly informed	Uninformed
<i>In fighting the war:</i>				
Should	80.7%	88.5%	84.2%	70.9%
Should not	9.4	8.3	10.1	9.9
Don't know	9.9	3.2	5.7	19.2
<i>In working out the peace:</i>				
Should	80.9	87.7	84.0	72.4
Should not	9.2	9.1	9.5	9.0
Don't know	9.9	3.2	6.5	18.6

It is of high significance that a policy of wartime and peacetime collaboration receives greatest approval in the upper brackets: 83.5 per cent of the prosperous and 89 per cent of the executives approve equal partnership in the war; 88.5 per cent of the prosperous and 91.1 per cent of executives favor equal partnership in working out the peace.

Latent but by no means fatal suspicions of our ability to cooperate with Russia are shown in the responses to the following:

*Do you expect that Russia will stay in the war until Hitler is completely defeated, or that she is likely to make a separate peace with him as soon as she finds it to her advantage?*

[Continued on page 26]

# The Fortune Survey

[Continued from page 22]

	Total	Executives	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
Stay .....	56.8%	75.0%	67.1%	58.0%	46.2%
Separate peace	27.3	20.3	26.2	31.2	25.4
Don't know ..	15.9	4.7	6.7	10.8	28.4

*Do you expect that Russia will want about the same kind of peace that we do or that she will make demands that we can't agree to?*

	Total	Executives	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
Same kind ...	30.0%	38.6%	33.1%	30.4%	26.8%
Make demands	48.1	52.5	55.2	52.0	38.6
Don't know ..	21.9	8.9	11.7	17.6	34.6

*After the war, do you think Russia will or will not try to bring about Communist governments in other European countries?*

	Total	Executives	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
Will .....	40.5%	41.1%	46.3%	44.4%	32.4%
Will not .....	31.1	47.9	39.5	33.2	21.6
Don't know ..	28.4	11.0	14.2	22.4	46.0

Only about a fourth of the people think that Russia will sign a premature peace with Hitler, but larger numbers, especially among the well-informed and executive groups, expect some lively sessions at the conference table. Later Surveys may be able to discover what people think Russia will demand that would go against our grain. As for the spread of communism in Europe after the war, about 40 per cent of Americans think Russia will proselytize, but nearly 30 per cent have no answer to the question.

## Germany in the dock

*If we win the war, which of these things comes closest to what you think should be done with Germany?*

	Total	Well-Informed	Poorly Informed	Uninformed
Set up a United Nations council to rule Germany for ten years or so, and eventually make her adopt a democratic government and see that she sticks to it .....	36.9%	48.4%	37.7%	25.7%
Bring to trial and execute all found to be leading Nazi officials	31.5	43.1	31.9	20.6
Make Germany use all her available men, money, and materials to rebuild the damage done in other countries .....	27.2	25.9	29.4	26.8
Set up an international government to rule Germany for 100 years .....	20.7	19.8	23.7	19.3
Do nothing to Germany but see to it she stays within her own boundaries .....	13.2	10.5	12.1	16.4
Carve Germany up and divide her among some of the United Nations .....	11.2	8.2	12.7	13.0

[Continued on page 28]

# The Fortune Survey

[Continued from page 26]

	Total	Well- informed	Poorly informed	Uninformed
Kill a Nazi for every person killed by the Germans in occupied countries . . . . .	3.7	3.4	2.7	4.7
None or don't know . . . . .	6.9	3.3	4.1	12.3
<b>Totals*</b>	<b>151.3%</b>	<b>162.6%</b>	<b>154.3%</b>	<b>138.8%</b>

\*Many people gave more than one answer.

These reactions provide evidence that the American people, up to now, are inclined toward a reasonable rather than vindictive settlement with Germany. Few people are content simply to confine Germany within her boundaries. On the other hand, the dangers of submerged nationalism are evidently recognized by the people in their rejection of a fragmentation policy for Germany. Only about 16 per cent even of the people who think we should get more territory out of the war would like to see Germany split up among the United Nations. Whatever territory it is these people want, it evidently doesn't lie within the Reich. The greatest number of responses favor establishment of a democratic form of government after some ten years of close United Nations rule—a policy especially favored on the high and upper middle economic levels (about 45 per cent). Oddly enough, among the people who think we should stay on our side of the oceans after the war there are over a fifth who speak out in favor of this policy, and just under a fifth who suggest a century of international government for Germany. Evidently the group includes a fair proportion of people who respond more readily to slogans than to reason.

A bloody retribution is called for by less than 4 per cent of the people, underlining the experience of the Office of War Information that the American people in this war do not respond to atrocity reports as they did in the last. (This response may have increased since it was learned that Japan has been executing U.S. aviators. That news came out after this Survey was completed.) But many people—especially among the well-informed and the well-to-do—support the declared intention of the United Nations to bring the Nazi ringleaders to justice when the military victory is won.

The determined, thoughtful, and patriotic American citizen who speaks out in this Survey is one of the most encouraging phenomena that the war has yet produced. Far from being confused and distracted by the inevitable clashes of will and authority in Washington, or by niggling criticisms, he has looked beyond all that, sized up the man he elected to run the show, and decided he's doing well, that he deserves hearty support and will get it so long as the war lasts and things continue to go at least as well as they have been going. He wants a peaceful and prosperous postwar world, but he's not just wishing for it. He is busy formulating the views that will finally tell, when the war is over, what kind of man will then be needed to lead the country, in particular what kind of man we must have to represent us in the congress of nations. It must be his policy to see that we are strong along with other like-minded men; to bring the troublemakers before the bar of justice as our courts have taught us to know justice; and, even though we may not quite understand some of the nations of the world, like Russia, to help us figure out some mutually respectful basis of accord with them.

[The research for the FORTUNE Survey  
is conducted by the firm of Elmo Roper.]

Mr. President  
 This is coming out  
 next week  
 Harry

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

May 13, 1943

Following are some figures from the forthcoming Fortune Poll conducted by Elmo Roper:

If the war is over by election day, would you favor or oppose the re-election of Roosevelt for another term?

Favor — 33.3  
 Oppose — 59.2  
 Don't know — 7.5

If the war is still on by election day next year, would you favor or oppose the re-election of Roosevelt for another term?

Favor Roosevelt — 64.8  
 Someone else — 27.8  
 Don't know — 7.4

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 before the war?

Larger — 76.6  
 Same — 12.1  
 Smaller — 4.0  
 Don't know — 7.3

Which one of these statements comes closest to what you would like to see us do when the war is over?

Stay on our side of the oceans and have as little as possible to do with Europe and Asia — 13.0

Try to keep the world at peace but make no definite agreements with other countries — 25.2

Take an active part in some sort of an international organization with a court and police force strong enough to enforce its decisions — 56.6

Don't know — 5.2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-

After the war do you think we should or should not plan to help other nations get on their feet by sending them money and material?

Should — 72.8  
Should not — 19.1  
Don't know — 8.1

If we do send money and materials, do you think that this will result in a lower standard of living here or that it will so increase trade that this country will be more prosperous than ever?

Lower — 22.4  
Prosperous — 58.6  
Don't know — 19.0

On the whole, do you rate the job President Roosevelt has done on home problems connected with the war as good, only fair, or poor?

Apart from home problems — how about the job he has done on running the rest of the war — would you rate it good, only fair, or poor?

	Home problems	War proper
Good —	56.2	70.4
Only fair —	30.8	21.2
Poor —	11.1	4.1
Don't know —	1.9	4.3

Do you find the present Congress is doing a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job in helping the United States to win the war?

Good — 25.6  
Fair — 46.9  
Poor — 16.7  
Don't know — 10.8

If you had to take a choice between a peace plan by Roosevelt and his Cabinet or one plan<sup>by</sup> the present Congress, which would you prefer to take your chances on?

Roosevelt — 58.1  
Congress — 27.9  
Don't know — 14.0

Other points brought out in this Poll indicate that the average person thinks it will take one to two years more to win the war in Europe and two to three years more to win the war in Asia; that 84%

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3-

think the United States should come out of this war with more military bases outside this country than we had before the war; although there are a wide variety of opinions as to what should be done with Germany after the war the most popular seems to be to set up a United Nations Council to rule Germany for ten years or so and eventually make Germany adopt a democratic government and see that she sticks to it; 80% think we should try to work with Russia as an equal partner in fighting the war and in working out the peace, but 48% think Russia will make demands in the peace that we can't agree to; 56% think Russia will stay in the war until Hitler is completely defeated and only 27% think she is likely to make a separate peace; 41% think the aims and programs of the New Deal will be partly done away with after the war — 17% think they will be continued along the same lines and 14% think they will be made stronger than ever; 30% think there will be another big war during the next twenty-five to thirty years but 61% think there is a fairly good chance to avoid it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Public Opinion Poll*  
*Don't know*  
*I think you*  
*know this*  
4-43

David M. Noyes

FROM: SIDNEY J. WEINBERG

I enclose herewith poll which was  
taken at a dinner given by General Wood to  
about seventy prominent businessmen in Chicago  
the evening of September 20, and which I  
thought would interest you.

October 4, 1943

→ *file personal*

SEARS DINNER - CHICAGO CLUBS U M M A R Y

Last nights balloting results follow. All questions were not answered by all, therefore totals vary.

1. In which year do you think the European phase of the war will end -  
 1943 - 9            1944 - 52            1945 - 5  
  
 The war with Japan            1944 - 20            1945 - 41            1946 - 2  
    1947 - 2            After 1945 - 1
2. Will Franklin D. Roosevelt be elected President in 1944?    Yes - 34    No - 33
3. Who is your candidate for the Republican nomination?  
 Dewey - 24            MacArthur - 11            Bricker - 5            Willkie - 5            Taft - 3  
 Warren - 2            Stassen - 1            Roberts - 1
4. Who will be nominated for President by the Republicans in 1944?  
 Dewey - 35            Bricker - 5            MacArthur - 4            Willkie - 3            Warren - 2  
 Stassen - 1            Wallace - 1
5. Will the Republican Party in 1944 win the House?    Yes - 59            No - 7  
    "     "     "     "     "     "     "     "     "     Senate?    Yes - 39            No - 25
6. Will the system of present Government controls continue after the war?  
 Yes - 46            No - 19
7. Will our system of free private enterprise continue after the war?    Yes - 55  
 No - 4
8. Will we have deflation, uncontrolled inflation or a measure of inflation after the war?    Deflation - 3            Uncontrolled Inflation - 0            Measure of Inflation - 55
9. Will the United States undergo a severe depression after the war?    Yes - 33  
 No - 34.    If so, how long after the war?    2 to 5 years.
10. One year from date will stock prices, as represented by the Dow Jones average, be higher or lower than today?    Higher - 41            Lower - 9
11. Will Russia make a separate peace with the Germans?    Yes - 15            No - 54
12. Will Russia retain Poland after the war?    Yes - 53            No - 10            In part - 3
13. Will Russia continue its propaganda for the Communistic system after the war?  
 Yes - 41            No - 25
14. Will the Russian armies enter Germany?    Yes - 47            No - 20

9/21/43

Ames

PSF: Public Opinion Polls Gen Codes "C"

3-43

October 28, 1943

Dear Dr. Cantril:

I have just read the confidential report of the survey which you conducted of American farmers with respect to the farm and subsidy program.

It is quite surprising and very instructive and I am sure will be helpful.

I appreciate these efforts on your part for I know the amount of time and energy they take.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Dr. Hadley Cantril  
Box 429  
Princeton  
New Jersey

SIR:G

Copy of this card filed - Gen Codes "C" dr 3-43.)

PSF: Public Opinion Polls

October 28, 1943

~~Confidential~~

Dear Jerry:

I have just finished examining the confidential report which you submitted on the nation-wide survey of American farmers in reference to the Administration's farm program.

I have found the report most interesting and instructive and I am sure that it will be very helpful.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for making possible the work which has been done by the Princeton Public Opinion Research Office in this connection and in connection with other subjects in the past. I think it has been a fine public service.

With my kindest regards,

Always sincerely,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Gerard B. Lambert, Esq.  
Room 5412  
War Production Board  
Social Security Building  
Washington, D. C.

SIR:G

PSF: Public Opinion Polls

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 28, 1943.

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

These are my suggested letters thanking Lambert and Cantril for the work which they have done for the last several years in furnishing these polls.

The President wrote Cantril a note a year ago, but he has never written to Lambert. Cantril does the work and Lambert pays the bills.



S. I. R.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file  
personal*

January 5, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

The attached survey by Mr. Cantril will be interesting to you, especially the items on pages 4 and 5. It appears on page 5 that at least 57% of the people are clearly against conservatism at this time.

This might be even higher, however, because page 6 indicates that when specific "liberal" proposals are submitted to the people a much higher percentage are in favor of them.

*JRM*

S. I. R.

*x5433*

PSF:  
Public Opinion - 1944  
Polls

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF PRESIDENT'S WIN-THE-WAR SLOGAN

x2527

AND

OPINION CONCERNING PRESIDENT'S LIBERALISM

Confidential Report

for

Samuel I. Rosenman

x PP78229  
x seen.  
Hadley Cantril  
Gerard B. Lambert

Princeton Public Poll

January 4, 1944

x PP75470  
x seen.

x PP71140 (Princeton University)  
x seen.

PUBLIC AWARENESS OF PRESIDENT'S WIN-THE-WAR SLOGAN

AND

OPINION CONCERNING PRESIDENT'S LIBERALISM

Confidential Report

For

Samuel I. Rosenman

Hadley Cantril  
Gerard B. Lambert

January 4, 1944

These results are based on a nation-wide telegraphic survey.

Interviewing was done on January 2nd and 3rd, 1944.

Have you recently heard or read of any suggestion that until the war is over, the Democratic administration should drop the slogan "New Deal"?

Yes [redacted] 54%

No [redacted] 46%

Those who answered "Yes" on above were asked:

Do you happen to know who made the suggestion and what new slogan was suggested?

Percentage of those who had heard of suggestion and knew the President suggested "Win the War" [redacted] 43%

Percentage of total population who had heard of suggestion and knew it was "Win the War" and made by President [redacted] 22%



Do you think President Roosevelt is more liberal, more conservative, or about the same now as when he first became President?

Is more liberal		28%
Is about the same		39%
Is more conservative		25%
No opinion		8%

In general, do you think President Roosevelt's ideas concerning problems here at home are too liberal, too conservative, or about right?

Are too liberal  34%

Are about right  46%

Are too conservative  11%

No opinion  9%

IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER, HOWEVER, THAT SPECIFIC PROPOSALS THAT MIGHT BE CALLED "LIBERAL" GENERALLY RECEIVE OVERWHELMING PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT - - -

Here are some examples (transmitted earlier) - - -

It has been suggested that returning soldiers be given a chance to go back to school at the Government's expense after the war is over. Would you favor or oppose a law providing schooling for soldiers after the war is over? (June, 1943)

Favor  86%

Recently, a new plan for social security was announced by the President. According to this new plan the Government would pay higher social security payments to everybody, young or old, who is in want because of unemployment, illness, or disability after the war. Would you approve or disapprove of such a new social security law? (March, 1943; shortly after the announcement of NRPB Security Report.)

Approve  76%

For handling domestic problems like unemployment, the converting of war plants to peacetime use, or the demobilization of soldiers -- do you think the Government should set up a central agency now with full authority to make plans and with full authority to carry out these plans as soon as the war is over? (June, 1943)

For central agency  75%

PSF: Public Opinion Poll folder 4-41

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*File  
Personal*

January 24, 1944

Dear Grace:

You may be interested in this.

*Dave*

DAVID K. NILES

PSF: Public Opinion Polls

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH  
BOX 429  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 20, 1944

Dear Dave:

Yesterday you asked about the Negro vote on  
Roosevelt vs. Dewey.

Enclosed is the best information I have on it.  
I have taken this from various Gallup ballots run since  
September. Not many Negroes are included in any one  
sample and these figures are based on about 550 cases.  
So I can't say precisely how reliable they are. But  
at any rate, I'd guess they showed the general direction.

As ever,

*Huddy*

P.S. These figures are from the "political sample" - hence  
don't include Negroes in the South.

NEGRO VOTE ONLY

If the Presidential election were being held TODAY and Governor Dewey were running for President on the Republican ticket against Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote?

For Roosevelt	62%
For Dewey	23
Don't know	<u>15</u>
	100%

From Gallup data, September 1943 - January 1944  
(Political sample - not including Southern Negroes)

Public Opinion Poll folder  
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file*

February 12, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT.

This is a public opinion  
poll on the Five-point Program  
contained in your Annual Message  
to the Congress. *Very interesting.*

*SM*

S. I. R.

SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION  
WITH REFERENCE TO PRESIDENT'S FIVE-POINT PROGRAM  
IN HIS JANUARY 11TH MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Confidential Report

Hadley Cantril  
Gerard B. Lambert

February 10, 1944

SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION  
WITH REFERENCE TO PRESIDENT'S FIVE-POINT PROGRAM  
IN HIS JANUARY 11TH MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Confidential Report

Hadley Cantril  
Gerard B. Lambert

February 10, 1944.

REMEMBRANCE OF MESSAGE

In spite of the large number of people who always listen to the President's radio talks, less than three weeks after the President's message to Congress of January 11th, only one-third of the American people could recall that they had heard or read it.

The significance and content of the message apparently did not strike home to a population still psychologically distant from the realities of war, still in a boom period, still unaware of the relationship of the President's recommendations to their own self-interest.

(Question asked during the last week in January, 1944.)

Did you happen to hear or read the President's recent (January 11th) State of the Union Message to Congress?

Yes

 33%

No

 67%

"A REALISTIC TAX LAW"

All people interviewed were told that in his recent message to Congress the President had recommended a tax law which would place higher taxes on both individuals and corporations. Then they were asked their opinions.

A majority of those with opinions disapproved of this recommendation.

In no income class was there majority approval. Disapproval was particularly noticeable in both the upper and lower classes -- with the middle income group evenly divided.

It may be that the easily comprehended restrictions upon initiative and lowering standards of living are more realistic than the intangible control over inflation through high taxes.

Do you approve or disapprove of the President's proposal (to place higher taxes both on individuals and on corporations)?

Approve		40%
Disapprove		48%
No opinion		12%

By income groups:

	<u>Upper</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Lower</u>
Approve	37%	45%	34%
Disapprove	54	45	51
No opinion	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%	100%

"A CONTINUATION OF THE LAW FOR RENEGOTIATION OF  
WAR CONTRACTS"

A public opinion survey is scarcely needed to confirm the fact that the American people are opposed to excessive corporation profits -- because very few people consider themselves dependent upon the rate of corporation profits.

When told that the President had recommended that the present law which prevents large profits by corporations manufacturing war goods be continued, only 9% disapproved of the recommendation.

Do you approve or disapprove (of the recommendation that the present law be continued which prevents large profits by corporations manufacturing war goods)?

Approve		83%
Disapprove		9%
No opinion		8%

"A COST OF FOOD LAW"

As found in previous surveys, when people are told the purposes and mechanism of the food subsidy program, a majority are in favor of it.

The relatively high approval indicated here can be accounted for by the fact that the President recommended a food subsidy plan and explained it.

It is obvious from these surveys that neither the Congress nor the farm bloc -- at least on the surface -- reflect public opinion on the subject.

Do you approve or disapprove (of the President's recommendation for a food subsidy plan, paid for by the Government which would guarantee certain prices to farmers and also guarantee ceilings on retail food to consumers)?

Approve		68%
Disapprove		20%
No opinion		12%

"ENACTMENT OF STABILIZATION STATUTE"

The public is virtually unanimous in favoring legislation to keep both wages and prices from going higher.

It is especially significant that a breakdown of the survey on this question shows that union members are, if anything, more in favor of wage and price stabilization than non-union people.

Union members approving		90%
Non-union people approving		83%

These figures clearly show that --

1. The impression given by union leaders to the public is not a true reflection of union members.
2. Once again, we have confirmation of the fact that the American public can be depended upon to show common sense on national issues.

Do you approve or disapprove (of the recommendation that laws be continued which are designed to keep both wages and prices from going higher)?

Approve		84%
Disapprove		11%
No opinion		5%

"A NATIONAL SERVICE LAW"

The figures given below demonstrate clearly that the true measure of opinion of the American people on the question of a national service act hinges entirely upon their personal feelings about the actual existence of a shortage of manpower and whether or not they understand the proposal.

(16% think there is a real shortage now; 48% understand the President's proposal.)

When the question clearly assumes a serious shortage of manpower --

"If there is a shortage of men and women workers for war industries, should the Government draft persons to fill these jobs?"

Yes

[REDACTED]

65%

When the question itself states that the President has recommended a national service law, thereby letting all respondents know the President believes there is a shortage --

"In his State of the Union Message to Congress, the President recommended a national service law which would require all able-bodied citizens to register with the Government and take whatever job the Government thought necessary during the war emergency."

Approve

[REDACTED]

57%

When -- through three successive questions -- we count only those  
who know of the President's proposal, understand it, and favor it --

Know of proposal, understand it, favor it [REDACTED] 26%

Know of proposal, understand it [REDACTED] 48%

Know of proposal [REDACTED] 62%

← PSF: Public Opinion Poll  
folian 4-44  
*[Handwritten signature]*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1944

FOR THE PRESIDENT

From

S. I. R.

SOME RESULTS FROM A PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

COMPLETED MARCH 16, 1944

Confidential Report

for

Samuel I. Rosenman

Hadley Cantril  
Gerard B. Lambert

March 17, 1944

The following question was asked only of those people who said they had heard or read of the recent disagreement between the President and Congress over the tax bill -- 73% of the population.

"Has this increased or decreased your confidence in President Roosevelt's ability to handle our affairs here at home?"

Increased		16%
Decreased		27%
No difference		51%
No opinion		6%

Of those who say decreased, over a third (36%) voted Democratic in 1940; while of those who say increased, only one-sixth (17%) voted Republican in 1940.

The number who voted Democratic in 1940 and lost confidence therefore exceeds the number of those who voted Republican and who gained confidence by about 6,000,000.\*

\*36% of the 27,000,000 who voted Democratic in 1940 = 9,720,000 with less confidence.

17% of the 22,000,000 who voted Republican in 1940 = 3,520,000 with more confidence.

Net loss . . . . . = 6,200,000

H. C.  
G. B. L.

March 17, 1944.

The following question was also asked only of those people who said they had heard or read of the recent disagreement between the President and Congress over the tax bill -- 73% of the population.

"As you know, the words used by the President in vetoing the tax bill made many Congressmen angry. In addressing Congress, do you think the President should always try to be friendly or should he scold Congress if he wants to?"

Try to be friendly  49%

Scold if he wants to  44%

No opinion  7%

60,000,000

If nearly 50% of the/voting population believe the President should always use a friendly approach, it follows that these same 30,000,000 people are likely to resent an approach that gives the opposite impression. Significantly, half of that 30,000,000 voted Democratic in 1940.

H. C.  
G. B. L.

March 17, 1944.

The following question was asked of a national cross-section of the population:

"When the President and Congress disagree on policies that concern our problems here at home, do you think the President or Congress should have the final say?"

President



21%

Congress



67%

No opinion



12%

The following questions were asked of a national cross-section of the population:

"If the war is STILL GOING ON and if President Roosevelt runs for the Democrats against Governor Dewey for the Republicans, how do you think you will vote?"

Roosevelt		51%
Dewey		32%
Undecided		17%

If the war is OVER and Roosevelt runs for the Democrats against Dewey, how do you think you will vote?

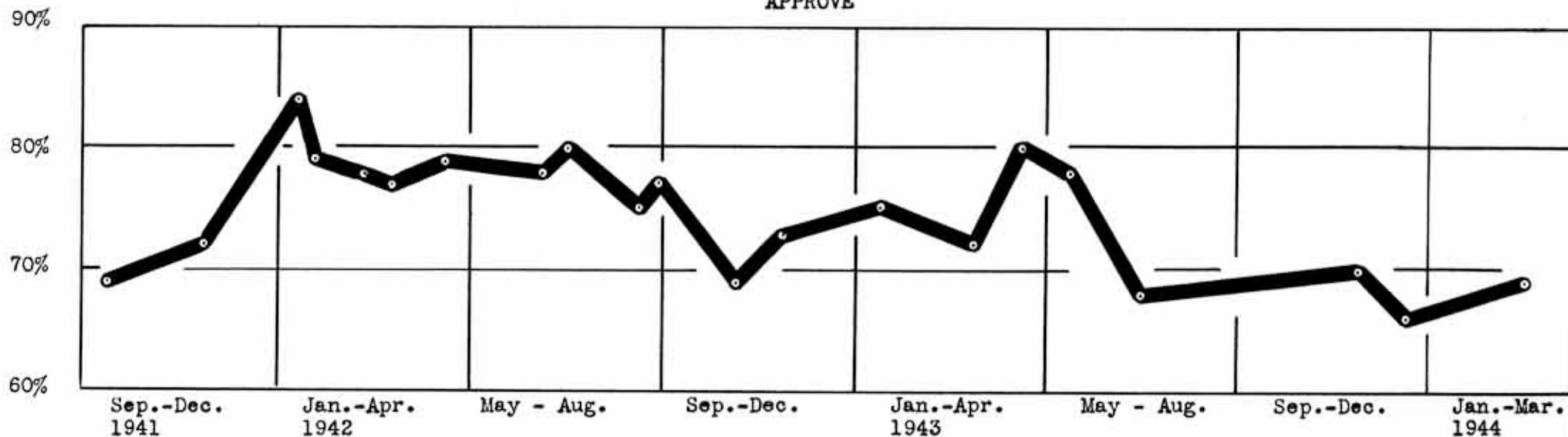
Roosevelt		30%
Dewey		51%
Undecided		19%

Now suppose the war is still going on but the end of the war is CLEARLY IN SIGHT. In that case, how do you think you would vote -- for Roosevelt or for Dewey?

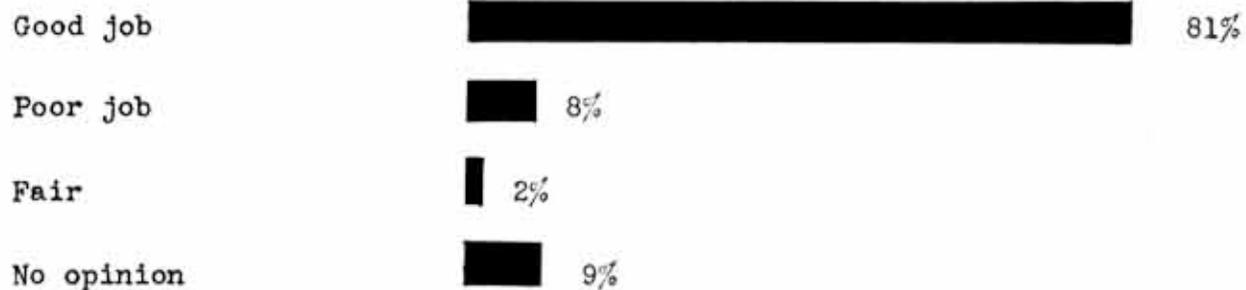
Roosevelt		41%
Dewey		42%
Undecided		17%

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling his job as President today?"

APPROVE



Do you think President Roosevelt has done a good job in his handling of our military and foreign affairs abroad?

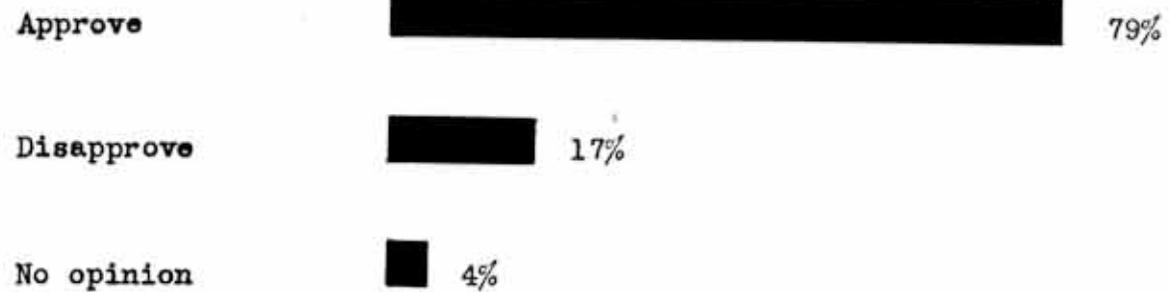


H. C.  
G. B. L.

March 17, 1944.

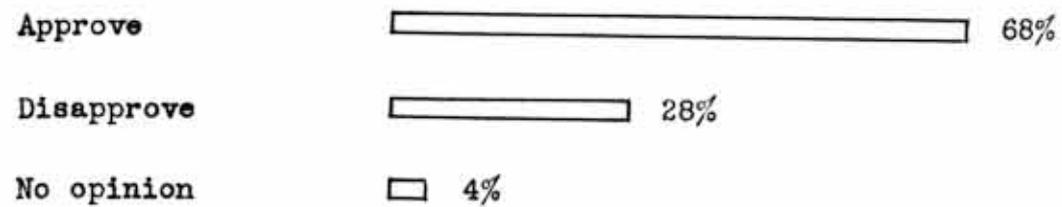
The following question was asked of a national cross-section of the population:

"If our military leaders believe it will be necessary to bomb historic religious buildings and shrines in Europe, would you approve or disapprove of their decision?"

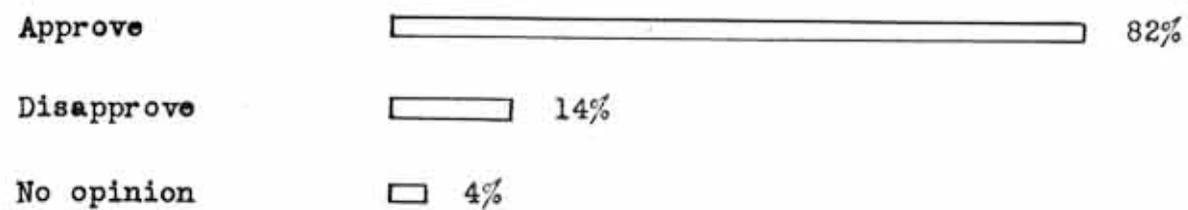


By Religion

Catholics



Protestants

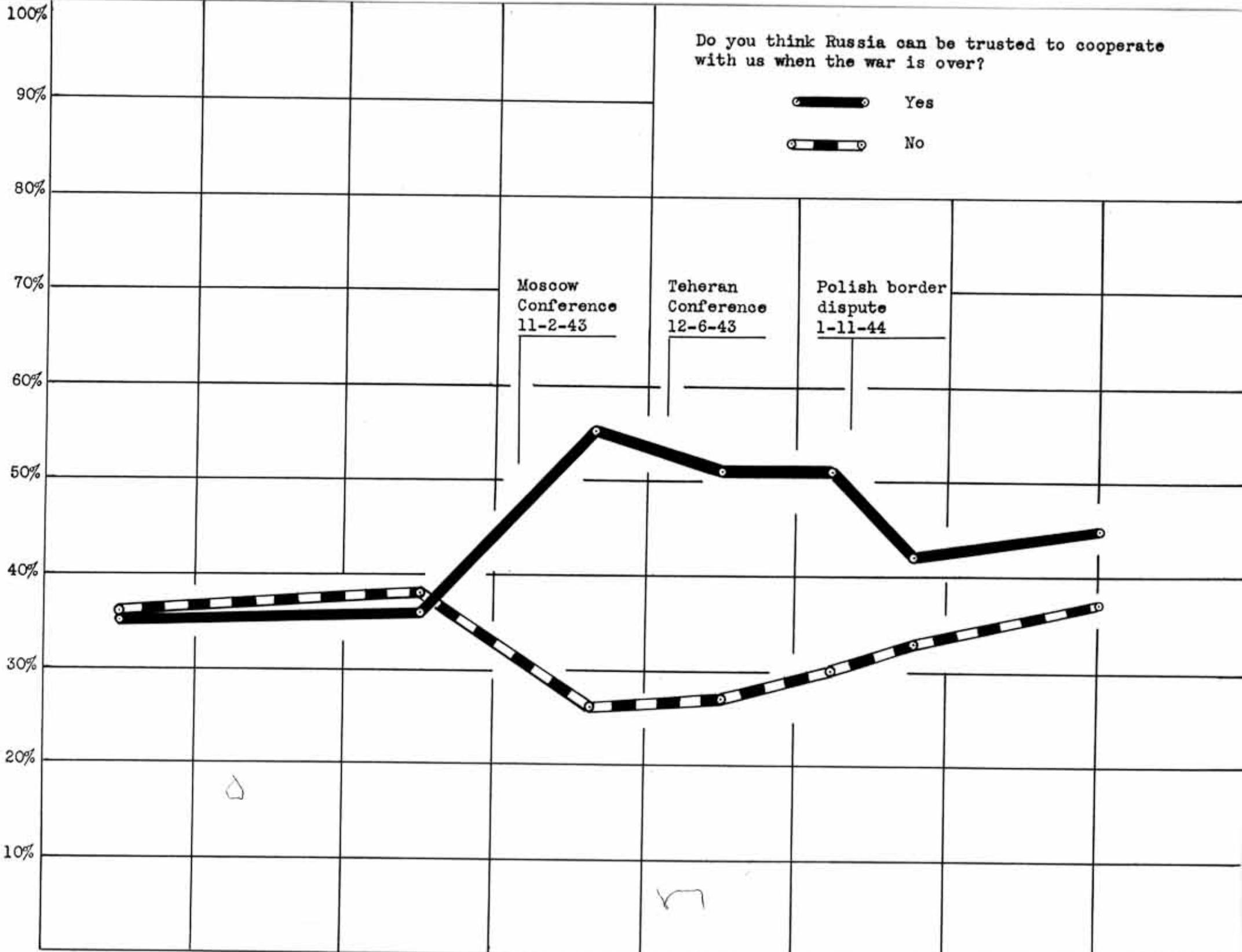


H. C.  
G. B. L.

March 17, 1944.

Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us when the war is over?

Yes  
No



Moscow Conference  
11-2-43

Teheran Conference  
12-6-43

Polish border dispute  
1-11-44

H.C.  
G.B.L.

Aug 1943

Sep

Oct

Nov

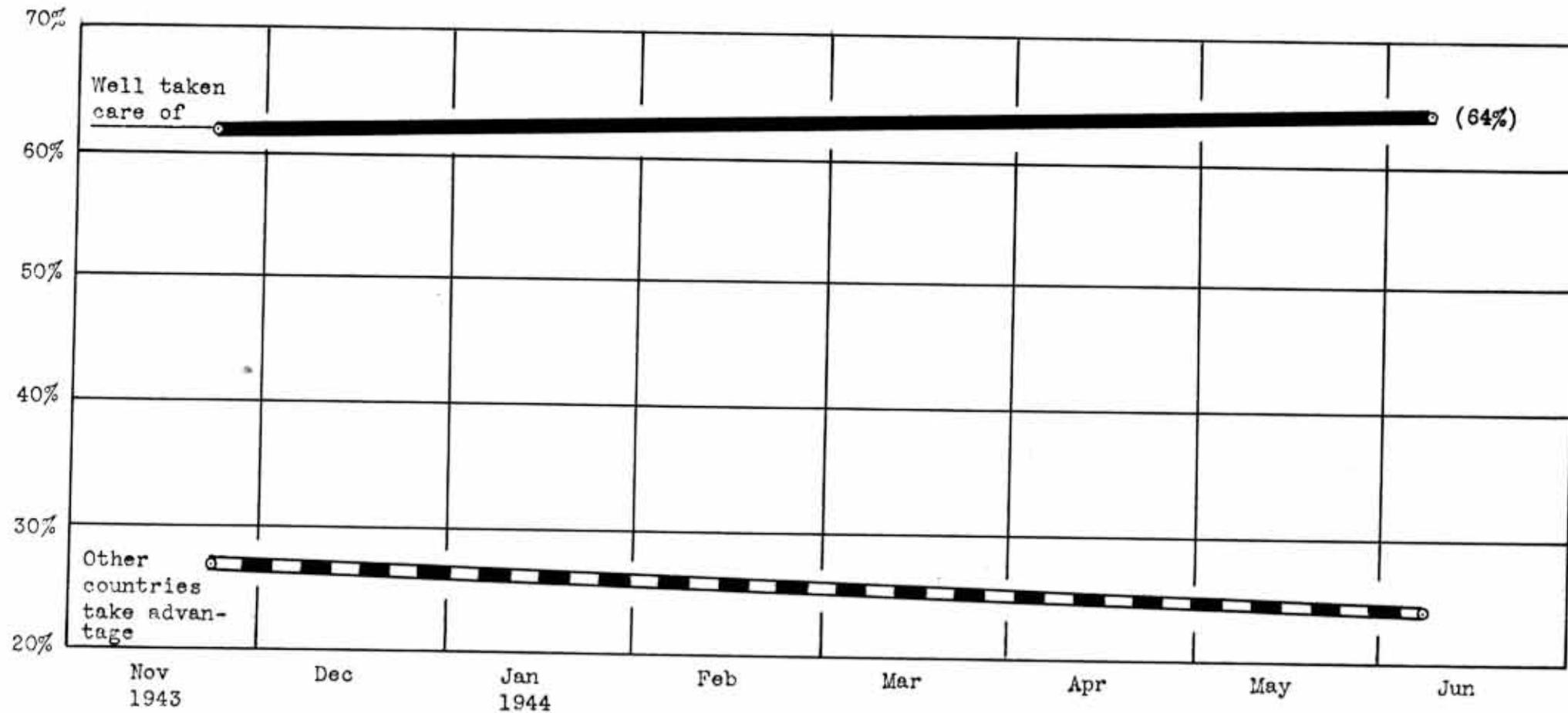
Dec

Jan 1944

Feb

Mar

Do you think that this country's interests abroad are being well taken care of by the President and other government officials, or do you think other countries are taking advantage of us?

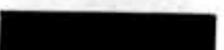


*PSE*  
*Public Opinion Poll folder 4-44*

H. C.  
(Done for State Dept.)

July 10, 1944

Which party do you think is more likely to bring the war to a successful end at the earliest time -- the Democratic or the Republican? (June 20, 1944)

Democratic		45%
Republican		22%
No difference		24%
No opinion		9%

After the war, which party do you think will bring the greatest prosperity and the greatest number of jobs -- the Democratic or the Republican? (June 20, 1944)

Democratic		37%
Republican		36%
No difference		17%
No opinion		10%

After the war, which party do you think will make the best peace arrangements -- the Democratic or the Republican? (June 20, 1944)

Democratic		39%
Republican		30%
No difference		19%
No opinion		12%

When the war is over, should the peace treaty be less severe  
or more severe than the treaty at the end of the last war?



*file*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH  
BOX 429  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

July 24, 1944

Dear Miss Tully:

It was a great pleasure to have a chance to gossip with you a bit the other day about my local politics. The situation has finally become crystallized and I thought I should let you know about it since if Mr. Lambert and I see the President, I expect Lambert may indicate that he does not want to support for the next few months any of my work that is not strictly non-partisan, for the war, etc.

I was able to get sufficient funds from Marshall Field (with the help of Louis Weiss) to tide my set-up over the next few months. The bulk of material that may come in during that time will, then, not be financed by Mr. Dewey's friend.

I shall send in material for the White House as follows:

1. Direct to you, any strictly non-partisan, war data obtained from my regular office work or from Lambert's funds;
2. To Judge Rosenman, any material he especially requests;
3. To Dave Niles, all other information whether requested or generated here.

Needless to say, I am trying to keep Mr. Lambert under the illusion that my work will continue on a high, academic plane except for the material he and I work up.

All of this is absurdly small-fry business. But I did want you and Dave Niles to know the set-up in case the President made any inquiry. All interested parties should feel free to request any sort of information I may be able to get.

Incidentally, I promise not to send too much.

Faithfully yours,

*Hadley Cantril*

Hadley Cantril

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

cc to David Niles

PSF: Public Opinion Poll folder  
4/44

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH  
BOX 429  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

*File*

July 26, 1944.

July 26, 1944.

Dear Miss Tully:

Enclosed are some results that I  
thought might be of interest to the President.

Sincerely yours,

*Hadley Cantril*

Hadley Cantril

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

HC:ED  
Enc.

NON-CONFIDENTIAL IN ORIGINAL RECORDS AND AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THESE

Confidentiality Required

For

The President

Hadley Cantril

SOME COMPARISONS OF OPINION BEFORE AND AFTER THE INVASION OF FRANCE

Confidential Report

For

The President

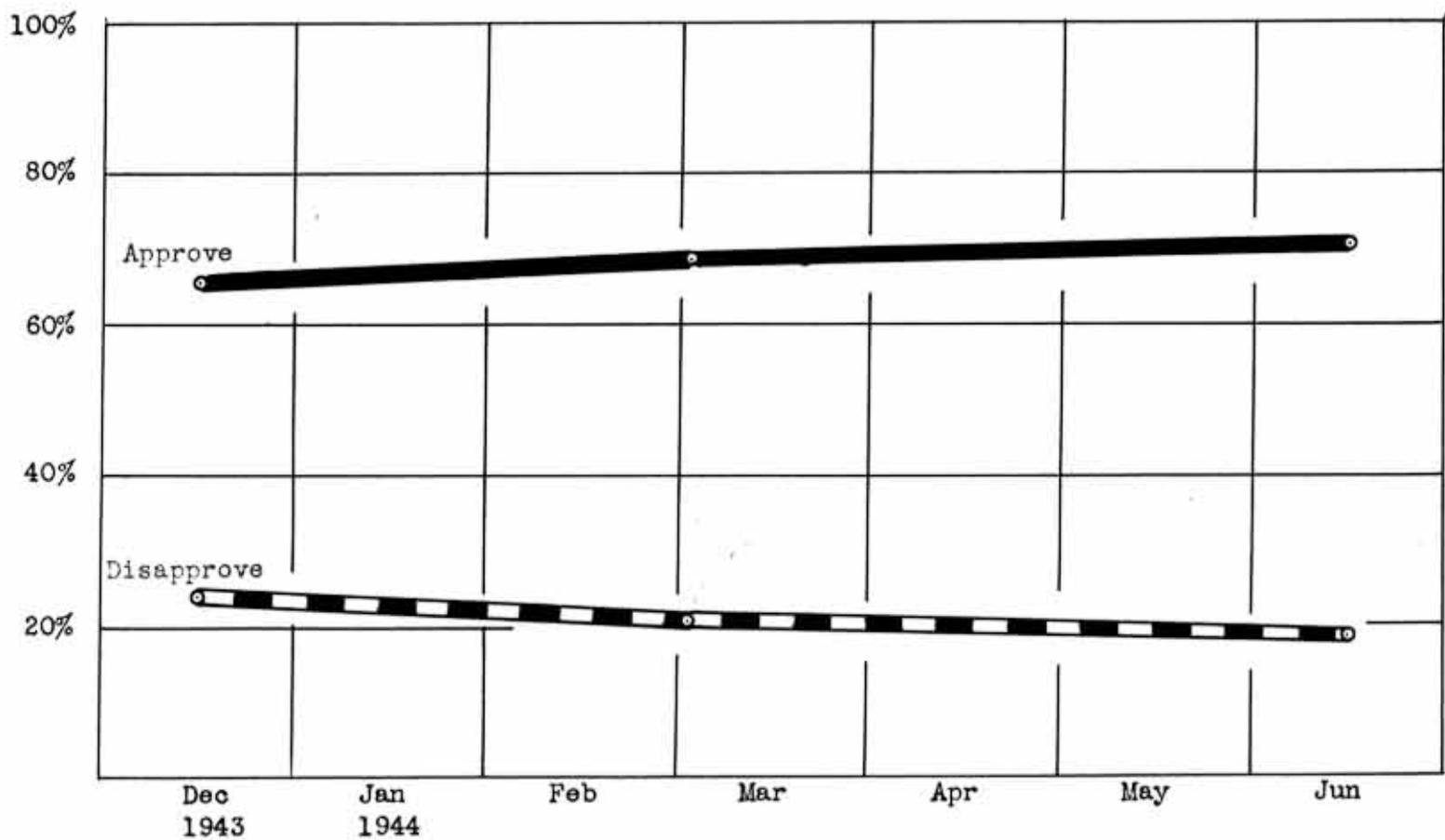
Hadley Cantril

July 26, 1944.

NEARLY THREE-FOURTHS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NOW APPROVE OF THE WAY THE PRESIDENT IS HANDLING HIS JOB.

\* (This is the highest point reached since the Spring of 1943.)

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Roosevelt is handling his job as President today?"

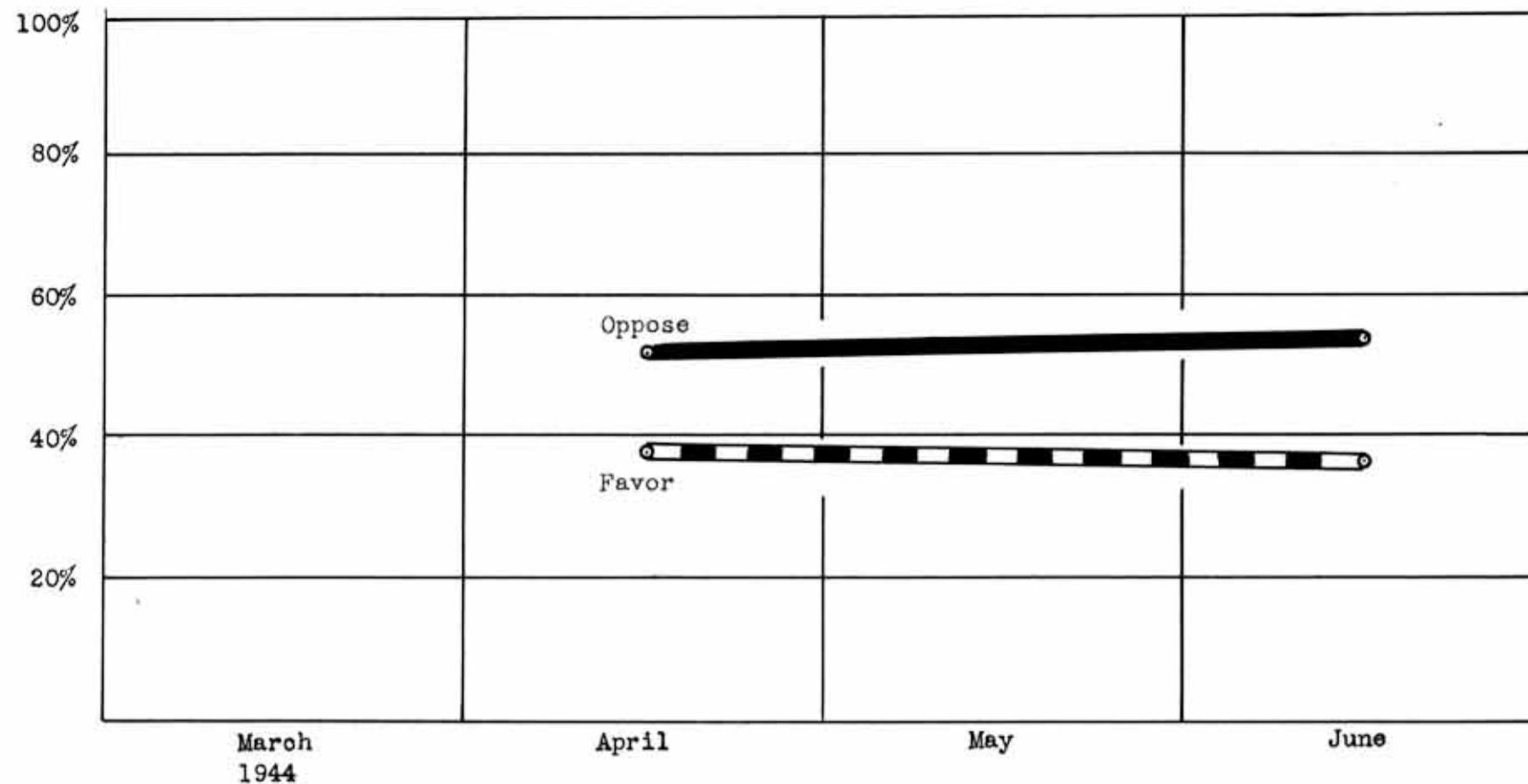


(The points indicated on the trend bars do not add up to 100% since the no-opinion category is omitted for simplicity.)

THERE ARE STILL NEARLY 40 PERCENT OF US WHO WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT PEACE TERMS WITH THE GERMAN ARMY IF IT OVERTHREW HITLER.

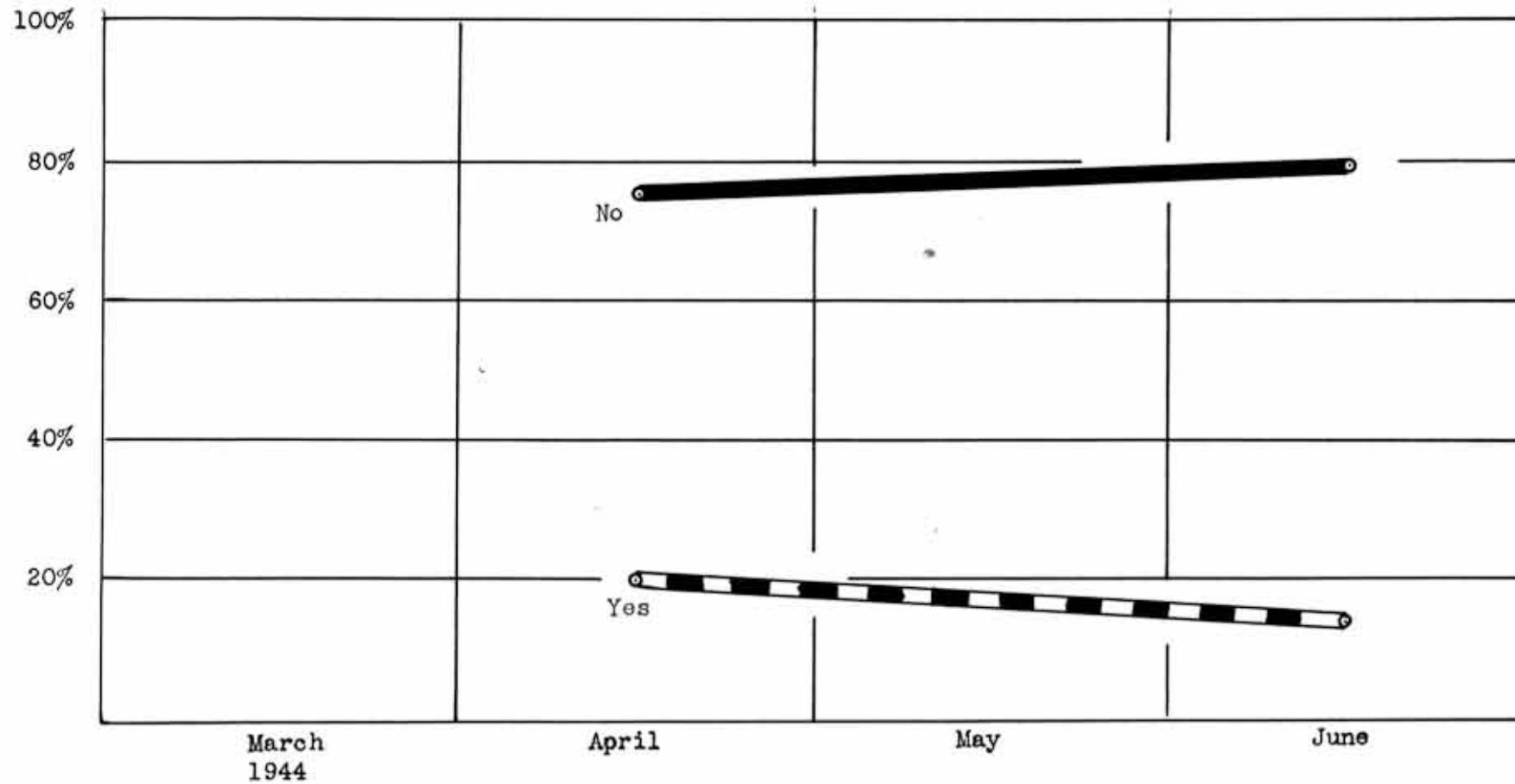
(As previously pointed out, this is due chiefly to public ignorance of the role of the Army in German affairs.)

"If the German army overthrew Hitler and then offered to stop the war and discuss peace terms with the Allies, would you favor or oppose accepting the offer of the German army?"



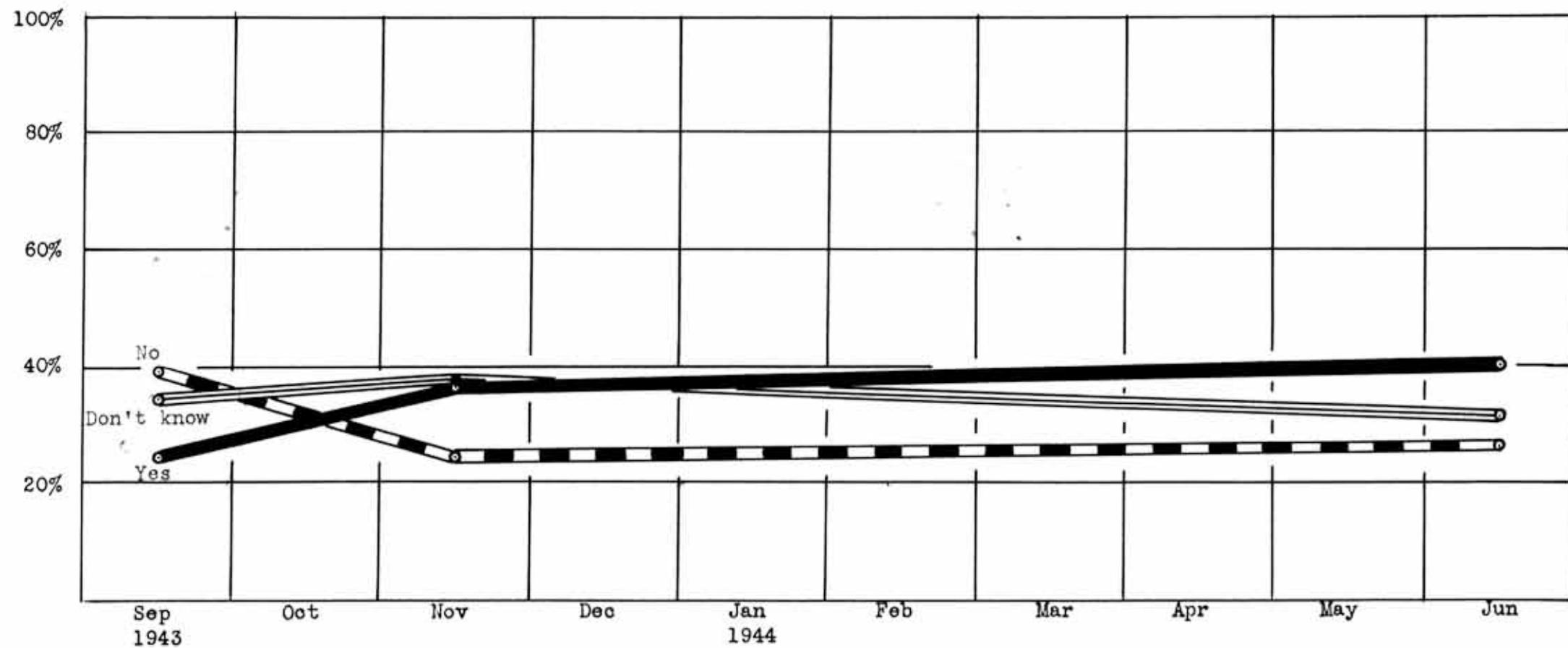
BUT VERY FEW WOULD FAVOR ACCEPTING A PEACE OFFER FROM HITLER.

"If Hitler offered to discuss peace now, should the Allies accept this offer and discuss peace terms with Hitler?"



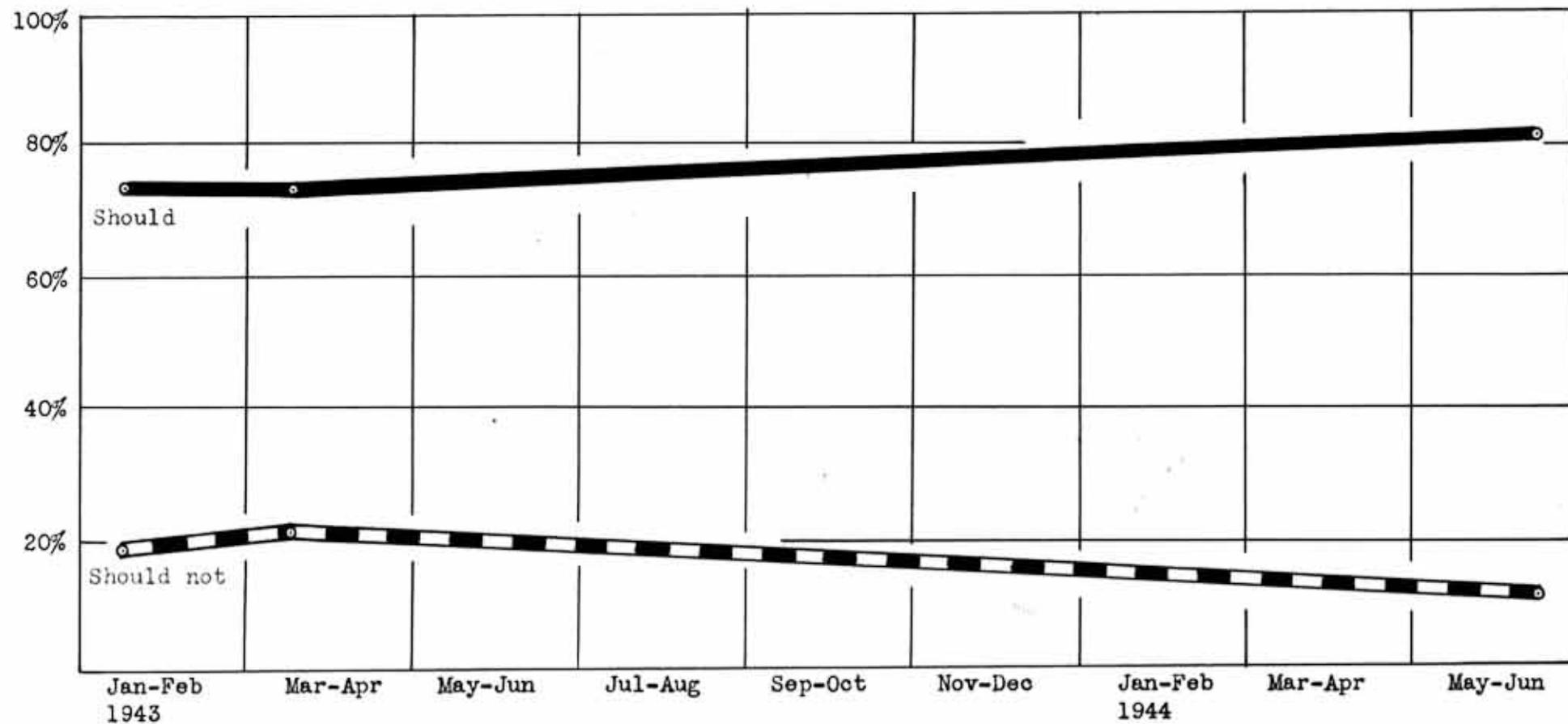
STILL ONLY A MINORITY ARE AWARE OF REVERSE LEND-LEASE.

"As far as you know, have we received any war materials and supplies from England in return for our lend-lease help?"



AND AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY CONTINUE TO THINK WE SHOULD BE REPAYED FOR OUR LEND-LEASE HELP.

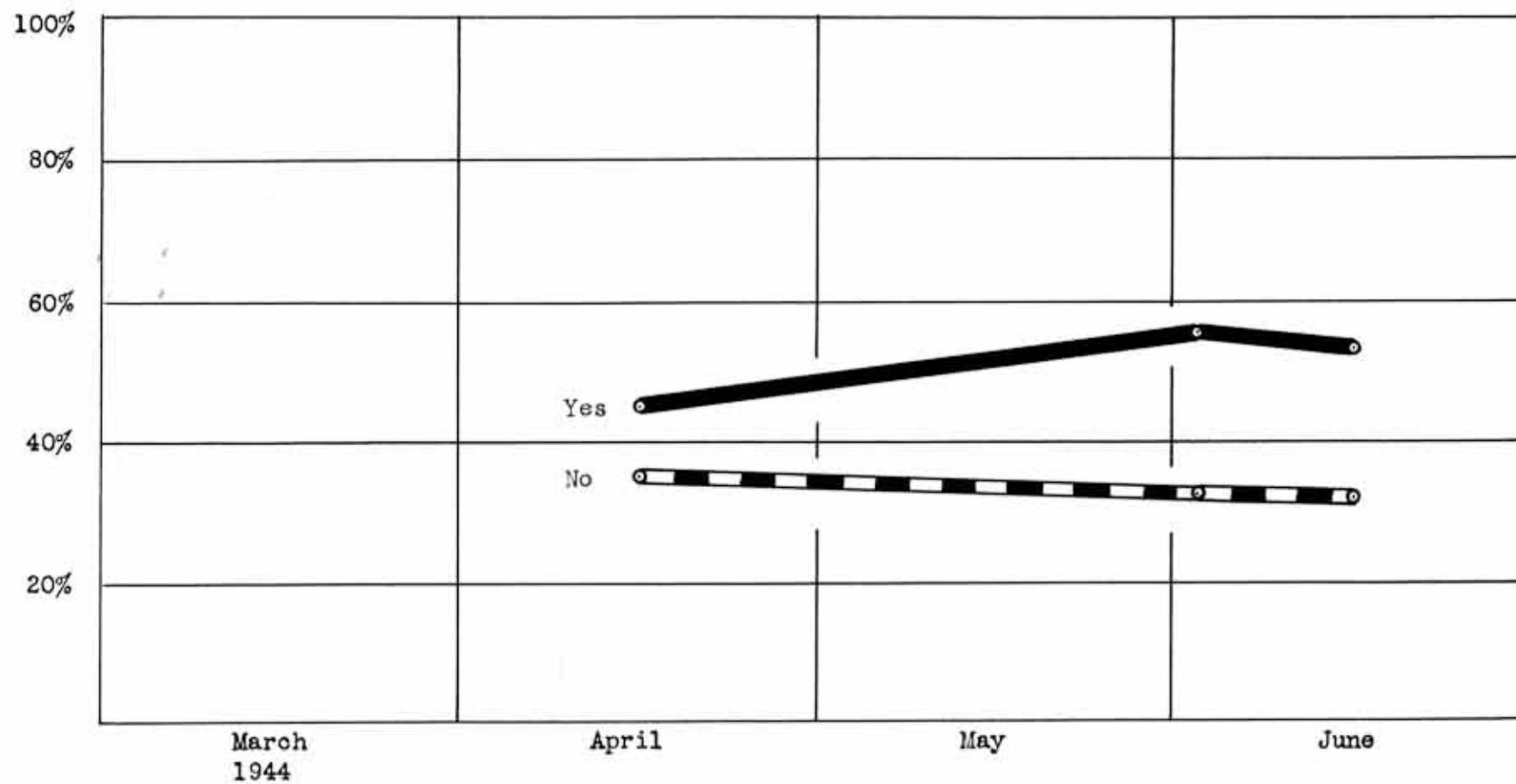
"Do you think the nations now getting lend-lease material from us should repay us for these materials either in money or in goods, or should not repay us at all?"



A SLIGHT MAJORITY TRUST RUSSIA TO COOPERATE WITH US AFTER THE WAR.

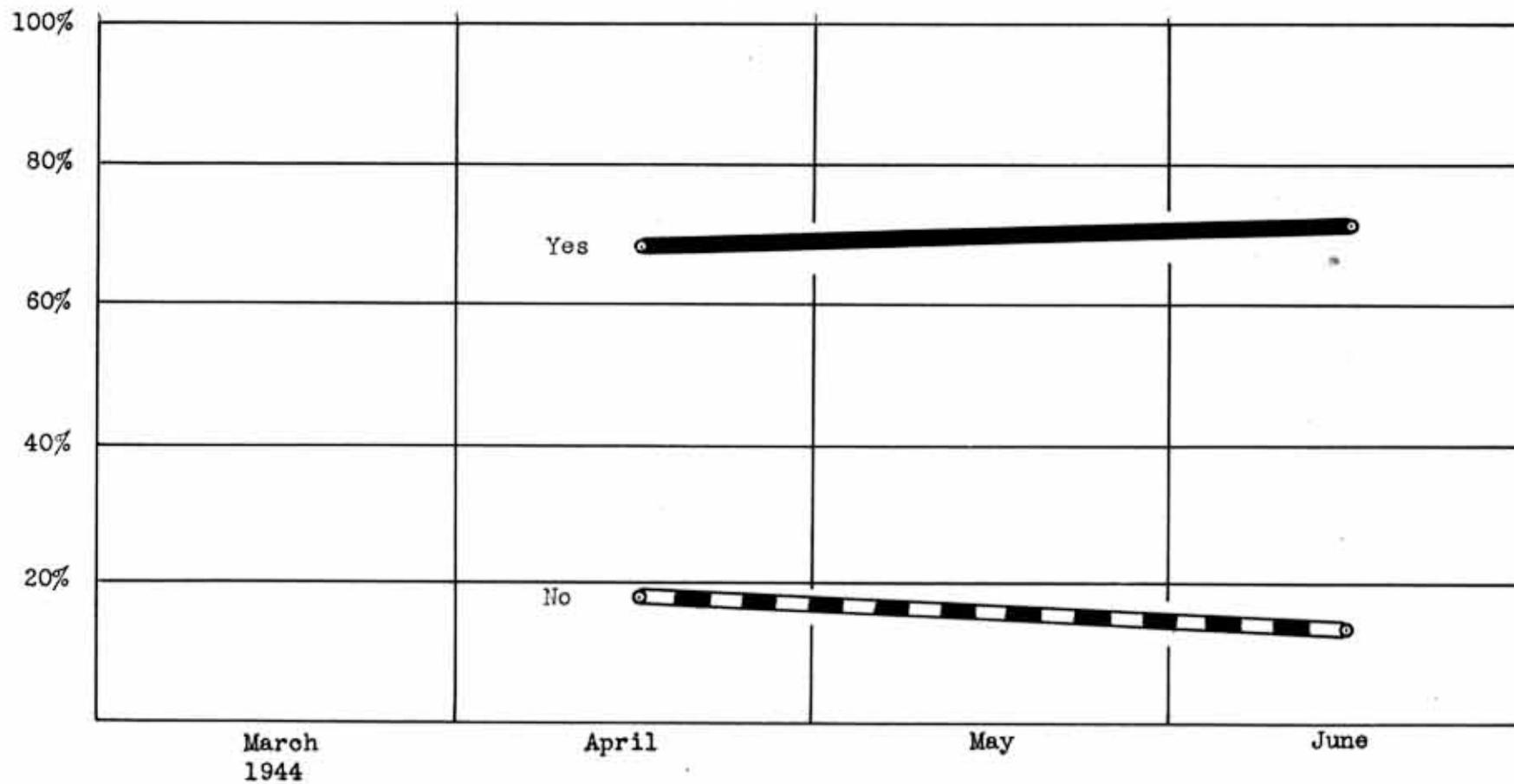
(The favorable trend has been noticeable since January 1944.)

"Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us when the war is over?"



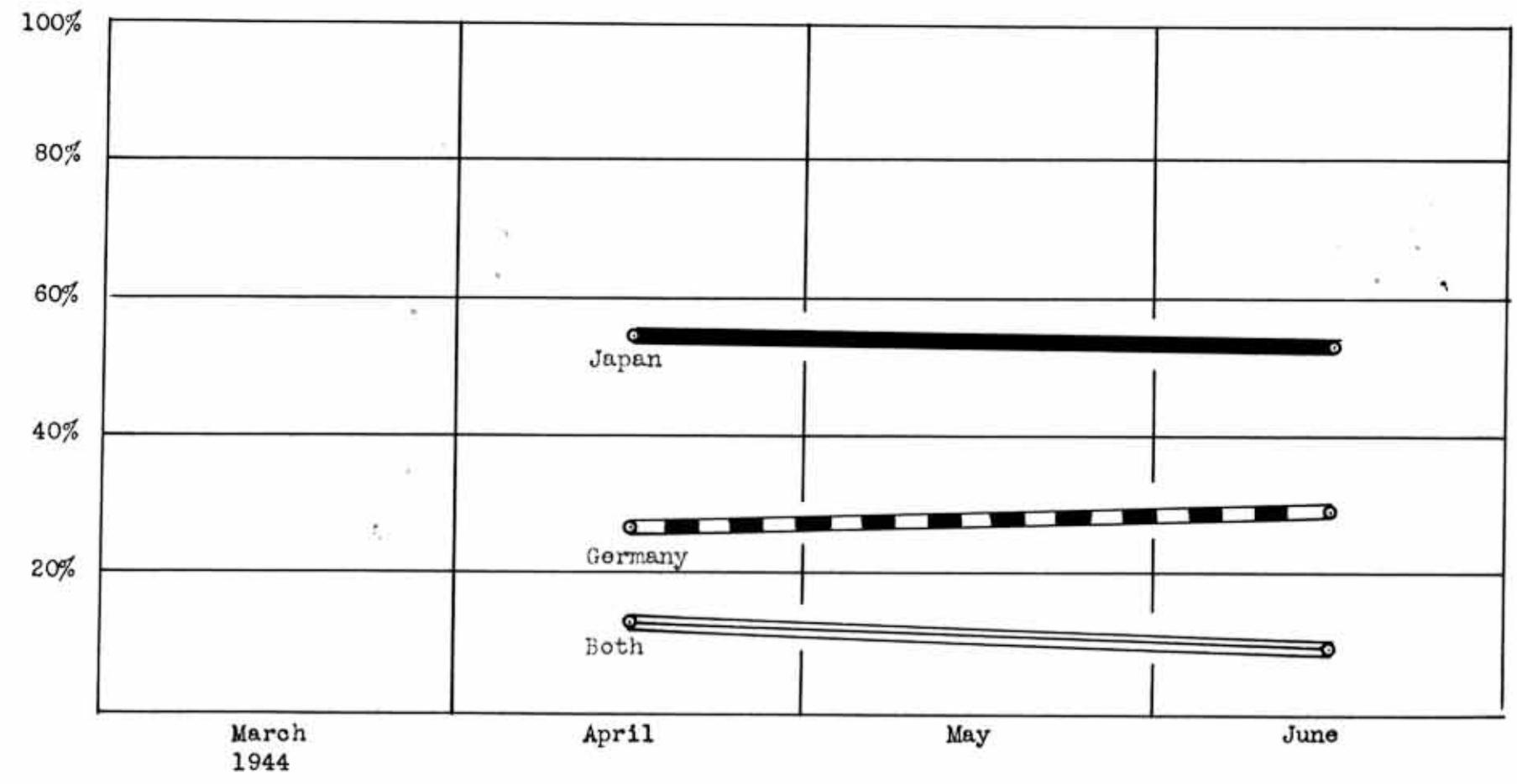
ONLY A FEW OF US THINK THE BRITISH ARE NOT DOING ALL THEY CAN TO WIN THE WAR.

"Do you think the British are doing all they possibly can to win the war?"



JAPAN IS STILL REGARDED BY MOST AMERICANS AS A GREATER MILITARY THREAT THAN GERMANY.

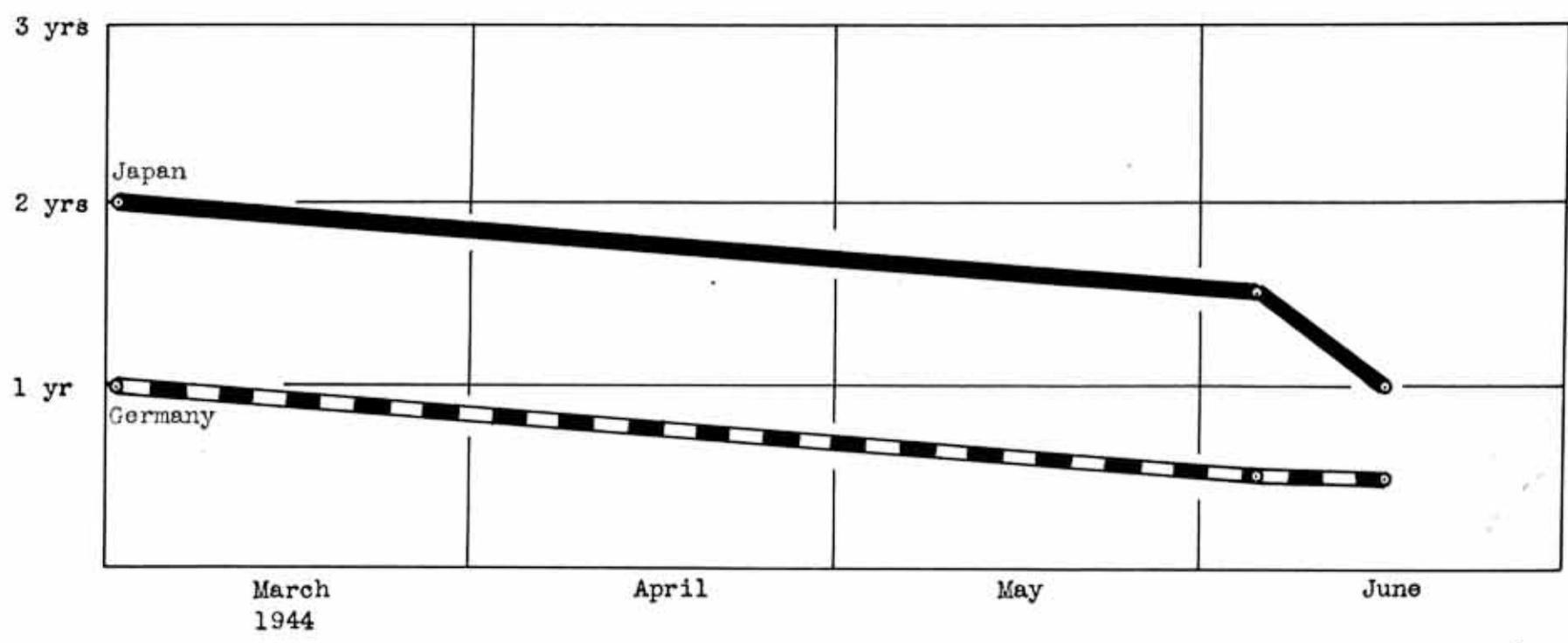
"Which country is the greatest military threat to the United States -- Germany or Japan?"



THE INVASION DID NOT INCREASE PUBLIC OPTIMISM CONCERNING THE LENGTH OF THE WAR WITH GERMANY. ON THE OTHER HAND, EVENTS IN THE PACIFIC LOWERED THE ESTIMATION OF THE JAPANESE WAR TO ONE YEAR.

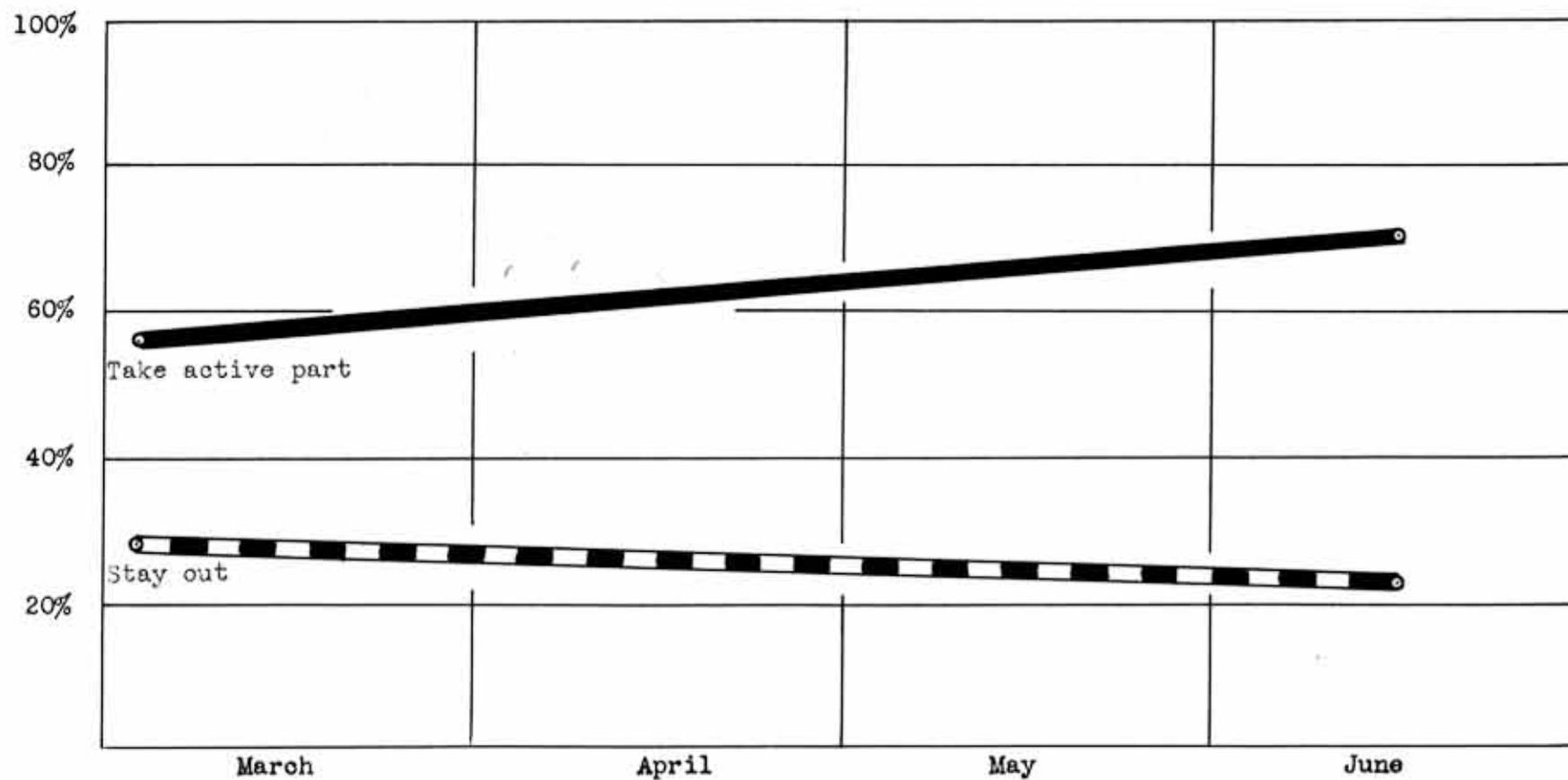
"How much longer do you think the war with Germany will last?"

"How much longer do you think the war with Japan will last?"



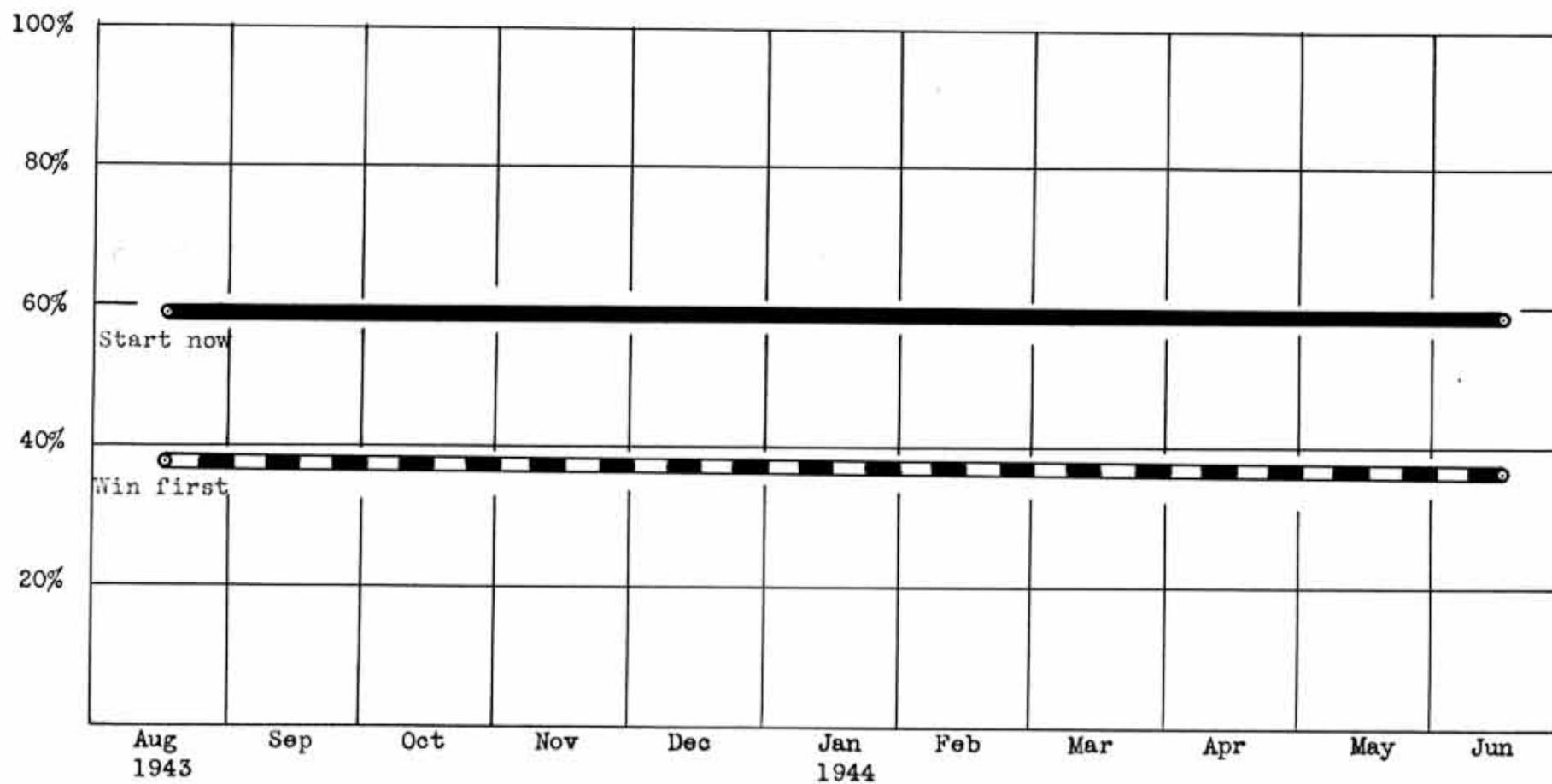
AN INCREASING MAJORITY FAVORS ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN WORLD AFFAIRS AFTER THE WAR.

"Which of these two things do you think the U. S. should try to do when the war is over: Stay out of world affairs as much as we can, OR Take an active part in world affairs?"



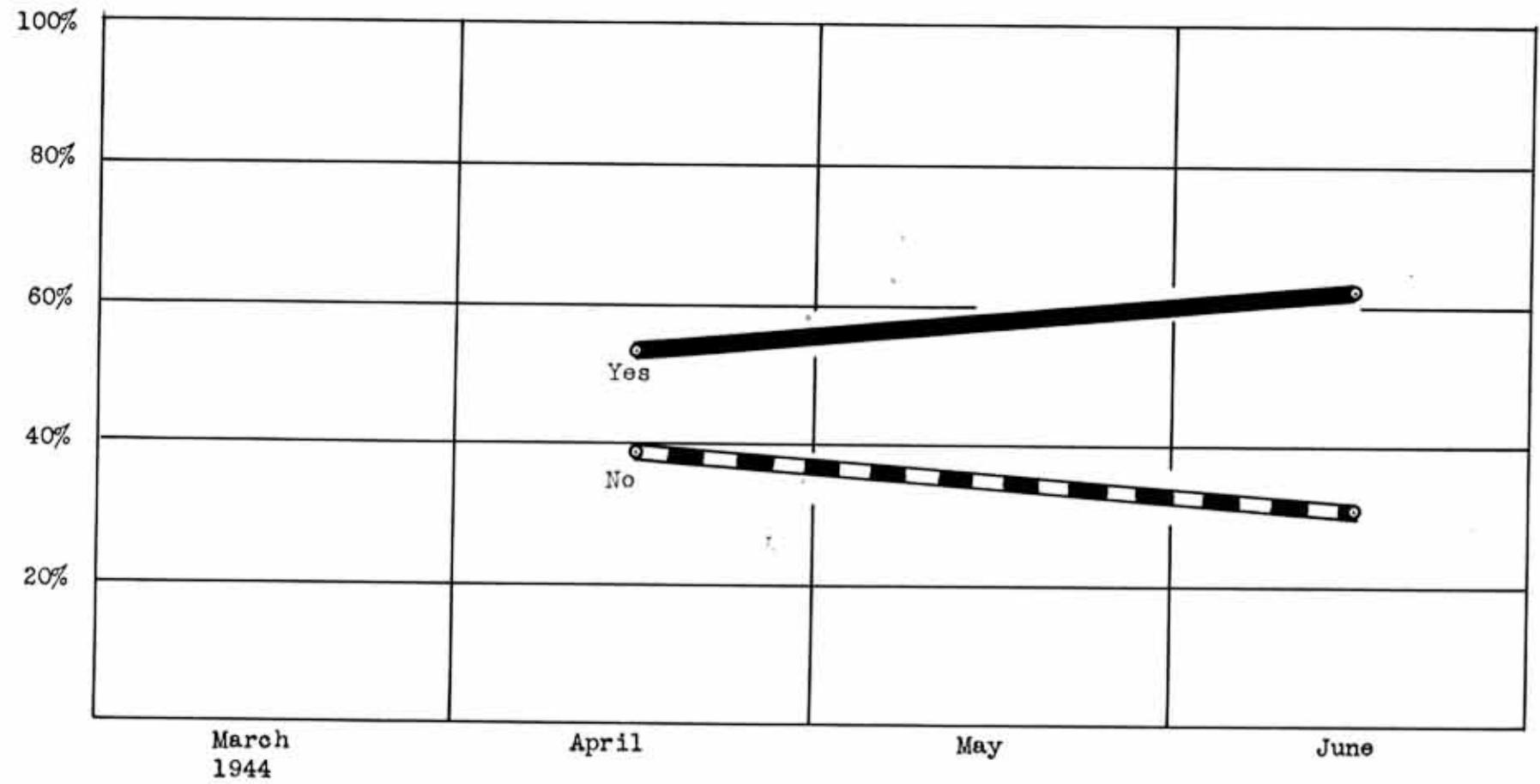
A MAJORITY CONTINUES TO FEEL THAT WE SHOULD START NOW TO PLAN THE PEACE.

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



SATISFACTION WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S NEWS POLICIES ROSE AFTER THE INVASION.

"Do you think the government is giving the public as much information as it should about the war?"



Continued - 7-26-44

Public Opinion folder  
8-44

PSF

*file*

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH  
BOX 429  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

PUBLIC OPINION ON PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

August 17, 1944.

After this war is over, do you think every young man should be  
required to serve one year in the Army or Navy?

You [redacted] [redacted]

Dear Miss Tully:

In view of the New York Times dis-  
patch today, reporting the attitude of Congress  
and the President on the peacetime draft, I  
thought the President might be interested in this  
latest poll of public opinion on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

*Hadley Cantril*

Hadley Cantril

Miss Grace Tully  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

HC:ED  
Enc.

PUBLIC OPINION ON PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

After this war is over, do you think every young man should be required to serve one year in the Army or Navy?

Yes		66%
No		25%
No opinion		9%

Note: There are no differences of opinion between Democrats and Republicans on this issue.

Public Opinion folder 4-4

PST

*[Handwritten signature]*  
10-8-44  
file

August 24, 1944.

Dear Mr. Cantril:

The President asks me to thank you ever so much for your recent reports and especially the "Results of a public opinion poll of Germans to test the probable effectiveness of certain propaganda lines for Germany", which he has been much interested in reading. He hopes you will continue to send them along as they keep him in touch with what people are thinking.

I have not forgotten about the appointment for you and Mr. Lambert but, as you know, the President has been away for an extended trip and found a great accumulation of official business on his return. However, as soon as things quiet down a little bit I shall get in touch with you, as the President is most anxious to see you both.

Very sincerely yours,

Grace G. Tully  
Private Secretary

Mr. Hadley Cantril,  
Princeton University,  
Box 429,  
Princeton, New Jersey.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH  
BOX 429  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

July 12, 1944.

Dear Dave:

These figures clearly show that you  
had better do all you can to get the ladies  
out to vote.

Best regards,

*Hadley*  
Hadley Cantril

Mr. David K. Niles  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

HC:ED  
Enc.

If the Presidential election were being held TODAY and Dewey were running for President on the Republican ticket against Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket, how do you think you would vote?

Roosevelt

Men  48%

Women  53%

Dewey

Men  47%

Women  41%

Undecided

Men  5%

Women  6%

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH  
BOX 429  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

July 13, 1944

Dear Mr. President;

The attached report is the result of our first experiment in what we believe to be a new method for formulating propaganda for Germany by testing its effectiveness in advance. Although undertaken primarily as an experiment, the results are so clear and consistent, we thought you would be interested in them.

To be useful this should, of course, be followed by subsequent surveys covering eventually all reasonable propaganda possibilities. In this way, through comparison, the most effective line could be evolved.

A copy of this report will be delivered to one of the deputies of the O.W.I. Overseas Division for what assistance it may give in their propaganda.

Faithfully yours,

*Gerard B. Lambert*  
Gerard B. Lambert

*Hadley Cantril*  
Hadley Cantril

RESULTS OF A PUBLIC OPINION POLL OF GERMANS TO  
TEST THE PROBABLE EFFECTIVENESS OF CERTAIN  
PROPAGANDA LINES FOR GERMANY

~~Secret Report~~

Gerard B. Lambert  
Hadley Cantril

July 12, 1944

### Summary Interpretation

In a departure from the usual procedure of formulating propaganda lines without an actual test of their probable effectiveness, this report describes such an actual test.

It was necessary, of course, to choose propaganda lines for testing that appeared reasonably plausible. The two lines chosen were: first, ceaseless repetition of the inevitable trend of the war; second, unconditional surrender does not imply personal disaster for the civilian population.

The results of a survey of Germans show:

(1) a propaganda line emphasizing trend would be plausible and effective;

(2) a propaganda line minimizing the personal consequences to civilians of unconditional surrender would also be plausible and effective.

Both lines have been proven to be sound - on the important factor of relative effectiveness, the trend approach shows a somewhat higher rating.

With reference to unconditional surrender, one finding stands out - fear of the personal consequences of capitulation is, for a sizable proportion of the German people, almost wholly due to a dread of Russian actions following capitulation, as opposed to Anglo-American behavior. It is obvious that some step to undo this feeling would hasten the end of the war.

### Purpose

The purpose of this survey was to determine by means of an actual public opinion poll of Germans, the relative plausibility and effectiveness of several propaganda lines that might be used in hastening the collapse of Germany.

Only two propaganda lines and one control question were used in this first poll in order to focus results for clear interpretation. Subsequent surveys will also be confined to few questions so that the relative effectiveness of different propaganda lines can be more accurately determined.

By use of the well-established system of obtaining public opinion through carefully selected samples and confining the information requested to several definite questions, the haphazard results obtained from incidental intelligence are not encountered. The choice of a propaganda line can be made with greater assurance through this method than by personal hunches or scattered reports.

### Procedure

Two propaganda lines to be tested for their plausibility were selected for this first survey. These were:

(1) Are the Germans conscious of the inevitable result of the trend as contrasted to an awareness of daily events and would they therefore be susceptible to propaganda emphasizing an unfavorable and inexorable trend?

(2) Is it possible to persuade German civilians that the phrase "unconditional surrender" does not necessarily mean complete disaster for them as civilians so that we can consistently maintain the line to which we are committed -- unconditional surrender?

A third question was also included in this survey for control purposes. This question was one we did not think was plausible and which therefore should receive a low rating on plausibility on actual test. The question was:

(3) Do the Germans think any minority group could get started and gain control over the present leaders?

Suggestions were worked out for indirect approaches to get all of this information. All observers were sent detailed instructions and were carefully cautioned on the necessity of <sup>an</sup> extremely discreet and careful approach.

Mechanism by which information obtained. There are obviously two direct ways of getting at the opinions of the German people: one is to try to get at Germans inside Germany; the other is to talk with Germans who have just left Germany. In this study both methods were used. In addition to the interviews obtained in Germany through OWI channels, qualified persons working with OWI and OSS talked to Germans who had recently left their country and who were interviewed in Stockholm, Istanbul, Berne, Lisbon, or England. German PW's in England represent slightly over half the sample. The great proportion of conversations used as the basis of this report

were with Germans who had recently left Germany. In addition to the Germans contacted, the survey includes reports of nine Swedes who had recently been in Germany and who reported to OWI sources.

Time of survey. All conversations took place BEFORE THE INVASION OF FRANCE -- between April and June 1944.

### Results

#### 1. Are the Germans conscious of the trend against them?

The results here are:

32% think the present trend will continue and Germany will be defeated;

29% believe the present trend is going against Germany and if the invasion from England succeeds Germany will lose the war;

20% feel the present trend against Germany is only temporary;

5% say the war will end in a stalemate;

9% are unaware of any trend or believe there is no unfavorable trend;

5% gave no information.

Since these reactions were obtained before the invasion, they are undoubtedly conservative as of today.

It should be noted here that of those who answered the question, only 10% were unaware of the present trend against Germany.

Combining the answers of those who already see Germany defeated and those who say the invasion will decide shows that well over half of those questioned (61%) were clearly pessimistic of Germany's chances.

This figure rises slightly when FW's are excluded: 58% of all other Germans feel the war is already lost and this figure rises

to 66% when those who see the invasion as a test are added. Older people are more pessimistic than the young. Even most of those who are definitely pro-Nazi appear defeatist; only about one-third regard the present trend as temporary. The only people unaware of the present trend against Germany were persons whom the observers described as ignorant and unconcerned about anything but their own immediate personal welfare. Except for the greater emphasis the PW's place on the outcome of the invasion, the opinions of Germans contacted at many points and by many different observers are consistent as to the war's outcome.

2. What does the phrase "unconditional surrender" mean to the German people -- do they think it means complete disaster for them as individuals? Here are the results:

7% never heard of the phrase (all of these were PW's);

26% said they were fearful of the consequences of surrender to Russia, but were not worrying much about possible surrender to the western powers because they would expect relatively good treatment and personal freedom from them;

18% believed there would be virtual enslavement and that all normal life would be destroyed for them;

11% felt the Allies would exploit German industry and resources but that there would still be a good chance for individuals to get along;

10% said surrender would mean capitulation only of the leaders and would not be bad for the people themselves;

10% believed there would be fair treatment for the Germans with a good chance to carry on normal life;

5% were especially fearful of internal chaos and revenge from foreign workers now in Germany;

13% gave no information.

In summary:

Approximately one-third felt that under unconditional surrender the individual would still have a good chance to carry on normal life.

An additional quarter of the population was not fearful of unconditional surrender with the western powers but only with Russia.

Only about one-fifth of the people feared virtual enslavement from unconditional surrender.

It is important to note that over half of those who thought unconditional surrender meant virtual enslavement were among the small group classified as blind followers of the Nazis. The more thoughtful persons tended to be particularly worried about the consequences of surrender to Russia, otherwise only a very small percentage of them (17%) feared virtual enslavement by the Allies. And it was among the most thoughtful Germans and the Swedish observers that the fear of internal chaos and revenge was expressed.

3. The control question used received a very low rating on plausibility from all observers. This lends credence to the reliability of the opinions reported on the two key questions. On the control question concerning the possibility of the present rulers being overthrown, the answers of those who expressed an opinion were:

86% believed any overthrow would be impossible;

11% felt the army might overthrow the Nazi rulers if conditions got sufficiently bad;

3% thought a Communist revolution was conceivable.

4. Sample obtained. Information was obtained from 87 people -- 78 of these were conversations held directly with Germans, nine were the impressions of Swedish observers who had just talked to Germans. The sample contains persons from various occupational groups, all age groups, of different educational levels, and with varying attitudes toward the Nazi Party. Many were lukewarm toward the Nazis; about one-fourth of the sample could be classified as ardent pro-Nazis--a third of the PW's were ardent Nazis, only 14% of the other Germans seemed strong Nazi supporters.

No claim is made that this sample is a true miniature of the total German population. However, the internal consistency of the sample as seen when the opinions of different types of persons are tabulated, indicates high reliability.

Except for a few Germans who appeared ignorant and unconcerned, and for the minority who are blind Nazi followers, all answers appeared to be thoughtful and were regarded by the observers who obtained them as reliable expressions of opinion.

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TABLES INDICATING RESULTS

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- Table 24. Results of the survey

DATA ON SAMPLE

1. Respondents and place of contact

German FW's in England	50
Germans in Sweden	11
Swedes just returned from Germany	9
Germans in Germany	7
Germans in Turkey	5
Germans in Switzerland	4
Germans in Lisbon	1
Total	<u>87</u>

2. Occupational data

Skilled workers	33
Professional	27
Business	11
White collar	4
Unskilled workers	4
Students	4
Servants	2
Farmers	1
No answer	1
Total	<u>87</u>

3. Age

Under 30 years	49
30 - 45 years	14
45 - 60 years	15
Over 60	1
No answer	8
Total	<u>87</u>

4. Attitude toward Nazis

Pro-Nazis	23
Lukewarm	16
Anti-Nazis -- bad experience	8
Anti-Nazis always	5
Anti-Nazis now -- once pro-Nazis	2
Opportunists	2
No information	31
Total	<u>87</u>

5. Education

Above average	37
Average	25
Below average	3
No answer	22
Total	<u>87</u>

6. General attitude

Thoughtful	43
Blind followers	13
Neutral observers	9
Ignorant -- unconcerned	7
Ignorant -- but concerned	4
Blase	1
No information	10
Total	<u>87</u>

Are Germans conscious of the trend against them?

Present trend will continue. Germany will be defeated	28
Invasion will decide	25
Present trend only temporary	17
Unaware of trend	7
Stalemate	4
No unfavorable trend	1
No answer	<u>5</u>
Total	87

What is their interpretation of "unconditional surrender"?

Never heard of it	7
Only fear Russia	25
Virtual enslavement	17
Exploitation of German industry, but individual free	11
Bad for leaders only	10
Fair treatment expected	10
Fear chaos -- revenge	5
Think only of present	1
No answer	<u>10</u>
Total	96*

\*Adds to more than 87 since some gave more than one interpretation.

Do they think present government might be overthrown?  
(Control question)

No -- quite impossible	62
Possibly by army	8
Possibly by Communists	2
No answer	<u>15</u>
Total	87

	<u>Germans PW's</u>	<u>Germans Germany</u>	<u>Germans Sweden</u>	<u>Germans Turkey</u>	<u>Germans Switzer.</u>	<u>Germans Lisbon</u>	<u>Swedes</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Trend question</u>								
Will continue	9	5	6	4	-	1	3	28
Invasion will decide	22	-	1	-	1	-	1	25
Only temporary	9	1	1	1	2	-	3	17
Unaware of trend	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	7
Stalemate	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	4
No unfavorable trend	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No answer	1	-	2	-	-	-	2	5
	<u>50</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>87</u>
<u>Question on "unconditional surrender"</u>								
Never heard of it	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Only fear Russia	19	1	1	-	1	-	3	25
Virtual enslavement	11	-	2	-	-	1	3	17
Exploitation of German industry, etc.	6	2	-	-	3	-	-	11
Bad for leaders only	6	-	-	4	-	-	-	10
Fair treatment expected	7	1	1	-	-	-	1	10
Fear chaos -- revenge	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	5
Think only of present	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
No answer	1	3	3	1	-	-	2	10
	<u>57</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>96*</u>
<u>Question on overthrow of government</u>								
No -- quite impossible	45	2	7	-	4	-	4	62
Possibly by army	1	-	1	5	-	-	1	8
Possibly by Communists	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
No answer	3	5	3	-	-	-	4	15
	<u>50</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>87</u>

\*Adds to more than 87 since more than one answer given by some respondents.

	Attitudes			Occupation			Type			
	Pro-	Anti-	Luke-warm	Prof.	Bus.	Skilled	Thoughtful	Blind follow.	Neutral Obs.	Ignorant
<u>Trend question</u>										
Will continue	1	8	2	11	6	9	12	1	3	3
Invasion will decide	8	3	9	6	-	13	15	5	1	4
Only temporary	8	-	1	4	5	6	9	4	3	-
Unaware of trend	4	-	2	-	-	4	1	2	-	4
Stalemate	-	2	1	2	-	-	4	-	-	-
No unfavorable trend	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
No answer	1	-	1	4	-	-	2	-	2	1
<u>"Unconditional surrender"</u>										
Only fear Russia	3	4	7	5	3	11	15	1	3	5
Virtual enslavement	12	1	-	4	4	6	5	9	3	-
Exploitation of German industry, etc.	3	1	2	4	-	4	7	2	-	-
Only bad for leaders	2	1	4	4	2	2	7	1	-	1
Fair treatment expected	1	3	7	2	1	6	3	-	1	4
Fear chaos -- revenge	-	3	-	3	1	-	2	-	2	-
No answer	1	1	-	5	1	3	3	-	2	2

2-1  
[faint stamp]

PSF Public opinion forum  
4-44

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*[Signature]*  
SIR has  
seen

September 8, 1944

**MEMORANDUM:**

**To: MISS GRACE TULLY**

**For your information.**

**DAVID K. NILES**

WHAT PEOPLE FEEL ARE THE MAIN PROBLEMS AHEAD FOR  
THE NEXT FOUR YEARS AND WHAT THEY THINK OF THE  
CANDIDATES' ABILITIES TO HANDLE THESE PROBLEMS

Confidential Report

For

David K. Niles

H. C.

September 7, 1944.

b6  
b7C

#### SUMMARY INTERPRETATION

1. Problems that can be classified as "domestic" rather than "international" are still uppermost in the minds of about three people out of four.
2. Chief worry is reconversion and jobs. Making a lasting peace is second.
3. Roosevelt leads Dewey in the public's estimate of his ability to handle: (1) peace making; (2) winning the war; (3) rehabilitation of veterans.

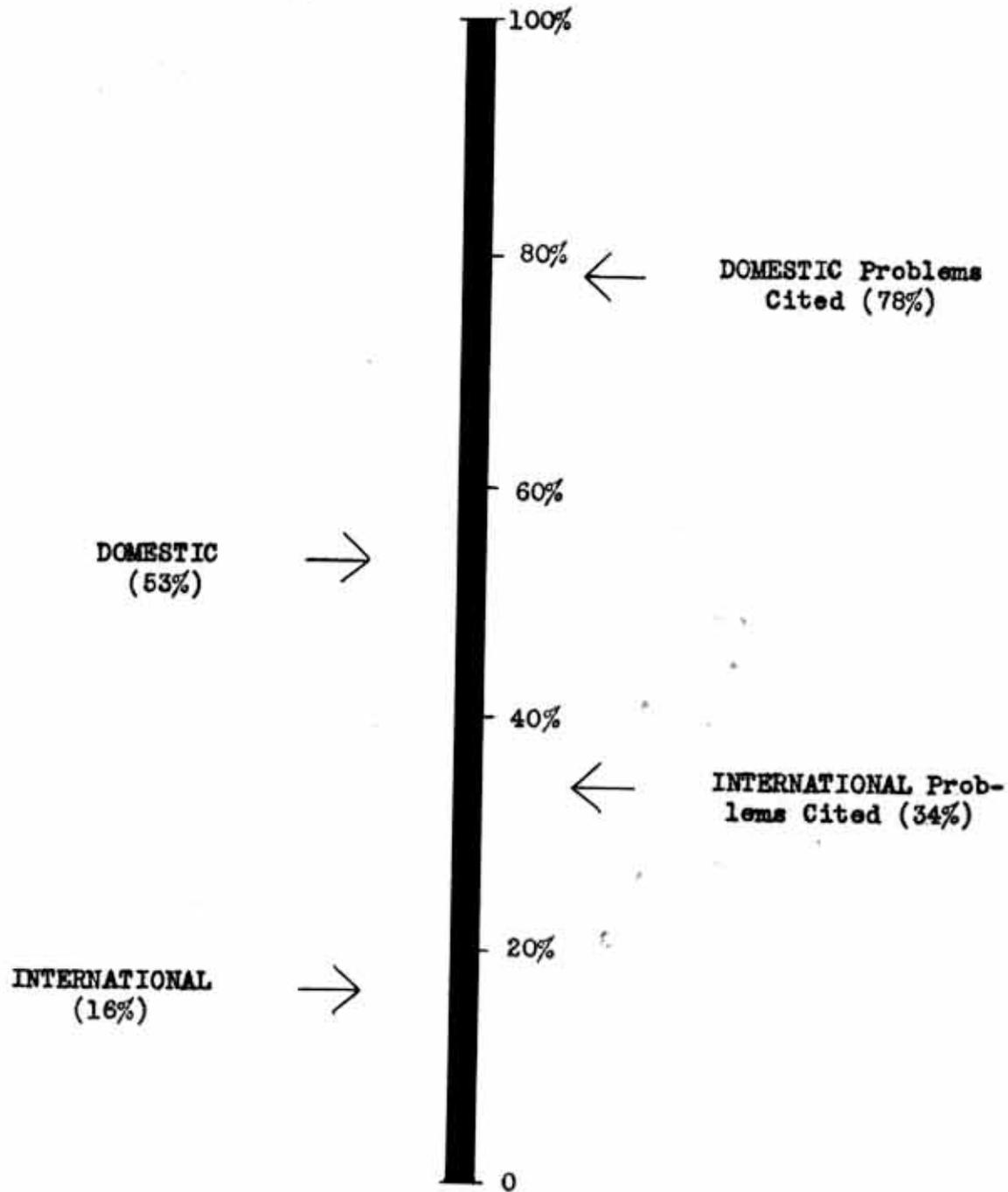
Dewey leads Roosevelt in the public's estimate of his ability to handle: (1) financial problems; (2) getting back to normal; (3) labor and certain other strictly domestic post-war problems.

Note: Most of these figures are based on a very recent, unpublished Gallup survey covering the same ground as an earlier report sent in by me.

COMPARISON OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN DOMESTIC  
AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

"Right now lots of people are interested in post-war problems. Which interests you more -- International problems (like a new league of nations and an international police force) OR domestic problems (like full employment and production)? (OPOR November 1943)

"What do you think will be the greatest task the president elected this year will have to face during his four years in office?" (AIPO August 1944)



(Both - 26%; No opinion - 5%)

(Adds to more than 100% since some people mentioned more than one problem.)

THE PROBLEMS MENTIONED

Foreign problems

Winning the war	6%	
Achieving the peace	22	
Foreign relations -- diplomacy, international relations	<u>6</u>	34%

Domestic problems

Post-war employment problem	18%	41%
Reconversion to peacetime economy; getting back to normal	23	
Financial problems -- taxes, war debt	9	
Rehabilitation of veterans	12	
Labor problems -- capital vs. labor, working conditions	3	
National unity	1	
General domestic problems	4	
Post-war planning and problems	5	
Racial problems	<u>3</u>	78%

Note: Percentages add to more than 100% since some people mentioned several problems.

THE CANDIDATES' RESPECTIVE ABILITIES

"Which man do you think can handle this particular job better -- Dewey or Roosevelt?"

	<u>Think Dewey Better</u>	<u>Think Roosevelt Better</u>
<u>Foreign problems</u>		
Winning the war	3%	9%
Achieving the peace	16	29
Foreign relations -- diplomacy, international relations	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	25%	44%
<u>Domestic problems</u>		
Post-war employment problem	19%	19%
Reconversion to peacetime economy; getting back to normal	29	22
Financial problems -- taxes, war debt	17	6
Rehabilitation of veterans	8	16
Labor problems -- capital vs. labor, working conditions	6	2
National unity	1	1
General domestic problems	7	2
Post-war planning and problems	5	6
Racial problems	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	93%	76%

PSF Public Opinion poll data 4-44  
file  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR GRACE TULLY.

The attached material is from Hadley Cantril. The President might like to look at it. It purports to show what trend the Catholics of the U. S. are taking in this election.

Jm

S. I. R.

CATHOLIC SHIFT FROM DEMOCRATS 1940 - 1944

I. Percent Shift by Income Groups

	<u>Catholics</u>		<u>Catholic Shift From Roosevelt</u>	<u>Protestants</u>		<u>Protestant Shift From Roosevelt</u>
	<u>1940</u>	<u>1944</u>		<u>1940</u>	<u>1944</u>	
Upper	67*	49	-18	31	29	-2
Middle	70	59	-11	45	39	-6
Lower	82	78	-4	61	59	-2

\* % Democratic

II. What This Probably Means in Actual Vote

1. Assume there are about 12,000,000 Catholics of voting age.
2. The economic distribution of Catholics in 1940 was:

Upper	11%	=	1,300,000
Middle	28%	=	3,500,000
Lower	61%	=	7,200,000
	<u>100%</u>		<u>12,000,000</u>

3. The turnout of Catholics in the 1940 election was:

Upper income	87%
Middle income	86%
Lower income	69%

4. Assume the same proportion of Catholics vote in 1944 as in 1940:

Upper	= 87% of 1,300,000	=	1,100,000
Middle	= 86% of 3,500,000	=	3,000,000
Lower	= 69% of 7,200,000	=	<u>5,000,000</u>
Total Catholics voting		=	9,100,000

5. How the Catholic vote splits in 1940 and 1944;

1940

<u>Voters</u>		<u>% Dem.</u>		<u>Voted Dem.</u>
1,100,000	x	67%	=	740,000
3,000,000	x	70%	=	2,100,000
5,000,000	x	82%	=	<u>4,100,000</u>
Total Democratic vote from Catholics in 1940				= 6,940,000

1944

1,100,000	x	49%	=	540,000
3,000,000	x	59%	=	1,770,000
5,000,000	x	78%	=	<u>3,900,000</u>
Total Democratic vote from Catholics in 1944				= 6,210,000

Democratic loss in Catholic vote from 1940 to 1944 = 730,000 or approximately a 10% drop.

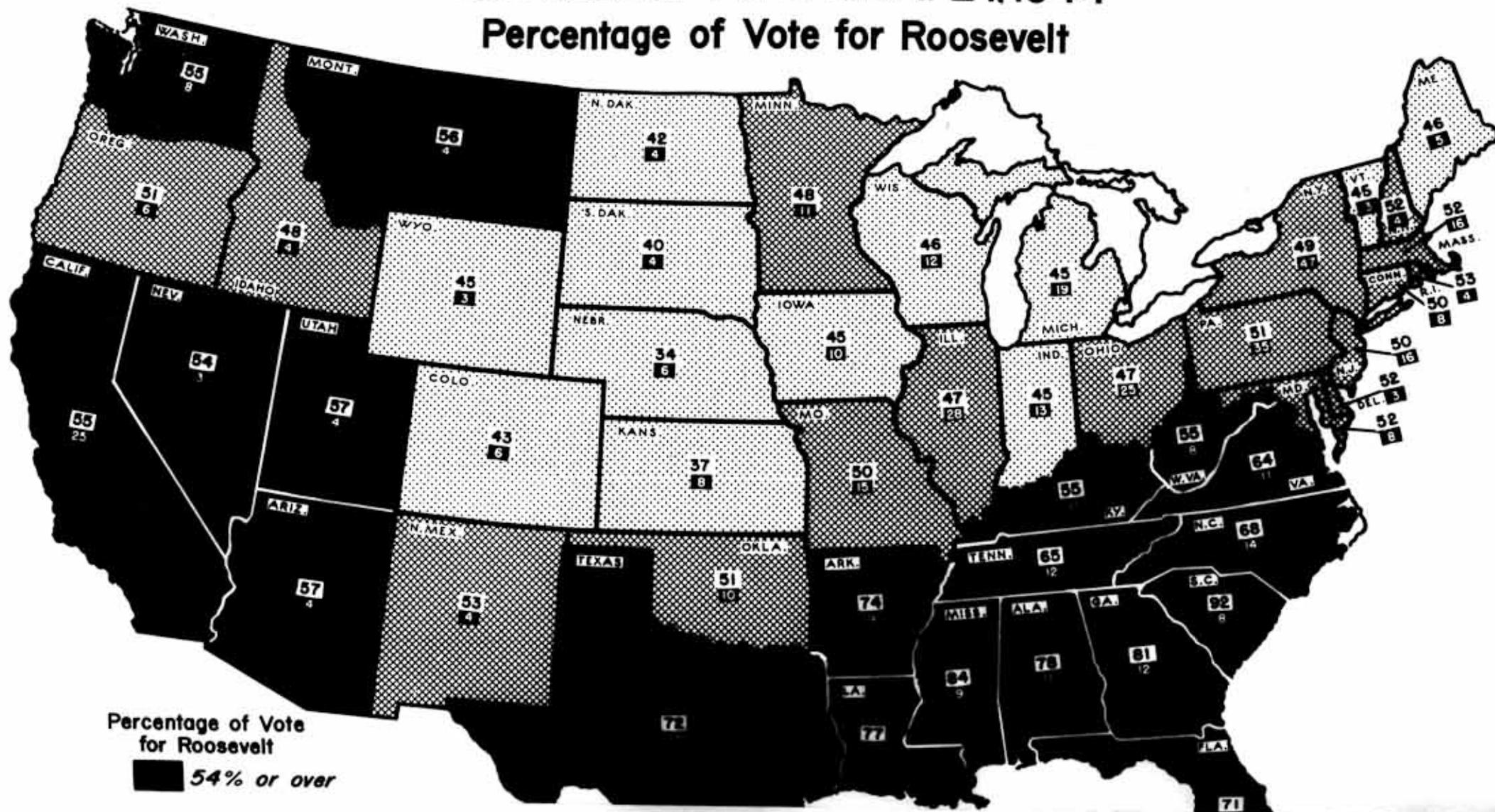
Although Catholics believe more than Protestants that Russia intends to spread Communism in Europe after the war, still a distinct majority of Catholics do not hold this view.

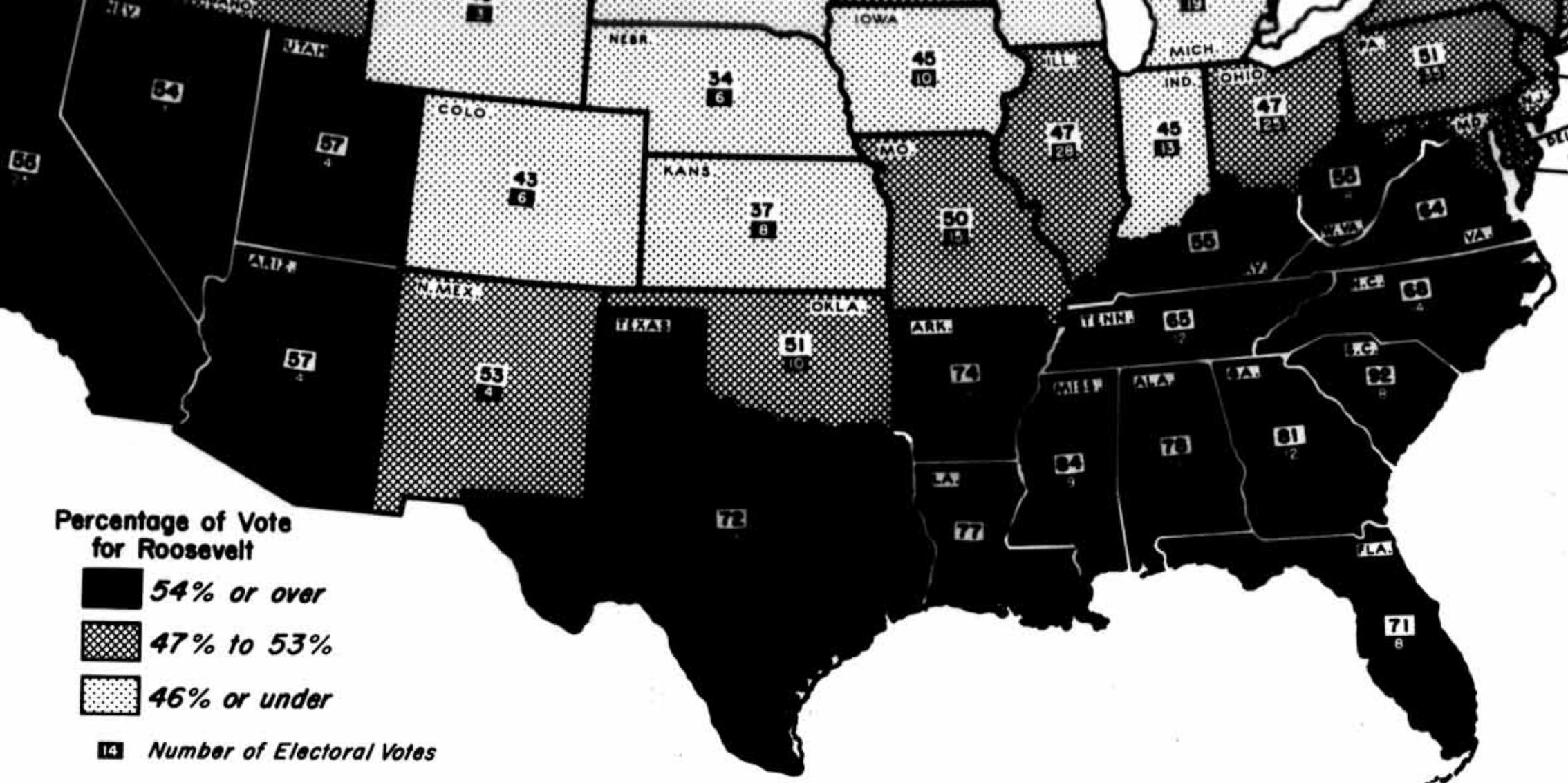
"There is a lot of talk about what Russia will do in Europe after the war is over. Which of the following statements do you think most nearly expresses the policy Russia will follow?"

<u>Catholics</u>	<u>Protestants</u>	
30%	17%	A. Russia will take over a large part of Europe and try to spread Communism.
39	47	B. Russia will not try to gain any more territory for herself, but will try to make herself secure by making sure that in neighboring European countries, like Poland, only governments which Russia approves of are established.
21	23	C. Russia will follow a real "Good Neighbor" policy by not interfering in any way with the affairs of neighboring countries.
<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	No opinion
100%	100%	

# THE GALLUP POLL SEPT. 24, 1944

## Percentage of Vote for Roosevelt



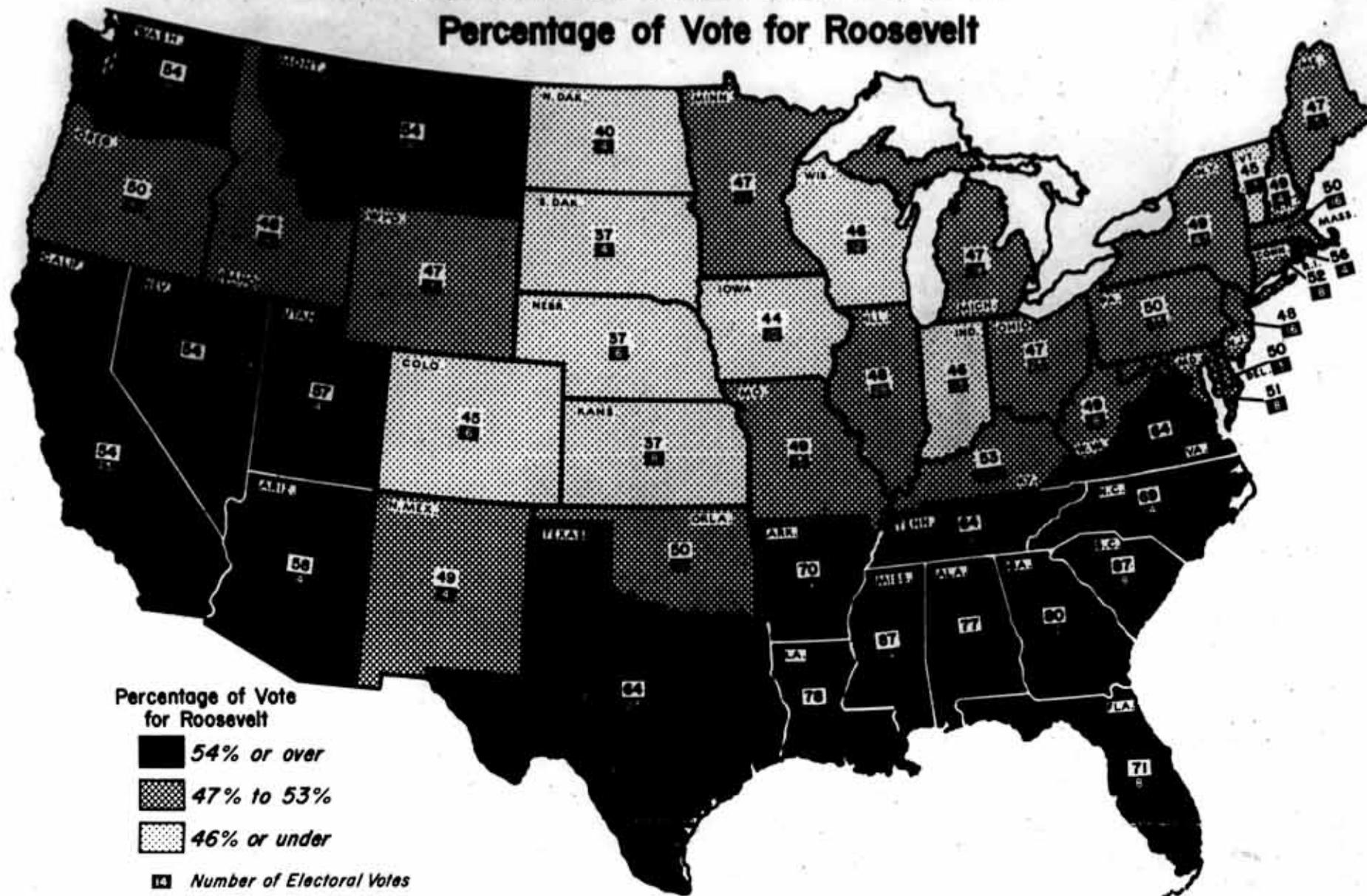


State	Current Vote		State Electoral Vote		% Change since August 23		State	Current Vote		State Electoral Vote		% Change since August 23	
	For Roosevelt	For Dewey	For Roosevelt	For Dewey	+ For Roosevelt	+ For Dewey		For Roosevelt	For Dewey	For Roosevelt	For Dewey	+ For Roosevelt	+ For Dewey
Ala.....	78%	22%	11			2%	Nebr....	34%	66%	3	6	1%	
Ariz....	57%	43%	4			1%	Nev....	54%	46%	3	6		2%
Ark....	74%	26%	9			4%	N.H....	52%	48%	4		1%	
Calif....	55%	45%	25		2%		N.J....	50%†	50%†			1%	
Colo....	43%	57%		6		2%	N.Mex..	53%	47%	4			3%
Conn....	50%†	50%†				1%	N.Y....	49%	51%		47	1%	
Del....	52%	48%	3		1%		N.C....	68%	32%	14		1%	
Fla....	71%	29%	8		3%		N.Dak..	42%	58%		4	4%	
Ga....	81%	19%	12			3%	Ohio...	47%	53%		25	1%	
Idaho...	48%	52%		4	1%		Okla...	51%	49%	10			
Ill.....	47%	53%		28	1%		Oreg....	51%*	49%*	6*		2%*	
Ind....	45%	55%		13	2%		Pa....	51%	49%	35			1%
Iowa...	45%	55%		10	1%		R.I....	53%	47%	4		2%	
Kans....	37%	63%		8	3%		S.C....	92%	8%	8		3%	
Ky....	55%	45%	11		1%		S.Dak..	40%	60%		4	3%	
La....	77%	23%	10		1%		Tenn....	65%	35%	12			2%
Me....	46%	54%		5		1%	Texas..	72%	28%	23			3%
Md....	52%	48%	8				Utah...	57%	43%	4			
Mass...	52%	48%	16				Vt.....	45%	55%		3		1%
Mich....	45%	55%		19	2%		Va....	64%	36%	11			
Minn...	48%	52%		11	1%		Wash...	55%	45%	8		2%	
Miss...	84%	16%					W.Va...	55%	45%	8		2%	
Mo....	50%†	50%†	9		1%		Wis....	46%	54%		12	2%	
Mont...	56%	44%	4			1%	Wyo....	45%	55%		3		
							<b>Total</b>			<b>284†</b>	<b>208†</b>		

† Electoral votes not counted, Conn. 8, Mo. 15, N.J. 16  
 \* Change in column

# THE GALLUP POLL OCT. 27, 1944

## Percentage of Vote for Roosevelt



Percentage of Vote  
for Roosevelt

■ 54% or over

▨ 47% to 53%

▩ 46% or under

□ Number of Electoral Votes

State	Current Vote		State Electoral Vote		% Change since Oct. 16, 1944		State	Current Vote		State Electoral Vote		% Change since Oct. 16, 1944	
	For Roosevelt	For Dewey	For Roosevelt	For Dewey	+ For Roosevelt	+ For Dewey		For Roosevelt	For Dewey	For Roosevelt	For Dewey	+ For Roosevelt	+ For Dewey
Ala....	77%	23%	11			1%	Nebr....	37%	63%	3	6	1%	
Ariz....	58%	42%	4				Nev....	54%	46%	3		1%	
Ark....	70%	30%	9			4%	N.H....	49%	51%		4		1%
Calif....	54%	46%	25		1%		N.J....	48%	52%		16		
Colo....	45%	55%		6			N.Mex....	49%	51%		4		
Conn....	52%	48%	8		1%		N.Y....	49%	51%		47		
Del....	50%†	50%†				2%	N.C....	69%	31%	14			2%
Fla....	71%	29%	8			3%	N.Dak....	40%	60%		4		5%
Ga....	80%	20%	12			3%	Ohio....	47%	53%		25		
Idaho....	48%	52%		4			Okla....	50%†	50%†				1%
Ill....	48%	52%		28	2%		Oreg....	50%†	50%†				
Ind....	46%	54%		13	1%		Pa....	50%†	50%†				
Iowa....	44%	56%		10			R.I....	56%	44%	4		1%	
Kans....	37%	63%		8	1%		S.C....	87%	13%	8			4%
Ky....	53%	47%	11			2%	S.Dak....	37%	63%		4		1%
La....	78%	22%	10		1%		Tenn....	64%	36%	12			3%
Me....	47%	53%		5	1%		Texas....	64%	36%	23			10%
Md....	51%	49%	8			1%	Utah....	57%	43%	4			
Mass....	50%†	50%†				1%	Vt....	45%	55%		3	1%	
Mich....	47%	53%		19	1%		Va....	64%	36%	11			
Minn....	47%	53%		11		1%	Wash....	54%	46%	8			
Miss....	87%	13%	9				W.Va....	49%*	51%*		8*		3%
Mo....	49%	51%		15		1%	Wis....	46%	54%		12	1%	
Mont....	54%	46%	4		1%		Wyo....	47%	53%		3	3%	
							Total			206†	255†		

† Electoral votes not counted, Del. 3, Mass. 16, Okla. 10, Oreg. 6, Pa. 35.

\* Change in column

PSF: Public Opinion Polls

10-27-44

filed 10/27/44

CONFIDENTIAL

file →  
Dear Isaac —

Here is the

Elmo Roper note +  
It shows the three things  
which he believes the opposition  
is using with effect.

On the back is the  
result of his poll for  
more of our 7 women  
will be published in  
10 days.

He made the Negro  
survey which he  
did not wish to show

He says he will be  
glad to help: *Rich*

CONFIDENTIAL

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The St. Regis  
New York



Factors, recently discovered,  
which loom large in helping  
to account for such defections  
as these are from Roosevelt support.

1. Worry over R's health,  
accompanied by a worry  
over Truman's political morals.  
Sounds like a whispering campaign.
2. Worry over R's "class tie-up"  
to Communism. Hillman  
hurts; Deverej's quote of a dolphin  
Beck hurts. Popularity of  
Communism is at an all time low.

CONFIDENTIAL

3. Any feeling the war in Europe is about ever drops the Roosevelt majority. He is not regarded as being so essential to the Peace as to the War.

4. Evidence of several local Whispering Campaigns: Example: Boston Irish told Dewey, too, is anti-British and "can be trusted." Spearhead told to water his speeches & see for themselves the accuracy of that statement. Dewey did say - 3 days after I heard this story - something about all wars in past 100 yrs. not having been started by Japan & Germany.

Week out 7<sup>th</sup> = - R. 53.2  
D 46.8

*PSF: Public Opinion folder*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*file 4-44*  
*Confidential*

9:45

November 2, 1944

MR. EARLY:

Telephone Message from Colonel  
Louis Johnson, New York.

"At an off-the-record meeting of industrialists last night, Elmer Roper (FORTUNE'S Gallup man) predicted a comfortable margin in the popular vote and a substantial majority in the electoral college for Roosevelt; pledged the group not to break the deadline till next Monday in giving out the story."

Colonel Johnson says he was at the meeting and was one of eleven Democrats there. He was so pleased with the prediction that he thought you would want to pass it on to the President.

mb

filed 7/15/44

PSF; Public opinion Poll  
folder 4-44

The President for files

E.R.

file

HARRY BRANDT  
1555 BROADWAY  
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

BRANDT POLL

California Roosevelt - by good margin  
Texas Roosevelt  
New Mexico Roosevelt  
Nevada Roosevelt - but close  
Montana Republican (agricultural state)  
Oregon Democratic - very close  
Ted Gamble, Morgenthau's assistant, says from his trip, President will beat Dewey by bigger margin than he beat Willkie.  
Wyoming Democratic - close  
Idaho Republican (agricultural state)  
Utah Roosevelt - by 20,000  
Kansas Definitely Republican  
Missouri Roosevelt - close  
Indiana Republican  
Very bad local condition here where local ticket is running without supporting national ticket.  
Kentucky Roosevelt  
Ohio Dewey  
Pennsylvania Mayor Scully, Pittsburgh, believes Allegheny County, which is Pittsburgh, will give President 100,000 to 150,000 plurality. My own, state Roosevelt.  
New Jersey Democratic - but close  
New York Democratic - good margin  
West Virginia Very close, can go either way.  
Michigan Roosevelt  
Nebraska Dewey  
Iowa Dewey  
ILLINOIS CLOSE ROOSEVELT  
WASHINGTON ROOSEVELT

