

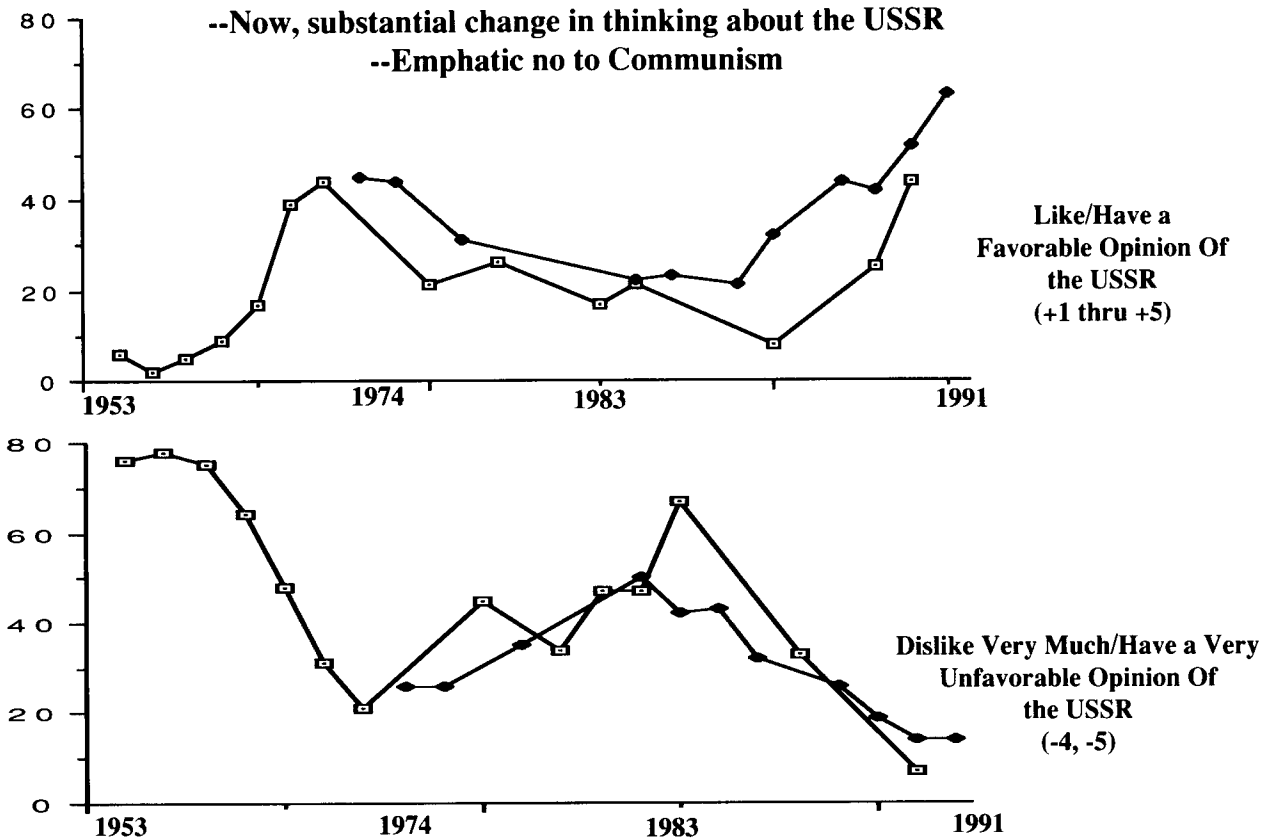
## A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

### A ROPER CENTER REVIEW OF AMERICAN ATTITUDES

--Overall, great continuities

--Now, substantial change in thinking about the USSR

--Emphatic no to Communism



**Question:** ...the boxes on this card go from the highest position of plus 5 for a country which you [like very much/have a very favorable opinion of]—all the way down to the lowest position of minus 5—for someone or something you [dislike very much/have a very unfavorable opinion of]. How far up the scale or how far down the scale would you rate...Russia (1953-78), the Soviet Union (1981-90)? **Source:** Surveys by Gallup (1953-87) and Princeton Research Associates (May 1-31, 1990); and by the NORC, General Social Survey (February-April, 1974-1991).

### COMMUNISM IS...

|      | The Worst Kind of All | Bad, but not Worse than Some Others | Right for Some Countries | A Good Form of Government | DK |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|----|
| 1974 | 49                    | 26                                  | 19                       | 3                         | 3  |
| 1980 | 57                    | 26                                  | 13                       | 1                         | 3  |
| 1985 | 57                    | 26                                  | 13                       | 1                         | 2  |
| 1988 | 48                    | 31                                  | 16                       | 2                         | 3  |
| 1991 | 50                    | 33                                  | 14                       | 1                         | 3  |

**Question:** Thinking about all the different kinds of governments in the world today, which of these statements comes closest to how you feel about communism as a form of government?

**Source:** Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April of each year.

# A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

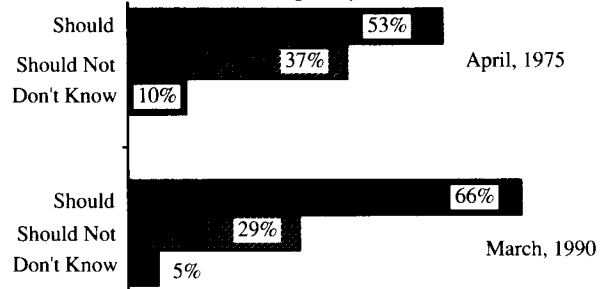
## CONTINUITIES: RESIST COMMUNISM

**Question :** I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one, please say whether you think that should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all?...Containing communism.

|      | Very Important | Somewhat Important | Not Important At All | Not Sure |
|------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------|
| 1974 | 55%            | 27%                | 13%                  | 5%       |
| 1978 | 60             | 24                 | 10                   | 6        |
| 1982 | 59             | 27                 | 8                    | 6        |
| 1986 | 57             | 30                 | 9                    | 4        |
| 1990 | 56             | 29                 | 11                   | 4        |

**Source :** Surveys by Louis Harris & Associates (1974) and the Gallup Organization (1978-90) for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

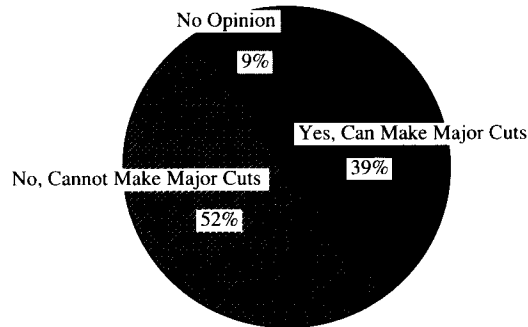
**Question:** Since World War II the policy of the United States has been to maintain our military strength throughout the world in order to help governments that might be overthrown by communist-backed forces. Do you think we should or should not continue to follow this policy?



**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

## CONTINUITIES: STILL DISTRUST OF THE USSR

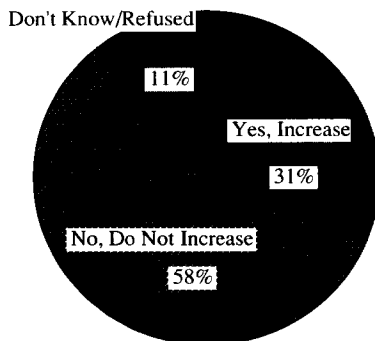
**Question:** Do you think the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries mean that the United States can make major cuts in military spending without endangering our security, or not?



**Source:** Survey by the Washington Post, August 28-September 1, 1991.

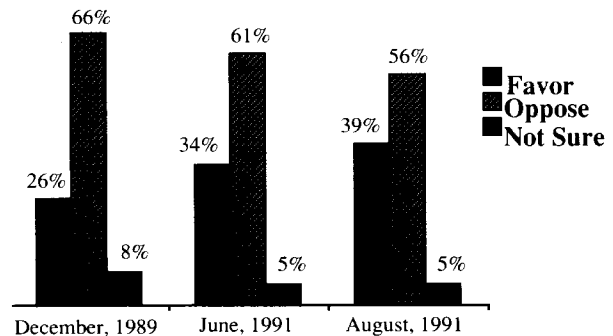
## EVEN NOW: NYET TO AID TO THE SOVIETS

**Question:** As a result of recent events in the Soviet Union, should the United States increase efforts to provide the Soviet Union with financial aid, or not?



**Source:** Survey by CBS News/New York Times, August 26-29, 1991.

**Question:** ...Please tell me whether you favor or oppose this idea...Provide direct economic aid to the Soviets?

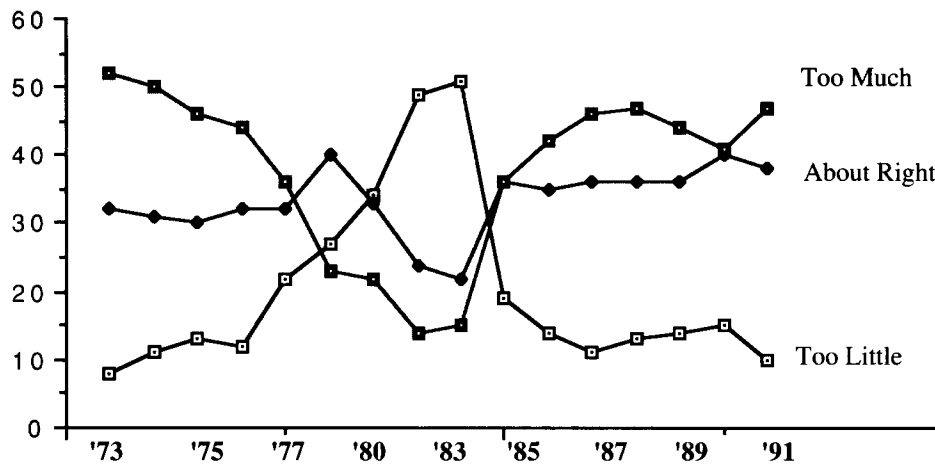


**Source:** Surveys (of registered voters) by NBC News/Wall Street Journal.

## A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

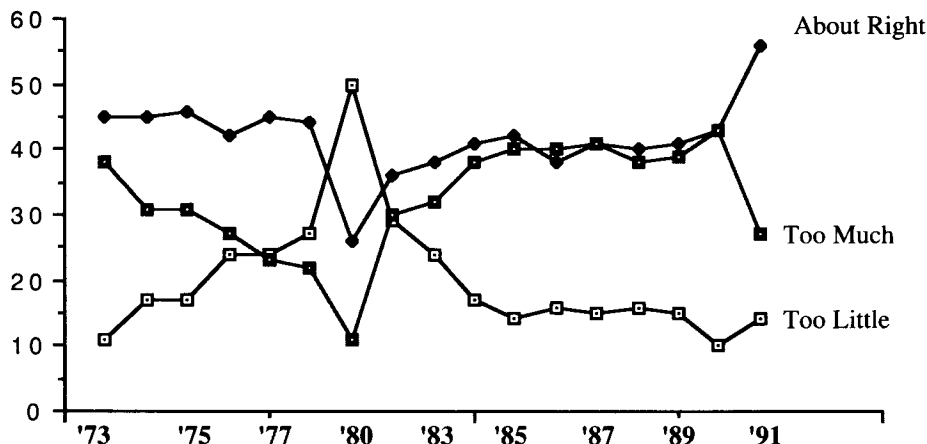
### STRONG OVERALL BACKING FOR DEFENSE SPENDING: Current Volatility in Face of Soviet System's Decline But, Opposing This, the Gulf War Experience

**Question:** There is much discussion as to the amount of money the government in Washington should spend for national defense and military purposes. How do you feel about this: Do you think we are spending too little, too much, or about the right amount?



**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

**Question:** We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount....The military, armaments, and defense?

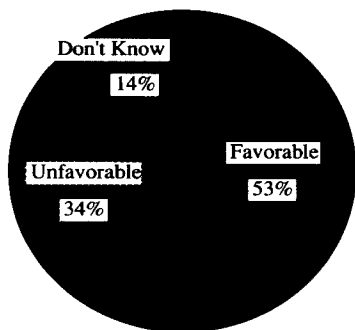


**Source:** Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, February-April each year.

# A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

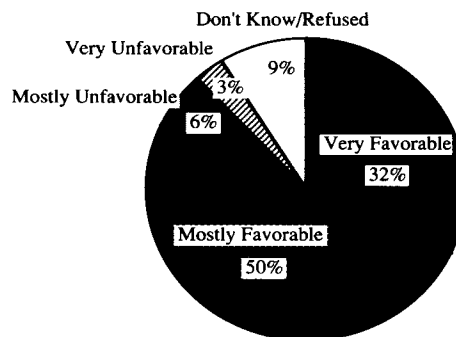
## CONTINUITIES: NO SPECIAL ENMITY TOWARD THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

**Question:**...I'd like to ask you how you feel about the people who live in certain countries—not their governments, but the people themselves. In general, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of...the Russian people?



**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, March 12-22, 1955.

**Question:** How about the Soviet people? Is your overall opinion of them very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

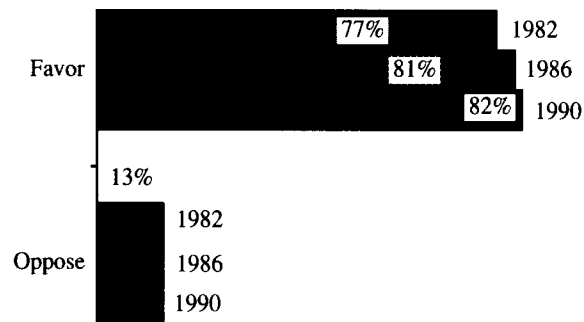


**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, August 23-25, 1991.

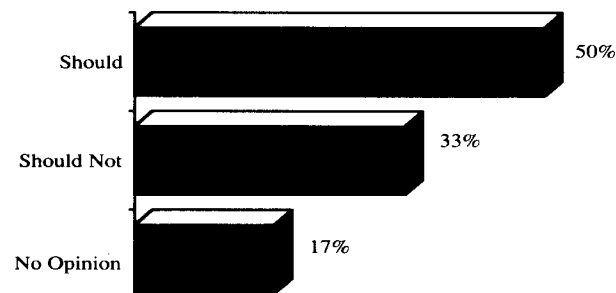
## ALWAYS YES TO NEGOTIATION

**Question:** (Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have been the subject of disagreement for some time. Please tell me if you would favor or oppose the following types of relationships with the Soviet Union.)...Negotiating arms control agreements between the US and the Soviet Union.

**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

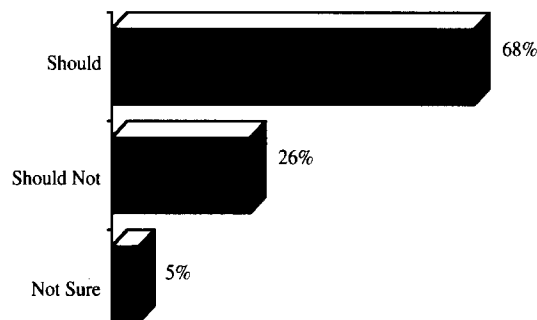


## ALWAYS YES TO TRADE



**Question:** Should the United States and Russia work out a business arrangement to buy and sell more goods to each other?

**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, June, 1957.



**Question:** Do you think we should or should not give the Soviet Union "most favored nation" trading status—that is, allow them the same privileges and ability to trade with the United States that most other countries have?

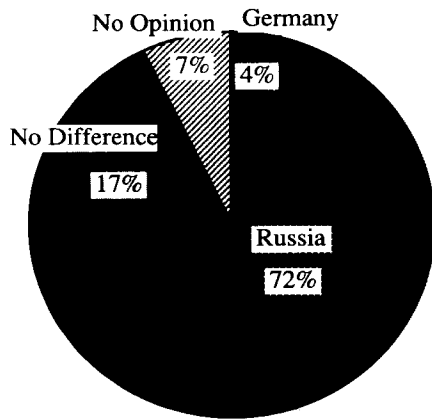
**Source:** Survey (of registered voters) by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, June 22-25, 1991.

# A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

## OPINION DURING WWII AND ITS AFTERMATH

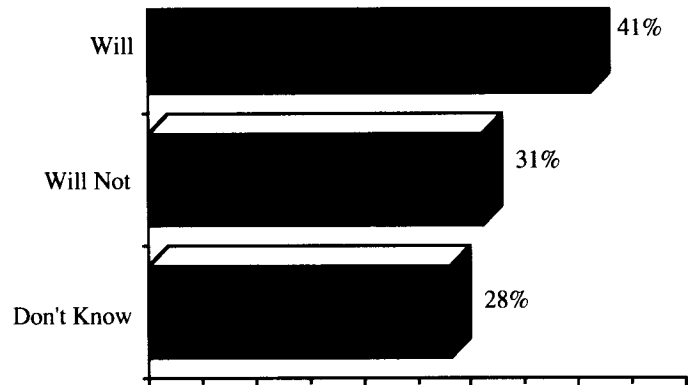
### WARTIME ALLIES...BUT EVEN THEN CONCERN

**Question:** In the present war between Germany and Russia, which side would you like to see win?



**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, June 26-July 1, 1941

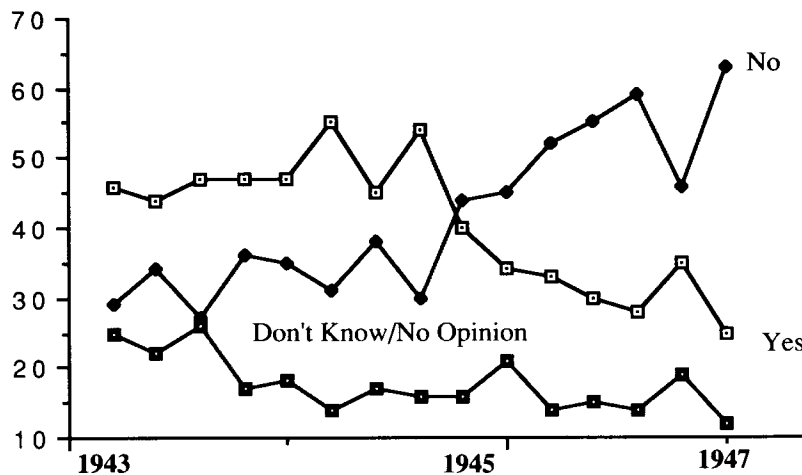
**Question:** After the war, do you think Russia will or will not try to bring about communist governments in other European countries?



**Source:** Survey by the Roper Organization, March 22-April 5, 1943.

### THE DECLINE OF TRUST AFTER THE WAR

**Question:** Do you think Russia can be trusted to cooperate with us when the war is over (January, 1943-August 1945)?...now that the war is over (October, 1945)?...during the next few years (March 1946-March 1947)?



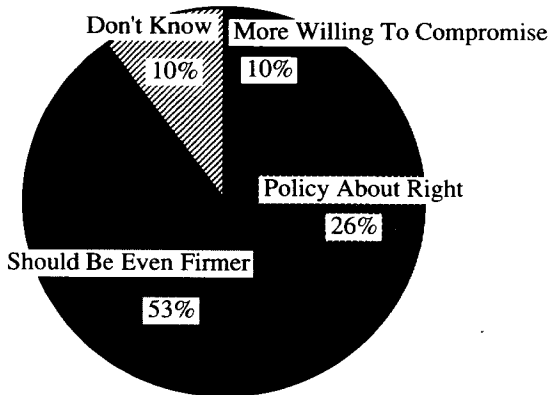
**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization (January 1943-August 1945); and the National Opinion Research Center (October, 1945-March 1947).

# A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

## STRONG OPPOSITION TO COMMUNIST EXPANSION IN THE COLD WAR YEARS

### FIRMNESS

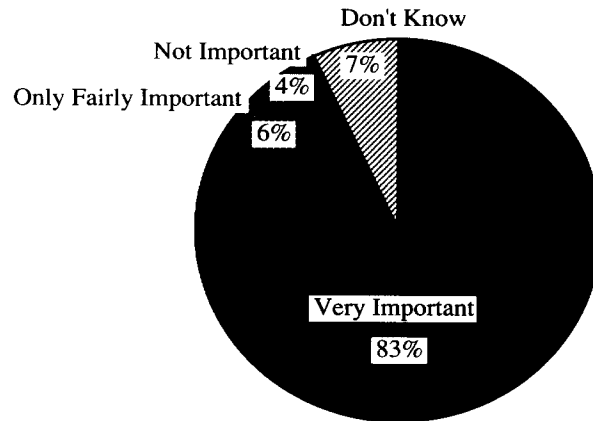
**Question:** How do you feel about our dealings with Russia—Do you think the United States should be more willing to compromise with Russia, or is our present policy about right, or should we be even firmer than we are today?



**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, June, 1948.

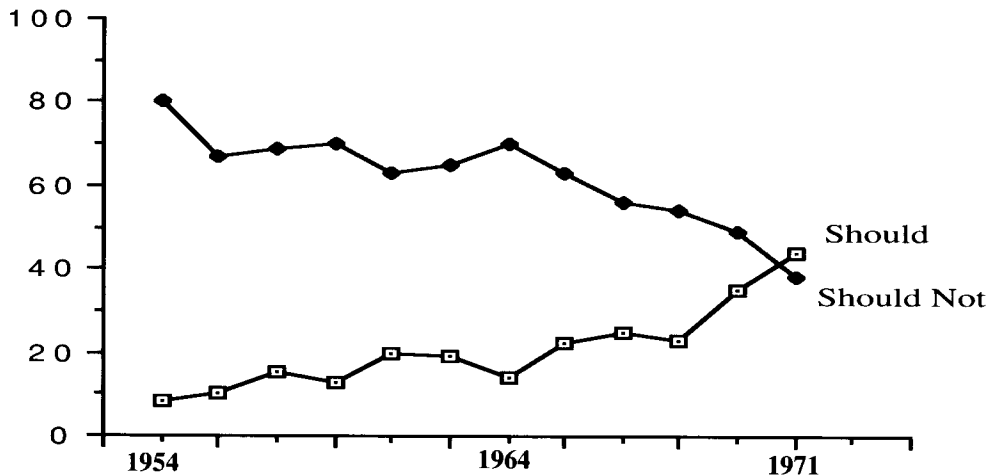
### CONTAINMENT

**Question:** In general, how important do you think it is for the United States to try to stop the spread of Communism in the world—very important, only fairly important, or important at all?



**Source:** Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, April, 1950.

### COMMUNIST CHINA TO UNITED NATIONS?



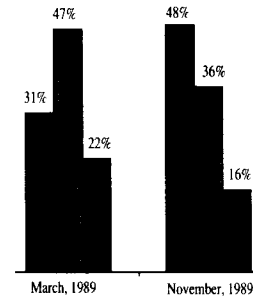
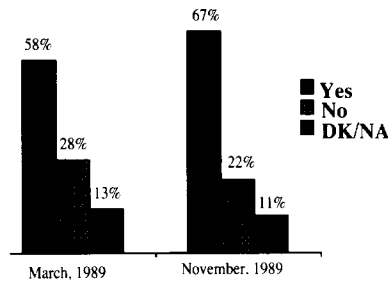
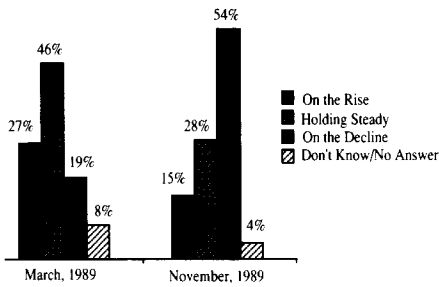
**Question:** Do you think that Communist China should or should not be admitted as a member of the United Nations?

**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

# A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

## SHIFTING OPINION AS THE REVOLUTION BEGINS IN 1989

### A Vivid Sense of Communism's Collapse



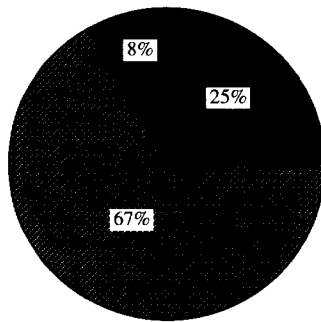
**Question:** Overall, do you think communism is on the rise around the world, on the decline, or is it holding steady?

**Question:** Thinking about the communist economic system—with the government controlling most industry and business—do you think the Soviet Union is moving away from the communist economic system, or not?

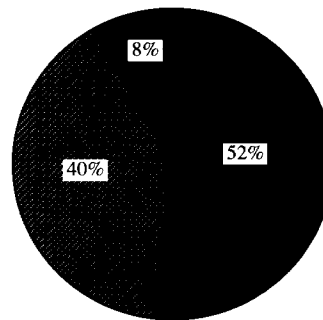
**Question:** Now think about the communist political system, with one party sponsoring candidates for office—do you think the Soviet Union is moving away from that political system, or not?

**Source:** Surveys by the Associated Press/Media General.

**Question:** In your view, is communism dying, or not?

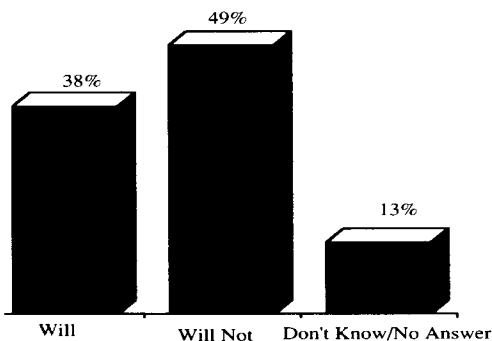


March, 1989



November, 1989

**Source:** Surveys by Associated Press/Media General.



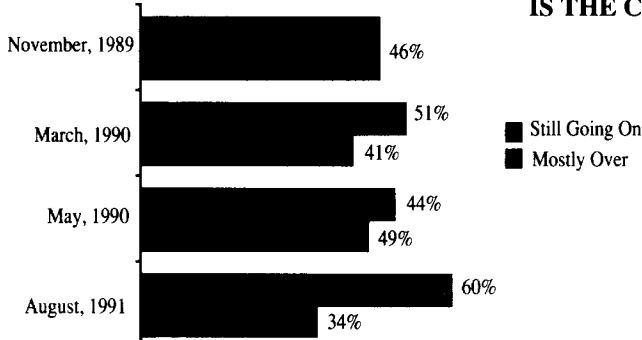
**Question:** Twenty-five years from now, do you think the Soviet Union will have the communist government or not?

**Source:** Survey by CBS News/New York Times, November 26-28, 1989.

# A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

## FURTHER SHIFTS DURING THE REVOLUTION OF 1991

### IS THE COLD WAR OVER?



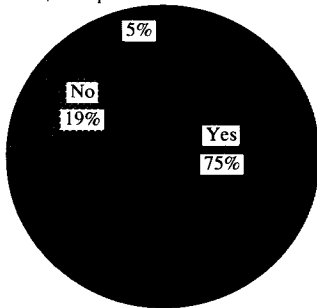
**Question:** Do you think the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union is still going on, or is it mostly over?

**Source:** Surveys (of registered voters) by NBC News/Wall Street Journal.

### THE REJECTION OF COMMUNISM

**Question:** Thinking about the communist economic system—with the government controlling most industry and business—do you think the Soviet Union is moving away from the communist economic system, or not?

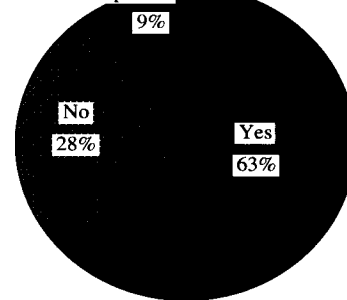
Don't Know/No Opinion



**Source:** Survey by ABC News, July 25-28, 1991.

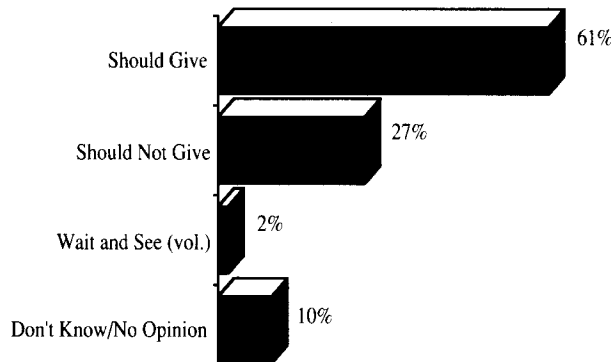
**Question:** Now think about the communist political system, with one party sponsoring candidates for office—do you think the Soviet Union is moving away from that political system, or not?

Don't Know/No Opinion



**Source:** Survey by ABC News, July 25-28, 1991.

### IN PRINCIPLE, LEND A HAND



**Question:** Please tell me if you think the United States should or should not give the Soviet Union...Free trade status on the same terms the US gives main trading partners?

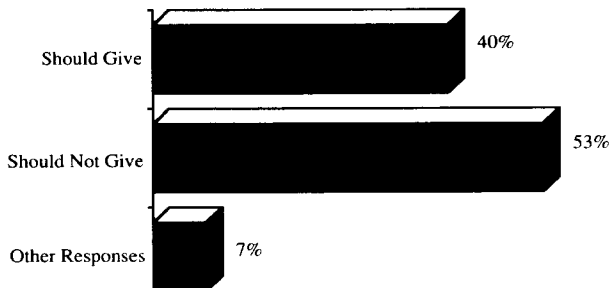
**Source:** Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, August 23-27, 1991.



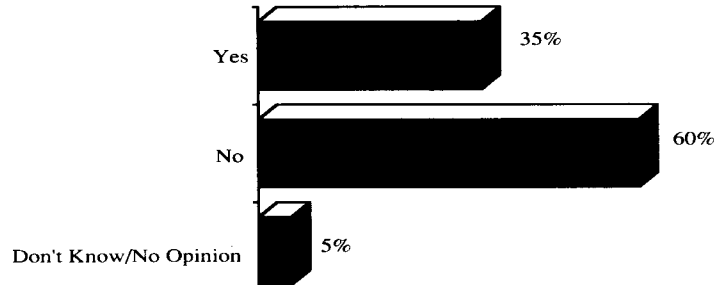
## A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

### EVEN NOW: SKEPTICISM AND CAUTION

#### DON'T GIVE TOO MUCH

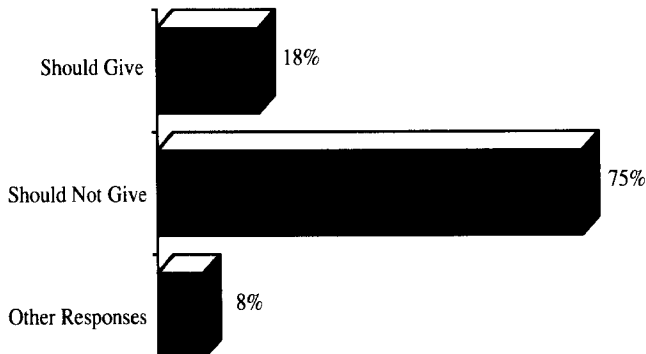


**Question:** Please tell me if you think the United States should or should not give the Soviet Union...Low-interest loans?



**Question:** The Soviet Union says it needs billions of dollars in international aid to keep its economy going. Do you think the United States should provide some of that money, or not?

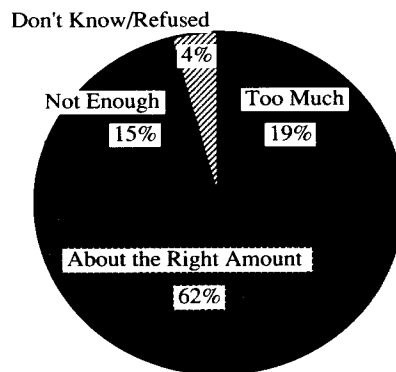
#### NO TO CASH GRANTS



**Question:** Please tell me if you think the United States should or should not give the Soviet Union...Direct foreign aid in the form of cash grants?

**Source:** Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, August 23-27, 1991.

#### U.S. POLICY STRIKES THE RIGHT BALANCE

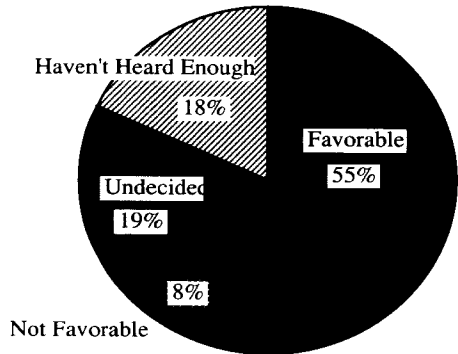


**Question:** Do you think the United States is doing too much, not enough, or just the right amount to help the Soviet Union in its current economic crisis?

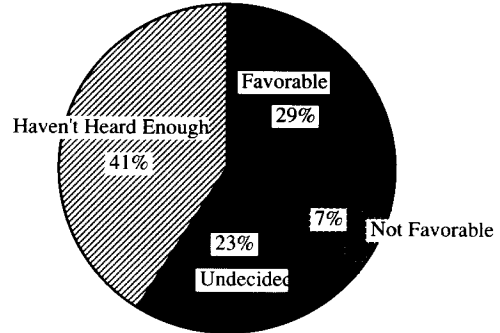
**Source:** Survey by the Gallup Organization, August 23-25, 1991.

## A HALF-CENTURY'S POLLING ON THE USSR AND COMMUNISM

### AMERICAN OPINION: STILL YES TO GORBACHEV, UNCERTAINTY ON YELTSIN



**Question:** Is your opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, favorable, not favorable, undecided or haven't you heard enough about Mikhail Gorbachev yet to have an opinion?

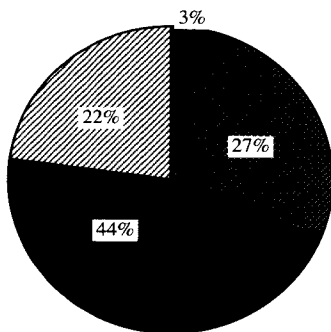


**Question:** Is your opinion of Boris Yeltsin, the President of the Russian Republic, favorable, not favorable, undecided or haven't you heard enough about Boris Yeltsin yet to have an opinion?

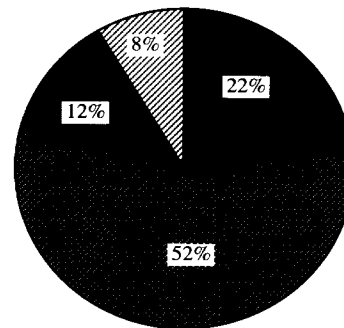
**Source:** Survey by CBS News/New York Times, October 5-7, 1991.

### RUSSIAN OPINION IS SHARPLY DIFFERENT

#### GORBACHEV

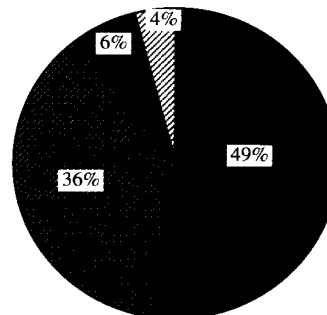
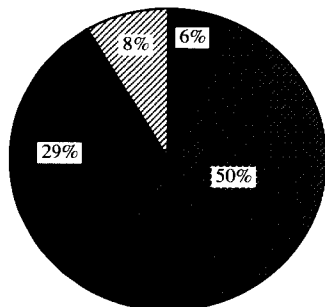


#### YELTSIN



June, 1991

- Very Favorable
- Mostly Favorable
- Mostly Unfavorable
- ▨ Very Unfavorable



September, 1991

**Question:** ...How would you describe your opinion of (Mikhail Gorbachev/Boris Yeltsin); is it very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable?

**Source:** Surveys conducted for the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press in Moscow & Leningrad.