The US Public Was Indeed Loath to Commit US Troops in the Years Before Pearl Harbor...

July 1939

**Question:** If France and England go to war against the dictatorship of nations, should we send our army and navy abroad to help them immediately, or only if it is clear they are losing, or not at all?

![Pie chart showing responses](chart)

June 1940

**Question:** Which of these comes closest to expressing what you think the US should do now?

- Enter the war at once on the side of the allies: 19%
- Help the allies and go to war only if they seem sure to lose: 41%
- Help the allies, but never enter the war: 26%
- Take no sides: 0.2%
- Help Germany: 6%
- Don't know: 6%

December 1940

**Question:** Which one of these statements comes closest to describing what you would like to see the US do in relation to Great Britain?...

- [A] Declare ourselves allies and send our air force, navy and army if necessary; [B] Declare ourselves allies and send our air force and navy but never send an army; [C] See that Britain gets anything she needs except men; [D] Continue to sell Britain military supplies up to half of production; [E] Sell food and medical supplies but no fighting equipment; [F] Stop letting them have anything.

...And Came Slowly to the View That the War Really Was Ours

July 1941

**Question:** Which one of the following statements most nearly represents your attitude toward the present war...?[A] Those who think this is our war are wrong, and the people of this country should resist to the last ditch any move that would lead us further toward war; [B] A lot of mistakes have brought us close to a war that isn’t ours, but now that it’s done we should support in full the government’s program; [C] While at first it looked as though this was not our war, it now looks as though we should back England until Hitler is beaten; [D] It is our war as well as England’s, and we should have been in there fighting with her before this.

- Statement A: 16%
- Statement B: 22%
- Statement C: 41%
- Statement D: 8%
- Don’t know: 6%

December 1941

**Question:** Which one of the following statements most nearly represents your attitude toward the present war?...[A] Those who think this is our war are wrong, and the people of this country should resist to the last ditch any move that would lead us any further toward war; [B] A lot of mistakes have brought us close to a war that isn’t ours, but now that it’s done we should support in full the government’s program; [C] While at first it looked as though this was not our war, it now looks as though we should back England until Hitler is beaten; [D] It is our war as well as England’s, and we should have been in there fighting with her before this...

- Statement A: 12%
- Statement B: 25%
- Statement C: 41%
- Statement D: 14%
- Don’t know: 8%
But It Was By No Means True That the Public Had "Its Head in the Sand"

November 1938

Question: Which one of these four statements comes closest to describing what you think was the real issue in the recent crisis over Czechoslovakia?

- Hitler's desire to rule: 49%
- Germany's desire for Czech natural resources: 25%
- Desire to bring all Germans under one flag: 12%
- Mistreatment of Sudeten Germans by the Czechs: 2%
- Other/don't know: 12%

January 1939

Question: If you were a member of the incoming Congress would you vote yes or no on a bill to provide for a large army and a navy capable of protecting this continent?

- Don't know: 13%
- No: 31%
- Yes: 56%

June 1940

Question: In view of the present international situation, which of the following do you think our government should and should not do now...[A] Spend whatever is necessary to build up as quickly as possible our army, navy, and air force; [B] Set up a nonpolitical board of leading men in industry with power to control industrial production in case we get into war; [C] Exempt all industries producing military necessities from the forty-hour-week law in order to speed up production; [D] Start compulsory military training for all young men between eighteen and twenty; [E] Form a new Cabinet made up of both Democrats and Republicans...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Should</th>
<th>Should not</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question: Regardless of what you hope, what do you think the chances are that the US will be drawn into this war?

November 1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Probability</th>
<th>November 1939</th>
<th>September 1940</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impossible</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlikely</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifty-fifty</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sure</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE PUBLIC PERSPECTIVE. DECEMBER/JANUARY 1998 41
Prospects of a German Victory Were Consistently Viewed With Alarm

**November 1939**

*Question:* If Germany wins a decisive victory over France and England, do you think she will be a threat to the United States?

- **Don't know:** 12%
- **No:** 27%
- **Yes:** 61%

**February 1941**

*Question:* Do you think that Hitler wants to dominate the US?

- **Don't know:** 8%
- **No:** 23%
- **Yes:** 69%

---

**February 1941**

*Question:* [Do you agree or disagree with the following statement]...

...Hitler will never be satisfied unless he dominates the US because it is the richest country in the world.

- **Don't know:** 9%
- **Disagree:** 23%
- **Agree:** 68%

---

...Hitler is only interested in making Germany a powerful nation in Europe, and talk about his wanting to dominate this country is just British propaganda.

- **Don't know:** 11%
- **Agree:** 21%
- **Disagree:** 68%

---

...If Hitler wins, we won't be able to keep our democratic form of government long because we will be one nation against the rest of the world.

- **Don't know:** 16%
- **Disagree:** 37%
- **Agree:** 47%

---

...This country was built up mainly by people who came here to get freedom, and we will keep our democratic form of government even if Hitler does dominate the rest of the world.

- **Don't know:** 13%
- **Disagree:** 27%
- **Agree:** 60%

---

*Question:* If Hitler wins the war, what do you think will be the effect on the future well-being of this country?

**February 1941**

- **Very serious:** 74%
- **A little serious:** 14%
- **Not serious:** 5%
- **Don't know:** 1%

**April 1941**

- **Very serious:** 77%
- **A little serious:** 10%
- **Not serious:** 6%
- **Don't know:** 6%
Germany's Complete Defeat Was Essential

November 1939

**Question:** If it is quite clear that the Allies are beating Germany, do you think they should stop if Germany asks for peace or do you think they should continue until Germany is so badly beaten that she will never again rise as a nation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Prosperous</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Southwest</th>
<th>Pacific Coast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keep going</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If Germany Won in Europe, We Would Retain Our Liberties, But the Consequences Generally Would be Disastrous and Without Any Redeeming Feature

June 1940

**Question:** If Germany should win the war, which of these statements do you believe would be true, which false?

- Fear of German attack would make us give up most of our liberties to dictatorship here. 28% True, 52% False, 20% Don't know
- She will try to extend her influence in South America. 78% True, 16% False, 6% Don't know
- She will interfere seriously with our vital interests in foreign trade. 74% True, 11% False, 15% Don't know
- In the long run it will make for a more peaceful Europe. 73% True, 17% False, 10% Don't know
- It will bring about a fairer distribution of the world's wealth and resources. 71% True, 22% False, 6% Don't know
- A victorious Germany would mean the end of religious freedom in Europe. 66% True, 18% False, 17% Don't know
- She will try to seize territory on our side of the ocean. 63% True, 22% False, 15% Don't know
- A German victory would be followed by world revolution and confusion. 57% True, 19% False, 23% Don't know
- It will bring Europe under a strong and efficient government. 55% True, 21% False, 24% Don't know
- She will actually attack us on our own territory as soon as possible. 39% True, 16% False, 45% Don't know
- Germany will join with Japan in an effort to dominate the world. 31% True, 26% False, 43% Don't know
The Roper-Fortune Survey Series

Americans Condemned Russia But Felt We Had No Choice But To Work With Her

September 1941

**Question:** Which one of the following statements most nearly describes your present feelings about the Russian and German governments?

- The Russian government is worse than the German government: 5%
- The Russian government and the German government are equally bad: 32%
- While there is not much choice between the two, the Russian government is slightly better: 35%
- The Russian government is far better than the German government: 9%
- Don't know: 20%

**Question:** Regardless of how you feel toward Russia, which of these policies do you think we should pursue toward her now?

- Leave Russia strictly alone and give her no help or encouragement of any kind: 14%
- Work along with Russia and give her some aid if we think it will help beat Hitler: 51%
- Accept Russia as a full partner along with England in the fight against Hitler: 22%
- Don't know: 13%

In The Months Before Pearl Harbor, the Public Accepted the Need For Military Action Against Japan

**October 1940**

**Question:** Do you think the time has come for us to take strong measures against Japan?

- Yes: 49%
- No: 24%
- Don't know: 26%

**Question:** [If yes] Even military measures?

- Yes: 55%
- No: 33%
- Don't know: 12%

**December 1941**

**Question:** Do you think the war with Japan will be a long or a short one?

- Long: 53%
- Short: 32%
- Don't know: 15%
After December 7, 1941, the Public Committed Entirely to the War Effort...

December 1941

**Question:** Which of these things do you think the government should do now, and which do you think would be going too far? [1] Take over and run any factories that can make war materials if the owners refuse to do it themselves; [2] Register all men not in the army and navy for work in defense industries wherever they are needed; [3] Strictly ration all foods or materials that might become scarce; [4] Make all women without jobs give three or four hours a week to war work activities according to their abilities (unless they have young children); [5] Make men who strike on defense work join either the army or navy; [6] Require everyone to be fingerprinted and carry identification papers at all times; [7] Register all able-bodied women for possible full-time jobs in war work according to their abilities (unless they have young children); [8] Require everyone who makes overtime pay or gets an increase in salary to buy defense bonds with it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Do now</th>
<th>Going too far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Statement 1</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement 2</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement 3</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement 4</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement 5</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement 6</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement 7</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement 8</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...Though It Knew the Effort Would Be Long and Arduous

August 1941

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than six months</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six months to a year</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One to two years</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two to five years</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five to ten years</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten years and over</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends on what US does</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends on what Soviet Russia does</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends on other factors</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

December 1941

**Question:** It took us about a year and a half after our entry into the last war to win it. Do you feel it will take more time, less time, or about the same time to win this war? About how long do you feel it will take?

Of those who said more time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Years</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 1/2 to 2 years</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 3 years</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 4 years</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 5 years</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 to 7 years</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 to 10 years</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years and over</td>
<td>*Less than 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Less than 1%.
The Roper-Fortune Survey Series

In the End, Our Side Certain to Win

August 1941

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

- Allies: 73%
- Neither: 8%
- Axis: 7%
- Don't know: 16%

December 1941

**Question**: With which of these four statements do you come closest to agreeing? [1] While there is absolutely no doubt that we will win this war in the end, it is going to be a very tough job; [2] It is entirely possible that we may not win a decisive victory even if we all pitch in and make every minute count; [3] This war is not as serious as it looks, and we will win it without much trouble; [4] It is clear now that we will never win a decisive victory over the Axis; [5] Don't know

- Statement 1: 81%
- Statement 2: 11%
- Statement 3: 5%
- Statement 4: 1%
- Statement 5: 3%

After the War, America Must Assume A Larger Peacetime Role Than Ever Before

August 1941

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

- Larger: 58%
- About the same: 18%
- Smaller: 10%
- Don’t know: 13%

February 1942

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

- Alone: 6%
- With someone: 44%
- Not our job: 38%
- Don't know: 13%

March 1943

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

- Larger: 77%
- About the same: 12%
- Smaller: 4%
- Don’t know: 7%