OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION

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NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

CLAUDE ROBINSON, PRESIDENT

November 11, 1944

Mr. Charles Belknap Monsanto Chemical Company St. Louis 4, Missouri

Dear Mr. Belknap:

Many of our friends have asked:

"What does the election mean?"

"How accurate were the polls?"

Here is a memorandum dealing with these two questions.

Very sincerely yours,

Claude Robinson

CR:mrr Enclosure

OPINION RESEARCH CORPORATION PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Memorandum

THE 1944 ELECTION

What Does the Election Mean?

 Despite Roosevelt's impressive showing in the electoral college vote, the figures show that the Democratic trend is still down.

Here is the trend of the Democratic vote in the nation since 1928:

Democratic Per Cent

	of Two-Party Vote	
1928	41	
1932	59	Up 18
1936	62.5	Up 3½
1940	55	Down $7\frac{1}{2}$
1944 (est. f:	inal) 53.5	Down 12

The fact that the popularity of the Roosevelt administration continues on the wane is an important interpretive key to national affairs in the next four years.

2. Roosevelt's losses were widespread.

In the returns to date, declines from the 1940 Roosevelt vote were registered in 35 states; in seven states there was no change; in six states Roosevelt scored increases.

Roosevelt continues to draw much of his strength from large metropolitan and industrial areas where the sense of underprivilege and class conflict has been most in evidence. He has lost least ground in the industrial states of the East and Middle West, and in states on the Pacific Coast. He has lost most heavily in the Rockies and the South.

On the next page is a table comparing the 1940 and 1944 Roosevelt percentage of the two-party vote by states. The states are ranked by size of shift to show those that shifted most and those that shifted least.

STATE-BY-STATE SHIFT IN ROOSEVELT VOTE, 1940-1944

	Pagazzal+ Da	manutana af	Two Downer Water
	1940	1944	Two-Party Vote
	1340	1944	SHILL
Arkansas	79.0	71.6	-7.4
Nevada	60.1	52.8	-7.3
Tennessee	67.5	61.0	-6.5
Maryland	58.8	52.4*	-6.4
Virginia	68.0	62.3	-5.7
Louisiana	85.9	80.8	-5.1
Arizona	63.8	59.0	-4.8
North Carolina	74.0	69.5	-4.5
Montana	59.4	55.2	-4.2
Wyoming	53.0	49.0	-4.0
Kansas	42.7	39.2	-3.5
Florida	74.1	70.7*	-3.4
New Mexico	56.6	53.4	-3.2
Alabama	85.6	82.4	-3.2
Kentucky	57.6	54.5	-3.1
Mississippi	95.8	92.7	-3.1
Idaho	54.5	51.7	-2.8
Ohio	52.5	49.8	-2.7
Colorado	48.7	46.2*	-2.5
Georgia	85.1	83.0	-2.1
Oklahoma	57.6	55.6	-2.0
Oregon	54.1	52.1	-2.0
Vermont	45.0	43.0	-2.0
West Virginia	57.2	55.2	-2.0
Wisconsin	50.9	49.1	-1.8
Indiana	48.7	47.1	-1.6
Pennsylvania	53.5	52.0*	-1.5
Maine	48.8	47.5	-1.3
Massachusetts	53.4	52.1	-1.3
New Jersey	51.8	50.7	-1.1
Connecticut	53.6	52.6	-1.0
New Hampshire	53.2	52.2	-1.0
South Carolina	95.6	94.7	-0.9
South Dakota	42.5	41.8	-0.7
Utah	62.3	61.6*	-0.7
Washington	58.9	58.5*	-0.4
Nebraska	42.8	42.4*	-0.4
Delaware	54.9	54.7	-0.2
Missouri	52.4	52.2*	-0.2
Iowa	47.8	47.6	-0.2
California	58.1	58.1*	0.0
Texas	80.8	81.1	+0.3
Michigan	49.8	50.4	+0.6
Illinois	51.1	51.8	+0.7
New York	51.8	52.5	+0.7
Minnesota	51.9	52.6	+0.7
Rhode Island	56.7	59.2*	+2.5
North Dakota	44.4	47.1*	+2.7

^{*1.0%} added to present returns for soldier vote, not yet counted.

3. The electoral vote "landslide" as a measure of Democratic strength is deceptive, because Roosevelt won many states by small margins in the popular vote.

In the following table the electoral vote is broken down by states carried with a popular vote of 52.5% or less, and with more than 52.5%. (Figures derived from table on preceding page.)

	Electoral V	Total	
	52.5% or less	More than 52.5%	Votes
Roosevelt	198	234	432
Dewey	55	44	99

Thus, 253 electoral votes hinged on slender margins. A $2\frac{1}{2}$ -point greater popular vote for Roosevelt would have added 55 electoral votes to his total; the same shift in Dewey's favor would have added 198--enough to elect him.

4. What are the principal factors that account for Roosevelt's reelection?

This question can best be answered by recalling the political pattern described by Roosevelt since 1932.

As we pointed out in our August memorandum, Roosevelt has drawn his votes through articulation of two great and dominant public moods:

Social Security: help for the underprivileged.

National Security: defense against aggressor nations.

Successful articulation of the "social security--help for the under-privileged" mood elected Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936.

Roosevelt's downtrend in popularity started in 1937 with the Supreme Court bill, the sit-down strikes and the so-called "inventory" depression.

In 1940 Roosevelt shrewdly played on the national-defense theme in addition to the social-security theme and won a third term. Many people who were dissatisfied with the domestic policies of the New Deal voted for Roosevelt because they thought the country's No. 1 problem was Hitler and Roosevelt was the best leader to deal with that problem.

**4

The same pattern, with some variations, controlled the 1944 result. Roosevelt's vote is made up of:

- a. Habitual Democratic votes in the South and elsewhere
- b. People mostly in large cities and industrial areas who believe Roosevelt is a friend of the poor man
- c. People on the Federal payroll*

d. Serviceman vote

Early serviceman counts show that military votes are running from 8 to 12% more Democratic than the civilian vote. The serviceman's principal thought is to "get it over with and get home," and to the majority a change in Administration evidently added up to delay in ending the war.

Also, of course, the Commander-in-Chief was better known than his opponent, especially in the early campaign stages when many servicemen cast their ballots.

e. Women's vote

The indications are that women voted 3% more Democratic than the men. Usually there is practically no difference between the political preferences of men and women, but this year the thinking of women was influenced by the desire to get the war won as quickly as possible with a minimum risk for their boys.

f. Foreign-policy voters

Some voters, principally in the business and professional classes, disagree with Mr. Roosevelt on domestic issues but believe that the foreign-policy issue is paramount and think the President is best fitted to deal with this problem.

There is the Roosevelt pattern--a large backlog of habitual Democratic votes and votes from people who have a sense of underprivilege, plus a balance-of-power vote on the foreign issue. Also the pattern involves some defection resulting from criticism on home-front issues--spending, bureaucracy, and labor coddling; but a partial arresting of the downtrend because of added support from servicemen and women on the "Don't change horses in wartime" theme.

*(Some observers, like Rogers Dunn, make this the key factor. It has some influence, no doubt, but can easily be exaggerated because not all Federal officeholders are Democrats, because many state machines are Republican. Voters in some towns heavily populated with Federal employees, such as Hyattsville, Maryland, show a large shift away from the Democrats. The Federal payroll is not the key factor.)

5. Will there be a resurgence of the New Deal? .

The evidence argues against it.

Roosevelt's plurality is plainly derived from conditions springing out of the war. When the war is over, the focus of public attention will not swing primarily to the "League of Nations," but to issues on the home front: "How do we get jobs?" It is on home-front issues that the New Deal is weakest.

The majority has not accepted deficit spending as a permanent national policy. People are concerned over taxes and the meaning of taxes for them and their children.

The majority has not accepted war regimentation as a permanent way of life. On the contrary,

Three fourths of the public say price, wage, and rationing controls can and should be eliminated within six months to a year after the war.

Eight people out of ten say government-owned war factories should be sold to private operators after the war.

Nine people out of ten reject the idea of mixed corporations where government helps direct a corporation and shares in the profit.

Thus the pressure of public opinion is toward right of center. If the President chooses to move farther left, he will have to pull against the tide, and in social affairs the tide of public opinion always determines the outcome in the long run.

6. Will labor unions and labor leaders like Sidney Hillman dictate government policy?

The probabilities are against momentous change.

Labor will claim credit for the Democratic victory, and because of the PAC's prominence in the campaign will be in a strong position to ask favors.

But visualization of a labor-dominated government is unwarranted. The President keeps a keen watch on public opinion, and the public relations of labor are in disrepair. Through strikes and abuse of power, labor's leadership has built for itself a large reservoir of public ill will. While believing in collective bargaining, the public wants labor leaders to exercise social responsibility commensurate with their social power.

The majority believes labor so far has failed to show a sense of its responsibility, and as a result favors legislative curbs such as:

Accountability for funds More democracy in unions Elimination of racketeering Better control over strikes

Traditionally the American system has always placed a high premium on the principle of checks and balances. And today the polls show public opposition to great concentrations of private power.

The labor unions will undoubtedly have much to say about national affairs, because they have several million members and represent substantial economic interests. But Sidney Hillman will stumble badly if he steps out in public and attempts to dictate government policy. Mr. Roosevelt had that issue out once with John L. Lewis, and his public relations problem with Hillman is similar.

7. Will the legislative course of peace be a repetition of 1919-1920?

The evidence argues against it.

The foreign policy subscribed to by Democrats and Republicans alike is:

- a. Fix it so we don't have another war Join some form of world organization But keep a strong army, navy, and air force
- b. Be a good and a generous neighbor, but don't be an international Santa Claus. Help other nations to become self-sufficient.

When the pressure of the war crisis is lifted and the Allies begin to indulge in the luxury of postwar recrimination, some of the current international ardor in the United States will undoubtedly cool down.

But there is a fundamental conviction among the American people that some kind of international organization should be set up to preserve the peace, and Mr. Roosevelt will have strong public support for any international project that looks reasonable.

8. Do campaigns change votes?

Evidence from public opinion samples is building up to show that campaigns change very few votes. The conception that the people are a jury who listen to the case with an open mind is naive. Voting behavior, like economic phenomena, describes great cycles. People are strongly influenced by their income, nativity, religious, occupational, or party ties. Those who shift from one political party to another do so as a result of events over a period of time: "I didn't get my pension"; "He is spending too much"; "I am in favor of his foreign policy."

When campaign time rolls around, the die is usually cast. The campaign changes few votes; what it does do is inspire party workers, furnish arguments to thought leaders, make people enthusiastic enough to go to the polls. This is the principal function of electioneering.*

If this is true, then the whole conception of merchandising political leadership needs to be brought up to date. As it stands now, politicians concentrate their selling campaign in a six weeks' period before the election when their efforts bear the least fruit.

If political leadership is aware of the realities of the public psychology, the campaign for votes in 1948 will start today; it will be a campaign of ideas and deeds as well as party organization; and will require revision of campaign budgets so that a larger percentage of money and effort is spent before the nominations and a smaller percentage after the nominations.

^{*(}See in this connection a study, "The Election is Over," by Paul F. Lazarsfeld in the Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall 1944. Also Lazarsfeld's forthcoming book, "Votes in the Making," to be published by the American Council of Public Affairs.)

How Accurate Were the Polls?

The record shows that the pre-election polls acquitted themselves extraordinarily well. In the face of war conditions--migration, war tensions, turnout uncertainties, and manpower shortages--all the principal national polls turned up with surprisingly small errors.

Here is the record:

		National Vote for Roosevelt (% of Roosevelt-Dewey Vote)		
	Prediction- Civilian Vote	Adding Soldier Vote	Probable Election Result	Error
Fortune	53.6	54.6	53.3-53.8	1.3-0.8
Gallup	51.5	52.5	53.3-53.8	0.8-1.3
Crossley		52.2	53.3-53.8	1.1-1.5

Note on Soldier Vote: Since the polling of servicemen is prohibited, Fortune and Gallup polls furnished figures for the civilian vote only. In order to compare poll figures with election returns, some allowance must be made for the serviceman vote.

First indications from AP releases are that the soldier vote adds about one percentage point to the Democratic margin in the civilian vote; therefore in the above table Fortune and Gallup figures have been increased by one point for comparative purposes. Crossley furnished figures which included a calculation for the soldier vote, hence no adjustment is required.

National returns, reporting 94% of the electoral districts, show Roosevelt 53.3%, Dewey 46.7%. When all votes are in, inclusion of soldiers may raise the Roosevelt margin to a possible high of 53.8%.

On the basis of election returns now at hand, the average state-by state error for the Gallup and Crossley polls is between two and three points. In October, Fortune reported one individual state--Fennsylvania, where its error was 2.2 points.

Gallup figures for the Atlantic Coast show many states within one point of a perfect score. His errors in most other states are also small, but with a tendency to underestimate Roosevelt in the Middle West and South.

Crossley scored many extraordinary bull's-eyes. His state errors are small and widely scattered.

The polls set an accuracy tolerance of three to four percentage points, and the accuracy achieved was well within these limits.

What about the election vote forecasts?

Because of the closeness of the indicated vote in such typical states as New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, the division of the electoral vote remained a question mark up to the finish. The polls stated that many states were near the fifty-fifty line, and pointed out the possibility that if Roosevelt increased his lead in pivotal states by one or two points, the result could be a landslide.

Theoretically it is possible for a candidate to win 51% of the total popular vote and win all the electoral votes. The event may never occur, but the 1944 results present a good working demonstration of the principle.

* * * * * *

All scientific measurements are subject to errors. Technicians in the laboratory and on the firing range expect them and calculate them.

Elections are peculiar in that the 50-50 mark is critical: the winner with 50.1%, or even 50.01%, takes all. Yet the test of polling accuracy is the degree of error. If a poll gives a candidate 49% and he gets 51%, it is a good prediction; if a poll gives the same candidate 55%, it is a poorer prediction, even though it luckily forecasts the winner.

This year the polls forecast the vote in the nation and in most of the individual states with errors of zero, one, two and three per cent. They also identified issues uppermost in the public mind. Interestingly enough, both candidates shaped their strategy in line with the opinion forces revealed in public opinion samples.

Elections are welcomed by polling organizations because they afford the opportunity to prove their sampling efficiency. If leaders in business, in labor and in government can make their decisions on the basis of evidence accurate within corresponding limits of 2 or 3%, they can market their products and their social leadership with confidence that they have their fingers realistically on the public pulse.

COMPARISON OF ELECTION RETURNS WITH CROSSLEY AND GALLUP POLL PREDICTIONS

	Roosevelt Percentage of Two-Party Vote				
	Latest Election	Gallup	Crossley		
	Returns	Prediction**	Prediction		
Maine	47.5	49	47		
New Hampshire	52.2	52	51		
Vermont	43.0	46	44***		
Massachusetts	52.1	52	50		
Rhode Island	59.2*	57	54		
Connecticut	52.6	53	52		
New York	52.5	50.5	50		
New Jersey	50.7	49	50		
Pennsylvania	52.0*	52	51		
Delaware	54.7	52	52		
Maryland	52.4*	54	51		
West Virginia	55.2	52	50		
Kentucky	54.5	55	53		
Missouri	52.2*	50	51		
Ohio	49.8	49	49		
Indiana	47.1	46	45***		
Illinois	51.8	50	49		
Michigan	50.4	47	48		
Wisconsin	49.1	45	44***		
Minnesota	52.6	48	50		
		45	44***		
Iowa	47.6	39	40***		
North Dakota	47.1*		41***		
South Dakota	41.8	37			
Nebraska	42.4*	39	39***		

(Table continued on following page)

^{*1.0%} added to present returns for soldier vote, not yet counted.

^{**}Gallup figures were for the civilian population only.
1% has been added to each figure for the soldier vote.

^{***}These figures do not represent final predictions by Crossley. They were obtained on earlier Crossley polls. Only 23 "pivotal" states (those without asterisks) were finally predicted by Crossley.

COMPARISON OF ELECTION RETURNS WITH CROSSLEY AND GALLUP POLL PREDICTIONS

	Roosevelt Percentage of Two-Party Vot			
	Latest			
	Election	Gallup	Crossley	
	Returns	Prediction**	Prediction	
Kansas	39.2	37	34***	
Virginia	62.3	65	63***	
North Carolina	69.5	72	72***	
South Carolina	94.7	90	89***	
Georgia	83.0	82	84***	
Florida	70.7*	72	73***	
Tennessee	61.0	65	61***	
Alabama	82.4	79	82***	
Mississippi	92.7	90	87***	
Louisiana	80.8	79	77***	
Arkansas	71.6	73	77***	
Oklahoma	55.6	52	51	
Texas	81.1	79	75***	
Montana	55.2	55	55***	
Idaho	51.7	52	48	
Wyoming	49.0	48	48	
Colorado	46.2*	45	44	
New Mexico	53.4	50	55***	
Arizona	59.0	59	57***	
Utah	61.6*	57	60***	
Nevada	52.8	55	53	
Washington	58.5*	55	56***	
Oregon	52.1	52	50	
California	58.1*	54	57***	

^{*1.0%} added to present returns for soldier vote, not yet counted.

^{**}Gallup figures were for the civilian population only.
1% has been added to each figure for the soldier vote.

^{***}These figures do not represent final predictions by Crossley. They were obtained on earlier Crossley polls. Only 23 "pivotal" states (those without asterisks) were finally predicted by Crossley.

November 11th

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are some clippings from a Washington paper.

Have written to the leading newspapers of the country for copies of their Wednesday and Thursday editions following the election, and will send clippings as they come in.

One of the most interesting clippings is from the Chicago Daily News the same day the editorial appeared in the Tribune "Republican Citadel". Dear Harold:

The enclosed appeared in the Sunday Morning St. Paul Dispatch, November 12th.

ER is here and I expect to spend all day Wednesday with him alone. He will be here a week until a week from tonight.

Talked with Esther today and she seemed to be feeling fine.

Warren B. has had kind of a tough week end, an aunt and uncle both dying the past two days.

Today is my birthday. I am now 37, and have caught up with you. Had a grand day with the children.

Will be in Lincoln tomorrow, Chicago Tuesday. Doc and I will have dinner together Tuesday night.

The Columnist Grafton will be here Wednesday night. I am having dinner with him and Herb Lewis.

But don't worry. We are saying '48 is a long ways off, that we have to win the war, etc. etc. In other words we are not sticking our necks out.

I am enclosing a clipping from Time Magazine which covers the Political Issue. I can't figure out Tom's answer to Jack Bell's question. I have asked several about it and they don't seem to have any idea on it.

My mother called me tonight. Said Whitla had told her the Republicans out in the Northwest were meeting to get Dewey lined up for 1948, and that he could not help winning next time. That kind of political talk, however, has been going on as long as I can remember.

I cannot remember whether or not I wrote you my honest opinion -- that 85% of those between the ages of 18 and 30 working in offices in the twin cities either voted for, or worked for, FDR.

Best always

UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF CHICAGO 65 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS m. 12, 1944 Dem Harred: Well election is over and you of Course Some The results. We are nothing prind of muselves in Wiscomin, carried the state In Denny y anne 25,000 . ellected the entire State ticket big meludin also Sen wiley who gre Ball had proscribed and trained to punge. We also elected about 75% of the members of with lines of the same of Country officers. So we really had a great success. a come up here the other day and met al who came in from michigan in his way To So. St. Paul we talked wer a great many motters and are in agreement on certain grinds which I would like to briefly disens. In the first place your name comes into The discussion quite generally now in regard to discussion this talk comes to me I say it is too early to thick about such matters. That it is something In you to do and that you won't discuss politics while in the nany - 9think it is very montant that all of your friends

about this - He semelines mores furtg Elmits That you should Cantin him The longs in St. Paul did several good things such as spinion radio appearant for Estly good and sending wit a letter to delegates about for Ball- They should be organiful homer not to start anything until the time is Riplications on the recut Cumpuign. Generall, spenking it was well conducted and well nyanged everything was done That Could lense leen dene but it ded it irin, The Campaign uns conducted in straight parts lies - all dealing was with state cleanmen. hat'l Committeemen and peut officers. The cumpaign field because it destint attent
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me were it attracting the total line. sermed to have no many of solving the difficulty. no attempt was made. What we needed was a P.a.C. on on side a good me. 9 had lunch yesterday with Stanley High who is in his way to Cal, for a few weeks. He started is very anxious that simething to started us vigat away for 48 - he thinks that a might away for 48 - he thinks that a people might away for 48 called & interested people meeting plans immediately. I the Do had him to stand plans immediately. lim Sweel felt und what the Dewig in that for the present at least me need that for the present at least me no me that for the present at least me needing should be called where Prometh knew about it - maybe he shouldn't call the meeting but he slimed bonn about it. 9 am meeting Raymond Rubicam for dinner tonigut and the nill get

some of his ideas. 9 got grite a thill this morning. 9 got in the elevator here and and the boy said " I just took Harold Starsen up stains" int the rumor turned out false, 9 line however that in the near future you will be mich because the sure of my got at the tomist bureau was not filled and growthy can go back - Homera the us are very anskins to see you. permanent basis with them, brandling the legislature this winter and mulding up their vanishing this of house decided to do.

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There will be norm 139 A. LoRaine Hotel, Mudism. with kended regards, Iremain May truly yours. Mir Johnston

CENSOR'S STAMP)

Commander Harold E. Stassen

COM 3rd Fleet,

F.P.O., San Francisco,

California.

SEE INSTRUCTION NO. 2

Colonel Julius Klein, 0327822 C.O., 523rd QM Group, APO 502, c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, California. November 14, 1944

(Sender's complete address above)

Somewhere in the South Pacific November 14, 1944

FROM

My dear Harold:

I know you will be happy to hear that news reached me on November 11th (Armistice Day of World War I) that I was promoted to full Colonel on November 2nd.

I am most grateful that my Commanding Generals saw fit to give me this award and recommended me to higher authority for that promotion.

It is really a privilege to serve in the field in command of such a large Group, and believe me, it is more a recognition to my officers and men than to me personally. They all had a share in it.

And now I am looking forward to be able to continue to serve in the field until peace is won, so that we all can return to our beloved homes in our great America - in a better world.

This recognition makes me happy because my family will be happy.

After all, they are paying a harder price than I do, as it is now close to four years that I have been away from home.

Will write you soon again.

Cordially yours,

FROM: Colonel Julius Klein, 0327822

C.C., 523rd QM Group

APO 502, c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, California. FREE SEE INSTRUCTION NO. 5

V ··· - MAIL

TO: Commander Harold E. Stassen

COM 3rd Fleet.

F.P.C., San Francisco, Calif.

- FOLD HERE ---

V-Mail service provides a most rapid means of communication. If addressed to a place where photographing service is not available the original letter will be dispatched by the most expeditious means.

INSTRUCTIONS

- (1) Write the entire message plainly on the other side within marginal lines.
- (2) Print the name and address in the two spaces provided. Addresses of members of the Armed Forces should show full name, complete military or naval address, including grade or rank, serial number, unit to which assigned or attached and army post office in care of the appropriate postmaster or appropriate fleet post office.
- (3) Fold, seal, and deposit in any post office letter drop or street letter box.
- (4) Enclosures must not be placed in this envelope.
- (5) V-Mail letters may be sent free of postage by members of the Armed Forces. When sent by others postage must be prepaid at domestic rates (3c ordinary mail, 6c if domestic air mail service is desired when mailed in the U. S.)

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