

RECENT PUBLIC OPINION DATA ON VIET-NAM

	<u>Page</u>
A. Basic trends	1
B. Paris talks	6
C. Bombing	8
D. Confidence in GVN	10
E. Arguments for/against U.S. presence in Viet-Nam	11
F. Understanding	13
G. China and Viet-Nam	14
H. International opinion	15
I. Miscellaneous	17

A. H. Cantril  
10/22/68

## A. BASIC TRENDS

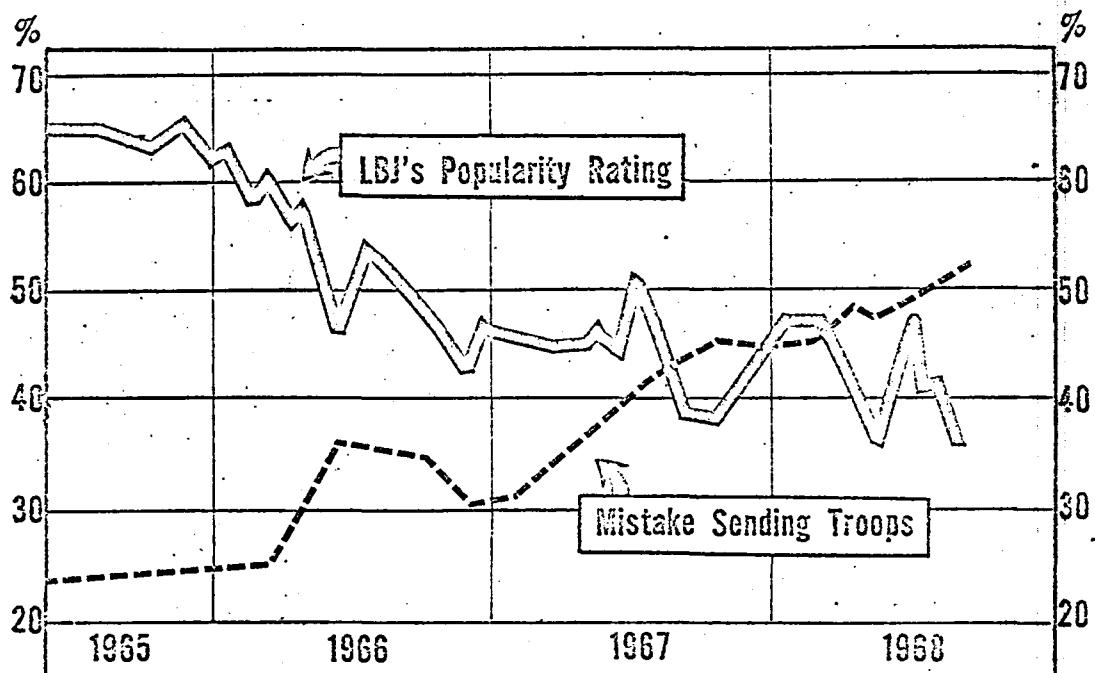
1. In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Viet-Nam, do you think the U.S. made a mistake sending troops to fight in Viet-Nam or not?  
(Gallup)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Aug/68	53%	35%	12%
Feb/68	46	42	12
Feb/67	32	52	16
Aug/65	24	61	15

(Breakdown: Aug/68)

Dem	50	37	13
Rep	58	31	11
Ind	54	37	9
21-29	48	45	7
30-49	48	39	13
50+	61	27	12

Correlates with LBJ popularity:



2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Johnson is handling his job as President? (Gallup)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Aug/68	35%	52%	13%
May/68	41	45	14
Feb/68	48	39	13
May/67	48	37	15
Jun/66	50	33	17
Apr/66	58	28	14
Sep/65	65	22	13
Jan/65	71	15	14
Apr/64	77	9	14
Dec/63	79	3	18

(Breakdown: Aug/68)

Dem.	48	36	16
Rep.	21	68	11
Ind.	30	57	13
21-29	29	62	9
30-49	36	52	12
50+	36	48	16
Col.	32	60	8
HS	33	54	13
Grd.	40	43	17

3. Just your impression, do you think the U.S. and its allies are losing ground in Viet-Nam, standing still, or making progress? (Gallup)

	<u>Losing</u>	<u>Standing Still</u>	<u>Making Progress</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Jun/68	25%	47%	18%	10%
Mar/68	23	38	33	6
Nov/67	8	33	50	9

## 4. Alternative courses of action. (Lloyd Free)

	<u>Jun/68</u>	<u>Feb/68</u>
Discontinue the struggle and begin to pull out of Viet-Nam gradually in the near future.	42%	24%
Continue the war but cut back the American military effort to a defense only of key areas in South Viet-Nam where most of the population is located.	7	4
Continue the war at the present level of military effort.	8	10
Gradually broaden and intensify our military operations.	10	25
Start an all-out crash effort in the hope of winning the war quickly, even at the risk of China or Russia entering the war.	25	28
No opinion	8	9

5. People are called "hawks" if they want to step up our military effort in Viet-Nam. They are called "doves" if they want to reduce our military effort in Viet-Nam. How would you describe yourself--as a "hawk" or a "dove"? (Gallup)

	<u>Hawk</u>	<u>Dove</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
April 6-10	41%	41%	18%
March 16-20	41	42	17
Feb. 24-28	58	26	16
Feb. 3-7	61	23	16
Jan. 6-10	56	28	16
Dec. 9-13 (67)	52	35	13

6. Just from what you have heard or read, which of these statements comes closest to the way you, yourself, feel about the war in Viet-Nam? (Gallup)

	<u>Oct/67</u>	<u>Nov/66</u>
The U.S. should begin to withdraw its troops.	31%	18%
The U.S. should carry on the present level of fighting.	10	18
The U.S. should increase the strength of its attacks against North Viet-Nam.	53	55
No opinion	6	9

7. In terms of time--months or years--how long do you think the fighting in Viet-Nam will last? (Gallup)

	<u>Mar/68</u>	<u>Nov/67</u>
Under two years	35%	48%
Over two years	30	32
Uncertain	35	20

8. Do you feel the war in Viet-Nam will be settled soon, within a matter of months, or do you feel it will go on for a long time, for several years? (Harris)

	<u>Soon</u>	<u>Long time</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
May/67	9%	81%	10%
Feb/67	6	71	23
Jul/66	11	72	17
Oct/65	24	54	22

9. Some people say we should go all-out to win a military victory in Viet-Nam, using atomic bombs and weapons. Do you agree or disagree with this view? (Gallup)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
Mar/68	27%	65%	8%
May/67	26	64	10

(Breakdown: Mar/68)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Col.	21%	75%	4%
HS	29	64	7
Grd.	30	57	13

10. How do you think the war in Viet-Nam will end--in an all-out victory for the U.S. and the South Vietnamese, in a compromise peace settlement, or in a defeat for the U.S. and the South Vietnamese? (Gallup)

	<u>Victory</u>	<u>Compromise</u>	<u>Defeat</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
May/68	10%	77%	4%	9%
Feb/68	20	61	5	15
June/66	17	54	6	23

(Breakdown: May/68)

Col.	4	86	4	6
HS	8	80	4	8
Grd.	18	62	5	15

11. What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? (Gallup)

	<u>Aug/68</u>	<u>Jul/68</u>	<u>May/68</u>
Top Three:			
Viet-Nam	51%	52%	42%
Crime, law/ order	21	29	15
Race Relations	20	13	25

- 11a. Some people think we should not have become involved with our military forces in Southeast Asia, while others think we should have. What is your opinion? (Gallup)

	<u>Should Not</u>	<u>Should</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Nov/65	21%	64%	15%
Jan/65	28	50	22

B. PARIS TALKS

12. Do you think North Viet-Nam is sincerely interested in finding a peaceful solution to the war? (Gallup)

May/68

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
National	25%	65%	10%
Col	35	57	8
HS	23	67	10
Grd	22	66	12
21-29	28	62	10
30-49	29	62	9
50+	20	68	12

13. How do you think the talks will end--to our advantage, to the advantage of North Viet-Nam, or to neither side's advantage? (Gallup)

Aug/68

Our advantage	9%
North Viet-Nam's	13
Neither	58
No opinion	20

14. Do you think the Paris peace talks are making headway or not? (Gallup)

Aug/68

Yes	13%
No	73
No opinion	14

15. What do you think will come of the current Viet-Nam peace talks in Paris? (Gallup)

May/68

Nothing	63%	(Coded free answers)
Step in right direction	25	
No opinion	12	

16. As you know, the United States and North Viet-Nam are holding talks in Paris to try to settle the war in Viet-Nam. In the meantime, heavy fighting is still going on in South Viet-Nam. If in the next month or so the talks in Paris aren't getting anywhere, do you think we should continue the talks or break off the talks? (Lloyd Free)

Jun/68

Continue	53%
Break off	40
No opinion	7

C. BOMBING

17. Some people say that a halt in bombing will improve our chances in Viet-Nam for meaningful peace talks. Others say that our chances are better if the bombing is continued. With which group are you more inclined to agree? (Gallup)

	<u>Halt</u>	<u>Continue</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
National	26%	63%	11%
Col.	27	65	8
HS	26	64	10
Grd	28	58	14
21-29	33	61	6
30-49	27	63	10
50+	24	63	13
Dem	27	63	10
Rep	24	66	10
Ind	28	62	10

18. The North Vietnamese have said that if we agree to stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam, they will agree to peace negotiations. How do you feel--should we stop the bombing or not? (Gallup)

	(Mar/68--prior to Mar.31)		
	<u>Should</u>	<u>Should not</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
National	40%	51%	9%
Col	42	54	4
HS	42	49	9
Grd	35	52	13
21-29	47	46	7
30-49	42	49	9
50+	35	54	11
Dem	41	48	11
Rep	38	54	8
Ind	40	53	7

19. If our government were to decide at this time that the best thing for us and the Vietnamese would be for U.S. forces to stop the bombing and the fighting and gradually withdraw from Viet-Nam, would you approve or disapprove of this decision? (Gallup)

Mar/68 (Prior to 3/31)

Approve	56%
Disapprove	34
No opinion	10

20. As you know, for the time being the U.S. has stopped bombing most of North Viet-Nam. Suppose in a month or so the talks aren't getting anywhere. Do you think the U.S. should then start widespread bombing of North Viet-Nam again, or not? (Lloyd Free)

Jun/68

Should	53%
Should not	34
No opinion	13

21. Do you approve or disapprove of President Johnson's decision to stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam? (Gallup)

Apr/68 (Interviewing 4/2)

Approve	64%
Disapprove	25
No opinion	11

22. It has been suggested that the U.S. agree to stop all the bombing of North Viet-Nam but with the understanding that if after one or two months the North Vietnamese do not begin to remove their troops from South Viet-Nam that the U.S. would then decide whether or not to bomb all of North Viet-Nam including cities. Would you favor or oppose such a plan? (Gallup)

(Jun/68)

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
National	54%	33%	13%
Dem	52	32	16
Rep	58	32	10
Ind	54	36	10

**D. CONFIDENCE IN GVN**

23. Of the 73% who followed the South Vietnamese Presidential elections:

Do you think these elections will represent a true expression of the wishes of the South Vietnamese people or not? (Gallup)

Sep/67

Will	25%
Will not	54
No opinion	21

24. Do you think the South Vietnamese will be able to establish a stable government, or not? (Gallup)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
May/66	29%	42%	29%
Jan/65	25	42	33
(Breakdown: May/66)			
Col.	31%	53%	16%
HS	31	44	25
Grd.	24	31	45

25. Just your impression, do you think the present Government of South Viet-Nam can win sufficient support of the people to govern South Viet-Nam effectively or not? (Lloyd Free)

Mar/68

Yes	23%
No	51
No Opinion	26

26. Looking to the future, if the U.S. and North Viet-Nam come to peace terms and U.S. troops are eventually withdrawn, do you think a government can be developed in South Viet-Nam which, on its own, will be strong enough to prevent the Communists from taking over? (Lloyd Free)

Mar/68

Yes	29%
No	50
No Opinion	21

**E. ARGUMENTS FOR/AGAINST U.S. PRESENCE IN VIET-NAM**

**27. Arguments for continued U.S. presence: Lloyd Free**

Mar/68

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| If we do not continue, the Communists will take over Viet-Nam and then move on to other parts of the world. | 49% |
| We must support our fighting men.   | 48  |
| If we quit now, it would weaken the will of other countries to defend their freedom.                        | 33  |
| If we give up, the whole expenditure of American lives and money will have been in vain.                    | 33  |
| If we do not continue, we will lose prestige and the confidence of our friends and allies abroad.           | 23  |
| We are committed to South Viet-Nam.   | 19  |
| The U.S. should never accept defeat.  | 24  |
| If we pull out and the Communists take over, they will kill many of the Vietnamese who have opposed them.   | 14  |
| If we persevere, we are sure to gain our objectives.  | 8   |

## 28. Arguments against continued U.S. presence: Lloyd Free

Mar/68

Too many Americans are being killed or wounded.	39%
The war is dividing the American people and affecting our national unity.	31
The South Vietnamese are not doing their share in the war effort.	30
The people in South Viet-Nam are so divided and there is so little national unity that there is no foundation for a strong independent country.	29
We may end up having to fight China, Russia, or both--even a nuclear war.	29
Expending so much of our military strength on the war in Viet-Nam has weakened our ability to respond to danger in other parts of the world.	22
We are wasting too much money that could be better used for other purposes.	21
The chance of succeeding either by military force or through negotiations is remote.	14
Most people abroad are highly critical of our actions in Viet-Nam.	11
Our participation in the war in Viet-Nam is basically illegal and immoral; we have no business being there at all.	9
Our national interest and security do not require us to fight in Viet-Nam.	9
We are doing too much damage to the Vietnamese people, their way of life and their economy.	9

F. UNDERSTANDING

29. Do you feel that you have a clear idea of what the Viet-Nam war is all about--that is, what are we fighting for? (Gallup)

	Jun/67		
	Yes	No	No Opinion
National	48%	48%	4%
Col.	68	30	2
HS	51	30	2
Grd.	30	62	8

Comparable question regarding World War II

National	78%	18%	4%
----------	-----	-----	----

30. Specific information questions from CBS survey conducted by Opinion Research Corporation in December 1965.

a. Do you happen to know which side the United States is trying to help: is it North Viet-Nam or South Viet-Nam?

Dec/65		
North Viet-Nam		8%
South Viet-Nam		73
Don't know		19

b. In day-to-day fighting, who have the U.S. troops been in combat with? The South Vietnamese rebels (the Viet Cong), or the Viet Cong plus the North Vietnamese Army, or both of these forces plus Chinese soldiers?

Dec/65		
Viet Cong		10%
Viet Cong and North Viet-Nam		38
Both plus China		32
Don't know		20

c. As you know, we are concerned that if the Communists win in Viet-Nam, they might try to take over other countries in Southeast Asia. Can you name two of the countries that border on either South Viet-Nam or North Viet-Nam?

Dec/65		
Cambodia		28%
Laos		23
China		17
Thailand		11
Incorrect		5
Don't know		50

(Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses.)

31. Do you think the Johnson Administration is or is not telling the public all they should know about the Viet-Nam war? (Gallup)

	<u>Is</u>	<u>Is Not</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Oct/67	21%	70%	9%
Mar/67	24	65	11

G. CHINA AND VIET-NAM

32. If the North Vietnamese show signs of giving in, do you think Communist China will or will not send many troops to help North Viet-Nam? (Gallup)

	<u>Will</u>	<u>Will Not</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Apr/67	42%	35%	22%
Sep/66	38	35	27
(Breakdown: Apr/67)			
Col.	37%	50%	13%
HS	45	36	19
Grd.	39	26	35

33. Looking ahead the next few years, which country do you think will be a greater threat to world peace -- Russia or Communist China? (Gallup)

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
Mar/67	20%	69%	11%
Mar/63	34	47	19
Mar/61	49	32	19

## H. INTERNATIONAL OPINION

34. Just from what you have heard or read, which of these statements comes closest to the way you, yourself, feel about the war in Viet-Nam? (Gallup International Affiliates)

	Nov/67			
	The U.S. should begin to withdraw its troops.	The U.S. should carry on its present level of fighting.	The U.S. should increase the strength of its attacks against North Viet-Nam.	No Opinion
US	31%	10%	53%	6%
England	45	15	15	25
Germany	58	11	14	17
France	72	8	5	15
Canada	41	16	23	20
Finland	81	4	5	10
Brazil	76	5	5	14

35. Looking at the matter strickly from the point of view of (our own country's) present interests and future security, do you approve or disapprove of the way the United States is handling the problem of Viet-Nam? (Lloyd Free)

	Feb-Apr/68		
	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
France	6%	67%	27%
Britain	32	41	27
Germany	17	49	34
Italy	29	34	37
Japan	6	37	57

36. Strictly from the point of view of (our own country's) present interests and future security, which one of the courses listed on this card would you like to see the United States take in connection with the war in Viet-Nam? (Lloyd Free)

	Feb-Apr/68				
	<u>France</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>Britain</u>	<u>Japan</u>
Give up the struggle and pull out of Viet-Nam in the near future.	50%	41%	33%	24%	33%
Accept a compromise settlement even though it might sooner or later allow the Vietnamese Communists to take over control of South Viet-Nam.	26%	15%	32%	26%	19%
Fight on until a settlement can be reached which will insure that the Communists do not get control of South Viet-Nam.	10%	21%	25%	36%	11%
No opinion	14%	23%	10%	14%	37%

## I. MISCELLANEOUS

37. If a situation like Viet-Nam were to develop in another part of the world, do you think the U.S. should or should not send troops? (Gallup)

	Oct/67		
	Should	Should Not	No Opinion
National	29%	57%	14%
Col.	33	49	18
HS	28	59	13
Grd.	25	60	15
21-29	33	48	19
30-49	34	52	14
50	21	66	13

38. Some people say that the war in Viet-Nam may prevent World War III. Others say it might start World War III. With which group are you more inclined to agree? (Gallup)

	Oct/67		
	May Start	May Prevent	No Opinion
National	40%	40%	20%
Col.	54%	31%	15%
HS	40	41	19
Grd.	27	46	27

39. Suppose the U.S. were confronted with a choice of the two alternatives listed on this card, which would you like to see the U.S. follow? (Lloyd Free)

- |  |        |
|--|--------|
| A. End the war by accepting the best possible compromise settlement even though it might sooner or later allow the Vietnamese Communists to take over control of South Viet-Nam. | Mar/68 |
| B. Fight on until a settlement can be reached which will insure that Communists do not get control of South Viet-Nam.  | 31%    |
| C. No opinion.   | 62%    |
|  | 7%     |