

ZA – No. 0034

Communism,  
Conformity  
and Civil Liberties  
(Cross Section Sample)

(Mai – Juli 1954)

Studie 0033 siehe S. 244 ff  
0034 " " 237 ff

Fragenbogen S. 250 ff

ZA - Standard: 85 - 005

COMMUNISM, CONFORMITY,  
AND CIVIL LIBERTIES:

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*A Cross-section of the Nation  
Speaks Its Mind*

By SAMUEL A. STOUFFER

Science Editions®

JOHN WILEY & SONS, INC., NEW YORK

and

Time interview started: \_\_\_\_\_

1. On the whole, do you think life will be better for you or worse, in the next few years than it is now? (If no opinion, ask for "best guess.")

- (5)
- Better \_\_\_\_\_  1
  - About the same \_\_\_\_\_  2
  - Worse \_\_\_\_\_  3
  - Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

2. Everybody of course has some things he worries about, more or less. Would you say you worry more now than you used to, or not as much?

- (6)
- More \_\_\_\_\_  1
  - About the same \_\_\_\_\_  2
  - Not as much \_\_\_\_\_  3
  - Never worry \_\_\_\_\_  4
  - Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

3. What kinds of things do you worry most about?

(7)

4. Would you guess that you worry or are concerned about such things more than most people, or less?

- (8)
- More \_\_\_\_\_  1
  - About the same \_\_\_\_\_  2
  - Less \_\_\_\_\_  3
  - Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

5. Are there other problems you worry or are concerned about, especially political or world problems?

(9)

6. Would you guess you worry about such things more than most people, or less?

- (10)
- More \_\_\_\_\_  1
  - About the same \_\_\_\_\_  2
  - Less \_\_\_\_\_  3
  - Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

7. A. We are interested in what kind of things people talk about. Offhand, what problems do you remember discussing with your friends in the last week or so?

(11)

B. Were there other things? For example, did you talk about any dangers facing people in the United States?

8. Here is a list of topics which have been discussed in the papers recently. (Head respondent White Card)

A. Which ones do you remember talking about with your friends in the last week or so?

A. Have talked about	B. Most Important	C. Next Most Important
(12)		
1 <input type="checkbox"/> Atom or hydrogen bombs _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2 <input type="checkbox"/> Communists in the United States _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 <input type="checkbox"/> Crime and juvenile delinquency _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 <input type="checkbox"/> Danger of World War III _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 <input type="checkbox"/> Farm prices _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 <input type="checkbox"/> High prices of things you buy _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7 <input type="checkbox"/> High taxes _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8 <input type="checkbox"/> Negro-white problems _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9 <input type="checkbox"/> Possibility of another depression _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
X <input type="checkbox"/> Threats to freedom in the United States _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Y <input type="checkbox"/> None of these, don't know _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(13)

B. Which one on that whole list seems most important to you? —whether you talked about it or not. (Check answer in appropriate box above)

(14)

C. Which one seems next most important? (Check answer in appropriate box above)

9. In your opinion, how likely is it that World War III will break out in the next two years?

(15)

- Very likely \_\_\_\_\_  1
- Rather likely \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Rather unlikely \_\_\_\_\_  3
- Not likely at all \_\_\_\_\_  4
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

10. In the long run, how likely is it that Communists can be stopped from taking over the rest of Europe without a World War?

(16)

- Very likely \_\_\_\_\_  1
- Rather likely \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Rather unlikely \_\_\_\_\_  3
- Not likely at all \_\_\_\_\_  4
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

11. Suppose it turned out that the only way to stop the Communists from taking over the rest of Europe was for the United States to fight Russia. Should we let the Communists take over the rest of Europe or fight Russia?

(17)

- Let Communists take over \_\_\_\_\_  1
- Fight Russia \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Qualified (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

12. In the long run, how likely is it that Communists can be stopped from taking over the rest of Asia without a World War?

(18)

- Very likely \_\_\_\_\_  1
- Rather likely \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Rather unlikely \_\_\_\_\_  3
- Not likely at all \_\_\_\_\_  4
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

13. Suppose it turned out that the only way to stop the Communists from taking over the rest of Asia was for the United States to fight Russia. Should we let the Communists take over the rest of Asia, or fight Russia?

(19)

- Let Communists take over \_\_\_\_\_  1
- Fight Russia \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Qualified (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

14. Of these three ways of dealing with Russia, which do you think is best for America now? (Head respondent reverse side of White Card)

(20)

- Talk over problems with Russia \_\_\_\_\_  1
- Have nothing to do with Russia \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Fight Russia \_\_\_\_\_  3
- Qualified (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

15. A. Would you favor cutting down our aid to our Allies now?

(21)

- Yes \_\_\_\_\_  1\*
- Qualified (specify) \_\_\_\_\_  2
- No \_\_\_\_\_  3\*
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

\*B. IF YES OR NO: Why?

16. A. To reduce taxes, would you favor cutting down the size of our Air Force now?

(22)

- Yes \_\_\_\_\_  1
- No \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

B. To reduce taxes, would you favor cutting down our Atom Bomb production now?

(23)

- Yes \_\_\_\_\_  1
- No \_\_\_\_\_  2
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

Now some questions on a different topic.

17. A. Which of these three views is closest to your own? (Head respondent Blue Card)

(24)

- All people in this country feel as free to say what they think as they used to \_\_\_\_\_  1
- Some people do not feel as free to say what they think as they used to \_\_\_\_\_  2\*
- Hardly anybody feels as free to say what he thinks as he used to \_\_\_\_\_  3\*
- Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

\*IF SOME OR HARDLY ANYBODY ASK B AND C:

B. Which groups or kinds of people may feel less free now to speak their minds? (Why do they feel less free?)

(25)

C. If people do not feel as free to speak their minds, is it a good thing or a bad thing for the country?

- (26)
- Good \_\_\_\_\_  1
  - Bad \_\_\_\_\_  2
  - Qualified (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  - Don't know \_\_\_\_\_  0

18. Is this something you have thought about lately a great deal, some, a little, or hardly at all?

(27)

A great deal  1  
Some  2  
A little  3  
Hardly at all  4  
Don't know  0

19. A. What about you personally? Do you or don't you feel as free to speak your mind as you used to?

(28)

Yes, as free  1  
No, less free  2\*  
Don't know  0

\* IF NO, ASK B AND C:

B. In what ways? Why?

C. How do you feel about this? Does it bother you, or not?

(29)

Bothers me much  1  
Bothers me some  2  
Does not bother me  3  
Don't know  0

20. There are always some people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other people. For instance, somebody who is against all churches and religion.

A. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your city (town, community) against churches and religion, should he be allowed to speak, or not?

(30)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

(31)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book or not?

(32)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

21. Or consider a person who favored government ownership of all the railroads and all big industries.

A. If this person wanted to make a speech in your community favoring government ownership of all the railroads and big industries, should he be allowed to speak, or not?

(33)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

B. Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

(34)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

C. If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote favoring government ownership should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing the book, or not?

(35)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

22. A. Some people say that Americans are getting more distrustful or suspicious of each other than they used to be. Have you thought about this recently, one way or another?

(36)

Yes  1\*  
No  2  
Don't know  0

\*B. IF YES: Have you talked with anybody about this subject, one way or another?

(37)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

23. A. What is your own opinion? Do you think Americans are getting more suspicious of others, or less suspicious?

(38)

More  1\*  
Same  2  
Less  3  
Never suspicious  4  
Don't know  0

\*B. IF MORE: Why do you say this? In what ways?

(39)

24. A. How great a danger do you feel that American Communists are to this country at the present time—a very great danger, a great danger, some danger, hardly any danger or no danger?

(40)

A very great danger  1\*  
A great danger  2\*  
Some danger  3\*  
Hardly any danger  4\*  
No danger  5\*  
Don't know  0

\*B. UNLESS DON'T KNOW: Why do you think this?

(41)

25. Do you think a man can believe in Communism and still be a loyal American, or not?

(42)

Yes  1  
Qualified (specify)  2  
No  3  
Don't know  0

26. What kind of people in America are most likely to be Communists?

(43)

Probe 1, Unless Volunteered: What racial or religious groups are they most likely to be in?

Probe 2, Unless Volunteered: What kind of jobs are they most likely to be in?

27. What kinds of things do Communists believe in? Probe: Anything else?

(44)

28. A. Have you ever known a person who you thought might be a Communist?

(45)

Yes  1\*  
No  2

\*B. IF YES: How could you tell? What made you think this?

29. In some communities, people have been asked to report to the F. B. I. any neighbors or acquaintances who they suspect might be Communists.

A. As far as you know, has this idea been suggested in your city (town, community)?

(46)

Yes  1\*\*  
No  2\*  
Don't know  0\*

\*B. IF NO OR DON'T KNOW: Have you read or heard about this idea?

(47)

Yes  1\*\*  
No  2  
Don't know  0

\*C. IF YES TO EITHER A OR B: Have you discussed this idea, one way or another, in conversations with anybody?

(48)

Yes  1  
No  2  
Don't know  0

30. A. On the whole, do you think it is a good idea or a bad idea for people to report to the F.B.I. any neighbors or acquaintances whom they suspect of being Communists?

(54)  
 Good idea .....  1\*  
 Bad idea .....  2\*\*  
 Don't know .....  0

\*IF GOOD IDEA TO A, ASK B, C & D.

\*\*IF BAD IDEA, SKIP TO E AND F.

B. On the whole, you think it is a good idea. Do you think there are any dangers in it, or not?

(50)  
 Yes .....  \*  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

\*C. IF YES TO B: What dangers?

D. Suppose President Eisenhower were to say publicly that it was a bad idea, on the whole, for people to be reporting any acquaintances they suspect to the F.B.I. Do you think you might come to agree with him, or not?

(51)  
 Yes .....  1  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

\*\*IF BAD IDEA TO A, ASK E & F.

E. What dangers do you see in it?

(52)

F. Suppose President Eisenhower were to say publicly that it was a good idea, on the whole, for people to be reporting any acquaintances they suspect to the F.B.I. Do you think you might come to agree with him or not?

(53)  
 Yes .....  1  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

31. Do you or don't you think the government should have the right to listen in on people's private telephone conversations, in order to get evidence against Communists?

(54)  
 Yes .....  1  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

32. A. If an American opposed churches and religion, would this alone make you think he was a Communist?

(55)  
 Yes .....  1  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

B. If an American favored government ownership of all the railroads and big industries, would this alone make you think he was a Communist?

(56)  
 Yes .....  1  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

C. If an American favored peace at any price, would this alone make you suspect he was a Communist?

(57)  
 Yes .....  1  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

D. IF NO OR DON'T KNOW TO EACH OF A, B, AND C: If an American took all three stands—opposed churches and religion, favored government ownership, and favored peace at any price—would that make you think he was a Communist?

(58)  
 Yes .....  1  
 No .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

33. How many Communists do you think there are now in the United States? Just give me your best guess. (Keep probing. Explain, if necessary, "Include all Communists, whether they actually belong to the Communist Party or not.")

(59)

34. Do you think the F.B.I. knows who all the American Communists are, or do they know most of them, a good many of them, or only a few of them?

(60)  
 All .....  1  
 Most .....  2  
 A good many .....  3  
 Only a few .....  4  
 Don't know .....  0

35. If J. Edgar Hoover were to say that the F.B.I. has most of the American Communists under its eye, would you feel pretty sure it was true, or wouldn't you?

(61)  
 Would feel pretty sure .....  1  
 Qualified (specify) .....  2  
 Would not .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

36. A. Do you think there might be any Communists within the American Government now, or not?

B. IF YES: If you had to guess, how many would you think there are—just a few, or hundreds, or thousands?

(62)  
 Yes, a few .....  1\*  
 Yes, hundreds .....  2\*  
 Yes, thousands .....  3\*  
 Yes, don't know how many .....  4\*  
 No, don't think there are any .....  5  
 Don't know if there are any .....  0

\*C. IF ANY YES ANSWER: How much danger is there that these Communists within the Government can hurt the country—a great danger, some danger, not much danger, or no danger?

(63)  
 Great .....  1  
 Some .....  2  
 Not much .....  3  
 None .....  4  
 Don't know .....  0

37. A. If President Eisenhower were to say, some day, that there no longer is any danger from Communists within the Government, would you feel pretty sure he was right, or not?

(64)  
 Yes, would feel pretty sure .....  \*  
 No, would not .....  5  
 Don't know or qualified .....  0

\*B. IF YES: If later, the chairman of a Congressional Committee investigating Communism said there was still a great danger from Communists within the Government, would you still believe President Eisenhower was right, or not?

(65)  
 Still believe .....  1  
 Qualified (specify) .....  2  
 Would not .....  3  
 Don't know .....  4

(66)

\*P

\*P

38. A. Do you think there are any Communists working in key defense plants now, or not?

B. IF YES: If you had to guess, how many would you think—just a few, or hundreds, or thousands?

(67)  
 Yes, a few .....  1\*  
 Yes, hundreds .....  2\*  
 Yes, thousands .....  3\*  
 Yes, don't know how many .....  4\*  
 No, don't think there are any .....  5  
 Don't know if there are any .....  0

\*C. IF ANY YES ANSWER: How much danger is there that these Communists in defense plants can hurt the country—a great danger, some danger, not much danger, or no danger?

(68)  
 Great .....  1  
 Some .....  2  
 Not much .....  3  
 None .....  4  
 Don't know .....  0

39. If both the management and labor union officials in a large defense plant were to say, some day, that Communists in that plant were no longer a danger, would you feel pretty sure that it was true, or not?

(69)  
 Would feel it was true .....  1  
 Would not .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

40. A. Do you think there are any Communists teaching in American colleges and universities now, or not?

B. IF YES: If you had to guess, how many would you think—just a few, or hundreds, or thousands?

(70)  
 Yes, a few .....  1\*  
 Yes, hundreds .....  2\*  
 Yes, thousands .....  3\*  
 Yes, don't know how many .....  4\*  
 No, don't think there are any .....  5  
 Don't know if there are any .....  0

\*C. IF ANY YES ANSWER: How much danger is there that the Communists in colleges and universities can hurt the country—a great danger, some danger, not much danger, or no danger?

(71)  
 Great .....  1  
 Some .....  2  
 Not much .....  3  
 None .....  4  
 Don't know .....  0

41. If the head of a college were to say, some day, that there were no Communists teaching in that college, would you feel pretty sure it was true, or not?

(72)  
 Would feel it was true .....  1  
 Would not .....  2  
 Don't know .....  0

42. A. Do you think there are any Communists teaching in American public schools, or not?

B. IF YES: If you had to guess, how many would you think—just a few, or hundreds, or thousands?

(73)  
 Yes, a few .....  1\*  
 Yes, hundreds .....  2\*  
 Yes, thousands .....  3\*  
 Yes, don't know how many .....  4\*  
 No, don't think there are any .....  5  
 Don't know if there are any .....  0

\*C. IF ANY YES ANSWER: How much danger is there that these Communists in public schools can hurt the country—a great danger, some danger, not much danger, or no danger?

(74)  
 Great .....  1  
 Some .....  2  
 Not much .....  3  
 None .....  4  
 Don't know .....  0

43. If the school board in your community were to say, some day, that there were no Communists teaching in your schools, would you feel pretty sure it was true, or not?

(75)

Would feel it was true  1  
 Would not  2  
 Don't know  0

44. There is a good deal of discussion these days about Congressional committees investigating Communism. Do you happen to know the names of any of the Senators and Congressmen who have been taking a leading part in these investigations of Communism? Who are they?

(76)

**B. UNLESS CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE MENTIONED:**

As far as you know, did a Congressional committee investigating Communism help catch him or not?

Yes  1  
 No  2  
 Don't know  0

48. A. Do you happen to remember how the Rosenbergs were caught? How?

(5)

45. In general, what is your opinion of these committees investigating Communism—very favorable, favorable, unfavorable or very unfavorable?

(77)

Very favorable  1  
 Favorable  2  
 Unfavorable  3  
 Very unfavorable  4  
 Don't know  0

46. What are some of the good things (if any) that you feel these committees have done?

(78)

**B. UNLESS CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE MENTIONED:**

As far as you know, did a Congressional committee investigating Communism help catch them or not?

Yes  6  
 No  7  
 Don't know  Y

49. A. Consider the Congressional committees investigating Communism today. Some people think that these committees are actually making it harder for the F.B.I. to catch Communists. Others think that these committees are a real help to the F.B.I. today. What do you think?

(6)

Help the F.B.I.  6\*  
 Make it harder for the F.B.I.  7\*  
 Don't know  Y

\*B. UNLESS DON'T KNOW: In what way?

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50. A. What are some of the bad things (if any) that you feel these committees have done?

(7)

**B. IF ALREADY ANSWERED IN A. CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX AND SKIP TO C:** Some people say these Congressional committees are as much interested in getting publicity and votes as in protecting the country from the Communist threat. Others have a different view. What is your opinion?

(8)

Selfish interest  6  
 Disagree  7  
 Don't know  Y

**C. IF ALREADY ANSWERED, CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX AND SKIP TO D:** It has been said that these Congressional committees investigating Communism are hurting the reputations of some people who really aren't Communists at all. Do you think these committees are or are not hurting the reputations of some people who really aren't Communists?

(9)

Are  6\*  
 Are not  7  
 Don't know  Y\*

\*D. IF ARE OR DON'T KNOW TO C: Do you think the committees could go after Communists without hurting innocent people, or not?

(10)

Could  6  
 Could not  7  
 Don't know  Y

51. In your opinion, which one of these two is more important? (Has Respondent Reverse Side of Blue Card)

(11)

To find out all the Communists even if some innocent people should be hurt  6  
 To protect the rights of innocent people even if some Communists are not found out  7  
 Don't know  Y

(12)

sp

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52. A. When a man refuses to tell a Congressional committee whether he ever was a Communist, do you think he probably was a Communist, or not?

B. IF PROBABLY WAS: Would you be almost sure he was a Communist, or would you have some doubt?

(13)

Almost sure  6  
 Have some doubt  7  
 Probably not  8  
 Don't know  Y

53. A. Can you think of any reason why a person would refuse to tell a committee whether he'd ever been a Communist, if he really never had been?

(14)

Yes  6  
 No  X

\*B. IF YES: What sort of reasons might he have for refusing to answer?

54. Sometimes a man says he refuses to answer certain questions about Communism because he does not want to be forced to testify against his former friends. Should he be punished very severely, severely, not too severely, or not at all?

(15)

Very severely  6  
 Severely  7  
 Not too severely  8  
 Not at all  9  
 Don't know  Y

55. It has been said that some loyal Americans won't take Government jobs today for fear of unjust attacks on their reputations. Have you ever heard this, or read of it?

(16)

Yes  6  
 No  7  
 Don't know  Y

56. A. Do you think it is true, or not, that some loyal Americans won't take Government jobs today for fear of unjust attacks on their reputations?

(17)

Yes, true  6\*  
 Qualified (specify)  7\*  
 No, untrue  8  
 Don't know  Y

\*B. IF YES OR QUALIFIED: Do you think this will hurt the country a great deal, some, only a little, or not at all.

(18)

Great deal  6  
 Some  7  
 A little  8  
 Not at all  9  
 Don't know  Y

57. Now, I should like to ask you some questions about a man who admits he is a Communist.

A. Suppose he is working in a defense plant. Should he be fired, or not? (19)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

B. Suppose he is a clerk in a store. Should he be fired, or not? (20)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

C. Suppose he is teaching in a college. Should he be fired, or not? (21)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

D. Suppose this admitted Communist wants to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not? (22)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

E. Suppose he wrote a book which is in your public library. Somebody in your community suggests the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it, or not? (23)

- Favor  6
- Not favor  7
- Don't know  Y

F. Suppose this admitted Communist is a radio singer. Should he be fired, or not? (24)

- Should be fired  6
- Not be fired  7
- Don't know  Y

G. Now, suppose the radio program he is on advertises a brand of soap. Somebody in your community suggests that you stop buying that soap. Would you stop, or not? (25)

- Would stop  6
- Would not stop  7
- Don't know  Y

H. Suppose he is a high school teacher. Should he be fired, or not? (26)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

I. Should an admitted Communist be put in jail, or not? (27)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

J. Should he have his American citizenship taken away from him, or not? (28)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

58. Now I would like you to think of another person. (Head Respondent Plak Card.) A man whose loyalty has been questioned before a Congressional committee, but who swears under oath he has never been a Communist.

A. Suppose he has been working in a defense plant. Should he be fired, or not? (29)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

B. Suppose he is a clerk in a store. Should he be fired, or not? (30)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

C. Suppose he is teaching in a college or university. Should he be fired, or not? (31)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

D. Should he be allowed to make a speech in your community, or not? (32)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

E. Suppose he wrote a book which is in your public library. Somebody in your community suggests the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it, or not? (33)

- Favor  6
- Not favor  7
- Don't know  Y

F. Suppose this man who swears he has never been a Communist, but who has been criticized by a Congressional committee is a radio singer. Should he be fired, or not? (34)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

G. Now suppose the radio program he is on advertises a brand of soap. Somebody in your community suggests you stop buying that soap. Would you stop, or not? (35)

- Would  6
- Would not  7
- Don't know  Y

H. Suppose this man is a high school teacher. Should he be fired, or not? (36)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

59. A. Suppose you discovered that one of your friends today had been a Communist ten years ago, although you are sure he is not now. Would you break your friendship with him, or not? (37)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

B. Suppose you discovered that one of your good friends today had been a Communist until recently, although he says he is not now. Would you break your friendship with him, or not? (38)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  Y

60. A. Now, please think of some of the important people or leaders in our country today. Among them would you pick out for me one, in particular, whose opinions on how to handle United States Communists you would especially respect? (39)

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

B. UNLESS NO ONE MENTIONED: Which of these two statements is closer to the fact? Head Respondent Yellow Card. (40)

- Know his opinions  6
- Kind of person he is  7
- Don't know  Y

61. A. IF EISENHOWER MENTIONED IN 60, SKIP TO 62: If President Eisenhower were to say something about how United States Communists should be handled, would you have a good deal of confidence in what he said, or not? (41)

- Yes  \*
- No  \*\*
- Don't know  Y

\*B. IF YES TO A: Which of the two statements on the card is closer to the fact? (42)

- Know his opinions  5
- Kind of person he is  6
- Don't know  7

\*\*C. IF NO TO A: Which of the two statements on the reverse side of that card is closer to the fact? (43)

I know pretty well what his opinions about how to handle Communists are  8

I doubt whether I would accept his opinions about how to handle Communists—but I don't know too well just what his opinions are  9

Don't know  X

62. A. Do you suppose that an American can be a Communist without belonging to the Communist Party, or not? (45)

- Yes  \*
- No  9
- Don't know  Y

\*B. IF YES: Do you suppose that most American Communists do belong to the Communist Party, or not? (46)

- Yes  6
- No  7
- Don't know  8

63. Do you read a daily newspaper every day, almost every day, or only occasionally? (46)

- Every day  6
- Almost every day  7
- Occasionally  8
- Almost never  9

64. A. Do you have a television set in the house? (47)

B. IF YES: Do you listen to news programs on television every day, almost every day, or only occasionally? (47)

- Every day  6
- Almost every day  7
- Occasionally  8
- Almost never  9
- No TV  X

65. Do you listen to news programs on the radio every day, almost every day, or only occasionally? (48)

- Every day  6
- Almost every day  7
- Occasionally  8
- Almost never  9
- No radio  X

66. Frequently there is something in the news about Communists in the United States and what is being done about them. On the whole, would you say you follow this news very closely, fairly closely, or hardly at all? (49)

- Very closely  6
- Fairly closely  7
- Hardly at all  8
- Don't know  Y

67. Even if people follow the news closely they are likely to form many of their opinions as a result of listening and talking with relatives, friends, and acquaintances. For example, take your own ideas about Communists in the United States and what is being done about them. On the whole, would you say you get your information mostly from what you read or hear on the air, or mostly from what you hear in conversations with other people? (50)

- Read or hear on the air  6
- Conversations with people  7
- Don't know  Y

68. Now, take a different topic which is on some people's minds: the question of whether we're heading toward more unemployment and harder times. On this subject, would you say you get your information mostly from what you read or hear on the air, or mostly from what you hear in conversations with other people?

(51)

Read or hear on the air  6  
 Conversations with people  7  
 Don't know  Y

69. And now please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly with these statements. Hand Respondent Reverse Side of Pink Card.

A. Any leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect.

(52)

Agree strongly  6  
 Agree  7  
 Disagree  8  
 Disagree strongly  9  
 Don't know  Y

B. People can be divided into two classes—the weak and the strong.

(53)

Agree strongly  6  
 Agree  7  
 Disagree  8  
 Disagree strongly  9  
 Don't know  Y

C. If a child is unusual in any way, his parents should get him to be more like other children.

(54)

Agree strongly  6  
 Agree  7  
 Disagree  8  
 Disagree strongly  9  
 Don't know  Y

D. A child should never be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them.

(55)

Agree strongly  6  
 Agree  7  
 Disagree  8  
 Disagree strongly  9  
 Don't know  Y

E. No sane, normal, or decent person would ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

(56)

Agree strongly  6  
 Agree  7  
 Disagree  8  
 Disagree strongly  9  
 Don't know  Y

70. Whom did you favor for President in 1952—Eisenhower or Stevenson?

(57)

Eisenhower  6  
 Stevenson  7  
 Other  8  
 Don't remember  Y

71. A. Many people were unable to vote in the 1952 election for President because of illness or for other reasons. Did you vote?

(58)

Yes  6\*  
 No  7  
 Don't remember  Y

\*B. IF YES: Did you vote for the Republican or Democratic candidate for Congressman in your district in 1952?

(59)

Democratic  6  
 Republican  7  
 Other  8  
 Don't remember  Y

72. A. In 1948, Truman ran for President against Dewey, Wallace, and Thurmond. Do you recall whether you voted in that election?

B. IF VOTED: For whom did you vote—Truman, Dewey, Wallace, or Thurmond?

(60)

Truman  5  
 Dewey  6  
 Wallace  7  
 Thurmond  8  
 Other  9  
 Don't remember who  9  
 Didn't vote  X  
 Don't remember if voted  Y

73. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, or Independent?

(61)

Democrat  6  
 Republican  7  
 Independent  8  
 Don't know  9

74. A. What is your religious preference—Protestant, Catholic or Jewish?

(62)

Protestant  6  
 Catholic  7  
 Jewish  8  
 Other  9  
 None  X

B. Have you attended church or religious services in the last month?

(63)

Yes  6  
 No  7  
 Can't remember  Y

75. What is the last grade you finished in school?

(64)

None  6  
 Grammar School (1-6)  6  
 Grammar School (7-8)  6  
 High School (9-11)  7  
 High School (12)  8  
 College, not graduate  9  
 College graduate  X

(65)

76. A. In what country were you born?

B. In what country was your father born?

C. In what country was your mother born?

(66)

77. A. What is your job or occupation?

B. What is the job or occupation of the head of your immediate family?

C. IF FAMILY HEAD RETIRED, UNEMPLOYED OR DECEASED: What did he (she) (you) do?

78. Are you married, single, widowed, or divorced?

(67)

Married  6  
 Single  7  
 Widowed  8  
 Divorced  9

79. A. Have you (your husband) ever served in any branch of the armed forces?

(68)

Yes  \*  
 No  X

IF NO SKIP TO 80

\*B. Have you (your husband) ever belonged to the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, or any other veterans' organization?

Yes  6\*\*  
 No  7

\*\*C. If Yes, check below to indicate organization, and whether person currently belongs.

(69)

	Belongs Now	Formerly Belonged
American Legion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
V. F. W.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

80. A. Are you (your husband) a member of a labor union?

(70)

Yes  6  
 No  9

\*B. IF YES: Is that A.F.L., C.I.O. or independent?

A.F.L.  6  
 C.I.O.  7  
 Independent (specify)  8  
 Don't know  X

81. And what is your age?

(71)

21-29  6  
 30-39  7  
 40-49  8  
 50-59  9  
 60 or over  X

82. SEX:

(72)

Man  6  
 Woman  7

83. RACE:

(73)

White  6  
 Colored  7

84. Respondent lives in:

(74)

City of over 100,000 or suburbs  6  
 City of 2,500 up to 100,000  7  
 Town under 2,500 or country (non-farm)  8  
 Farm  9

85. DATE:

(75)

(76)

86. Respondent's home address:

(Place) (State)

87. Serial No. of Interview:

88. Sampling Unit or Area No.:

Time Interview Ended:

I hereby attest that this is a true and honest interview:

(Interviewer's Signature)

(77) (78) (79)