ZA – No. 0034

Communism,
Conformity
and Civil Liberties
(Cross Section Sample)

(Mai – Juli 1954)
COMMUNISM, CONFORMITY, AND CIVIL LIBERTIES:

A Cross-section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind

By SAMUEL A. STOUFFER
Appendix B
NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER
and
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION

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.")

Better ________ [5]
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?

More ________ [6]
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?

[Text not transcribed]

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

More ________ [8]
About the same ________ [2]
Less ________ [4]
Don't know ________ [0]

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

[Text not transcribed]

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

More ________ [10]
About the same ________ [2]
Less ________ [3]
Don't know ________ [0]

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

Better ________ [5]
About the same ________ [2]
Worse ________ [3]
Don't know ________ [0]

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

[Text not transcribed]

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

Very likely ________ [15]
Rather likely ________ [15]
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?

Very likely ________ [15]
Rather likely ________ [15]
Rather unlikely ________ [3]
Not likely at all ________ [4]
Don't know ________ [0]

11. Suppose it turned out that the only way to stop the Communist 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?

Let Communists take over ________ [17]
Fight Russia ________ [15]
Qualified (Specify) ________ [2]
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?

Very likely ________ [15]
Rather likely ________ [15]
Rather unlikely ________ [3]
Not likely at all ________ [4]
Don't know ________ [0]

13. Suppose it turned out that the only way to stop the Communist 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?

Let Communists take over ________ [19]
Fight Russia ________ [15]
Qualified (Specify) ________ [2]
Don't know ________ [0]

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

Talk over problems with Russia ________ [25]
Have nothing to do with Russia ________ [25]
Fight Russia ________ [25]
Qualified (Specify) ________ [25]
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?

Yes □ 3
No □ 2
Don't know □ 0

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

Yes □ 1
No □ 2
Don’t know □ 0

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

Yes □ 1
No □ 2
Don’t know □ 0

22. 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?

Yes □ 1
No □ 3
Don’t know □ 0

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

More □ 1
Same □ 2
Less □ 3
Never suspicious □ 4
Don’t know □ 0

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?

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?

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

Yes □ 1
Qualified (temporarily) □ 2
No □ 3
Don’t know □ 0

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

Yes □ 1
No □ 2
Don’t know □ 0

27. What kinds of things do Communists believe in?

Probe 1. Anything else?

 probes. Anything else?

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

Yes □ 1
No □ 2

B. If yes. How could you tell? What made you think this?

29. In some communities, people are being asked to report to the FBI, or to say who they suspect might be Communists.

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

Yes □ 1
No □ 2
Don’t know □ 0

B. If no or don’t know. Have you read or heard about this idea?

Yes □ 1
No □ 2
Don’t know □ 0

C. If yes, in either A or B. Have you discussed this idea, one way or another, in conversations with anybody?

Yes □ 1
No □ 2
Don’t know □ 0
### Questionnaire: Public Opinion on Communism

#### Page 254

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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?</td>
<td>Yes, a few</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, hundreds</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, thousands</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, don't know how many</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No, don't think there are any</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don't know if there are any</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Q. 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?*

| Great | 1 |
| Some | 2 |
| Not much | 3 |
| None | 4 |
| Don't know if there are any | 5 |

#### Page 255

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Options</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32. A. If an American opposed churches and religion, would this alone make you think he was a Communist?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Q. 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?*

| Great | 1 |
| Some | 2 |
| Not much | 3 |
| None | 4 |
| Don't know if there are any | 5 |

---

#### Analysis of Results

**Question 33:** How many Communists do you think there are now in the United States? Just give your best guess. (Don't be afraid to be honest.)

**Question 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?

**Question 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?

**Question 36:** Do you think there might be any Communists within the American Government now, or not?

**Question 37:** If President Eisenhower were to say, some day, that there is no danger to Communists within the Government, would you feel pretty sure he was right, or not?

**Question 38:** Do you think there are any Communists working in key defense plants now, or not?

**Question 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 not a danger, would you feel pretty sure that it was true, or not?

**Question 40:** Do you think there are any Communists teaching in American colleges and universities now, or not?
43. If the school board in your community were to vote, some day, that there were no Communists teaching in your schools, would you feel pretty sure it was true, or not?  
(73) Would feel it was true 1  
Woulud 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?  
(763)

45. In general, what is your opinion of these Congressional committees investigating Communism—very favorable, favorable, unfavorable or very unfavorable?  
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?  
(763)

47. A. Do you happen to remember how Alger His was caught? How?  
(79)

50. A. What are some of the bad things (if any) that you feel these committees have done?  
(7)

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?  
Almost sure 6  
Have some doubt 7  
Probably not 8  
Don't know 9  

53. A. Can you think of any reason why a person would refuse to tell a committee whether he ever was a Communist, if he really never had been?  
Yes 9  
No 8  

*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?  
Very severely 6  
Severely 7  
Not too severely 8  
Not at all 9  
Don't know 0  

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 it?  
Yes 6  
No 7  
Don't know 0  

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?  
Yes, true 6  
Not true 8  
Quotidian 7  
Don't know 0  

*B. IF YES OR QUALIFIED: Do you think this will hurt the country a great deal, some, only a little, or not at all?  
Great deal 6  
Some 7  
A little 8  
Not at all 9  
Don't know 0  

51. In your opinion, which one of these two is more important? (Read Respondent Reverse Side of Blue Card)  
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 9  

†B. UNLESS DON'T KNOW: In what way?
57. Now, I should like to ask you some questions about a man who belongs to a Communist. 
A. Suppose he is working in a defense plant. Should he be fired, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(28)
B. Suppose he is a clerk in a store. Should he be fired, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(29)
C. Suppose he is teaching in a college. Should he be fired, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(30)
D. Suppose this admittance Communist were to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(31)
E. Suppose he were 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? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(32)
F. Suppose this admittance Communist is a radio singer. Should he be fired, or not? 
Should be fired _______ Y  
Not be fired _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(33)
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? 
Would stop _______ Y  
Would not stop _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(34)
H. Suppose he is a high school teacher. Should he be fired, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(35)
I. Should an admittance Communist be put in jail, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(36)

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? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(37)
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? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(38)
C. Suppose he is teaching in a college or university. Should he be fired, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(39)
D. Suppose he is a college or University. Should he be allowed to speak in your community, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(40)
E. Suppose he were 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? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(41)
F. Suppose this admittance Communist is a radio singer. Should he be fired, or not? 
Should be fired _______ Y  
Not be fired _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(42)
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? 
Would stop _______ Y  
Would not stop _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(43)
H. Suppose he is a high school teacher. Should he be fired, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(44)
I. Should an admittance Communist be put in jail, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(45)

62. A. Do you suppose that an American can be a Communist without belonging to the Communist Party, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(46)
B. If YES: Do you suppose that most American Communists do belong to the Communist Party, or not? 
Yes _______ Y  
No _______ N  
Don't know _______ D  
(47)
C. Do you read a daily newspaper every day, almost every day, or only occasionally? 
Every day _______ Y  
Almost every day _______ N  
Occasionally _______ D  
Almost never _______ Y  
(48)
D. Do you have a television set in the house? 
If YES: Do you listen to news programs on television every day, almost every day, or only occasionally? 
Every day _______ Y  
Almost every day _______ N  
Occasionally _______ D  
Almost never _______ Y  
(49)
E. Do you listen to news programs on the radio every day, almost every day, or only occasionally? 
Every day _______ Y  
Almost every day _______ N  
Occasionally _______ D  
Almost never _______ Y  
(50)
F. 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? 
Very closely _______ Y  
Fairly closely _______ N  
Hardly at all _______ D  
(51)
G. Even if people follow the news closely they are likely to form many of their opinions about Communists and their activities by reading newspapers, magazines, books, and hearing people talk about them. If you feel this way, how often do you discuss these opinions with people? 
Read or hear on the air _______ Y  
Conversations with people _______ N  
(52)
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?

Read or hear on the air 6
Conversations with people 7

Don't know 8

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

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

Agree strongly 6
Agree 7
Disagree 8
Disagree strongly 9
Don't know 10

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

Agree strongly 6
Agree 7
Disagree 8
Disagree strongly 9
Don't know 10

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

Agree strongly 6
Agree 7
Disagree 8
Disagree strongly 9
Don't know 10

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

Agree strongly 6
Agree 7
Disagree 8
Disagree strongly 9
Don't know 10

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

Agree strongly 6
Agree 7
Disagree 8
Disagree strongly 9
Don't know 10

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

Eisenhower 6
Stevenson 7
Other 8
Don't know 9

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

Yes 6
No 7
Don't remember 8

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

Democratic 6
Republican 7
Other 8
Don't know 9

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?

Truman 6
Dewey 7
Wallace 8
Thurmond 9
Don't remember who 9
Didn't vote 10
Don't remember if voted 10

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

Democrat 6
Republican 7
Independent 8
Don't know 9

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

Protestant 6
Catholic 7
Jewish 8
Other 9
None 10

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

Yes 6
No 7
Can't remember 10

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

Grammar School (1-8) 6
High School (9-13) 7
College, not graduate 9
College graduate 10

76. A. In what country were you born?

B. In what country was your father born?

C. In what country was your mother born?

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: Why did he (she) (you) do?

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

Married 6
Single 7
Widowed 8
Divorced 9

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

B. IF NO SKIP TO 80

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

Yes 6
No 7

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 9

81. And what is your age?

21-30 6
31-40 7
41-50 8
51-60 9
61 or over 10

82. SEX:

Man 6
Woman 7

83. RACE:

White 6
Colored 7

84. Respondent lives in:

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:

(73)

(76)

86. Respondent's home address:

(Place) (State)

87. Social No. of Interview:

88. Sampling Unit or Area No:

Time Interview Ended:

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

(77) (79) (79)