Attitudes to Security Policy in the Federal Republic
(March 1982)
USIA-STUDIENNUMMER

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INTRODUCTION

AS YOU MAY KNOW, THE LEADERS OF OUR COUNTRY AND OTHER MAJOR DEMOCRACIES ARE MEETING IN JUNE TO DISCUSS IMPORTANT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD. WE WOULD LIKE TO GET YOUR OPINIONS ON SOME OF THE THINGS THEY MAY BE TALKING ABOUT.

MACROECONOMICS

1. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE {SURVEY COUNTRY'S} GENERAL ECONOMIC HEALTH AT THE PRESENT TIME? WOULD YOU SAY THAT IT IS VERY GOOD, FAIRLY GOOD, FAIRLY POOR, OR VERY POOR?

   1. VERY GOOD
   2. FAIRLY GOOD
   3. FAIRLY POOR
   4. VERY POOR
   9. DON'T KNOW

2. DO YOU THINK THAT THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN {SURVEY COUNTRY} OVER THE NEXT YEAR IS LIKELY TO GET MUCH BETTER, SOMewhat BETTER, REMAIN ABOUT THE SAME, GET SOMEWHAT WORSE, OR MUCH WORSE?

   1. MUCH BETTER
   2. SOMEWHAT BETTER
   3. REMAIN ABOUT THE SAME
   4. SOMEWHAT WORSE
   5. MUCH WORSE
   9. DON'T KNOW

3. PLEASE TELL ME WHICH TWO OF THE PROBLEMS LISTED ON THIS CARD YOU CONSIDER MOST IMPORTANT FOR {SURVEY COUNTRY}? {HAND CARD} (NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS)

   A 1. NOT ENOUGH TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION
   B 2. OIL AND OTHER ENERGY PROBLEMS
   C 3. INFLATION
   D 4. INFLUX OF FOREIGN IMPORTS
   E 5. UNEMPLOYMENT
   F 6. FOREIGN BARRIERS AGAINST OUR EXPORTS
   G 7. TOO MUCH TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION
   H 8. NONE OF THESE {VOL}
   I 9. DON'T KNOW
4. IS IT YOUR FEELING THAT UNEMPLOYMENT IS DUE PRIMARILY TO DEVELOPMENTS AND POLICIES WITHIN [SURVEY COUNTRY], OR IS IT PRIMARILY DUE TO ACTIONS AND POLICIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES?

1. WITHIN [SURVEY COUNTRY]
2. OTHER COUNTRIES
3. BOTH (VOL.)
4. DON'T KNOW

{IF "OTHER COUNTRIES"}:
5. WHAT OTHER COUNTRY OR COUNTRIES DO YOU HAVE IN MIND?

6. ASK ALL:

6. DO YOU THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TRY TO REDUCE INFLATION EVEN IF IT MEANS MORE UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE SHORT-RUN, OR DO YOU THINK THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE STEPS TO INCREASE EMPLOYMENT EVEN IF IT MEANS CONTINUED INFLATION?

1. REDUCE INFLATION EVEN IF MORE UNEMPLOYMENT
2. INCREASED EMPLOYMENT EVEN IF CONTINUED INFLATION
4. DON'T KNOW

IN GENERAL, HOW CLOSELY DO YOU FOLLOW NEWS ABOUT ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRIES -- VERY CLOSELY, FAIRLY CLOSELY, NOT TOO CLOSELY, OR NOT AT ALL?

1. VERY CLOSELY
2. FAIRLY CLOSELY
3. NOT TOO CLOSELY
4. NOT AT ALL
4. DON'T KNOW

8. WHICH ONE OF THESE COUNTRIES OR GROUPS OF COUNTRIES [HAND CARD] DO YOU THINK IS STRONGEST ECONOMICALLY AT THE PRESENT TIME? {ONE ANSWER}

1. [SURVEY COUNTRY]
2. GERMANY {EXCEPT IN GERMANY}
3. JAPAN {EXCEPT IN JAPAN}
4. UNITED STATES
5. SOVIET UNION
6. CHINA
7. ARAB OIL COUNTRIES

CARD
4. DON'T KNOW
9. From what you may have heard or read, do you think that the economic policies and actions of the West European Common Market (EEC) countries have been more helpful or more harmful to the economic situation in our country, or have they had little effect on our country?
   1. More helpful
   2. More harmful
   3. Little effect
   4. Don't know

In Western Europe and Canada:

9. From what you may have heard or read, do you think that the economic policies and actions of Japan have been more helpful or more harmful to the economic situation in our country, or have they had little effect on our country?
   1. More helpful
   2. More harmful
   3. Little effect
   4. Don't know

In all:

10. And do you think that the economic policies and actions of the U.S. have been more helpful or more harmful to the economic situation in our country, or have they had little effect on our country?
   1. More helpful
   2. More harmful
   3. Little effect
   4. Don't know

11. Speaking of the U.S., at present do you consider the American dollar to be a very strong, fairly strong, fairly weak, or very weak currency?
   1. Very strong
   2. Fairly strong
   3. Fairly weak
   4. Very weak
   5. Don't know
12. In general, do you think that a strong American dollar is a good thing or a bad thing for {survey country}, or doesn't it affect us much one way or the other?

1. Good thing
2. Bad thing
3. Not much effect
4. Don't know

13. Do you think that the strong American dollar is mainly the result of a deliberate U.S. government policy, or is it mainly the result of economic conditions beyond the control of the U.S. government?

1. Due mainly to deliberate U.S. policy
2. Due mainly to economic conditions beyond U.S. control
4. Don't know

Ask all:

Trade

14. Some countries favor free trade -- that is, fewer restrictions on the freedom of countries to buy from and sell to each other.

Other countries favor restrictions on free trade in order to protect their own products against foreign competition.

A. Which view do you think {survey country} supports -- free trade or protectionism?

B. And which view do you personally support -- free trade or protectionism?

{survey country}  |  Personal
--- | ---
Free trade  | 1  | 1
Protectionism  | 2  | 2
Don't know  | 4  | 4

If "free trade" personal view:

15. And what if there are economic hard times in our country -- would you still favor free trade, or would you then favor protectionism?

1. Still favor free trade
2. Would then favor protectionism
4. Don't know
16. WHICH ONE OF THE ARGUMENTS ON THIS LIST (HAND CARD) IS THE BEST ARGUMENT FOR RESTRICTING IMPORTS? (ONE ANSWER)

1 HELPS OUR ECONOMY BY LETTING US SELL MORE ABROAD THAN WE BUY FROM OTHER COUNTRIES
2 PRESERVES JOBS FOR OUR CITIZENS
3 PROTECTS OUR INDUSTRIES AND MAKES THEM MORE PROFITABLE

4 NONE OF THESE (VOL)
9 DON'T KNOW

17. AND WHICH ONE OF THE ARGUMENTS ON THIS LIST (HAND CARD) IS THE BEST ARGUMENT AGAINST RESTRICTING IMPORTS? (ONE ANSWER)

1 CREATES NEW JOBS IN SALES AND SERVICES
2 MAKES GOODS AVAILABLE AT LOWER PRICES
3 PROVIDES GREATER CHOICE IN CONSUMER GOODS

4 NONE OF THESE (VOL)
9 DON'T KNOW

18. ON BALANCE, WOULD YOU SAY THAT IMPORTING FOREIGN PRODUCTS INTO [SURVEY COUNTRY] TENDS MORE TO REDUCE PRICES OR MORE TO INCREASE UNEMPLOYMENT?

1 REDUCE PRICES
2 INCREASE UNEMPLOYMENT
3 BOTH ABOUT EQUALLY (VOL)
9 DON'T KNOW

19. THINKING NOW SPECIFICALLY ABOUT AGRICULTURE, DO YOU THINK THAT FREER TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS WOULD TEND TO RAISE OR TO LOWER THE COST OF FOOD IN [SURVEY COUNTRY], OR WOULD IT HAVE LITTLE EFFECT ONE WAY OR THE OTHER?

1 RAISE
2 LOWER
3 LITTLE EFFECT
9 DON'T KNOW
IN JAPAN:

20. IN GENERAL, DO YOU THINK THE TRADE POLICIES OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET (EEC) COUNTRIES HELP OR HINDER JAPAN'S EFFORTS TO SELL ITS GOODS IN WESTERN EUROPE?

1. HELP
2. HINDER
9. DON'T KNOW

IN WESTERN EUROPE AND CANADA:

20. IN GENERAL, DO YOU THINK JAPAN'S TRADE POLICIES HELP OR HINDER [SURVEY COUNTRY'S] EFFORTS TO SELL ITS GOODS IN JAPAN?

1. HELP
2. HINDER
9. DON'T KNOW

IN ALL:


1. HELP
2. HINDER
9. DON'T KNOW

EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS

22. IN GENERAL, HOW MUCH WOULD YOU SAY [SURVEY COUNTRY'S] PROSPERITY IS DEPENDENT UPON TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION — A GREAT DEAL, A FAIR AMOUNT, NOT VERY MUCH, OR NONE AT ALL?

1. GREAT DEAL
2. FAIR AMOUNT
3. NOT VERY MUCH
4. NONE AT ALL
9. DON'T KNOW
23. IN VIEW OF EVENTS IN POLAND, DO YOU THINK \{SURVEY COUNTRY\} SHOULD INCREASE OR DECREASE ITS TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, OR SHOULD THE SITUATION IN POLAND MAKE NO DIFFERENCE TO OUR TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION?

1. INCREASE TRADE
2. DECREASE TRADE
3. MAKES NO DIFFERENCE
9. DON'T KNOW

24. DO YOU TEND TO AGREE OR DISAGREE THAT WESTERN NATIONS, INCLUDING OUR OWN, SHOULD HAVE TIGHT RESTRICTIONS ON SELLING HIGHLY ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY TO THE SOVIET UNION? STRONGLY OR ONLY SOMewhat?

1. STRONGLY AGREE
2. SOMEWHAT AGREE
3. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
4. STRONGLY DISAGREE
9. DON'T KNOW

25. Do you think \{SURVEY COUNTRY\} should make special concessions such as low interest loans and credits to the Soviet Union if it is necessary to promote trade with the Soviets, or do you think \{SURVEY COUNTRY\} should make no special concessions to the Soviet Union in order to promote trade?

1. MAKE SPECIAL CONCESSIONS TO PROMOTE TRADE
2. MAKE NO SPECIAL CONCESSIONS
9. DON'T KNOW

26. IN TRADING WITH THE SOVIET UNION, DO YOU THINK IT IS BETTER FOR \{SURVEY COUNTRY\} TO MAKE THE BEST DEAL IT CAN EVEN IF IT HURTS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE U.S., OR IS IT BETTER TO COORDINATE OUR TRADE POLICY WITH THE U.S. EVEN IF IT MEANS TRADING LESS WITH THE SOVIET UNION?

1. MAKE THE BEST DEAL
2. COORDINATE WITH U.S.
3. DEPENDS ON TYPE OF TRADE \{VOL\}
9. DON'T KNOW

27. IN GENERAL, DO YOU THINK THAT BUYING ENERGY PRODUCTS AND RAW MATERIALS FROM THE SOVIET UNION IS MORE LIKELY TO MAKE \{SURVEY COUNTRY\} VULNERABLE TO SOVIET POLITICAL PRESSURES, OR IS MORE LIKELY TO RESULT IN \{SURVEY COUNTRY\} HAVING A MODERATING INFLUENCE ON SOVIET ACTIONS?

1. MAKES US VULNERABLE
2. WILL MODERATE SOVIET ACTIONS
3. NOT MUCH EFFECT EITHER WAY \{VOL\}
9. DON'T KNOW
IN FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, AND ITALY:

28. You may have heard that some Western European nations including our own, are planning to help the Soviet Union build a pipeline that will be used to sell natural gas to Western Europe.

On balance, do you tend to approve or to disapprove of survey country helping the Soviet Union to build this natural gas pipeline?

1. Approve
2. Disapprove
9. Don’t know

{IF "APPROVE:"}

29. And what if this pipeline earns money for the Soviet Union that would be used to further build up Soviet military strength, would you then still approve of survey country helping to build the pipeline?

1. Yes, would still approve
2. No, would then disapprove
3. Wouldn’t have that much effect on Soviet military strength {vol}
9. Don’t know

IN BRITAIN:

28. Well, you may have heard that some Western European nations are planning to help the Soviet Union build a pipeline that will be used to sell natural gas to Western Europe.

On balance, do you tend to approve or to disapprove of Western European nations helping the Soviet Union to build this pipeline?

1. Approve
2. Disapprove
3. Disapprove

{IF "APPROVE:"}

29. And what if this pipeline earns money for the Soviet Union that would be used to further build up Soviet military strength, would you then still approve of Western European nations helping to build this pipeline?

1. Yes, would still approve
2. No, would then disapprove
3. Wouldn’t have that much effect on Soviet military strength {vol}
9. Don’t know
Final Questionnaire (No. 4)  
March 30, 1982

QUESTIONNAIRE: SECURITY ISSUES

ECONOMIC/NATO SUMMITS STUDY

PREAMBLE:
And now I would like to ask you some questions about some matters dealing with our national security.

1. Do you think that (SC) defense spending should be increased, decreased, or kept at its present level?

2a. IF "DECREASED" OR "KEPT AT ITS PRESENT LEVEL":
If increasing our country's defense spending produced more jobs, would you still be opposed or would you then favor increasing defense spending?

2. All things considered, do you think it is better for (SC) to belong to NATO, that is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or would it be better for us to get out of NATO and become a neutral country? (In France: "...better to belong to the Atlantic Alliance...")

3. In general, how much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. to deal responsibly with world problems—a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

4. For (SC's) interests, how desirable is it that the U.S. should exert strong leadership in world affairs—very desirable, fairly desirable, not very desirable, or not at all desirable?

5. On balance, do you think that U.S. policies and actions during the past year have done more to promote peace or done more to increase the risk of war?

6. And how about Soviet policies and actions during the last year? Have they done more to promote peace or more to increase the risk of war?
7. How likely do you think it is that the Soviet Union will attack Western Europe within the next five years—very likely, fairly likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

8. If our security were threatened by a Soviet attack, how much confidence do you have in the U.S. to do whatever is necessary to defend (SC) even if this would risk the destruction of U.S. cities—a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

As far as you know, are there any nuclear missiles on (SC) soil that can reach the territory of the USSR?

What about missiles in the USSR. As far as you know, are there any nuclear missiles on Soviet soil that are aimed at and can reach the territory of Western Europe?

As you may know, the Russians have about 525 nuclear warheads on new medium-range nuclear missiles—the SS-20s—aimed at Western Europe, while NATO has no such missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. In view of this, do you favor or oppose having new nuclear missiles that can reach the Soviet Union stationed in (SC) (in Western Europe)?

There are many different opinions on how to deal with the issue of stationing in (SC) (Western Europe) these new nuclear missiles that could reach the Soviet Union. Listed on this card are four different opinions about these new nuclear missiles. (SHOW CARD) Which of these opinions is closest to your own?

1. Under no condition should we agree to station these new nuclear missiles in (SC)
2. We should accept the new nuclear missiles in (SC) only if arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union have failed
3. We should accept the new nuclear missiles in (SC) as long as there are arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union at the same time
4. We should accept the new medium-range nuclear missiles in (SC) regardless of the current arms control negotiations

There are different opinions about the use of nuclear weapons in Europe by NATO. Which of the following is closest to your own?

1. NATO should not use nuclear weapons of any kind under any circumstances
2. NATO should use nuclear weapons only if the Soviet Union uses them first in attacking Western Europe
3. NATO should use nuclear weapons to defend itself if a Soviet attack by conventional forces threatened to overwhelm NATO forces
Which country do you think is ahead in overall nuclear strength today—the U.S. or the USSR, or do you think they are about equal in overall nuclear strength?

Well, what about five years from now? Which country do you think will be ahead then in overall nuclear strength—the U.S. or the USSR, or do you think they will be about equal?
13. Do you think that having new nuclear missiles in Western Europe helps to prevent a Soviet attack on Western Europe or makes a Soviet attack on Western Europe more likely?

14. As you may know, there are different proposals on how to deal with nuclear missiles in Europe (SHOW CARD AND READ BOTH OPTIONS):

President Reagan has proposed that the U.S. will not station new nuclear missiles in Western Europe if the USSR agrees to dismantle Soviet nuclear missiles now aimed at Western Europe.

President Brezhnev has said that the USSR will stop adding to its nuclear missiles in European Russia if the U.S. agrees not to station any new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Which of these two alternatives, if carried out, would be more likely to prevent war?

15. (SHOW CARD USED IN Q.14).

Do you believe that President Reagan's proposal is or is not a sincere effort to reduce nuclear weapons in Europe?

16. (SHOW CARD USED IN Q.14).

And do you believe that President Brezhnev's proposal is or is not a sincere effort to reduce nuclear weapons in Europe?

Tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

People tend to be more critical of the U.S. than of the Soviet Union's international behavior because they set higher standards for the U.S. Do you agree or disagree with this?
27. In general, do you think that buying energy products and raw materials from the Soviet Union is more likely to make (SURVEY COUNTRY) vulnerable to Soviet political pressures, or is more likely to result in (SURVEY COUNTRY) having a moderating influence on Soviet actions?

1 Makes us vulnerable
2 Will moderate Soviet actions
3 Not much effect either way (VOL)
9 Don't know

Post Questions

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about matters dealing with our national security.

28. Do you think that Japan should assume greater responsibility for the defense of its own air space and sea lanes out to 1,000 miles?

1 Yes
2 Air defense but not sea lanes
3 Sea lanes but not air defense
4 No/neither
9 Don't know
0 No answer

(If "1," "2," or "3" selected):

29. What do you think is the most important reason why Japan should increase its defense responsibility in that way?

1 Growing Soviet military power in the regions near Japan
2 To maintain or improve relations with the U.S.
3 Because Japan must assume its full burden as a member of the Western bloc
4 Cooperation with other Western nations in confronting the growing Soviet political and military threat.
5 Because Japan is a great power, it should have a strong military
6 Other (VOL)
9 Don't know
0 No answer
30. How much danger do you think the Soviet Union poses to our security?
   
   1 Very much
   2 Some
   3 Not very much
   4 None at all
   9 Don't know
   0 No answer

31. Do you think the U.S. role in military and security affairs in the region around Japan will increase or decrease over the next several years?
   
   1 Increase
   2 Decrease
   3 Not much change
   9 Don't know
   0 No answer

32. If our country’s security were threatened by a military attack, how much confidence do you feel we could have in the U.S. to come to our defense?
   
   1 Great deal
   2 Fair amount
   3 Not very much
   4 None at all
   9 Don't know
   0 No answer

33. How much do you think the security interests of Japan and the U.S. are in agreement?
   
   1 Very much
   2 Somewhat
   3 Not very much
   4 Not at all
   9 Don't know
   0 No answer

34. Do you think that the Japanese economy is basically different in its organization than other Free World economies?
   
   1 Yes
   2 No
   9 Don't know
   0 No answer
(If "Yes"):
35. What do you think is the principal difference?

1. Management techniques
2. Social or cultural factors
3. Workers work harder
4. Company loyalty
5. Government support of certain industries
6. Special connections between companies
7. Other (VOL)
9. Don't know
0. No answer

**Radio Questions**

Now, to end this interview I would like to ask you several questions about radio listening.

36. Have you listened to radio in the last seven days?

1. Yes
2. No
9. Don't know

(If "Yes"):
37. In the last month, on which wavebands have you listened to radio -- on medium wave, FM, shortwave? (RECORD AS MANY AS APPLY)

1. Medium wave
2. FM
3. Shortwave

ASK ALL:

38. In the last month, have you listened to a foreign radio station; that is, to direct broadcasts from foreign countries -- not American Forces Radio?

1. Yes
2. No
9. Don't know
39. We would like to find out which wavebands you can receive on your radio. With the help of this card (HAND CARD), could you tell me which wavebands your radio can receive? It may be helpful for you to look at your radio to accurately record the wavebands?

- Has no radio ( )
- Inspection not made ( )

**AM (medium wave)**
- Inspection not made ( )

**FM (frequency modulation)**
- Inspection not made ( )

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(CARD)

40. How old is your best radio set?

1. 1-2
2. 3-4
3. 5-9
4. 10-15
5. Older
9. Don't know