International Relations (June 1955)

- Questionnaire Great Britain -
1. Interview person named only - no one else will do.
2. Record full details of each call. If no interview was given full explanation.
3. If not at home, try out (from neighbor if necessary) until likely to be available - make appointment if possible - get informant's name and, if neighbor, further calls required because:
   - interview successful
   - died before Oct. 10th, 1954
   - moved away before Oct. 10th, 1954
   - moved away after Oct. 10th, 1954
   - other reasons
4. If moved, find new address and, if reasonable, interview there.
5. The relevant "Result Code" (see box on right) should be entered in the space provided for each call made.

### Result Code

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Comments - and 
Informant's name/ 
Address/ phone |

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</thead>
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### Introduction:
We are trying to find out what people think about a number of issues of the day. Of course, nobody knows all the answers, but I would like to have your opinions.

1. Do you believe that there will or will not be a world war in the next three or four years?
   - Will be a war... Will not... Qualified answer... Don't know...

2. Do you think that the danger of a war starting in Europe has become greater in the last few months, or less, or remained about the same?
   - Greater... Less... About the same... Don't know...

3. Is America doing all it could do to prevent a new world war?
   - Yes, U.S.A. is... No, U.S.A. is not... Don't know...

4. Is Russia doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?
   - Yes, Russia is... No, Russia is not... Don't know...

5. Do you think that American military bases in Europe decrease danger or increase the danger or war?
   - Decrease danger... Increase danger... No effect...
   - Don't know...

6. Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. (Show Card A) How about.......

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
<th>Russia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Very good opinion...
- Good...
- Fair...
- Bad...
- Very bad...
- Don't know...

7. Is it your impression that recently the U.S.A. has become more conciliatory - more willing to make concessions - that has become less conciliatory, or that it has remained about the same?
   - More conciliatory...
   - Less conciliatory...
   - About the same...
   - Don't know...

8. Is it your impression that recently Russia has become more conciliatory - more willing to make concessions - that has become less conciliatory, or that it has remained about the same?
   - More conciliatory...
   - Less conciliatory...
   - About the same...
   - Don't know...

9. a) If more conciliatory: What do you think it the main reason why Russia has become more conciliatory lately?
   (Show Card B - Mark only one answer)

   (Write in code number) - Don't know...

10. In the present quarrel or tension between Russia and the U.S.A., which country do you think is more to blame - Russia or the United States?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
<th>Equally blameless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Don't know...

11. At the present time, do you personally think that Britain should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>Neither side</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Don't know...

12. a) If atom and hydrogen bombs were used in such a war, do you think this country should take sides or not take sides? Which side?

   - Side with Russia... Side with U.S.A... No take sides... Don't know...

(Notes: Here is an example of how to work. Contact has said "M.S. A. is to U.S.A. and "Don't know" to U.S.A. Sing a song under "Don't know.""

13a) Do you happen to know whether or not a 4-Power Conference (at the highest level) is being planned for the near future?

   - Yes...
   - No...
   - Don't know...

13b) Could you tell me what countries are meeting?

   - (Interviewer: "What countries are meeting?"
   - U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France. If contact shows he knows about the Conference, mark Correct. Otherwise mark Incorrect.)

   Correct...
   Incorrect...

14. (As you know) there will be a 4-Power Conference. At this conference the heads of state of the Big Four will be discussing international issues. What result do you most want to see come out of such a 4-Power Conference? (Write in fully)

15. In the forthcoming 4-Power conference, what are the chances, in your opinion, of achieving good results? (Show Card C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very high</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Only fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Very poor</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. Please use this card to indicate how much you think you can count on each of these countries to keep any agreements made at the conference. First, how about the U.S.A.? (Show Card D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
<th>U.S.S.R.</th>
<th>Britain</th>
<th>France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Completely...
- Very much...
- Somewhat...
- Not very much...
- Not at all...
- Don't know...

17. Now, taking the four countries, will you indicate for each, which you consider to be the greater danger that it will make too many concessions at the conference, or too few?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
<th>U.S.S.R.</th>
<th>Britain</th>
<th>France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Too many concessions...
- Too few...
- Don't know...

18. Would you agree that:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. Here are some issues that might be discussed at the conference. Please use this card to indicate in each case, first, your own attitude about this, and secondly, what you think the chance is that the 4-Powers will reach an agreement. (Show CARD 6 - read out issues)

**a) Gaming of atomic weapons:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favour</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't care</td>
<td>Only fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b) Limiting of other kinds of armaments:**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
<td>Very good</td>
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<td>Favour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't care</td>
<td>Only fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c) Unifying East and West Germany:**

<table>
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<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
<td>Very good</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**d) Germany getting back its old East German Territories (East of the Oder-Neisse) now held by Poland:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favour</td>
<td>Good</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't care</td>
<td>Only fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**e) Re-arming of West Germany:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
<td>Very good</td>
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<td>Favour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't care</td>
<td>Only fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**f) Increasing East-West Trade:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
<td>Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favour</td>
<td>Good</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't care</td>
<td>Only fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**g) Scraping NATO - that is, the present Atlantic Pact defense system:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't care</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**h) A conference on Far Eastern issues with Communist China taking part:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Chance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favour</td>
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<td>Favour</td>
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<td>Oppose</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Would you think that a 4-Power Conference had success or failure if no solutions were reached but tensions were relaxed?

- Success
- Failure
- Neither

21. If you prefer, Russian suggestion: Would you still prefer a neutral Germany like this, if the U.S.S.R. was not willing to guarantee its neutrality?

- Would still prefer
- Would not prefer in that case
- Don't know

22. Suppose no agreement could be reached about reunifying Germany, and the Russians then made these proposals: (Show CARD 9) Germany remains divided: Neither East nor West Germany could have any military alliances; East Germany and West Germany must both be limited in their armaments, and men Allied and Soviet troops must withdraw from German soil. Would you want the Western Powers to accept or reject this proposal?

- Accept (neutralization of Germany)
- Reject
- Don't know

23. Suppose the Russians suggested the following:

1. That both the U.S. and Britain withdraw all their forces from the whole of the Continent and give up their bases
2. That Soviet Russia withdraw its forces to within the borders of the U.S.S.R.

Would you want the West to accept or reject this proposal?

- Accept
- Reject
- Don't know

24. Would you approve or disapprove a settlement with the U.S.S.R. in which the West accepts the continuation of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe?

- Approve
- Disapprove
- Don't know

25. As you may know, the German Chancellor Adenauer has been invited to Moscow to discuss establishing relations with the Soviet Union. Do you approve or disapprove of his going?

- Approve
- Disapprove
- Don't know

26a) You may have heard of the recent agreement between Russia and the Western Powers about Austria. Do you think this agreement Austria is now allied with the West, allied with the East, or is a neutral, independent state?

- Allied with West
- Allied with East
- Neutral, independent

27. Of course, almost everyone wants peace, but there are some things that people say are worth fighting for. (Show CARD 8) What about a threat to... which would you choose - stay at peace or fight for it?

- Stay at Peace
- Fight
- Don't know

a) National independence of all

- 44
- 4

b) The independence of other countries in Western Europe

- 44
- 2

c) Individual liberty of British people

- 43
- 3

d) Human dignity and respect for the individual

- 44
- 17

e) Right of the people to take part in decisions affecting their national destiny

- 47
- 17

f) Freedom of religion

- 49
- 11

g) Democratic way of life

- 49
- 12
29. Is it your impression that the U.S. is, or is not, making sincere efforts to ban atomic weapons?  
   Sincere efforts 22  
   No sincere efforts 18  
   Don't know 20

30. Is it your impression that Russia is, or is not, making sincere efforts to ban atomic weapons?  
   Sincere efforts 27  
   No sincere efforts 16  
   Don't know 18

31. Do you think that the Western forces are stronger in atomic weapons than Russia, weaker, or about equal?  
   West stronger 39  
   West weaker 8  
   About equal 22  
   Don't know 11

32. Leaving aside atomic weapons, are the Western forces at the present time stronger in ordinary non-atomic military power than Russia and the other Communist forces, weaker, or about equal?  
   West stronger 44  
   West weaker 24  
   About equal 17  
   Don't know 7

33. Because the results of atomic warfare are horrible, some Western sympathizers want to ban atomic weapons, even if it leaves the West weaker. Do you agree with these people who want the ban, or do you disagree with them?  
   Agree 26  
   Disagree 52  
   Don't know 13

END