

ZA-No. 0002
(Old No. 1400)

Lerner Studie 1961
The European Elite Panel Study

Research Services Ltd., 20-24 Broadwick Street, London, W.1.

Opening:

This year begins with important events for the Western allies: in America there is the new administration of President Kennedy, in France the referendum on President de Gaulle's Algerian policies, and in Europe the prospect of a meeting of the heads of governments of the Common Market countries. May I begin with some questions about these events.

1. (a) Is the new administration of President Kennedy likely to improve the general Western position in world affairs in the years ahead?

Yes 1

No 2

Don't know 3

ASK ALL

- (b) In what sense do you mean this?

.....

2. The latest French referendum on Algeria has just taken place. Do you think de Gaulle should end hostilities promptly, or should he continue the military fight until a satisfactory accommodation of French interests can be negotiated?

End hostilities promptly 1

Continue the fight 2

Comment: Don't know 3

3. A meeting of the heads of the Common Market countries will face Britain, once again, with the question of joining 'the Six'. Some say that Britain cannot afford to join, others say that Britain cannot afford not to join. Which, on balance, would be closer to your view?

Cannot afford to join 5

Cannot not afford 6

Comment: Don't know X

4. (a) This raises the question of Britain's international position, which is tied up with various key relationships such as the Commonwealth, the European Community in general, the Atlantic Alliance, the United Nations and the special Anglo-American connection. How important would you say each of these five is to Britain?

		(a)				(b)
		Very important	Fairly important	Not so important	Don't know	One most important
Read out	Commonwealth	1	2	3	4	6
again	European Community	6	7	8	X	7
(Ring one code for each)	Atlantic Alliance	1	2	3	4	8
	United Nations	6	7	8	X	9
	Anglo-American connection	1	2	3	4	0
					Don't know (b)	X

(b) All things considered, which one of these five is the single most important to Britain?

(Ring one code only in column headed (b)).

Comment:

5. (a) Do you consider that the value of the Commonwealth is mainly economic, or mainly political, or mainly as a bridge between the white and coloured peoples, that is to say, mainly social?

Comment:

(One or more codes possible)

Mainly economic	1
Mainly political	2
Mainly social	3
All three	4
Other value (state)	
.....	
No value at all	0
Don't know	X

IF ANY VALUE MENTIONED AT QUESTION 5(a) (i.e., all except Codes 0 and X) ASK:

(b) Do you consider this value to be a lasting, long-term value?

Comment:

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	3

6. (a) Turning to the European Community, do you consider the idea valuable in itself?

Comment:

Yes	5
No	6
Don't know	X

6.	(b) Will it effectively develop the economic potential of Western Europe?	Yes	1	
		No	2	
		<u>Don't know</u>	3	
	(c) Will it produce a political counterpoise to Soviet Russia?	Yes	5	
		No	6	
		<u>Don't know</u>	7	
	(d) Will it produce a political counterpoise to the U.S.A.?	Yes	9	
		No	0	
		<u>Don't know</u>	X	
	Comment:			

- 7.
- (a) Which do you consider to be the most valuable of the existing European organisations?
- (b) Which is the least valuable?
- (c) Which in its own way is more valuable for Britain than NATO?
- (a) Most valuable (b) Least valuable (c) More valuable than NATO

State one mentioned			
All	9	9	9
None	0	0	0
D.K.	X	X	X

Comment:

8.	(a) If there had to be a choice, should Britain sacrifice some of its Commonwealth interests in order to promote its European interests?	Yes	1
		No	2
		<u>Don't know</u>	3
	(b) Should Britain sacrifice some of its interests in the Outer Seven in order to improve its relations with the Inner Six?	Yes	5
		No	6
		<u>Don't know</u>	X
Comment:			

9. (a) As the conflict between the 'Inner Six' and 'Outer Seven' seems to be centred in Britain and France, which country would you say was mainly responsible for the present divided situation?
- (b) Which country is likely to suffer more by a continuation of the conflict?
- (c) Which should take the lead in seeking a solution?

	(a) Responsible	(b) Suffer more	(c) Take the lead
Britain	1	1	1
France	2	2	2
Both	3	3	3
Other (state)	-----	-----	-----
Don't know	X	X	X

Comment:

10.

- (a) Will the harmful effects of continued conflict be mainly economic or mainly political, or will they not be seriously harmful at all?
- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Economic | 1 |
| Political | 2 |
| Not seriously harmful | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 |

- (b) Do you think the conflict between the Six and the Seven should be resolved by the formation of a larger economic community?
- | | |
|------------|---|
| Yes | 6 |
| No | 7 |
| Don't know | X |

IF 'YES' CODE 6 Q.10(b)

- (c) Should the larger economic community be formed by merging the Six and Seven, or by creating a new Atlantic institution which would include North America, or by some other method?
- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| Merge '6' & '7' | 1 |
| Atlantic | 2 |
| Other (state) | |
| | |
| | |
| Don't know | X |

IF 'NO' CODE 7 Q.10(b)

- (d) What method of resolving the conflict would you prefer?
-
-

Comment:

11. (a) Do you consider the American 'dollar problem' to be a matter of long-term concern to Europe?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- Don't know 3

(b) Various steps have been proposed to help solve the American 'dollar problem'. Do you approve or disapprove of each of the following:

(Ring one code for each item)

(Read)	Approve	Dis-approve	Don't know
(i) A larger European share in the costs of Western defence	5	6	7
(ii) A larger European share in economic aid to under-developed countries	9	0	X
(iii) A restriction of American purchases in Europe	1	2	3
(iv) A revaluation of the dollar vis-a-vis European currencies	5	6	7
(v) The use of the International Monetary System as a stabilizer	9	0	X

Comment:

12. (a) Quite apart from the American 'dollar problem' do you think the European countries should make a substantial increase in their long-term commitments of economic aid to the under-developed countries?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- Don't know X

(b) What would you consider to be a fair sharing of the burden of such economic aid - that is approximately what percentages of the total should be borne by each of the main Western allies as compared with other countries?

(Read)	Percent of total
Comment: Britain
France
Germany
U.S.A.
Other (State) {
{
{
All others (unspecified).....
	Total 100%

12. (cont'd) (c) Should economic aid be administered bi-laterally - that is strictly between Britain and each receiving country - or through a multilateral agency specially designed to administer a large common fund according to a common policy decided by the contributors?

Bilateral	1
Multilateral	2
<u>Don't know</u>	3

IF BILATERAL (Code 1 at Q.12c)

(d) To which areas of the world should a bilateral British fund give highest priority?

.....

IF MULTILATERAL (Code 2 at Q.12c)

(e) Under which auspices would you prefer to see such a multilateral agency established - European, or Atlantic, or Free World, or United Nations?

Comment:

European	1
Atlantic	2
Free World	3
United Nations	4
<u>Don't know</u>	5

13. (a) As a final question on Britain's relation to the European Community; at the time when the idea of the 'European Defence Community' was defeated, in 1954, were you for or against the E.D.C.?

For	7
Against	8
Don't remember	9
<u>Don't know</u>	X

(b) Would you, in principle, be for or against Britain joining a European Defence Community today?

For	1
Against	2
<u>Don't know</u>	X

Comment:

14. (a) This brings up some difficult questions of military security; do you favour the manufacture of thermo-nuclear arms by Britain? Yes 1
No 2
Don't know 3
- (b) Strategic ballistic missiles? (by Britain) Yes 5
No 6
Don't know 7
- (c) Military space vehicles? (by Britain) Yes 9
No 0
Don't know X
- Comment:

15. (a) Would you approve of the integration of a major part of the British armed forces into a permanent supra-national army under:

		(Read)	Yes	No	Don't know
(Ring one code for each)	European Command		1	2	3
	NATO Command		5	6	7
	United Nations Command		9	0	X

- (b) Would you favour the creation of a permanent 'fire brigade' to prevent eruptions of local violence - as in the Congo - from spreading to wider areas, under:

		(Read)	Yes	No	Don't know
(Ring one code for each)	NATO Command		1	2	3
	United Nations Command		5	6	X
	Other Command (if 'Yes' state)		1	2	X
				

Comment:

16.	<p>How do you foresee the evolution of the Cold War in the remaining years of this century, do you think the Eastern and Western blocs will reach a peaceful accommodation; or will they continue their conflicts as in recent years; or will they fight a global war?</p>	<p>Peaceful accommodation Continue conflicts Global War Don't know</p>	<p>1 2 3 4</p>
17.	<p>How would a global war be most likely to break out: by accident? by the extension of a limited conflict? by design of the U.S.A? by design of the U.S.S.R., or by design of some third power?</p>	<p>Accident Extension U.S. Design U.S.S.R. Design Third Power (state) Don't know</p>	<p>6 7 8 9 X</p>
18.	<p>How do you foresee the trend of events, do you think that over the next forty years, that is by the end of this century, the world balance of power will favour the Communist or the Western side? Slightly or greatly?</p>	<p>Communist slightly Communist greatly Western slightly Western greatly Will not clearly favour either side Don't know at all</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 5 X</p>
19.	<p>How would you rank the relative importance of the following five factors in producing this situation at the end of the century - what order of priority would you attach to each?</p>	<p>(Read) Enter 1 to 5 as appropriate</p> <p>Military power Economic strength Scientific progress Political wisdom Moral force Don't know X</p>	

20.	So long as the situation of mutual deterrence limits military action in disputed areas by both camps, which side is likely to make greater gains of power and influence in world affairs?	East	1
		West	2
		Other (state)	
		Don't know	X
	Comment:		
21.	(a) Is NATO, as now constituted, strong enough to deter the Russians over the next five years?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
	(b) If the Russians should attack in the next five years would NATO, as now constituted, be strong enough to defend the West?	Yes	5
		No	6
		Don't know	X
	Comment:		
22.	Various projects involving new weapons-systems have been undertaken by member countries of NATO. Can you identify briefly each of the following:		
	SHOW CARD A		
	(i) Atlas		
	(ii) Polaris		
	(iii) Minuteman		
	(iv) Tiros		
	(v) Blue Streak		
	(vi) Force de Frappe		
	Comment:		

23. (a) For the strategic problems to be met in the next five years which one of the following would you rank as most important?

(a) (b) (c)
 most next most least
 important important important
 (one code) (one code) (one code)

Read

(i) Present surface systems	1	5	9
(ii) Undersea nuclear systems (e.g., Polaris)	2	6	0
(iii) Outer space satellite systems (e.g., Tiros)	3	7	X
Don't know	4	8	Y

(b) Which would you rank as the next most important? (Record in grid above)

(c) Which as least important? (Record in grid above)

Comment:

24. (a) The decision whether or not to base NATO defences on the Polaris system is an important one which lies ahead for the Western Alliance. Do you think that the Polaris system would substantially:

(Read)

Yes No Don't know

(Ring one code for each)

Deter the Russians?
 Deter the Chinese?
 Defend Europe?
 Defend the Free World?

1	2	3
5	6	7
9	0	X
1	2	3

(b) A number of arguments have been put forward for and against the adoption of the Polaris system by NATO. Would you consider each of the following to be decisive, or important but not in itself decisive, or relatively unimportant? Taking first the arguments advocating the adoption by NATO of Polaris:

Decis- In- Unim- Don't
 ive porttant porttant know

(i) Since Polaris can operate undersea, away from cities and population centres it would greatly reduce the self-destruction risked by present defence systems.

(ii) Since Polaris has a slower 'reaction time' than present defence systems it would greatly reduce the risk of 'accidental' war.

(iii) Reducing the risk of accidental war would make for a generally more stable system of deterrence between the two camps.

5	6	7	X
1	2	3	4
6	7	8	X

Comment:

24. (c) Now taking the arguments against:

	Decisive	Important	Unim- portant	Don't know
(i) Since the undersea Polaris is mobile and usually invisible it would be <u>less</u> reassuring than present surface systems to the West Europeans it is set up to defend.	1	2	3	4
(ii) The mobility and invisibility of Polaris would also increase anxiety in the Sino-Soviet camp, thereby making deterrence even <u>less</u> stable than the present system.	6	7	8	X
(iii) NATO control of Polaris - that is who 'pushes the button'- would require all member countries to yield a major element of national sovereignty to supra-national control, which they will not do.	1	2	3	4

Comment:

(a) The key problem of Polaris control appears to force a choice between adopting the most effective system of collective defence now available, or maintaining intact the historic institutions of national sovereignty. Should Britain, in this situation, give priority to collective defence or national sovereignty?

Collective defence 6
 National Sovereignty 7
 Don't know X

Comment:

25.	<p>As the North American Continent becomes more vulnerable to direct attack by the new weapons, do you think the United States will be prepared to continue its guarantee of the military security of Western Europe?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3</p> <p>Comment:</p>																																																								
26.	<p>(a) Do you think the threat of the new weapons will give rise eventually to a 'Fortress America' idea in the United States - that is a system of defence based on North America rather than a world-wide system of bases and alliances?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes 5 No 6 Don't know X</p> <p>(b) How dangerous would the idea of a 'Fortress America' be for the long-term security of Britain, would you say it would be:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Very Dangerous 1 or Fairly dangerous 2 or Not at all dangerous 3 Don't know 4</p> <p>Comment:</p>																																																								
27.	<p>(a) In the years ahead is Britain <u>likely</u> to take a neutral position between the Eastern and Western camps?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes 5 No 6 Don't know 7</p> <p>(b) <u>Should</u> Britain do so?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes 9 No 0 Don't know X</p> <p>Comment:</p>																																																								
28.	<p>(a) Which nations would you rank as the five most powerful in the world today, and what is the order of their importance? (Record in grid below)</p> <p>(b) What do you think will be the position in forty years time, that is, by the end of the century? (Record in grid below)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(a) (b)</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin: 10px 0;"> <thead> <tr> <th rowspan="2"></th> <th colspan="2">Today</th> <th colspan="2">In 40 years time</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Enter 1 to 5 as appropriate</th> <th>ouo</th> <th>Enter 1 to 5 as appropriate</th> <th>ouo</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>USA</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Soviet Russia/USSR</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>U.K.</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>France</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Germany</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>China</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>India</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Others (state)</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Don't know</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: center;">X</td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>Comment:</p>		Today		In 40 years time		Enter 1 to 5 as appropriate	ouo	Enter 1 to 5 as appropriate	ouo	USA					Soviet Russia/USSR					U.K.					France					Germany					China					India					Others (state)					Don't know	1		X			
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Don't know	1		X																																																						

29.	(a) Are the most important problems facing the Western World in the years ahead most likely to come from <u>within</u> the Western system of alliances, from the Communist bloc, or from the Uncommitted areas? IF CODE 1, 2, OR 3 RINGED AT Q.29(a)	Western Alliances	1
		Communist Bloc	2
		Uncommitted Areas	3
		Don't know	4
	(b) Are these problems most likely to come from: (ASK AS APPROPRIATE) IF CODE 1 (Western Alliances) IF CODE 2 (Communist Bloc) IF CODE 3 (Uncommitted Areas) America? 6 Russia? 6 Africa? 6 Europe? 7 China? 7 Asia? 7 Elsewhere?(State) Elsewhere?(State) Elsewhere?(State) Don't know X Don't know X Don't know X Comment:		
30.	(a) Which of the main Western Allies is most likely by its own policies, to hamper the fullest development of a sound Western policy in World affairs?	U.S.A.	1
		Britain	2
		France	3
		Germany	4
		Other(state).....	
		Don't know	X
	(b) Do you consider that revision of the McMahon Act in the U.S.A. - to permit sharing of American atomic information and technology - is necessary for the development of a sound Western policy?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
	(c) Do you think such revision will be accomplished under the new administration of President Kennedy?	Yes	5
		No	6
		Don't know	X
31.	(a) Are you in favour of a firm stand over Berlin? Comment:	Yes	1
		No	2
		Don't know	3
	(b) Is it better to keep Western German in NATO or to have a neutral united Germany? Comment:	Keep W.Germany in NATO	5
		Neutral United Germany	6
		Don't know	7
	(c) Do you favour the general idea of 'disengagement' in Central Europe - that is withdrawal of both Communist and Western Forces in order to create a demilitarized arms-free zone on the continent? Comment:	Yes	9
		No	0
		Don't know	X

32. (a) Would you say Britain was an aggressor at Suez? Yes 1
 No 2
 Don't know 3
- (b) Taking three of the factors in halting the military action at Suez - the opposition at home, the American reaction, and the Soviet rocket threat, how would you rank their importance?
- | | Most important
(Ring one code) | Next most important
(Ring one code) | Least important
(Ring one code) |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| Opposition at home | 1 | 6 | 1 |
| American reaction | 2 | 7 | 2 |
| Soviet rocket threat | 3 | 8 | 3 |
| Don't know | 4 | X | 4 |
- (c) Do you feel that the Americans should have supported the British military action at Suez? Yes 5
 No 6
 Comment: Don't know 7

33. (a) Would you say that the American U-2 flights over Soviet territory were an aggressive act? Yes 9
 No 0
 IF 'NO' (Code O Q.33a) Don't know X
- (b) How would you describe them?

 ASK ALL
- (c) The Americans have claimed that such flights were made necessary by Soviet Secrecy - which gave the Iron Curtain area an advantage dangerous to the Free world. Do you agree with this view? Yes 9
 No 0
 Don't know X
 Comment:

34. (a) Moving to the question of the Russian threat in general, is this still a major factor in international life? Yes 1
 No 2
 Don't know 3
- (b) Do you consider the threat to be primarily military, or primarily economic, or primarily political? Military 5
 Economic 6
 Political 7
 Don't know X
- (c) Do you see this as a short-term matter, likely to diminish in the years ahead, or rather as a long-term issue we must be prepared to live with for a long time to come? Short-term 1
 Long-term 2
 Don't know X
 Comment:

35.	<p>For the next few years, would you give major attention to strengthening the Western deterrent or pursuing general disarmament, as a matter of relative priority?</p> <p>Comment:</p>	<p>Western deterrent 1 General disarmament 2 Don't know 3</p>																												
36.	<p>(a) It has been said that United States foreign policy tends to be dominated by 'the Pentagon' and also by 'Big Business'. Do you think either or both of these in fact exercise too much influence?</p> <p>IF 'YES' TO ONE OR BOTH (Codes 5, 6 or 7 Q.36a)</p> <p>(b) Is this situation likely to change under President Kennedy?</p> <p>Comment:</p>	<p>Yes, Pentagon 5 Yes, Big Business 6 Yes, Both 7 Neither 8 Don't know X</p> <p>Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3</p>																												
37.	<p>The post-war trend has been towards international associations which limit each participant's national sovereignty to some extent. To what degree would you favour Britain moving in this direction - wholeheartedly, or positively with some reservations, or only cautiously, or not at all?</p> <p>Comment:</p>	<p>Wholeheartedly 5 Positively with reservation 6 Only cautiously 7 Not at all 8 Don't know X</p>																												
38.	<p>(a) In which fields has the United Nations been most useful in the past few years - in preventing the spread of localised conflicts, or in promoting durable peace, or in aiding underdeveloped countries, or in building world government?</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="287 1344 1197 1747"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2"></th> <th>(a) Past few years</th> <th>(b) Next few years</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td rowspan="5">(Multi-coding possible)</td> <td>Preventing spread of conflicts</td> <td>1</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Promoting durable peace</td> <td>2</td> <td>2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Aiding underdeveloped countries</td> <td>3</td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Building world government</td> <td>4</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other (state)</td> <td>-----</td> <td>-----</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Not useful at all</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Don't know</td> <td>X</td> <td>X</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>(b) In which of these fields is the United Nations likely to be most useful in the next few years? (Record in col. headed (b) above)</p> <p>Comment:</p>			(a) Past few years	(b) Next few years	(Multi-coding possible)	Preventing spread of conflicts	1	1	Promoting durable peace	2	2	Aiding underdeveloped countries	3	3	Building world government	4	4	Other (state)	-----	-----		Not useful at all	0	0		Don't know	X	X	
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	Other (state)	-----	-----																											
	Not useful at all	0	0																											
	Don't know	X	X																											

39.	<p>(a) Do you consider it likely that a general agreement on international disarmament, covering both conventional and nuclear weapons, will be reached in the next few years?</p> <p>(b) Do you think the British government should consider more seriously the feasibility of unilateral nuclear disarmament as official policy?</p> <p>Comment:</p>	<p>Yes No Don't know</p> <p>Yes No Don't know</p>	<p>1 2 3 5 6 X</p>
40.	<p>(a) Which approach to arms-control do you consider more likely to produce useful results - the 'Big Package' agreement such as Krushev's proposal for total disarmament at the United Nations, or the 'stage-by-stage' approach to negotiations?</p> <p>Comment:</p> <p>(b) Which method of conducting negotiations on arms-control is more likely to produce useful results - bilateral negotiations between American and Russia, multilateral negotiations between the two blocs outside the United Nations, or generalised negotiations within the United Nations?</p> <p>Comment:</p>	<p>Big Package Stage-by-stage Neither Both Don't know</p> <p>Bilateral Multilateral outside UN Generalised within UN Other (state) Don't know</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 X 1 2 3 X</p>
41.	<p>(a) Is the American insistence on safeguards against 'surprise attack' justified or does this concern seem to you exaggerated?</p> <p>Comment:</p> <p>(b) Do you consider that an effective system of mutual inspection must be an essential part of any durable agreement on arms control?</p> <p>Comment:</p>	<p>Justified Exaggerated Don't know</p> <p>Yes No Don't know</p>	<p>1 2 3 5 6 X</p>

42. (a) Negotiations for arms control vary profoundly according to the priority given to either of the main objectives - to reduce the probability that war will occur, or to reduce the destructiveness of war if it should break out. While both objectives are desirable, to which one would you give priority in the years ahead?

- Reduce probability 1
- Comment: Reduce destructiveness 2
- Don't know 3

(b) As a major objective of future negotiations, would you approve depriving all nations of major nuclear weapons in order to create a nuclear monopoly in the hands of a supranational force designed to maintain peace?

- Yes 5
- Comment: No 6
- Don't know 7

43. (a) How about the future development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, do you think this should be controlled by an international organization or not?

- Yes 9
- No 0
- Don't know X

IF 'YES' (Code 9 Q.43a.)

(b) Would you prefer such international control to be European, Atlantic, or United Nations?

- European 1
- Comment: Atlantic 2
- United Nations 3
- Other (state).....
-
- Don't know X

44. (a) Coming now to a last few questions about your own experience: do you maintain contact with sources of information and opinion from abroad - fairly regularly or only occasionally or not at all?

- Fairly regularly 1
- Only occasionally 2
- Not at all 3
- Don't know X

IF FAIRLY REGULARLY OR ONLY OCCASIONALLY (Codes 1 or 2 Q.44a)

(b) Which are most useful to you?

.....

.....

.....

Comment:

45.

Among the books you have read recently, which would you recommend as especially valuable for persons interested in world affairs? Would you tell me the authors please?

Book

Author

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Comment:

46.

(a) While it is difficult to give a precise account of one's daily routines, will you estimate how many people from other countries you talk with in the course of an ordinary week? And about how many letters from abroad you receive in an ordinary week?

How many people

How many letters

(b) About how much of your life have you spent abroad - which places? Which years? Under what circumstances?

Places

Years

Circumstances

.....
.....
.....
.....

(c) What is the most distant place you have ever visited? What year was this? Under what circumstances did you go there?

(Multicoding possible)

Place

Year

Pleasure 1

Business 2

Military duty 3

Other Govt. service 4

Other (state)

.....
-------	-------

(d) If you had to live in another country, which would be your first preference? Your second preference? Your third preference?

First - - - - -

Second - - - - -

Third - - - - -

Comment:

47.

(a) A person's particular views tend to express a more general outlook. Would you consider yourself, in general, to be rather an optimist or a pessimist?

Optimist 1

Pessimist 2

Don't know 3

(b) And again, in general, would you consider yourself to be rather an idealist or a pragmatist?

Idealist 5

Pragmatist 6

Don't know 7

(c) One rule of political life states that "politics is the art of the possible". Another holds that a statesman should never compromise his principles for the sake of expediency. Which more nearly suits your own view of proper political conduct?

Art of the possible 9

Never compromise principles 0

Don't know X

Comment:

48.

(a) Young people today are often described as a sceptical generation. Would you consider their alleged lack of idealism to be rather a good thing or a bad thing?

Good thing 1

Bad thing 2

Don't know 3

(b) Do you consider that the Western world, in general, lacks idealism?

Yes 5

No 6

Don't know 7

(c) Do you believe that the Communist world is, in general, more idealistic than the West?

Yes 9

No 0

Don't know X

(d) Is idealism, in your judgement, an important element of political power?

Yes 1

No 2

Comment:

Don't know 3

49.

(a) Do you think that present trends are making the nation-state obsolete as a political form?

Yes 5

No 6

IF 'YES' OR 'NO' (CODES 5 OR 6 Q.49a)

Don't know 7

(b) Do you consider this to be a good thing?

Yes 9

No 0

Comment:

Don't know X

<p>49 (cont'd.)</p>	<p>(c) Do you think the Western World would be strengthened if it had a common unifying symbol - as the Communist World is unified by its hammer-and-sickle?</p> <p>(d) Some people believe that 'time is on the side of the West'; others that 'time works for the East'. Which more nearly corresponds to your own view?</p> <p>Comment:</p>	<p>Yes No Don't know East West Neither Don't know</p>	<p>1 2 3 5 6 7 X</p>
<p>50.</p>	<p>As a final question: What would you do in a Communist Britain?</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p>		

CLASSIFICATION

PLACE OF BIRTH _____

DATE OF BIRTH (month and year) _____

PRESENT POSITION (give full and exact details) _____

POLITICAL AFFILIATION/
INCLINATION

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION

Conservative

1

Church of England

1

Labour

2

Roman Catholic

2

Liberal

3

Other (state)

Other (state)

None

0

None

0

Don't know/IR

X

Don't know/IR

X

DATE OF INTERVIEW

DURATION from..... to

____ / ____ /61

INVESTIGATOR _____

NAME OF INFORMANT (and title) _____

Initials _____

ADDRESS (as on list) _____

INTERVIEWED AT

Home 1

Office 2

Elsewhere 3

IF INTERVIEWED AT PLACE OTHER THAN ADDRESS ON LIST:

ADDRESS AT WHICH INTERVIEWED _____

OUO

Serial No.

Job No.

Comments on the 1961 Elite Study Questionnaire

In general, the interviewer instructions by "Research Services Ltd" for the English version of the questionnaire were used. Some additional instructions and modifications were considered necessary.

- Question 2 : These are actually two questions in one. If respondent should ask for clarification, interviewers should explain the choice is between stopping the Algerian War or continue fighting
- Question 5: These again are two questions in one: degree of harmfulness of the present conflict, and the nature of the conflict. If necessary, interviewers should explain: answer first, whether conflict is seriously harmful or not, and then make a decision as to its predominant nature
- Question 12A: The term "besitzt" was found to be ambiguous during the pretests; it might just refer to the present arrangement, where atomic weapons would be available to the Bundeswehr in the case of a conflict and with the consent of the USA - or it might mean actual power of disposition, as in the case of England or France.- If the respondent should ask accordingly, the interviewer should refer to the present status with the additional comment, whether the Bundeswehr should have atomic stockpiles leased by the USA, the use of which would be subject to approval by either NATO or the USA.
- Question 12C: The English version contains the the clause "military space vehicles. Since the German version speaks of space vehicles as such, it was felt we should sacrifice meaning for comparability and just stick to the German version
- Question 17: The use of a list would have been preferable. Interviewers were instructed to say "I shall first read off the various factors, and than I shall repeat them one by one, and ask you to assign a rank number"
- Question 20: *If the meaning of "identify" should be questioned, respondent will be asked "how would you characterize those systems, what do you think is the feature that makes them different from other systems".
- Question 22A: The present German version was felt to be a parody by some respondents in the pretest. We rephrased:
"Ob die NATO-Verteidigung auf dem Polaris-System beruhen soll ist eine wichtige Entscheidung, die die westlichen Alliierten noch zu treffen haben."
- Question 22D: It is very questionable whether you really want to know what the question asks. Actually, the problem makes no sense in the German context - nobody having offered us any Polaris, and certainly not the choice whether such Polaris should only be used with our consent. The question makes a lot of sense, however, in England, where the stationing of Polaris subs is an issue
- Question 25 . It was not made quite clear whether countries should be
25a: named by the interviewers. We have decided not to do so, but treat the item as an open question with precodes
- Question 27B: The description of the McMahon Act as an "obstacle" - contrary to the neutral version of the English questionnaire - is a strong loading of the question; "yes" is definitely encouraged and "no" certainly underrepresented
Also, this questions probably makes more sense to French respondents than to our respondents here

- Question 30B: "Gebiete hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang" ist a cumbersome and even misleading - though literal - translation of "Iron Countries Area". The proposition "für" (third line, third word) was substituted by "gegenüber" to emphasize the issue
- Question 34: In its present form the question does not make any sense, this sense having been lost during the translation of a quite sensible English question (42a). We tried to salvage meaning and retain some comparability by merely deleting the final clause behind the comma "wenn dabei beides bedacht werden muß"
- Question 33C: This is not a very good question, and it is an outright impossible one in Germany. It is maintained by the opposition, that Germany has just this choice, and it is violently contended by the government that no such choice is necessary and even the posing of such a choice is subversive. We instructed interviewers to use an introductory clause: "Wenn es keine andere Wahl gäbe" (If one had ~~no other choice~~ no alternative than to choose between the two) - and then continue with the question as listed here. If we really get respondents to react to this, then this is a very good criterion! The response categories make no sense; it's like asking: "do you prefer to answer questions or to kick out interviewers - yes - no - DK. We decided to have "yes" stand for "prefer NATO membership", and "no" for "prefer neutral Germany"
- Question 37:
38: Lists would have been preferable. We asked interviewers to used the same technique as for question 17
- Question 42A: proved to be difficult to comprehend during pretests. We decided to read off the question as listed and add "...Vorrang geben: Die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines Krieges zu vermindern oder seine Zerstörungskraft zu begrenzen?". A repetition of the choice at the end of the question should make it easier to understand.
- Question 45: We interpreted the English instructions and the questionnaire format to mean that only spontaneously given books should be listed - without probing for further titles.
- Question 46A: If respondent should consider the task too difficult, interviewers should say: 'just a rough estimate of the size order - whether it is closer to 1 or 10 or 20 or whatever else'
- Question 46B: "Ort" (=place) we interpreted to mean just "country" after consulting the English questionnaire instructions; also, only one such country should be listed
- Question 46B: the term "gelebt" ist more restrictive than "time spent", as used in the English questionnaire. To insure comparability, we adhered to the German version.
- Question 47A The questions sound a great deal more reasonable in English, 47B since a rather colloquial tone is used. The more "officious" 47C tone of the German version makes them seem a bit primitive; it is not so easy to answer this off-hand, as it is possible for the English version
- Question 49C: Some pretest-respondents questioned our sanity. Thus, we asked interviewers to note voluntary comments even though no space was provided
- Professor König would like to emphasize that we cannot take down names. Accordingly, we were asked to delete on page 35 the spaces for name and address.



RESEARCH SERVICES LTD

CAMBRIDGE HOUSE · 20/24 BROADWICK STREET, LONDON W.1

Telephone: Temple Bar 0981

CABLES: Iporcs London

In the spring of you were kind enough to grant an interview in connection with a study of attitudes to Britain's role in world affairs held by responsible people in this country. To test opinion on these matters in 1961 against the earlier study, we are re-interviewing a number of key persons. As before, we can give the full assurance that the name of individuals will not be used in any way in the presentation of findings.

The interview should take approximately half-an-hour and you may find this an interesting occasion to review some important questions. We believe this study will produce valuable results on the underlying issues of British policy and hope that you will find it possible to grant us this further interview.

If you are willing to take part in the study there is no need to reply to this letter, and unless we hear from you to the contrary, a member of our staff will telephone you to ask for an appointment in the course of the next few days.

Yours faithfully,

H.W. Biggs,
Director.

INSTRUCTIONS TO INVESTIGATORS

1. Purpose of the Survey

This is a repeat of previous similar surveys which dealt with opinions and attitudes to important current affairs among such people as businessmen, M.P.'s, Civil Servants, writers and university people.

We only wish to interview British Nationals. It is hoped that the lists will not contain any non-British Nationals, but in any case of doubt it will be necessary to make tactful enquiries of secretaries.

2. The Sample

You will be supplied with lists of names of people to be approached. They will already have received a letter from the office (a copy of which is attached to these instructions), and you will have to telephone to them, or to their offices, in order to make an appointment for the interview.

To avoid contacting people who may have declined by letter to be interviewed, please check the position with the office (Mr. Dodwell or Field Work Control) daily in the early afternoon.

On the back of the Daily Progress Sheet please record in the columns provided the results of your telephone contacts for the day.

3. Introduction

In making telephone contacts refer to the office letter which will have been sent to the persons named. If you are asked on whose behalf the survey is being carried out you may reply that it is on behalf of the department of sociology of a major university.

You may also refer to your own letter of introduction if necessary.

4. Supplies

You will receive:

Lists of people to contact
Letter of introduction
Card A for use at Question 22
Questionnaires, and Daily Progress Sheets.

5. The Questionnaire

The questions include:

- a) Yes/No/D.K. questions;
- b) questions which offer a limited choice of answers;
- c) and open-ended questions to which the informant's reply is recorded verbatim.

To help you remember where prompting is or is not allowed in the various questions, we have put a solid line around all precoded replies which must NOT be prompted.

These replies which are 'boxed in' are acceptable as answers, but must not be suggested to the informant. This is most important to the proper understanding of the questionnaire and you must be perfectly clear in your own mind about it. Note particularly that these 'boxed' replies referred to above are words. The fact that a code number to be ringed is sometimes in a box has no significance whatever from the field point of view.

As a general rule in this survey, if you are uncertain how to code a particular answer record it in as full detail as possible.

The straight Yes/No/D.K. type of question

In these questions try to get an undecided informant to come down on the side of 'Yes' or 'No', explaining if necessary that we want to know which approximates most closely to his own opinion. You can also explain that if he wants to make a comment which explains his own opinion you will record it, but we still want, if possible, a 'Yes' or 'No'.

Qualified answers

Sometimes an informant will give a qualified reply, which might be in the form of 'Yes, but....' or 'No, but.....'

If an informant tends to be undecided, try to get him, if possible, to come down on one side or the other, using the comment section to record any qualification.

Similarly try, without undue pushing, to avoid D.K. answers.

The limited choice questions

In some of the questions we allow only for the precoded answers as in Question 2. In this sort of question the general rule to follow is that if an informant feels that none of the fixed choices fits his opinion, try and get the one which is the nearest approximation to his own opinion, recording any comments.

In some questions such as Question 5 we allow for 'Other', and here, if an informant gives a reply which does not fit any of the particular precodes, you should record it under 'Other'. Use the space reserved for 'comment' to give any explanation required.

Open-ended questions

For these you record the informant's answer verbatim, probing to clear up any ambiguities.

Questions to which particular points apply from the investigator's point of view are:

Question 4a

After reading out the question as a whole, ask about "the Commonwealth: is it very important, fairly important, or not so important?" Then carry on with the other headings: "the European Community?" and so on, reminding the informant where necessary of the importance of gradings.

Question 5a

Emphasise "mainly". You may, however, in spite of this get someone insisting the value is economic and political and social, equally. In this case ring code 4. If they insist on two of the values equally you must multicode.

Question 5b

This question is asked if Codes 1, 2, 3 or 4 have been ringed at Question 5a, or if you have recorded an "Other value" at Question 5a.

Question 7

In each part (a), (b) and (c) try and get one organisation for each by emphasising most and least, and more valuable.

In (a) and (b) 'valuable' means valuable in general.

Note that NATO is not a European organisation and so should not be accepted as an answer in (a) or (b).

Do not suggest to the informant the names of any existing European organisations.

Question 9

Note that you can accept a reply to part (a) or (b) or (c) which involves some country other than Britain or France, but you must not prompt this as a possible answer.

Question 12b

In this question Britain, France, Germany, the USA and other main Western allies (to be stated) are the main Western allies. 'All others unspecified' are the 'Other countries' referred to in the question and means countries outside the Western alliance.

Note that the total of entries should add to 100%.

Question 13

Do not try to give any explanation of the European Defence Community.

Question 15

In part (a) read out the whole question as far as "...supranational army under European Command?" and try to get a Yes/No answer. Then go on to "NATO command?" again trying for a Yes/No answer, and finally "United Nations Command?" again trying for a Yes/No answer.

The same procedure should be followed in Question 15b. Here for 'Other command' get a Yes/No and if it is Yes state what sort of command. D.K. for 'Other command' would be used to denote that the informant is undecided whether he would favour some other command or not.

Question 17

This question is asked of all informants; it is not linked in any way with Question 16.

USSR means Soviet Russia.

Question 19

If an informant wants to include some other factor, record it under comment, but still try to get him to rank the five items listed.

In recording any other factor under comment get if you can its relative ranking in the scale, e.g. 'above 1', or 'between 3 and 4' or 'below 5'.

Question 20

An answer such as "communism" should be coded as East, and an answer such as "the democracies" or "the free world" should be coded as West.

Question 22

For this question give the informant the card and record his explanation of each item. Be careful not to prompt replies in any way; we want recorded what he knows about each item listed.

Question 23

Read out the whole of part (a), then repeat "Which one of them is the most important?"

In parts (b) and (c) read out the list again if requested.

See also the note in the section on definitions.

Question 24b

If an informant says that he doesn't agree with one of the arguments, or that the argument is untrue, ring the code for "unimportant" against that item and make a note in the space provided for comment.

In Question 24c follow the same procedure. Be sure to read out "Important-but-not-in-itself-decisive" as one phrase.

In Question 24b(ii) "reaction time" means the time between an attack being launched by some other power, and a counter attack being made in reply. This may be explained if necessary.

Questions 28(a) and (b)

We have put down the nations most likely to be mentioned. Do not prompt any of them.

Enter against the nation given as first in importance the number 1, against the next most important the number 2, and so on down to 5.

Note that there is a space to write in any country mentioned which is not in the printed list. As well as writing in the names of "Others" mentioned, remember to put in the number for its importance rating.

ONO means that this particular column is for office use

Question 29

Ask part (a) and ring the code for the reply (one code). For part (b) you ask "Are these problems likely to come from" and follow with the areas named under the answer given at part (a).

Question 32b

Read out the question and ask "Which was the most important out of these?" Then ask "Which was the next most important?" and finally "Which was the least important?"

You may get people who refer to other factors. These should be recorded under comment, but try to get the informant's assessment of the three listed.

Question 34b

Emphasise "primarily". We want if possible one answer only.

Question 37

The descriptions "Wholeheartedly", etc., refer to how Britain should move, not to the informant's intensity of feeling.

Questions 38a and b

Emphasise "most". It is however possible that some informants will insist on more than one answer. In this case multicode if necessary.

Question 40

The standard (BBC) pronunciation of Krushev is KRUSS-CHOFF.

Question 45

More than one book can be given in answer. Write in "Don't know" under Book or author, as necessary.

Question 46a

If the informant cannot estimate how many people or how many letters enter D.K. on the appropriate line.

"People" refers to all sorts, whether business contacts or otherwise.

"Letters" also refers to all sorts, whether business letters or otherwise.

Question 46b

Under "place" record country.

Under "years" record the year of going and the year of return. If it was only a short visit enter, e.g., "short visit 1959".

Under "circumstances" give the reason for being abroad.

Classification

The classification section is straightforward. Obtain details of present position in as much detail as possible.

For politics ask which party the informant supports. If he says he supports none, then ask which he "inclines towards".

As well as the informant's name we want his title, e.g. Lord, Sir....., Dr., Professor, Mr., Mrs., Miss.

General

Make full use of the space provided for comments.

In some instances we have provided only one comment section for a two or three part question. In such a case when recording comments enter first the part of the question (a) or (b) or (c) etc., to which the comment refers.

There is also a blank page at the back of the questionnaire for overflow entries, to be preceded by the question number.

Please also record on the blank page at the back of the questionnaire your own notes on the following points:

- (1) Which questions were of most interest to the informant.
- (2) Which questions irritated the informant.
- (3) The attitude of the respondent at the beginning and end of the interview, explaining any change in attitude which occurred during the interview.
- (4) Any comments by the informant about the interview or the survey in general.
- (5) Any questions by the informant about the survey.

6. ~~(6)~~ Queries - Queries about supplies and your programme should be made to Fieldwork Control.

Queries about the questionnaire should be made to Mr. Dodwell, Temple Bar 0981, Extension 87.

7. Definitions

Terms which may be explained to the informant if he asks for a definition are:

Western - Western Europe plus North America.

The Atlantic Alliance - NATO and its associated bodies and organisations.

The European Community - includes all forms of association of the nations of Western Europe.

'The Six' (or Inner 6) - this is the same as the Common Market.

'The Seven' (or Outer 7) - this is the European Free Trade Area (EFTA).

Atlantic - Western Europe plus North America.

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Tiros - For Question 22 only you may if asked amplify the description by explaining that this system is expected to be used for photographic reporting, i.e., for reconnaissance. It is not an offensive weapon.