Internationale Beziehungen (Juni 1955, Deutschland)

1955
1. What do you think is the most important problem facing West Germany today?

Column 8

---

Foreign Relations

1. European integration
2. West German sovereignty and remilitarization
3. Peace
4. Reunification

Internal Affairs

5. Standard of living, economic conditions
6. Employment
7. Housing
8. Taxes
9. Other

Political

0. Governmental problems
X. Communism
Y. Other internal problems
R. No opinion, No answer
2. Do you believe that there will or will not be a world war in the next three or four years? (XX-2/12)

Column 9

1 There will be a war
2 War will be avoided
3 War will be avoided if . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (Qualified)
X Don't know

3. 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?

Column 10

1 Greater
2 Less
3 About the same
4 Don't know

4. Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war? (XX-2/16)

Column 10

6 Yes, America is
7 No, America is not
8 Don't know

5. Is Russia doing all it should do to prevent a new world war? (XX-2/17)

Column 10

0 Yes, Russia is
X No, Russia is not
Y Don't know
6. Do you think that American military bases in Europe decrease or increase the danger of war?

Column 11

1  Decrease danger
2  Increase danger
3  Have no effect
X  Don't know

7. Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. How about . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ? (XX-3/33)

Column 12

a. Great Britain b. France
1  Very good opinion 7  Very good opinion
2  Good opinion 8  Good opinion
3  Fair opinion 9  Fair opinion
4  Bad opinion 0  Bad opinion
5  Very bad opinion X  Very bad opinion
6  Don't know Y  Don't know

Column 13

c. America d. Russia
1  Very good opinion 7  Very good opinion
2  Good opinion 8  Good opinion
3  Fair opinion 9  Fair opinion
4  Bad opinion 0  Bad opinion
5  Very bad opinion X  Very bad opinion
6  Don't know Y  Don't know

8. Is it your impression that recently the U.S. has become more conciliatory, - more willing to make concessions, - that it has become less conciliatory, or that it has remained about the same?
8. (Continued)

Column 14

1  More conciliatory
2  Less conciliatory
3  About the same
X  Don't know

9. Is it your impression that recently Russia has become more conciliatory, - more willing to make concessions, - that it has become less conciliatory, or that it has remained about the same?

Column 15

9  More conciliatory
0  Less conciliatory
X  About the same
Y  Don't know

IF "MORE CONCILIATORY" TO QUESTION 9, ASK QUESTION 9a.

a. What do you think is the main reason why Russia has become more conciliatory lately? (CARD)

Column 15

1  A  Russia feels strong enough now to make concessions.
2  B  The growing strength of the West has forced Russia to make concessions.
3  C  The new Russian leadership is more sincerely interested in peace.
4  D  Internal weaknesses force the Soviets to make concessions.
5  E  This is just a (another) trick (propaganda maneuver) to gain an advantage
6  F  Others
7  No opinion
10. In the present quarrel or tension between Russia and the U.S., which country do you think is more to blame, Russia or the United States? (XX-3/14)

Column 16

1  Russia
2  United States
3  Both
4  Don't know

11. At the present time, do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side? (XX-3/17)

Column 16

5  East
6  West
7  Neither side
8  Don't know

12. And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think West Germany should take sides or not take sides? Which sides? (XX-3/18)

Column 17

1  A  Side with Russia
2  B  Side with United States
3  C  Not take sides
X  D  Don't know

13. 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?
13. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers to Question 13</th>
<th>Column 18</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Column 19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Side with Russia *</td>
<td>b. Side with United States *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Side with Russia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Side with Russia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Side with U.S.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Side with U.S.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neither side</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Neither side</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers to Question 13</th>
<th>Column 19</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Neither side *</td>
<td>d. Don't know *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Side with Russia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Side with Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Side with U.S.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Side with U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neither side</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Neither side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Do you happen to know whether or not a Four Power Conference at the highest level is being planned for the near future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IF "YES" TO QUESTION 14, ASK QUESTION 14a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Could you tell me what countries are meeting?
14a. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. (As you know) there will be a Four Power Conference at which the heads of state of the Big Four nations will be discussing international issues. What do you hope most will come out of this Four Power Conference?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(SEE CODE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. In the forthcoming Four Power Conference, what are the chances, in your opinion, of achieving beneficial results? (CARD) (XX-3/15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 22</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Please use this card to indicate how much you think you can count on each of these countries to keep any agreement made at the conference. How about ................. ? (CARD)
17. (Continued)

Column 23 - UNITED STATES

1. Completely
2. Very much
3. Somewhat
4. Not very much
5. Not at all
6. Don't know

Column 24 - RUSSIA

1. Completely
2. Very much
3. Somewhat
4. Not very much
5. Not at all
6. Don't know

Column 25 - GREAT BRITAIN

1. Completely
2. Very much
3. Somewhat
4. Not very much
5. Not at all
6. Don't know

Column 26 - FRANCE

1. Completely
2. Very much
3. Somewhat
4. Not very much
5. Not at all
6. Don't know

18. Now, considering these four countries again, 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?
18. (Continued)

Column 23 - **UNITED STATES**

0  Too many concessions  
X  Too few concessions  
Y  Don't know  

Column 24 - **RUSSIA**

0  Too many concessions  
X  Too few concessions  
Y  Don't know  

Column 25 - **GREAT BRITAIN**

0  Too many concessions  
X  Too few concessions  
Y  Don't know  

Column 26 - **FRANCE**

0  Too many concessions  
X  Too few concessions  
Y  Don't know  

19. Now we'd like to know how much confidence you have in some of the individuals who will be taking part in the conference. From this card, please tell me how much you feel you can count on each of these people at the meeting to work sincerely toward world peace. (CARD)

a. British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden  
b. President Eisenhower of the United States  
c. Premier Faure of France  
d. U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles  
e. Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov  
f. Soviet Premier Bulganin
19. (Continued)

Column 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eden</th>
<th>Eisenhower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Complete</td>
<td>Completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Very much</td>
<td>Very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Somewhat</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Not very much</td>
<td>Not very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faure</th>
<th>Dulles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Complete</td>
<td>Completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Very much</td>
<td>Very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Somewhat</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Not very much</td>
<td>Not very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column 29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Molotov</th>
<th>Bulgarin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Complete</td>
<td>Completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Very much</td>
<td>Very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Somewhat</td>
<td>Somewhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Not very much</td>
<td>Not very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Not at all</td>
<td>Not at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Don't know</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Here are some issues that might be discussed at the conference. Please use this card and indicate in each case first, whether you would favor this or oppose it, and second, what you think the chances are of an agreement on it at the conference. (CARD A & B)
20. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CARD A</th>
<th>CARD B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Strongly favor</td>
<td>7 Very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Favor</td>
<td>8 Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Don't care</td>
<td>9 Only fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Oppose</td>
<td>0 Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Strongly oppose</td>
<td>X Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Don't know</td>
<td>Y Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column 30

a. Banning of atomic weapons

Column 31

b. Limiting of other armaments

Column 32

c. Re-unification of East and West Germany

Column 33

d. Returning to Germany of its former Eastern territories (East of the Oder-Neisse) now held by Poland

Column 34

e. Re-arming of West Germany

Column 35

f. Increasing East-West trade

(Continued)
20. (Continued)

Column 36

g. Scrapping of NATO - that is, the present Atlantic Pact Defense System

Column 37

h. A conference on Far Eastern issues with Communist China included

Column 38

i. Admission of Communist China to the U.N.

21. a. Would you think that the Four Power Conference had been a success or failure if no solution were reached but tensions were relaxed and new approaches to the problems were developed?

Column 39

1  Success
2  Failure
3  Neither
X  Don't know

b. Suppose the Russians proposed that Germany be re-united with free elections, but could not enter into alliances with either West or East. Which would you prefer, - this suggestion or present plans to incorporate West Germany into Western defense? (XX-2/11)

Column 40

1  Prefer Russian suggestion
2  Prefer present Western plans
3  Don't know
IF "PREFER RUSSIAN SUGGESTION" TO QUESTION 21b, ASK QUESTION 21ba.

21. ba. Would you still prefer a neutral Germany like this if the U.S. was not willing to guarantee its neutrality?

Column 40

5 Would still prefer
6 Would not prefer in that case
7 Don't know

22. Suppose no agreement could be reached on re-uniting Germany, and the Russians made these proposals: (SHOW CARD)

a. Germany remains divided
b. Neither East nor West Germany could have any military alliances
c. Both East and West Germany must be limited in their armament, and
d. Both allied and Soviet troops must withdraw from German soil

Would you want the Western Powers to accept or reject these proposals?

Column 41

1 Accept
2 Reject
3 Don't know

23. Suppose the Russians suggested the following:

That both the U.S. and Britain withdraw all their forces from the continent and give up their bases; 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?
23. (Continued)

Column 41

5 Accept
6 Reject
7 Don't know

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

Column 41

9 Approve
0 Disapprove
X Don't know

25. a. 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?

Column 42

1 Approve
2 Disapprove
3 Qualified answer
X Don't know

b. You may have heard of the recent agreement between Russia and the Western Powers about Austria. Do you happen to know if under this agreement Austria is now allied with the West, allied with the East, or is a neutral, independent state?

Column 43

1 Allied with the West
2 Allied with the East
3 Neutral, independent state
4 Don't know
IF "NEUTRAL, INDEPENDENT STATE" TO QUESTION 25b, ASK QUESTION 25ba.

25. ba. Would you favor or oppose a similar agreement for Germany?

Column 43

6  Favor
7  Oppose
8  Qualified answer
9  Don't know

26. Of course almost everyone wants peace, but there are some things that some people say are worth fighting for, if that seems the only way to preserve them. Suppose the following were threatened, - would you prefer to risk them by staying at peace, or would you rather fight to preserve them. (CARD) (For each item)

Column 44

a. The independence of other countries in Western Europe

1  Stay at peace
2  Fight for it
3  Don't know

b. The individual liberty of people of West Germany

5  Stay at peace
6  Fight for it
7  Don't know

c. The national independence of West Germany

9  Stay at peace
0  Fight for it
X  Don't know

(Continued)
26. (Continued)

Column 45

d. Human dignity and respect for the individual
   1 Stay at peace
   2 Fight for it
   3 Don't know

e. The right of the people to take part in decisions affecting their national destiny
   5 Stay at peace
   6 Fight for it
   7 Don't know

f. Freedom of religion
   9 Stay at peace
   0 Fight for it
   X Don't know

Column 46

g. The democratic way of life
   1 Stay at peace
   2 Fight for it
   3 Don't know

27. If a new world war broke out, which naturally nobody desires, do you think atom and hydrogen bombs would be used or don't you think so? (965/9)

Column 47

1 Would be used
2 Would not be used
3 Don't know
28. Is it your impression that the U.S. is or is not making sincere efforts to ban atomic weapons?

Column 47

5   Sincere efforts
6   No sincere efforts
7   Don't know

29. Is it your impression that the U.S.S.R. is or is not making sincere efforts to ban atomic weapons?

Column 47

9   Sincere efforts
0   No sincere efforts
X   Don't know

30. Do you think that the Western forces are stronger in atomic weapons than the U.S.S.R., weaker, or about equal?

Column 48

1   West stronger
2   West weaker
3   About equal
4   Don't know

31. Leaving aside atomic weapons, are the western forces at the present time stronger in ordinary non-atomic military power than the U.S.S.R. and the other Communist forces, weaker, or about equal?

Column 48

5   West stronger
6   West weaker
7   About equal
8   Don't know
32. Assuming that banning atomic weapons would leave the Western military forces weaker than the Communist forces, would you be for such a ban or against it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 48</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>For ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Against it if West left weaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FACTUAL DATA**

I. **SEX**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 49</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. **AGE**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 49</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>21 - 29 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>30 - 44 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>45 - 64 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>65 - 79 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. **CITY SIZE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 50</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Less than 1,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,000 to 4,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,000 to 19,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20,000 to 99,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>100,000 to 249,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>250,000 and over</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. OCCUPATION

Column 51

Respondent's occupation: ____________________________

Column 52

Occupation of head of household (if respondent is not head of the household): ____________________________

1 Professional
2 Businessman
3 White-collar worker
4 Independent artisans
5 Manual workers
6 Domestic service
7 Farmers, farmhands
8 Housewives
9 Pensioners, retired

V. EDUCATION

Column 53

1 No school/elementary school
2 Secondary school/trade school
3 Abitur
4 High school/University

VI. INCOME

Column 54

1 Up to 149 DM  4 400 to 599 DM
2 150 to 299 DM  5 600 DM and over
3 300 to 399 DM  6 Don't know
VII. Which political party do you favor?

Column 55

1  SPD
2  CDU/CSU
3  FDP
4  DP
5  DRP
6  BHE
7  KPD
8  Other: ________________________
X  None
Y  Don't know, No opinion

VIII. Are you a member of a trade union? (Which one?)

Column 56

1  Yes, I am a member of ______________________
2  No

IX. MARITAL STATUS - Column 57

1  Single
2  Married
3  Widowed
4  Divorced
5  Separated

IXa. (IF "MARRIED") Were you widowed or divorced before? - Column 57

7  Yes, widowed
8  Yes, divorced
9  No
0  Qualified answer
X  No opinion/Don't know
X. SOCIAL CLASS

Column 58

1  A
2  B
3  C
4  D

XI. REGION

Column 59

1  Schleswig-Holstein
2  Hamburg
3  Niedersachsen
4  Bremen
5  Nordrhein-Westfalen
6  Hessen
7  Rheinland-Pfalz
8  Nordwürttemberg-Baden
8-  Y  Südbaden
8-  X  Sudwürttemberg-Hohenzollern
9  Bayern
0  Berlin

XII. Date of interview:  Column 60

1  First day - first visit
2  First day - _____ (indicate which visit)
3  Second day
4  Third day
5  Fourth day or more _____ (indicate which visit)

XIII. Willingness to give interview: Column 60

7  No difficulty
8  
9  
0  Very difficult

Date: Place Interviewer's #: 
Interviewer's signature: