

**ZA -Archiv Nummer 0433**

**Internationale Beziehungen (August 1955,  
Deutschland)**

**1955**

DIVO

GESELLSCHAFT FUR MARKT-UND MEINUNGSFORSCHUNG MBH.

FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Survey # XX-5 - Columns 1, 2, 3

August 12, 1955

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Column 4 - Punched 1 for identification  
Columns 5, 6, 7 - Number of the Questionnaire  
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1. Everything considered, - employment, cost of living, etc., - would you say that things are pretty good right now, or not so good for you?

Column 8

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 1 | Pretty good |
| 2 | Not so good |
| 3 | Don't know  |

UNLESS "DON'T KNOW" TO QUESTION 1, ASK QUESTION 1a.

- a. On the whole, are things better or worse for you now than they were a year ago?

Column 8

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| 5 | Better     |
| 6 | Worse      |
| X | Don't know |

2. Have you heard or read of any recent plan to launch a man-made satellite around the earth?

Column 9

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| 1 | Yes        |
| 2 | No         |
| 3 | No opinion |

IF "YES" TO QUESTION 2, ASK QUESTIONS 2a AND 2b.

2. a. What country first announced this plan?

Column 9

- 4 England
- 5 America (U.S.)
- 6 France
- 7 U.S.S.R.
- 8 Italy
- 9 Others
- X No opinion

b. All things considered, do you think this development is more likely to be used for good or bad purposes?

Column 10

- 1 Good purposes
- 2 Bad purposes
- X Don't know

ba. Why do you think so?

Column 66

(SEE CODE)

3. Do you or do you not expect to benefit personally from any peaceful uses of the atom during your lifetime?

Column 11

- 1 Expect to benefit
- 2 Do not expect to benefit
- 3 Don't know

4. Everything considered, what is your feeling at the present time about atomic energy: Do you think it will prove to be more of a boon or more of a curse to mankind?

Column 11

5	More of a boon
6	More of a curse
X	Don't know

5. Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. (SHOW CARD). How about:

Column 12

<u>France</u>		<u>Great Britain</u>	
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

<u>Communist China</u>		<u>Nationalist China</u>	
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

(Continued on following page)

5. (Continued)

Column 14

	<u>United States</u>		<u>U.S.S.R.</u>
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

6. Here are some questions about political leaders in various countries.  
Please use this card to tell me what your feelings are about them.  
(SHOW CARD)

- a. Prime Minister Anthony Eden of Great Britain
- b. President Eisenhower of the U.S.
- c. Premier Bulganin of the U.S.S.R.
- d. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State
- e. Prime Minister Nehru of India
- f. Chiang Kai-shek of Nationalist China
- g. General Franco of Spain
- h. President Tito of Yugoslavia

Column 15

	<u>Eden</u>		<u>Eisenhower</u>
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

(Continued on following page)

6. (Continued)

Column 16

	<u>Bulganin</u>		<u>Dulles</u>
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 17

	<u>Nehru</u>		<u>Chiang Kai-shek</u>
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 18

	<u>Franco</u>		<u>Tito</u>
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

7. Have you heard or read of an international conference just held on atomic developments?

Column 19

1	Yes
2	No
X	Don't know

IF "YES" TO QUESTION 7, ASK QUESTION 7a.

7. a. From what you have heard or read about the conference, what impressed you most?

Column 67

\_\_\_\_\_  
(SEE CODE)  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. Have you heard or read of any peaceful, non-military uses of atomic energy?

Column 20

- 1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't know

IF "YES", ASK QUESTIONS 8a, AND 8b.

- a. What countries have done the most in developing peaceful uses of atomic energy?

Column 20

- 5 England  
6 U.S.  
7 France  
8 U.S.S.R.  
9 Italy  
0 Others \_\_\_\_\_  
X Don't know

- aa. ~~And what others?~~     11

(Continued)

8. aa. (Continued)

Column 21

- 1 England
- 2 U.S.
- 3 France
- 4 U.S.S.R.
- 5 Italy
- 6 Others: \_\_\_\_\_
- X Don't know

b. Which country is doing the most to share with other countries its knowledge and resources for the peaceful uses of atomic energy?

Column 22

- 1 England
- 2 U.S.
- 3 France
- 4 U.S.S.R.
- 5 Italy
- 6 Others \_\_\_\_\_
- X Don't know

ba. What has (name of country) done that gives you this impression?

Column 68

\_\_\_\_\_  
(SEE CODE)  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. Here are some words which are often used to describe countries. Please tell me which of them, in your opinion, describes the United States. (SHOW CARD LISTING ADJECTIVES) (Choose as many as you like.)

(Continued)



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9. (Continued)

Column 23

1	Peace-loving
2	Aggressive
3	Imperialistic
4	Materialistic
5	Cultured
6	Immature
7	Trustworthy
8	Domineering
9	Reckless
0	Democratic
X	Religious
Y	Co-operative
SP	None of these

10. And which of these words, in your opinion, describe the U.S.S.R.?  
(SHOW CARD) (Choose as many as you like)

Column 24

1	Peace-loving
2	Aggressive
3	Imperialistic
4	Materialistic
5	Cultured
6	Immature
7	Trustworthy
8	Domineering
9	Reckless
0	Democratic
X	Religious
Y	Co-operative
SP	None of these

11. Do you believe that there will or will not be a world war in the next  
three or four years?

(Continued)

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11. (Continued)

Column 25

- 1 Will be a war
- 2 Will not be a war
- 3 Qualified answer: \_\_\_\_\_
- X Don't know

12. Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?

Column 26

- 1 Yes, America is
- 2 No, America is not
- 3 Don't know

13. Is Soviet Russia doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?

Column 26

- 5 Yes, Russia is
- 6 No, Russia is not
- X Don't know

14. In the present conflict between Soviet Russia and the U.S., which country do you think is more to blame -- Russia or the United States?

Column 27

- 1 Russia
- 2 U.S.
- 3 Both
- X Don't know

15. 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?

(Continued)

15. (Continued)

Column 28

- 1 Side of the West
- 2 Side of the East
- 3 Neither side
- X Don't know

IF "NEITHER SIDE", TO QUESTION 15, ASK QUESTION 15a.

- a. For what reasons would you not take either side?

Column 69

(SEE CODE)

16. And if it should come to a war between Soviet Russia and the United States, do you think this country should take a side or not take a side? Which side?

Column 29

- 1 Side with Russia
- 2 Side with the United States
- 3 Not take side
- X Don't know

17. As you know, President Eisenhower proposed an inspection plan at the recent Geneva Conference -- that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. exchange information (blueprints) on each others military installations, and be allowed to observe and photograph them from the air. Is it your impression that this proposal is sincerely meant, or not, by President Eisenhower?

(Continued)

17. (Continued)

Column 30

- 1 Sincerely meant
- 2 Not sincerely meant
- 3 No opinion

18. And is it your impression that this proposal is likely to be accepted or not?

Column 30

- 5 Likely to be accepted
- 6 Not likely to be accepted
- 7 No opinion

19. If it were accepted, do you think this proposal would make an important contribution to world peace, or not?

Column 30

- 9 Would make important contribution to world peace
- 0 Would not make important contribution to world peace
- X No opinion

20. President Eisenhower has said that any disarmament agreement to be effective should include a mutual inspection system. Others say that a disarmament agreement even without inspection is better than none at all. Do you think that the U.S. should insist on inspection or should agree to arms reduction even without inspection?

Column 31

- 1 U.S. should insist on inspection
- 2 Should agree to arms reduction without inspection
- 3 Don't know

21. One of the decision<sup>s</sup> made at the Four-Power Conference was that the four foreign ministers will meet in October to discuss further the issues raised at Geneva. Do you expect that the foreign ministers will arrive at a substantial agreement on any major issue, or don't you expect any major agreement?

Column 31

- 5 Yes, will agree  
6 No, won't agree  
X Don't know

22. Which of the following views comes closest to your own opinion? (CARD)

Column 32

- 1 Trade between East and West should in no way be restricted  
2 There should be trade relations between East and West except for goods serving war purposes  
3 All trade between East and West should be banned  
X No opinion

23. Have you heard or read of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - NATO - that is?

Column 33

- 1 Yes, have heard of it  
2 No, haven't heard of it  
X Don't know

IF "YES, HAVE HEARD OF IT", ASK QUESTION 23a.

- a. Do you happen to know whether West Germany is a member of NATO or not? What about the United States? What about the U.S.S.R.?

(Continued)

23. a. (Continued)

Column 34

West Germany

- 1 Member
- 2 Not a member
- 3 Don't know

United States

- 4 Member
- 5 Not a member
- 6 Don't know

U.S.S.R.

- 7 Member
- 8 Not a member
- 9 Don't know

b. IF "YES, HAVE HEARD" TO QUESTION 23.

All things considered, do you think NATO has done well, not so well, or badly up to now?

Column 35

- 1 Well
- 2 Not so well
- 3 Badly
- X Don't know

ba. IF "WELL", "NOT SO WELL", OR "BADLY" TO QUESTION 23b,  
ASK QUESTION 23ba.

What makes you think so?

Column 70

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(SEE CODE)

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24. Suppose it were proposed that NATO be replaced by a security system including both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and other European nations. Would you favor this proposal, or do you prefer present arrangements for Western European defense?

Column 36

- 1 Favor new system
- 2 Prefer present arrangements
- 3 Don't know

25. Suppose the Russians suggested the following:

- 1. That both the U.S. and Britain withdraw all their forces from 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 this proposal accepted or rejected?

Column 36

- 9 Accepted
- 0 Rejected
- X Don't know

26. In your judgement, can an effective European security system be set up without German re-unification, or do you think that German re-unification must precede any effective European security system?

Column 37

- 1 Re-unification need not necessarily precede
- 2 Re-unification must precede
- X Don't know

27. Some people say that the countries of Eastern Europe - such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland - are not free at the present time. Do you agree or disagree with that point of view?

(Continued)

27. (Continued)

Column 38

- 1 Agree
- 2 Disagree
- 3 Don't know

IF "AGREE" TO QUESTION 27, ASK QUESTIONS 27a AND 27b.

27. a. From your impression of the Geneva Conference, Do you think the Western Powers are trying to change this situation or don't you think so?

Column 38

- 9 Trying to change
- 0 Are not trying to change
- X Don't know

- b. Is this what they should do, in your opinion, or should the Western Powers do more or less?

Column 39

- | <u>Trying to change</u> |                     | <u>Don't know</u> |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1                       | What they should do | 9                 | What they should do |
| 2                       | Should do more      | 0                 | Should do more      |
| 3                       | Should do less      | X                 | Should do less      |
| 4                       | Don't know          | Y                 | Don't know          |

- Not trying to change
- 5 What they should do
  - 6 Should do more
  - 7 Should do less
  - 8 Don't know



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28. Considering the development of both military and peaceful uses of the atom, is it your impression that the U.S. has shifted its emphasis in recent months toward peaceful uses, toward military uses, or hasn't there been any change?

Column 40

1      Toward peaceful uses  
2      Toward military uses  
3      No change  
X      Don't know

29. And how about Soviet Russia, is it your impression that the U.S.S.R. has shifted its emphasis in recent months toward peaceful uses, toward military uses, or hasn't there been any change?

Column 41

1      Toward peaceful uses  
2      Toward military uses  
3      No change  
X      Don't know

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

Column 42

1      Is making sincere efforts  
2      Is not making sincere efforts  
3      Don't know

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

Column 42

5      Is making sincere efforts  
6      Is not making sincere efforts  
X      Don't know

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32. Now lets discuss some Far Eastern questions. In your opinion, should Communist China be admitted to membership in the United Nations at this time or not?

Column 43

- 1        Should be admitted
- 2        Should not be admitted
- X        Don't know

33. Do you think the U.S. is being too tough or too conciliatory or about right in its relations with Communist China at the present time?

Column 44

- 1        Too tough
- 2        Too conciliatory
- 3        About right
- X        Don't know

34. In the conflict between the Communist and anti-Communist powers in Asia, do you think West Germany should take a side or not take a side? Which side?

Column 45

- 1        Side with Communist powers
- 2        Side with anti-Communist powers
- 3        Not take sides
- X        Don't know

35. If it should come to a war between China and the U.S., do you think this country should take a side or not take a side? Which side?

Column 46

- 1        Side with China
- 2        Side with U.S.
- 3        Not take side
- X        Don't know

IF "NOT TAKE SIDE" TO QUESTION 35, ASK QUESTION 35a.

35. a. Why do you think West Germany should not take a side?

Column 71

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(SEE CODE)

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36. Do you think that the danger of a world war starting in the Far East has become greater in the last few months, or less, or remained about the same?

Column 47

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

37. What do you think should be done with Formosa, - should it remain with Chiang Kai-shek, go to Communist China, or be put under U.N. control?

Column 48

- 1 Should remain with Chiang Kai-shek  
2 Should go to Communist China  
3 Be put under U.N. control  
4 No opinion

IF "BE PUT UNDER U.N. CONTROL" TO QUESTION 37, ASK QUESTION 37a.

- a. If it could not be put under U.N. control, which one would you then prefer, - should it remain with Chiang Kai-shek, or should it go to Communist China?

(Continued)

37. a. (Continued)

Column 48

- 9 Remain with Chiang Kai-shek
- 0 Go to Communist China
- X No opinion

38. If Communist China should attack Formosa, do you think America should oppose the attack by force of arms or don't you think so?

Column 49

- 1 Should oppose by force
- 2 Should not oppose by force
- 3 Qualified answer: \_\_\_\_\_  
(NOT CODED)  
\_\_\_\_\_
- X Don't know

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FACTUAL DATA

I. SEX

Column 50

- 1 Man
- 2 Woman

II. AGE \_\_\_\_\_ years

Column 50

- 4 21-29 years
- 5 30-44 years
- 6 45-64 years
- 7 65-79 years

III. CITY SIZE

Column 51

- 1 Less than 1,999 people
- 2 2,000 to 4,999 people
- 3 5,000 to 19,999 people
- 4 20,000 to 99,999 people
- 5 100,000 to 249,999 people
- 6 Over 250,000 people

IV. OCCUPATION

Column 52

Respondent's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Column 53

Occupation of head of household (if head of household is not respondent): \_\_\_\_\_

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

V. EDUCATION

Column 54

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

VI. What is your total family income per month? (Show Card)

Column 55

- 1 Up to 149 DM
- 2 150 to 299 DM
- 3 300 to 399 DM
- 4 400 to 599 DM
- 5 500 DM and over
- 6 No answer

VII. Which political party do you favor?

Column 56

- 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 57

- 1 Yes, I am a member of \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 No

IX. MARITAL STATUS: Column 58

- 1 Single
- 2 Married
- 3 Widow/Widower
- 4 Divorced
- 5 Separated

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IXa. (IF "MARRIED" TO QUESTION IX) Were you widowed or divorced before?

Column 58

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

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ONLY FOR THE INTERVIEWER!

X. SOCIAL CLASS

Column 59

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | A |
| 2 | B |
| 3 | C |
| 4 | D |

XI. REGION

Column 60

- |     |                             |
|-----|-----------------------------|
| 1   | Schleswig-Holstein          |
| 2   | Hamburg                     |
| 3   | Niedersachen                |
| 4   | Bremen                      |
| 5   | Nordrhein-Westfalen         |
| 6   | Hessen                      |
| 7   | Rheinland-Pfalz             |
| 8   | Nordwürttemberg-Baden       |
| 8-Y | Sübaden                     |
| 8-X | Südwürttemberg-Hohenzollern |
| 9   | Bayern                      |
| 0   | Berlin                      |

XII. THE INTERVIEW WAS MADE ON:

Column 61

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | First day - first visit to house   |
| 2 | First day - but not first visit to house<br>_____ (indicate which visit) |
| 3 | Second day   |
| 4 | Third day  |
| 5 | Fourth day _____ (indicate which visit)                                  |



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XII. DIFFICULTY OF INTERVIEW - Column 61

7      No difficulty  
8      \_\_\_\_\_  
9      \_\_\_\_\_  
0      Very difficult

DATE:           Columns 62-64          

PLACE: \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEWER'S NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_