

ZA –Archiv Nummer 0444

Politische Fragen (November 1954)

1954

GERMANY - DIVO

#971 - November 1954

Card I - Col. 8
Col. 1-3 = 7-11
" 4 = Card II
" 5-7 = Questionnaire

1. In your opinion, what are the most important tasks of the federal government at present?

Card I - Col. 8

1	Complete independence and full sovereignty for West Germany
2	Remilitarization of West Germany
3	France-German rapprochement
4	Reunification of Germany
5	Solution of the Saar problem
6	Other tasks - for example, social, political, scientific tasks, etc.
7	To try to avoid war
8	
X	No opinion

2. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the achievements of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?

Card I - Col. 9

1	Very satisfied
2	Fairly satisfied
3	Dissatisfied
4	Very dissatisfied
X	No opinion

IF "Fairly satisfied", Dissatisfied", "Very dissatisfied", or "No opinion":

- 2a. Is there anything about the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now you are dissatisfied with? What is it? (Card II - Columns 8, 9)
3. Do you think that relations between West Germany and France have improved or worsened during the past four weeks?

Card I - Col. 10

1	Improved
---	----------

Card II - Col. 24

2	Worsened
3	Neither
X	No opinion

IF "Improved" or "Worsened":

- 3a. In what way (improved) (worsened)? (Column 10 - Card II)

4. Now we have a few questions about different countries. Please use this card in answering these questions.

a. What prestige does America enjoy with you personally?

Card I - Col. 11 1 High to very high
 2 Mediocre to fair
 3 Low to very low
 X No opinion

b. What prestige does England enjoy with you personally?

Card I - Col. 12 1 High to very high
 2 Mediocre to fair
 3 Low to very low
 X No opinion

c. What prestige does France enjoy with you personally?

Card I - Col. 13 1 High to very high
 2 Mediocre to fair
 3 Low to very low
 X No opinion

d. What prestige does Russia enjoy with you personally?

Card I - Col. 14 1 High to very high
 2 Mediocre to fair
 3 Low to very low
 X No opinion

5. What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally?

Card I - Col. 15 1 High to very high
 2 Mediocre to fair
 3 Low to very low
 X No opinion

6. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?

Card I - Col. 16 1 Satisfied
Card II - Col. 25 2 Dissatisfied
 X No opinion

IF "Satisfied" or "Dissatisfied":

- 6a. In what respect are you (satisfied) (dissatisfied)? (Column 11 - Card II)
7. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of our remilitarization?

Card I	-	Col. 17	1	Satisfied
Card II	-	Col. 26	2	Dissatisfied
			X	No opinion

IF "Satisfied" or "Dissatisfied":

- 7a. In what respect are you (satisfied) (dissatisfied)? (Column 12 - Card II)
8. And how about our political independence and sovereignty - are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of our political independence and sovereignty?

Card I	-	Col. 18	1	Satisfied
Card II	-	Col. 27	2	Dissatisfied
			X	No opinion

IF "Satisfied" or "Dissatisfied":

- 8a. In what respect are you (satisfied) (dissatisfied)? (Column 13 - Card II)
9. By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied about the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer handles the Saar issue?

Card I	-	Col. 19	1	Satisfied
Card II	-	Col. 28	2	Dissatisfied
			X	No opinion

IF "Satisfied" or "Dissatisfied":

- 9a. Why are you (satisfied) (dissatisfied)? (Column 14 - Card II)
10. Have you heard of an agreement on the Saar issue which has recently been concluded between Germany and France? Can you tell me where the agreement was signed?

Card I	-	Col. 20	1	Yes, know where
Card II	-	Col. 29	2	Yes, but don't know where
			X	No, haven't heard of it

IF "Yes, know where" or "Yes, but don't know where":

10a. In your opinion, should the Bundestag accept or reject this Saar Agreement?

Card I -	Col. 21	1	Accept
Card II -	Col. 30	2	Reject
		X	No opinion

IF "Accept" or "Reject":

10aa. For what reasons should the Bundestag accept or reject this Saar Agreement? (Col. 16 - Card I)

IF "Yes, know where" or "Yes, but don't know where" to question 10:

10b. Is there anything about the Saar Agreement which you think is particularly good?
(Column 16 - Card II)

10c. And is there anything about the Saar Agreement which you don't like? (Col. 17 - Card II)

10d. Does this Saar Agreement, according to its provisions, represent a final solution of the Saar problem, or doesn't it?

Card I -	Col. 22	1	Final solution
		2	No final solution
		X	No opinion

IF "Yes, know where" or "Yes, but don't know where": Information - The Paris Saar Agreement is meant to serve as a provisional arrangement until the Saar problem is finally settled through a peace treaty. German political parties are not to be admitted in the Saar District, and the Saar people are to decide on this Paris Saar Agreement in a plebiscite.

IF "No, haven't heard of it": In the Paris Saar Agreement, Federal Chancellor Adenauer sanctioned the Europeanization of the Saar District, that is to say, until a final settlement through a peace treaty the Saar will be placed neither under French nor under German, but under European administration. German political parties are to be admitted now in the Saar District, and the people of the Saar are to decide on this agreement in a plebiscite.

11. In your opinion, should the Bundestag accept or reject this Saar Agreement?

Card I -	Col. 23	1	Accept
Card II -	Col. 41	2	Reject
		X	No opinion

IF "Accept" or "Reject":

11a. For what reasons should the Bundestag accept or reject this Saar Agreement?
(Column 18 - Card II)

Asked of all who accept the Saar Agreement - If "Accept" to question 10a or 11:

12. Supposing France would retain a few economic privileges in the Saar District after a Europeanization of the Saar, would you approve of this or not?

Card I - Col. 24 1 Approve
 2 Disapprove
 X No opinion

Asked of all who reject the Saar Agreement - If "Reject" to question 10a or 11:

13. If Chancellor Adenauer succeeded in promoting a solution of the unification of the West European countries through a negotiation, would you even then be for or against this?

Card I - Col. 25 1 Even then against them
 2 Under such circumstances, for them
 X No opinion

Asked of all who reject the Saar Agreement - If "Reject" to question 10a or 11:

14. Supposing the agreements Chancellor Adenauer negotiated were necessary in order to get France's approval for our increased sovereignty and for remilitarization, would you even then be against these agreements, or would you be for them?

Card I - Col. 26 1 Even then against them
 2 In that case, for them
 X No opinion

ALL

15. Do you believe the people in the Saar District will approve or disapprove of the recently concluded Paris Saar Agreement?

Card I - Col. 27 1 Will approve
 2 Will disapprove
 X No opinion

Asked of all who reject the Saar Agreement - If "Reject" to question 10a or 11:

16. Supposing the people of the Saar would approve of the Paris Saar Agreement, would you still be against this agreement, or would you be for it in that case?

Card I - Col. 28 1 Still against it
 2 In that case, for it
 X No opinion

If "Still against it":

- 16a. For what reasons would you still reject the Paris Saar Agreement? (Col. 19 - Card I)

ALL

17. In your opinion, who has accomplished more for his country during the Paris negotiations on the Saar Agreement - Chancellor Adenauer or Premier Mendes-France?

Card I - Col. 29 1 Chancellor Adenauer
 2 Premier Mendes-France
 3 Both the same
 X No opinion

18. Do you think that through the Paris Saar Agreement the prestige of Chancellor Adenauer has been lowered in any way, or hasn't it?

Card I - Col. 30. 1 Markedly lowered
 2 Somewhat lowered
 3 Not been lowered
 X No opinion

IF "Markedly lowered" or "Somewhat lowered":

- 18a. Why do you think the prestige of Chancellor Adenauer has been lowered? (Col. 20 Card II)

ALL

19. Considering the last two world wars, whose claim to the Saar District is more important, in your opinion - Germany's or France's?

Card I - Col. 31 1 Germany
 2 France
 X No opinion

20. Do you personally see why France makes certain demands regarding the Saar District?

Card I - Col. 32 1 Yes
 Card II - Col. 40 2 No
 X No opinion

IF "Yes":

- 20a. In your opinion, why does France make these demands regarding the Saar? (Column 21 - Card II)

ALL

21. Apart from legal claims, do you feel that France's demands regarding the Saar are in any way justified?

Card I - Col. 33 1 Fully justified
 Card II - Col. 31 2 Predominantly justified
 3 Partly justified
 4 Not at all justified
 X No opinion

→ IF "Fully justified", "Predominantly justified", "Partly justified", or "Not at all justified":

— insert 2421a. Card II - col 22

22. Two persons are discussing the Paris Saar Agreement:

Mr. Mueller: I consider the agreements Chancellor Adenauer reached in the Saar Agreement to be acceptable. They are necessary for achieving extended sovereignty for West Germany and its admission to the West European defense bloc.

Mr. Schulze: I think that the agreements Chancellor Adenauer reached in the Saar Agreement are unacceptable. They make us pay too high a price for the extension of Germany's sovereignty and our admission to the West European defense bloc.

Which view comes closest to your opinion?

Card I - Col. 34 1 Mr. Mueller
 2 Mr. Schulze
 X No opinion

ALL

23. How do you think the Saar problem will finally be settled - will the Saar District belong to Germany once more, or will it belong to France; will it be under West European control, or will it eventually become a sovereign state?

Card I - Col. 35 1 Will belong to Germany once more
 2 Will belong to France
 3 Will be under West European control
 4 Will become a sovereign state
 X No opinion

IF "Will belong to France", "Will be under West European control",
"Will become a sovereign state", or "No opinion":

- 23a. Do you think that the Saar District will eventually be restored to Germany, or don't you think so?

Card I - Col. 36 1 Yes, will be restored
 2 No, will not be restored
 X No opinion

ALL

24. Do you think that its Eastern territories (East of the Oder/Neisse line) will eventually be restored to Germany, or don't you think so?

Card I - Col. 37 1 Yes, will be restored
 2 No, will not be restored
 X No opinion

25. Should we agree to the loss of the Eastern territories (East of the Oder/Neisse line) as a price for German reunification, or shouldn't we?

Card I - Col. 38 1 Yes, resign ourselves
 2 No, not resign ourselves
 X No opinion

26. Keeping in mind that we lost the war, do you believe that we could have achieved a more favorable settlement of the Saar problem at the present time, or don't you think so?

Card I - Col. 39 1 More favorable settlement
 2 No more favorable settlement
 X No opinion

27. Let's talk about something else.

Have you heard anything about the impressions and experiences of people who have visited America?

Card I - Col. 40 1 I visited the country
 2 I have heard
 3 I have not heard anything

IF "I visited the country":

- 27a. Why did you visit the United States? When was that?

As a _____ In the year _____

STATISTICS

A. Profession:

The Respondent's Profession
The Householder's Profession

Card I { 46X
47X

Card II - 32
33

B. Age

Card I - Col. 48
Card II - col 34

1	- to 19 years
2	20 - 24 years
3	25 - 29 years
4	30 - 34 years
5	35 - 39 years
6	40 - 44 years
7	45 - 49 years
8	50 - 54 years
9	55 - 59 years
0	60 - 64 years
X	Over 65 years
Y	No answer

C. What is the monthly income of your family? (Show cards)

Card I - Col. 49
Card II - col 35

1	- 149 DM
2	150 - 299 DM
3	300 - 399 DM
4	400 - 499 DM
5	500 - 599 DM
6	600 - 699 DM
7	700 - 799 DM
8	800 - 899 DM
9	900 - 999 DM
0	More than 1,000 DM

D. Settlement

Card I - Col. 50
Card II - col 36

1	Native
2	Deported
3	Refugee
4	Foreigner

E. Religion

Card I Col. 50
Card II - col 36

6	Catholic
7	Protestant
8	Other religion
9	No religion

F. Marital status

Card I	Col. 51	1	Single
		2	Married
Card II	col 37	3	Widow (er)
		4	Divorced

G. Education

Card I	Col. 51	6	Elementary school
		7	High school
Card II	col 37	8	Abitur
		9	University

What political party do you like best?

Card I	Col. 52	1	SPD
		2	CDU/CSU
Card II	col 38	3	FDP
		4	DP
		5	DRP
		6	BHE
		7	KPD
		8	Another party
		X	None
		Y	Don't know