Politische Fragen (September 1954)

1954
1. What are, in your opinion, the most important tasks of the federal government at present?

   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 (Which?)
   7. To try to avoid another war
   8. To improve the standard of living
   X No opinion

2. If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success lately - the Communist Powers or the Western Powers?

   Col. 9
   1. Communist Powers
   2. Western Powers
   3. Both the same
   4. No opinion

   IF "Communist Powers" or "Western Powers":

   2a. Why are you of this opinion? In what respect have the (Communist Powers) (Western Powers) had more success?

   Col. 9
   1. Communist Powers
   2. Western Powers
   3. Both equal chances
   X No opinion

   IF "Communist Powers" or "Western Powers":

3. Who do you think will win this struggle between the East and the West? (Communist Powers or the Western Powers)

   Col. 10
   1. Communist Powers
   2. Western Powers
   3. Both equal chances
   X No opinion

   IF "Communist Powers" or "Western Powers":

3a. Why do you think that?
4. Do you think that West Germany should take sides with the West now, the East, or not take sides at all?

Col. 11 1 West
2 East
3 No side
X No opinion

5. If a war should break out between Russia and the United States, do you think West Germany should take any side? Which side?

Col. 12 1 Side with Russia
2 Side with the United States
3 Not take sides
X No opinion

6. Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe - very much for it or somewhat for it; very much against it or somewhat against it?

Col. 13 1 For it
2 Against it
X No opinion

7. Apart from whether you are for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe, which way would you prefer? (Show cards)

Col. 14 1 A West German National Army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe
2 German divisions should be integrated in a general West European Army

8. Have you ever heard or read of the EDC?

Col. 15 1 Yes
2 No

9. In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, - that is, the West European Defense Community, - very much for it or somewhat for it; very much against it or somewhat against it? (Under the EDC, several West European countries are to unite in a West European Defense Community in which West Germany also is to participate with German divisions which will be integrated in an overall West European army.)

Col. 16 1 Very much for it
2 Somewhat for it
3 Very much against it
4 Somewhat against it
X No opinion
10. As you may know, a debate about the EDC has recently taken place in the French National Assembly. Do you remember whether the Assembly accepted or disapproved of the EDC?

Card I  | Col. 17  
---------|
1         | Accepted
2         | Disapproved
X         | No opinion

IF "Accepted" or "No opinion" — INFORMATION: The French National Assembly disapproved of the EDC.

11. In your opinion, what does France's disapproval of the EDC mean for West Germany?

Card I  | Col. 18  
---------|
1         | It's a great disadvantage for West Germany
2         | It's more of a disadvantage for West Germany than an advantage
3         | Disadvantages and advantages balance
4         | It's more of an advantage than a disadvantage for West Germany
5         | It's a great advantage for West Germany
X         | No opinion

IF "It's a great disadvantage for West Germany" or "It's more of a disadvantage than an advantage for West Germany":

11a. What are the disadvantages of this disapproval for West Germany?

Card I  | Col. 19  
---------|
1         | Means disapproval of West Germany's remilitarization in any form
2         | Means disapproval of the EDC, but possibly West Germany's remilitarization in some other form
X         | No opinion

11b. What are the advantages of this disapproval for West Germany?

12. Do you think that by disapproving the EDC France disapproves of any form of West German remilitarization, or do you think that it only means that France is against our participation in the EDC, but that France would agree to West Germany's military participation in the West European defense in some other form?

(The wording of the question in the March 1954 survey was as follows: "Supposing the EDC would not come into being because France doesn't agree to the EDC Treaty, what would this mean for West Germany, in your opinion?")
(The wording of the question in the June 1954 survey was as follows: "Supposing France would not agree to the EDC, would you then think that France would disapprove of any form of a West German remilitarization...?")

13. In your opinion, what should West Germany do now that France has rejected the EDC?

   Col. 20
   1. West Germany should give up all plans and efforts for Germany's remilitarization
   2. West Germany should make more efforts to make France give its approval
   3. West Germany should try to achieve an agreement with America and other West European countries on our remilitarization without regard to France
   X Undecided

(The wording of the question in June and late August surveys was as follows: "If France should not agree to the EDC (in its original version), what should West Germany then do?")

14. Do you think that the prestige of the West German federal government has been lowered in any way through France's rejection of the EDC?

   Card I  Col. 21
   1. Very much lowered
   2. Somewhat lowered
   3. Not lowered
   X No opinion

   IF "Very much lowered" or "Somewhat lowered":

14a. Why has it lowered the prestige of the West German federal government?

   Card I  Col. 15

15. Has the position of the Western Powers against the Communist Powers been very much or somewhat weakened, or has this been of no influence as a result of the failure of the EDC?

   Card I  Col. 22
   1. Very markedly weakened
   2. Very weakened
   3. Somewhat weakened
   4. No influence
   X No opinion

16. As a result of the failure of the EDC, do you believe that chances for a re-unification under conditions acceptable to us have increased or decreased, or has this been of no influence?

   Card I  Col. 23
   1. Increased
   2. Decreased
   3. No influence
   X No opinion
17. Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer deals with the problem of German reunification?

Col. 24 1 Satisfied
2 Dissatisfied
X No opinion

18. What prestige does Dr. Adenauer enjoy with you personally? (Show card)

Col. 25 1 High to very high
2 Mediocre to fair
3 Low to very low
X No opinion

19. Do you think that the prestige of Federal Chancellor Adenauer has been lowered as a result of France's rejection of the EDC?

Col. 26 1 Very much lowered
2 Somewhat lowered
3 Not lowered
X No opinion

IF "Very much lowered" or "Somewhat lowered":

19a. Why has it lowered the prestige of Federal Chancellor Adenauer?

Col. 27 1 High to very high
2 Mediocre to fair
3 Low to very low
X No opinion

20. What prestige does America enjoy with you personally?

Col. 28 1 Very much lowered
2 Somewhat lowered
3 Not lowered
X No opinion

IF "Very much lowered" or "Somewhat lowered":

21a. Why has it lowered the prestige of America?
22. What prestige does England enjoy with you personally?

Con'd 3 - Col. 29
1 High to very high
2 Mediocre to fair
3 Low to very low
X No opinion

23. What prestige does France enjoy with you personally?

Con'd 1 - Col. 30
1 High to very high
2 Mediocre to fair
3 Low to very low
X No opinion

24. What prestige does Russia enjoy with you personally?

Con'd 1 - Col. 31
1 High to very high
2 Mediocre to fair
3 Low to very low
X No opinion

25. And now let's talk about something else. Have you ever heard anything about the impressions and experiences of people who visited America, the U.S.?

Con'd 1 - Col. 32
1 Visited the country
2 Have heard
X No, haven't heard anything

IF "Visited the country":

25a. Why did you visit the United States? When was that?

As a __________________________ In the year ________________

IF "Have heard":

25b. As far as you know, why did those people about whose impressions and experiences you have heard visit America? (Card)

Con'd 1 - Col. 33
1 As tourists, private visitors, businessmen
2 As a war prisoner
3 Under a German-American exchange program or as guests of official American agencies such as government, universities, institutes or organizations
4 In some other capacity
5 Don't know what kind of permit they had
X Don't know anybody who visited America
IF "As tourists, war prisoners, exchanges, or in some other capacity":

25c. Can you perhaps tell me how you heard of the impressions and experiences of ________________? (Card)

Card I - Col. 1 Personal acquaintance, I talked to him
            2 I attended a lecture held by him
            3 I heard a talk or lecture held by him on the radio
            4 I read an article by him in a newspaper, periodical, or magazine
            5 I read a book by him
            6 Other people told me about the impressions and experiences of a person who has traveled in America
            7 I heard of institutions or improvements which were introduced here in Germany according to suggestions and ideas of a person who had traveled in America
            8 Contact of a different kind
            X No opinion

26. Are you personally acquainted with any Germans who used to work, or who still work at a civilian or a military agency of the Americans?

Card I - Col. 38 1 Yes, acquainted
                2 No

26a. Are you, or have you yourself perhaps been employed by a civilian or military agency of the Americans after 1945?

Card I - Col. 39 1 Yes, I'm still employed there
                2 Yes, I was employed there
                3 No

IF "Yes, I'm still employed there" or "Yes, I was employed there":

26aa. What kind of work (do) (did) you do there? Give details.

27. Do you think that you have been influenced in your views on the Americans and American policy in any way by the Germans employed with American agencies?

Card I Col. 40 1 Yes
               2 No

IF "Yes":

27a. In what way have you been influenced? (Probe)
28. What kind of a job do you have now? (Please give data as exact as possible - no collective terms such as 'employee', etc.)

And what occupation did you train for?

29. Do you have any other kind of activity, or hold any other offices outside your regular job, - such as those listed on this card?

Col. 42  1 A representative for a community, representative for a district
         2 In an organization for refugees
         3 In a professional or scientific organization (Which?)
         4 As a representative for a county
         5 As a representative for a trade union
         6 In a trade union
         7 In a political party
         8 In a youth organization
         9 In a student organization
        0 In a scientific organization
       X In an association (Which association?)
      Y None of these

IF "None of these":

29a. Do you pursue some similar activity which isn't listed here? Which?

Col. 43  1 Yes - which?
         2 No

30. About how often do you attend meetings or gatherings where economic or political questions are discussed?

Col. 44  1 Frequently
         2 Occasionally
         3 Rarely
         4 Never

31. Are you a member of an association, a trade union, or a political party?

Col. 45  1 Member, association - Which?
         2 Member, club - Which?
         3 Member, trade union
         4 Member, political party
        X No, no membership
DIVO #968

STATISTICS

A. Father's profession (if he is not interviewed)  Col. 46X  Card I

B. How old are you?

   Col. 47      Col. 47  
   1           Between 19 years old
   2           Between 20 and 24 years
   3           Between 25 and 29 years
   4           Between 30 and 34 years
   5           Between 35 and 39 years
   6           Between 40 and 44 years
   7           Between 45 and 49 years
   8           Between 50 and 54 years
   9           Between 55 and 59 years
   0           Between 60 and 64 years
   X           Over 65
   Y           Don't know

C. What is the monthly income of your family?

   Col. 48      Col. 48
   1           Between 149 DM
   2           Between 150 and 299 DM
   3           Between 300 and 399 DM
   4           Between 400 and 499 DM
   5           Between 500 and 599 DM
   6           Between 600 and 699 DM
   7           Between 700 and 799 DM
   8           Between 800 and 899 DM
   9           Between 900 and 999 DM
   0           1000 DM and over
   X           Don't know

D. Residence

   Card I      Col. 49
   1           Resident
   2           ...
   3           Refugee
   4           Foreigner

E. Religion

   Card I      Col. 49
   6           Catholic
   7           Protestant
   8           Other religion
   9           None
| Card I - Col. 50 | 1 | Single |
|                 | 2 | Married |
|                 | 3 | Widow (er) |
|                 | 4 | Divorced |

**G. Which political party do you prefer?**

| Card I - Col. 51 | 1 | SPD |
|                 | 2 | CDU / CSU |
|                 | 3 | FDP |
|                 | 4 | DP |
|                 | 5 | DRP |
|                 | 6 | BHE |
|                 | 7 | KPD |
|                 | 8 | Another party |
|                 | X | None of them |
|                 | Y | Don't know |

**H. Education**

| Card I - Col. 52 | 1 | Elementary school |
|                 | 2 | High school |
|                 | 3 | Abitur |
|                 | 4 | University |

**ONLY FOR THE INTERVIEWER**

**I. Sex**

| Card I - Col. 52 | 6 | Male |
|                 | 7 | Female |

**J. Social Class**

| Card I - Col. 52 | 9 | Upper class |
|                 | 0 | Middle class |
|                 | X | Lower class |

**K. The interview was made on:**

<p>| Card I - Col. 53 | 1 | First day, but _____ visits |
|                 | 2 | First day, but _____ visits |
|                 | 3 | Second day, but _____ visits |
|                 | 4 | Third day, but _____ visits |
|                 | 5 | Fourth day, but _____ visits |
|                 | 6 | _____, but _____ visits |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. 54</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Less than 1,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,000 - 1,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,000 - 4,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5,000 - 9,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10,000 - 24,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>25,000 - 49,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>50,000 - 99,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10,000 - 249,999</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Over 250,000</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. 55</th>
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<td>Bayern</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hessen</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Württemberg - Baden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nordrhein - Westfalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Niedersachsen</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Schleswig - Holstein</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Baden</td>
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<td>Rheinland Pfalz</td>
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<td>Württemberg - Hohenzollern</td>
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<td>Bremen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Hamburg</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Col. 56</th>
<th>Difficulty</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not at all difficult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Very difficult</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Date: _______________  Place _______________

Int. No.  Cols. 57, 58, 59  Number of Place _______________

Signature _______________

60 (X) con