

West German and Berlin Confidence in NATO.

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## INTRODUCTION

In view of the Russian ultimatum concerning the Status of Berlin, it was considered useful to gather up-to-date information on people's knowledge of and attitude towards NATO.

The survey upon which this report is based was conducted in West Germany as well as in West Berlin. The data were derived from a probability sample of the West German and West Berlin adult population, 18 years of age and over. The 806 cases in West Germany and 320 cases in West Berlin were interviewed between April 7 and 17, 1959 by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung, GmbH, Frankfurt am Main/Bad Godesberg.

## SUMMARY

The level of awareness of NATO among the West German population has been the same for two years. Now it has gone up for the first time.

In West Berlin it is even higher than in West Germany. Only one out of twenty West Berliners has never heard of NATO. Claimed awareness of NATO is to a great extent covered by actual knowledge of West Germany's and the United States' membership in NATO which was not the case three years ago, in November 1956.

The unanimous support of NATO countries for the three Western Powers' position on Berlin was less known. Twice as many West Berliners as West Germans were informed about this fact.

Confidence in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization increased considerably during the last three months and is stronger than ever.

Majorities in West Germany as well as in West Berlin appreciate NATO as having prevented aggression in the past ten years and also as an important factor for securing peace in the future. These two kinds of appreciation of NATO are closely connected with confidence in the effective capability of NATO to defend Western Europe.

The level of confidence and appreciation of NATO among West Berlin population surpasses that of West Germans.

The increase of confidence in NATO was complemented by a higher percentage in favor of continued membership in NATO. Most of the eight out of ten who want continued membership want to keep support at the present level.

About twice as many West Berliners as West Germans would like to see NATO strengthened.

The attitude toward NATO membership is largely dependent upon the degree of confidence people have in NATO as a defense organization for Europe.

Part I - Awareness of NATO

Section 1: Claimed awareness

LEVEL OF CLAIMED AWARENESS OF NATO RAISED SINCE DECEMBER 1958 ...

Results of the most recent survey show that the percentage of West German adult population claiming to have heard or read of NATO has increased for the first time since May 1957. While during the past two years, when five different surveys were conducted, eight out of ten people (82%, respectively 81% in October 1958) claimed to have knowledge concerning NATO, there are now nearly nine out of ten interviewees (88%) in West Germany who say they heard of this organization.

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

	<u>West Germany</u>								
	Feb 55 (820)	Nov 55 (813)	Nov 56 (1159)	May 57 (1200)	Nov 57 (813)	Mar 58 (913)	Oct 58 (1159)	Dec 58 (963)	Apr 59 (806)
Yes	58%	58%	76%	82%	82%	82%	81%	82%	88%
No	$\frac{42}{100\%}$	$\frac{42}{100\%}$	$\frac{24}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{19}{100\%}$	$\frac{18}{100\%}$	$\frac{12}{100\%}$

NEARLY ALL PEOPLE IN WEST BERLIN CLAIM TO HAVE HEARD OF NATO ...

The increased knowledge of the existence of NATO is apparently caused by the Berlin crisis and the great amount of information about it. The West Berlin population claims an even greater awareness of NATO (95%). The degree of awareness surpasses that of West Germans by 7 per cent.

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

	<u>West Germany</u> (806)	<u>West Berlin</u> (320)
Yes	88%	95%
No	$\frac{12}{100\%}$	$\frac{5}{100\%}$

Section 2: Objective knowledge of NATO

NINE OUT OF TEN OF WEST GERMAN AND WEST BERLIN POPULATION HAVE ACTUAL KNOWLEDGE OF NATO MEMBERSHIP ...

Awareness has been further analyzed by a question testing the validity of claimed knowledge of NATO in order to get the extent of objective knowledge on this subject. Those who claimed knowledge were asked whether West Germany, the United States and the U.S.S.R. were members of NATO or not. Responses revealed that claimed knowledge is to a large extent covered by actual knowledge. The great majority in West Germany as well as in West Berlin (nine out of ten on the average) knows that West Germany and the U.S. are members and that the U.S.S.R. is not a member of NATO. West Berliners prove to be considerably better informed with respect to Russia, only 4 per cent stating Russia is a member of NATO or are uninformed as against 13 per cent of West Germans.

"Do you happen to know whether the United States is a member of NATO or not? What about ... ?"

	<u>West Germany (705)**</u>			<u>West Berlin (304)**</u>		
	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
West Germany	92%	1%	7%...100%	90%	4%	6%...100%
U.S.A.	87	4	9	92	6	2
U.S.S.R.	2	87	11	1	96	3

A profounder degree of actual knowledge, however, is represented by those three-quarters of West Germans (76%) and eight out of ten West Berliners (82%) who gave correct answers to all three questions on NATO membership, i.e. who knew that West Germany and the United States are members and that the U.S.S.R. is not a member of NATO.

	<u>West Germany (705)</u>		<u>West Berlin (304)</u>	
	<u>Well informed@</u>	<u>Not so well/Not at all informed</u>	<u>Well informed@</u>	<u>Not so well/Not at all informed</u>
	76%	24%...100%	82%	18%...100%

\*\* This table and the following ones deal only with the 82 per cent, resp. 95 per cent of West Germans and West Berliners who claimed awareness of NATO. They are, therefore, considered as 100 per cent.

@ Knowing West Germany and the U.S. are members, U.S.S.R. is not a member of NATO.

KNOWLEDGE OF WEST GERMAN AND U.S. MEMBERSHIP IN NATO REMARKABLY HIGHER THAN TWO YEARS AGO ...

Figures of a survey conducted in November 1956 which resulted from the same question on West Germany's and the U.S.' membership in NATO show that the degree of actual knowledge in this respect has not always been as high as it is now.

At that time only six out of ten people (60%) who were aware of NATO knew that West Germany and the U.S. were members of this organization, whereas this survey reveals that eight out of ten (83%) of those who claimed awareness of NATO were also able to name the membership of both, West Germany and the U.S., correctly.

"Do you happen to know whether the United States is a member of NATO or not? What about West Germany?"

	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member/ Don't know</u>
<u>Nov 1956</u> (883 cases)		
West Germany <u>and</u> U.S.	60%	40%...100%
<u>Apr 1959</u> (705 cases)		
West Germany <u>and</u> U.S.	83%	17%...100%

FOUR OUT OF TEN WEST BERLINERS KNOW THAT NATO COUNTRIES GAVE UNANIMOUS SUPPORT TO WESTERN POWERS' POSITION ON BERLIN ...

Replies to the following question reveal to what degree people are informed about one of NATO's recent actions concerning the situation of Berlin. All respondents were informed of Krushchev's proposal to make West Berlin a "Free City" controlled by the DDR and then asked whether the other NATO countries supported the three Western Powers' position concerning Berlin unanimously when they met in Paris in December 1958, or whether they gave only a majority support or even less. About two out of ten West Germans knew that the NATO countries gave unanimous support (17%), while from among West Berliners more than twice as many persons (38%) were informed about this fact.

"The NATO countries met in Paris in December 1958 where they discussed the Berlin situation. Do you know to what extent the NATO countries supported the three Western Powers' position? Did they give unanimous, majority, or less than majority support, or didn't they take a stand one way or the other?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (806)	<u>West Berlin</u> (320)
Unanimous support	17%	38%
Majority support	30	35
Less than majority support	9	3
Did not take a stand	10	1
Don't know	34	23
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Part II - Confidence in the Effectiveness of NATO

Section 1: As a defense organization for Western Europe

CONFIDENCE IN NATO INCREASED CONSIDERABLY SINCE DECEMBER 1958 - MORE THAN SEVEN OUT OF TEN WEST GERMANS TRUSTING IN ITS ABILITY TO DEFEND WESTERN EUROPE ...

When those West Germans who said they had heard of NATO were asked to state their degree of confidence in NATO's ability to defend Western Europe, three-quarters of them (74%) said they had either "a great deal" or "some" confidence. Not even two out of ten (18%) indicated that they had either "not very much" confidence or "none at all".

A comparison with previous surveys shows that after a remarkable decrease of confidence in the effectiveness of NATO during the year 1958 (by 10% as against 1957), figures which indicate confidence are now higher than ever before.

The simplest method of gaining a clear picture on the degree of confidence over different time periods is to examine the Net Opinion Scores for the respective question. They are obtained by subtracting the percentage of those who have little or no confidence from those who have confidence in NATO's ability to defend Western Europe. So it becomes evident that in April 1959 confidence was nearly three times as high as it was in December 1958. (Score of +56 as contrasted with +21.)

"In the light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe - a great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?" (Asked only of those aware of NATO.)

	<u>West Germany</u>					
	May 57 (982)	Nov 57 (667)	Mar 58 (753)	Dec 58 (793)	Apr 59 (705)	
Great deal	28%	28%	23%	27%	34%	
Some	35	40	29	25	40	
	} 63%		} 52%		} 74%	
Not very much	20	15	21	25	14	
None at all	7	4	7	6	4	
	} 27		} 28		} 18	
Don't know	10	13	20	17	8	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
NET OPINION SCORE	+36	+49	+24	+21	+56	

**MORE THAN EIGHT OUT OF TEN WEST BERLINERS HAVE CONFIDENCE IN NATO'S MILITARY ABILITIES ...**

~~A comparison between figures for West Germany and West Berlin concerning confidence in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe shows that people in West Berlin regard NATO even higher in this respect than West Germans.~~

Figures for confidence in West Berlin surpass those for West Germany by 10 per cent. The Net Opinion shows an even larger difference (West Berlin score of +70 as against +56 for West Germany).

"In the light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe - a great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?" (Asked only of those aware of NATO.)

	<u>West Germany</u> (705)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Great deal	34%	50%
Some	40	34
	}74%	}84%
Not very much	14	11
None at all	4	3
	}18	}14
Don't know	8	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
NET OPINION SCORE	+56	+70

Section 2: Confidence in NATO as an organization which prevented aggression in the past

MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN WEST GERMANY AND WEST BERLIN BELIEVE THAT NATO HELPED TO PREVENT AGGRESSION IN EUROPE ...

Six out of ten West Germans (56%) who heard of NATO and seven out of ten West Berliners (71%) think that we owe peace in Europe during the last ten years to the establishment of NATO.

Approximately a quarter of interviewees in West Germany (26%) and a fifth in West Berlin (19%) state that NATO made a minor contribution to peace and only one out of ten West Germans (8%) and West Berliners (9%) think NATO did not make any contribution to peace at all.

Estimation of NATO among West Berlin population is remarkably higher in this respect, too, (by 15%) than that among West Germans.

"In the ten years since the establishment of NATO there has been no aggression in Europe. Do you feel that this has been exclusively due to NATO, largely due to the existence of NATO or did NATO make only a minor contribution, or none at all?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (705)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
Exclusively due to NATO	13% } 56%	13% } 71%
Largely due to NATO	43	58
Minor contribution	26 } 34	19 } 28
None at all	8	9
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>
	100%	100%

APPRECIATION OF NATO AS A PEACE PRESERVING FACTOR IN THE PAST DEPENDS UPON CONFIDENCE IN ITS DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES ...

A cross-tabulation of answers to the question on confidence by replies to the question on NATO contribution to peace shows the close connection between these two factors. Nearly three-quarters of West Germans who appreciate NATO's defense capacity also believe that the preservation of peace in Europe is largely or even exclusively due to NATO (71%). For West Berlin the percentage of this group is even higher (81%). The opposite picture is reflected by those who have no confidence in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization. Eight out of ten (79% for West Germany and 85% for West Berlin) think that NATO's contribution to peace in the last ten years was only a minor one or that there was no contribution at all.

"In the light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe - great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"

West Germany (705)

<u>Great deal/ Some</u>	<u>Not very much/None at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
(522)	(128)	(55)

"In the ten years since the establishment of NATO there has been no aggression in Europe. Do you feel that this has been exclusively due to NATO, largely due to the existence of NATO or did NATO make only a minor contribution to peace, or none at all?"

Exclusively due to NATO/ Largely due to NATO	71%	13%	7%
Minor contribution/ None at all	25	79	15
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>78</u>
	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin (304)

<u>Great deal/ Some</u>	<u>Not very much/None at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
(257)	(41)	(6)

Exclusively due to NATO/ Largely due to NATO	81%	15%	17%
Minor contribution/ None at all	18	85	66
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%

Section 3: Confidence in NATO as an important security factor for the future

MORE THAN EIGHT OUT OF TEN PEOPLE IN WEST BERLIN HAVE CONFIDENCE IN NATO AS A SECURITY FACTOR FOR THE FUTURE ...

While the previous question dealt with the effectiveness of NATO in the past, the following question refers to the ability of this organization to maintain security in the future. Responses to this question show about the same percentages as the responses to the question on confidence in NATO as a defense organization. Seven out of ten (73%), respectively eight out of ten in West Berlin (85%), express the opinion that NATO will be of much help in maintaining security in the future. Figures for Berlin again reveal a higher degree of optimism - with half of the interviewees even stating that they have a great deal of confidence (51%).

"Of how much help will NATO be to us in maintaining our security in the future? A great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (705)	<u>West Berlin</u> (304)
A great deal	33%	51%
Some	40 } 73%	34 } 85%
Not very much	16 } 19	10 } 13
None at all	3	3
Don't know	8	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

APPRECIATION OF NATO AS A SECURITY FACTOR IN THE FUTURE DEPENDS ON CONFIDENCE IN ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITIES ...

Almost all of those who have confidence in NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe also think NATO will help in maintaining security in the future (90% in West Germany, respectively 94% in West Berlin). Thus the recognized importance of NATO is greater with respect to the future than it was for the past ten years. (71% in West Germany as against 81% in West Berlin said preservation of peace was due to NATO.)

Most of those who do not have any trust in the defensive strength of NATO think the contrary (64% in West Germany as well as in West Berlin). The remaining third of this group seems to think of NATO more as of a political factor in securing peace than of its defensive effectiveness.

"In the light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe - great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"

West Germany (705)

	<u>Great deal/ Some</u> (522)	<u>Not very much/None at all</u> (128)	<u>Don't know</u> (55)
"Of how much help will NATO be to us in maintaining our security in the future? A great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"			

A great deal/ Some	90%	31%	16%
Not very much/ None at all	8	64	13
Don't know	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>71</u> 100%

West Berlin (304)

	<u>Great deal/ Some</u> (257)	<u>Not very much/None at all</u> (41)	<u>Don't know</u> (6)
A great deal/ Some	94%	29%	50%
Not very much/ None at all	4	64	33
Don't know	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%

Part III - Attitude Towards NATO Membership

EIGHT OUT OF TEN WEST GERMANS FAVOR CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN NATO ...

~~Not even one person out of ten in West Germany (8%) who is aware of~~  
NATO holds the opinion that West Germany should withdraw from this organization, whereas six out of ten (64%) want West Germany to keep NATO about the same and two out of ten (20%) even want to have NATO strengthened.

A comparison with results of previous surveys (December and March of 1958) shows - equal to the increased confidence in NATO's effectiveness and peace-securing strength - a remarkable increase in favorable attitudes towards NATO membership. This increase is mainly due to the fact that more people express an opinion on this question now than did in previous surveys.

"In view of present circumstances and what you have heard concerning NATO, do you think that we should withdraw from NATO, strengthen our contribution, or keep it about the same as it is now?" (Asked only of those aware of NATO.)

	<u>West Germany</u>		
	Mar 58 (753)	Dec 58 (793)	Apr 59 (705)
Withdraw	12%	10%	8%
Keep the same	49	44	64
Strengthen	13	19	20
Don't know	26	27	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

WEST BERLIN POPULATION MORE INTERESTED IN HAVING NATO STRENGTHENED THAN WEST GERMANS ...

Only ten out of all the 320 persons interviewed in West Berlin would like West Germany to withdraw from NATO (3% as against 7% in West Germany). About twice as many respondents in West Berlin than in West Germany think that the German contribution to NATO should be increased (36% as against 18%).

"In view of present circumstances and what you have heard concerning NATO, do you think that we should withdraw from NATO, strengthen our contribution, or keep it about the same as it is now?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (806)**	<u>West Berlin</u> (320)**
Withdraw	7%	3%
Keep the same	59	55
Strengthen	18	36
Don't know	16	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\*\* Percentages of this table are based on all interviewees, including those who said they were not aware of NATO.

MOST PEOPLE NOT AWARE OF NATO DO NOT HAVE OPINION ON NATO CONTRIBUTION ...

The cross-tabulation below shows that people who are not aware of NATO tend to have no attitude towards West Germany's contribution to this organization (72% in West Germany, 56% in West Berlin) or to keep NATO contribution the same (26% in West Germany, 44% in West Berlin). The two extreme opinions - to withdraw from NATO or to strengthen it - are not shared by them.

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

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	<u>Yes, have heard</u> (705)	<u>No, have not heard</u> (101)	<u>Yes, have heard</u> (304)	<u>No, have not heard</u> (16)
"In view of present circumstances and what you have heard concerning NATO, do you think that we should withdraw from NATO, strengthen our contribution, or keep it about the same as it is now?"				
Withdraw	8%	-%	3%	-%
Keep the same	20	2	38	-
Strengthen	64	26	55	44
Don't know	8	72	4	56
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

DESIRE TO MAINTAIN NATO MEMBERSHIP CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH CONFIDENCE ...

The relation between confidence in NATO's effectiveness to defend Western Europe and the attitude towards support of NATO is clearly to be seen from the following cross-tabulation. Nearly all people who have confidence in the military strength of NATO divide into two groups - those who think West Germany should strengthen NATO (25%) and those who think it should keep its contribution about the same (67%). There are only four out of a hundred among those who have confidence in NATO who want West Germany to get out of NATO despite their confidence.

Among those who said they have no confidence are about three times as many people who say West Germany should withdraw from NATO (25%) as those who say it should be strengthened (9%). However, the majority of this group (61%) wants to keep West Germany's support the same, though they indicated that they have not very much or no confidence at all in the defensive strength of NATO.

"In the light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe - great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"

West Germany (705)

Great deal/ Some	Not very much/None at all	Don't know
(522)	(128)	(55)

"In view of present circumstances and what you have heard concerning NATO, do you think that we should withdraw from NATO, strengthen our contribution, or keep it about the same as it is now?"

Withdraw	4%	25%	6%
Keep the same	67	61	47
Strengthen	25	9	-
Don't know	4	5	47
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

West Berlin (304)

Great deal/ Great deal/ Some	Not very much/None at all	Don't know
(257)	(41)	(6)

Withdraw	1%	15%	17%
Keep the same	54	63	49
Strengthen	43	12	17
Don't know	2	10	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



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A P P E N D I X

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

	Yes, have heard	No, have not heard	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	88%	12%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	96	4	394
Women	79	21	412
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	85	15	652
High school w/o diploma	97	3	118
Diploma, university	100	-	36
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	57	43	23
150 to 299 DM	79	21	108
300 to 399 DM	84	16	136
400 to 499 DM	95	5	134
500 to 599 DM	97	3	87
600 DM and more	96	4	167
No income	77	23	56
No answer	82	18	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper middle and well-to-do	97	3	106
Lower middle	90	10	504
Poor	76	24	196
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	91	9	75
25 to 34 years	90	10	154
35 to 44 years	93	7	171
45 to 54 years	85	15	181
55 years and over	82	18	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	89	11	226
CDU/CSU	88	12	329
FDP	100	-	32
Other parties	90	10	31
No party	82	18	98
No opinion	82	18	90
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	100	-	16
Businessmen	94	6	104
White-collar workers	94	6	184
Skilled laborers	94	6	176
Semi-skilled laborers	81	19	97
Farmers; farmhands	70	30	73
Housewives	71	29	59
Others	83	17	97
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	83	17	187
2,000 to 19,999	85	15	238
20,000 to 99,999	89	11	121
100,000 and over	92	8	260
<u>Land:</u>			
Schleswig/Holstein	84	16	44
Hamburg	93	7	30
Lower Saxony	84	16	102
Bremen	90	10	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	88	12	252
Hesse	94	6	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	90	10	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	86	14	104

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

	<u>Yes, have heard</u>	<u>No, have not heard</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Berliners</u>	95%	5%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	99	1	144
Women	92	8	176
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	93	7	211
High school w/o diploma	99	1	85
Diploma, university	100	-	24
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	88	12	17
150 to 299 DM	88	12	61
300 to 399 DM	94	6	47
400 to 499 DM	98	2	55
500 to 599 DM	100	-	42
600 DM and more	98	2	62
No income	87	13	8
No answer	96	4	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper middle and well-to-do	100	-	19
Lower middle	96	4	225
Poor	90	10	76
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	93	7	29
25 to 34 years	100	-	42
35 to 44 years	96	4	49
45 to 54 years	94	6	70
55 years and over	94	6	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	94	6	125
CDU/CSU	98	2	118
FDP	100	-	3
Other parties	100	-	6
No party	90	10	50
No opinion	94	6	18
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	100	-	11
Businessmen	100	-	19
White-collar workers	98	2	90
Skilled laborers	96	4	57
Semi-skilled laborers	92	8	36
Housewives	93	7	14
Others	91	9	93

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

IF "Yes":

"Do you happen to know whether the United States is a member of NATO or not?"

	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	76%	4%	8%	12%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	87	4	5	4	394
Women	66	3	10	21	412
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	72	4	9	15	652
High school w/o diploma	88	4	5	3	118
Diploma, university	94	6	-	-	36
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	43	5	9	43	23
150 to 299 DM	64	5	10	21	108
300 to 399 DM	73	2	9	16	136
400 to 499 DM	81	5	9	5	134
500 to 599 DM	88	3	6	3	87
600 DM and more	87	4	5	4	167
No income	62	4	11	23	56
No answer	72	3	7	18	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	86	2	9	3	106
Lower middle	79	4	7	10	504
Poor	63	5	8	24	196
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	82	5	4	9	75
25 to 34 years	76	4	10	10	154
35 to 44 years	83	3	7	7	171
45 to 54 years	74	3	8	15	181
55 years and over	70	4	8	18	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	77	6	6	11	226
CDU/CSU	77	4	7	12	329
FDP	84	3	13	-	32
Other parties	77	-	13	10	31
No party	70	1	11	18	98
No opinion	73	-	9	18	90
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	81	6	13	-	16
Businessmen	78	8	8	6	104
White-collar workers	83	3	8	6	184
Skilled laborers	82	5	7	6	176
Semi-skilled laborers	72	3	6	19	97
Farmers; farmhands	59	1	10	30	73
Housewives	63	-	8	29	59
Others	73	3	7	17	97

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	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	67%	4%	12%	17%...100%	187
2,000 to 19,999	72	5	8	15	238
20,000 to 99,999	81	3	5	11	121
100,000 and over	82	3	7	8	260
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein	70	5	9	16	44
Hamburg	90	3	-	7	30
Lower Saxony	73	1	10	16	102
Bremen	90	-	-	10	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	74	5	9	12	252
Hesse	78	6	10	6	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	76	2	12	10	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	81	4	1	14	104
Bavaria	74	4	8	14	142

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

IF "Yes":

"Do you happen to know whether the United States is a member of NATO or not?"

	Member	Not a member	Don't know	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases
<u>All West Berliners</u>	88%	6%	1%	5%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	90	9	-	1	144
Women	86	3	3	8	176
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	87	4	2	7	211
High school w/o diploma	86	12	1	1	85
Diploma, university	100	-	-	-	24
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	70	12	6	12	17
150 to 299 DM	85	-	3	12	61
300 to 399 DM	92	2	-	6	47
400 to 499 DM	85	13	-	2	55
500 to 599 DM	90	5	5	-	42
600 DM and more	90	8	-	2	62
No income	87	-	-	13	8
No answer	92	4	-	4	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	100	-	-	-	19
Lower middle	88	7	1	4	225
Poor	84	3	3	10	76
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	87	3	3	7	29
25 to 34 years	90	10	-	-	42
35 to 44 years	88	6	2	4	49
45 to 54 years	90	4	-	6	70
55 years and over	87	5	2	6	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	87	5	2	6	125
CDU/CSU	91	7	-	2	118
FDP	100	-	-	-	3
Other parties	83	17	-	-	6
No party	84	2	4	10	50
No opinion	88	6	-	6	18
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	100	-	-	-	11
Businessmen	100	-	-	-	19
White-collar workers	85	13	-	2	90
Skilled laborers	91	5	-	4	57
Semi-skilled laborers	84	-	8	8	36
Housewives	93	-	-	7	14
Others	86	3	2	9	93

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

IF "Yes":

"What about West Germany?"

	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	81%	1%	6%	12%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	92	1	3	4	394
Women	69	1	9	21	412
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	77	1	7	15	652
High school w/o diploma	93	2	2	3	118
Diploma, university	100	-	-	-	36
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	44	-	13	43	23
150 to 299 DM	67	1	11	21	108
300 to 399 DM	80	1	3	16	136
400 to 499 DM	84	1	10	5	134
500 to 599 DM	92	4	1	3	87
600 DM and more	90	1	5	4	167
No income	68	-	9	23	56
No answer	79	1	2	18	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	91	2	4	3	106
Lower middle	83	1	6	10	504
Poor	68	*	8	24	196
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	89	1	1	9	75
25 to 34 years	83	-	7	10	154
35 to 44 years	87	1	5	7	171
45 to 54 years	78	3	4	15	181
55 years and over	73	*	9	18	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	81	1	7	11	226
CDU/CSU	82	1	5	12	329
FDP	94	3	3	-	32
Other parties	84	-	6	10	31
No party	74	1	7	18	98
No opinion	77	1	4	18	90
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	74	13	13	-	16
Businessmen	87	-	7	6	104
White-collar workers	90	-	4	6	184
Skilled laborers	84	2	8	6	176
Semi-skilled laborers	79	1	1	19	97
Farmers; farmhands	66	-	4	30	73
Housewives	59	5	7	29	59
Others	73	-	10	17	97

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	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	76%	1%	6%	17%...100%	187
2,000 to 19,999	76	2	7	15	238
20,000 to 99,999	85	1	3	11	121
100,000 and over	85	1	6	8	260
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein	77	-	7	16	44
Hamburg	87	3	3	7	30
Lower Saxony	73	-	11	16	102
Bremen	90	-	-	10	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	78	2	8	12	252
Hesse	92	1	1	6	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	83	2	5	10	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	83	-	3	14	104
Bavaria	81	1	4	14	142

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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

IF "Yes":

"What about West Germany?"

	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Berliners</u>	86%	4%	5%	5%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	94	3	2	1	144
Women	80	4	8	8	176
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	83	3	7	7	211
High school w/o diploma	89	6	4	1	85
Diploma, university	96	4	-	-	24
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	76	-	12	12	17
150 to 299 DM	80	3	5	12	61
300 to 399 DM	79	2	13	6	47
400 to 499 DM	87	7	4	2	55
500 to 599 DM	88	7	5	-	42
600 DM and more	93	3	2	2	62
No income	87	-	-	13	8
No answer	92	-	4	4	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	95	5	-	-	19
Lower middle	87	4	5	4	225
Poor	81	1	8	10	76
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	69	10	14	7	29
25 to 34 years	98	2	-	-	42
35 to 44 years	88	6	2	4	49
45 to 54 years	90	1	3	6	70
55 years and over	83	3	8	6	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	86	3	5	6	125
CDU/CSU	89	7	2	2	118
FDP	100	-	-	-	3
Other parties	83	-	17	-	6
No party	78	-	12	10	50
No answer	88	-	6	6	18
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	100	-	-	-	11
Businessmen	100	-	-	-	19
White-collar workers	89	6	3	2	90
Skilled laborers	92	4	-	4	57
Semi-skilled laborers	78	3	11	8	36
Housewives	72	7	14	7	14
Others	79	3	9	9	93

"What about the U.S.S.R.?"

	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	2%	76%	10%	12%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	2	86	8	4	394
Women	3	65	11	21	412
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	2	72	11	15	652
High school w/o diploma	5	87	5	3	118
Diploma, university	-	92	8	-	36
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	5	26	26	43	23
150 to 299 DM	2	64	13	21	108
300 to 399 DM	2	73	9	16	136
400 to 499 DM	3	81	11	5	134
500 to 599 DM	2	89	6	3	87
600 DM and more	3	87	6	4	167
No income	-	63	14	23	56
No answer	3	67	12	18	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	1	88	8	3	106
Lower middle	3	78	9	10	504
Poor	1	62	13	24	196
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	5	81	5	9	75
25 to 34 years	3	73	14	10	154
35 to 44 years	2	84	7	7	171
45 to 54 years	2	73	10	15	181
55 years and over	1	70	11	18	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	4	76	9	11	226
CDU/CSU	2	78	8	12	329
FDP	-	91	9	-	32
Other parties	-	74	16	10	31
No party	2	65	15	18	98
No opinion	2	70	10	18	90
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	87	13	-	16
Businessmen	-	86	8	6	104
White-collar workers	3	83	8	6	184
Skilled laborers	2	81	11	6	176
Semi-skilled laborers	4	63	14	19	97
Farmers; farmhands	-	58	12	30	73
Housewives	3	61	7	29	59
Others	3	70	10	17	97
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	-	72	11	17	187
2,000 to 19,999	1	72	12	15	238
20,000 to 99,999	3	76	10	11	121
100,000 and over	4	81	7	8	260
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein	-	77	7	16	44
Hamburg	3	90	-	7	30
Lower Saxony	4	64	16	16	102
Bremen	-	90	-	10	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	2	75	11	12	252
Hesse	1	87	6	6	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	-	85	5	10	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	1	76	9	14	104
Bavaria	3	70	13	14	142

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

IF "Yes":

"What about the U.S.S.R.?"

	<u>Member</u>	<u>Not a member</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Berliners</u>	1%	91%	3%	5%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	-	98	1	1	144
Women	2	85	5	8	176
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	1	89	3	7	211
High school w/o diploma	1	94	4	1	85
Diploma, university	-	100	-	-	24
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	6	76	6	12	17
150 to 299 DM	-	82	6	12	61
300 to 399 DM	2	92	-	6	47
400 to 499 DM	-	98	-	2	55
500 to 599 DM	-	95	5	-	42
600 DM and more	-	95	3	2	62
No income	-	87	-	13	8
No answer	7	85	4	4	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	-	100	-	-	19
Lower middle	1	92	3	4	225
Poor	1	84	5	10	76
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	3	87	3	7	29
25 to 34 years	-	100	-	-	42
35 to 44 years	2	90	4	4	49
45 to 54 years	-	93	1	6	70
55 years and over	1	88	5	6	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	2	90	2	6	125
CDU/CSU	-	96	2	2	118
FDP	-	67	33	-	3
Other parties	-	100	-	-	6
No party	-	84	6	10	50
No answer	6	82	6	6	18
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	91	9	-	11
Businessmen	5	95	-	-	19
White-collar workers	-	96	2	2	90
Skilled laborers	-	94	2	4	57
Semi-skilled laborers	-	89	3	8	36
Housewives	7	72	14	7	14
Others	1	87	3	9	93

"The NATO countries met in Paris in December 1958 where they discussed the Berlin situation. Do you know to what extent the NATO countries supported the Three Western Powers' position? Did they give unanimous, majority, or less than majority support, or didn't they take a stand one way or the other?"

	<u>Unanimous support</u>	<u>Other answers</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Germans</u>	17%	83%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	22	78	394
Women	12	88	412
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	15	85	652
High school w/o diploma	23	77	118
Diploma, university	30	70	36
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	4	96	23
200 to 299 DM	13	87	108
300 to 399 DM	12	88	136
400 to 499 DM	25	75	134
500 to 599 DM	16	84	87
600 DM and more	24	76	167
No income	20	80	56
No answer	9	91	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper middle and well-to-do	27	73	106
Lower middle	16	84	504
Poor	15	85	196
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	21	79	75
25 to 34 years	15	85	154
35 to 44 years	18	82	171
45 to 54 years	18	82	181
55 years and over	16	84	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	14	86	226
CDU/CSU	20	80	329
FDP	28	72	32
Other parties	26	74	31
No party	13	87	98
No opinion	11	89	90
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	13	87	16
Businessmen	22	78	104
White-collar workers	17	83	184
Skilled laborers	17	83	176
Semi-skilled laborers	10	90	97
Farmers; farmhands	19	81	73
Housewives	15	85	59
Others	18	82	97

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	Unanimous support	Other answer	No. of cases
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	20%	80%...100%	187
2,000 to 19,999	13	87	238
20,000 to 99,999	21	79	121
100,000 and over	17	83	260
<u>Land:</u>			
Schleswig/Holstein	18	82	44
Hamburg	23	77	30
Lower Saxony	9	91	102
Bremen	10	90	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	17	83	252
Hesse	15	85	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	17	83	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	24	76	104
Bavaria	17	83	142

"The NATO countries met in Paris in December 1958 where they discussed the Berlin situation. Do you know to what extent the NATO countries supported the Three Western Powers' position? Did they give unanimous, majority, or less than majority support, or didn't they take a stand one way or the other?"

	<u>Unanimous support</u>	<u>Other answers</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Berliners</u>	38%	62%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	45	55	144
Women	32	68	176
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	35	65	211
High school w/o diploma	41	59	85
Diploma, university	54	46	24
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	29	71	17
150 to 299 DM	38	62	61
300 to 399 DM	34	66	47
400 to 499 DM	45	55	55
500 to 599 DM	38	62	42
600 DM and more	34	66	62
No income	37	63	8
No answer	46	54	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>			
Upper middle and well-to-do	37	63	19
Lower middle	44	56	225
Poor	22	78	76
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	24	76	29
25 to 34 years	50	50	42
35 to 44 years	45	55	49
45 to 54 years	39	61	70
55 years and over	34	66	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	38	62	125
CDU/CSU	43	57	118
FDP	67	33	3
Other parties	33	67	6
No party	24	76	50
No opinion	39	61	18
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	18	82	11
Businessmen	37	63	19
White-collar workers	48	52	90
Skilled laborers	47	53	57
Semi-skilled laborers	11	89	36
Housewives	50	50	14
Others	34	66	93

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

IF "Yes":

"In the light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe - great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"

	Great deal/ Some	Not very much/ None at all	Don't know	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	65%	16%	7%	12%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	75	18	3	4	394
Women	55	14	10	21	412
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	61	16	8	15	652
High school w/o diploma	81	14	2	3	118
Diploma, university	75	19	6	-	36
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	43	9	5	43	23
150 to 299 DM	54	10	15	21	108
300 to 399 DM	60	21	3	16	136
400 to 499 DM	71	19	5	5	134
500 to 599 DM	74	18	5	3	87
600 DM and more	74	16	6	4	167
No income	61	7	9	23	56
No answer	56	15	11	18	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	81	14	2	3	106
Lower middle	66	16	8	10	504
Poor	52	16	8	24	196
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	67	19	5	9	75
25 to 34 years	69	18	3	10	154
35 to 44 years	68	17	8	7	171
45 to 54 years	64	14	7	15	181
55 years and over	59	14	9	18	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	59	26	4	11	226
CDU/CSU	73	10	5	12	329
FDP	75	19	6	-	32
Other parties	64	23	3	10	31
No party	54	16	12	18	98
No opinion	56	9	17	18	90
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	75	19	6	-	16
Businessmen	76	10	8	6	104
White-collar workers	72	16	6	6	184
Skilled laborers	66	22	6	6	176
Semi-skilled laborers	58	16	7	19	97
Farmers; farmhands	55	8	7	30	73
Housewives	49	10	12	29	59
Others	60	18	5	17	97

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Great deal/  
Some

Not very much/  
None at all

Don't know

Not aware  
of NATO

No. of  
cases

City Size:

Up to 1,999	63%	15%	5%	17%...100%	187
2,000 to 19,999	57	16	12	15	238
20,000 to 99,999	77	9	3	11	121
100,000 and over	67	20	5	8	260

Land:

Schleswig/Holstein	66	13	5	16	44
Hamburg	73	17	3	7	30
Lower Saxony	52	18	14	16	102
Bremen	50	10	30	10	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	64	17	7	12	252
Hesse	57	31	6	6	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	73	10	7	10	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	71	8	7	14	104
Bavaria	71	13	2	14	142

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

IF "Yes":

~~"In the light of all you have heard up to the present time, how much confidence do you have in the effectiveness of NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe - great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"~~

	Great deal/ Some	Not very much/ None at all	Don't know	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>All West Berliners</u>	80%	13%	2%	5%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	80	18	1	1	144
Women	81	9	2	8	176
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	77	13	3	7	211
High school w/o diploma	88	11	-	1	85
Diploma, university	79	21	-	-	24
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	59	29	-	12	17
150 to 299 DM	74	7	7	12	61
300 to 399 DM	79	13	2	6	47
400 to 499 DM	82	14	2	2	55
500 to 599 DM	93	7	-	-	42
600 DM and more	87	11	-	2	62
No income	74	13	-	13	8
No answer	71	25	-	4	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	84	16	-	-	19
Lower middle	82	13	1	4	225
Poor	73	12	5	10	76
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	72	21	-	7	29
25 to 34 years	74	21	5	-	42
35 to 44 years	80	16	-	4	49
45 to 54 years	84	9	1	6	70
55 years and over	83	9	2	6	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	81	11	2	6	125
CDU/CSU	91	7	-	2	118
FDP	100	-	-	-	3
Other parties	83	17	-	-	6
No party	52	32	6	10	50
No answer	78	16	-	6	18
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	91	9	-	-	11
Businessmen	84	16	-	-	19
White-collar workers	85	13	-	2	90
Skilled laborers	82	12	2	4	57
Semi-skilled laborers	75	11	6	8	36
Housewives	86	7	-	7	14
Others	74	14	3	9	93

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

IF "Yes":

"In the ten years since the establishment of NATO there has been no aggression in Europe. Do you feel that this has been exclusively due to NATO, largely due to the existence of NATO or did NATO make only a minor contribution to peace, or none at all?"

	Exclusively/ Largely due to NATO	Minor contri- bution/ None at all	Don't know	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	49%	30%	9%	12%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	54	37	5	4	394
Women	44	22	13	21	412
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	46	29	10	15	652
High school w/o diploma	66	28	3	3	118
Diploma, university	58	36	6	-	36
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	18	26	23	43	23
150 to 299 DM	42	20	17	21	108
300 to 399 DM	43	33	8	16	136
400 to 499 DM	49	37	9	5	134
500 to 599 DM	63	31	3	3	87
600 DM and more	58	33	5	4	167
No income	48	18	11	23	56
No answer	43	26	13	18	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	61	29	8	2	106
Lower middle	49	32	9	10	504
Poor	41	25	10	24	196
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	50	37	4	9	75
25 to 34 years	52	31	7	10	154
35 to 44 years	50	33	10	7	171
45 to 54 years	47	29	9	15	181
55 years and over	47	24	11	18	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	43	43	3	11	226
CDU/CSU	58	22	8	12	329
FDP	79	25	6	-	32
Other parties	48	36	6	10	31
No party	34	31	17	18	98
No opinion	41	24	17	18	90
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	63	31	6	-	16
Businessmen	51	33	10	6	104
White-collar workers	52	34	8	6	184
Skilled laborers	48	39	7	6	176
Semi-skilled laborers	40	31	10	19	97
Farmers; farmhands	53	10	7	30	73
Housewives	36	22	13	29	59
Others	54	20	9	17	97

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	Exclusively/ Largely due to NATO	Minor contribution/ None at all	Don't know	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	47%	25%	11%	17%...100%	187
2,000 to 19,999	45	29	11	15	238
20,000 to 99,999	58	25	6	11	121
100,000 and over	49	35	8	8	260
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein	50	29	5	16	44
Hamburg	50	33	10	7	30
Lower Saxony	42	28	14	16	102
Bremen	20	60	10	10	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	50	30	8	12	252
Hesse	52	32	10	6	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	39	36	15	10	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	57	19	10	14	104
Bavaria	48	32	6	14	142

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

IF "Yes":

"In the ten years since the establishment of NATO there has been no aggression in Europe. Do you feel that this has been exclusively due to NATO, largely due to the existence of NATO or did NATO make only a minor contribution to peace, or none at all?"

	<u>Exclusively/ Largely due to NATO</u>	<u>Minor contri- bution/ None at all</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>Not aware of NATO</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Berliners</u>	68%	26%	1%	5%	320
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	65	34	-	1	144
Women	70	20	2	8	176
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	65	27	1	7	211
High school w/o diploma	78	20	1	1	85
Diploma, university	58	42	-	-	24
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	47	41	-	12	17
150 to 299 DM	64	23	1	12	61
300 to 399 DM	68	24	2	6	47
400 to 499 DM	75	23	-	2	55
500 to 599 DM	76	22	2	-	42
600 DM and more	72	26	-	2	62
No income	50	37	-	13	8
No answer	53	39	4	4	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	69	31	-	-	19
Lower middle	65	29	2	4	225
Poor	61	29	-	10	76
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	52	41	-	7	29
25 to 34 years	60	40	-	-	42
35 to 44 years	74	20	2	4	49
45 to 54 years	67	27	-	6	70
55 years and over	72	20	2	6	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	69	24	1	6	125
CDU/CSU	79	18	1	2	118
FDP	100	-	-	-	3
Other parties	67	33	-	-	6
No party	40	48	2	10	50
No answer	49	39	6	6	18
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	73	27	-	-	11
Businessmen	74	21	5	-	19
White-collar workers	71	23	1	2	90
Skilled laborers	70	26	-	4	57
Semi-skilled laborers	53	36	3	8	36
Housewives	72	21	-	7	14
Others	63	27	1	9	93

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

IF "Yes":

"Of how much help will NATO be to us in maintaining our security in the future? A great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"

	A great deal/Some	Not very much/None at all	Don't know	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	64%	17%	7%	12%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	72	21	3	4	394
Women	56	12	11	21	412
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	61	16	8	15	652
High school w/o diploma	79	16	2	3	118
Diploma, university	75	19	6	-	36
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	43	5	9	43	23
150 to 299 DM	55	12	12	21	108
300 to 399 DM	58	22	4	16	136
400 to 499 DM	68	19	8	5	134
500 to 599 DM	75	20	2	3	87
600 DM and more	77	14	5	4	167
No income	61	2	11	23	56
No answer	50	21	11	18	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	78	13	6	3	106
Lower middle	66	16	8	10	504
Poor	51	18	7	24	196
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	68	15	8	9	75
25 to 34 years	69	18	3	10	154
35 to 44 years	68	17	8	7	171
45 to 54 years	61	16	8	15	181
55 years and over	58	16	8	18	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	57	27	5	11	226
CDU/CSU	72	11	5	12	329
FDP	81	16	3	-	31
Other parties	77	10	3	10	31
No party	53	16	13	18	98
No opinion	53	11	18	18	90
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	81	13	6	-	16
Businessmen	71	13	10	6	104
White-collar workers	71	16	7	6	184
Skilled laborers	62	26	6	6	176
Semi-skilled laborers	61	15	5	19	97
Farmers; farmhands	56	8	6	30	73
Housewives	49	10	12	29	59
Others	62	13	8	17	97

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	A great/ deal/Some	Not very much/None at all	Don't know	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	63%	14%	6%	17%...100%	187
2,000 to 19,999	58	16	11	15	238
20,000 to 99,999	68	16	5	11	121
100,000 and over	68	18	6	8	260
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein	66	13	5	16	44
Hamburg	73	17	3	7	30
Lower Saxony	51	19	14	16	102
Bremen	50	20	20	10	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	63	18	7	12	252
Hesse	58	29	7	6	81
Rhineland/Palatinate	76	7	7	10	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	66	13	7	14	104
Bavaria	72	11	3	14	142

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

IF "Yes":

"Of how much help will NATO be to us in maintaining our security in the future? A great deal, some, not very much, or none at all?"

	A great deal/Some	Not very much/None at all	Don't know	Not aware of NATO	No. of cases
<u>All West Berliners</u>	80%	13%	2%	5%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	83	15	1	1	144
Women	79	10	3	8	176
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	78	14	1	7	211
High school w/o diploma	88	7	4	1	85
Diploma, university	79	17	4	-	24
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	59	29	-	12	17
150 to 299 DM	70	13	5	12	61
300 to 399 DM	79	13	2	6	47
400 to 499 DM	87	11	-	2	55
500 to 599 DM	91	7	2	-	42
600 DM and more	90	6	2	2	62
No income	87	-	-	13	8
No answer	67	25	4	4	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	69	31	-	-	19
Lower middle	83	10	3	4	225
Poor	71	18	1	10	76
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	76	10	7	7	29
25 to 34 years	76	22	2	-	42
35 to 44 years	86	10	-	4	49
45 to 54 years	81	13	-	6	70
55 years and over	81	10	3	6	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	79	13	2	6	125
CDU/CSU	93	4	1	2	118
FDP	100	-	-	-	3
Other parties	66	17	17	-	6
No party	62	24	4	10	50
No opinion	61	27	6	6	18
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	82	18	-	-	11
Businessmen	84	16	-	-	19
White-collar workers	86	10	2	2	90
Skilled laborers	84	12	-	4	57
Semi-skilled laborers	72	20	-	8	36
Housewives	86	7	-	7	14
Others	75	11	5	9	93

"In view of present circumstances and what you have heard concerning NATO, do you think that we should withdraw from NATO, strengthen our contribution, or keep it about the same as it is now?"

	Withdraw	Strengthen	Keep the same	Don't know	No. of cases
<u>All West Germans</u>	7%	18%	59%	16%...100%	806
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	9	20	65	6	394
Women	5	16	54	25	412
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	7	17	58	18	652
High school w/o diploma	8	23	64	5	118
Diploma, university	6	22	69	3	36
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	-	13	39	48	23
150 to 299 DM	6	13	56	25	108
300 to 399 DM	9	14	62	15	136
400 to 499 DM	11	19	59	11	134
500 to 599 DM	10	21	64	5	87
600 DM and more	4	21	68	7	167
No income	2	27	41	30	56
No answer	7	16	56	21	95
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	5	25	64	6	106
Lower middle	7	17	60	16	504
Poor	9	15	55	21	196
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	8	13	72	7	75
25 to 34 years	8	18	63	11	154
35 to 44 years	6	20	60	14	171
45 to 54 years	8	20	56	16	181
55 years and over	7	16	54	23	225
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	17	11	57	15	226
CDU/CSU	3	23	63	11	329
FDP	-	19	78	3	32
Other parties	3	26	61	10	31
No party	6	6	60	28	98
No opinion	3	25	42	30	90
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	19	75	6	16
Businessmen	8	25	57	10	104
White-collar workers	7	21	62	10	184
Skilled laborers	12	14	60	14	176
Semi-skilled laborers	7	19	59	15	97
Farmers; farmhands	2	16	59	23	73
Housewives	3	16	54	27	59
Others	6	12	58	24	97
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	5	17	62	16	187
2,000 to 19,999	8	18	55	19	238
20,000 to 99,999	8	23	55	14	121
100,000 and over	8	16	63	13	260
<u>Land:</u>					
Schleswig/Holstein	2	29	48	21	44
Hamburg	7	17	63	13	30
Lower Saxony	9	11	50	30	102
Bremen	10	-	60	30	10
North Rhine/Westphalia	10	14	60	16	252
Hesse	6	24	63	7	81
Rhineland Palatinate	5	34	46	15	41
Baden/Wuerttemberg	8	20	57	15	121

"In view of present circumstances and what you have heard concerning NATO, do you think that we should withdraw from NATO, strengthen our contribution, or keep it about the same as it is now?"

	<u>Withdraw</u>	<u>Strengthen</u>	<u>Keep the same</u>	<u>Don't know</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>All West Berliners</u>	3%	36%	55%	6%...100%	320
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	6	41	50	3	144
Women	1	32	58	9	176
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	4	32	56	8	211
High school w/o diploma	-	48	47	5	85
Diploma, university	8	21	71	-	24
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	18	18	46	18	17
150 to 299 DM	-	28	64	8	61
300 to 399 DM	2	36	53	9	47
400 to 499 DM	2	55	38	5	55
500 to 599 DM	7	38	53	2	42
600 DM and more	3	41	56	-	62
No income	-	63	37	-	8
No answer	-	7	79	14	28
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>					
Upper middle and well-to-do	-	42	53	5	19
Lower middle	2	39	53	6	225
Poor	7	26	59	8	76
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	-	34	59	7	29
25 to 34 years	5	33	60	2	42
35 to 44 years	6	39	55	-	49
45 to 54 years	3	33	57	7	70
55 years and over	2	38	51	9	130
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	2	33	58	7	125
CDU/CSU	3	49	47	1	118
FDP	-	-	100	-	3
Other parties	-	33	50	17	6
No party	6	18	62	14	50
No opinion	6	28	55	11	18
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	27	73	-	11
Businessmen	-	42	58	-	19
White-collar workers	3	47	46	4	90
Skilled laborers	2	35	58	5	57
Semi-skilled laborers	8	22	64	6	36
Housewives	-	43	57	-	14
Others	3	30	55	12	93