

**ZA0004 – ZA0010**

**International Outlooks of Political Leaders**

**- Questionnaire -**

## Questions Asked in Surveys of Parliamentarians Spring, 1958

### INTRODUCTION

I'd like to interview you, Mr. (e.g., Senator), as part of an international leadership survey that (survey organization) is conducting in this country. Other research organizations are carrying out similar studies in Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, India and the United States.

This isn't one of our regular public opinion polls in which we ask a cross-section of the people about their day-to-day opinions. It is a special, much deeper study of the thoughts and attitudes of the nation's leaders, as individuals, with particular attention to how they feel about the present and the future.

This interview is completely "off the record," of course, and nothing you say will be attributed to you personally. We're not trying to get at official parliamentary opinion in this study. Rather, we hope you'll tell us about your own personal feelings as an individual.

### NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND FEARS\*

Now, please tell me about your aspirations for our country. If you were to picture the future of (survey country) in the *best* possible light, how would things look twenty or thirty years from now?

And if you were to picture the future of (survey country) in the *worst* possible light, how would things look twenty or thirty years from now?

### RATINGS ON NATIONAL PROGRESS

Here is a picture of a ladder. Let's imagine that at the very top is the very best state of affairs you have just described; and at the

\* These questions called for free response answers; no check lists were provided.

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### APPENDIX

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bottom, the very worst. I'd like you to use the ladder to show me where you would put (survey country) on the ladder as of today, as of five years ago, and as of five years from now.

First, where would you say (survey country) is on the ladder at the *present time*?

Where was it on the ladder *five years ago*?

And where do you estimate (survey country) will be on the ladder, let us say, about *five years from now*?\*

(*The steps on the ladder were numbered from zero at the bottom to ten at the top. Thus zero was the lowest possible rating and ten the highest.*)

### PROBLEMS: DOMESTIC, FOREIGN, REGIONAL, WORLD\*\*

Now I would like to ask you about several different kinds of problems. First, what do you consider to be the most important *domestic* problem facing us here in (survey country) today?

What in your opinion is the most important *foreign policy* problem facing (survey country) today?

(*Europe*) What do you think is the most important problem facing Europe today? (*India and Japan*) What do you think is the most important problem facing Asia today? (*U.S.*) What do you feel is the biggest problem the U.S. confronts today in its dealings with other countries in the Western Hemisphere?

And now, considering the world situation as a whole, what would you say is the most important *world* problem at the present time?

### INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION†

(*except in Italy*) Now I'd like to ask you a question about international cooperation. Would you name the countries or international organizations you favor (survey country) cooperating with very closely at the present time—or aren't there any in your opinion? First, which countries, if any? And which international organizations, if any?

\* In Italy, the respondents were not requested to use the ladder in rating the country's future position. Instead, they were asked whether Italy would go up or down the ladder, or remain at the same level five years from now.

\*\* These questions called for free response answers; no check lists were provided.

† These questions called for free response answers; no check lists were provided.

(*Italy only*) Now I would like to ask you a question about international cooperation. With which countries or international organizations do you think Italy should cooperate more closely at the present time? Or do you think that our country should follow an independent foreign policy and proceed on its own account in international affairs? Is there any country with which Italy should cooperate particularly? If so, which country? Is there any international organization with which Italy should cooperate? If so, which organization?

### NEUTRALITY

(*except in U.S.*) Would you approve or disapprove of (survey country) being as neutral as possible in the cold war under present circumstances?

### COORDINATION WITH ALLIES

(*U.S. only*) In a general way, to what extent do you think the U.S. should take into account the views of its NATO allies in shaping its policies in regard to Europe and the Mediterranean? A great deal, somewhat, not very much, not at all?

### RELATIVE STRENGTH

(*except in Italy*) If the Communist powers, on the one hand, and the non-Communist powers, on the other, should settle down to peaceful competition for the next generation, which side do you think would end up the stronger in general, the Communist or the non-Communist? And what would you say about the present situation? Which side is stronger in general at the moment?

(*Italy only*) If the cold war between the Communists on the one side and the non-Communists on the other should continue for the next 20-25 years, which of the two groups would win out, in your opinion: the Communist or the non-Communist? And what would you say about the present situation? All things considered, which is stronger today in general: Russia with the bloc of Communist countries, or the United States with its allies?

### BALANCE OF MILITARY STRENGTH

(*India and Japan*) Speaking now only of the balance of military strength as between the two sides, which do you think would be better in terms of (survey country's) own interests: (1) For Russia and the other Communist Powers to be stronger; (2) For the

United States and its allies to be stronger; or (3) For the military power of the two sides to be fairly evenly balanced?

### FOREIGN AID

(*India only*) Considering the Indian economy as a whole, are you, in general, for or against India accepting material help, such as loans and technical assistance, from other countries—assuming, of course, it is offered without strings?

(*If in favor of accepting material help*) In terms of India's long-range interests, do you think it would be better on the whole if such help comes chiefly from the United States or chiefly from Russia—or don't you think it makes much difference one way or the other?

### DEFENSE EXPENDITURES

In the light of the current situation, do you personally think that the amount of money (survey country) is now putting into defense should be increased, reduced or kept at about the present level?

### RELIANCE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS\*

(*U.S. and Europe, except Italy*) Considering (survey country's) own defense program, are you generally in favor, or opposed, to our putting greater reliance upon nuclear weapons, including long-range missiles, and less reliance upon manpower?

(*Italy only*) Considering our own defense program, do you think that Italy should rely on modern nuclear weapons, including long-range missiles, or not?

### MISSILE BASES\*

(*Europe only*) Are you personally for, or against, NATO establishing long-range missile bases here in (survey country)?

(*Japan only*) Are you personally for or against the establishment of long-range missile bases here in Japan?

(*U.S. only*) Are you personally for or against NATO establishing long-range missile bases in Western Europe?

\* Not asked in India.

NATO (*Europe and the U.S.*)

As you know, the heads of the NATO governments met in Paris the middle of December. Everything considered, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the results of that meeting? Very or only somewhat?

To what extent do you personally feel the members of NATO are now seeing "eye-to-eye"—that is, how much unity of purpose and general agreement exists among the membership of NATO, as a whole, about what should be done now and in the future? A great deal; not a great deal, but enough for NATO to operate effectively; some, but not enough for NATO to operate effectively; none at all?

Now I'd like to get your overall judgment about NATO in relation to (survey country). Realistically speaking, how much do you think (survey country) should rely on NATO as a defense organization for Western Europe under present circumstances? (*except Italy*) A great deal; somewhat; not every much; not at all? (*Italy*) Can rely on NATO completely; can rely on NATO to function effectively; cannot rely on NATO to function effectively; cannot rely on NATO at all?

MUTUAL TROOP WITHDRAWAL (*Europe and the U.S.*)

As you know, the Russians have proposed that the U.S. and Britain withdraw their forces from the continent of Europe, with Soviet forces to be withdrawn within the borders of Russia proper. Would you personally favor, or oppose, such a mutual troop withdrawal at the present time?

## RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

(*Europe and the U.S.*) How likely do you think it is that mutually satisfactory relations will develop between (survey country) and Russia within the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

(*India*) How likely do you think it is that even better relations will develop between Russia and India over the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

(*Japan*) How satisfactory do you feel relations between Russia and Japan are at the present time? Very satisfactory; satisfactory; not so satisfactory; not satisfactory at all?

(*If "very satisfactory" or "satisfactory"*) How likely do you think it is that even better relations will develop between Russia and Japan over the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

(*If "not so satisfactory" or "not satisfactory at all"*) How likely do you think it is that mutually satisfactory relations between Russia and Japan will develop within the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

## RELATIONS WITH U.S.

(*India*) And how likely that even better relations will develop between the United States and India over the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

(*Japan*) And what about relations between the United States and Japan? How satisfactory do you feel they are at the present time? Very satisfactory; satisfactory; not so satisfactory; not satisfactory at all?

(*If "very satisfactory" or "satisfactory"*) How likely do you think it is that even better relations will develop between the U.S. and Japan over the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

(*If "not so satisfactory" or "not satisfactory at all"*) How likely do you think it is that mutually satisfactory relations between the U.S. and Japan will develop within the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

## RELATIONS WITH (COMMUNIST) CHINA

(*India*) And how likely that even better relations will develop between China and India over the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

(*Japan*) Turning now to relations with China, would you favor or oppose Japan establishing regular diplomatic relations with China under present circumstances?

(*Japan*) And how satisfactory do you think Japan's trade relations with China will prove over the next five years? Very satisfactory; satisfactory; not so satisfactory; not satisfactory at all?

## RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

(*India only*) And how likely do you think it is that mutually satisfactory relations will develop between Pakistan and India over the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

## REDUCTION IN TENSIONS

How likely do you think it is that there will be a *very substantial* reduction in international tensions in the world generally within the next five years? Very likely; likely; not so likely; not likely at all?

## WORLD WAR PROSPECTS

In the light of recent technological developments, some people say there will never be another world war. Do you agree or disagree?

PEACEFUL ENDEAVORS (*India and Japan only*)

To what extent do you think *Russia* is sincerely working to promote peace and the relaxation of international tensions at the present time? A great deal; somewhat; not very much; not at all?

To what extent do you think (Communist) *China* is sincerely working to promote peace and the relaxation of international tensions at the present time? A great deal; somewhat; not very much; not at all?

To what extent do you think *the United States* is sincerely working to promote peace and the relaxation of international tensions at the present time? A great deal; somewhat; not very much; not at all?

(*India only*) To what extent do you think *Great Britain* is sincerely working to promote peace and the relaxation of international tensions at the present time? A great deal; somewhat; not very much; not at all?

## ADAPTABILITY: U.S. VS. RUSSIA

Which do you feel will show the greater adaptability in meeting changing world conditions over the next decade: the U.S. or Russia?

## RELIANCE ON THE UNITED NATIONS

Realistically speaking, how much do you think (survey country) should rely on the United Nations for maintaining peace and security under present circumstances? A great deal; somewhat; not very much; not at all?

## GREAT POWER RATINGS

Now I would like you to show me on the ladder how much power and importance you feel each of the countries I am going to

mention has today. A great power which you consider to be in the *very strongest* class would be at the top of the ladder; a *very small* power at the bottom. Naturally, if you think two countries are of equal rank, you can put them on the same step. How about: the U.S., Russia, Italy, India, (Communist) China, France, Japan, Germany, Great Britain?

(Except India) And what about our own country? Looking at the matter as realistically as possible, where would you put (survey country) on the ladder as of today? And where would you estimate it will probably be on the ladder twenty or thirty years from now?

(*The steps on the ladder were numbered from zero at the bottom to ten at the top. Thus zero was the lowest possible rating and ten the highest.*)

(*India only*)\* Now, in the case of our own country, some people feel we may have to make a distinction between India's *importance*, on the one hand, and India's *power* on the other. (1) Please show me first on the ladder how much *importance* you feel India enjoys today. (2) Looking at the matter as realistically as possible, where would you rate India in terms of *power* at the present time? (3) Now, looking ahead, how *important* do you think India will probably be five years from now? (4) And, finally, in terms of *power*, where would you estimate India will stand five years from now?

\* Pretesting showed that the Indian parliamentarians, unlike those in the other countries, tended to make a sharp distinction between India's *importance* and India's *power*. Also, in view of the highly transitional stage through which the country is passing during these early years of its independence, they were apt to react with great uncertainty when asked to place India on the ladder as far in the future as twenty or thirty years from now; on the other hand, most of them were able to rate India as of five years from now. For these reasons, those parts of the question having to do with the survey country were worded differently in India.