Politische Situation in West-Berlin (Februar - März 1953)

1953
Study: #184
Date: 2/17/53 23 5
Sample Size: 400
Location of Survey - West Berlin
Question #1

"In your personal opinion, what is the significance of Berlin in the present world situation?"

Column 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No significance</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #2

"If you look back at your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good or just as bad?)

Column 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Better today</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Worse today</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Just as good</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Just as bad</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 'Better today' or 'Worse today':

2a. 'In what respect are things (better) (worse) today than a year ago?'

Question #3

ALL:

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: is it better than a year ago, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good or just as bad?)

Column 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Better today</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Worse today</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Just as good</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Just as bad</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question #4

"Do you think it possible to improve the economic situation of West Berlin in spite of the political situation, or is a change in the political situation necessary for that?"

Column 11

1- Improvement in spite of political situation 45%
2- Improvement only after change of political situation 45
X- No opinion 10

Question #5

"Did (anything) any events occur recently that disturbed you?"

Column 12

No Codes Available

Vichy im Bericht

Question #6

"Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

Column 13

1- Yes 24 %
2- No 75
X- No opinion 1

If "Yes" or "No" to question 6:

6a. "Why (not)?"

Column 14

Two Codes

Neu+2 Codes: 1, 2, 3

Bericht S. 44 and 45

if "no" or "No opinion" to question 6:

6b. "If you or the head of the family, were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?"

Column 15

Bericht S. 43

1- Yes 11%
2- No 55
3- Qualified answer 10
X- No opinion * 76%
Question #7  ALL:

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate?" (Satisfied or very satisfied?) (Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)

Column 16  (Bericht £.50)

1- Very satisfied  12%
2- Satisfied  62
3- Dissatisfied  20
4- Very dissatisfied  3
X- No opinion  3

If "Dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied":

7a. "In what respect are you (very) dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate?"

Column 17  No Codes Available

Question #8  ALL:

"Do you think the Western Powers are doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could they do more?"

Column 18

1- Doing everything possible  62%
2- Could do more  31
X- No opinion  7

Question #9

"And do you think the West German government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

Column 19

1- Doing everything possible  40%
2- Could do more  54
X- No opinion  6
Question #10

"And do you think the West Berlin Senate is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

Column 20

1- Doing everything possible 82%
2- Could do more 14
X- No opinion 4

Question #11

"Have you heard or read about the Contractual Agreement between West Germany and the Western Powers?"

Column 21

1- Yes 80%
2- No 20

If "Yes" to question 11, questions 11a and 11b:

11a. (The West German Bundestag has yet to vote on the Contractual Agreement).
"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept it or reject it?"

Column 22

1- Accept it 60%
2- Reject it 8
X- No opinion 12 80%

11b. "In your opinion, what would be the consequence for West Berlin if the West German Bundestag would accept and the Contractual Agreement would become effective?"

Column 23

No Codes Available
Bericht S. 9
Zusatz: Codeplan S. 3

Question #12

ALL:

"Do you expect another blockade of West Berlin?"

Column 24

1- Yes 30%
2- No 68
X- No opinion 2
Question #13

"Suppose the Russians would re-impose a blockade of Berlin: should we behave in the same way as last time or should we take other measures?"

Column 25

1- Same as last time 50 %
2- Other measures 44
X- No opinion 6

If "Other measures" to question 13, questions 13a and 13b:

13a. "What measures should then be taken?"

Column 26

Zusatz - Codeplan S. 4
Bericht S. 4f

If "other measures" to question 13:

13b. "And, in your opinion, should one take more severe measures than last time or not?"

Column 27

1- Take more severe measures 41 %
2- Not take more severe measures 44%
X- No opinion -

Question #14

ALL:

"Do you believe that there will be a new world war within the next ten years?"

Column 28

1- Yes 39%
2- No 54
X- No opinion 7

If "Yes:"


14a. "About when, would you say, it would come to a war?"

Column 29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1- 6 months</th>
<th>*</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>7-12 months</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>1 - 2 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
<td>More than 5 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ALL:

As you know, since January of this year, General Eisenhower has been the new president of the United States of America. As a result the Democratic party under Truman was succeeded in office by the Republican party under Eisenhower.

Question #15

"Do you feel that under the new government of President Eisenhower American policy towards West Berlin will change, or not?"
(Change considerably or change somewhat?)

Column 30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Will change considerably</th>
<th>22 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Will change considerably</td>
<td>22 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>Will change somewhat</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Will not change</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If 'Will change considerably' or 'Will change somewhat' to question 15, questions 15a and 15b:

15a. "Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for West Berlin?"

Column 31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>40%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Favorable</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15b. "In what will American policy towards West Berlin change?"

Column 32

No Codes Available
Bericht S. 2
Zusatz – Codeplan S. 4

Question #16 ALL:

"Are you of the opinion that the new American government will, in the future, be more conciliatory or less conciliatory toward Russia than the old one?"

Column 33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>More conciliatory</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>More conciliatory</td>
<td>3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>Less conciliatory</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>No difference</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If "More conciliatory", "Less conciliatory" or "No difference" to question 16:

16a. "Would you approve or disapprove of this?"

Column 34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>More</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>No difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>77 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If "Approve" or "Disapprove" to question 16a:

16b. "For what reason would you (approve) (disapprove)?"

Column 35

No Codes Available
Bericht S. 5
Zusatz – Codeplan S. 5

Question #17 ALL:

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the re-unification of Germany?"

Column 36

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>I'm sure the US is for a re-unification of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>I have some doubts that the US is for a reunification of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>I'm very doubtful that the US is for a re-unification of Germany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question #18

"Do you personally think that West Germany should stand on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East or not stand on either side?"

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Neither side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #19

"Do you believe that America would leave West Germany in the lurch if it would gain an advantage from it or do you think that America wouldn't leave West Germany in the lurch?"

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Would leave in the lurch if advantage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wouldn't leave in the lurch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question #20

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?" (Somewhat for it or very much for it?) (Somewhat against it or very much against it?)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Very much for it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Somewhat for it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Very much against it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Somewhat against it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As you know, for months thousands of refugees have been coming from the East Zone to West Berlin.

**Question #21**

"Are you in any way personally disturbed about this influx of refugees from the East Zone?" (Very much or only somewhat disturbed?)

Column 40

1- Very much disturbed 27%
2- Somewhat disturbed 33
3- Not disturbed 40
X- No opinion *

If "Very much disturbed" or "somewhat disturbed":

21a. X "What is it about the influx of refugees from the East Zone to West Berlin that disturbs you most of all?" (What else?)

Column 41

No Codes Available
Bericht S. 18
Zusatz - Codeplan S. 6

**Question #22**

ALL:

"Are you basically agreed that people should come to West Berlin from the East Zone, as they now do, or should stronger efforts be made to induce East Zone people to stick it out in the East Zone and stay where they are?"

Column 42

1- Agreed to their coming 44%
2- Induce to stick it out 53
X- No opinion 3

If "Agreed to their coming" or Induce to stick it out":

22a. Y "Why are you agreed that people from the East Zone come to West Berlin?" (S. 26)
"Why should they try to induce the East Zone people to stick it out in the East Zone and stay where they are?" (S. 23)

Column 43 Two codes

No Codes Available
Bericht S. 23, 26
Zusatz - Codeplan S. 7
Question #23: ALL:

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate as regards the East Zone refugees?"

Column 44

1- Satisfied 83%
2- Dissatisfied 13
X- No opinion 4

If "Dissatisfied":

23a. "What are you dissatisfied with?"

Column 45

No Codes Available
Bericht S. 28
Zusatz - Codeplan S. 8

Question #24: ALL:

"And how about West Germany, are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German government as regards the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?"

Column 46

1- Satisfied 51%
2- Dissatisfied 40
X- No opinion 9

If "Dissatisfied":

24a. "What are you dissatisfied with?"

Column 47

No Codes Available
Bericht S. 30
Zusatz - Codeplan S. 8

Question #25: ALL:

"And are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Americans as regards the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?"

Column 48

1- Satisfied 57%
2- Dissatisfied 17
X- No opinion 26

If "Dissatisfied":

...
25a. "What are you dissatisfied with?"

Column 49

No Codes Available

Bericht S. 32
Zusatz: Codeoples s. 9

Question #26 ALL:

"Are you of the opinion that the present influx of East Zone refugees to West Berlin will continue for a longer period or do you believe that it is only a temporary emergency situation for West Berlin?"

Column 50

1- Continue for a longer period 67%
2- Temporary emergency situation 29
X- No opinion 4

Question #27

"Who, in your opinion, is chiefly responsible for the solution of the problem of the East Zone refugees in West Berlin: West Germany, West Berlin or the Western Powers?"

Column 51

1- West Germany 18%
2- West Berlin 7
3- Western Powers 50
4- All three 20
X- No opinion 6

If "Western Powers":

27a. "For what reasons are, in your opinion, the Western Powers chiefly responsible for the solution of the problem of the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?"

Column 52

No Codes Available

Bericht S. 34
Zusatz: Codeoples s. 9

Question #28

"Do you have the impression that the East Zone government democratically does not take more severe control measures against the flight from the East Zone, or does the East Zone government simply have no better means to prevent the flight from the East Zone to West Berlin?"
Column 53
1- Deliberately does not take more severe control measures  52 %
2- Doesn't have better means to prevent flight  42
X- No opinion  6

If "Deliberately does not take more severe control measures":

28a. 1 "Why, do you think, the East Zone government deliberately does not take more severe control measures to prevent the flight from the East Zone?"

Column 54
No Codes Available
Bericht S. 24
Zusatz - Codeplan S. 10

Question #29  ALL:

"You undoubtedly know that the East Zone government is increasing its efforts to isolate West Berlin from the East Zone and East Berlin. Do you believe that the situation of West Berlin will be seriously endangered by this, or not?"

Column 55
1- Seriously endangered  23 %
2- Not seriously endangered  71
X- No opinion  6

If "Seriously endangered" or "Not seriously endangered":

2a. 1 "Why would the situation of West Berlin (not) be seriously endangered?"

Column 56  Two codes
No Codes Available
Bericht S. 36, 39
Zusatz - Codeplan S. 10, 11

Question #30  ALL:

"Do you believe that the East Zone government will try to close the borders between East and West Berlin completely or is the East Zone government merely trying to frighten the West Berliners by this?"

Column 57
1- Will try to close borders  51 %
2- Tries to frighten West Berliners  44
X- No opinion  5
Question #31

"Did you hear or read about the demand of the SED which was recently addressed to West Berliners?" (What was the subject of this demand?)

Column 58

1- Yes, right 9 %
2- Yes, wrong 4
X- = No, neither heard nor read about it 87

If "Yes, wrong" or "NO, neither heard nor read about it" to question 31:

In this demand the SED encouraged all West Berliners to force the Western Occupation Powers to negotiate with the Russians to bring about the withdrawal of all occupation troops stationed in Berlin and to overthrow the West Berlin Senate.

Question #32 ALL:

"Do you personally regard it as likely or not that the demand of the SED will be met?"

Column 59

1- Likely 1 %
2- Unlikely 97
X- No opinion 2

If "Likely" or "Unlikely":

32a "Why do you regard it as likely (unlikely)?"

Column 60

No Code Available
Bericht S. 12, Code für "unlikely",
Zusatz - Codebuch S. 12

Question #83 ALL:

"Supposing all Occupation Powers - which means the Russians, too - would leave Berlin, do you believe that this would improve or worsen the situation of West Berlin?"

Column 61

1- Improve 22 %
2- Worsen 58
3- Remain the same 13
X- No opinion 7
If "Improve" or "Worsen":

33. "In what respect would this (improve) (worsen) the situation of West Berlin?"

Column 62

Two codes
No Codes Available

Bericht § 14, 16

Deutsche - Sektorplan 5, 12, 13

Question #34

ALL:

"Please imagine the following: West Berlin's difficulties and troubles existing since the end of the war would go on without much change for about 20 years. Do you think the people of West Berlin would stand this situation for such a long time or would they not?"

Column 63

1- Yes, they would 78 %
2- No, they wouldn't 15
3- Qualified answer 5
X- No opinion 2

If "No, they wouldn't":

34a. "For how long, do you believe, would West Berliners stand this situation?"

Column 64

No Codes Available

Nicht im Bericht

Question #35

ALL:

"Would you please tell me which party you personally like best?"

Column 65

1- SPD 33 %
2- CDU/DSU 24
3- FDP 13
4- DP 1
5- NDP -
6- BHE --
7- KPD -
8- Other parties *
X 9- None 13
Y X- No opinion 16
Question #36

"Apart from which party you would like to hold office in West Berlin - which party would you like to **see win** at the next elections for the Bundestag in West Germany?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- SPD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- CDU/CSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- FDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- DP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- NDP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- BHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- KPD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- Other parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X- No opinion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*If "SPD", "CDU/CSU" or FDP*:

36a. "For what reasons would you like to **see** the . . . . win the next elections for the Bundestag in West Germany?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 67</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No Codes Available</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nicht im Bericht</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. In your personal opinion, what is the significance of Berlin in the present world situation?

   Berlin is the center of campaign for freedom and the symbol for freedom and democracy..................1  10 %
   Berlin is the bastion against the East..................2  35 %
   Berlin is the epicenter of the East-West conflict...........3  22 %
   Berlin's attitude is an example for the West..............4  1 %
   Berlin was and is the German capital..........................5  4 %
   Reunification of Germany is only possible through or by Berlin..............................................6  4 %
   Berlin is the sanctuary for all refugees from the East....7  2 %
   Other reasons..................................................8  6 %
   No significance................................................X  6 %
   No opinion/no answer............................................0  19 %

Nachfrage zu Frage 2, C 8

2a "In what respect are things better today than a year ago?"

   (Asked of those who answered "better today" to initial question)

   Code one:
   Income has risen (wages, pensions, relief money)............1  15 %
   Housing condition has improved..................................2  1 %
   Economic and financial conditions have improved..............3  5 %
   More and better paid jobs.......................................4  4 %
   No longer unemployed............................................5  7 %
   After leaving the East Zone personal circumstances have improved..6  3 %
   Other reasons....................................................7  1 %

Pots. S -2-
Forts. von S. 1

2a "In what respect are things worse today than a year ago?"
   (Asked of those who answered "worse today" to the initial question)

   Code two:
   Unemployment...........................................1 9 %
   Rising prices.........................................2 8 %
   Money is scarce.......................................3 4 %
   Lower pensions......................................4 1 %
   Higher taxes.........................................5 2 %
   Poor prospects for profitable employment...6 3 %
   No more chance to shop in the East, in
   the West..............................................7 1 %
   Other answers........................................8 2 %

Nachfrage zu Frage 6, C 13

5a. Why not? (Asked if those respondents who said they would not leave
     Berlin for good if they had the opportunity).

   Code one:  C 14
   Berlin is home - one feels attached to it.........1 30 %
   Because one settled down in Berlin, it became
   the new home(san a new home here).............2 7 %
   Because friends and relatives, xxxxx property are
   in Berlin or in the East Zone....................3 9 %
   Because employment and housing are in Berlin.....4 9 %
   Because Berlin is an international cultural
   center..................................................5 2 %
   Because of being too old............................6 6 %
   For political reasons, West Berlin has to defend
   its freedom..........................................7 3 %
   Because there is no reason to leave Berlin since people
   stayed on in even worse times....................8 6 %
   Because somewhere else it is not better.........9 4 %
   Because there is hope for a better future of
   Berlin..............................................0 4 %
   Other reasons.......................................X 4 %

C 14, 3, 4 Stellung untereinander fraglich
C 14, 6, " " "
Forts. S. 3
Nachfrage zu Frage 6, C 13

(a) "Why?" (Asked of those respondents who said they would leave Berlin if they had the opportunity.)

Code two: C 14

Because of the political insecurity and fear of the Russians. .......................... 1  6 %
Because of the better economic condition of the West, the labor situation is more favorable... 2  14 %
Because I don't like the big city. ......................... 3  2 %
Because I'm born in the West. ............................. 4  2 %
Others. .................................................... 5  2 %

2. Nachfrage zu Frage 11 C 21

11b. "In your opinion, what would be the consequence for West Berlin if the West German Bundestag would accept and the contractual agreement would become effective?" (Asked of those saying "yes" to initial question)

C 23

Increased pressure exerted by the Russians (blockade) leading to complete (economical and political) isolation of West Berlin. 1  29 %
Danger of war. .............................................. 2  1 %
General answers indicating hope for improvement. ................... 3  3 %
Greater military security, paralleled by an upward trend in industry through armament orders and elimination of unemployment through military service. .................. 4  8 %
Greater (military, political) security, better morale. .................. 5  6 %
Economic boom. .............................................. 6  8 %
The East will yield (maybe under pressure) - it will leave West Berlin alone - controls will be relaxed - German unity will be realized. 7  7 %
There will be no consequences................................ 8  8 %
Other consequences........................................ 9  1 %
I don't know enough about the contractual agreement -
no opinion .................................................. 0  15 %
Other consequences ........................................ X  1 % (3 ?)
No answer ...................................................... Y  1 %

C 23. 9, 0, X, Y, = Reihenfolge fraglich
Nachfrage zu Frage 13, C 25

13a. "What measures should then be taken?" (Asked of those who answered "take more severe measures" to preceding question.)

To open a line of communication to Berlin by force and keep it open.

1. Counter Blockade.............................................1 21 %

2. Driving the Russians out of Berlin.................................2 8 %

3. War preparations..................................................3 3 %

4. To bring political pressure to bear...............................5 5 %

5. Try to lift the blockade by negotiations, in a friendly way.................................................6 2 %

6. Establish an airlift on a larger scale................................7 1 %

7. Other answers................................................................8 1 %

8. No opinion/no answer..................................................0 2 %

C 26. 3,4 Reihenfolge fragwürdig

Nachfrage zu Frage 15a, C 31

15b. "In what will American policy toward West Berlin change?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "favorable" to previous question.)

More severe measures against the Russians should be taken.................................................................1 17 %

Better support for Berlin..................................................2 6 %

Boon in Berlin economy through orders and credits.... 3 11 %

More interest and understanding for the situation of Berlin.....................................................4 4 %

Support for refugees and solution of the refugee problem............................................................5 1 %

Influence on West Germany to give more support to Berlin...6 1 %

Possibility of Germany's reunification..................................................7 2 %

Other reasons................................................................8 3 %

No opinion/no answer..................................................0 2 %
16 b. "For what reason would you approve?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Approve" to preceding question.)

Only unyieldingness, force and power will impress the Russians. .................................. 1
The Americans have yielded too much without any positive results. .............................. 2
The Russians as well as spreading of Communism have to be stopped at last .................... 3
There must be an end to the present state - the position must be clarified ........................ 4
The Russians should withdraw .................................... 5
War should be prevented and world peace be restored .................................. 6
There must be negotiations ........................................ 7
Because of personal experiences with the Russians for personal reasons ............................ 8
Other reasons .................................................. 9
No opinion/no answer? ..................................... 0

Anmerkungen:

2. Im Zählbogen bei 35.0 1 %, im Bericht keine weitere Kategorie dagegen angegeben. No opinion/no answer?
Nachfrage zu Frage 21, C 40

21a. "What is about the influx of refugees from the East Zone to West Berlin that disturbs you most of all? (What else?)" (Asked of those who answered "very much disturbed" or "somewhat disturbed").

It increases the already heavy economic burdens of West Berlin and West Germany - aggravates the housing shortage and unemployment. 1
Because jobs and food will get scarce for Berliners - the refugees get preferential treatment. 2
Because informers and criminals and not only political persecutees will come over. 3
Because through the mass flight Communist ideas may spread out more widely in the East-Zone - Russia will settle aliens in the deserted zone. 4
Because there is such terrible misery among the refugees - they may become demoralized. 5
Because there is a backlog of refugees to be transported by plane from Berlin to the West. 6
Other answers. 7
No answer. 8
No opinion? 9

1) In Special Report nicht als Kategorie angegeben. Allerdings erscheint im Zählbogen, die absolute Zahl von 1 = • %. Kategorie = No opinion?
Nachfrage zu Frage 22, C 42

If "Agreed to their coming."

22a. "Why are you agreed that people from the East Zone come to West Berlin?"

Code: one

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It's a moral obligation to admit the refugees.</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They have no choice.</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nobody abandons his property if there are no cogent reasons for such a step.</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are in danger of arrest.</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom is an inalienable human right.</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The exodus is the most convincing argument against the cause of Communism.</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons.</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nachfrage zu Frage 22, C 42

If "Induce to stick it out";

22a. "Why should they try to induce the East Zone people to stick it out in the East and stay where they are?"

Code two:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Because foreigners may be settled in the East Zone and then this territory would be lost for Germany for good.</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because they should fight efforts to sovietize the East Zone.</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because the added economic burden would be too heavy for West Berlin and West Germany.</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because most of these people aren't endangered, it's gain they seek.</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because it will be difficult for them to start a new life in the West.</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because the economy and the standard of living of the East Zone are endangered through the mass migration.</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because criminals, asocial elements and Communists will infiltrate.</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (would) have to remain at our posts as well.</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other answers.</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nachfrage zu Frage 23, C 44

23a. "What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "dissatisfied" to initial question.)

Selection is not careful enough - preference is
given to prominent refugees.......................1  5 %
Refugees leave preference to the Berlin
population...........................................2  5 %
Too much is being done for the refugees........3  1 %
They should be moved out of Berlin more speedily...4  1 %
More should be done for the refugees..............5  2 %
Other reasons......................................6  1 %

C 45. 1,2....Reihenfolge untersinander fraglich
C 45. 3,4...." " u

Nachfrage zu Frage 24, C 46

24a. "What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "dissatisfied" to initial question.)

Lack of understanding for the situation of Berlin and the
refugees and insufficient readiness to help.............1  17 %
West Germany should accept more refugees............2  16 %
Screening procedure and transport should be speeded up,3  11 %
Preference of refugees at the expense of the Berliners..4  1 %
Commentary of von Cube...........................................5  1 %
Other answers.........................................................6  4 %
Nachfragen zu Frage 25, C 48

25a. "What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "dissatisfied" to initial question)

Financial and material aid is insufficient..................1
Emigration should be facilitated, the US should admit refugees, too..................................................2
Preferential treatment of prominent (SED) refugees........3
Speedier air transportation should be arranged..............4
No aid up till now..............................................5
Overgenerous aid.............................................6
Other complaints.............................................7

Nachfragen zu Frage 27, C 51

27a. "For what reasons are, in your opinion, the Western powers chiefly responsible for the solution of the problem of the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Western powers" to initial question.)

They sanctioned the partitioning of Germany through the Potsdam agreement, they shouldn't have let the Russians advance into Germany ........................................1
They have power and great resources..........................2
They should have asserted themselves more energetically when dealing with the Russians.........................3
They lay down the course for Western policy...................4
Other reasons.................................................5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial and material aid is insufficient</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration should be facilitated, the US</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preferential treatment of prominent (SED)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speedier air transportation should be</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No aid up till now</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overgenerous aid</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other complaints</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They sanctioned the partitioning of Germany</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They have power and great resources</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They should have asserted themselves</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They lay down the course for Western policy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nachfrage zu Frage 28, C 53

28a. "Why, do you think, the East Zone government deliberately does not take more severe control measures to prevent the flight from the East Zone?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Deliberately does not take more severe control measures" to initial question.)

- They can't feed all East Zone people ........................................... 1               11%
- They want to get rid of politically unreliable elements ............................................. 2               15%
- They want to settle Communists in the East Zone ........................................... 3               13%
- They want to hurt the economy of Berlin and the West ........................................... 4               15%
- They want to tighten the control over the East Zone ........................................... 5               5%
- They want to smuggle Communists and spies into West Germany sending them along with the stream of refugees ........................................... 6               3%
- Other reasons .......................................................... 8               3%
- No opinion/no answer ........................................... 0               1%

Nachfrage zu Frage 29, C 55

29a. "Why would the situation of West Berlin not be seriously endangered?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Not seriously endangered" to initial question.)

Code one:

- Berlin's economy doesn't depend on the East - rather is the East dependent on the West ........................................... 1               30%
- As long as the routes to Berlin remain open and exports can thus flow to the West, there is no danger ........................................... 2               12%
- In effect Berlin is isolated as it is, the present situation will remain unchanged ........................................... 3               7%
- The East will only learn itself through isolating Berlin ........................................... 4               2%
- West Berlin will not be directly affected if borders are sealed (?) off ........................................... 5               3%
- Berlin can count on continued aid by America and the Western countries ........................................... 6               8%
- Berlin will defend itself, it will not knuckle under the East ........................................... 7               1%
- Berlin can be supplied by air ........................................... 8               2%
- On the contrary - things would improve if no more refugees would come to West Berlin ........................................... 9               2%
Berlin is largely independent - it's economy would not be seriously endangered - unemployment in one field be offset by a greater volume of trade in other branches...............X 5 %
Other reasons..............................................V 4 %
No opinion/no answer......................................O 1 %

Anm. zu C 56, code one
Im Special Report ist noch folgende Kategorie angeführt:
- Russia has put up barriers before and - after realizing their uselessness - has removed them again.
Laut Special Report waren die Nennungen für diese Kategorie so gering, daß nicht einmal 1 % auf sie entfielen. Da laut Zählbogen keine weitere Kategorie mehr möglich ist, sind die wenigen Antworten sicherlich nicht abgelocht worden.
C 56.4, 8, 9 = Reihenfolge untereinander fraglich

Nachfrage zu Frage 29, C 55
29a. "Why would the situation of West Berlin be seriously endangered?"
(Asked of those respondents who answered "Seriously endangered" to initial question.)

Code two:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 56</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interzonal trade would stop - West Berlin is economically dependent on the East.........................1 6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The economic situation of West Berlin would deteriorate (in general).......................................2 5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment would spread as West Berliners who work in the Eastern sector would lose their jobs........3 2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All traffic would be paralysed.................................4 oder 5 3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete isolation of Berlin - blockade status........6 siehe Anm. 4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed intervention would become more difficult for the West - the danger of Russian aggression would increase...7 3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family ties would be interrupted.............................8 2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No more orders would be placed with West Berlin firms by West German businessmen............................X 1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons....................................................9 2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anmerkung zu C 56, Code two
Es scheint, als ob die Antworten auf die Frage "All traffic would be paralysed" fälschlicherweise auf C 56. 4 und 5 abgelocht wurden und zwar doppelt abgelocht.
Nachfrage zu Frage 32, C 59

32a. "Why do you regard it as unlikely (That the SED suggestion about withdrawal of troops and a new city government will not be met)?"

West Berliners don't want to be under Communist rule (because they saw Communism at work themselves) - to accept the proposals would be equivalent to suicide..............................................................1 54 %
No West Berliner considers this SED inspired propaganda of lies as true..........................................................2 18 %
West Berliners are satisfied with the policy of the present Senate, therefore they have no reason to overthrow it..........................3 20 %
Once the other occupation forces had withdrawn, the Russians would turn back immediately...........................................4 8 %
The Western powers (the Americans) would never accept it..........5 5 %
Negotiations with the Russians are useless..............................6 1 %
Other reasons.................................................................7 3 %
No opinion/no answer......................................................0 1 %

Nachfrage zu Frage 33, C 61

33a. "In what respect would this worsen the situation of West Berlin?"
   (Asked of those respondents who answered "worsen to initial question.")

Code one:

When we aren't under the protection of the Western Allies any longer, we are at the mercy of the Russians..................1 33 %
A war of brother against brother would be the consequences......2 9 %
The People's Police would take command over Berlin...............3 4 %
Berlin would be in constant danger (under constant pressure), terrorism and unrest would increase.............................4 4 %
We depend on economic aid granted by the West Allies..............5 7 %
We would be obliged to support East Berlin (East Zone).............6 2 %
Other answers..............................................................7 3 %
Nachfrage zu Frage 33, C 61

33a. "In what respect would this improve the situation of West Berlin"?
(Asked of those respondents who answered "improve" to initial question).

Code two: C 62

Berlin's economy would be stimulated (trade between East and West would become normal, unemployment would decrease).................................1 9%
Berlin would be reunited, we'd leave greater freedom of action and would be independent, everything would improve.................................2 9%
Berlin wouldn't have to pay occupation costs any longer......................3 7%
More housing units would be available.............................................4 2%
A nightmare would end........................................................................6 1%
Other answers......................................................................................5 2%

Bei 62. & erscheinen auch noch einmal 2 %, Doppellochung(Falschlochung), No opinion ?

Nicht im Bericht und deswegen ungelöst:

C 12, Frage 5
C 17, Frage 7a
C 64, Frage 34 a
C 67, Frage 36 a
Hicog-Divo, Studien Nr. 184

1953, 400 Fälle

Statistik:

35. "Würden Sie mir bitte sagen, welche Partei Ihnen am liebsten ist?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partei</th>
<th>Häufigkeit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPD</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDU/DSU</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDP</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BHE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPD</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andere</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keine</td>
<td>(9) X 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keine Meinung, weiß nicht</td>
<td>(X) V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Im Gegensatz zum Code-Plan, in den 9 und X angegeben sind, erscheinen beim Auszählen des Kartensatzes bei X und V Ergebnisse, nicht aber bei 9. Druckfehler im Code-Plan?

36. "Abgesehen davon, welche Partei Sie in West-Berlin lieben in der Regierung sehen würden - welche Partei würden Sie bei den nächsten Wahlen für den Bundestag in Westdeutschland am liebsten gewinnen sehen?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partei</th>
<th>Häufigkeit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPD</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDU/CSU</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDP</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>BHE</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>KPD</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andere</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keine</td>
<td>(9) X 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keine Meinung, weiß nicht</td>
<td>(X) V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Sie Anmerkung zu C 65

Falls "SPD", "CDU/DSU" oder "FDP" genannt:

36a. "Aus welchen Gründen würden Sie gerne sehen, daß die ........ die nächsten Wahlen für den Bundestag in Westdeutschland gewinnt?"
Beruf des Befragten

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beruf</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>C 68</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freier Beruf</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geschäftstreibernde</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angestellter</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facharbeiter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angel./ ungel. Arbeiter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausangestellte (Domestic service)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In der Landwirtschaft Tätiger</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausfrauen</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Arbeitsloser</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( Student</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Rentner, Pensionär</td>
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</table>

Beruf des Familienoberhauptes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Facharbeiter</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Angel./ ungel. Arbeiter</td>
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<td>Hausangestellte</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>In der Landwirtschaft Tätiger</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rentner, Pensionär</td>
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Alter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alter</th>
<th>1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 50 Jahre</td>
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<td>31 - 40 Jahre</td>
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<td>41 - 50 Jahre</td>
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<tr>
<td>51 - ? Jahre</td>
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<td>? ? Jahre</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>51 und älter 3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) Vergl. Special Report Nr. 177, Appendix
**Einkommen**  
(Nettoeinkommen der Familie)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Einkommenskategorie</th>
<th>Anzahl</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Bis 149 DM</td>
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<tr>
<td>150 - 299 &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>300 - 399 &quot;</td>
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<td>1 000 DM und mehr</td>
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**Herkunft**

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<td>Ausländer</td>
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**Geschlecht**

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<tr>
<td>Weiblich</td>
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**Konfession**

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>Evangelisch</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andere, keine</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Schulbildung**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schulbildung</th>
<th>Anzahl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volksschule</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mittelschule od. höhere</td>
<td>C 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schule ohne Abitur</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abitur</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universität</td>
<td>4</td>
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</table>
Ungeklärt: C 73.6-X
74
75
EZ
76

Ungeklärt Code zu: C 67 (Parteipräferenz)

Ungeklärt, wo bzw. ob Daten vorkommen wie z.B. Gesellschaftsschicht, Familienstand