

ZA1969

International Relations (June 1955)

- Questionnaire Great Britain -

1. Interview person named only - no one else will do.
2. Record full details of each call. If no interview made give full explanation.
3. If not at home find out (from neighbour if necessary) when likely to be available - make appointment if possible - get informant's name and, if neighbour, address.
4. If moved, find out new address and, if reasonable, interview there.
5. The relevant "Results Code" (see box on right) should be entered in the space provided for each call made.

RESULT CODE

No further calls required because:

Interview successful

Died before 10th Oct. 1954

Died after 10th Oct. 1954

Moved away before 10th Oct. 1954

Moved away after 10th Oct. 1954

Other reasons

Further calls required because:

Not in; away

Other reasons

RESULT CODE	FIRST CALL			SECOND CALL			THIRD CALL		
	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.
	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.
	Sat.			Sat.			Sat.		
		A.M.	P.M.		A.M.	P.M.		A.M.	P.M.
Code No.	Code No.			Code No.			Code No.		
Comments - and informant's name/ address where available	Comments:			Comments:			Comments:		

INTRODUCTION: We are trying to find out what people think about a number of issues of the day. Of course, nobody knows all the answers, but I would like to have your opinions:

1. Do you believe that there will or will not be a world war in the next three or four years?
Will be a war 8
Will not 70
Qualified answer 6
Don't know 12
2. Do you think that the danger of a war starting in Europe has become greater in the last few months, or less, or remained about the same?
Greater 7
Less 2
About the same 29
Don't know 12
3. Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?
Yes, U.S.A. is 40
No, U.S.A. is not 26
Don't know 25
4. Is Russia doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?
Yes, Russia is 22
No, Russia is not 23
Don't know 33
5. Do you think that American military bases in Europe decrease or increase the danger or war?
Decrease danger 32
Increase danger 26
Have no effect 14
Don't know 22
6. Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries? (Show CARD A) How about?

	Great Britain		West Germany		USA	Russia
Very good opinion	71	2	5	19	3	
Good	19	17	22	24	7	
Fair	3	45	39	27	22	
Bad	2	10	9	4	22	
Very bad	2	4	1	2	14	
Don't know	2	15	22	7	22	

7. Is it your impression that recently the USA has become more conciliatory - more willing to make concessions - that has become less conciliatory, or that it has remained about the same?
More conciliatory 43
Less conciliatory 9
About the same 35
Don't know 13
- 8a) Is it your impression that recently Russia has become more conciliatory - more willing to make concessions - that it has become less conciliatory, or that it has remained about the same?
More conciliatory 55
Less conciliatory 8
About the same 22
Don't know 15
- b) If MORE CONCILIATORY: What do you think is the main reason why Russia has become more conciliatory lately? (Show CARD B - Mark only one answer)

(Write in code number) Don't know

9. In the present quarrel or tension between Russia and the U.S.A., which country do you think is more to blame - Russia or the United States?
Russia 36
U.S.A. 15
Both equally 36
Don't know 16
10. At the present time, do you personally think that Britain should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?
West 52
East 1
Neither side 36
Don't know 11
11. And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S.A., do you think this country should take sides or not take sides?
Side with Russia 87
Side with U.S.A. 27
Not take sides 43
Don't know 10

12. If atom and hydrogen bombs were used in such a war, do you think this country should take sides or not take sides? Which side?

Answer to Q. 11:	Side with Russia	Side with U.S.A.	Not take sides	Don't know
Side with Russia	9	41	7	9
Side with U.S.A.	2	6	24	2
Not take sides	1	1	2	1
Don't know	2	1	2	1

(NOTE: Here is an example how to mark. Contact has said "U.S.A." to Q. 11 and "Don't know" to Q. 12. Ring 2 under "Don't know".)

- 13a) Do you happen to know whether or not a 4-Power Conference (at the highest level) is being planned for the near future?
b) Could you tell me what countries are meeting?
(Interviewer: NOTE: The countries meeting are: U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France. If contact shows he knows about the Conference, mark Correct. Otherwise mark Incorrect.)
Correct 56
Incorrect 45

14. (As you know) there will be a 4-Power Conference. At this conference the heads of state of the Big Four will be discussing international issues. What result do you most want to see come out of such a 4-Power Conference? (Write in fully)

15. In the forthcoming 4-Power conference, what are the chances, in your opinion, of achieving good results? (Show CARD C)
Very high 11
High 29
Only fair 40
Poor 4
Very poor 2
Don't know 15

16. Please use this card to indicate how much you think you can count on each of these countries to keep any agreements made at the conference. First, how about the U.S.A.? (Show CARD D)

	U.S.A.	U.S.S.R.	Britain	France
Completely	43	8	72	24
Very much	30	12	20	23
Somewhat	14	31	3	24
Not very much	2	26	1	13
Not at all	1	10	4	3
Don't know	7	12	3	13

17. Now, taking the four countries, will you indicate for each, which you consider to be the greater danger - that it will make too many concessions at the conference, or too few?

	U.S.A.	U.S.S.R.	Britain	France
Too many concessions	22	10	47	17
Too few	35	57	14	25
Don't know	43	23	39	61

now, so as to know how each country is proposed that Germany be re-
in some of the individuals who will be taking part in the elections, but must not enter into
in the conference. From this card please tell us alliances with either the West or the East. Which
how much you feel you can count on each of these would you prefer - this suggestion or the present
people at the meeting to work sincerely towards plans to bring West Germany into Western defence?
world peace. (Show CARD B - read out name.)
Prime Minister of France's name is pronounced "FOUR")

	Eden	Flaen- hower	Paure	Dulles	Wolo- tov	Mal- enkov
Completely	78	46	12	23	6	6
Very much	12	26	18	26	7	7
Somewhat	4	16	19	18	26	22
Not very much	3	6	11	10	29	20
Not at all	1	1	2	3	13	10
Don't know	2	5	41	20	20	35

19. Here are some issues that might be discussed at the conference. Please use this card to indicate in each case first, your own attitude about this, and secondly, what you think the chances are that the 4-Powers will reach an agreement? (Show CARD P - read out issues)

a) Banning of atomic weapons:

Attitudes	Chances
Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

b) Limiting of other kinds of armaments:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

c) Unifying East and West Germany:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

d) Germany getting back its old Eastern Territories (East of the Oder-Neisse) now held by Poland:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

e) Re-arming of West Germany:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

f) Increasing East-West Trade:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

g) Scrapping NATO - that is, the present Atlantic Pact defence system:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

h) A conference on Far Eastern issues with Communist China taking part:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

i) Admission of Communist China to the UN:

Strongly favour	Very good
Favour	Good
Don't care	Only fair
Oppose	Poor
Strongly oppose	Very poor
Don't know	Don't know

20. Would you think that the 4-Power Conference had been a success or failure if no solutions were reached but tensions were relaxed

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
proposed that Germany be re-
in some of the individuals who will be taking part in the elections, but must not enter into
in the conference. From this card please tell us alliances with either the West or the East. Which
how much you feel you can count on each of these would you prefer - this suggestion or the present
people at the meeting to work sincerely towards plans to bring West Germany into Western defence?

Prefer Russian suggestion
Prefer present Western plans
Don't know

- b) If ~~Prefer Russian suggestion~~: Would you still prefer a neutral German like this, if the U.S.A. was not willing to guarantee its neutrality?

Would still prefer
Would not prefer in that case
Don't know

22. Suppose no agreement could be reached about reuniting Germany, and the Russians then made these proposals: (Show CARD G) Germany remains divided; Neither East nor West Germany could have any military alliances; East Germany and West Germany must both be limited in their armaments, and All Allied and Soviet troops must withdraw from German soil.

Would you want the Western Powers to accept or reject this proposal?

Accept (neutralization of Germany)
Reject
Don't know

23. Suppose the Russians suggested the following:

- i. That both the U.S. and Britain withdraw all their forces from the whole of the Continent and give up their bases;

- ii. That Soviet Russia withdraw its forces to within the borders of the U.S.S.R.

Would you want the West to accept or reject this proposal?

Accept
Reject
Don't know

24. Would you approve or disapprove a settlement with the U.S.S.R. in which the West accepts the continuation of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe?

Approve
Disapprove
Don't know

25. As you may know, the German Chancellor Adenauer has been invited to Moscow to discuss establishing relations with the Soviet Union. Do you approve or disapprove of his going?

Approve
Disapprove
Qualified answer
Don't know

- 26a) You may have heard of the recent agreement between Russia and the Western Powers about Austria. Do you happen to know if under this agreement Austria is now allied with the West, allied with the East, or is a neutral, independent state?

Allied with West
Allied with East
Neutral, independent
state
Don't know

- b) If ~~neutral, independent~~ state: Would you favour or oppose a similar agreement for Germany?

Favour
Oppose
Qualified answer
Don't know

27. Of course, almost everyone wants peace. But there are some things that people say are worth fighting for. (Show CARD H) What about a threat to? Which would you choose - stay at peace or fight for it?

Stay at peace
Fight for it
Don't know

- a) National independence of Britain
b) The independence of other countries in Western Europe
c) Individual liberty of British people
d) Human dignity and respect for the individual
e) Right of the people to take part in decisions affecting their national destiny
f) Freedom of religion
g) Democratic way of life

Stay at peace
Fight for it
Don't know

As the new world war broke out - which naturally nobody desires - do you think atom and hydrogen bombs would be used or don't you think so?

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
Don't know 19

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 29. Is it your impression that the U.S. is, or is not, making sincere efforts to ban atomic weapons? | Sincere efforts 22
No sincere efforts 48
Don't know 20 |
| 30. Is it your impression that Russia is, or is not, making sincere efforts to ban atomic weapons? | Sincere efforts 13
No sincere efforts 59
Don't know 28 |
| 31. Do you think that the Western forces are stronger in atomic weapons than Russia, weaker, or about equal? | West stronger 39
West weaker 5
About equal 27
Don't know 29 |
| 32. Leaving aside atomic weapons, are the Western forces at the present time stronger in ordinary non-atomic military power than Russia and the other Communist forces, weaker, or about equal? | West stronger 16
West weaker 26
About equal 21
Don't know 27 |
| 33. Because the results of atomic warfare are horrible, some Western sympathizers want to ban atomic weapons, even if it leaves the West weaker. Do you agree with these people who want the ban, or do you disagree with them? | Agree 26
Disagree 52
Don't know 13 |

E N D

Man Woman 31 - 29 30 - 44 45 - 64 65 & over For Office use only	Av+ Av Av- Group D Have you a Union Card? If so, which union? Yes (Write in) No	Which political party do you think is best for people like yourself? Conservative Labour Liberal Other Don't know	Housewife, not otherwise employed Farmer Farmworker Professional; director; high executive; manager; high civil service Shopkeeper; only those who buy and sell goods instead of service Manual worker - self employed, artisans, etc. Manual worker - not self-employed, skilled, semi-skilled, and non-skilled labourer White-collar workers including minor civil servant, policeman Unemployed, seeking work Retired, pension, etc.
School: Elementary school (left school under 15) Secondary school, comm/tech. school (left at 15) Other (left after 15) University			Occupation: (if not employed, occupation of chief wage earner) * * Chief Wage Earner - member of family making main contribution of family upkeep
Duration of interview Time started a.m./p.m. Time finished a.m./p.m.		I hereby attest that this is an interview strictly in accordance with your directions Signed: Date: June 1955	