

ZA1976

Internationale Beziehungen (Februar 1963)

Punchers No 1 Serial No 2

Elector No. Name: _____ Address: No. _____ Street: _____
 Mrs./Mrs./Miss _____ Town: _____

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 "Result code" (see box on right) must be entered in the space provided for each call made.
- RESULT CODE**
 No further calls required because:
 1 Interview successful
 2 Died before 10th October, 1961
 3 Died after 10th October, 1961
 4 Moved away before 10th October, 1961
 5 Moved away after 10th October, 1961
 6 Other reasons
 Further calls required because:
 7 Not in, away
 8 Other reasons

FIRST CALL	SECOND CALL	THIRD CALL
1 Sunday 2 Monday 3 Tuesday 4 Wednesday 5 Thursday 6 Friday 7 Saturday	1 Sunday 2 Monday 3 Tuesday 4 Wednesday 5 Thursday 6 Friday 7 Saturday	1 Sunday 2 Monday 3 Tuesday 4 Wednesday 5 Thursday 6 Friday 7 Saturday
Date: _____ Time: _____ a.m. / p.m.	Date: _____ Time: _____ a.m. / p.m.	Date: _____ Time: _____ a.m. / p.m.

RESULT CODE	Code No.	Code No.	Code No.
Comments - and informant's name and address where applicable	9	11	13
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 opinion.

1. Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. How about ...? (Show CARD A)

a) <u>France</u>	1 Very good opinion 2 Good opinion 3 Neither good nor bad 4 Bad opinion 5 Very bad opinion 6 Don't know
b) <u>West Germany</u> 31	7 Very good opinion 8 Good opinion 9 Neither good nor bad 0 Bad opinion X Very bad opinion - Y Don't know
c) <u>Italy</u>	1 Very good opinion 2 Good opinion 3 Neither good nor bad 4 Bad opinion 5 Very bad opinion 6 Don't know
d) <u>Russia</u> 32	7 Very good opinion 8 Good opinion 9 Neither good nor bad 0 Bad opinion X Very bad opinion - Y Don't know
e) <u>U.S.</u>	1 Very good opinion 2 Good opinion 3 Neither good nor bad 4 Bad opinion 5 Very bad opinion 6 Don't know

2. In the present world situation, do you personally think that, on the whole, Britain should side with the United States, with Soviet Russia or with neither?

3. In your opinion, are the basic interests of Britain and those of the U.S. very much in agreement, fairly well in agreement, rather different or very different?

How about the basic interests of Britain and those of Soviet Russia?

U.S.	1 Very much in agreement 2 Fairly well in agreement 3 Rather different 4 Very different 5 Don't know
Russia	7 Very much in agreement 8 Fairly well in agreement 9 Rather different 0 Very different - X Don't know

4a) Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?
 b) How about Soviet Russia - is it doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?
 c) And how about Communist China ...?

U.S.	1 Yes 2 No - 3 Don't know
Russia	4 Yes 5 No - 6 Don't know
Communist China	7 Yes 8 No - 9 Don't know

5a) Have you a favourable or unfavourable impression of what Soviet Russia has been doing in international affairs recently? (Pause) Very or only somewhat?

1 Favourable - very	2 - somewhat	3 Unfavourable - somewhat	4 - very	5 Don't know
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b) Unless YOU KNOW: What in the main gives you a (favourable) (unfavourable) impression of what Soviet Russia has been doing in international affairs recently? (Write in detailed answers)

14

6a) Have you a favourable or unfavourable impression of what the American Government has been doing in international affairs recently? (Pause) Very or only somewhat?

1 Favourable - very	2 - somewhat	3 Unfavourable - somewhat	4 - very	5 Don't know
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b) Unless YOU KNOW: What in the main gives you a (favourable) (unfavourable) impression of what the American Government has been doing in international affairs recently? (Write in detailed answers)

TS US
15 - 16

7) Should you say that what the United States does in world affairs generally agrees with what it says or that its actions differ from its words too often?

How about Russia - would you say that what Soviet Russia does in world affairs generally agrees with what it says or that its actions differ from its words too often?

And what about Communist China - would you say that what Communist China does in world affairs generally agrees with what it says or that its actions differ from its words too often?

- U.S. 1 Agrees
- 2 Differs
- 3 Don't know
- Russia 4 Agrees
- 5 Differs
- 6 Don't know
- Communist China 7 Agrees
- 8 Differs
- 9 Don't know

8a) How much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. to provide wise leadership for the West in dealing with present world problems - very great, considerable, not very much or very little?

- 1 Very great
- 2 Considerable
- 3 Not very much
- 4 Very little
- 5 Don't know

b) If VERY GREAT or CONSIDERABLE: What in particular has given you (very great) (considerable) confidence in the ability of the U.S. to provide wise leadership for the West in dealing with present world problems? (Write in detailed answers)

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c) If NOT VERY MUCH or VERY LITTLE: Why (don't you have very much) (do you have very little) confidence in the ability of the U.S. to provide wise leadership for the West?

18

9) If the U.S., Soviet Russia and China settle down to competition without war for the next twenty or twenty-five years, which of the three do you think will end up as the strongest?

- 1 U.S.
- 2 Soviet Russia
- 3 China
- 4 All equal (volunteered)
- 5 Don't know

Now a few questions about the comparative achievements of the United States and Soviet Russia.

10a) All things considered, which country do you think is ahead in total military strength at the present time - the U.S. or Soviet Russia?

How about.....?

	U.S.	Russia	Neither	Don't know
in total military strength	1	2	3	-4
in military strength in nuclear weapons	5	6	4	7 -8
in troops and non-nuclear weapons	9	0	X	-V
in total economic strength	1	2	3	-4
in scientific development	5	6	4	2 7 -8
in space developments	9	0	X	-V

b) If SOVIET RUSSIA ahead in nuclear weapons: ask after completion of all parts of Q. 10a. What in particular makes you think Russia is ahead in nuclear weapons?

19

11a) Have you heard or read anything about the European Common Market?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Don't know

b) If YES: Do you happen to know if Great Britain is a member or not of the Common Market at this time?

- 4 Yes
- 5 No
- 6 Don't know

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c) All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of Britain's joining the Common Market?

- 7 Approve
- 8 Disapprove
- 9 Don't know

d) If APPROVE or DISAPPROVE: Why do you (approve) (disapprove) of Great Britain's entry?

T's U's
20-21

e) Here are some other nations which might at some time want to become members of the Common Market. For each of these, will you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of permitting them to join the Common Market? How about.....?

- Norway 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 3 Don't know
- Spain 4 Approve
- 5 Disapprove
- 6 Don't know

f) Do you think the Common Market should be an economic union only or do you want it to become a political union also?

- 7 Economic only
- 8 Political
- 9 Don't know - skip to 12

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g) If POLITICAL: would you like the final authority of such a political union to be with a central government or with the individual states?

- 0 Central Government
- X Member states
- V Don't know

h) In your opinion, do you think we should work toward an integrated Europe independent of the United States or do you think we should work toward an integrated Europe in close partnership with the United States?

- 1 Independent
- 2 Close partnership
- 3 Don't know

45

i) If INDEPENDENT: Why do you prefer an integrated Europe independent of the United States?

22

12a) Have you heard or read of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation - NATO that is?

- 1 Yes, have heard
- 2 No, have not heard
- 3 Don't know

If YES, HAVE HEARD - others skip to Q. 12b)

b) Is it your impression that at the present time NATO is in a healthy condition or a poor condition?

- 4 Healthy condition
- 5 Poor condition
- 6 Don't know

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c) As you probably know, Spain is not a member of NATO. Would you approve or disapprove of Spain being permitted to join NATO? Strongly or only somewhat?

- 7 Approve - strongly
- 8 Disapprove - somewhat
- 9 Disapprove - strongly
- X Strongly or only somewhat
- V Don't know

12d) Is it your impression that Britain is contributing its share, more than its share or less than its share to NATO defence?

How about the United States? Is it your impression that the U.S. is contributing its share, more than its share or less than its share to NATO defence?

- Britain
 - 1 Contributing
 - 2 - its share
 - 3 - more than its share
 - 4 - less than its share
 - 5 Don't know
- U.S.
 - 6 Contributing
 - 7 - its share
 - 8 - more than its share
 - 9 - less than its share
 - 0 Don't know

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e) Is it your impression that the military strength of NATO in Western Europe is as great as it needs to be, greater than it needs to be or less than it needs to be at the present time? If less - much less or only somewhat?

- 1 Greater
- 2 As great
- 3 Somewhat less
- 4 Much less
- 5 Don't know

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f) If LESS: What do you think is more needed in NATO at the present time, an increase in nuclear strength, or an increase in troops and non-nuclear weapons?

- 6 Increase in nuclear strength
- 7 Increase in troops and non-nuclear weapons
- 8 Don't know

9 Both

g) Unless DON'T KNOW: Why do you think so?

23

h) Do you happen to know if the use of nuclear weapons for NATO defence is under the joint control of all the NATO countries or is it primarily controlled by the U.S.?

- 1 Under joint control
- 2 Primarily controlled by the U.S.
- 3 Don't know

i) Unless DON'T KNOW: Do you approve or disapprove of this?

- 4 Approve
- 5 Disapprove
- 6 Don't know

49

j) Which of the following alternatives for European defence is closest to your own opinion? (Show CARD B)

- 7 The European countries should rely on the nuclear force of the U.S., as at present to 12a
- 8 There should be a NATO nuclear force controlled by all the NATO allies, including the U.S.
- 9 Europeans together should have a joint nuclear force independent of U.S. control
- X Any NATO country that wishes it should have its own nuclear force
- 0 Other (write in)

-V Don't know

k) Unless REPLY OF U.S. NUCLEAR FORCE: Why are you against the present arrangement of relying on U.S. nuclear weapons for European defence?

24

ASK ALL

12m) Would you favour or oppose West Germany having its own nuclear force? How about France? How about Great Britain?

- West Germany
 - 1 Favour
 - 2 Oppose
 - 3 Don't know
- France
 - 4 Favour
 - 5 Oppose
 - 6 Don't know
- Great Britain
 - 7 Favour
 - 8 Oppose
 - 9 Don't know

50

12a) If Soviet Russia increases its pressure on the Western Powers to get out of West Berlin, do you think we should use force if necessary to remain or withdraw our forces?

b) If USE FORCE TO REMAIN or DON'T KNOW: If our use of force meant the likelihood of war with Soviet Russia, should we use force to remain in West Berlin or withdraw?

- 1 Use force to remain
- 2 Withdraw our forces
- 3 Don't know

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c) If USE FORCE TO REMAIN or DON'T KNOW: If our use of force meant the likelihood of war with Soviet Russia, involving the use of nuclear weapons, should we use force to remain in West Berlin or withdraw?

- 7 Use force to remain
- 8 Withdraw our forces
- 9 Don't know

ASK ALL

14a) What are your feelings in general about disarmament? Are you for general and complete disarmament throughout the world, for some partial limitation on arms or for no limitation on arms?

- 1 General and complete
- 2 Some partial limitation
- 3 No limitation

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Other (write in) -V Don't know

b) If GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT: Others skip to 14c

Do you think that general and complete disarmament would or would not require an international organisation with its own police force?

- 1 Would require
- 2 Would not require
- 3 Don't know

53

Now skip to Q. 16

Unless GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

c) What briefly are your reasons for not being in favour of general and complete disarmament throughout the world?

25

d) What about nuclear disarmament? Would you favour or not favour the abolition of nuclear weapons throughout the world?

- 1 Favour
- 2 Not favour
- 3 Don't know

15. If FAVOUR or DON'T KNOW: Assuming that banning nuclear weapons would leave the Western military forces weaker than the Communist forces, would you be for such a ban or against it?

- 4 For ban
- 5 Against ban if West left weaker
- 6 Don't know

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ASK ALL

16a) Do you think it will be possible or not possible to abolish nuclear weapons throughout the world?

- 7 Possible
- 8 Not possible
- 9 Don't know

b) If POSSIBLE: Do you think it will be possible or not possible to eventually obtain general and complete disarmament throughout the world?

- 0 Possible
- X Not possible
- V Don't know

17. In your opinion, how hard is the U.S. working to obtain an agreement with Soviet Russia on some degree of disarmament? Very hard, fairly hard, not very hard or not at all?

- 1 Very hard
- 2 Fairly hard
- 3 Not very hard
- 4 Not at all
- 5 Don't know

55

18. And how about Soviet Russia. In your opinion, how hard is Soviet Russia working to obtain an agreement with the U.S. on some degree of disarmament? Very hard, fairly hard, not very hard or not at all?

- 7 Very hard
- 8 Fairly hard
- 9 Not very hard
- X Not at all
- V Don't know

19. A main reason why there has been, as yet, no U.S. - Russian agreement to ban nuclear testing is that the U.S. wants checking by international inspectors on each other's soil and Soviet Russia opposes this because they say it will lead to spying. Should the U.S. enter an agreement with Soviet Russia to stop testing without such inspection or should the U.S. continue to insist upon such inspection as part of any agreement?

1 Should enter agreement
2 Should insist on inspection
3 Don't know

Would you approve or disapprove of an agreement between the Western Powers and Soviet Russia and its European allies providing for some degree of disarmament in Europe?

4 Approve
5 Disapprove
6 Don't know

20a) Do you happen to have heard or read anything about a recent international crisis over Cuba?

7 Yes
8 No
9 Don't know

If YES
b) Could you tell me briefly what the crisis was about?

26

c) Who would you say has gained more from the recent Cuban crisis - the U.S., Soviet Russia or did they come out about even? *If U.S. or SOVIET RUSSIA gained more - A great deal or only somewhat more?*

1 U.S. gained - a great deal more
2 " - only somewhat more
3 Came out about even
4 Russia gained - only somewhat more
5 " - a great deal more
6 Don't know

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d) *If SOVIET RUSSIA or U.S. GAINED MORE!* In what way do you think (Soviet Russia) (United States) gained more?

37

e) Did the events in the recent Cuban crisis change your opinion of the U.S. in any way?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't know

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If YES (others skip to Q. 20a)
f) In what way was your opinion of the U.S. changed?

28

g) All things considered, would you say that your opinion of the U.S. changed more in a favourable direction or more in an unfavourable direction?

1 More favourable
2 More unfavourable
3 Neither favourable nor unfavourable (volunteered)
4 Don't know

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h) How about Soviet Russia? Did the events in the recent Cuban crisis change your opinion of Soviet Russia in any way?

5 Yes
6 No
7 Don't know

If YES (others skip to Q. 20a)
i) In what way was your opinion of Soviet Russia changed?

29

j) All things considered, would you say that your opinion of Russia changed more in a favourable direction or more in an unfavourable direction?

1 More favourable
2 More unfavourable
3 Neither favourable nor unfavourable (volunteered)
4 Don't know

30

20b) Some people say the U.S. should have consulted its West European allies before taking action against Soviet Russia in the Cuban crisis. Others say the situation was so critical that it called for swift action and the U.S. was justified in using its own judgment. With which of these views are you more inclined to agree?

5 U.S. should have consulted
6 U.S. was justified
7 Don't know

60

20c) Some people say that the U.S. should remove its missiles from Turkey, near Soviet Russia, just as Soviet Russia removed its missiles from Cuba, near the U.S. Others say that the two cases are quite different and the U.S. should not remove its missiles from Turkey. With which of these views are you more inclined to agree?

8 Remove U.S. missiles from Turkey
9 Don't remove U.S. missiles from Turkey
0 Other (write in).....
- X Don't know

n) *If DON'T REMOVE U.S. MISSILES FROM TURKEY:* In what way would you say the two cases are different?

30

o) All things considered, do you think the effect of the recent Cuban crisis has been to increase or decrease the likelihood of nuclear war in the near future?

9 Increase
0 Decrease
X No difference
- V Don't know

61

p) Which of the following is closest to your opinion as to why there was a peaceful outcome of the Cuban crisis?

1 Moderation on the part of the Russians
2 Greater military strength of the U.S.
3 Peace efforts of other nations
4 Don't know

62

21. How would you describe present relations between Soviet Russia and Communist China - as very good, good, poor or very poor?

5 Very good
6 Good
7 Poor
8 Very poor
9 Don't know

22. Do you believe that relations between Soviet Russia and Communist China are likely to become better, become worse or remain about the same in the future?

1 Better
2 Worse
3 No change
4 Don't know

63

23. Some people have said that in the future Soviet Russia will think of herself as a European state and seek friendship with the West in order to oppose Communist China. Do you think that this is likely to happen or unlikely? Very or just somewhat?

5 Likely - very
6 " - somewhat
7 Unlikely - somewhat
8 " - very
9 Don't know

24. If a new world war broke out - which naturally nobody desires - do you consider it more likely that nuclear bombs would be used or do you consider it more likely that both sides would avoid using nuclear bombs?

0 Nuclear bombs would be used
X Nuclear bombs would not be used
- V Don't know

25. If there was a general nuclear war, is it your feeling that you personally would be likely to survive or not?

1 Likely to survive
2 Not likely to survive
3 Don't know

64

26. All things considered, do you believe that a general nuclear war is inevitable some time in the future or do you believe that the countries of the world will get together in time on some way to avoid such a happening?

4 Nuclear war inevitable
5 Will be avoided
6 Don't know

CS 4828 - 5 -

27a) Would you approve or disapprove of the use of nuclear weapons on enemy soldiers at the front lines, if Western Europe were attacked without use of nuclear weapons?

1 Approve
2 Disapprove

3 Qualified answer (write in) 65

- V Don't know

b) Unless APPROVE: If it were the only way to stop an enemy at the threshold instead of being over-run, would you be for the use of nuclear weapons on enemy soldiers at the front lines?

1 For, in this case
2 Against

3 Qualified answer (write in) 66

- V Don't know

28 Some people say that if nuclear weapons are used on a battlefield it will eventually end in nuclear bombing of cities. Others say that this would not happen. Which is closer to your opinion?

1 Bombing of cities
2 Would not happen
3 Don't know

29. Do you believe that one can rely on America using nuclear bombs only in an extreme emergency or do you believe that America might be too rash in using nuclear bombs?

4 Would use only in an extreme emergency
5 Might use rashly
6 Don't know

30a) Is there a radio in your household?

7 Yes
8 Yes, but not working
9 No

b) If YES: Can your radio (or one of your radios) receive short-wave broadcasts?

0 Yes
X No
- V Don't know

67

1 Men
2 Women

3 21 - 29
4 30 - 34
5 35 - 44
6 45 and over

78 AV+
79 AV
X AV-
V 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?

8 Conservative
9 Labour
0 Liberal
X Other
- V Don't know

Contact's occupation 74

V Housewife only

If retired/unemployed, etc.

Former occupation

Occupation of chief wage earner*

*Chief wage earner - member of family making main contribution to family upkeep

70 School:

1 Elementary (left school under 15)
2 Secondary school, comm./technical school (left at 15)
3A Other (left after 15)
3B University

Duration of interview

Time started: 7/1 a.m. p.m.

Time finished: a.m. p.m.

Size of farm:

X Under 150 acres
V 150 acres and over

I hereby attest that this is an interview strictly in accordance with your directions:

Signature _____

Date 7-73 1962

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Occupation

Chief wage earner

Con- tact's

Houswife not otherwise employed 1 1

Farmer 2 2

Farmworker 3 3

Professional; director; high executive; manager; high civil servant 4 4

Shopkeeper; only those who buy and sell goods (not service) 5 5

Manual worker - self-employed artisans, etc. 6 6

Manual worker - not self-employed, skilled, semi-skilled and non-skilled labourer 7 7

White-collar workers, including minor civil servants, policemen, shop assistants, etc. 8 8

Unemployed, seeking work 9 9

Retired, pensioner, etc. X X

Student V V

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By SP/USW NARA, Date 9/5/19/

KEYS:

If Sex not marked, check with names on front of form.

If Age not marked, leave (unless retired)

Class: Check with contact's and chief wage earner's occupation, and code or correct if necessary.

Union: If in doubt check that the union is a genuine Trade Union and not an employer's or professional association.

Schooling: If not marked and contact is 65 or over and AV- or Group D, ring "elementary". In all other cases refer to Rita Marsh.

Duration of interview:

1	less than 5 minutes
2	5 - 10 minutes
3	Over 10 - 15 minutes
4	" 15 - 20 "
5	" 20 - 25 "
6	" 25 - 30 "
7	" 30 - 40 "
8	" 40 - 50 "
9	" 50 - 1 hour
0	" 1 hour
V	Not answered

Date of interview: This is most important and must be marked on all forms. If it is not marked, it can nearly always be worked out from the day on which the successful call was made - see front of form.

Occupation: Check that both contact's and chief wage earner's occupations have been correctly coded. If contact is chief wage-earner, the code will be repeated.

Code separately for contact and chief wage-earner

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 MARITAL TOTALS - INTERNATIONAL SURVEY - CS 4828 - XX 15

FEBRUARY, 1963

		TOTAL		UPPER CLASS	
		No.	%	No.	%
1 Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. How about? a) France b) West Germany c) Italy d) Russia e) U.S.	Very good opinion	23	2	12	4
	Good opinion	163	14	45	16
	Neither good nor bad	389	33	102	37
	Bad opinion	294	25	76	28
	Very bad opinion	92	8	18	7
	Don't know	225	19	22	8
	Very good opinion	40	3	11	4
	Good opinion	340	29	92	33
	Neither good nor bad	388	33	98	36
	Bad opinion	130	11	24	9
	Very bad opinion	25	2	3	1
	Don't know	205	22	47	17
	Very good opinion	23	2	8	2
	Good opinion	283	24	89	32
	Neither good nor bad	411	35	108	39
Bad opinion	105	9	17	6	
Very bad opinion	13	1	1	1	
Don't know	351	29	58	21	
Very good opinion	18	1	1	-	
Good opinion	151	13	42	15	
Neither good nor bad	377	32	102	37	
Bad opinion	297	25	72	26	
Very bad opinion	129	11	18	7	
Don't know	216	18	40	15	
Very good opinion	146	12	33	12	
Good opinion	499	42	118	42	
Neither good nor bad	308	26	79	29	
Bad opinion	104	9	26	10	
Very bad opinion	10	1	3	1	
Don't know	119	10	18	6	
2 In the present world situation, do you personally think that, on the whole, Britain should side with the United States, with Soviet Russia or with neither?	United States	585	48	151	55
	Russia	23	2	1	1
	Neither	448	38	100	36
	Don't know	130	11	23	9
3 In your opinion, are the basic interests of Britain and those of the U.S. very much in agreement, fairly well in agreement, rather different or very different? How about the basic interests of Britain and those of Soviet Russia?	<u>U.S.</u> Very much in agreement	226	19	56	20
	Fairly well in agreement	608	51	152	56
	Rather different	174	15	46	17
	Very different	58	5	9	3
	Don't know	120	10	12	4
	<u>Russia</u> Very much in agreement	11	1	2	1
	Fairly well in agreement	163	14	40	15
	Rather different	447	38	120	43
	Very different	381	32	90	33
	Don't know	184	15	23	8
4a) Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war? b) How about Soviet Russia - is it doing all it should do to prevent a new world war? c) And how about Communist China	<u>U.S.</u> Yes	655	55	148	54
	No	327	28	88	32
	Don't know	204	17	39	14
	<u>Russia</u> Yes	389	33	88	32
	No	532	45	138	50
	Don't know	265	22	49	18
	<u>Communist China</u> Yes	50	4	12	4
	No	623	53	160	58
	Don't know	513	43	103	38

MARRIAGE PLUS

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DECLASSIFIED PER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12356, Section 3.3, See # LTR 9/5/1985

By SP/USW NARA, Date 9/5/19

		TOTAL		UPPER CLASS		
		No.	%	No.	%	
5 Have you a favourable or unfavourable impression of what Soviet Russia has been doing in international affairs recently? (pause) Very or only somewhat?	Favourable - very	104	9	26	9	
	Favourable - somewhat	317	27	97	35	
	Unfavourable - somewhat	202	25	74	27	
	Unfavourable - very	103	9	21	8	
	Don't know	360	30	57	21	
6 Have you a favourable or unfavourable impression of what the American Government has been doing in international affairs recently? (pause) Very or only somewhat?	Favourable - very	283	24	88	25	
	Favourable - somewhat	370	31	99	36	
	Unfavourable - somewhat	170	14	48	17	
	Unfavourable - very	23	2	6	2	
	Don't know	340	29	56	20	
7 Would you say that what the United States does in world affairs generally agrees with what it says or that its actions differ from its words too often? How about Russia - would you say that what Soviet Russia does in world affairs generally agrees with what it says or that its actions differ from its words too often? And what about Communist China - would you say that what Communist China does in world affairs generally agrees with what it says or that its actions differ from its words too often?	<u>U.S.</u> Agree	801	58	188	61	
	<u>U.S.</u> Differs	208	23	65	24	
	<u>U.S.</u> Don't know	227	19	41	15	
	<u>Russia</u> Agree	227	19	48	17	
	<u>Russia</u> Differs	712	80	185	67	
	<u>Russia</u> Don't know	247	21	42	16	
	<u>Communist China</u> Agree	80	7	24	9	
	<u>Communist China</u> Differs	423	36	111	40	
	<u>Communist China</u> Don't know	683	57	146	51	
	8 How much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. to provide wise leadership for the West in dealing with present world problems - very great, considerable, not very much or very little?	Very great	194	16	33	12
		Considerable	411	35	120	44
		Not very much	291	25	77	28
Very little		98	8	19	7	
Don't know		184	16	26	9	
9 If the U.S. Soviet Russia and China settle down to competition without war for the next twenty five years, which of the three do you think will end up as the strongest?	U.S.	388	31	90	33	
	Soviet Russia	271	23	70	25	
	China	166	9	31	11	
	All equal	71	6	23	8	
	Don't know	308	31	81	23	
10 All things considered, which country do you think is ahead in total military strength at the present time - the U.S. or Soviet Russia? How about ?						
	In total military strength					
	U.S.	308	26	77	28	
	Russia	489	41	122	44	
	Neither	82	7	17	6	
	Don't know	307	26	59	2	
	In military strength in nuclear weapons					
	U.S.	309	26	85	31	
	Russia	404	34	93	34	
	Neither	123	10	24	9	
	Don't know	350	30	73	26	
	In troops and non-nuclear weapons					
U.S.	238	20	53	19		
Russia	479	40	132	48		
Neither	81	7	18	7		
Don't know	388	33	72	26		

continued....

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DECLASSIFIED PER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12356, Section 3.3, *See # LTR 9/5/1985*

By *56/USW* NARA, Date *9/5/91*

		TOTAL		UPPER CLASS	
		No.	%	No.	%
<p>10 All things considered, which country do you think is ahead in total military strength at the present time - the U.S. or Soviet Russia?</p> <p>How about</p> <p><u>In total economic strength</u></p> <p><u>In scientific development</u></p> <p><u>In space development</u></p>	U.S.	676	57	179	65
	Russia	124	10	33	12
	Neither	38	3	4	1
	Don't know	348	30	50	22
	U.S.	310	26	82	30
	Russia	440	37	104	38
	Neither	115	10	29	11
	Don't know	321	27	80	21
	U.S.	154	13	37	13
	Russia	704	58	186	60
	Neither	99	8	25	0
	Don't know	229	20	47	18
<p>11a) Have you heard or read anything about the European Common Market?</p> <p>b) If Yes, do you happen to know if Great Britain is a member or not of the Common Market at this time?</p> <p><u>If NO or DON'T KNOW:</u></p> <p>c) All things considered, do you approve or disapprove of Britain's joining the Common Market?</p> <p>e) Here are some other nations which might at some time want to become members of the Common Market. For each of these, will you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of permitting them to join the Common Market? How about.....?</p> <p>f) Do you think the Common Market should be an economic union only or do you want it to become a political union also?</p> <p>g) If POLITICAL: Would you like the final authority of such a political union to be with a central government or with the individual states?</p> <p>h) In your opinion, do you think we should work toward an integrated Europe independent of the United States or do you think we should work toward an integrated Europe in close partnership with the United States?</p>	Yes	1076	81	260	95
	No	77	6	9	3
	Don't know	33	3	6	2
	Yes	138	11	32	12
	No	883	75	222	81
	Don't know	55	5	6	2
	Approve	334	28	117	43
	Disapprove	303	26	68	24
	Don't know	301	26	57	19
	<u>Norway</u> Approve	623	53	185	67
	Disapprove	51	4	14	5
	Don't know	402	34	61	23
	<u>Spain</u> Approve	397	33	124	45
	Disapprove	211	18	62	23
	Don't know	488	39	74	27
Economic only	586	49	168	60	
Political only	129	11	43	6	
Don't know	361	31	51	19	
Central Government	76	6	34	12	
Member states	13	4	8	3	
Don't know	10	1	1	#	
Independent	163	14	43	16	
Close partnership	652	55	181	66	
Don't know	261	22	36	13	
<p>12a) Have you heard or read of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization - NATO that is?</p> <p>b) If Yes, have heard Is it your impression that at the present time NATO is in a healthy or a poor condition?</p> <p>c) As you probably know, Spain is not a member of NATO. Would you approve or disapprove of Spain being permitted to join NATO? Strongly or only somewhat?</p>	Yes, have heard	882	74	242	88
	No, have not heard	221	19	28	10
	Don't know	83	7	5	2
	Healthy condition	190	16	47	17
	Poor condition	359	30	124	45
	Don't know	333	28	71	26
	Approve - strongly	146	12	50	18
	Approve - somewhat	215	18	71	26
	Disapprove - somewhat	139	12	37	13
	Disapprove - strongly	75	6	19	7
	Don't know	307	26	65	24

		TOTAL		UPPER CLASS	
		No.	%	No.	%
<p>12d) Is it your impression that Britain is contributing its share, more than its share or less than its share to NATO defence?</p> <p>How about the United States? Is it your impression that the U.S. is contributing its share, more than its share or less than its share to NATO defence?</p>	<u>Britain</u>				
	Contributing its share	475	40	132	48
	Contributing more than its share	173	15	49	18
	Contributing less than its share	32	3	16	6
	Don't know	202	16	45	16
	<u>U.S.</u>				
	Contributing its share	438	37	117	43
	Contributing more than its share	177	15	55	20
	Contributing less than its share	57	5	20	7
	Don't know	212	17	90	18
<p>e) Is it your impression that the military strength of NATO in Western Europe is as great as it needs to be, greater than it needs to be or less than it needs to be at the present time? If less - much less or only somewhat?</p>	Greater	61	5	17	6
	As great	228	19	68	25
	Somewhat less	213	18	67	24
	Much less	81	7	27	10
	Don't know	299	25	83	23
<p>f) If LESS: What do you think is more needed in NATO at the present time, an increase in nuclear strength, or an increase in troops and non-nuclear weapons?</p>	Increase in nuclear strength	84	7	23	8
	Increase in troops and non-nuclear weapons	141	12	50	18
	Don't know	85	7	16	6
	Both	74	6	21	8
<p>h) Do you happen to know if the use of nuclear weapons for NATO defence is under the joint control of all the NATO countries or is it primarily controlled by the U.S.?</p>	Under joint control	147	12	53	19
	Primarily controlled by the U.S.	348	29	101	37
	Don't know	386	33	88	32
<p>i) Unless DON'T KNOW: Do you approve or disapprove of this?</p>	Approve	222	19	74	27
	Disapprove	184	15	54	20
	Don't know	90	7	26	9
<p>j) Which of the following alternatives for European defence is closest to your own opinion?</p> <p>ASK ALL:</p>	The European countries should rely on the nuclear force of the U.S. as at present	157	13	44	16
	There should be a NATO nuclear force controlled by all the NATO allies, including the U.S.	392	33	122	44
	Europeans together should have a joint nuclear force independent of U.S. control	85	7	23	8
	Any NATO country that wishes it should have its own nuclear force	67	6	18	7
	Other	13	1	6	2
	Don't know	168	14	29	11
<p>12a) Would you favour or oppose West Germany having its own nuclear force? How about France? How about Great Britain?</p>	<u>West Germany</u>				
	Favour	172	15	36	13
	Oppose	852	72	215	78
	Don't know	162	13	24	9
	<u>France</u>				
	Favour	278	23	65	24
	Oppose	675	57	170	62
	Don't know	233	20	40	14
	<u>Great Britain</u>				
	Favour	845	54	148	54
	Oppose	373	31	98	36
	Don't know	168	15	29	10

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DECLASSIFIED PER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12356, Section 3.3, *See # LTR 9/5/1995*

By SB/USW NARA, Date 9/5/91

		TOTAL		UPPER CLASS	
		No.	%	No.	%
13a) If Soviet Russia increases its pressure on the Western Powers to get out of West Berlin, do you think we should use force if necessary to remain or should we withdraw our forces?	Use force to remain	566	48	139	51
	Withdraw our forces	292	25	64	23
	Don't know	328	27	72	26
b) <u>IF USE FORCE TO REMAIN or DON'T KNOW:</u> If our use of force meant the likelihood of war with Soviet Russia, should we use force to remain in West Berlin or withdraw?	Use force to remain	387	33	98	36
	Withdraw our forces	201	17	43	16
	Don't know	306	25	70	25
c) <u>IF USE FORCE TO REMAIN or DON'T KNOW:</u> If our use of force meant the likelihood of war with Soviet Russia, involving the use of nuclear weapons, should we use force to remain in West Berlin or withdraw?	Use force to remain	250	21	69	25
	Withdraw our forces	127	11	28	10
	Don't know	316	28	71	26
14a) What are your feelings in general about disarmament? Are you for general and complete disarmament throughout the world, for some partial limitation on arms or for no limitation on arms?	General and complete	656	56	147	53
	Some partial limitation	335	28	82	30
	No limitation	82	7	24	9
	Other	5	#	-	-
	Don't know	108	9	22	8
b) <u>IF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT:</u> Do you think that general and complete disarmament would or would not require an international organization with its own police force? <u>Unless GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT:</u>	Would require	506	43	122	44
	Would not require	46	4	16	6
	Don't know	101	9	9	3
d) <u>What about nuclear disarmament? Would you favour or not favour the abolition of nuclear weapons throughout the world?</u>	Favour	338	28	85	31
	Not favour	105	9	25	9
	Don't know	87	7	18	7
15) <u>IF FAVOUR or DON'T KNOW:</u> Assuming that banning nuclear weapons would leave the Western military forces weaker than the Communist forces, would you be for such a ban or against it?	For ban	114	9	38	14
	Against ban if West left weaker	204	17	48	18
	Don't know	107	9	17	6
16a) Do you think it will be possible or not possible to abolish nuclear weapons throughout the world?	Possible	521	44	130	47
	Not possible	497	42	118	43
	Don't know	168	14	27	10
b) <u>IF POSSIBLE:</u> Do you think it will be possible or not possible to eventually obtain general and complete disarmament throughout the world?	Possible	360	31	85	31
	Not possible	111	9	24	12
	Don't know	50	4	11	4
17) In your opinion, how hard is the U.S. working to obtain an agreement with Soviet Russia on some degree of disarmament? Very hard, fairly hard, not very hard or not at all?	Very hard	296	25	70	25
	Fairly hard	448	38	109	40
	Not very hard	248	21	64	23
	Not at all	42	3	12	5
	Don't know	152	13	20	7
18) And how about Soviet Russia. In your opinion, how hard is Soviet Russia working to obtain an agreement with the U.S. on some degree of disarmament? Very hard, fairly hard, not very hard or not at all?	Very hard	84	7	20	7
	Fairly hard	318	27	70	26
	Not very hard	432	36	122	44
	Not at all	141	12	30	11
	Don't know	211	18	33	12

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DECLASSIFIED PER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12356, Section 3.3, *See # LTR 9/5/95*

By *SP/USW* NARA, Date *9/5/91*

	TOTAL		UPPER CLASS		
	No.	%	No.	%	
19) A main reason why there has been, as yet, no U.S. - Russian agreement to ban nuclear tests is that the U.S. wants checking by international inspectors on each other's soil and Soviet Russia opposes this because they say it will lead to spying. Should the U.S. enter an agreement with Soviet Russia to stop testing without such inspection or should the U.S. continue to insist upon such inspection as part of any agreement?	Should enter agreement	241	20	58	20
	Should insist on inspection	715	60	184	67
	Don't know	230	20	35	13
Would you approve or disapprove of an agreement between the Western Powers and Soviet Russia and its European allies providing for some degree of disarmament in Europe?	Approve	747	63	165	67
	Disapprove	89	8	31	11
	Don't know	350	29	59	22
20a) Do you happen to have heard or read anything about a recent international crisis? If YES:	Yes	973	82	257	94
	No	117	10	12	4
	Don't know	96	8	6	2
c) Who would you say has gained more from the recent Cuban crisis - the U.S., Soviet Russia or did they come out about even? If U.S. or SOVIET RUSSIA gained more - A great deal or only somewhat more?	U.S. gained - a great deal more	332	28	80	33
	U.S. gained - only somewhat more	103	9	30	11
	Came out about even	337	28	83	34
	Russia gained - only somewhat more	35	3	10	4
	Russia gained - a great deal more	20	2	3	1
	Don't know	116	12	25	9
e) Did the events in the recent Cuban crisis change your opinion of the U.S. in any way? If YES:	Yes	250	21	65	24
	No	634	53	173	63
	Don't know	89	8	19	7
g) All things considered, would you say that your opinion of the U.S. changed more in a favourable direction or more in an unfavourable direction?	More favourable	200	16	52	19
	More unfavourable	31	3	7	3
	Neither favourable nor unfavourable	12	1	5	2
	Don't know	7	1	1	#
h) How about Soviet Russia? Did the events in the recent Cuban crisis change your opinion of Soviet Russia in any way? If YES:	Yes	316	26	166	39
	No	542	46	126	45
	Don't know	115	10	23	9
j) All things considered, would you say that your opinion of Russia changed more in a favourable direction or more in an unfavourable direction?	More favourable	237	12	85	31
	More unfavourable	51	5	11	3
	Neither favourable nor unfavourable	23	1	10	4
	Don't know	5	#	2	1
k) Some people say the U.S. should have consulted its West European allies before taking action against Soviet Russia in the Cuban crisis. Others say the situation was so critical that it called for swift action and the U.S. was justified in using its own judgment. With which of these views are you more inclined to agree?	U.S. should have consulted	257	22	63	23
	U.S. was justified	574	48	169	62
	Don't know	142	12	25	9
ASK ALL: m) Some people say that the U.S. should remove its missiles from Turkey, near Soviet Russia, just as Soviet Russia removed its missiles from Cuba, near the U.S. Others say that the two cases are quite different and the U.S. should not remove its missiles from Turkey. With which of these views are you more inclined to agree?	Remove U.S. missiles from Turkey	581	49	146	53
	Don't remove U.S. missiles from Turkey	258	22	68	25
	Other	5	#	4	1
	Don't know	341	29	57	21

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DECLASSIFIED PER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12356, Section 3.3, *See LTR 9/5/1985*

By *SB/USW* NARA, Date *9/5/1991*

		TOTAL		UPPER CLASS	
		No.	%	No.	%
20e) All things considered, do you think the effect of the recent Cuban crisis has been to increase or decrease the likelihood of nuclear war in the near future?	Increase	28	2	3	1
	Decrease	627	53	176	84
	No difference	264	22	63	23
	Don't know	267	23	33	12
p) Which of the following is closest to your opinion as to why there was a peaceful outcome of the Cuban crisis?	Moderation on the part of the Russians	383	32	124	45
	Greater military strength of the U.S.	269	23	85	24
	Peace efforts of other nations	188	16	39	14
	Don't know	377	32	61	22
21) How would you describe present relations between Soviet Russia and Communist China - as very good, good, poor or very poor?	Very good	20	2	6	2
	Good	125	11	35	13
	Poor	448	38	123	45
	Very poor	207	17	54	20
	Don't know	386	32	57	20
22) Do you believe that relations between Soviet Russia and Communist China are likely to become better, become worse or remain about the same in the future?	Better	134	11	37	13
	Worse	306	26	91	33
	No change	284	24	67	24
	Don't know	462	39	80	30
23) Some people have said that in the future Soviet Russia will think of herself as a European state and seek friendship with the West in order to oppose Communist China. Do you think this is likely to happen or unlikely? Very or just somewhat?	Likely - very	144	12	41	15
	- somewhat	254	21	73	27
	Unlikely - somewhat	268	23	70	25
	- very	123	10	27	10
	Don't know	397	34	84	23
24) If a new world war broke out - which naturally nobody desires - do you consider it more likely that nuclear bombs would be used or do you consider it more likely that both sides would avoid using nuclear bombs?	Nuclear bombs would be used	475	40	117	42
	Nuclear bombs would not be used	528	45	123	45
	Don't know	183	15	35	13
25) If there was a general nuclear war, is it your feeling that you personally would be likely to survive or not?	Likely to survive	95	8	26	9
	Not likely to survive	836	70	188	68
	Don't know	255	22	61	23
26) All things considered, do you believe that a general nuclear war is inevitable some time in the future or do you believe that the countries of the world will get together in time on some way to avoid such a happening?	Nuclear war inevitable	96	8	27	10
	Will be avoided	867	73	213	77
	Don't know	223	19	35	13
27a) Would you approve or disapprove of the use of nuclear weapons on enemy soldiers at the front lines, if Western Europe were attacked without use of nuclear weapons?	Approve	95	8	29	10
	Disapprove	934	79	217	80
	Qualified answer	1	#	-	-
	Don't know	136	13	29	10
b) Unless APPROVE: If it were the only way to stop an enemy at the threshold instead of being over-run, would you be for the use of nuclear weapons on enemy soldiers at the front lines?	For in this case	270	23	62	23
	Against	466	40	103	37
	Qualified answer	3	#	-	-
	Don't know	352	29	81	30
28) Some people say that if nuclear weapons are used on a battlefield it will eventually end in nuclear bombing of cities. Others say that this would not happen. Which is closer to your opinion?	Bombing of cities	867	73	212	77
	Would not happen	128	11	29	11
	Don't know	191	16	34	12

		TOTAL		OPPER CLASS	
		No.	%	No.	%
<p>Some people say that the United States should remove its nuclear missiles from bases near Soviet Russia, just as the Soviet Union removed its nuclear missiles from Cuba, near the United States. Others say that the two cases are quite different, and the United States should not remove its missiles.</p> <p>With which of these views are you more inclined to agree?</p>	U.S. should remove missiles	450	45	136	52
	U.S. should not remove missiles	307	30	82	31
	Other replies	17	2	6	2
	Don't know	241	23	40	15
<p><u>If don't remove U.S. missiles: In what way would you say the two cases are different?</u></p>	American bases set up openly; Cuban bases set up secretly and denied in spite of all evidence that they did exist	10	1	2	1
	American bases are a part of NATO. The bases were set up under conditions of the alliance agreement	5	#	2	1
	Cuba was a new attempt at upsetting the balance of power. The American bases are already established - Russia also has established bases, but Cuba is a new one	11	1	4	1
	America is a more trustworthy, responsible nation	14	1	3	1
	Russia has missile bases near Europe, we need U.S. bases for protection. U.S. bases non-aggressive, Russian bases aggressive.	127	13	35	13
	Cuba was much nearer, the American bases are not as near not as dangerous, Strategic difference	17	2	1	#
	Not different but America must keep them. Show power by keeping them, not withdrawn	4	#	2	1
	Other differences	35	3	10	4
	Don't know	86	8	23	9
	<p>On this card we find two people expressing different views about banning nuclear tests (Show CARD B)</p> <p>Mr. A, says: "The United States should enter into an immediate agreement with the Soviet Union to ban nuclear testing even if Russia will not permit as much checking in both countries as the United States requests?"</p> <p>Mr. B, says: "The United States should not enter into an agreement with the Soviet Union to ban nuclear tests unless Russia agrees to as much checking in both countries as the United States feels necessary?"</p> <p>Do you agree more with Mr. A or more with Mr. B?</p>	Mr. A - For immediate ban	341	33	100
Mr. B - Against ban without checking		474	46	126	48
Qualified answer		17	2	3	1
Don't know		192	19	35	13

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DECLASSIFIED PER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12356, Section 3.3, See LTR 9/5/1985

By SB/USW NARA, Date 9/5/191

		TOTAL		UPPER CLASS	
		No.	%	No.	%
29) Do you believe that one can rely on America using nuclear bombs only in an extreme emergency or do you believe that America might be too rash in using nuclear bombs?	Would use only in an extreme emergency	883	58	178	85
	Might use rashly	309	28	89	25
	Don't know	184	18	28	10
30a) Is there a radio in your household?	Yes	1111	93	288	97
	Yes, but not working	29	2	4	1
	No	55	5	5	2
b) <u>if YES</u> : Can your radio (or one of your radios) receive short-wave broadcasts?	Yes	478	40	115	42
	No	533	45	119	43
	Don't know	120	10	38	13

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DECLASSIFIED PER EXECUTIVE ORDER 12356, Section 3.3, See # LTR 9/5/1985

By SB/USW NARA, Date 9/5/19/