

Appendix I

Poll Questionnaire and Results

I am calling for the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland. We are interested in your opinion about current events. I would like to read you a number of statements that present different views on United Nations peacekeeping operations. Please indicate how convincing you find each statement.

[Randomize order for Questions 1-4]

1. UN peacekeeping operations have been very effective in resolving conflicts in a variety of countries including Cambodia, El Salvador and Namibia. Ending UN peacekeeping would be immoral because war and suffering would go on longer than they would have to and many innocent people would die. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

24% Very convincing
38% Somewhat convincing
18% Somewhat unconvincing
17% Very unconvincing
3% Don't know/Refused

2. The only way for the US to not always be the "world policeman" is to allow the UN the means to perform some policing functions. UN peacekeeping is a way we can share the burden with other countries. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

38% Very convincing
38% Somewhat convincing
13% Somewhat unconvincing
8% Very unconvincing
3% Don't know/Refused

3. Strife and violence are an inevitable part of the development of nations. When UN peacekeeping forces try to intervene, they interfere with a natural process and tend to do more harm than good. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

14% Very convincing
22% Somewhat convincing
33% Somewhat unconvincing
27% Very unconvincing
4% Don't know/Refused

4. Intervening in other people's problems, even as part of a UN peacekeeping operation, is too costly and too risky. Each country should just focus on its own concerns and let others take care of themselves. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

20% Very convincing
16% Somewhat convincing
21% Somewhat unconvincing
40% Very unconvincing
3% Don't know/Refused

5. Now, overall, would you say that you favor or oppose the idea of UN peacekeeping operations? (Would this be strongly or somewhat?)

46% Strongly favor
38% Somewhat favor
8% Somewhat oppose
5% Strongly oppose
3% Don't know/Refused

6. In principle do you favor or oppose the idea of sending in UN peacekeeping forces when the combatants in a civil war want the UN to help try to resolve the conflict? (Would this be strongly or somewhat?)

39% Strongly favor
30% Somewhat favor
10% Somewhat oppose
14% Strongly oppose
7% Don't know/Refused

7. In principle do you favor or oppose the idea of sending in UN peacekeeping forces when atrocities are being committed against large numbers of people? (Would this be strongly or somewhat?)

63% Strongly favor
 20% Somewhat favor
 6% Somewhat oppose
 8% Strongly oppose
 3% Don't know/Refused

8. In principle do you favor or oppose the idea of sending in UN peacekeeping forces when gross human rights violations are being committed against large numbers of people? (Would this be strongly or somewhat?)

58% Strongly favor
 23% Somewhat favor
 8% Somewhat oppose
 7% Strongly oppose
 4% Don't know/Refused

9. Just this last October a violent civil war has broken out in the African country called Burundi. Many thousands of people have died in the conflict and 800,000 people have fled the country. The government has requested that the UN send peacekeeping forces to help stabilize the situation and to try to restore democratic government. Do you favor or oppose sending UN peacekeeping forces for this purpose? (Would this be strongly or somewhat?)

36% Strongly favor
 37% Somewhat favor
 8% Somewhat oppose
 12% Strongly oppose
 7% Don't know/Refused

10. Do you think that the United States should contribute troops to UN peacekeeping operations:
 [Reverse order of 1-3 for half sample]

49% 1) In most cases
 42% 2) Only in exceptional cases that directly affect US interests
 5% 3) Never
 3% Don't know/Refused

11. Based on what you know is it your impression that the US has contributed troops to:

18% All UN peacekeeping operations
 61% Most UN peacekeeping operations

18% Just a couple of UN peacekeeping operations
 2% No UN peacekeeping operations

12. Based on what you know, do you feel the amount of money the US spends on UN peacekeeping operations is probably too much or too little? [Volunteer about right]

59% Too much
 10% About right
 15% Too little
 16% Don't know/Refused

Statement: In 1993 the US contributed approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars to UN peacekeeping. Congress has authorized about the about the same for 1994. Just to give you an idea of how much that is I will tell you how much is spent on a number of other items.

[Reverse Order of Items for Half Sample]
 For disaster relief for hurricane Andrew in Florida-- 9 billion dollars
 For law Enforcement in City of Philadelphia-- one third of a billion dollars per year
 For the Defense budget -- \$261 billion dollars per year
 For a C-17 Cargo plane-- one third of a billion dollars
 For Medicare -- 131 billion dollars per year

13. Now again, the amount the US contributes to UN peacekeeping is approximately three quarters of a billion dollars. Is this amount higher or lower than you expected? [Would that be somewhat or much (higher/lower)? Volunteer about same]

13% Much higher
 18% Somewhat higher
 10% About Same
 30% Somewhat lower
 25% Much lower
 4% Don't know/Refused

14. Based on your view of the value of UN peacekeeping, does this amount strike you as higher or lower than it should be? [Would that be somewhat or much (higher/lower)? Volunteer about right]

13% Much higher
 26% Somewhat higher
 11% About Right
 27% Somewhat lower
 15% Much lower
 8% Don't know/Refused

[Half sample only for questions 15-20]

15. As a taxpayer, how many tax dollars would you feel comfortable paying personally each year toward UN peacekeeping?

[If necessary clarify that this is the amount that they would be paying individually]

\$ 10.00 Median
 \$115.41 Mean

16. In fact the average American spends about \$4.00 in taxes each year on UN peacekeeping. Is this higher or lower than you expected? [Would that be somewhat or much (higher/lower)? Volunteer about same]

5% Much higher
 10% Somewhat higher
 8% About Same
 28% Somewhat lower
 46% Much lower
 3% Don't know/Refused

17. Based on your view of the value of UN peacekeeping, does this amount strike you as higher or lower than it should be? [Would that be somewhat or much (higher/lower)? Volunteer about right]

7% Much higher
 14% Somewhat higher
 12% About Right
 33% Somewhat lower
 29% Much lower
 5% Don't know/Refused

18. How much money, if any, would you be willing to pay in increased taxes in support of UN peacekeeping?

46% Willing to increase
 40% Not willing to increase
 14% Don't know/Refused

Of those willing to increase their taxes:
 \$10.00 Median

Of the total sample:
 \$ 1.00 Median
 \$17.86 Mean

19. As I have already mentioned, at present there is a civil war in the African country of Burundi. The government there has asked for the UN to send peacekeeping forces. The UN, however, has denied this request because there is not enough money left in the peacekeeping budget for new operations. How do you feel about this situation? Would you say it:
 [Reverse order of 1-4 for half sample]

12% 1) does not trouble you at all
 28% 2) troubles you a little
 35% 3) troubles you somewhat
 21% 4) troubles you very much
 4% Don't know/Refused

20. How much money, if any, would you be willing to pay in increased taxes this year to make it possible for the UN to send peacekeeping forces to try to settle the civil war in Burundi?

42% Willing to increase
 39% Not willing to increase
 18% Don't know/Refused

Of those willing to increase their taxes:
 \$ 7.00 Median

Of the total sample:
 \$ 1.00 Median
 \$11.45 Mean

[Half sample only for questions 21 - 26]

21. Some members of Congress have proposed that UN peacekeeping should be funded through the defense budget. Does this make sense to you or not?

61% Does make sense
 35% Does not make sense
 4% Don't know/Refused

22. If this were to occur, what percentage of the defense budget do you think should be devoted to UN peacekeeping?

10 % Median
16.8% Mean

23. In fact the US spends approximately one-fourth of one percent of the defense budget on UN peacekeeping. Is this higher or lower than you expected? [Would that be somewhat or much (higher/lower)? Volunteer about same]

5% Much higher
11% Somewhat higher
9% About Same
25% Somewhat lower
44% Much lower
6% Don't know/Refused

24. Based on your view of the value of UN peacekeeping, does this amount strike you as higher or lower than it should be? [Would that be somewhat or much (higher/lower)? Volunteer about right]

7% Much higher
19% Somewhat higher
9% About Right
27% Somewhat lower
31% Much lower
7% Don't know/Refused

25. Would you be willing to cut spending in some other area of the defense budget so as to increase spending on UN peacekeeping? Maybe or definitely?

32% Definitely yes
30% Maybe yes
7% Maybe no
24% Definitely no
7% Don't know/Refused

Statement: Another controversial issue is whether the US should pay its UN peacekeeping dues in full. For several years now, the US has significantly underpaid its dues. Last year it paid less than half. Here are some arguments that have been made on this issue. Please tell me if you find them convincing or unconvincing.

[For half sample reverse order for questions 26 -29]

26. Since all peacekeeping operations must be approved by the US and the US agreed to pay a certain share of the UN peacekeeping budget, it is hypocritical for the US to not pay its dues. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

34% Very convincing
31% Somewhat convincing
16% Somewhat unconvincing
16% Very unconvincing
3% Don't know/Refused

27. UN peacekeeping is a nice idea, but with the American economy having the troubles that it is, we should postpone paying our full dues until things get better here. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

21% Very convincing
19% Somewhat convincing
25% Somewhat unconvincing
32% Very unconvincing
3% Don't know/Refused

28. UN peacekeeping helps contribute to stability in the world. This makes it less likely the US will need to do expensive things like sending military aid and US troops to other countries. In the long run, if we don't spend money on UN peacekeeping we will probably end up spending more money on defense. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

34% Very convincing
32% Somewhat convincing
17% Somewhat unconvincing
15% Very unconvincing
2% Don't know/Refused

29. UN peacekeeping is a bad idea. It tries to solve other people's problems in parts of the world that are of little concern to the US. We should pay as little as possible for UN peacekeeping--preferably nothing. Do you find this argument convincing or unconvincing? (Would that be somewhat or very?)

11% Very convincing
 10% Somewhat convincing
 22% Somewhat unconvincing
 56% Very unconvincing
 1% Don't know/Refused

30. So, now, do you think the US :
 [For half sample reverse order for questions 1-3]

5% 1) should not pay any of its UN peacekeeping dues
 34% 2) should pay a partial amount of its UN peacekeeping dues
 55% 3) should pay its UN peacekeeping dues in full
 6% Don't know/Refused

31. Some people have concerns about whether the amount the US is being assessed for UN peacekeeping, relative to other countries, is fair. Just based on what you know, is your impression that the amount the US is being assessed is too high or too low or about right? [If they say too high or too low] (Would that be somewhat or very?)

16% Very much too high
 18% Somewhat too high
 32% About right
 10% Somewhat too low
 4% Very much too low
 20% Don't know/Refused

Statement: In face the US is assessed just over 30% of the UN peacekeeping budget. Assessments are based on a nation's share of the world economy or GNP plus an extra charge for permanent members of the Security Council who can veto peacekeeping operations. the US is charged 25% because that is its share of world GNP plus an additional 5% because it is a permanent member of the Security Council.

32. Does this amount seem too high or too low to you or about right? [If they say too high or too low](Would that be somewhat or very much?)

13% Very much too high
 20% Somewhat too high

58% About right
 3% Somewhat too low
 1% Very much too low
 5% Don't know/Refused

Statement: At present most UN members are far behind in paying their assessed share for UN peacekeeping and as a result UN peacekeeping operations are nearly out of money.

33. Do you think the UN should be able to charge countries interest on the amount they owe for back dues for peacekeeping so as to encourage them to pay sooner rather than later?

63% Yes
 30% No
 7% Don't know/Refused

Statement: Now a last few questions, rather than answering in terms of what you feel, I would like to hear your hunch about how the average American feels.

34. Overall would you say that the average American favors or opposes the general idea of UN peacekeeping operations? (Would that be strongly or somewhat?)

21% Strongly favor
 44% Somewhat favor
 18% Somewhat oppose
 11% Strongly oppose
 6% Don't know/Refused

35. Would you say that if the average American was informed about the civil war in the African country of Burundi that they would favor or oppose sending UN peacekeeping troops there? (Would this be strongly or somewhat?)

13% Strongly favor
 32% Somewhat favor
 26% Somewhat oppose
 23% Strongly oppose
 6% Don't know/Refused

36. Do you think the average American feels that the amount the US spends on UN peacekeeping operations is probably too much or too little? [Volunteer about right]

74% Too much
 8% About right
 12% Too little
 6% Don't know/Refused

37. Do you think that the average American would favor spending more on UN peacekeeping or less on peacekeeping than you would? [Volunteer about the same]

17% More
 70% Less
 7% About the same
 6% Don't know/Refused

38. How much do you think the average American would feel comfortable personally spending in taxes each year on UN peacekeeping?

\$ 4.00 Median
 \$21.00 Mean

Statement: Now I would like to ask you just a few questions about Bosnia.

39. As you may know, Serbs positioned in the hills around Sarajevo have been attacking civilians. The US together with its NATO allies has just issued an ultimatum saying that the Serbs must pull their artillery back several miles or else NATO will make airstrikes against the Serbian positions. Do you favor or oppose NATO issuing this ultimatum? (Would that be somewhat or strongly?)

53% Strongly favor
 23% Somewhat favor
 9% Somewhat oppose
 10% Strongly oppose
 5% Don't know/Refused

40. Regardless of your feeling about the ultimatum, if the Serbs fail to pull back, do you favor or oppose the US, together with its NATO allies, following through on the threat to make airstrikes against Serbian positions? (Would that be somewhat or strongly?)

56% Strongly favor
 24% Somewhat favor
 6% Somewhat oppose

10% Strongly oppose
 4% Don't know/Refused

41. If the parties to the war in Bosnia do come to a peace agreement, the US has agreed to contribute US troops, together with other countries, to a UN peacekeeping operation to enforce the agreement. Do you favor or oppose having the US contribute such troops? (Would that be somewhat or strongly?)

36% Strongly favor
 36% Somewhat favor
 8% Somewhat oppose
 17% Strongly oppose
 3% Don't know/Refused

Statement: In closing, I would like to ask a few questions about you. This is for statistical analysis only.

42. Age

16% 18 - 25
 28% 26 - 35
 23% 36 - 45
 14% 46 - 55
 8% 56 - 65
 10% Over 65
 1% Refused

43. Are you a registered voter?

87% Yes
 12% No
 1% Refused

44. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

18% Strongly Republican
 16% Leaning Towards Republican
 16% Strongly Democrat
 12% Leaning Towards Democrat
 29% Independent
 6% Other
 3% Don't know/Refused

45. Do you think of yourself as:

12% Leaning Toward Liberal
 6% Strongly Liberal
 21% Leaning Toward Conservative

APPENDIX 2

HOW POLL WAS CONDUCTED

- 18% Strongly Conservative
- 39% Neither or Middle of the Road
- 4% Don't know\Refused

46. What is the highest level of education that you have had:

- 7% Some High School
- 23% High School Graduate
- 33% Some College
- 22% Year College Degree
- 14% Advanced Degree (Master's Plus)
- 1% Refused

47. What is your ethnic affiliation?

- 82% White/Caucasian
- 7% Black/African American
- 2% Asian American
- 5% Hispanic/Mexican American
- 1% Native American
- 2% Other
- 1% Refused

48. [Determine if respondent is male or female and select appropriate answer.]

- 52% Male
- 48% Female

This poll was conducted on February 9-13, 1994. 700 American adults (52% males, 48% females) were interviewed by telephone by National Research Inc., in Washington, D.C..

Respondents were chosen from all households in the nation by a random digit dialing sample using the Genesys System and was provided by the Marketing Systems Group in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Interviewers observed gender quotas. The margin of error was plus or minus 4%.