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China's Neighbors Worry About Its Growing Military Strength
PUBLICS OF ASIAN POWERS HOLD NEGATIVE VIEWS OF
ONE ANOTHER

6-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey

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China's Neighbors Worry About Its Growing Military Strength

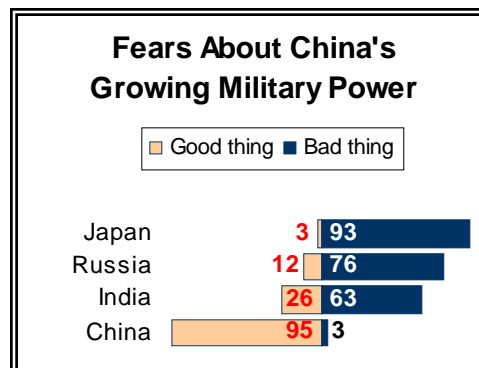
PUBLICS OF ASIAN POWERS HOLD NEGATIVE VIEWS OF ONE ANOTHER

There is a good deal of dislike, if not outright hostility, in how the publics of major Asian countries view their neighbors. The deepest divides exist between traditional rivals – roughly seven-in-ten Japanese express an unfavorable view of China and an equal number of Chinese dislike Japan. Similarly, most Indians have an unfavorable view of Pakistan and most Pakistanis hold negative views about India. But there are other divisions as well. Both the Chinese and Japanese express generally unfavorable views of Pakistan, while the Chinese tend to feel negatively toward India as well.

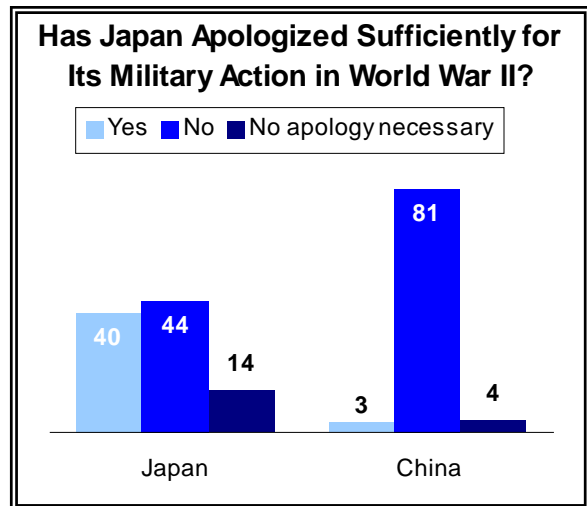
Anxiety about the growing strength of China's military is nearly universal in Japan. That concern is shared with others among China's neighbors – large majorities in both Russia and India see this as a threatening trend. The Chinese, however, have a very different view: 95% say their rising military might is a good thing.

In China, much of the antipathy toward Japan is rooted in history – overwhelmingly, the Chinese believe Japan has yet to atone for its militaristic past. Eight-in-ten Chinese (81%) believe Japan has not apologized sufficiently for its military actions during the 1930s and 1940s. And departing Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's repeated visits to the Yasukuni Shrine, a controversial Shinto shrine that memorializes Japan's war dead, including Class A World War II war criminals, are viewed very negatively in China.

<i>Favorability rating of...</i>	China	Japan	India	Pakistan
	%	%	%	%
<i>China</i>				
Favorable	94	28	47	69
Unfavorable	5	71	39	7
<i>Japan</i>				
Favorable	21	77	60	43
Unfavorable	70	22	25	16
<i>India</i>				
Favorable	33	65	--	33
Unfavorable	43	28	--	50
<i>Pakistan</i>				
Favorable	33	33	23	--
Unfavorable	42	49	67	--
<i>United States</i>				
Favorable	47	63	56	27
Unfavorable	43	35	28	56



The latest survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project – conducted in China, India, Japan, Pakistan, Russia, and the United States, from March 31-May 14, 2006¹ – finds that the Japanese and Chinese tend to associate a number of negative characteristics with one another, and tend not to see certain positive traits in one another. Both publics consider the other competitive, as well as greedy and arrogant; neither sees the other as honest or generous.



The Chinese and Japanese publics also hold very different views of their common neighbor, North Korea. Nearly all Japanese have a negative opinion of Kim Jong Il’s country, while in China attitudes toward North Korea tend to be favorable. Majorities in both countries have a positive opinion of South Korea, although a significant minority of Japanese sees the country in a negative light.

Other Major Findings

- A solid majority of the Indian public believes China will replace the U.S. as the world’s dominant superpower at some point in the next 50 years. However, only minorities among the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians agree, as do 43% of Americans,
- As Koizumi prepares to step down, he remains quite popular at home; however he is decidedly unpopular in China.
- The Chinese have very positive feelings about hosting the 2008 Summer Olympics, and they overwhelmingly believe the Games will help improve China’s international reputation.
- In China, a strong majority believes most people are better off now, even if some are rich and some are still poor.

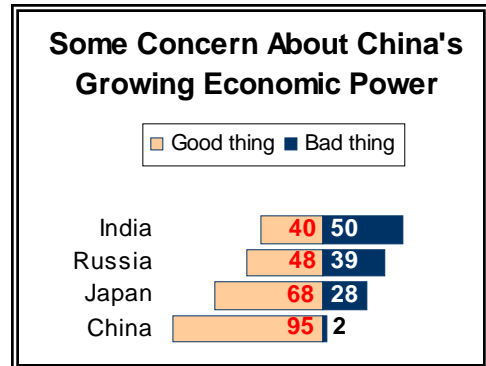
About This Report

The report’s detailed findings are presented below. A description of the Pew Global Attitudes Project can be found at the end of the report, along with a summary of the survey’s methodology and complete topline results.

¹ These six countries are part of a larger 15-country survey conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project. Some data from Indonesia is also included as part of this report. See pewglobal.org for previous reports and other data from this survey.

The Rise of China

China's economy generates much less concern in the region than does its military. Still, half of Indians (50%) consider China's growing economy a bad thing for their country, up significantly from 36% in 2005. Roughly four-in-ten Russians (39%) have a negative view of China's economic strength, a figure basically unchanged from last year. Just over a quarter of Japanese (28%) take a negative view – a perhaps surprisingly low percentage, given the overall negativity of Japanese views toward China. Unsurprisingly, the Chinese themselves see their economic growth in a very positive light.



There is no consensus about the future balance of power between the U.S. and China. Asked when, if ever, China will replace the U.S. as the world's leading superpower, relatively few respondents think such a transition will take place in the next ten years, although a third (32%) of Indians do believe this. If the time frame is extended to the next 20 or next 50 years, however, many more people see China ascending to this role. Indeed, 43% of Americans and 37% of Chinese join 65% of Indians in saying China will replace the U.S. as the world's dominant power either in the next 10, 20, or 50 years. Japan is the only country in which a majority (59%) says China will never supplant the U.S.

	Will happen in...			Will not replace (%)	DK (%)
	10 yrs (%)	20 yrs (%)	50 yrs (%)		
India	32	24	9	24	12
U.S.	11	22	10	47	9
Russia	10	17	13	45	15
Japan	7	19	13	59	3
China	4	13	20	34	29

Antipathy Between China and Japan

Few Chinese and Japanese have a positive impression of the other country. Only one-in-five Chinese (21%) have a favorable view of Japan. Meanwhile, 28% of Japanese have a positive opinion of China, down considerably from 2002 when over half (55%) viewed China favorably.

Moreover, the Chinese and Japanese tend to associate negative characteristics with the people of the other country. In particular, both countries consider the other competitive, greedy, and arrogant. The Japanese are especially likely to say the Chinese are nationalistic and selfish, while the Chinese tend to see the Japanese as male-dominated.

On the positive side, majorities in both countries see the other's citizens as hardworking. And most Chinese see the Japanese as inventive and modern, although far fewer Japanese see the Chinese this way. In both China and Japan, relatively few characterize people from the other country as sophisticated, tolerant, honest, or generous.

Despite the negative views the Chinese and Japanese have about one another, in neither country does a majority see the other as an adversary – about a third of both the Chinese (33%) and Japanese (31%) think of the other country in this way. However, in Japan, 53% consider China a serious problem, and 34% of Chinese say the same about Japan. In both countries, relatively few say the other is not much of a problem (16% in China, 15% in Japan).

Chinese and Japanese See Negative Traits in One Another		
	Chinese view of Japanese	Japanese view of Chinese
	%	%
Competitive	74	84
Male-dominated	72	62
Arrogant	69	66
Greedy	68	69
Selfish	67	75
Nationalistic	66	82
Violent	65	50
Hardworking	61	64
Rude	57	52
Inventive	68	45
Modern	68	29
Sophisticated	42	20
Tolerant	22	27
Honest	15	23
Generous	9	20

When asked which country in the world poses the greatest danger to their country, most Chinese (58%) say the U.S., while 22% name Japan. The Japanese are roughly divided between those who consider China the biggest threat (39%) and those who feel that North Korea (35%) presents the greatest danger to their country. Nearly one-in-five (18%) Japanese think the U.S. poses the greatest threat to Japan.

Rating Koizumi and Hu

Outgoing Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi remains relatively popular at home, as 61% of Japanese have a lot or some confidence in him to do the right thing in world affairs. In China, however, Koizumi receives low marks – 58% say they have either not too much or no confidence in the Japanese leader. The Japanese reciprocate by giving China's leader an even more negative rating – 71% say they have either not too much or no confidence in Chinese President Hu Jintao.

Japanese and Chinese Have Little Confidence in Each Other's Leader		
	Hu	Koizumi
	%	%
Japan		
A lot/some confidence	25	61
Not too much/no confidence	71	38
Don't know	4	1
China		
A lot/some confidence	--	10
Not too much/no confidence	--	58
Don't know	--	32
Indonesia		
A lot/some confidence	37	48
Not too much/no confidence	33	26
Don't know	30	26
India		
A lot/some confidence	24	30
Not too much/no confidence	37	30
Don't know	39	40
Russia		
A lot/some confidence	39	--
Not too much/no confidence	25	--
Don't know	36	--

Elsewhere, 48% of Indonesians have a lot or some confidence in Koizumi, compared with only 26% who have not too much or no confidence in the Japanese leader. They are more divided over Hu: 37% say they have at least some confidence, while 33% have not too much or none.

Indians are divided between those who generally have confidence in Koizumi (30%) and those who do not (30%). Their views about Hu are more negative, with 37% saying they have little or no confidence and 24% voicing at least some confidence in the Chinese leader.

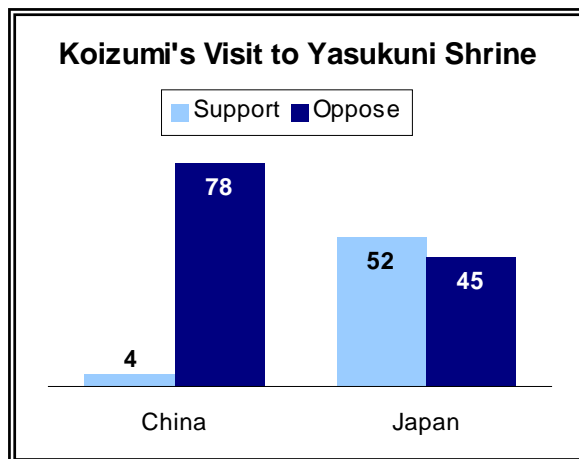
The Legacy of World War II

The belief that Japan has not sufficiently apologized for its military actions in the 1930s and 1940s is widely held in China, but nearly half of the Japanese public also thinks their country has not atoned for World War II. The opinion that Japan’s apology has not been adequate is particularly common among Japanese women (47%) and less common among Japanese age 65 and over (33%).

	Yes %	No %	No apology necessary %	DK %
Total	40	44	14	2
Men	41	40	18	1
Women	39	47	10	4
18-34	37	48	15	1
35-49	42	42	11	4
50-64	36	53	10	1
65+	44	33	20	3

Japanese respondents only.

An ongoing flashpoint for tensions between the two Asian powers has been Prime Minister Koizumi’s regular visits to the Yasukuni Shrine. Chinese opposition to these visits is overwhelming (78% oppose), while the Japanese are divided – 52% support the visits and 45% oppose them. In Japan, opinions about the Prime Minister’s shrine visits are strongly correlated with how people feel about Koizumi in general: 66% of those who have a lot or some confidence in him support his trips to Yasukuni, compared with only 30% of those who have little or no confidence in him.



To many observers, the shrine visits call to mind Japan’s militaristic past, but the Japanese public shows no signs of abandoning the country’s post-WWII pacifism. Two-thirds (67%) oppose changing Article 9 of the Japanese constitution, written in 1947, which prevents the country from using warfare as an instrument of foreign policy, and at least in theory, prohibits the establishment of an official military.²

² Article 9 has generally been interpreted to allow for “self-defense” forces, hence the establishment of the Japanese Self Defense Forces (JSDF).

Culture and the Economy

Both the Japanese and Chinese are extremely proud of their distinctive cultures. Large and growing majorities in both countries agree with the statement “Our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others.” In Japan, 83% agree with this sentiment, up from 73% in 2002. Three-in-four Chinese (75%) say they agree, up from 66% four years ago.³

There is also a strong sense in both countries that their cultures must be protected against outside

influences. In Japan, 78% agree with the statement “Our way of life needs to be protected against foreign influence,” a significant increase from four years ago, when 63% felt this way. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) Chinese agree with this statement, up slightly from 64% in 2002.⁴

While they may have reservations about the impact of globalization on their culture, the Chinese overwhelmingly embrace the free market reforms that have transformed their country in recent years, even if those reforms have created economic disparities. Fully 77% agree that “Most people have a better life now, even though some are rich and some are still poor.”

Differing Views About Korea

With near unanimity, the Japanese public takes a dim view of North Korea – 97% have a negative opinion of their communist neighbor across the Sea of Japan. In China, however, about half of the public (51%) has a positive view of North Korea and just 31% have an unfavorable view. The Japanese also feel much more threatened by Kim Jong Il’s regime than do the Chinese – 46% of Japanese consider the North Korean government a great danger to stability in Asia and world peace, compared with only 11% in China.⁵

Views on Culture and the Economy			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>Our people are not perfect but our culture is superior to others.</i>			
China	75	21	4
Summer, 2002	66	29	5
Japan	83	17	*
Summer, 2002	73	25	2
<i>Our way of life needs to be protected against foreign influence.</i>			
China	69	25	6
Summer, 2002	64	31	5
Japan	78	21	1
Summer, 2002	63	35	2
<i>Most people have a better life now, even though some are rich and some are still poor.</i>			
China	77	22	2

³ The 2002 Pew Global Attitudes survey revealed that agreement with this statement is common in different parts of the world. Indeed, majorities agreed in 36 of 43 countries where this question was asked.

⁴ In 2002, majorities agreed with this statement in all 43 countries where the question was asked.

⁵ For more on this question, see “America’s Image Slips, But Allies Share U.S. Concerns Over Iran, Hamas; No Global Warming Alarm in the U.S., China,” Pew Global Attitudes Project, June 13, 2006.

South Korea also receives more favorable marks in China than in Japan. Fully 64% of Chinese have a favorable view of South Korea, while only 18% have a negative view. Meanwhile, most (56%) Japanese also have a positive view of South Korea, but a significant minority (43%) sees the country negatively.

Japan and China also differ over the likelihood of Korean unification. The vast majority of Japanese (71%) say North and South Korea will not be unified in the near future, while 25% think they will. In China, a plurality (39%) say the two Koreas will be unified sometime soon, while 26% say this will not take place, and roughly one-in-three (35%) are unable to offer an opinion.

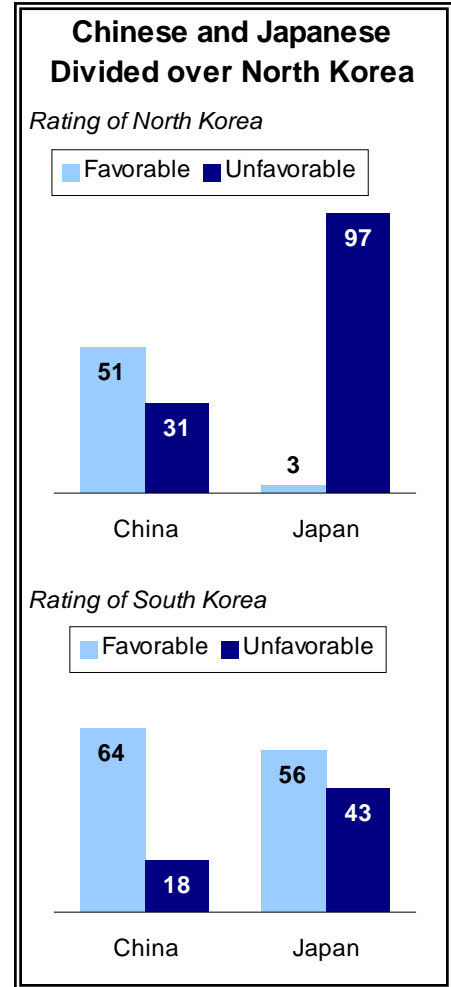
Olympic Fever in China

The Chinese public is enthusiastic about hosting the 2008 Summer Olympics. Almost unanimously, they believe the Olympics will be a good thing for China (97% good thing, 1% bad thing). And more than nine-in-ten (93%) say the Olympics will help China’s image around the world, while 1% believe the international spotlight will hurt their country’s image, and 3% say it will have no impact.

Of course, the Olympics are already receiving a great deal of attention in China, but a plurality (43%) of Chinese say that it is the right amount of attention. Another 21% say not enough attention is being devoted to the Olympics, while one-quarter (25%) think there is too much focus on the 2008 Games.

U.S.-India Relations

Diplomatic relations between the U.S. and India have grown closer over the last few years, as evidenced by President Bush’s trip to India earlier this year, as well as the recent nuclear agreement between the two countries.⁶ And these growing ties are reflected in Indian public opinion: 70% of Indians believe relations between their country and the U.S. have improved in recent years, and those who think relations have improved overwhelmingly consider this a good thing.



⁶ Under the agreement, the U.S. and India would cooperate on civilian nuclear technology, and the U.S. would essentially recognize India’s status as a nuclear power. The agreement has not yet received congressional approval in the U.S.

Meanwhile, four-in-ten (43%) Pakistanis say U.S.-India relations have gotten better, and they are divided over whether this is a positive development. Only 16% of Pakistanis think relations between the U.S. and neighboring India have not improved; 42% are unable to offer an opinion.

Most Indians (62%) have heard about the nuclear agreement between the U.S. and their country, while only 25% of Pakistanis are aware of this. In India, three-quarters (75%) of those who have heard of the nuclear deal approve of it, while in Pakistan the reverse is true – roughly three-quarters (73%) of those who are aware of the deal oppose it.

Have Relations Improved Between the U.S. and...		
	<u>India</u>	<u>Pakistan</u>
<i>Indian opinion</i>	%	%
Improved	70	40
Good thing	64	26
Bad thing	4	12
Neither	2	1
Don't know	*	1
Not improved	20	41
Don't know	10	19
<i>Pakistani opinion</i>		
Improved	43	49
Good thing	21	41
Bad thing	18	5
Neither	3	3
Don't know	1	1
Not improved	16	20
Don't know	42	30

U.S.-Pakistani Relations

There is no consensus in Pakistan about the direction of U.S.-Pakistani relations – roughly half (49%) say relations have improved in recent years, while 20% believe they have not improved and 30% offer no opinion. The overwhelming majority of those who believe relations have grown stronger believe this is a positive development.

Indians are divided over whether U.S.-Pakistani relations have strengthened in recent years – 40% say they have, 41% believe they have not, and 19% are not sure. Those who think relations have improved tend to consider this a positive trend.

About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys encompassing a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Group LLC, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Since its inception in 2001, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* has released 16 major reports, as well as numerous commentaries and other releases, on topics including attitudes towards the U.S. and American foreign policy, globalization, terrorism, and democratization.

Findings from the project are also analyzed in *America Against the World: How We Are Different and Why We Are Disliked*, a recent book by Andrew Kohut and Bruce Stokes, a *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team member and international economics columnist at the *National Journal*.

Pew Global Attitudes Project team members also include Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, and Wendy Sherman, principal at The Albright Group LLC. Contributors to the report and to the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* include Rich Morin, Richard Wike, Carroll Doherty, Paul Taylor, Michael Dimock, Elizabeth Mueller Gross, Jodie T. Allen, and others of the Pew Research Center. The *International Herald Tribune* is the project's international newspaper partner. For this survey, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team consulted with survey and policy experts, regional and academic experts, and policymakers. Their expertise provided tremendous guidance in shaping the survey.

Following each release, the project also produces a series of in-depth analyses on specific topics covered in the survey, which will be found at pewglobal.org. The data are also made available on our website within two years of publication.

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Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys

<u>Survey</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Summer 2002	44 Nations	38,263
November 2002	6 Nations	6,056
March 2003	9 Nations	5,520
May 2003	21 Publics*	15,948
March 2004	9 Nations	7,765
May 2005	17 Nations	17,766
Spring 2006	15 Nations	16,710

* Includes Palestinian Authority.

Methodological Appendix

ABOUT THE 2006 GLOBAL ATTITUDES SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International, which manages the fieldwork conducted by local research organizations in each country. All surveys are based on national samples except in China, India, and Pakistan, where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban.

The table below shows the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country. For results based on the full sample in a given country, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Country: **China**
Sample design: Probability sample in six cities and surrounding rural areas – Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Xixiang, Jinzhong, and Luzhou
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 to 60
Languages: Chinese (dialects: Mandarin, Beijingsese, Cantonese, Sichun, Hubei, Dongbei, Shanghaiese)
Fieldwork dates: April 7-18, 2006
Sample size: 2180
Margin of Error: 2%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **India**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18-64
Languages: Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Kannada, Bengali
Fieldwork dates: April 15-May 3, 2006
Sample size: 2029
Margin of Error: 2%
Representative: Urban only

Country: **Japan**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Japanese
Fieldwork dates: March 31-April 21, 2006
Sample size: 500
Margin of Error: 5%
Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Pakistan**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Urdu
Fieldwork dates: April 7-28, 2006
Sample size: 1277
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Russia**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian
Fieldwork dates: April 6-16, 2006
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **United States**
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: English
Fieldwork dates: May 2-14, 2006
Sample size: 1001
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Telephone households in continental U.S.

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6 Nation Survey
–FINAL TOPLINE–

United States – May 2-14, 2006 (N=1001)
Russia – April 6-16, 2006 (N=1000)
China – April 7-18, 2006 (N=2180)
Japan – March 31 – April 21, 2006 (N=500)
India – April 15 – May 3, 2006 (N=2029)
Pakistan – April 7-28, 2006 (N=1277)

NOTE: Data based on national samples except in China, India, and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban. See Methodological Appendix for details.

Q.2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (INSERT)? [READ ITEMS a. AND b. FIRST, FOLLOWED BY ROTATING ITEMS c. THRU k.]

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ Refused
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	
a. The United States							
United States	77	49	28	17	7	10	5=99
<i>May, 2005</i>	83	50	33	14	4	10	3=100
Russia	43	9	34	47	19	28	10=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	52	9	43	40	10	30	8=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	47	9	38	44	15	29	10=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	36	11	25	55	23	32	9=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	28	4	24	68	25	43	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	61	8	53	33	6	27	6=100
India	56	18	38	28	14	14	16=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	71	29	42	17	9	8	12=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	54	22	32	27	16	11	19=100
Pakistan	27	7	20	56	42	14	17=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	23	6	17	60	48	12	17=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	21	4	17	61	50	11	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	3	10	81	71	10	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	10	2	8	69	58	11	20=99
China	47	9	38	43	6	37	10=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	42	5	37	53	13	40	5=100
Japan	63	8	55	35	6	29	3=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	72	13	59	26	3	23	2=100

Q2 CONTINUED...

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ Refused
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	
c. China							
United States	52	12	40	29	10	19	19=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	43	9	34	35	13	22	22=100
Russia	63	14	49	27	7	20	10=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	60	11	49	28	6	22	12=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	71	12	59	18	2	16	11=100
India	47	12	35	39	22	17	13=99
<i>May, 2005</i>	56	15	41	21	8	13	23=100
Pakistan	69	47	22	7	3	4	23=99
<i>May, 2005</i>	79	56	23	4	2	2	17=100
China	94	58	36	5	1	4	2=101
<i>May, 2005</i>	88	53	35	9	1	8	2=99
Japan	28	3	25	71	22	49	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	55	8	47	42	7	35	3=100
f. Japan							
United States	66	22	44	14	5	9	21=101
<i>May, 2005</i>	63	17	46	16	5	11	21=100
<i>August, 1998</i>	62	9	53	23	8	15	15=100
Russia	73	24	49	17	5	12	10=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	75	23	52	16	3	13	10=101
India	60	23	37	25	11	14	16=101
<i>May, 2005</i>	66	28	38	11	4	7	23=100
Pakistan	43	18	25	16	8	8	41=100
<i>May, 2005</i>	49	21	28	18	10	8	32=99
China	21	2	19	70	29	41	10=101
<i>May, 2005</i>	17	3	14	76	43	33	7=100
Japan	77	27	50	22	2	20	1=100
m. South Korea							
China	64	10	54	18	2	16	18=100
Japan	56	6	50	43	9	34	1=100
n. North Korea							
China	51	5	46	31	4	27	18=100
Japan	3	*	3	97	78	19	1=101
o. India							
Pakistan	33	9	24	50	32	18	17=100
China	33	2	31	43	5	38	24=100
Japan	65	8	57	28	2	26	7=100
p. Pakistan							
India	23	4	19	67	48	19	10=100
China	33	2	31	42	5	37	26=101
Japan	33	2	31	49	6	43	19=101

ASK THE CHINESE ABOUT THE JAPANESE AND THE JAPANESE ABOUT THE CHINESE:

Q.22 Which of these characteristics do you associate with (the Chinese, the Japanese)? The first is (INSERT).
Do you associate this with (the Chinese, the Japanese) or not?

	Yes, <u>associate</u>	No, <u>do not associate</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a. Generous			
China	9	76	16=101
Japan	20	76	3=99
b. Violent			
China	65	23	12=100
Japan	50	47	4=101
c. Greedy			
China	68	18	14=100
Japan	69	28	2=99
d. Honest			
China	15	67	18=100
Japan	23	71	6=100
e. Selfish			
China	67	20	13=100
Japan	75	22	3=100
f. Arrogant			
China	69	17	14=100
Japan	66	31	3=100
g. Tolerant			
China	22	60	18=100
Japan	27	68	6=101
h. Hardworking			
China	61	26	14=101
Japan	64	34	2=100
i. Rude			
China	57	27	15=99
Japan	52	43	5=100
j. Sophisticated			
China	42	35	23=100
Japan	20	76	4=100
k. Inventive			
China	68	19	13=100
Japan	45	52	3=100
l. Nationalistic			
China	66	17	17=100
Japan	82	17	1=100

Q22 CONTINUED...

	<u>Yes, associate</u>	<u>No, do not associate</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
m. Modern			
China	68	19	13=100
Japan	29	69	2=100
n. Competitive			
China	74	13	13=100
Japan	84	15	1=100
o. Male-dominated			
China	72	13	15=100
Japan	62	34	5=101

ASK ALL:

Q.40 Now I'm going to read a list of political leaders. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs— a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all?⁷

	<u>A lot of confidence</u>	<u>Some confidence</u>	<u>Not too much confidence</u>	<u>No confidence at all</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
j. Chinese President Hu Jintao					
Russia	9	30	18	7	36=100
Indonesia	5	32	25	8	30=100
India	6	18	16	21	39=100
Japan	*	25	53	18	4=100
k. Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi					
Indonesia	7	41	19	7	26=100
India	8	22	13	17	40=100
China	1	9	28	30	32=100
Japan	13	48	30	8	1=100

ASK ALL:

Q.55 What country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to (survey country)?
[ACCEPT ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	<u>China</u>	<u>Iran</u>	<u>Iraq</u>	<u>N. Korea</u>	<u>Pakistan</u>	<u>Russia</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>Japan</u>	<u>Taiwan</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/Refused</u>
Russia	12	4	3	2	0	0	39	2	0	3	34=99
China	0	*	0	*	1	1	58	22	3	2	13=100
Japan	39	*	0	35	*	*	18	0	0	2	5=99

⁷ In 2001 response categories were "A great deal, a fair amount, not too much or none at all."

ASK ALL:

Q.56 Do you think China will replace the U.S. as the world's leading superpower in the next 10 years, the next 20 years, the next 50 years, or do you think China will not replace the U.S. as the world's leading superpower?

	<u>Next 10 years</u>	<u>Next 20 years</u>	<u>Next 50 years</u>	<u>Will not replace</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	11	22	10	47	9=99
Russia	10	17	13	45	15=100
India	32	24	9	24	12=101
China	4	13	20	34	29=100
Japan	7	19	13	59	3=101

ASK THE CHINESE ABOUT 'JAPAN' AND THE JAPANESE ABOUT 'CHINA':

Q.57 Now thinking about (China or Japan), all things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of (China or Japan) today. Do you think (China or Japan) is an adversary, a serious problem BUT NOT an adversary, OR not much of a problem?

	<u>An adversary</u>	<u>A serious problem</u>	<u>Not much of a problem</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
China	33	34	16	18=101
Japan	31	53	15	1=100

ASK ALL:

Q.58 Overall do you think that China's growing economy is a good thing or a bad thing for our country?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Russia	48	39	13=100
<i>May 2005</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>14=100</i>
India	40	50	10=100
<i>May 2005</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>10=99</i>
China	95	2	2=99
<i>May 2005</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>7=100</i>
Japan	68	28	4=100

Q.59 And overall do you think that China's growing military power is a good thing or a bad thing for our country?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Russia	12	76	12=100
India	26	63	11=100
China	95	3	2=99
Japan	3	93	3=100

Q.60 Thinking about Korea, do you think the two Koreas will be reunified in the near future?

	<u>Yes, reunified</u>	<u>No, not reunified</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
China	39	26	35=100
Japan	25	71	4=100

Q.61 Overall, do you think that Japan has apologized sufficiently for its military actions during the 1930s and 1940s, that Japan has not apologized sufficiently, or do you think no apology is necessary?

	<u>Yes, sufficiently apologized</u>	<u>No, not sufficient apology</u>	<u>No apology necessary</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
China	3	81	4	12=100
Japan	40	44	14	2=100

Q.62 Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi has visited and paid tribute at the Yasukuni Shrine every year since taking office. Do you support or oppose PM Koizumi's visit to the Yasukuni Shrine?

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
China	4	78	18=100
Japan	52	45	3=100

Q.63 Do you favor or oppose changing article nine of the Japanese constitution so that Japan could officially have a military and could declare war?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
Japan	27	67	6=100

Q.64 Do you favor or oppose changing the Imperial Household Act so that a female could succeed to the imperial throne?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
Japan	76	19	5=100

Q.66 Now thinking about other issues, please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.

	<u>Completely agree</u>	<u>Mostly agree</u>	<u>Mostly disagree</u>	<u>Completely disagree</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
a. Our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others					
China	26	49	18	3	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>5=100</i>
Japan	23	60	16	1	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2=100</i>
b. Our way of life needs to be protected against foreign influence					
China	22	47	22	3	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>5=100</i>
Japan	30	48	20	1	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2=100</i>
c. Most people have a better life now, even though some are rich and some are still poor					
China	21	56	17	5	2=100

Q.67 As you may know, the 2008 Summer Olympics will be held in China. Do you think this will be a good thing or a bad thing for China?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
China	97	1	2=100

Q.68 Do you think the Olympics will help China's image around the world, hurt China's image around the world, or will the Olympics have no impact on China's image?

	<u>Help</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>No impact</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
China	93	1	3	3=100

Q.69 Overall, do you think we are paying too much attention to the Olympics, not enough attention, or just the right amount of attention?

	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Not enough</u>	<u>Right amount</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
China	25	21	43	11=100

Q.70 Do you think relations between (survey country) and the US have been improved in recent years, or don't you think so?

	<u>Yes, improved</u>	<u>No, have not improved</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
India	70	20	10=100
Pakistan	49	20	30=99

ASK IF THINKS RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED (Q.70=1):

Q.71 Is this a good thing or a bad thing?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Neither (VOL)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
India	91	5	3	1=100	(N=1422)
Pakistan	82	10	5	2=99	(N=662)

ASK ALL IN PAKISTAN ABOUT 'INDIA' AND ASK ALL IN INDIA ABOUT 'PAKISTAN':

Q.72 Now thinking about (Pakistan/India), do you think relations between (Pakistan/India) and the US have improved in recent years, or don't you think so?

	<u>Yes, improved</u>	<u>No, have not improved</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
India	40	41	19=100
Pakistan	43	16	42=101

ASK IF THINKS RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED (Q.72=1):

Q.73 Is this a good thing or a bad thing?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Neither (VOL)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
India	64	31	3	1=99	(N=807)
Pakistan	50	41	6	2=99	(N=610)

ASK ALL:

Q.74 Have you heard about the agreement between the US and India concerning India's nuclear technology?

	Yes, have <u>heard</u>	No, have <u>not heard</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
India	62	28	10=100
Pakistan	25	33	42=100

ASK IF HAVE HEARD OF INDIA AGREEMENT (Q74=1):

Q.75 Do you support or oppose the recent agreement between the US and India accepting India's status as a country with nuclear weapons?

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
India	75	22	4=101	(N=1285)
Pakistan	20	73	7=100	(N=386)