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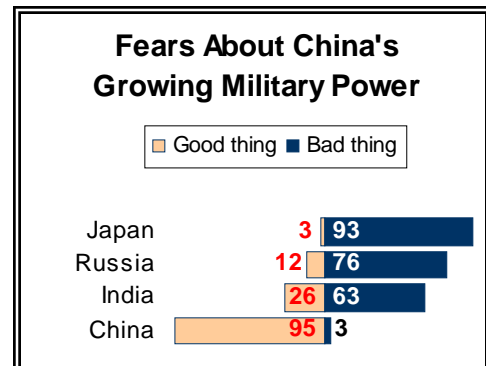
## China's Neighbors Worry About Its Growing Military Strength PUBLICS OF ASIAN POWERS HOLD NEGATIVE VIEWS OF ONE ANOTHER

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.

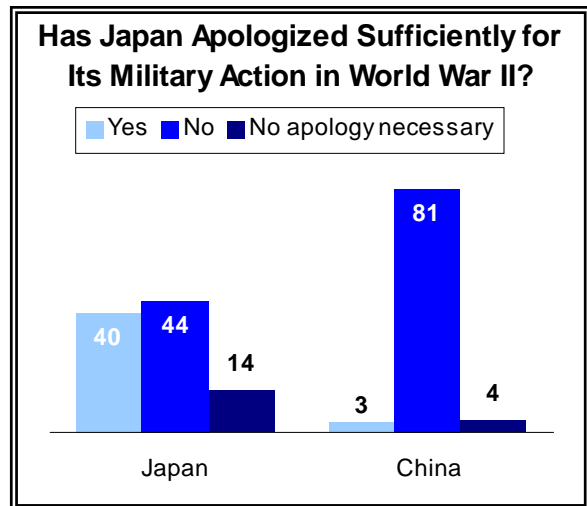
Anxiety about the growing strength of China's military is nearly universal in Japan. That concern is shared with others among China's neighbors – large majorities in both Russia and India see this as a threatening trend. The Chinese, however, have a very different view: 95% say their rising military 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	<b>28</b>	47	69
Unfavorable	5	<b>71</b>	39	7
<i>Japan</i>				
Favorable	<b>21</b>	77	60	43
Unfavorable	<b>70</b>	22	25	16
<i>India</i>				
Favorable	33	65	--	<b>33</b>
Unfavorable	43	28	--	<b>50</b>
<i>Pakistan</i>				
Favorable	33	33	<b>23</b>	--
Unfavorable	42	49	<b>67</b>	--
<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, 2006<sup>1</sup> – 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.

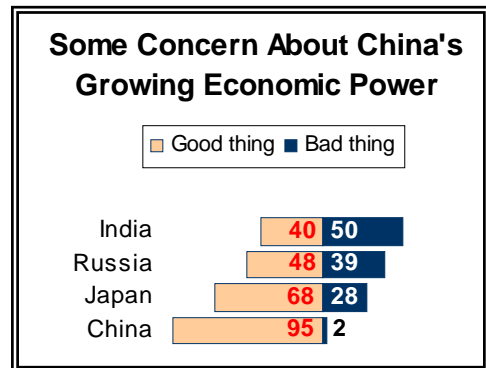
### ***About This Report***

*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.*

<sup>1</sup> 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](http://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 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.

	Hu %	Koizumi %
<b>Japan</b>		
A lot/some confidence	25	61
Not too much/no confidence	71	38
Don't know	4	1
<b>China</b>		
A lot/some confidence	--	10
Not too much/no confidence	--	58
Don't know	--	32
<b>Indonesia</b>		
A lot/some confidence	37	48
Not too much/no confidence	33	26
Don't know	30	26
<b>India</b>		
A lot/some confidence	24	30
Not too much/no confidence	37	30
Don't know	39	40
<b>Russia</b>		
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.

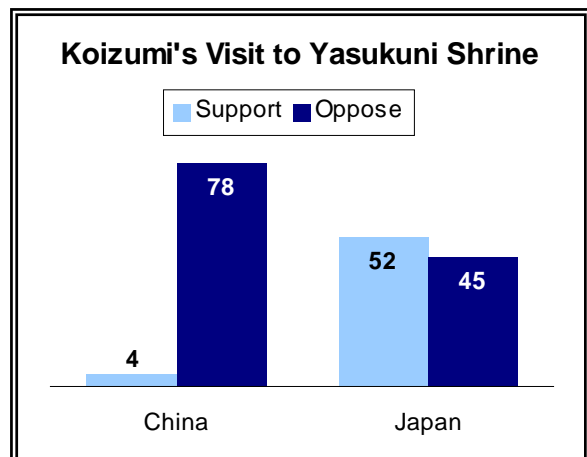
### *The Legacy of World War II*

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.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>3</sup> 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.

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

<sup>5</sup> 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.

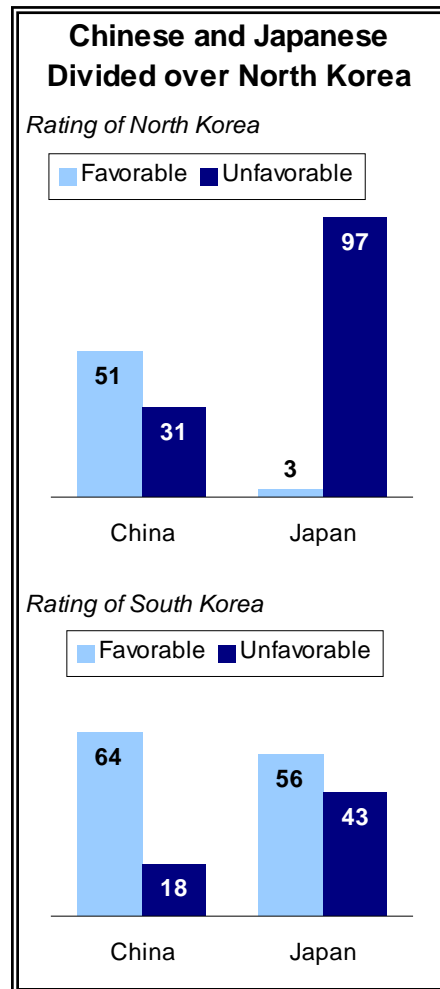
### *Olympic Fever in China*

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.



<sup>6</sup> 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.

<b>Have Relations Improved Between the U.S. and...</b>		
	<u>India</u>	<u>Pakistan</u>
<i><b>Indian opinion</b></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><b>Pakistani opinion</b></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](http://pewglobal.org). The data are also made available on our website within two years of publication.

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<b>Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys</b>		
<b><u>Survey</u></b>	<b><u>Sample</u></b>	<b><u>Interviews</u></b>
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***

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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.

**Pew Research Center**  
***Pew Global Attitudes Project: Spring 2006 Survey***  
**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							
<b>United States</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5=99</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	83	50	33	14	4	10	3=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<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
<b>India</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16=100</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	71	29	42	17	9	8	12=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	54	22	32	27	16	11	19=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<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
<b>China</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	42	5	37	53	13	40	5=100
<b>Japan</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>3=101</b>
<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							
<b>United States</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19=100</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	43	9	34	35	13	22	22=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	60	11	49	28	6	22	12=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	71	12	59	18	2	16	11=100
<b>India</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13=99</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	56	15	41	21	8	13	23=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>23=99</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	79	56	23	4	2	2	17=100
<b>China</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2=101</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	88	53	35	9	1	8	2=99
<b>Japan</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	55	8	47	42	7	35	3=100
f. Japan							
<b>United States</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>21=101</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	63	17	46	16	5	11	21=100
<i>August, 1998</i>	62	9	53	23	8	15	15=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	75	23	52	16	3	13	10=101
<b>India</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16=101</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	66	28	38	11	4	7	23=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>41=100</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	49	21	28	18	10	8	32=99
<b>China</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>10=101</b>
<i>May, 2005</i>	17	3	14	76	43	33	7=100
<b>Japan</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1=100</b>
m. South Korea							
<b>China</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>1=100</b>
n. North Korea							
<b>China</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1=101</b>
o. India							
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>24=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>7=100</b>
p. Pakistan							
<b>India</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>26=101</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>19=101</b>

**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			
<b>China</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>16=101</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>3=99</b>
b. Violent			
<b>China</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>4=101</b>
c. Greedy			
<b>China</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>14=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>2=99</b>
d. Honest			
<b>China</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>6=100</b>
e. Selfish			
<b>China</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3=100</b>
f. Arrogant			
<b>China</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>3=100</b>
g. Tolerant			
<b>China</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>6=101</b>
h. Hardworking			
<b>China</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>14=101</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>2=100</b>
i. Rude			
<b>China</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>15=99</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>5=100</b>
j. Sophisticated			
<b>China</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>23=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>4=100</b>
k. Inventive			
<b>China</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>13=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>3=100</b>
l. Nationalistic			
<b>China</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>1=100</b>

**Q22 CONTINUED...**

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

**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?<sup>7</sup>

	<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					
<b>Russia</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>36=100</b>
<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>30=100</b>
<b>India</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>39=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4=100</b>
k. Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi					
<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>26=100</b>
<b>India</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>40=100</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>32=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1=100</b>

**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>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>34=99</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5=99</b>

<sup>7</sup> 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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>9=99</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<b>India</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12=101</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>29=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>3=101</b>

**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>
<b>China</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>18=101</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1=100</b>

**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>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>13=100</b>
<i>May 2005</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>14=100</i>
<b>India</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>May 2005</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>10=99</i>
<b>China</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2=99</b>
<i>May 2005</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4=100</b>

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>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<b>India</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<b>China</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2=99</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>3=100</b>

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>
<b>China</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>35=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>4=100</b>



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>
<b>China</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2=100</b>

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>
<b>China</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>3=100</b>

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>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>6=100</b>

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>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5=100</b>

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					
<b>China</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>*=100</b>
<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					
<b>China</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<b>Japan</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<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					
<b>China</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2=100</b>

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>
<b>China</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2=100</b>

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>
<b>China</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3=100</b>

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>
<b>China</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>11=100</b>

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>
<b>India</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>30=99</b>

**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>
<b>India</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1=100</b>	<b>(N=1422)</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2=99</b>	<b>(N=662)</b>

**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>
<b>India</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>19=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>42=101</b>

**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>
<b>India</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1=99</b>	<b>(N=807)</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2=99</b>	<b>(N=610)</b>

**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>
<b>India</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>42=100</b>

**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>
<b>India</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4=101</b>	<b>(N=1285)</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>7=100</b>	<b>(N=386)</b>