

## **World Publics Think China Will Catch Up With the US —and That’s Okay**

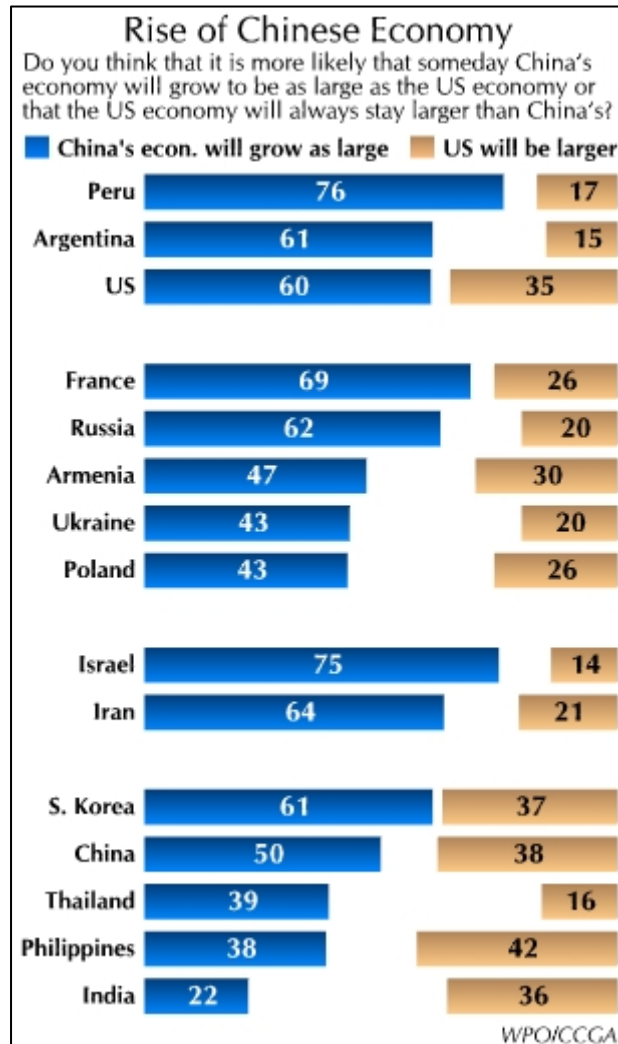
Majorities around the world believe that China will catch up with the United States economically. It’s a prospect that leaves most of those polled—even Americans—unperturbed.

A multinational poll by The Chicago Council on Global Affairs and WorldPublicOpinion.org finds that in most countries polled, majorities or pluralities believe the Chinese economy will grow to be as large as the US economy. In no country do most people think this would be mostly negative. Majorities in every country polled believe this is either a good thing or equally positive and negative.

“What is particularly striking is that despite the tectonic significance of China catching up with the US, overall the world public’s response is low key—almost philosophical,” said Steven Kull, editor of WorldPublicOpinion.org.

This sanguine reaction is not because China is widely trusted. World Publics do not trust China any more than they trust the United States and distinctly less than they trust Japan.

This is the fifth in a series of releases from a wide-ranging international survey, which was conducted in countries that represent 56 percent of the world’s population: China, India, the United States, Russia, France, Thailand, Ukraine, Poland, Iran, Mexico, South Korea, the Philippines, Australia, Argentina, Peru, Armenia and Israel, plus the Palestinian territories. Not all questions were asked in all countries. Not all questions were asked in all countries.



## Bullish on China

Of the 15 countries asked whether it was “likely that someday China’s economy will grow to be as large as the U.S. economy,” majorities agreed in eight and pluralities in five.

The Chinese themselves are among the more skeptical countries. Only 50 percent say that their economy will catch up to the US economy. That is considerably less than the percentage of Americans who believe China’s economy will grow to be as large as theirs (60%).

It’s also less than those polled in Peru (76%), Israel (75%), France (69%), Iran (64%), Russia (62%), Argentina and South Korea (both 61%). The percentage of Chinese respondents who believe their country will catch up with the United States is even lower than the average of respondents in all 15 countries surveyed (54%).

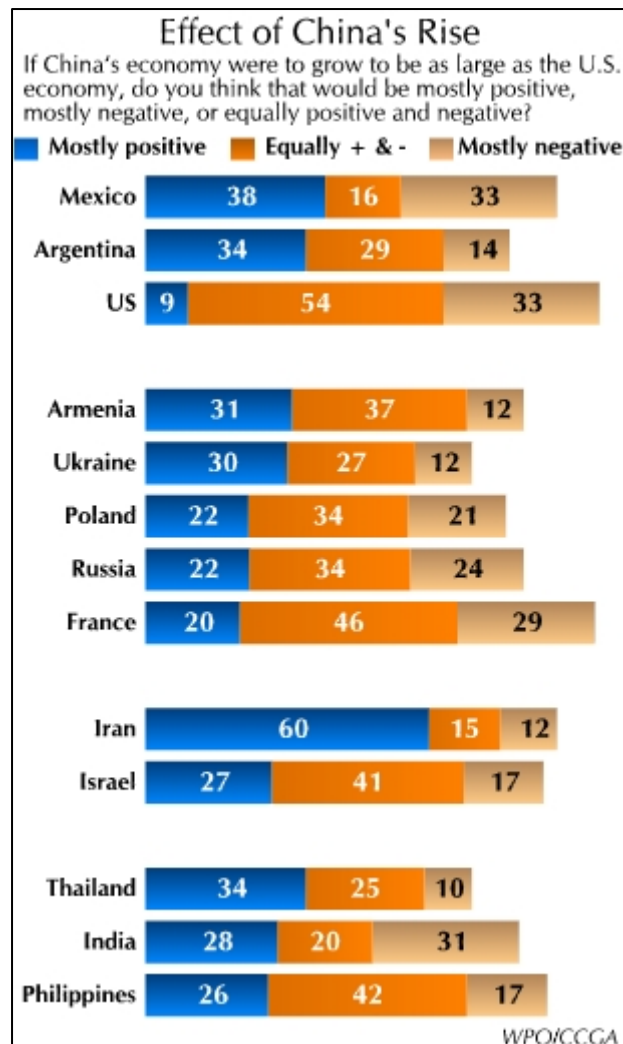
In only two countries do those believing “the US economy will always stay larger than China’s” outnumber those who think China will catch up. Filipinos say the US economy will remain larger by a margin of 42 percent to 38 percent. Indians also tend to believe this by 36 percent to 22 percent, though even larger numbers refuse to answer (42%).

## China’s Rise Neither Good nor Bad

Asked how they would feel if China were to catch up with the United States, publics show little concern. In no country among the 13 asked does even a plurality say that this would be mostly negative. The most common view is that this would be equally positive and negative, with slightly more saying that it would be positive than saying it would be negative.

The highest level of concern is in the United States, where one in three is worried. But a majority of Americans (54%) say instead that China’s economic rise would be “neither positive nor negative” while another one in ten (9%) say it would be mostly positive.

This idea that China’s rise would be



equally positive and negative is also the most common view in France (46%), the Philippines (42%), and Israel (41%). However in France, those who believe this would be mostly negative outnumber those who say it would be positive by 29 percent to 20 percent. In the Philippines, the reverse is true: More say this would be positive (26%) than negative (17%). Even in Israel—which looks to the United States for support—more say it would be positive (27%) than negative (17%).

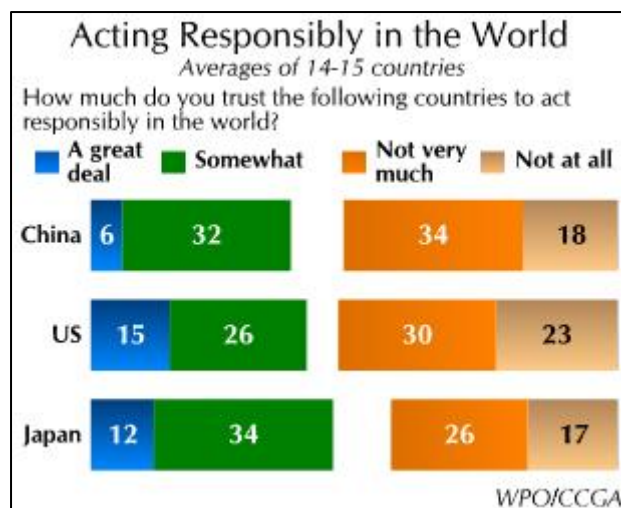
In Russia—which may view China as both a rival and a counterweight to the United States—negative and positive views about China’s rise are almost equally balanced. Thirty-four percent say it would be equally positive and negative, while almost exactly the same numbers say it would be positive (22%) as negative (24%). Reactions in Poland and India—both of which tend to have fairly positive views of the United States—are similarly balanced. Poles are indifferent overall, with 22 percent calling China’s rise positive, 21 percent negative and 34 percent both equally. In India, negative and positive views are also roughly equal (31% and 28%, respectively) though fewer say it is equally negative and positive (20%).

Only in Iran does a majority (60%) say that it would be mostly positive for China to catch up. Their favorable outlook may stem in part from heavy Chinese investment in Iranian oil as well as Iranian desires to have a counterweight to American power. But the view that this would be positive is also the most common response in Mexico (38%), Argentina (34%), Thailand (34%), and Ukraine (30%).

On average, across all countries polled, the most common response is that seeing China catch up with the United States would be equally positive and negative (32%), though those who think it would be mostly positive (29%) outweigh those who think it would be negative (20%).

### China and the US: Equally Distrusted

The world’s seemingly sanguine view of Chinese possible economic ascendance does not mean most publics think they can trust Chinese leaders. Ten out of 15 publics polled say they do not trust China “to act responsibly in the world.” On average, those who say they cannot trust China “at all” or “very much” outnumber those who say they can trust it “somewhat: or a great deal” by 52 percent to 38 percent (10 percent do not answer).



“Though people are not threatened by the rise of China, they do not appear to be assuming that it will be a new benign world leader,” said Christopher

Whitney, executive director for studies at The Chicago Council on Global Affairs. “They seem to have a clear-eyed view that China is largely acting on its own interests.”

Attitudes toward China in this respect are similar to attitudes toward the United States, which is also distrusted in 10 out of 15 publics polled. Those who distrust the United States outnumber those who trust it by 53 percent to 41 percent (6 percent do not answer).

But this does not mean that people simply do not trust major powers. There is substantially more confidence in Japan, which is trusted to act responsibly in 10 out of 16 countries. On average the margin is slightly in favor of trusting Japan by 46 percent to 43 percent (11 percent do not answer).

Those most likely to distrust China are the French. Three out of four French respondents (76%) say they feel that China can either not be trusted at all (33%) or not very much (43%). That’s even more than those who distrust the United States (72%). Peruvians are also strongly inclined to distrust China (70%) as are Argentines (65%) and South Koreans (61%).

Thais (59%), Americans (58%) and Russians (56%) are about equally doubtful that China can be trusted to act responsibly. In Thailand (53%) and the United States (60%) majorities also say that China does not take their country’s interests into account when making foreign policy. A plurality agrees in Russia (47% to 42%).

Pluralities tend to think China cannot be trusted in India (49% to 42%), Israel (47% to 42%) and in Poland (47% to 28%), though large numbers of Poles are not sure (25%). Israelis (61%) and Poles (69%) also say Chinese foreign policy does not take their interests into account. Indians also lean toward this opinion (46% to 43%).

Those most likely to believe China can be trusted include three of its Asian/Pacific neighbors: Australia (59%), Indonesia (59%) and the Philippines (57%). The trade of all four countries with China is growing rapidly. Australia and the ASEAN countries (which include Indonesia and the Philippines) are negotiating free trade agreements with growing economic ties with China. Ukrainians also tend to trust China (46% to 29%) even though they do not think that it takes their interests into account in foreign policy decisions (62%).

The countries that do not trust China also tend to be those that do not trust the United States. Two South American countries are the most distrustful of the United States: Argentina (84%) and Peru (80%). Russia is next with 73 percent saying the United States cannot be trusted. Two-thirds of Russians (66%) also say that US foreign policy does not take Russian interests into account. Most French respondents also say the United States cannot be trusted (72%).

Indonesia is an exception to the rule that countries tend to distrust both powers. Although Indonesians trust China, they do not trust the United States (64%). Armenia is another: divided about China but distrustful of the United States (58%).

Majorities in China (59%), Thailand (56%), South Korea (53%) and India (52%) also regard the United States with suspicion. A majority of the Chinese (58%) also say that the United States does not take their interests into account when making foreign policy, as do pluralities in Thailand (49% to 23%, 28% not sure) and India (46% to 44%).

A slim majority of Poles (51%) trust the United States to act responsibly even though a far larger one (76%) says that US foreign policy does not take their interests into account. Ukrainians also tend to trust the United States (49% to 37%) although they do not think it considers their interests (63%). Four out of five Israelis both trust the United States (81%) and believe it takes their interests into account (82%).

In contrast, the other great Asian economy—Japan—gets a considerably more positive reaction from world publics. Majorities or pluralities in 10 of the countries polled say that it can be trusted to act responsibly, led by Indonesia (76%), Australia (72%), the United States (71%) and the Philippines (67%). A majority of the French (59%) also trust Japan.

On the other hand, the United States is the only country out of eight asked where a majority believes that Japan takes its interests into account when making foreign policy decisions.

Majorities in six countries say Japan cannot be trusted, led by two countries invaded by Japan during World War II: South Korea (81%) and China (79%). The Peruvians (60%) are also leery of Japan as are Thais (60%), Argentines (52%) and Russians (51%).

### **Asian/Pacific Views of International Influence**

Asian/Pacific publics see China's influence in the world as high, though not as high as the United States'. But they believe that China already wields nearly as much or more influence as the United States does in Asia.

Ten countries were asked to rate the world influence of the United States, China and Japan on a scale of 0 to 10, where 10 indicated the most influence. All 10 publics ranked the United States' influence as higher than China's. But China is close behind and on a par with Japan.

South Korea gives US influence a high 8.5, China a 6.7 and Japan a 6.5. Thai opinion is similar: the United States rates an 8.3 while China and Japan get the same score of 6.9. Indians rate US international influence slightly lower (7.3) though still higher than either Japan (6.2) or China (6) while Australians give the United States only a 6.1, only slightly above either Japan (5.7) or China (5.5).

Only Indonesia believes Japan's influence surpasses both China's and the United States'. Indonesia gives all three rather modest rankings: 6.9 for Japan, 6.4 for the United States and 6.3 for China.

China gives itself a 7.8, less than the 8.6 it gives to the United States but considerably above the 6.7 it gives to Japan. Americans give their country an 8.5 and rate the world influence of China and Japan as equal (6.4 both).

Four Asian/Pacific countries generally see China as already wielding nearly as much or more influence in Asia as the United States does. Australians and the Chinese themselves see China as more influential than the United States, though Indians and Indonesians see it as slightly less so.

China, India, Australia and Indonesia were asked to rate the influence in Asia of China, the United States and Japan on the same 0-10 scale.

The Chinese gave both themselves and the United States a score of 8, the highest scores given by any country, while giving Japan a 6.8. Australians think Chinese influence in Asia rates a 7.5, higher than that given by Aussies to the United States or to the Japanese (6.6 for both).

Indians place China's influence in Asia at 5.9, below Japan's (6.2) and well below the United States (7.1). Indonesians give China a 7, less than the United States' 7.5 and Japan's 7.3

### **Relations Seen as Improving or Stable**

While most publics express distrust of China and the United States, views are mixed about whether relations are now moving in a positive or negative direction. Asked whether their relations with the United States and with China are improving, getting worse or staying the same, six out of 11 countries polled tend to say they are getting better in both cases, while the other five say they are staying the same.

Australia is the only country with a majority (59%) saying relations with China are on the upswing, though this is also the predominant view in India (50%), Indonesia (49%), Thailand (48%), Russia (44%) and Israel (40%). In the other countries, the most common view is that their country's association with China is stable: Ukraine (58%), Poland (52%), Armenia (49%), South Korea (47%) and the United States (47%).

Majorities in Asia's two most populous countries—India (58%) and China (53%)—see relations on the United States as getting better. This opinion is shared by pluralities in Australia (50%), Armenia (48%), Indonesia (46%) and Thailand (37%). The others say relations are stable: Poland (60%), South Korea (56%), Israel (52%), Ukraine (52%) and Russia (45%).

## **Free Trade More Popular in Asia than in US**

Four Asian countries are more open to free trade agreements with each other and with the United States than Americans are. Majorities in Thailand favor agreements with China (61%) or Japan (63%). Koreans also tend to look favorably on such accords, especially with China. Two-thirds would like such an agreement with China (66%) and a plurality of 50 percent (vs. 46% against) would like one with Japan. Pluralities in India also would like free trade with China (44% to 25%) and with Japan (48% to 26%).

All four Asian countries polled support free-trade agreements with the United States. China has the largest majority in favor of such pacts: 66 percent say they would like a free trade agreement with the United States and only 19 percent say they would not. Three out of five Thais (60%) would also like such an accord, as would a majority of Indians (55%) and South Koreans (54%).

In contrast, Americans themselves are somewhat leery of lowering their tariff barriers to Chinese or Japanese goods even in exchange for reciprocal action in favor of US goods. US respondents lean slightly in favor of free trade with their close ally Japan (47% to 43%) but a majority opposes such an agreement with China (56%).

## **The Rise of China: Results by Country**

### **Americas**

#### **ARGENTINA**

**Graciela Romer y Asociados, December 2006**

Along with most other publics polled, Argentines expect that China's economy will grow to equal the United States' and are somewhat neutral about what effect that will have on the world. Argentines are also skeptical about the trustworthiness of China, the United States, and Japan. Sixty-one percent believe that China's economy will someday grow to be as large as the US economy, while only 15 percent feel that the US economy will always be larger. Asked whether the prospect of China catching up with the United States would be mostly positive, mostly negative, or equally positive and negative, one third (34%) feel it would be mostly positive while 29 percent believe it would be equally positive and negative. Only 14 percent say that this would be mostly negative, while 23 percent decline to answer. Argentines have little confidence that China, the United States, and Japan will act responsibly in the world. Eighty-four percent say they do not trust the United States to act responsibly, while 65 percent say the same about China. A slight majority (52%) also expresses doubt about Japan's ability to conduct itself responsibly in the world, although 30 percent say they have some or a great deal of trust that it will.

#### **MEXICO**

**Center for Economic Research and Teaching (CIDE)/Mexican Council of Foreign Relations (COMEXI), July 2006**

A slight plurality of Mexicans believes that it would be a good thing if China's economy were to grow as large as the US economy. Thirty-eight percent of Mexicans say it would be "mostly positive" if China caught up with the United States, while just 33 percent say it would be "mostly negative." Sixteen percent say it would be equally positive and negative.

#### **PERU**

**Grupo de Opinión Publica, November 2006**

Peruvians are the most confident of all countries polled that the Chinese economy will someday be as large as the US economy. However, Peruvians express great skepticism that China, the United States and Japan can be trusted to act responsibly in the world. More than three-quarters (76%) of Peruvians think it is likely that China's economy will grow to be as large as the US economy, while just 17 percent believe that the US economy will always stay larger than China's. Yet apart from these feelings about China's economic growth, seven in 10 (70%) have little or no trust that China will act responsibly in world affairs, one of the largest majorities to hold this view. Peruvians have even greater doubts about whether the United States can be trusted to act responsibly, with 80 percent saying they do not trust the United States and just 17 percent



saying they do. A smaller majority also says they do not trust Japan (60%), although one third (34%) says they do.

## **UNITED STATES**

### **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, July 2006**

Americans tend to believe that China will catch up with the United States economically and they are strikingly unconcerned about this prospect, although most do not trust China to act responsibly in the world. A majority is wary about removing trade restrictions, and most tend to believe that relations with China and Japan are remaining stable. Sixty percent of Americans believe that China's economy will eventually reach the size of the United States' while only one-third (35%) says that the US economy will always be larger than China's. However, only one-third (33%) believes that this would be mostly negative. A majority (54%) believes it will be equally positive and negative and another 9 percent believes that it will be mostly positive. At the same time, a majority of Americans (58%) are doubtful that China will act responsibly in world affairs (37% say they do trust China), and a similar majority (60%) says that China does not consider US interests in making foreign policy (34% say it does). A very large majority (71%), however, says they trust Japan to act responsibly in world affairs, and only 24 percent say they do not. A majority (58%) also thinks that Japan takes US interests into account when making foreign policy decisions (35% say it does not). Americans see the United States as having great influence in the world, rating it an 8.5 on a 0-10 scale, as compared to 6.4 for both China and Japan. Americans also view their bilateral relationships with both China and Japan as stable. The most common view is that relations are staying the same with both Japan (55%) and China (47%), while 30 percent say that relations with each are improving. Yet, Americans are somewhat skeptical about whether the United States should enter into a free trade agreement with China. A majority (56%) opposes such an agreement, while only one-third (34%) is in favor. Americans tend to favor this type of agreement with Japan (47%), though a significant number (43%) are opposed.

## **Asia**

## **AUSTRALIA**

### **Lowy Institute, July 2006**

Australians are unique in that they trust all the dominant powers in Asia to act responsibly in the world. They also tend to believe that their relations with China and the United States are improving. Sixty-one percent say they trust China, the largest percentage among the 14 countries polled, while 39 percent say they do not. About the same numbers say they trust the United States (59%) to act responsibly. Australians also are among those most confident in Japan: More than seven in 10 (72%) say they trust Japan to act responsibly in the world. Australians, like other Asian/Pacific countries, see China as the most dominant influence in the region. While Chinese influence is given a 7.5 on a 0-10 scale, the United States and Japan are both given 6.6. However, Australians believe the United States has more world influence, giving it a 6.1 compared

to 5.7 for Japan and 5.5 for China. A majority of Australians think their country's relations with both China and the United States are improving. Fifty-nine percent say that relations with China are getting better while 50 percent say this about relations with the United States. A majority (56%) believes that relations with Japan are staying about the same, although more say they are improving (29%) than worsening (12%).

## **CHINA**

### **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, July 2006**

The Chinese are somewhat more doubtful that China will catch up with the United States than the other countries polled. A majority does not trust the United States to act responsibly and an even larger majority does not trust Japan to do so. Only half of respondents (50%) in China are confident that their economy will reach the size of the US economy, while 38 percent say that it will not. Fifty-nine percent say they do not trust the United States to act responsibly (35% do) and 58 percent say the United States does not consider China's interests when making foreign policy (36% say it does). However, a modest majority (53%) believes that relations with the United States are improving. A large majority of Chinese respondents (79%)—higher than any public except South Korea—say they do not trust Japan to act responsibly in the world and two-thirds (67%) say Japan does not take China's interests into account when making foreign policy. Furthermore, nearly half (49%) say that relations between the two countries are worsening (25% improving, 21% the same). Despite this poor outlook on Chinese-Japanese relations, 53 percent support entering into a free trade agreement with Japan, while only 31 percent are opposed. Two-thirds (66%) support such an agreement to lower barriers such as tariffs with the United States. Unlike other Asian publics, the Chinese see their country's influence in Asia as equal to the United States'. Each country's influence is given a rating of 8.0 on a 0-10 scale. Japan's influence is seen as slightly less (6.8). However, the United States is seen as more influential in the world than China (8.6 to 7.8). Japan is seen as having less global influence (6.7).

## **INDIA**

### **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, July 2006**

Indians are one of the few publics that do not believe that China will catch up with the United States. Most have positive view of India's relations with China, Japan and the United States. Only 22 percent of Indians say that China will catch up with the United States, while 36 percent believe the US economy will always be larger, though a very large 42 percent decline to answer. Indians are divided about whether the possibility of China catching up with the United States is good or bad, with 31 percent saying it would be mostly negative, 28 percent mostly positive, and 20 percent equally positive and negative. Indians tend to be skeptical about the trustworthiness of both China and the United States: 52 percent say they do not trust the United States to act responsibly, while 49 percent say the same about China (42% say they do trust China). Similarly, Indians are divided on whether either country consider its interests in making foreign policy, giving nearly the same responses for China (43% does, 46% does not) and the United States (44% does, 46% does not). However, Indians lean toward trusting Japan: 46

percent say they do have trust in Japan (41 percent say they do not) and a plurality (46%) says that Japan takes India's interests into account when making foreign policy decisions. Indians as a whole view US influence in Asia as outweighing both China and Japan's—rating the United States a 7.1, followed by Japan (6.0) and China (5.9). Similarly, they give US influence in the world a 7.3, Japan a 6.2 and China a 6.0. A majority of Indians believe their relations with the United States are getting better (58%) while pluralities think relations are improving with China (50%) and Japan (47%). Indians are moderately enthusiastic about the prospect of a free trade agreement with the United States (55% favor), while pluralities also favor such an agreement with Japan (48%) and China (44%).

## **INDONESIA**

**Lowy Institute, July 2006**

Indonesians trust China and Japan to act responsibly in the world, but distrust the United States. They view all three countries as having comparable levels of influence in Asia comparably and tend to believe bilateral relations with each are improving or remaining the same. More than three-quarters of Indonesians (76%)—more than in the other 14 countries asked—say they trust Japan to act responsibly in the world and three-fifths (59%) trust China to do so. In contrast, 64 percent say they do not trust the United States to act responsibly and only one-third (32%) says that they do. Most Indonesians view the United States, Japan, and China as having comparable levels of influence in Asia, giving them average ratings of 7.5, 7.3, and 7.0 respectively. However, Indonesians are unique among those polled in that they view Japan (6.9) as having a greater influence in the world than the United States (6.4) or China (6.3). Indonesians tend to see their relations with China and the United States as getting better. Forty-nine percent say that Indonesia's relations with China are improving, while 40 percent say they are staying the same. Forty-six percent view Indonesia-US relations as improving, although 27 percent say they are staying the same and 23 percent say they getting worse. A majority (54%) believes that relations with Japan are remaining the same, while 39 percent say they are improving.

## **PHILIPPINES**

**Social Weather Stations, November 2006**

Unlike most countries, Filipinos are somewhat doubtful that China will catch up with the United States economically. Majorities are also confident that China, Japan and the United States will act responsibly in the world. Filipinos believe that the US economy will always be larger than China's by a margin of 42 percent to 38 percent. However, most Filipinos say that if China were to catch up this would be equally positive and negative (42%) or mostly positive (26%). Just 17 percent say it would be mostly negative. The Philippines has the largest majority among all countries polled willing to trust the United States to act responsibly in the world (85%). Two-thirds (67%) say they also trust Japan to act responsibly and 57 percent trust China.

## **SOUTH KOREA**

**East Asia Institute, July 2006**

South Koreans believe China's economy will catch up with the US economy. They express greater doubts about the trustworthiness of China and Japan, than about the United States, and believe that relations with Japan are deteriorating. Nonetheless they are quite supportive of free trade agreements in fellow Asian countries and with the United States. Sixty-one percent of South Koreans believe that China's economy will eventually grow to be as large as the United States' while only 37 percent believe that the US economy will always stay larger than China's. A modest majority (53%) of South Koreans do not trust the United States to act responsibly, though nearly half do express trust (46%). They are far more suspicious of their Asian neighbors: 81 percent do not trust Japan to act responsibly in the world and 61 percent do not trust China. The United States is seen as having far more influence than either China or Japan. South Koreans rate US influence in the world at 8.5, while giving China 6.7 and Japan 6.5. Bilateral relations between the United States and South Korea are seen as staying the same (56%). A plurality (47%) thinks relations with China are stable though 38 percent think they are getting better. Conversely, a majority (61%) believes that relations with Japan are worsening, while only 6 percent say they are improving (32% staying the same). However, South Koreans generally favor entering into free trade agreements with all three countries. Two-thirds (66%) support such an agreement with China, 54 percent with the United States, and 50 percent with Japan.

## **THAILAND**

**ABAC Poll Research Center, September 2006**

Thais tend to believe that China's economy will eventually catch up with the United States and they think that this will be positive. They also show believe their relations with China, Japan, and the United States are getting better, despite significant doubts that these countries can be trusted to act responsibly in the world. A plurality (39%) of Thais believes that China's economy will reach the size of the United States' and only 16 percent believe that the US economy will always be larger than China's, although very large numbers (45%) decline to offer an opinion. Thais also see China's economic rise as mostly positive (34%) or equally positive and negative (25%) rather than negative (10%). Thais express similar levels of distrust in all the Asian powers evaluated, although slightly larger majorities say they do not trust Japan (60%) or China (59%) to act responsibly in the world than say they do not trust the United States (56%). Thais also doubt that these countries take Thailand's interests into account when making foreign policy decisions. However, Thais are slightly more likely to say that China does not consider its interests in making foreign policy (53%) than to say Japan (51%) or the United States does not (49%). Like most other countries, Thais see the United States as having the most influence in the world (8.3), but they also rate China (6.9) and Japan (6.9) as having considerable influence. Thais tend to think their relations with all three countries are on the upswing. Pluralities say that relations with both China (48%) and Japan (47%) are improving, while only one-quarter (24% in both cases) say they are worsening. Thirty-seven percent say that relations with the United States are improving,

while just 28 percent say they are getting worse (10% say they are staying the same). Thais are also widely enthusiastic about the prospect of entering into free trade agreements with all three countries. Majorities support agreements that would lower barriers like tariffs with Japan (63%), China (61%), and the United States (60%).

## **Middle East**

### **IRAN**

**WorldPublicOpinion.org, December 2006**

Iranians widely believe that China's economy will catch up with the United States' and are the only country polled where a majority says that this would be mostly positive. Like most other publics, a majority of Iranians (64%) agree that China's economy will grow to be as large as the US economy. Only 21 percent take the view that "the US economy will always stay larger than China's." Sixty percent of Iranians say the effects would be "mostly positive" if China's economy were to achieve this growth. Fifteen percent say it would be "equally positive and negative" and just 12 percent feel this would be "mostly negative."

### **ISRAEL**

**Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research / Evens Program for Conflict Resolution and Mediation, November 2006**

Israelis are among those who express the greatest confidence that China's economy will catch up with the United States.' They generally doubt that China will act responsibly in the world even though relations with China are seen as improving. A large majority (75%) believes that China's economy will catch up with the US economy, while just 14 percent feel that "the US economy will always stay larger than China's." When asked whether it would be positive or negative for China's economy to grow as large as the US economy, a plurality (41%) says that it would be equally positive and negative. One quarter (27%) think this would be mainly positive, and only 17 percent say it would be mainly negative. Israelis lean slightly toward distrusting China to act responsibly in the world: 47 percent say they do not trust China to act responsibly, while 42 percent say they do. They also feel (61%) that the Chinese do not take their interests into account when making foreign policy. In comparison, Israelis overwhelmingly trust the United States to act responsibly in the world: 81 percent hold this view, while just 16 percent say they do not. Equally strong numbers think US foreign policy takes Israeli interests into account (82%). A modest majority of Israelis (54%) also say they trust Japan to act responsibly (32% say they do not), though they do not think Japanese foreign policy takes Israeli interests into account (55%). Despite the Israeli public's low level of trust in China, the most common view (40%) is that relations between Israel and China are "improving," rather than "worsening" (8%) or "staying about the same" (26%). A majority of Israelis believe that their relations with the United States are staying about the same (52%) and one-third (32%) says they are improving. Israelis tend to see bilateral relations with Japan as remaining the same (33%) or improving (27%).

## **Europe**

### **ARMENIA**

**Armenian Center for National and International Studies, December 2006**

Armenians tend to agree with most other publics that China's economy will eventually catch up with the US economy. While they are somewhat skeptical that China can be trusted to act responsibly, they believe their relations with China are improving. A plurality of Armenians believe that China's economy will grow to be as large as the United States' (47%), while 30 percent feel "the US economy will always stay larger than China's." Asked whether China's economic rise to the US level would have a positive or negative effect, the most common view (37%) is that this would be "equally positive and negative" while 31 percent believe this would be mainly positive and only 12 percent say mainly negative. Armenians are evenly divided over whether China can be trusted to act responsibly in the world: 46 percent say they trust China to act responsibly, while the same number say they do not. Views of the United States are less favorable: a majority (58%) says they do not trust the United States to act responsibly, while just 39 percent say they do. The Japanese are viewed more favorably, with 47 percent saying they trust Japan and 41 percent saying they do not. Asked to evaluate the global influence of these countries, Armenians give the United States a rating of 9.4 on a 0-10 scale, the highest rating given by any country polled. Armenians see Japan and China as having significantly less influence, giving them 5.8 and 5.6 respectively. Nearly half of Armenians (49%) feel that their relations with China are staying about the same, while one-third (34%) believe they are improving. Despite generally mistrusting the United States, a plurality (48%) tends to believe relations with the United States are improving while 40 percent say they are staying about the same. A majority (54%) also sees bilateral relations with Japan as stable, though 22 percent say they are improving.

### **FRANCE**

**Efficiency 3, March 2007**

France is among the countries with the largest majorities saying that China's economy will grow to the size of the United States.' They also tend to see the effect of China's growth as neutral, on balance. The French do not trust China, the United States or Japan to act responsibly in the world. Sixty-nine percent of the French public believes that China's economy will grow to be "as large as the US economy" while only one-quarter (26%) feels that the US economy will always stay larger than China's. The most common view among French respondents is that it would be "equally positive and negative" (46%) for China to catch up with the United States. Twenty-nine percent of those polled in France feel that this would be "mainly negative," a bit more than the 20 percent who would see it as "mainly positive." Majorities in France do not trust China, Japan or the United States to "act responsibly in the world." More than three out of four (76%) say they do not trust China to act responsibly (22% say they do) and nearly as many (72%)

say the same about the United States (28% say they do). However, 46 percent say they trust Japan (40 percent do not).

## **POLAND**

**CBOS, September 2006**

Poles join most other publics in saying that China's economy will catch up to the US economy, a development they see as equally good and bad. They lack trust in China to act responsibly in the world though they feel that their relations with it remain stable. Views of the United States are unusually positive. The most common view among Polish respondents is that "China's economy will grow to be as large as the US economy" (43%); just one quarter (26%) believes that the US economy will always stay larger than China's (but 31% declined to answer). When asked whether they consider China's catching up with the United States' to be good or bad, most Polish respondents call it "equally positive and negative" (34%). Twenty-two percent of those polled in Poland feel China's economic growth would be "mainly positive," and 21 percent see it as "mainly negative." A plurality of Poles (47%) do not trust China to "act responsibly in the world," while 28 percent do. However, a slight majority of Poles (51%) trust the United States to act responsibly (32% do not trust the United States) and a plurality has confidence in Japan to act responsibly (41%), while 30 percent do not. The Poles, however, believe that neither the United States (76%), nor China (69%) nor Japan (66%) takes Polish interests into account when making foreign policy. The Polish public tends to see their country's relations with China, the United States, and Japan as remaining stable. A slight majority of Poles (52%) say their relations with China are "staying about the same," and very few say they are getting better (9%) or worse (5%). A larger majority (60%) says Poland's bilateral relations with the United States are staying the same, though one-quarter (25%) says Poland's relations with the United States are "improving." Nearly half (49%) also feel that relations with Japan are remaining stable (15% say they are improving).

## **RUSSIA**

**Levada Center, September 2006**

Most Russians believe that China will catch up with the United States and views are fairly evenly divided about whether this would be positive or negative. Significant numbers see relations with China as improving, although a majority is skeptical about trusting China to act responsibly. Sixty-two percent of Russians believe that "China's economy will grow to be as large as the US economy," while just 20 percent assume "the US economy will always stay larger than China's." When asked whether such Chinese growth would be good or bad, the most common view (34%) is that it would be "equally positive and negative." About the same proportion of Russians say that this growth would be "mainly positive (22%) as say it would be mainly negative (24%). Majorities of Russians say they have little or no confidence that the United States, China or Japan will "act responsibly in the world." About three-quarters (73%) do not trust the United States (20% do) while a smaller majority (56%) feels the same way about China (35% do). A majority of Russians also say that their interests are not taken into account by the United

States (66%) but they are less sure whether China does so (47% say it does, 42% does not). A slight majority (51%) also does not trust Japan to act responsibly in the world (37% do) and the same percentage says Japanese foreign policy fails to take Russian interests into account (36% say it does). Russians see the United States as far more influential globally than the other two Asian powers evaluated. The United States' influence in the world rates an 8.5 on a 0-10 scale, considerably above China (6.2) or Japan (6.4). Although they distrust China, a plurality (44%) sees Sino-Russian relations as improving, rather than staying the same (39%) or worsening (7%). In comparison, Russians think relations with the United States are staying the same (45%), although more say they are improving (28%) than getting worse (20%). Views about Russian relations with Japan are similar: 40 percent say they are staying about the same, while 26 percent say they are improving and just 17 percent say they are getting worse.

## **UKRAINE**

**Kiev International Institute of Sociology, September 2006**

Ukrainians have somewhat mixed feelings about the potential effects of China's economy reaching the size of the United States,' though they tend to trust the dominant powers in Asia to act responsibly and view relations with all three countries as relatively stable. A plurality (43%) believes China's economy will eventually grow to equal the US economy, (20% disagree) but large numbers (36%) decline to answer. Asked how they feel about the prospect of China catching up with the United States, Ukrainians lean toward viewing it as positive (30%) rather than negative (12%). Many say it would be equally positive and negative (27%) or do not answer (31%). Ukrainians tend to trust all the dominant powers in Asia to "act responsibly in the world." Forty-six percent of Ukrainian respondents say that they trust China to act responsibly, though more than one-quarter (29%) says they do not. Nearly half (49%) also say they trust the United States to act responsibly (37% do not). However, a clear majority of Ukrainians (57%) trusts Japan to act responsibly, while just 18 percent do not trust the Pacific power. Nonetheless, they do not think that either China (62%), the United States (63%) or Japan (64%) take Ukrainian interests into account when making foreign policy. Asked to evaluate the degree of influence each country has in the world on a 0-10 scale, Ukrainians—like all other countries polled—give the United States a significantly higher degree of influence (9.0) than either Japan (6.5) or China (5.9). Majorities of Ukrainians believe their relations with the three powers are remaining stable. Fifty-eight percent say their bilateral relationship with China is staying about the same (14% say it is improving), while 62 percent take the same view of Ukraine's relations with Japan. A slight majority (52%) says that relations with the United States are staying about the same, although nearly three in 10 (29%) say that relations are improving. Very few say that relations with China, Japan, or the United States are getting worse.