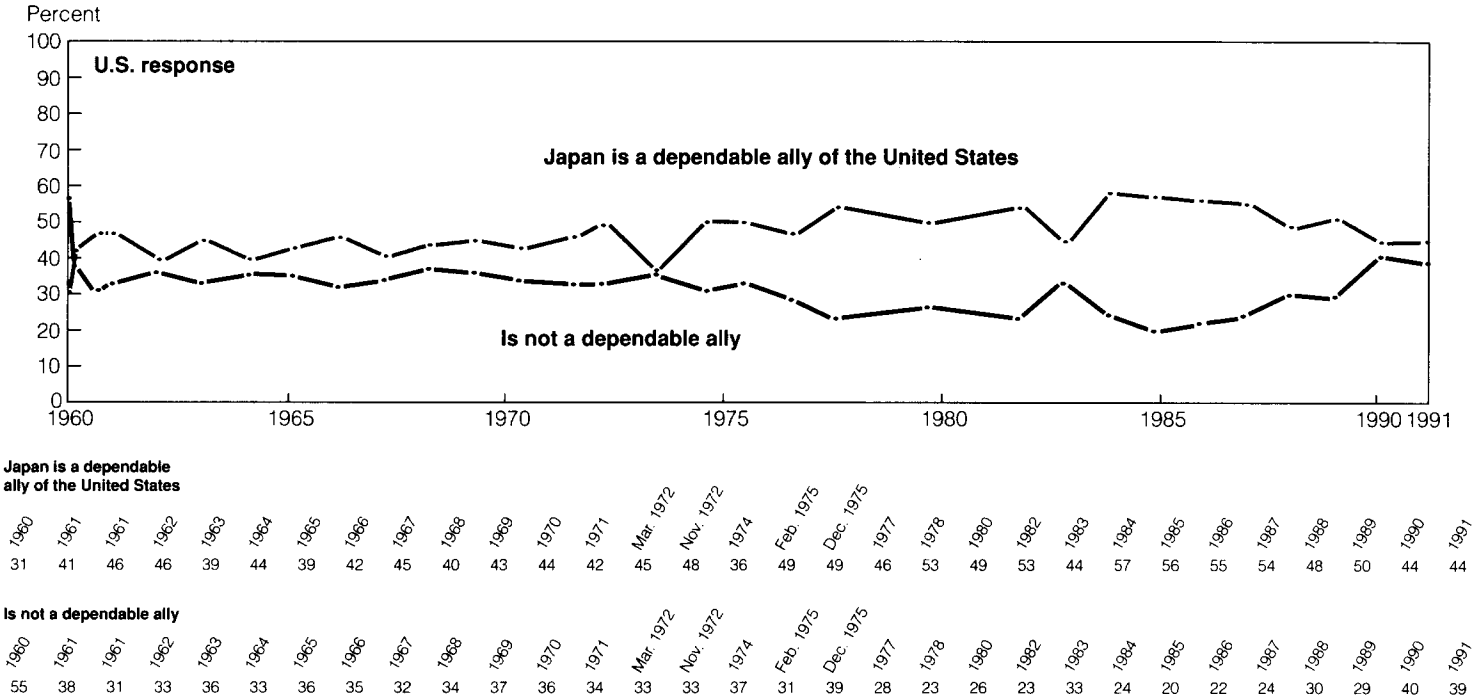


# U.S. AND JAPANESE VIEWS OF OUR

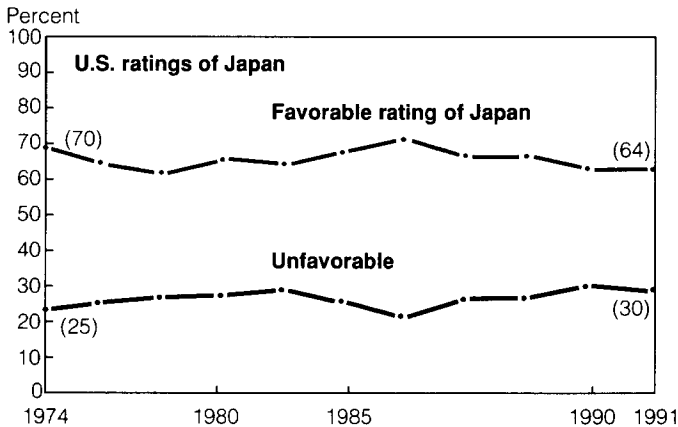
The Gulf War, the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, and Bush's upcoming trip to Japan have focused substantial attention on U.S.-Japan relations. The stability of U.S. attitudes over time is impressive. Ratings of Japan's dependability as an ally have diminished only slightly in the last 17 years, and majorities in all age groups view Japan favorably today.

Question: **In your opinion, do you think Japan is or is not a dependable ally of the United States?**



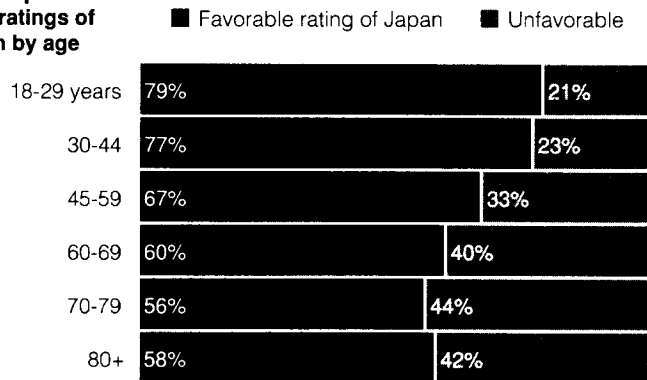
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for the Japanese Foreign Ministry, latest that of January 26-February 7, 1991.

Question: **You will notice that the boxes on this card go from the highest position of plus five for a country which you like very much, to the lowest position of minus five for a country you dislike very much. How far up the scale or how far down the scale would you rate the following countries?**



Note: Favorable responses = +1 through +5, Unfavorable responses = -1 through -5.  
Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, latest that of February-April, 1991.

## U.S. response 1991 ratings of Japan by age

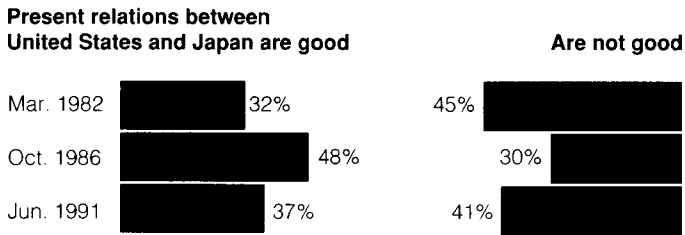


# RELATIONSHIP

U.S. assessments of U.S.-Japan relations have been more positive than comparable Japanese assessments. Perceptions that Japan's international role is not in line with its economic strength and that Japan trades unfairly with the United States (54% U.S., 44% Japanese) cause tensions between the two countries.

Question: **Do you think that the present relations between the United States and Japan are good, or not?**

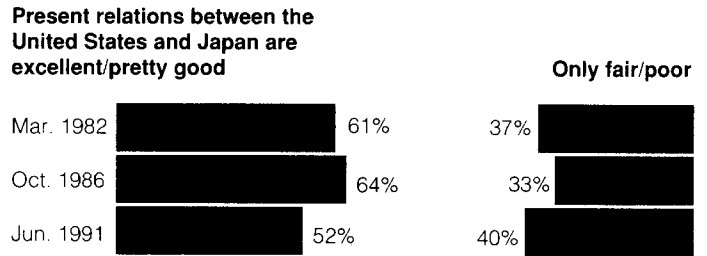
## Japanese response



Source: Surveys by Louis Harris and Associates for *Asahi Shimbun*, latest that of June 9-10, 1991.

Question: **How would you rate the present relations between the United States and Japan—excellent, pretty good, only fair, or poor?**

## U.S. response

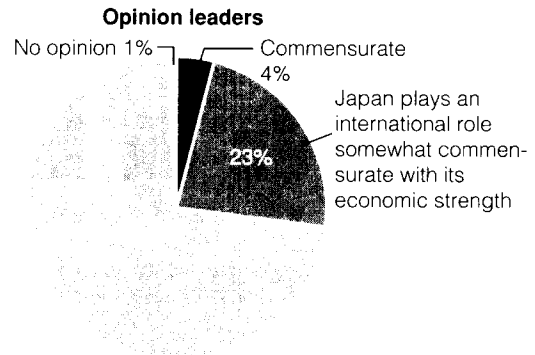
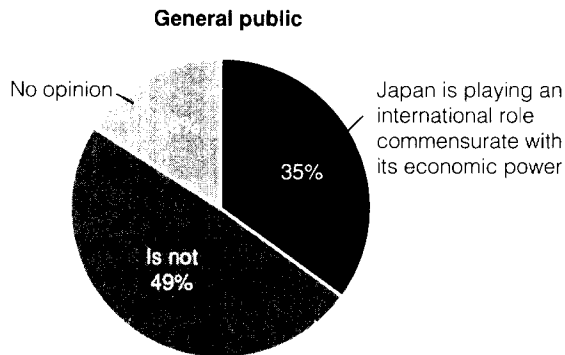


Note: Three percent of U.S. opinion leaders described the present level of cooperation between Japan and the United States as excellent; 43% described it as good.

Source: Surveys by Louis Harris and Associates for *Asahi Shimbun*, latest that of June 7-11, 1991.

Question: **Do you think that Japan is playing an international role commensurate with its economic strength? (General public) To what extent do you think that Japan plays an international role commensurate with its economic strength? (Opinion leaders)**

## U.S. responses

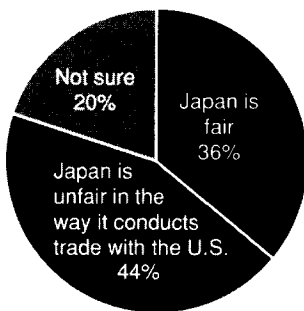


Note: The same question was asked of opinion leaders in 1989 and 1990. Fifty-eight percent in 1989 and 51% in 1990 said that Japan was not playing a role commensurate with its economic power.

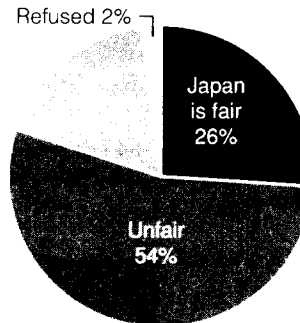
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for the Japanese Foreign Ministry, January 26-February 7, 1991 (general public), January 23-March 1, 1991 (opinion leaders).

Question: **Do you think Japan is fair or unfair in the way it conducts its trade with the United States?**

## Japanese response



## U.S. response



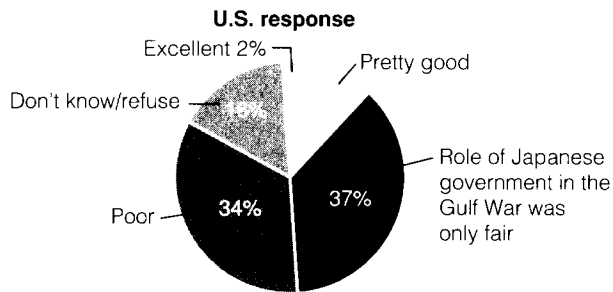
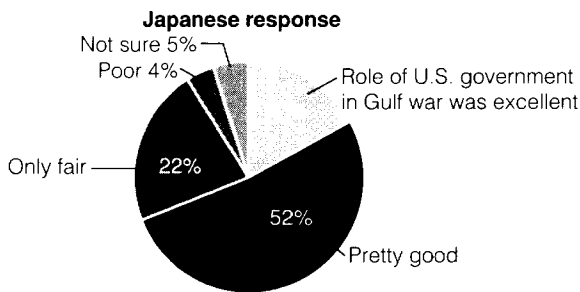
Note: The young in Japan (54%) were more likely than the old (33%) to think that Japan is unfair in the way it conducts trade with the United States. In the United States, young people were split over whether Japan was fair (41%) or unfair (43%). Older people felt Japan was unfair by 61-11%.

Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for *Asahi Shimbun*, June 9-10, 1991 (Japan), and June 7-11, 1991 (U.S.)

# The Gulf War Aftermath

Americans' dissatisfaction with the Japanese government's conduct during the Gulf War contrasts with relatively positive Japanese marks for the United States. American opinion leaders back an expansion of Japanese military responsibilities. The Japanese public is far less receptive to this idea.

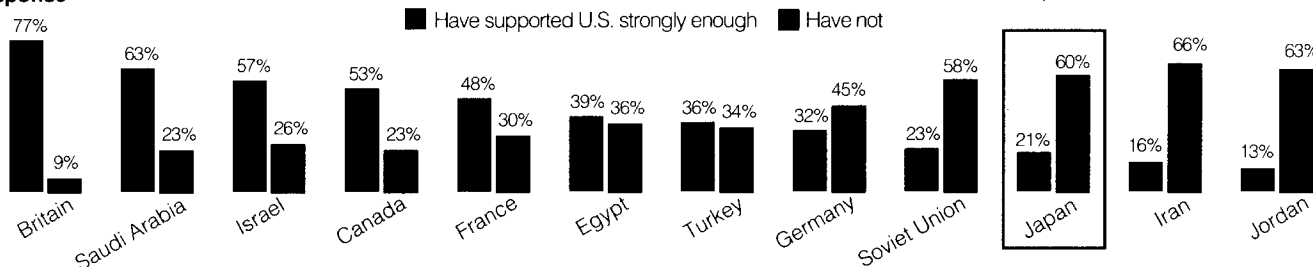
Question: **How would you rate the role of the U.S./Japanese government in the Gulf War—excellent, pretty good, only fair, poor?**



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for *Asahi Shimbun*, June 9-10, 1991. (Japan); June 7-11, 1991. (U.S.)

Question: **In the past few months the United States has faced a number of major international crises, chief among them the war in the Persian Gulf. The U.S. has called upon its allies to support its actions and policies. I'm going to read you a list of countries. For each one, would you tell me if you feel, overall, that they have supported the U.S. position strongly enough by doing what we have asked, or haven't they supported our position strongly enough?**

U.S. response

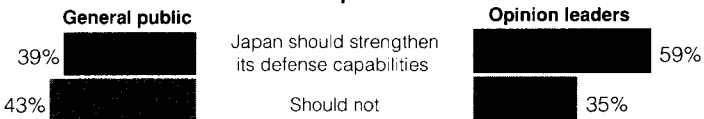


Note: In a 1980 Roper survey question that referred to hostages in Iran and the invasion of Afghanistan and to "allies" rather than "countries," "have supported U.S. strongly enough" responses were as follows: Canada 71%, Britain 53%, Egypt 47%, Japan 44%, Israel 39%, West Germany 37%, and France 15%. Other countries not asked.

Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 91-5), April 13-20, 1991.

Question: **Do you think Japan should strengthen its defense capabilities?**

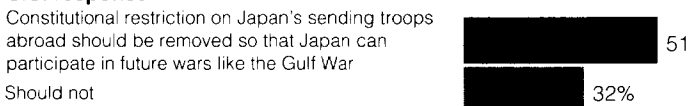
U.S. response



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for the Japanese Foreign Ministry, January 26-February 7, 1991 (general public), January 23-March 1, 1991 (opinion leaders).

Question: **During the Gulf War, Japanese troops did not participate in the coalition forces because of the constitutional restriction Japan has had since the second war. Do you think ...**

U.S. response

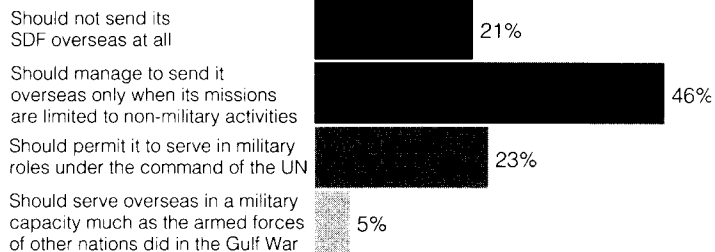


Note: Americans 65 and over split on this 37-36%.  
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for *Asahi Shimbun*, June 7-11, 1991.

Question: **Which one of the following statements is the closest to your own opinion about Japan's sending its Self Defense Forces overseas?**

Japanese response

Japan ...



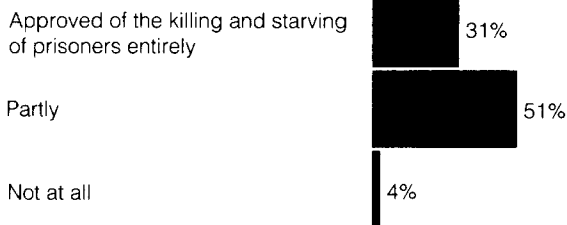
Source: Survey by the Louis Harris and Associates for *Asahi Shimbun*, June 9-10, 1991.

# PEARL HARBOR: "ALL IN THE PAST"

The 50th anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor is upon us, but the hostile feelings unleashed by this incident are not. As early as 1951, a slim majority of Americans said that they felt friendly toward the Japanese people. More recently, three-fourths described their feelings toward Japan as friendly.

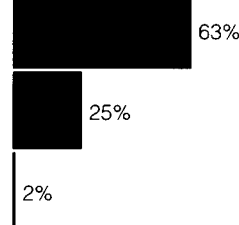
Question: **To what extent do you think the (German/Japanese) people have approved of the killing and starving of prisoners...?**

**Think the German people...**

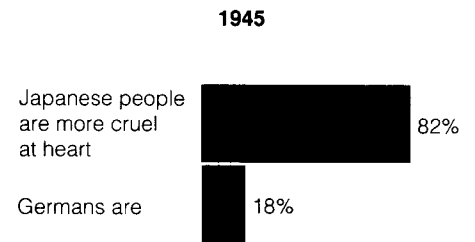


1945

**Japanese people...**

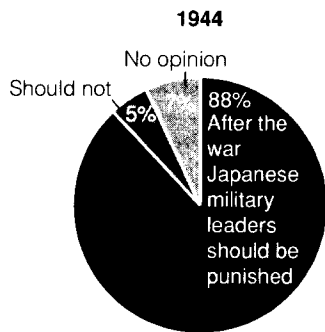


Question: **Which people do you think are more cruel at heart—the Germans or the Japanese?**



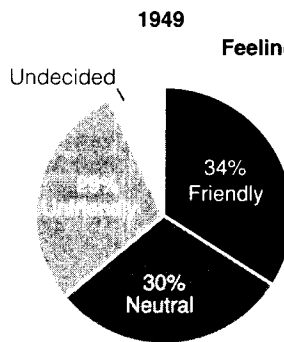
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 17-22, 1945.

Question: **After the war, do you think the Japanese military leaders should be punished in any way?**



1944

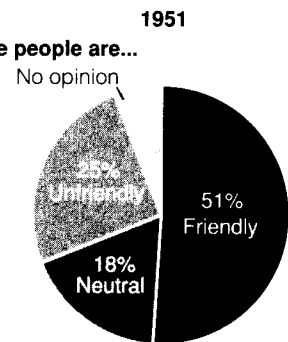
Question: **I'd like to get your attitude toward the people of Japan. In general, would you say your feelings today toward the Japanese people are friendly or unfriendly?**



1949

**Feelings toward the Japanese people are...**

Question: **It has been six years since the war with Japan ended. What would you say your feelings are toward the Japanese people at present?**

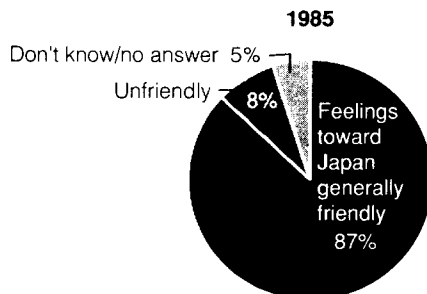


1951

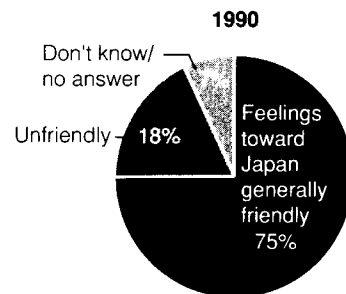
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, November 17-22, 1944.

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of August 26-31, 1951.

Question: **Overall, are your feelings toward Japan generally friendly or generally unfriendly?**



1985



1990

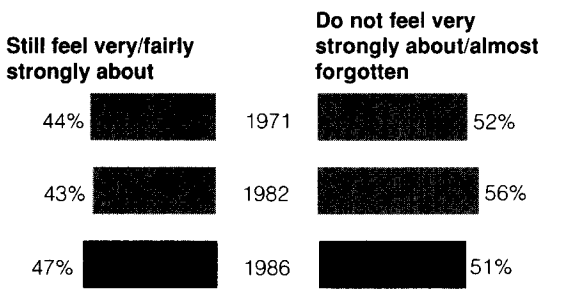
Source: Surveys by CBS News/New York Times, latest that of June 5-8, 1990.

Not surprisingly, the attack on Pearl Harbor has greater resonance for older Americans: 65% of those 50 years and older said in 1986 that they felt strongly about it, compared to 33% of 18-24 year olds. More than eight in ten Japanese and Americans alike consider the World War II animus a thing of the past.

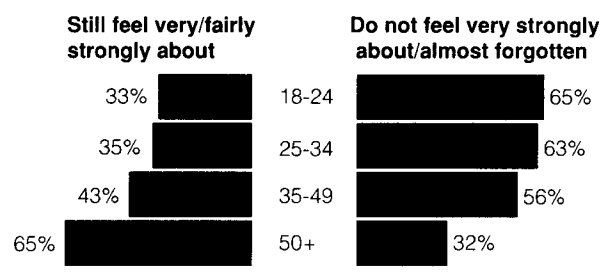
Question: **Is the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor something that you still feel very strongly about, fairly strongly about, not very strongly about, or is it almost a forgotten episode as far as you are concerned?**

**U.S. response**

**Pearl Harbor is something you...**

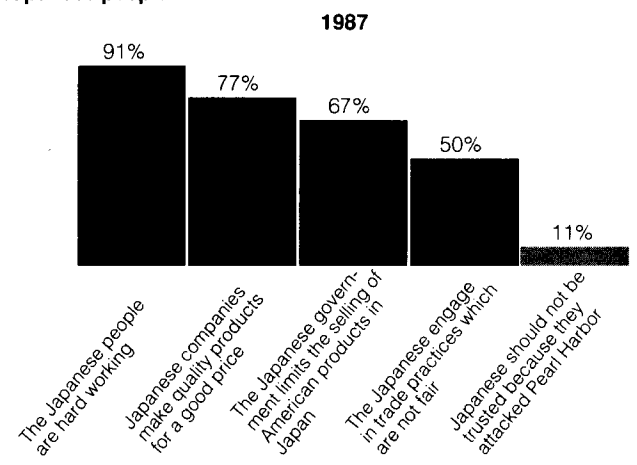


**1986 responses by age**



Source: Surveys by Louis Harris and Associates for *Asahi Shimbun*, latest that of October 1986.

Question: **Now I have a few questions about Japan. Which of these descriptions would you say applies, in general, to Japan and the Japanese people?**

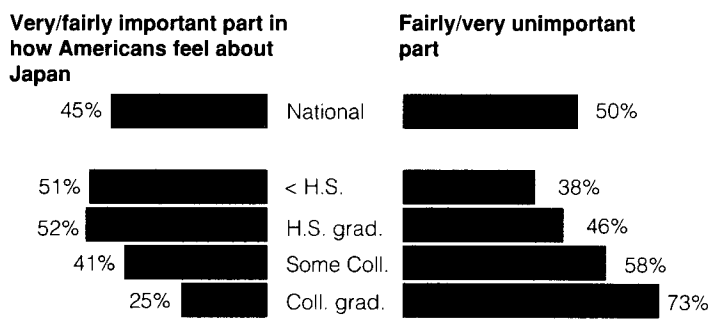


Source: Survey by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for *Time*, February 17-18, 1987.

Question: **Would you say that resentment over the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor plays a very important part in how Americans feel about Japan, or a fairly important part, or a fairly unimportant part, or a very unimportant part in how Americans feel about Japan?**

**1985**

**Resentment over the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor plays a...**



Source: Survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, September 20-26, 1985.

Question: **These days, do you sometimes think of the (Japanese/Americans) as enemies because of World War II, or is that all in the past?**

**1989**

**Because of World War II...**

**U.S. response**

**Japanese response**



Source: Surveys by CBS/*New York Times*, February 18-19, 1989, and the Tokyo Broadcasting System (Japan), February 16-19, 1989.